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Tony Jeffs, after five continuous years as editor of the journal is taking a well deserved one year break to pursue research interests.

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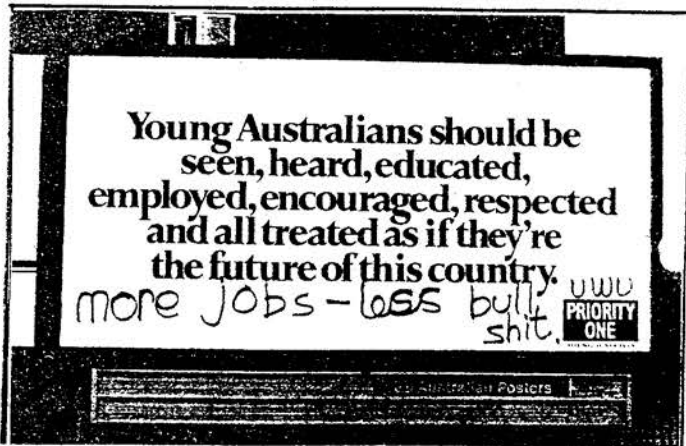
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australian youth policies in the 80's

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Over the last 15 years Australian industry has undergone a massive restructuring that has wrought havoc on the labour market and engendered a dramatic collapse in the youth labour market in particular. The rest of the world dazzled, for some time, by the glitter of an Australian economy propped up by high rural prices and a fast talking Labor treasurer, has been blinded to the underlying structural problems that have resulted in the disappearance of tens of thousands of jobs and entrenched chronic unemployment amongst the young. Now that the Australian economy is in deep recession, following a further worsening of the terms of trade, we can begin to show how young people have been affected for at least a decade by a process that has finally brought them to the centre of the policy makers' stage.

Jobs and the Young Unemployed

Between the years 1972 - 1984 there has been a loss of over 130,000 jobs from the full-time teenage job market, with massive losses in the area of manufacturing. South Australia alone has suffered a reduction of 25% in the last decade.⁽¹⁾ Part-time work has grown overall from 10.5% of total employment in 1970 to 17.8% in 1984, with over half of new jobs created since 1973 being in the area of part-time employment.⁽²⁾ This has resulted in a movement away from the traditional pattern for working class young people of entering full-time employment in manufacturing, to the 'choices' of either part-time employment in the service industries or simple unemployment. In total labour market terms young people have for 13 years been over-represented in the unemployment figures and whilst the overall rate has begun to drop, youth unemployment, in spite of a comprehensive youth policy, continues to rise.

Table 1
Unemployment Rates in Australia

	15-19 years	All ages
1974	4.2%	1.6%
1975	10.1%	3.9%
1980	17.0%	6.2%
Dec 1986	21.6%	8.4%
Mar 1987	23.3%	8.2%

Source: Australian Bureau of Statistics

On a regional level those states having a marginal industrial base show a more dramatic problem. For example, South Australia shows a youth unemployment rate of 27.2% whilst having an overall rate of 9.1%. The real tragedy becomes apparent when we examine actual local industrial conurbations, such as the British Migrant city of Elizabeth where youth unemployment rates of over 50% are not uncommon. Many British origin families now find that after the hardship of being dislocated from the closeness of their working class histories, and after struggling for thirty years in the hot, dusty plains of Adelaide in an effort to establish themselves, their children are unemployed and the value of their homes and savings have been drastically reduced by the falling dollar. No amount of statistical manipulation and sleight of hand can detract from the enormity of the problem facing Australian young people in finding employment, when there has been such a spectacular and, some might say, permanent collapse of the youth labour market in a country wracked by all the social tensions created by a deep economic recession.

The response of policy and opinion makers has been first of all to rediscover the existence of Australian young people who previously either 'got on' with the job, or 'got on' with education, normally quietly and with little fuss. Now, driven by the inescapable truth of youth unemployment, young people are becoming again visible as they strive to bring some order, sense and meaning to the post-education and pre-employment period of their lives. Their response, after an initial period of puzzled social solitary confinement as unemployed children, has been markedly different to that of unemployed workers who already know and understand the meaning of work, its struggles, collectiveness, and rewards, from direct experience. For the unemployed worker there has been the dramatic loss of livelihood: for the young unem-

ployed, straight from school, there has been the loss of a dream upon which eleven or twelve years of schooling has been based. The young unemployed, mainly from working class backgrounds, have at last 'come out'.⁽³⁾

This new visibility brought with it the potential of new political power, as indicated by the large numbers of young people who voted for the lead singer of 'Midnight Oil', Peter Garrett, and the Nuclear Disarmament Party (NDP), at the December 1984 Federal election. As young people asserted themselves, so both State and Federal governments, prodded by a panic-stricken media, responded with a frenzied and desperate course of reports and enquiries, resulting in policy production that has had three main thrusts:

- 1) to get young people off the streets and either vocationally educated or retrained to fit the 'experts' view of the labour market,
- 2) to get young people to use their enforced leisure time by involving them either in productive leisure programmes (commonly known as voluntary work), or a range of leisure pursuits such as bush walking and canoeing;
- 3) to increase policing and further 'regulation' of the young who do not take advantage of the employment and leisure' policies put into place.

If nothing else, the argument goes, the rest of the population should not be burdened by the visible and at times audible activities of the young unemployed.⁽⁴⁾ It is no surprise to find that whilst there has been a plethora of programme doing 'things' to the young to get them retrained and back into non-existent work, there has been a law and order campaign being run at the same time. Young people are learning in Australia what all schoolchildren learn at school; that if you draw attention to yourselves someone with power will reciprocate, and that the consequences of their attention may or may not be of any benefit, and more often than not will result in further controls over independent actions. But it is always comforting to be told you are number one priority - even if you aren't.

Priority One

The rise of the NDP in the 1984 elections provides an important backdrop to the strategies and policies adopted by the Labor Party in 1985. Young people were suddenly seen as important, not because International Youth Year (IYY) was just beginning; not because they were experiencing real problems of unemployment and homelessness; but fundamentally because they had shown themselves a force in parliamentary party politics.

In August 1985, Prime Minister Hawke personally launched the Labor Party's 'solution' to the 'youth problem'. This took the form of a policy package called 'Priority One - Young Australia'. The package had a number of elements to it, from the introduction of 'traineeships' to campaigns around drug abuse. However, the most prominent element of Priority One was a massive publicity campaign launched by the Prime Minister himself. Advertisements, leaflets, radio and television coverage were all used to saturate the community with the message that young people were to be 'seen, heard, educated, encouraged,

trained, employed, housed and treated as the future of this country'. This type of 'feel good' propaganda campaign was characteristic of the IYY approach to youth issues. It also provided the context for the Prime Minister to embark upon a campaign which was unprecedented in recent times in this country.

Under the banner of 'Priority One', Bob Hawke criss-crossed the nation in an effort to let young people 'have their say' by speaking about their concerns. Toll-free telephone numbers were advertised, talkback radio shows featuring the Prime Minister arranged, and rock concerts starring Bob Hawke (and Molly Meldrum, compere of the popular ABC TV music show 'Countdown') along with popular musicians were set up. According to the Government's figures, some 26,000 young Australians used this opportunity to convey their messages directly to the Prime Minister and his government. All up, the cost of the advertising campaign and the phone-in was around one and a half million dollars. To further emphasise his commitment to the young people of Australia, Hawke moved the office of Youth Affairs into the Department of the Prime Minister and Cabinet and assumed the responsibility for Youth Affairs.

The newly discovered 'commitment' and 'priority' being given to young people was replicated at the State level in many instances as well. In South Australia, for example, the Bannon Labor Government created a new Cabinet position - the Minister for Youth Affairs - in 1985.

In reality it was the Labor Party needing a youth policy that was the priority, rather than youth themselves being made a priority. The substance of the policy itself contained all the old programmes, updated and refined, wrapped up in the rhetoric of self-improvement and as such, doomed to failure.

Labour market programmes

For ten years various Australian governments have developed a smorgasbord approach to education and labor market programmes that have fallen into five broad categories

- 1) *Assistance to employers who offer apprenticeships*
eg Commonwealth Rebate for Apprentice Full-time Training (CRAFT)
- 2) *Direct wage subsidy payments to employers*
eg Special Youth Employment Training Program (SYETP)
- later replaced by 'Jobstart' in 1985
- 3) *Short-term employment programme for 'disadvantaged' unemployed people*
eg. Community Employment Program (CEP)
- 4) *Improving the job skills and 'life skills' of young people*
eg. School to Work Transition Program
Education Program for Unemployed Youth (EPUY)
Community Youth Support Scheme (CYSS)
- 5) *Integrated on-and-off the job vocational training*
eg. Australian Traineeship System (ATS)

The Hawke Government's response to high levels of unemployment initially took the form of shifting the emphasis from 'transition' type school-to-work

programmes toward short-term employment programmes. In August 1983, the Commonwealth Employment Program (CEP) was officially launched. Its purpose was to create additional short-work experience for unemployed persons. Jobs were to be generated through the funding of labor-intensive projects of social and economic benefit to the community, and particular assistance was to be given to the long-term unemployed and unemployed persons from 'disadvantaged' groups (eg. Aborigines, people with disabilities, migrants). Half of the jobs were intended for women.

The CEP was the largest and most ambitious short-term job creation initiative ever undertaken by an Australian Government. However for young people the benefits of the programme were less than satisfactory. For while there was and is a disproportionately high representation of young people in the unemployed population, there is a disproportionately low representation of young people in CEP projects. This was due to a range of factors - such as priority being given to the long-term unemployed, to members of 'disadvantaged' groups, and so on. It was also due to the fact that many of the projects in the programme by their very nature required people with experience and skills, such as in construction, welfare areas or for the purposes of doing research. In addition, since employment was to be under award conditions (and thus not take into account differing levels of training needs) projects sought participants who were 'job-ready'.

Partly in response to this, and partly in an effort to rationalise the jumble of wage subsidy and training schemes, the Labor Government set up the influential Kirby Committee in 1984 to report on labour market programmes.⁽⁴⁾ From the start, the underlying rationalisation of the committee was to work out how to deal with structural change that has created a new underclass of under-educated, unskilled, and under-employed workers who have borne the brunt of the long recession. Much of what they recommended was aimed at the young unemployed with the blame laid squarely at the feet of educationalists and young people themselves. The committee's main proposal was quite simply that the emphasis of government policy should be on upgrading the personal and vocational skills of individuals in the work place, so that young people could maximise their long-term employment prospects. Nowhere in the report was there any debate about how increasing the vocational skills of the unemployed could expand the economy and improve the labour market. It seems that those who place a heavy reliance on the 'upgrading' of young people hold a magical belief that by osmosis, courses in bricklaying will both improve and expand the building industry and lead to a housing recovery. Influenced by the fact that 100,000 young people each year enter the labour market without completing their secondary education, and without workforce preparation and vocational training, the committee decided that this must be the cause of the problem rather than a response to the problem. The committee's only avenue was to advise the increase of vocational education and training as a substitute for work, thus making the centre piece of the Labor Government's 'Priority One' package an expansion of

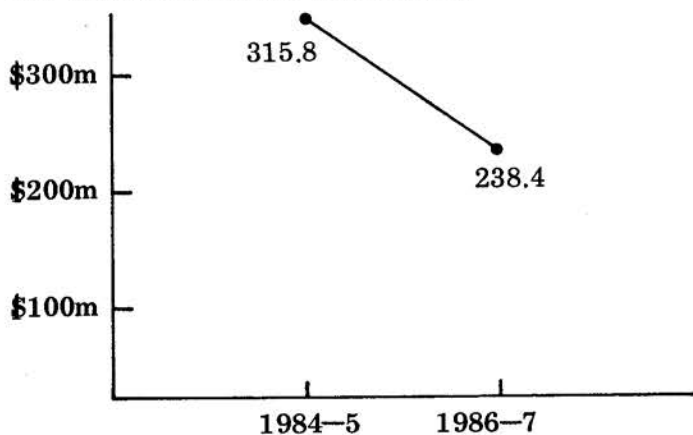
the notion of traineeships, with a slogan of 'Toward a skilled Australia' rather than 'Toward an employed Australia', which they couldn't deliver.

Traineeships

Under the traineeship scheme, young people spend a one-year period in on-the-job and off-the-job 'training'. This consists of working for 3 or 4 days per week and attending some form of off-the-job training for the remainder, either in a college of Technical and Further Education (TAFE) or in private industry training programmes. All 16 and 17 year old school leavers are eligible to apply, with preference being given to those who leave school before completing Year 12. Trainees are only paid for the work component of the programme. A government subsidy of \$1,700 is given for each trainee where the training is in a TAFE college and \$2,000 where the training is in private industry. Higher subsidies are offered for the targeted disadvantaged groups. A further \$1,000 is paid direct to the employer for each trainee to help defray on-the-job training costs. Targetted industries include: tourism and hospitality, banking and finance, retail, motor accessories industry, and the public service.

The Commonwealth Government is currently in the process of spending \$300,000 on a campaign to encourage private-sector participation in its youth traineeship scheme. When the scheme was introduced by the Prime Minister in August 1985, he promised 10,000 trainee places within the first year. A year later only 4,858 places had been created, mostly in the public sector. Private employers had only offered some 1,454 places, and these were primarily in the retail sector.⁽⁵⁾ Significantly, 'In the retail industry the employers are notorious for their low wages and disregard of conditions. They have been successful in this because the workers have no experience of working in a situation where unions have been well organised and they know nothing of the benefits of unionism'.⁽⁶⁾

Table 2
The Government's Real Youth Policy



Spending on Labor Market Programs
for 15 - 24 year olds
(Both in constant 1979 - 80 prices)

Source: South Australian Teachers' Journal, 8 October 1986

However, whilst being committed to funds for the selling of their policies the Labor Government has been less committed to the actual funding of them. In the 1986-87 Federal Budget (August 1986), spending on labour market programmes was actually reduced, with monies for programmes focusing on 15-24 year olds to be substantially less in 1986-87 than in 1984-85 (Table 2) Furthermore, while spending on traineeships is up by almost £33 million, there was a \$90 million cutback in the Community Employment Program.⁽⁷⁾

Thus, the Government's commitment to job creation has lessened, rather than increased over time. Instead, traineeships have been offered as the panacea to the nation's youth unemployment problems - even though the percentage of teenagers holding full-time waged jobs has continued to steadily fall.⁽⁸⁾

Traineeships have clearly not 'worked' for the Hawke Government in real or in popular political terms. Priority One is generally seen as a failure because of the faulty implementation of the traineeship programme. From the start there have been numerous problems ingrained in the whole notion of 'traineeships' being seen as a 'solution' to unemployment. For instance, no real jobs were being created as a result of the programme, nor did it guarantee jobs for trainees at the end of the one-year time period. Major questions were also asked regarding for example, the transferability of training from one area of employment to another, the monitoring of on-the-job training, the effect of contract labour (ie, trainees) on union rights and the low pay provided to trainees. Indeed employers have been loathe to enter the scheme unless all regulations covering their duty to employees are relaxed. At the present time the South Australian Employers' Federation has launched a major test case in the industrial courts, seeking to prevent compulsory unionism becoming a condition for young people taking on traineeships. The Federation's executive director has stated that 'We cannot get the scheme to fly when compulsory unionism exists. No more than 5% of employers here would take it on that basis'.⁽⁹⁾ The director of the Victorian Employers' Federation, Ian Spicer, has publicly stated that the productivity of trainees is so low as not to warrant very high wages. It is little wonder that on the one hand employers do not want unionism amongst their trainees whilst on the other hand, the fears of the Trade Unionists have been realised, in that traineeships will involve low status work, lower wages and dangerous conditions. The effects on the full-time labour market can easily be seen in the actions of the South Australian State Bank's response to traineeships. This Bank, in late February, quite simply invited 30 young people, who had earlier been given firm offers of jobs for 1987, to take up the traineeships instead, informing them that their offered full-time jobs could be taken up later in the year! The thought of paying only subsidised lower traineeship wages, rather than full-time rates, proved too much of a temptation for the Bank and the 30 young people were sacked before starting, and were given a quick lesson about capital/labour relations. There is no reason to believe that this scenario isn't being enacted throughout the country in smaller and less visible companies. What we are seeing is a reduction of the full-time labour force as employers transfer full-

time positions into traineeships as the old patterns of training disappear and the new government subsidised system takes over. Employers who spend only 1% of their labour expenditure on training at present can see the possibility of a system totally funded, by subsidies, by the Labor Government.⁽¹⁰⁾

Working for the Dole

Regardless of how the traineeship programme has worked - or not worked - in practice, the scheme has had an invidious ideological role. Specifically, it has been utilised to shift the debate over unemployment away from the objective lack of paid jobs and adequate wages to that of the 'deficiencies' in individual teenagers who are seen to need special training in order to keep up with labour market requirements. It is but a small step from this approach to the adoption of a perspective which actively focuses the blame for unemployment directly on the young people involved. Indeed, this is precisely what has occurred over recent months in Australia.

Midway through 1986 the Federal Opposition raised the notion of 'work-for-the-dole' as part of its developing policy proposals. At the time the Labor Government criticised such a scheme on the basis that it would cost too much to implement (in the region of \$700 million). During this time, television Channel Nine's *Sixty Minutes* began to run a series of stories on the 'success' of such programmes in the United States, also featuring a report on how some Aboriginal communities in Queensland were engaged in similar types of programmes. In a June 'Economic Statement', Prime Minister Bob Hawke announced that he favoured a system which would provide 'the opportunity particularly for the young recipients of unemployment benefits, to undertake some community work in return for that benefit'. In some circles this was seen as a response to the demise of the CEP and the failure of the Traineeship Scheme. As an official with the Australian Social Welfare Union put it:

The government has now turned to a proposal which offers only work, not award wages, a career, proper training, nor a structured program of personal and social support. Cost cutting is only part of the reason. This also reflects a shift in the unemployment debate from 'what is the government doing about it' to 'what are the unemployed doing about it' - a blame the victim approach.⁽¹¹⁾

In mid-October the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) endorsed a policy based on the premise that young people between the ages of 15 and 19 should not receive the dole unless they are engaged in work, training or education. This 'work-for-the-dole' proposal was intimately tied to an overall package which the ACTU was negotiating with the Government. It was widely seen as part of a strategy involving certain trade-offs with the Government, being directed towards the questions of the abandonment of wage indexation and another cut in real wages. The Opposition Liberal Party was reported to have said that the ACTU's work-for-the-dole plan was a 'stunning endorsement' of its own scheme.⁽¹²⁾

The apparent support for a 'work-for-the-dole' type of scheme on the part of the Labor Government, the Opposition, and the ACTU has created an ideological

space in which compulsory community work for the dole has been a real possibility. Significantly, funding for the Youth Volunteer Program was substantially increased in the 1986-87 Budget. And since the release of the Budget Papers, there has been concerted media attention given to the issue of what to do with the young unemployed. Much emphasis has been placed upon tightening up the rules of the system in an effort to weed out the cheats and those defrauding the welfare system. New rules introduced on November 1 1986 required the personal lodgement of the unemployment benefit form every two weeks instead of allowing the recipients to mail them. In December the Social Security Minister Mr. Brian Howe announced that the young unemployed may be limited to receiving unemployment benefits only after a waiting period of three to six months after leaving school. Citing the need to cut welfare costs and to keep the young unemployed from joining the ranks of the long-term unemployed, Howe stated that 'The idea would be to move away from unemployment benefits as the primary form of assistance and make it a matter of last resort, or even eliminate it altogether'⁽¹³⁾ Similar to the ideas thrown up by the ACTU, the apparent plan would be to force young people into some kind of training or education programme if they were to receive their unemployment benefit.

The way in which 'work-for-the-dole' schemes are presented by politicians and the mass media distorts the basic nature of social service benefits. Benefits are presented as 'privileges', rather than 'rights'. For the 'privilege' of receiving a benefit, unemployed young people are told that they too have a responsibility to 'society' and hence they should work for their benefit. This feeds into the vulnerability of young people who through no fault of their own, are unable to find satisfactory full-time paid work. This vulnerability is manifested in a number of ways such as increasing alienation, boredom, depression and guilt. Present public debates represent the 'dole-bludger' syndrome revisited. They feed into a perspective which sees the young unemployed themselves as the main 'culprits' and source of the problem.

More recently, the Labor Government has announced its rejection of a costly and compulsory work for the dole programme and has instead upgraded its Youth Volunteer programme. (March 1987). This programme aims to provide 20,000 positions for young people in carrying out 'useful' work. These young people may, for the first time, be allowed to collect the dole whilst not actively looking for paid work. That is, they may officially work for the dole! Given that most of these places will be in some sort of community work, the Labour Government has followed the lead of private enterprise and created 20,000 low paid civil servants at a stroke! They have eclipsed even the wildest dreams of the most rampant capitalist by having at their disposal an army of unpaid workers! The response of the press has been favourable with the Adelaide Advertiser stating that it would give young people a 'chance to express their willingness to work.'⁽¹⁴⁾ Young people are now to be tested on their willingness to work as well as on their academic abilities, so that prospective employers may check to see if they have 'proved their willingness to work' before taking them on. The volunteer programme

shows quite clearly the imperatives of control that is at the heart of the 'Priority One' youth policy.

Young people and the law

The final and important plank of a youth policy is that of increased regulation. Young people, now faced with unemployment, training, or part-time work, after 11 or 12 years of education, are creating new cultural responses that reflect the considerable change and crisis undergone by the Australian economy. Central to this response is the question of space, its regulation and use, and the way that the new economic tensions felt by young people have brought into sharper focus the question of their visibility and the way this is policed.⁽¹⁵⁾ With some 133,000 young people under the age of 24 unable to find full-time work, the quest to find a space of your own, a place to gather, to do nothing, to spend one's unlimited free time, has taken on an even greater significance. Yet young people need a space in which to explore, to create an identity which is separate from the roles and expectations imposed by family, school, and work.

Young people have become more visible in the wrong places, more of a problem, and as such greater attention is now being directed at developing ways to further regulate the 'free' space that young people currently occupy. If the issue of space and young people becomes more critical the answer will not lie in further policing, regulation and control but in a greater understanding of how and why young people use space and to allow an element of autonomy and power that will enable young people to develop and be creative and indeed to enable them to 'work it out'.⁽¹⁶⁾

At a time when governments at both State and Federal level are intent on de-regulating the economic system, a countering force for increased social regulation has been released. It is only by enforcing control mechanisms that the unacceptable social side-effects of economic deregulation can be masked and portrayed as a moral, rather than an economic, question. In this way the control of young people is separated out from the question of employment. This is an inevitable consequence of attempting to put into place a youth policy that contains as its major thrust re-education programmes at a time of high unemployment. The response of governments to what is perceived as a crisis in law and order has been an undignified scramble to out-Rambo each other with promises of even tougher sentences; more regulations concerning the behaviour of young people in public spaces, shopping centres and on public transport; and promises of more and more policing. There is little doubt that the culture of working class unemployed youth has become, in effect, a crime.

Along with an ideological push to induce young people to conform there have also been greater efforts to directly crack down on underage offenders. In South Australia, this has taken the form of legislation banning minors from attending places such as night-clubs and discos that have entertainment venue licences after 9.00 pm and from hotels with late-night permits after midnight. In New South Wales one tactic has been to mount 'a blitz on known juvenile drinking

lairs' and to use extra police on the weekend to weed out the underage offenders from Sydney nightspots.⁽¹⁷⁾

However, it is not just the bars, hotels and clubs, and parks which are coming under increasing surveillance. The beaches are a target as well. 'Operation Clean Sweep' is a scheme devised to 'crack down' on 'louts, litterbugs and bad language' on Adelaide's beaches.⁽¹⁸⁾ Based at Henley Beach, police 'jeans teams', consisting of officers dressed in jeans and T-shirts, spend their time patrolling the beaches. As they mingle with the crowds their job is to be on the lookout for behavioural offences, particularly those relating to sexual behaviour and underage drinking.

The quest for further and further control over young people has steadily increased from the turn of the century, with young people in South Australia facing a barrage of 'status' offences such as:

- Parental permission needed to travel on trains interstate if under 16
- To be over 16 to buy cigarettes
- To be over 16 to drive a car
- To be over 17 to have sex
- To be over 18 to watch sex
- To be over 18 to drink.

It is now an offence for young people under 18 to consume, possess or be supplied with alcohol in public, including in a motor car. And the crackdown continues with the latest recommendations made to the South Australian Labor Government that all young drivers under the age of 18 should be banned from driving between 9.00 pm and 5.00 am with the Minister stating that the report was under serious consideration and that any new scheme would contain a curfew. The Murdoch press has reacted in grand style, dismissing the question of civil liberties and 'applauding' the Labor Government, describing them as 'bold' and with approaching the question of youth driving in 'admirable fashion'. It must feel great to be 'Priority One'!!

Coupled with other cuts on the freedom of young people, has been a massive 'Drug offensive', the most important feature of which has been its reinforcing of social authority and consensus, and not in fact with tackling the drug problem per se. In essence, the 'Drug offensive' is playing an important role in legitimating the extension of police power and state surveillance capabilities. The social control orientation of the 'Drug offensive' becomes apparent when we examine the breakdown of the combined State and Federal spending on the Campaign.⁽¹⁹⁾

Law enforcement (extra funding)	\$58.8 million
Public relations/media/advertising	44.1 million
Treatment and rehabilitation	6.0 million
Drug research	0.6 million

The main approach here has been the 'slogan and the stick'. 'Here is the message, follow it or else!' Traditional patterns of policy are being reinforced as police cut across the social activities of the young unemployed in the suburban deserts of Australian cities, as the young become more susceptible to encounters with the police and new cultural

patterns clash with the regulations governing space. In recent research, undertaken by the South Australian Centre for Youth Studies in the city of Elizabeth, there was a clear connection between youth unemployment and detected crime.⁽²⁰⁾ For the police in this area there is an acceptance that most of their problems come from unemployed young men, and an extract taken from the charge book for one week at the Elizabeth Police Station clearly shows this trend. Of the total number of those charged 83% were in the age range of 15-25, and of these 70% were unemployed. When we consider that the level of policing in South Australia is the highest of all the states, then we get an understanding of how governments are using the police as an essential part of their youth policies. The precise patterns of control are changing along with their location as 'moral panics' dance around the 'sites of struggle'.

Whether it be through hypocritical and grossly patronising campaigns such as Priority One, or through gratuitous, empty gestures such as the International Year of Youth, the final message for young people is the same - 'Don't call us, we'll call you', until then, stay out of sight and out of mischief. But young people will not, and cannot, remove themselves from the public realm, nor will they stay silent. Each attempt to find a space, to create new space, is matched with counterposing attempts to regulate this space, and thereby to regulate young people. This can only lead to greater social unrest, further tensions between young people and 'authority', and ever more forceful rejections of new 'rules and regulations'. Ultimately this dilemma cannot be resolved without radically changing the 'rules of the game'. The differential positioning of the 'situated' individual cannot be overcome unless the 'differential' is removed, and those groups that are faced with the further injustices of class, gender and race will feel further the inadequacies of youth policies that assume to know so much about the structures of their lives and their social practices. If the issue of 'space' is central to the experience of being young, and is the key area of concern in terms of the daily playing out of contradictions, then the answer does not lie in imposing even further restrictions on the rights of young people and introducing even more regulations covering all aspects of their lives. The answer lies elsewhere. Where young people themselves find this 'elsewhere', is one of the crucial social and political questions of our age, and their future.

NOTES

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the historical development of irish youth policy

PATRICIA KENNEDY

In looking at the development of Irish youth policy it is necessary to look to Britain where many of our early youth groups originated. These include the Boys Brigade, Boy Scouts and the Girl Guides. Shortly after their establishment in Britain these groups appeared in Ireland. Uniformed groups because of monetary and geographical constraints did not reach all Irish youth. To fill this void rural and other youth movements of mostly Catholic groups developed. Richardson, writing in 1886 speaks of: 'The necessity of a good religious organisation to keep all our youth to the Sacraments and to find them Catholic work to do on Sundays and then wherever they go during the week they will not go far astray and must remain good Catholics.'⁽¹⁾ He recommends a good lending library of useful books and penny banks to encourage thrift. There should be clubs for recreation and mutual intercourse and there should be an occasional social gathering. The idea behind such clubs was to attract young people and to give them some place where they could spend their leisure time, a place where there was close supervision which would prevent young people from causing problems in society and at the same time encourage Catholicism.

At the end of the nineteenth century Nationalism was becoming a dominant force in Irish politics. This was reflected in the development of youth movements. Some of these movements had long lasting effects in Irish society. From 1880-1910 there was what Tierney refers to as a great 'cultural revolution'⁽²⁾ which emphasised every characteristic which contributed a unique and distinct quality to Irish life and civilisation. Ireland became the breeding ground of new doctrines and new organisations, many of which were directed at young people. One such organisation was *Na Fianna Eireann* (Sons of Ireland). This was an Irish alternative to the Boy Scouts. Formed in 1909 by Bulmer Hobson (a pioneer of the Sinn Fein Movement, a group struggling for Irish Independence), and Countess Markievicz (an active Republican and a follower of Sinn Fein), its objective was to establish the independence of Ireland by means of training young people mentally and physically, by teaching scouting and military exercises, Irish history and Irish language. Their philosophy is indicated in their promise which states: 'I promise to work for the independence of Ireland never to join England's armed forces, to obey my superior officers'. *Na Fianna* acted as a recruiting ground for the Irish Republican Brotherhood (IRB),

which aimed to overthrow British rule in Ireland and to create an Irish Republic. The organisation grew rapidly with twenty *slughta* (packs) in existence by 1912. In the early 1920s *Na Fianna* claimed to have a membership of between 21,000 and 25,000.

Na Fianna was similar to *Inghinidhe na hEireann* (Daughters of Ireland) which was established in 1900. It was a Nationalist Movement which supported Irish separatism and the Irish Movement (a term used to refer to cultural nationalism) and was opposed to the Irish Parliamentary Party. Other groups directed at Irish young people were less obviously revolutionary in character but were still strongly concerned with nationalism. One such organisation was the Gaelic Athletic Association (GAA). Founded by Michael Cusack in 1884, it quickly became a nationwide organisation. Although not aimed specifically at the youth of Ireland, by its very nature it attracted young men. It acted as a de-Anglicising force, making a determined effort to encourage native Irish games and helped Irish people to assert their Irishness. It rigidly banned two groups from its membership, (a) members of the Royal Irish Constabulary, (b) those who played English games. The GAA, which aimed to build an active and athletic manhood, established a strong connection between organised sport and military drill. As Tierney indicates: 'In 1891 two thousand hurlers formed a guard of honour at Parnell's funeral, shouldering their hurleys like rifles and marching in military formation through Dublin.'⁽³⁾ Like *Na Fianna Eireann*, the GAA acted as a recruiting ground for the IRB.

Thus in the early decades of this century there existed in Ireland youth groups which were basically (a) uniformed (branches of groups which originated in Britain eg. Boy Scouts), (b) Boys Clubs and Girls Clubs which had a strong Catholic ethos, (c) Revolutionary Nationalist groups, uniformed like *Na Fianna Eireann* and non-uniformed like the GAA. These groups arose primarily out of voluntary endeavour. State involvement in youth work was very slow to come about in Ireland. There were many reasons for this, both social and political.

In the wake of the Insurrection of 1916 the citizens had to deal with problems surrounding the establishment of *Dail Eireann*, the struggle for Independence, the Civil War and later on an Economic War with Britain. In 1930 the State became involved in

youth provision for the first time. During this period there was also great concern with moral standards. Both Church and State were increasingly concerned with temperance and sexual morality. J. H. Whyte⁽⁴⁾ explains the concern as stemming from objective signs of a decline in moral standards which he measured by the illegitimate birth rate. There was an upward trend in the first 25 years of independence. Using figures from the Annual Reports of the Registrar for Saorstát Éireann (Free State Ireland), for the years 1924, 1934, 1939 and 1946, he observed that between 1921 and 1923 the illegitimate birth rate totalled 2.6% of all births in the Twenty Six Counties, 3.5% in 1933/1934, 3.2% in 1939 and a record figure of 3.9% between 1944 and 1946. The Church and State became pre-occupied with dance halls, cinemas and literature. In 1925 there was a statement issued by the hierarchy which was quoted in the *Irish Independent* (7th October): 'The surroundings of the dance hall, withdrawal from the hall for intervals and the back ways home have been the destruction of virtue in every part of Ireland.' Writing in the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record* of 1930, Rev. Devane blamed the State for increasing immorality: 'This country so backward in youth organisations may have done nothing by way of real scientific study of youth.'⁽⁵⁾ Looking at these viewpoints it is no surprise that the State became involved in youth provision during the 1930s.

The 1930 Vocational Education Act⁽⁶⁾ placed responsibility for 'continuation education' in the hands of the Vocational Education Committee (V.E.C.) By continuation education it meant :

education to continue and supplement education provided in secondary schools and includes general and practical training in preparation for employment in trades, manufacture, agriculture, commerce and other industrial pursuits and also general and practical training for the improvement of young persons in the early stages of such employment.

The 1930 Act gives the VEC power to subscribe to any organisation which includes among its functions the collection and communication of information with respect to employment of people under 18 years.

This was the first official attempt to provide for services generally referred to as 'social education'. However, no direct action was taken until the 1940s. In the late 1930s much pressure was put on the State to intervene in youth affairs. In 1939, an article in *Hibernia* referred to the need for youth services :

Every village should have its hall, the centre of entertainment for the surrounding district. This should be capable of conversion into a theatre, cinema, ceiliúche or lecture hall with all arrangements entrusted to a representative committee who would procure for the people the entertainment they need. Cannot the Vocational Education Committees make a contribution?⁽⁷⁾

Such intervention did occur shortly afterwards. The 1941/1942 Department of Education Annual Report⁽⁸⁾ outlines the first important moves in the statutory involvement in the provision of youth services. In 1942 the Dublin VEC set up youth training centres on a voluntary basis. A Statutory sub-committee

with wide powers was established, known as Comhairle le Leas Oige. It made provision for training youth leaders who were volunteers from the Legion of Mary and the Society of St. Vincent de Paul. The leaders were instructed in physical training, handicrafts, art and in youth movements in other countries. Thirty seven candidates succeeded and were commissioned as youth leaders.

Comhairle's policy dealt with the establishment of youth training centres. The first which was at 14, Upper Mount Street, Dublin, catered for over 200 boys. By 1942 there were three types of courses in operation. Looking at the programme of these centres one can see the strong Catholic and Nationalist ethos present. There was an obvious emphasis on maintaining the Irish culture, for example, Irish language and Irish ballads were an important part of the curriculum. Also, there was constant reference to the role of the Chaplain in the daily activities. Trades such as boot repair and woodwork were taught which probably stem from the emphasis on self-sufficiency at the time. Boys were taught a trade which would be of benefit both individually and socially.

Comhairle's policy aimed to assist clubs and societies established for purposes similar to its own. To be eligible for such assistance the body applying had to give evidence that it (a) had a responsible head, (b) charged a membership subscription, (c) met at least twice a week, (d) had been in existence for at least three months prior to application, (e) had a purpose worthy of support, (f) could be visited at reasonable times by accredited officers of Comhairle le Leas Oige. In 1941/42, 25 clubs were given permission to affiliate and were given assistance. A few were refused because of weaknesses. This was the beginning of statutory involvement in youth provision and it was significant. By 1943 there were 23 affiliated clubs affecting 1,400 boys. The 1943 Department of Education Annual Report⁽⁹⁾ praised the work of Comhairle as: 'A message of hope and confidence in the future and has shown publicly to all Club leaders an example of what can be done.' Comhairle le Leas Oige has continued to grow steadily. In 1980 it had 159 affiliated groups serving 18,790 young people. Catering for 12-25 year olds it had a full-time staff of ten plus ninety voluntary workers and had three youth centres owned by the VEC but managed by Comhairle.

State concern with youth affairs continued into the 1940's and 50's. In May 1943 the Commission on Youth Unemployment was set up by Sean Lemass, Minister for Industry and Commerce at the time. This coincided with what was known as 'The Emergency' in Ireland and World War II elsewhere. It was a period marked by rationing of clothing and foodstuffs and tight controls on the use of power and fuels. One of the major concerns in Ireland at the time was unemployment and the high levels of emigration which was a response to a high demand in England for Irish labour. The report of the Commission on Youth Employment was published in 1951.⁽¹⁰⁾ It touched on many issues other than unemployment. It referred to physical development, education, training and welfare of young people and juvenile delinquency. The objective of the Report was to submit recommendations :

designed to afford the boys and girls of this country a better opportunity of becoming useful citizens of a Christian State, adequately instructed in the teachings of religion, healthy in mind and body, willing and able to work for their own benefit and that of their country.

Once again we see here a strong adherence to Catholicism and Nationalism.

In analysing the development of youth policy in Ireland it is useful to look at an evaluation by Finola Kennedy of the Irish Social Services in **Public Social Expenditure in Ireland**.⁽¹¹⁾ She attempts to discover the objectives of social policy in Ireland since World War I, concluding that there were three distinct phases from the end of World War II up to 1974 closely linked to the prevailing economic climate:

(i) 1947-1951 which she describes as expansionary, a period in which public social expenditure doubled from £31.8 million to £62.5 million and increased its share of GNP from 9.6% to 14.9%;

(ii) 1952-1962, a regressive phase when social expenditure's share of GNP fell from 14.9% to 13.7%;

(iii) 1963-1974 an expansionary phase in the social as well as economic field with development increasing momentum.

The period coincided with a reversal in the decline of the national population as increased economic opportunities became available. Thus, looking at the Youth Service, Kennedy's first phase 1947-1951 coincided with the publication of the 1951 **Commission on Youth Unemployment**. The decade following the appearance of the 1951 document was a quiet period for youth provision. This was in accordance with what Kennedy refers to as the regressive phase in social service provision. However, with the 1960s came a massive interest in youth provision and this has continued up until today. Kennedy speaks of the period 1963 to 1974 as expansionary in the social and economic fields. Young People benefited from those changes. In education there was the publication of **Investment in Education**⁽¹²⁾ which was the first evaluation of Irish Education. In this period free post primary education, the establishment of comprehensive and community schools, Regional Technical Colleges and Higher Education Grants were significant changes. With an increased emphasis on young people it is no wonder that an interest in social education began to develop.

From 1963 onwards the State became more interested in youth provision. This was partly due to the increasing youth population but another incentive must have been the publication of the Albermarle Report in Britain in 1960. Whatever the reasons the 1960s were a milestone in Irish youth provision. The early years of the decade were marked by many negotiations between the National Federation of Youth Clubs and the Departments of Justice, Finance and Education. These meetings led to the payment in 1967/1968 of the first State grant of £450. A year later this was increased to £2,000 and by 1970 the amount has risen to £7,000. As the State became involved in financing youth provision it also became involved in planning youth policy. In 1967 the National Youth Council (NYC) was established. Its objectives were :

(i) to bring together youth serving organisations and agencies in Ireland;

(ii) to promote the advancement of education and learning of young people;

(iii) to promote and to safeguard the common interests of young people.

The NYC is still in existence. At present it has its own central offices and a full time staff. It receives subscriptions from each member organisation. It has three standing committees on (a) Youth Affairs (b) Youth Work and (c) International Affairs.

In the 1970's the State became more involved in planning youth policy. In 1974, John Bruton T.D., Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education initiated a study in his Department on the **Development of Youth Work Services**.⁽¹³⁾ This was the beginning of a series of such reports. In 1978 a document of the same title was commissioned by James Tunney T.D., Minister of State at the Department of Education. This was published in 1980.⁽¹⁴⁾ It dealt with youth work and the needs of young people, the question of voluntarism the nature and effectiveness of youth programmes, the question of socially disadvantaged young people, the voluntary sector, youth employment, the role of local statutory agencies and the role of the Department of Education. The Committee made one hundred recommendations covering each of the areas mentioned.

This Report was preceded in 1978 by a report by the National Youth Council of Ireland, entitled **A Policy on Youth Work Services**.⁽¹⁵⁾ It looked at the educational contribution of youth work, voluntary youth movements and organisations, development objectives of youth work, the role of professional youth workers, a system of applying for statutory grants, evaluation and assessment of youth work, State responsibility in youth work, the involvement of VEC's in youth services and co-ordination of Government Departments and youth policy. It also offered proposals for an in-service training programme for full-time youth workers.

Another document entitled **A Policy for Youth and Sport**⁽¹⁶⁾ was published in 1977. It claimed:

Youth alone can never play a major role in remedying the physical and economic causes of social deprivation, but it can uncover the potential of young people, encourage optimism and ambition and provide the skills for commercial self-help and self-government. For this reason, the fulfilment of the five objectives of education, recreation, counselling, voluntary service and community development has significance in national social policy.

It made an attempt to outline the objectives of youth policy and made some interesting recommendations.

A later publication **The Task Force Report on Childcare Services**⁽¹⁷⁾ also dealt with youth. It claimed there was a lack of co-ordination of services and recommended that responsibility for young people should be transferred to the Department of Health as part of the childcare system. It recommended the establishment of Neighbourhood Youth Projects for the 12-16 age group. Such projects were set up on pilot scheme in 1978 and are still in existence today. They stress the importance of family and community relationships and involvement. They focus on young people's needs in the context of their age, friendships and

neighbourhood groups, on their interests and skills, and for older children, on preparation for work, work training and job finding. In the Report, youth is recognised as the last opportunity for constructive education. The Task Force also recommended the establishment of Youth Encounter Projects (YEP's) to provide an alternative educational option to boys and girls aged 10-15 years in an attempt to avoid institutionalisation. Some YEPs are still in existence.

Despite the recommendation that responsibility for youth should be handed to the Department of Health, it was in fact handed over to the Department of Labour in 1983. This was probably in response to the high unemployment figures in Ireland at the time. In September of that year the Taoiseach Garret Fitzgerald T.D. and George Birmingham T.D., Minister for Youth Affairs, officially launched the Government's Youth Policy Committee. Chaired by Justice Declan Costello, the Committee was asked to draw up recommendations for a policy. The launching of the Costello Committee coincided with the publication of a discussion document which was designed to be in the words of George Birmingham: 'a mutual stimulant for a major Irish debate on the role of young people in modern Irish Society and on the problems and challenges which they face.' Entitled **Shaping the Future**,⁽¹⁸⁾ the document dealt with young people in Irish society, services for youth, participation by young people, transition from school to work, disadvantaged young people and the development of youth organisations.

The launching of the Costello Committee was seen as an important contribution to Irish youth policy. Addressing the Committee at its inaugural meeting the Taoiseach Garret Fitzgerald observed:

We see the development of young people as a political element of the Government's response. We are concerned with assisting young people to become more self-reliant, more responsible and more active participants in society. This may demand profound changes in our educational system - in its structure and its curriculum. How young people are enabled to become involved will be an excellent test of our ability to develop our democratic way of life.

At a very early stage in its report⁽¹⁹⁾ the Costello Committee made explicit its philosophy which it claims is based on democratic principles: 'It most assuredly promotes the moral, social, political, cultural and economic development of the people and it permits the maximum freedom consistent with social order.' The Costello Committee was asked to examine and report on the political, economic, social and cultural situation of young people in Irish society and to consider and report on the trends and factors which will be of significance over the next decade, taking into account a review of existing Government policy documents on aspects of youth. In doing so the Committee drew on a large range of information. It obtained information from Government departments and other public agencies, the submissions made by groups and individuals, and their visits to many areas to meet youth workers and young people. Of particular interest were .

- (a) the report of the Irish Vocational Education Association.
- (b) a specially commissioned survey done by the Market Research Bureau of Ireland.

The former presented data on local youth associations while the latter examined the attitudes and behaviour of the young people of Ireland. The Committee outlined the structural position of young people in Irish society taking into account such areas as the family, isolation and commercialisation and the 'creation' of 'youth'. With reference to population trends the Committee quoted the much publicised figure that 48% of the country's population is under 25 years at present. It observed that for the foreseeable future the under 25's will form a high percentage of the population of Ireland, even making allowances for increased migration and a decline in fertility. However, the Committee failed badly in not dealing with the issue of emigration which is drastically increasing in Ireland at present and has been doing so since the start of this decade.

In evaluating the situation of young Irish people the Committee acknowledged that a great percentage of them are under pressure from a variety of sources, and it points out a great urgency to help young people who so far 'have shown great resilience in coping with their situation,' but added that 'their patience cannot be expected to last forever and they want to be assured that all necessary measures will be taken quickly to provide them with the opportunities to which they are entitled.'

The Committee successfully identified its target group and presented a detailed picture of the youth of Ireland. It took into account the structure of Irish society, population trends and behaviour patterns and attitudes of young people in contemporary society. It recognised the need to view youth not in isolation but within a broader social context. It recognised the way in which society can and does affect young people claiming: 'people tend to be marked for life by the ideas around them when they are growing up; vital aspects of any age group may be revealed by asking them when it was they were young.' The Committee continued to identify certain areas which affect young people. It used three broad headings:

(a) **The Disadvantaged Young.** Under this heading are included non-school attenders, homeless youth, young travellers, disabled youth, young offenders and young people involved in substance abuse.

(b) **The Transition to Adult and Working Life.** This covers such topics as employment, income status of youth, special training workshops and the need for co-ordination of services.

(c) **Social Education and Participation by Young People.** This refers to participation by young people and to co-ordination of the various services including schools, youth organisations, questions at national level and international level, the political process, cultural education and the role of the media.

It is argued that the Government should pay particular regard to the needs of the disadvantaged youth and should clearly show what services it will initiate, support and develop in this area. The Committee calls for changes in the School Attendance Acts and goes on to consider the need for special services for young people who are unable to benefit from the ordinary educational system. Here it refers to the Youth Encounter Projects and Neighbourhood Youth Projects which are in existence and argues there is a need for such services. For the first time in Ireland a youth

policy document has addressed the issue of homeless youth presenting frightening data which shows that there is a new class of young homeless. To deal with the problem the Committee recommends legislative changes, the establishment of drop-in advice centres and the provision of community workers who would be involved in face to face work with young homeless people. In addition it recognises the need to improve the system of providing financial assistance which at present is inadequate.

There is also a need for a youth service which would reach out to young travellers. Thus the committee recommends that youth clubs should be established close to halting sites and should be staffed by specially trained workers. These would be open to both the settled and travelling communities in an attempt to encourage integration. Reference is also made to the notion of integration in relation to disabled youth: 'We believe that a National Youth Policy has an important part to play in facilitating the integration of young people in the community.' The Committee argues that financial assistance should be given to organisations which bring the disabled into membership and participation in activities, eg to transport the disabled to youth clubs. The question of the employment of disabled people is also addressed.

With regard to the question of drug and alcohol abuse, the role the youth service must play in preventative education, counselling and advice is acknowledged. The committee recommends legislative changes, establishment of treatment facilities and services and offers some useful recommendations but omits a very important area in that at no time does it mention solvent abuse. This is a grave error in a document concerned with youth policy. There is much evidence to support a high incidence of solvent abuse in Ireland but the Costello Committee completely overlooks the issue.

In a similar vein in addressing the problem of young offenders the response is inadequate. It repeats old viewpoints reported many times before in various Government and private reports. It refers to Community Service Orders, Youth Encounter Projects, Probation Hostels and legislative changes, yet it does not refer to the role of mainline youth services in the prevention of crime. This is a serious error and is surprising in a youth policy document which argues that 'the correlation between crime and social deprivation needs no reiteration here.'

Moving on to the section on the Transition to Adult and Working Life the Costello Committee looks at how education, training and other training facilities are adapted to meet the expected needs of young people in their adult lives. It refers to the role of the family and education in preparing the young person for adult life and argues the need for a more gradual introduction into the world of work stating that young people must be prepared for the difficulties in gaining employment at present. The Committee suggests that the Government must take action with regard to the financial needs of young people arguing that there should be special services for the disadvantaged who are unable to make full use of the education and training programmes generally available.

The Costello Committee continually stresses the need for young people to participate in all areas of society. This ties up with its democratic philosophy. It sees participation as representing :

a capacity to play an appropriate role in whatever group or organisation or structure of which they are a part : it means not only a willingness but a desire to do so as well, and our vision is one of young people claiming it as their right to exert their influence on how society at its various levels is organised, and to be themselves part of the action. The Committee feels that young people can be assisted to attain to the position of complete participation through social education.

The most important aspect of the 1984 Report is its recommendation that a National Youth Service should be established which is important because it is the first time that the need for such a service has been recognised. The Committee recommends that the new Youth Service should be distinct and independent but should have links with other services for youth. It should offer young people educational and developmental experiences which would equip them to participate fully in society. The target group for the Youth Service should be 12-21 years with priority given to the older teenage group and with special services developed for those with particular needs. The Committee continues to argue that the Youth Service should be a priority expenditure area with funding at national and local levels. A system of training, including in-service provision should be established and a Department of Youth and Community Studies should be developed within a third level institution. Although this is a necessary recommendation, the Committee fails in that it does not recognise the need for a full-time pre-professional training course. This would seem to imply that the Committee does not treat youth workers as professionals to the same extent as eg., teachers.

Other recommendations refer to the employment of youth workers, facilities and the role of professional advisers. A Comprehensive National Youth Service is envisaged for which the Minister for Education would have responsibility. At local level local committees would bear responsibility. These local committees would be independent and autonomous but would be linked with VEC's. They should prepare an annual budget for the approval of the Minister, assess needs in the area, promote the establishment of local councils of voluntary organisations and ensure that the Youth Service adequately caters for the needs of young people in their area. The Minister would be required to make grants available to national and regional organisations and local committees and prepare an annual budget for the Service. Arranging for advisory staff and encouraging voluntary organisations in the development of the Youth Service. A National Advisory Committee should be established to advise the Minister generally on Youth Affairs. At national level the Youth Service should be co-ordinated with other services for young people and this should be ensured by legislation. The local committee should be required by law to assist in the co-ordination of services to young people.

The recommendations regarding the establishment

of a National Youth Service were echoed in the country's National Youth Policy, published in December 1985. This was an important occasion because up until then Ireland was one of the few developed countries without a youth policy. In *Partnership with Youth*⁽²⁰⁾ was the Government's response. It pledged to make funds available for the establishment of Local Youth Service Boards which would include funding for staffing. It is hoped that by the end of 1987 the framework for the National Youth Service would be established nationwide. The Policy document outlines how the establishment of Local Youth Service Boards would involve funding for:

- (a) Administration and staffing, including staff training;
- (b) Grants to local groups for administration and programmes;
- (c) Voluntary youth leadership training;
- (d) Youth Service projects and community youth projects in conjunction with voluntary organisations;
- (e) Special projects;
- (f) Direct youth services including equipping, staffing, administration of centres such as outdoor pursuit centres;

The Government claimed the establishment of Local Youth Service Boards would allow for an immediate response in other areas, among them unemployment projects and the employment of youth workers.

The National Youth Policy Committee adopted many of the recommendations of Costello. With regard to financial provision the Government pledged to make an additional £2,000,000 available in 1986 for the phased development of the National Youth Service. Figures for 1985 show total State expenditure on services appropriate to the Youth Service as:

Local Youth Service Boards	1,822,000
Voluntary Youth Organisations	2,029,700
National Programmes	290,000
Total	£4,141,700

Having outlined the main objectives of the National Youth Policy, it is not possible at this early stage to measure the extent to which the plan has been implemented. However, it was long overdue. There are undoubtedly, errors and omissions in the National Youth Policy but it is nevertheless a step in the right direction and offers some sign of progress in the development of Irish Youth Policy in the 1980's.

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western influences on soviet youth culture

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In several socialist countries young people have recently emerged as pioneers of change, leading some people to draw parallels with the events of 1968 which shook the West. In the 1960s, rebellious youth culture, expressed in music, dress even soft drugs, proved to be the harbinger of social radicalisation among Western youth, many of whom made the leap from particular grievances to universal transformation, challenging hierarchy, institutional totems of bourgeois culture, gender, discrimination, racial oppression and the colonisation of everyday life by the capitalist state and militarism.

Today it seems to be the turn of youth in countries like the USSR, China and Poland as they campaign for radical change and democratisation. Once again youth culture is the heady medium of expression for protest against, as a Moscow Young Communist League (Komsomol) Secretary has stated obliquely, 'formalism and over-organisation in the Komsomol, bossy attitudes by adults and the gap between word and deed.'⁽¹⁾

An interesting aspect of the contemporary USSR is the way the leadership is responding with an openness and determination to reveal a whole range of phenomena that just a couple of years ago they had suppressed. We now regularly read about night bikers⁽²⁾ and drug addicts,⁽³⁾ soccer hooligans⁽⁴⁾ and glue sniffers,⁽⁵⁾ punks⁽⁶⁾ and rockers,⁽⁷⁾ muggers⁽⁸⁾ and vigilante gangs,⁽⁹⁾ even Swastika-sporting fascists⁽¹⁰⁾ and skin-heads⁽¹¹⁾ - known as 'British horrors' (*Britansky uzhas*). Like Western attitudes to AIDS, it is evidently felt that openness is the best policy. After all, youth disaffection is now a widespread and growing problem. As a Donetsk Komsomol secretary admits, 'In the past we buried our heads in the sand . . . We only woke up when the occasional incident became a serious problem.'⁽¹²⁾ And in an astonishingly frank New Year message to readers, Vladimir Snegirev, deputy editor of the daily youth newspaper *Komsomolskaya pravda*, declared 'We have lied loudly and brazenly, shut our eyes to the truth and compromised our principles. Enough! The time for chanting ritual hosannas is past. Our time has come, comrade.'⁽¹³⁾

If the time for Soviet youth really has come, the implications are both exciting and unpredicable, for many youthful aspirations surpass those of even the most daring politician. Only time will tell what kind of society will emerge from the present ferment.

What is youth? What is culture?

Concepts are invariably not what they seem; this is particularly so with Western and Soviet perceptions of youth and culture.

While many Western scholars commonly confine youth to the teenage years, Soviet writers tend to set the lower age parameter at 15-16, when young people join the Komsomol, gain a passport, can start work and become physically mature, and the upper limit at 30 - two years beyond the upper Komsomol age limit.⁽¹⁴⁾

As regards the nature of youth, it is well to remember that the background of Soviet youth substantially differs from that of most Western youth. Not only are most Soviet young people at an earlier stage of modernisation and the 'rural-urban continuum' (as many as 40% of young urban workers were born in the countryside,⁽¹⁵⁾ they do not experience unemployment, which is said to be a major source of tension, disaffection and social ills in many Western societies. On the other hand, Soviet youngsters do experience work frustrations - as many as 30.7% of young workers in a recent survey claimed to have taken a job for want of any alternative.⁽¹⁶⁾ They also exhibit a high degree of occupational mobility: roughly half of young Belorussian industrial workers, for example, change jobs during the first three/four years of employment.⁽¹⁷⁾

The dilemma for the Soviet authorities in recent years has been that with the coming of relative affluence and free time, young people have developed new diversions, new aspirations, new forms of emotional investment that conflict with the old single-minded focus on self-sacrifice and future-orientation, a situation in which, as a Soviet source has said, 'young people have many rights and few responsibilities.'⁽¹⁸⁾

Such a dilemma is not exclusively Soviet, and variations may be found in many modernising societies. What has been marked about the Soviet approach in dealing with it, until recently, has been the obsession with Western influence, so that an inordinate amount of time has been paid to attacking the symptoms and very little to analysing the causes. It may be simpler and reassuring to blame youthful disobedience on outside forces and bourgeois infiltration, but ultimately it is not very helpful.

However, since the Gorbachev reforms, the approach

to youth is changing, and changing rapidly. As a recent issue of *Komsomolskaya pravda* says,

it is easy to blame the West for pernicious influence on our youth, and our youth for succumbing. If we probe more deeply, however, we may well find that it isn't so much that they are succumbing as urgently signalling to us about our lack of attention, our full, sincere and respectful attention.⁽¹⁹⁾

And in reference to Soviet punks, the Komsomol Secretary Victor Mironenko asserts that

They aren't so much punks as young people imitating punks, they are reacting to our twofacedness, to the gap between word and deed . . . And if we aren't prepared to fill the vacuum, they will fill it themselves, using a gaudy Western skin as cover.⁽²⁰⁾

All the same, the insinuation of Western 'cultural imperialism' cannot be shrugged off; it poses a real problem for all young, modernising societies striving to establish their own cultural integrity rooted in the best of their own heritage and the nation's contemporary needs and philosophy.

Examination of youth culture (or subculture) inevitably involves an emphasis on the readily visible whether in approved or unapproved forms. It may therefore be as misleading for an understanding of young people by what it excludes either the rebellious and deviant on the one hand or the traditional and conservative culture of the 'silent majority' on the other as it is revealing by what it includes. As the Soviet philosopher I. Kon writes, 'Any society — and our own is not that simple — possesses quite a few subcultures, including that of youth. Often the subcultures find no outlet for expression, and that's when problems arise.'⁽²¹⁾ This imbalance in emphasis is particularly apposite to such a multiethnic, unevenly-developed society as the Soviet Union. Nonetheless, this paper focuses attention on two relatively 'deviant' areas of youth culture: pop music and informal youth associations, and interprets youth in the Soviet sense as 15-30 year olds.

Soviet pop music

In one of its first issues this year, the lively youth magazine *Sobedednik* devoted a page-length photo-article to Pink Floyd (best known for its hit 'We don't want no educashun') and invited readers to request further information on Western pop groups.⁽²²⁾ Two months earlier, a picture of the Soviet rock group August was the first to grace the entire back page of the same journal.⁽²³⁾ However Pink Floyd was the first foreign group to be featured uncritically by a Soviet periodical in the 'Western manner'.

The previous issue of *Sobedednik* had published an interview with a heavy metal fan (*metallist*) who made four points that go to the heart of the issue of Western pop in the USSR:

First, you say it isn't **our** music; but it's taken root. In any case, opera and ballet also originally came from out there.

Second, how can we decide what's good and bad in rock music if we have no chance to compare? Forbidden fruit is always twice as sweet.

Third, true, many ex-soccer fans are **metallisty**. But why can't you understand that what we want most is social contact?

Fourth, we asked the local housing committee for a room to meet and listen to our music, but they wouldn't take the chance. A rock concert isn't a Party meeting, it's emotional catharsis, with real, live people in the audience.⁽²⁴⁾

The fan enjoys Bach as well as Judas Priest, Iron Maiden and AC/DC, he reads Tolstoy and Ray Bradbury; unlike many of his mates he wears no stud wristbands or chains, no leather jacket or earrings, he has no shaven head or dyed hair. But he is bitter and disillusioned, and pinpoints the problems for many youngsters: the authorities have attacked non-Soviet influences on youth, have jammed foreign radio broadcasts in Russian, and tried to prevent youth forming their own clubs.

The problem is by no means new. Immediately after the 1917 October Revolution the newly-formed Komsomol launched a campaign 'to ban dances, the use of lipstick and wearing of ties'⁽²⁵⁾ and even plaits.⁽²⁶⁾ At the Komsomol's Fifth Congress in October 1922, the Education Minister Lunacharsky talked of 'the beguiling sirens of NEP (who) sing their tempting songs to the young communist so that desire envelops his soul and he wishes to enjoy himself, wallowing in the mire of bourgeois decadence.'⁽²⁷⁾ It was time, the Komsomol declared, 'to promote our own songs . . . (that) inspire youth, we need revolutionary, ardent tunes that can become as valuable a propaganda medium as a new book, poster or theatre.'⁽²⁸⁾ All the same, older heads, such as those of Lenin and the President Kalinin, warned of the dangers of excessive tutelage that 'made youth old at thirty'⁽²⁹⁾ and 'tried to make old men out of youngsters through boring stereotypes.'⁽³⁰⁾

For much of the past 70 years, the official concern to rigidly control pop music continued, with attacks on Western intrusions replacing those on prerevolutionary vestiges as the years went on. In the Brezhnev years (1964-1982), the problem was frequently linked to the fear that the younger generation would, as the American Paul Hollander, writing on Soviet youth in the early 1970s, puts it,

go soft, become too hedonistic and demanding of the good things in life, unaware of the hardships of the past and contaminated by Western standards and ideals of consumption, entertainment and art.⁽³¹⁾

The problem of Western pop was exacerbated by the orientation of much of bourgeois propaganda on young people. As KGB Deputy Chairman Victor Chebrikov wrote in 1981,

Soviet youth is a major target of subversive designs by socialism's foes. Through ideological diversions they try to shake the communist convictions of young men and women, to foist bourgeois ideology upon them, to insinuate in young people an apolitical and nihilistic outlook, to push them into anti-social attitudes . . . Bourgeois ideologists try to drive a wedge between generations . . . and to discredit the Komsomol.⁽³²⁾

Quite true. The Soviet Union has been receiving tenhours a day of foreign radio music, '99% of which is jazz, pop and rock from Voice of America, the BBC

and Deutsche Welle, with Russian commentary.’⁽³³⁾

The message being conveyed is that only rock is worthwhile, the rest can be discarded. The ‘rest’ is, of course, our folk heritage, classical music and songs to which our fathers and grandfathers went to war and raised the country from ruins. None of this is meaningful — but if you don’t know the latest Queen recording, if you haven’t heard of Kajagoogoo, you’re dim. That way people degenerate into spiritual destitution.⁽³⁴⁾

Some claimed even more sinister designs behind the Western bombardment. ‘It is hardly fortuitous that fashionable Western jingles are broadcast at exactly the same time as news broadcasts by Soviet radio and T.V.’⁽³⁵⁾ And ‘Psychologists note that the deafening noise of Western pop has a strong psychic effect, blocking out those parts of the brain responsible for vigilance, paralysing analytical powers and blunting political awareness.’⁽³⁶⁾

Until relatively recently, then, the official Soviet response to Western pop has been to expose bourgeois propaganda, denigrate rock, inculcate a faith in Soviet socialism and patriotism, reinforce the monopoly powers of Soviet youth organisations, do whatever possible to suppress alien culture and harass its Soviet imitators. The leadership had made a minimum of concessions: encouraging homegrown pop groups playing approved music (based on folk or approved foreign styles like Italian and French sentimental ballads — as expressed by groups like Pesnyary and Samotsvety, or the pop singers Alla Pugachova, Bichevskaya and Magomayev), sanctioning discos (said to be 10,000 in 1985),⁽³⁷⁾ under Komsomol control, often with restricted entrance, and inviting less ‘extreme’ foreign stars for tours (eg. Cliff Richard, Elton John, Abba, Boney M.) At the same time, attempts continued to raise the cultural level of pop in general and discos in particular. Joint resolutions from the Ministry of Culture, the Komsomol and Trade Unions in 1982 and 1983 were designed ‘to improve the ideological and artistic level of discos’ and ‘improve the role of discos in communist education and the organisation of meaningful leisure for youth.’⁽³⁸⁾

The results, we now learn from the Soviet media, have been widespread disaffection of young people, contempt for the Komsomol and an alarming increase in a whole range of deviant activity, particularly drug taking, gang warfare and soccer hooliganism. The interest in Western rock has burgeoned. It has to be said that this disaffected youth subculture certainly played a forceful part in promoting and implementing the three key components of Gorbachov’s reforms: *perestroika* (reorganisation), *glasnost* (openness) and *demokratizatsiya* (democratisation).

As the reforms have gathered momentum, official attitudes to foreign and domestic pop have gradually shifted. The jamming of most foreign radio stations broadcasting in Russian ceased in mid-January, several Western rock groups have toured the USSR (including UB-40 and Billy Bragg last autumn), and, as Dmitry Shavyrin, who edits a twice-monthly rock music page in *Moskovsky komsomolets*, stated in an officially-convened Foreign Ministry conference on Soviet rock music in January, ‘within the past year the

official attitude towards hard rock has changed dramatically.’⁽³⁹⁾ Not everyone approves: police and security officials manhandled and ejected many young people who danced in the aisles of Moscow’s 12,000-seat sports arena during one UB-40 concert.⁽⁴⁰⁾ Interestingly enough, the heavy-handed methods evinced widespread condemnation in the Soviet press — ‘it isn’t enough to show concern for people’s safety; what matters more is their dignity.’⁽⁴¹⁾ And as a Moscow Radio correspondent commented,

This trivial issue of stopping people dancing at concerts reflects a contempt for one’s fellow-citizens, a fear that if you let them get up and dance today, they’ll be jumping up at meetings tomorrow and shouting their mouths off. Teachers and parents know that bans are not the best form of education; they have never generated initiative and creativity. But that’s precisely what we need for the present and the future.⁽⁴²⁾

The UB-40 concert in the sports arena was followed by one given by the Soviet group Rondo whose lead singer, made up in rouge, lipstick and glittered hair, cartwheeled across the stage as strobe lights flashed and two ‘voluptuous back-up singers gyrated in mini-skirt versions of Soviet school uniforms to warm applause.’⁽⁴³⁾

This radical volte face towards Soviet groups seems motivated partly by a genuine desire to respond to young people’s needs and partly by the failure to contain and stamp out ‘unhealthy and alien sounds’ — evidently on the ‘if you can’t beat ‘em, join ‘em’ principle. In self-critical vein, typical of so many recent pronouncements on youth, an editorial in the literary weekly *Literaturnaya gazeta* talks of the fresh approach as follows,

How often in recent years we’ve tilted at windmills, fighting long hair, T-shirts and jeans, savagely trampling on youth idols like the Beatles, pigheadedly convincing ourselves the world would be turned upside down if we sanctioned discos or rock; so we stamped them out, banned discos and rock, foretold unthinkable catastrophes if we’d succumbed. We took up the cudgels, knowing beforehand we were on to a loser. Yet we pretended we were winning, we were in the right. Don’t let’s repeat those errors — in education as much as in the economy and management . . . If our society really does wish to establish democracy, it has to accept that young people may well feel that democracy is all about walking barefoot down the street, doing break dancing or twisting to heavy rock in a disco.⁽⁴⁴⁾

Despite the fresh approach, support and approval for Soviet groups are patchy, and some avant-garde groups are still as abhorred as the Sex Pistols were by Western officialdom. And just as British radio and TV were initially slow to promote rock, a major problem for Soviet rock is, as the Moscow Taganka Theatre’s director has said, ‘lack of firm contact with radio and TV.’⁽⁴⁵⁾ *Literaturnaya gazeta* has lampooned both stereotyped crooners who do not give youth what they want and boring TV songs about traffic lights and ‘moon in June’.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In a society where the state has a monopoly of buildings and material amenities, a further problem for youth groups is that adult and often Komsomol opposition to them results in restrictions on space to practice, record and hold concerts. Numerous complaints exist of refusals by local housing and other committees to provide 'red-corners', cellars, clubs and cafes for young people to play their music. It is not a matter of lack of space, since a Komsomol 'raid' in Moscow discovered as much as 80% of non-residential recreational amenities completely unused.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Bewailing the low quality of domestic rock, one paper puts the blame precisely on 'the lack of studios, sound engineers and producers.'⁽⁴⁸⁾ Many groups say they have to submit their lyrics for vetting before being allowed to perform. The pop singer Alla Pugachova has added her voice to those complaining about censors 'combing through' (*prichosivanie*) songs before they can be performed.⁽⁴⁹⁾ And in the above-mentioned conference at the Foreign Ministry, Alexei Kozlov, composer for the jazz-rock group Arsenal, called for greater candour in Soviet rock lyrics and for young people to be allowed to dance at rock concerts.⁽⁵⁰⁾

The Melodiya firm, which has an official recording monopoly, supplying as many as 115 million records and eight million cassettes, including one million blanks, annually, has been loathe to issue both foreign and Soviet rock music — by late 1986 it had produced none at all.⁽⁵¹⁾ It is now under fire, along with the state radio, for 'featuring the same old approved stars, while making young performers wait years for recordings.'⁽⁵²⁾ Young rock bands have had to put up with all manner of indignities. As a Party official admits,

We distorted lyrics to prove how evil they were, we arbitrarily switched composers' names (imagine the fuss if we had done that with any of our recognised composers), we accused them of imitation - (of course, we didn't accuse our 'Italian-style' singers of the same), we labelled Andrei Makarevich (leader of one of the most popular rock groups, Time Machine — JR) an apologist for primitivism, and many groups of singing Russian songs with an English accent . . . And what did we achieve? Enormous harm. Because the BBC began talking about our rock groups, soon realising that our young people were more interested in them than in foreign groups.⁽⁵³⁾

It is the very persistence and ingenuity of the fans and groups in circumventing the obstacles that have wrested concessions and established the right to exist, so that 'dozens of rock groups now play openly in Moscow and Leningrad, Sverdlovsk and Odessa, Archangel and Riga.'⁽⁵⁴⁾ Since 1980, despite the odds, attempts to hold an annual rock music festival resulted in the official festival in the Moscow suburb of Dolgoprudny and the semi-official 'Spring Rhythm Festival' in the Georgian capital Tbilisi, both in 1980, followed by the Yerevan Rock Festival in 1981 and the 'Light Music Days' rock contest in Estonia's Tartu. The Komsomol was finally drawn in to provide facilities for the enormously-successful 'Rock Panorama-1986' in Moscow, featuring hard rock groups like Cruise, EVM and Aria, as well as the bard rock bands like Time Machine and Aquarium.⁽⁵⁵⁾

Last year the Leningrad Rock Club gained official blessing, bringing together some 60 groups and 500 members. Previously it had held unofficial annual rock contests that had brought to public attention such now-established groups as Kino, Alisa, Stas Namin, Auction and Jungle, ranging from heavy metal, funk and reggae to avant-garde jazz. Last November the Club drew 6000 fans to an all-night concert at the Jubilee sports arena, with the popular Leningrad bands Picnic and Secret as the main attractions.⁽⁵⁶⁾ Similarly, last year Moscow gained approval for a Rock Laboratory to help and advise amateur groups and put on shows; its first was a four-hour concert last October.⁽⁵⁷⁾

It was likewise youthful doggedness that finally won official backing for break-dancing, 'yet again bringing to an end the crass opposition to a new youth interest.'⁽⁵⁸⁾ By 1986, break-dance studios had blossomed all over the country, from Moscow to Tbilisi, Leningrad to Riga, Odessa to Tallinn, with their snappily-dressed patrons in dark glasses, white gloves and earrings.⁽⁵⁹⁾ The first break-dance festival, 'Parrot-1986', was held in the Lithuanian resort of Palanga last summer, attracting several hundred fans.⁽⁶⁰⁾ This was followed by a break-dance display during the 'Modern Dance Festival' held last September in Moscow's Olympic Village. Break-dancing is now said to be a regular nightly feature at the Village's disco in the Cafe at the Fountain.⁽⁶¹⁾

Inasmuch as no pop magazines yet exist to provide pop news, young people have duplicated their own — *Roxy*, *Kot* (Cat) and *Ukho* (Ear).⁽⁶²⁾ True as mentioned above, *Moskovsky komsomolets* and some other youth journal began back in 1982 to feature a regular 'pop chart', but such ventures brought withering criticism, especially from the infelicitously-named *Nash sovremennik* (Our Contemporary).⁽⁶³⁾

While Melodiya has belatedly reacted to youth demand by promising to issue double albums of three of the most popular Soviet groups, Time Machine, Aquarium and Autograph (the band which played via satellite on the 1985 Live Aid Concert in London), the groups themselves have for several years been using recordings made abroad (eg Alisa's 'My Generation') or illicitly making their own, with their own managers arranging record and tape albums, as well as concerts.⁽⁶⁴⁾ *Izvestiya* reported in 1985 that 'bulletin boards and apartment block walls, tree trunks in parks and fences all over town contain ads such as the following (in English):

Anyone wishing to obtain (sic) good quality stereo recordings of Soviet and foreign vocal and instrumental ensembles and rock groups, please call . . . from 8 to 11 pm and ask for Dmitry.

(ad on a drainpipe in Gorky Street)

In fact, the Moscow evening paper *Vechernaya Moskva* regularly advertises eight studios where cassette recordings are made. As *Izvestiya* laconically remarks, 'What they record no one knows. Evidently the Ministry of Culture doesn't even suspect the existence of such studios up and down the country.'⁽⁶⁵⁾

Videocassettes of Western rock groups also circulate underground. In Lithuania alone the police reckon

there were some 5,000 imported videos and 6,000 videocassettes last year changing hands at an average of 100 rubles each. It is evidently not only music that is the 'fruit of love', for such films as *Dracula*, *Grecian Delights* and *King Dick* competed for popularity alongside Mick Jagger and Michael Jackson. Throughout the entire Soviet Union, there were no more than 26 video shops and 500 video films at the end of 1986, and 'most of the films do not enjoy great popularity.'⁽⁶⁶⁾

Youth subculture certainly has made considerable inroads into official attitudes to pop music and it has split the ranks of erstwhile opponents in the Komsomol and the Party, resulting in a new Party resolution in mid-1984 critical of the Komsomol: 'On improving Party guidance of the Komsomol and enhancing its role in the communist education of the young.' It admitted that the

Komsomol does not always utilise effectively the existing potential for influencing young people; it tries to resolve new tasks by hackneyed, stereotyped methods. Frequently it is late in reacting to new interests among young people and giving them necessary guidance.'⁽⁶⁷⁾

The Party would no doubt like to see the rock movement controlled by the Komsomol, though it recognises that in the eyes of many youngsters the organisation is hopelessly compromised.

The Komsomol itself is seriously divided. While one Moscow district (Zhdanov), for example, is working with *metallisty* and *breakery*, another Komsomol district (Zheleznodorozhny) wants to 'break them up', put up a fight'. As the Zhdanov District Secretary, Vadim Avilov, asks,

Whom are they talking about? About their peers whom they've not bothered with for years, even decades? Cut their hair, change their clothes, confiscate their 'ironmongery' and put a tick in the report: 'the heavy metal group has been liquidated? Again the old formalism against which the *metallisty* are rebelling.'⁽⁶⁸⁾

Many detractors of rock music, as in the West, regret the despair and cynicism of so many rock song lyrics. In turn the lyric writers claim that young people are sick of what Makarevich calls 'empty sermonising': 'we are trying to reflect the mood of young people, leaving them free to make their own choices.'⁽⁶⁹⁾ Fans themselves say they 'want songs that talk to us, tell us about our lives, are in tune with us. That is what Okudzhava, Kim, Vysotsky and Vizbor have in common.'⁽⁷⁰⁾ Another fan, who typically assumes the English name Charlie, rejects the accusation that 'only hooligans and anti-Soviets play heavy metal; there are plenty of dedicated, talented musicians . . . We like the music because it is modern, democratic, reflects the needs of our age.'⁽⁷¹⁾ Others have called the lyrics 'a protest against the smarmy, smoothy pop tunes written (officially) for youth. Art should contain the truth.'⁽⁷²⁾ A former Komsomol 'metallist-chaser', now fan, says the music 'fits the accelerated rhythm of life.'⁽⁷³⁾ The poet Pavel Grushko writes that 'today's young people have very little scope to find an aesthetic situation close to them, to focus their feelings and ideas on, they do not receive words, forms and emotions that help them appreciate their worth.'⁽⁷⁴⁾ In other

words, rock is said to help them obtain satisfaction and meaning in modern life.

One of the loudest sighs in the many youth letters to the press is that of boredom. A young woman from Mezen writes to *Sobesednik*, 'I hate my town . . . My friends and I are bored stiff, we drink and smoke for want of anything else to do . . . All that's fashionable and modern, like break-dancing, comes from the West.' A young man from Ordzhonikidze says that only about 10% of young people like classical music, yet that's all they get. 'Why defy the majority? As long as radio and TV refuse to heed us, we'll continue to listen to Western groups and watch their films, because we like them.'⁽⁷⁵⁾

Though the message is often confused and inarticulate, it is patently clear that the former refusals to make concessions to youth needs in pop have alienated a significant section of young people from official culture. Some go even further, voicing their impatience with constant calls for sacrifice for distant goals, they want the good times now, while they are young enough to enjoy them:

We need it (the good life) now. You feed us with fairy tales about communism - where is it, your communism? We can't see it even on the horizon. Personally me and my mates want well-paid jobs, money, a car, decent, fashionable clothes and freedom to holiday abroad.'⁽⁷⁶⁾

It will not be easy to bridge the credibility gap, to win back the confidence of people like Valery, writer of the above letter, let alone satisfy his demands. On the other hand, it is just such demands that fuel the suspicions of some that youth cannot be trusted: if you give an inch, they'll take a mile.

Informal youth associations

Seduced by their own propaganda and the complacent 'kidology' of the Brezhnev years, immersed in everyday routine and obsessed by the 'numbers game' (boosting membership of what is now sometimes sarcastically referred to as the 'multimillion Komsomol army'), the only-permitted youth organisation, the Komsomol, is now widely condemned for being staffed by time servers and careerists, and of being out of touch with young people. 'It has lost the initiative in influencing a significant part of young men and women,' as its own monthly journal, *Molodoi kommunist*, has admitted.'⁽⁷⁷⁾ True, many youngsters of 15-28 are members, but they apparently join mainly to enhance their career prospects: no Komsomol reference, no good job or college place. A student reports that in a recent poll the great bulk of her peers said they would opt out of the Komsomol if it would not harm their prospects.'⁽⁷⁸⁾

As a result of disaffection from the official youth organisation, some young people in the last decade have been forming their own informal youth groups and clubs: for soccer and rock fans, bikers, punks, skinheads, combat sport enthusiasts, 'unapproved' artists, even vigilante gangs. Although illegal, since only officially-sanctioned groups are permitted in the USSR, the new groups are nonetheless mostly tolerated; the authorities have seemed incapable or unwilling to close them down.

So widespread are what are called 'outlaw' (*dikiye* — evoking memories of the prerevolutionary outlaw workers' clubs and associations) groups that the media often refer to them by their initials — SOM (*Samodeyatelnye obyedineniya molodyozhi* spontaneous youth associations) and NOM (*Neformalnye obyedineniya molodyozhi* informal youth associations). The former are seen as having 'potential or tangible social benefit', the latter as being firmly opposed to the Komsomol and bearing an uncertain and sometimes anti-social character. SOM include clubs for lovers of classical, jazz and folk music, philately, sport (especially aerobics, yoga, outdoor recreation) and young people eager to build their own housing and cultural amenities (like the youth housing committees). They date back to the mid-1970s, to the mounting frustration with official inaction in response to youth needs.⁽⁷⁹⁾

NOM started with soccer fans, especially of Moscow Spartak, with the own distinctive red and white home-knitted scarves and hats. They were followed, understandably, by combat sport clubs for both defence and aggression in the spreading street and soccer gang clashes. Then came a wide assortment of groups, many imitating their Western counterparts, like mods and rockers, hippy, punk, skinhead, Zen bhuddists, heavy metal rock, and night bikers. They mostly express group affiliation in appropriate sartorial garb, give themselves foreign names and meet in 'bunkers', garages and flats, now and again 'invading' public places.

Some groups are a domestic phenomenon, such as The Firm (*Firma*) and The System (*Sistema*). The former are students who buy up tickets for a show and 'occupy' a particular theatre. The latter are mainly drop-outs who 'grow our hair long, eschew politics and dogma . . . drink and take drugs . . . because we have no opportunity to express ourselves.' Some groups have set up communes 'in the Baltic Republics, the Ukraine, Crimea, in and around Moscow.' The most widespread group is said to be the KSP (*Klub samodeyatelnoi pesni* Amateur song club) whose members share a love of all music save that officially favoured.⁽⁸⁰⁾

No doubt some of the more extreme groups express the universal youthful despair and pessimism of the nuclear age — 'When Reagan starts a nuclear war I'll be the first to thank him,' as one youngster says.⁽⁸¹⁾ Some clearly aim to shock and draw attention to themselves and their needs, like the anonymous punks from the Novokuznetsk Youth Cafe who wrote to *Sobesednik* early last year, expressing their spiritual affinity with facism and stamping on hallowed Soviet beliefs.⁽⁸²⁾ Predictably, they drew the attention they desired. Probably like many of the Soviet public, the readers who responded made no distinction between 'rock lovers' and 'punks', on the one hand, and 'traitors and 'fascists', on the other. As one reader put it succinctly, 'the whole lot should be shot at birth.' All the same, the editors admitted that the 'punks' had also had their 'advocates', who pointed out the social injustices of Soviet society that 'spawn fascist yobboes' (*shalunishki*).

Just as worrying for the authorities are the various

gangs which also spring from official inactivity and the complex nature of modern youth culture. Apart from muggers, female gangs (which beat up lone men), schoolchildren's cruelty (as portrayed in Roman Bykov's film *Chuchelo* (the 'Scarecrow') in which a schoolgirl is burned to death by her classmates while grownups turn a blind eye to her plight) and street gangs, all of which appear to be on the increase, a relatively new phenomenon is what is called the Robin Hood element. The *Robingoodovtsy* are gangs that hunt down and beat up anyone whose appearance offends them, mainly, as one 16-year-old from Moscow suburb of Lyuberets puts it, 'anyone who wears chains or foreign badges, has dyed hair and brings shame on our country . . . anyone who looks or acts like a protester.'⁽⁸⁴⁾ Lyuberets has gained a notoriety in recent years for its bands of 'patriotic' thugs who descend on Moscow, Podolsk and Nakhabino to mug 'unpatriotic deviants'. They train at judo, boxing and karate in cellars and garages, and often parade openly. One even sent a letter to *Komsomolskaya pravda* last autumn, inviting the paper to send a correspondent to see the gang in action.⁽⁸⁵⁾ Similar vigilante gangs of clean-cut youths patrol the streets in cities as far apart as Tula and Novosibirsk, Yoshkar-Ola in Central Asia and Koktla-Yarve in Estonia.⁽⁸⁶⁾

The awkward dilemma for the authorities is that these thugs regard themselves as good Komsomol members, taking on the mantle of Robin Hood's band or Gaidar's Timurovtsy, helping the 'good' and wreaking vengeance on the 'bad'. A certain Maxim calls his band an 'informal association of Komsomol members'; a clandestine Moscow 'Law and Order' group forces miscreants to help the families of dead Afghan campaign heroes. A 35-strong Novosibirsk gang has chalked up 53 good deeds — rooting out speculators and corrupt officials. A Pskov member of Gang X says their aim is 'to let all scum know they have to deal with us — the people's will — as well as the law.' How should the authorities react? 'Are they wrong-doers or heroes? Should we work with or against them?' So far, officials do not seem to know.⁽⁸⁷⁾

It is not possible to suppress or take over the informal youth associations, even if they could be located. One survey shows that 'if state or public organisations were to set up corresponding interest clubs, over 60% of NOM members would not join.'⁽⁸⁸⁾ In the new atmosphere the desire seems to be to work 'alongside, not over them', to preclude all administrative, coercive pressure upon them from the Komsomol.⁽⁸⁹⁾ That approach is being tried with varying degrees of success and failure. There are also indications that the Party will eventually turn the Komsomol into a relatively select 'ginger group', recruiting members and operating by place of residence rather than school or workplace.⁽⁹⁰⁾

An ex-Spartak fan leader, Rifat, probably voices the feelings of current Soviet leaders when he says, 'the authorities should legalise all movements, groups and tendencies that do not contravene the law. They should be steered into the proper channels, not persecuted; above all they should be led by their own informal leaders.'⁽⁹¹⁾ Ignored for so long, however, many young people may well feel it is too late for that. But it does provide a new start. At the very least,

youngsters want adults to listen to their grumbles and desires. As 'Charlie' shouts from his 'bunker', 'You're going to have to stop telling us lies; we aren't stupid, you know. Just tell us straight: "Lads, we haven't understood you up till now".'⁽⁹²⁾

The signs are that the leadership is beginning to listen, to try to understand and to respond sympathetically.

Some concluding thoughts

Firstly, Soviet youth is as richly diverse as is youth in any modern society. All young people are not agitating for change in the same direction or at the same pace. Much of the youth subculture described above is confined to a relatively small group of urban youngsters and it has evoked equally strong reaction from others.

The conservative reaction to radical expressions of youth culture, particularly that imitating Western forms, has its roots, *inter alia*, in the tenacity of Slav and Islamic traditions of the Russian Empire and the modern USSR, in the proximity of peasant society and in the long historical isolation from and fear of the West, as well as in an ossified political bureaucracy.

The scope of youth action, active and passive, is likely to be set not by the issue of pop music of outlaw clubs, but by the depth of the social problems affecting the country and by whether or not Soviet political leaders prove capable of resolving them.

Secondly, while some problems have arisen from the stresses and strains of modernisation, and sometimes a desire for more jam than is available today, some patently originate in the leadership's own policies. The all-embracing youth organisation and the Party may have integrated some young people into the building of a new society, yet they have also estranged a section of youngsters through excessive bureaucracy, sermonising, hypocrisy and invasions of personal lifestyles. This has resulted in boredom and indifference, on the one hand, and frustration and deviance, on the other. Young people clearly need to meet and form interest groups on their own terms, they need an antidote to ideological exhortation and 'high culture', they need, as Shakespeare put it, their 'cakes and ale' as well as their spiritual blessings.

In the ideological struggle for the minds of the young, at least with some young people, Western youth culture for the moment has the edge over the orthodox and sometimes old-fashioned presentation of socialist values.

Thirdly, until recently the Soviet leaders had stressed the ideal rather than the actual, the instrumental and rational rather than the spontaneous and adventurous. and this resulted in rigidity, a denial of reality, a putting of the blame for ills on outside forces, which prevented the regime from coming to grips with the demands and aspirations of increasingly curious, restless and sophisticated young people born not only in the post-Stalin era, but the post-Khrushchev era too.

Without an outlet for non-conformist behaviour (in club or disco, bar or chapel), free from adult or 'in-

stitutionalised peer group' tutelage, it can only be expressed in outlaw forms. And, as with Western rock and religion, you can actually enhance the attraction of a set of ideas or a life style by attacking or proscribing them. Whatever course of action is now pursued, however, the subjective will of youth and Soviet leaders is bound to be constrained by the objective factors of relative economic backwardness and international tension.

Fourthly, any comparison between Soviet and Western youth culture has to take into consideration the differences as well as the similarities. Soviet youth does not know the insecurity of unemployment, the class divisions based on private ownership or the exploitation of youth culture for private profit, the manipulation of that culture to distract young people from real issues and class conscious politicisation.

In the West, even revolutionary icons sometimes serve merely to tart up the tawdry offerings of the culture industry symbolised by the video shop, the gutter press, the comics and girlie magazines, the TV soap and predigested pap, and the non-stop pop. On the whole, the Soviet authorities have used the media for social engineering, attempting to lift youth up culturally, with respect for human dignity, rather than descending to the lowest denominator. In the process, however, while providing, it is true, the lowest cost and ready availability of books, records, theatre and cinema tickets in the world, and the opening up of the career to talent far more than in any Western society, they have produced a rather austere, uni-dimensional cultural product, somewhat reminiscent of the Lord Reith era at the BBC (when we had to find relief in Radio Luxemburg's Top Twenty). It has also generated a 'them v. us' schism and a yawning generation gap which, while differing in its social dynamics from that in the West, should warn those of us concerned for a better future for our own youth against over-optimism and unreal expectations that if only the social order is changed the social ills afflicting young people will vanish overnight.

Finally, the pace of change in the Soviet Union and the openness of recent months are leaving many Western scholars and theories behind. Many of us will have to adjust our perspectives and revise previous conclusions about Soviet youth: that, for example, 'the peer group in the USSR acts to support behaviour consistent with the values of the adult society' (Bronfenbrenner);⁽⁹³⁾ that Soviet youth is 'politically incorporated' into the building of socialist society (Riordan, Lane);⁽⁹⁴⁾ that the Soviet Union lacks a 'politicised youth culture' (Connor),⁽⁹⁵⁾ and much besides.

If Soviet leaders can adjust, then so can Western scholars. Both owe their move closer to reality to the courage of Soviet young people in winning the right to their own culture and personality; they are not likely to give that up without a struggle.

NOTES

- 1 *Sobesednik*, No.2, January 1987, p.13.
- 2 *Sobesednik*, No. 41, October 1986, pp. 12-13; reports on a group of girl and boy 'rockers' who meet by night around the Lenin Stadium in Moscow, riding their motor bikes, wearing helmets with white lightning painted on them.

- 3 As many as 46,000 drug addicts are said to be registered, almost all victims of poppy (opium, morphine, heroin) or wild hemp derivatives (hashish, cannabis) grown in the Soviet Union. *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 20 August 1986, p.11; says mention of drugs was taboo in the media two years ago.
- 4 **Trud**, 25 April 1984, p.4 reports cars being overturned, fighting and theft by soccer hooligans; *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 22 October 1986 carries an interview with a Spartak fan; and *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 5 October 1986, p. 2 talks of 'neglected fans' who overturn buses.
- 5 *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 14 December 1986, p.4 talks of young solvent-sniffers and the reasons for their actions.
- 6 Both *Komsomolskaya pravda* and *Sobesednik* have throughout 1986 featured articles regularly on 'panki' and attacks on them by vigilante gangs - see, for example, *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 10 October 1986, and *Sobesednik*, No. 26, June 1986, p.6.
- 7 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 1 January 1986, p.13, has an interview with 'mods and rockers'.
- 8 The press regularly reports on muggings, especially by youth gangs: see *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 6 May 1985, p. 2 on gangs and their 'manors' or 'turfs'; see *Sobesednik*, No. 50, December 1986, p.2 on letters from youngsters afraid to go out at night because of muggers. See also *Molodoi kommunist*, No. 10, 1986, p. 47.
- 9 For vigilante gangs see section above on 'informal youth associations'.
- 10 See *Sobesednik*, No.21, May 1986, p.6.
- 11 See *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 15 October 1986, p.8.
- 12 *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 10 October 1986, p.2.
- 13 *Sobesednik*, No. 1, 1987, p.2. (*Sobesednik* is the weekend supplement to *Komsomolskaya pravda*).
- 14 See V.T. Lisovsky, 'Molodyozh strany sovetov,' in *Sovetskaya molodyozh*, Moscow, 1981, pp. 6-7; V.L.Sandrigailo, *Politika i molodyozh*, Minsk, 1986, p. 61. Interestingly enough, these parameters coincide with those set by the early 19th century Russian statistician A. Ros lavsky (Lisovsky, p.6).
- 15 Sandrigailo, p. 19.
- 16 *Ibid.*, p.69.
- 17 N.M.Blinov, 'Sotsiologiya molodyozhi: dostizheniya, problemy, in 'Sotsiologicheskie issledovaniya, No. 2, 1982, p. 9.
- 18 Lisovsky, p. 10.
- 19 *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 26 October 1986, p.4.
- 20 *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 10 October 1986, p. 2.
- 21 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 22 October 1986, p. 13.
- 22 *Sobesednik*, No. 3, January 1987 p.7.
- 23 *Sobesednik*, No. 41, October 1986, p.16.
- 24 *Sobesednik*, No.2, January 1987, p. 12.
- 25 See *Vstupayushchemu v Komsomol*, Moscow, 1976, p. 100.
- 26 See 'O kosakh,' in I.Razin (ed.), *Komsomolsky byt*, Moscow, 1927, pp. 280-281.
- 27 See *Vstupayushchemu v Komsomol*, p. 100.
- 28 *Tovarishch komsomol. Dokumenty syezdov konferentsiy i Tsk VLKSM 1918-1968*, vol.1 Moscow, 1969, pp. 294-295.
- 29 See V.I.Lenin, *Zadachi soyzov molodyozhi*, Moscow, 1965, p. 17.
- 30 M.I.Kalinin, *Budushcheye prinadlezhit vam*, Moscow, 1983, pp. 117-118.
- 31 Paul Hollander, *Soviet and American Society. A Comparison*, OUP, New York, 1973, p. 358.
- 32 V.M.Chebrikov, 'Bditelnost - ispytannoye orudie, 'Molodoi kommunist, No.4, 1981, pp.28-29.
- 33 *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 16 September 1984, p.2.
- 34 *Ibid.*
- 35 G.I.Ivashchenko, *Ideino-politicheskoye vospitanie yunykh lenintsev*, Moscow, 1985, p. 188.
- 36 *Ibid.*, p. 189.
- 37 V.Yegorov, *Young people in the Soviet Union*, Moscow, 1985, p.42.
- 38 A. Lyashchenko (ed.), *Vospitanie uvlecheniem*, Moscow, 1985, pp. 40-41.
- 39 As reported in *The New York Times*, 9 January 1987, p. 4.
- 40 *Soviet Weekly*, 8 November 1986, p.12.
- 41 *Soviet Weekly*, 22 November 1986, p. 6.
- 42 *Sobesednik*, No. 44, October 1986, p. 10.
- 43 See *The New York Times*, p.4.
- 44 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 22 October 1986, p.13.
- 45 Nikolai Dupak in *Sobesednik*, No. 36, October 1986, p.13.
- 46 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, p. 13.
- 47 *Sobesednik*, No. 43, October 1986, p.10.
- 48 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 15 October 1986, p. 8.
- 49 Alla Pugachova, 'A nado li "prichosyvat" pesnyu?', *Sobesednik*, No. 36, September 1986, p. 12.
- 50 *New York Times*.
- 51 *Izvestiya* 18 July 1985, p. 3.
- 52 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 15 October 1986.
- 53 Vasily Golovanov, 'Slovo rok nad etim rokom,' *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 15 October 1986, p. 8.
- 54 *Ibid.*
- 55 'Mezhdru "da" i "nyet",' *Sobesednik*, No. 36, September 1986, p. 12 (the article is titled 'Between "yes" and "no"').
- 56 *Soviet Weekly*, 15 November 1986, p. 16. Stas Namin subsequently made a highly-successful US tour.
- 57 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 15 October 1986, p.8.
- 58 *Sobesednik*, No. 37, September 1986, p.1.
- 59 *Ibid.*
- 60 *Ibid.*, pp. 8-9.
- 61 *Soviet Weekly*, 25 October 1986, p.5.
- 62 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 15 October 1986, p. 8.
- 63 *Nash sovremnik*, No. 7, July 1984, p. 171.
- 64 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 15 October 1986.
- 65 *Izvestiya*, 18 July 1985, p. 3.
- 66 *Sobesednik*, No. 49, December 1986, p. 5.
- 67 *Pravda*, 7 July 1984, p.1.
- 68 *Sobesednik*, No. 2, January 1987, p.13.
- 69 *Soviet Weekly*, 15 November 1986, p. 16.
- 70 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 22 October 1986, p. 13.
- 71 *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 26 October 1986, p. 4.
- 72 *Sobesednik*, No. 2, January 1987, p. 13.
- 73 *Ibid.*, p. 12.
- 74 *Sobesednik*, No. 35, August 1986, p. 13.
- 75 *Sobesednik*, No. 50, December 1986, p. 11.
- 76 *Sobesednik*, No. 4, January 1987, p.5.
- 77 *Molodoi kommunist*, No. 12, December 1986, p. 25.
- 78 *Sobesednik*, No. 49, December 1986, p.2.
- 79 *Molodoi kommunist*, No. 12, December 1986, pp. 23-29.
- 80 For details on these and other groups, see *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 22 October 1986, p. 13.
- 81 *Sobesednik*, No. 26, June 1986, p. 6.
- 82 *Sobesednik*, No. 21, May 1986, p. 6.
- 83 *Sobesednik*, No. 26, June 1986, p. 6.
- 84 *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 14 December 1986, p. 2.
- 85 *Ibid.*
- 86 *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 17 October 1986, p.2.
- 87 *Ibid.*
- 88 *Molodoi kommunist*, No. 12, December 1986, p. 26.
- 89 *Ibid.*, p. 29; see also *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 17 October 1986, p. 2.
- 90 For a discussion on future organisation and membership of the Komsomol, see *Sobesednik*, No. 29, July 1986, pp. 10-11; and *Molodoi kommunist*, No. 9; 1986, pp. 30-31.
- 91 *Literaturnaya gazeta*, 22 October 1986, p. 13.
- 92 *Komsomolskaya pravda*, 26 October 1986, p. 4.
- 93 Urie Bronfenbrenner, *Two worlds of childhood. US and USSR*, Allen & Unwin, 1971, p. 80.
- 94 See Jim Riordan, 'Growing pains of Soviet youth,' *Journal of communist studies*, Vol. 2, No.2, 1986, p. 168; David Lane, *Soviet economy and society*, Blackwell, Oxford, 1985, p. 291.
- 95 Walter D.Connor, 'Generations and politics in the USSR,' *Problems of Communism*, Vol. 24, Sept-Oct 1975, p.22.

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8. see John Freeland, 'Reasserting the right to work', *Impact*, July, 1986.
9. *Adelaide News*, 5/3/87.
10. *Adelaide Advertiser* 13/3/87.
11. *Newsletter*, No. 1 September, 1986.
12. *Adelaide Advertiser* 13/10/86.
13. *Adelaide News* 15/12/86.
14. *Adelaide Advertiser* 4/3/87.
15. see Presdee, *op.cit.*, 1986 and White, *op.cit.*, 1987.
16. See G. Pearson, *Hooligan: a History of Respectable Fears*, London, McMillan, 1983.
17. *Adelaide Advertiser*.
18. *Ibid.*
19. R. Ramsey, 'The drug offensive: a critical appraisal', *Legal Service Bulletin*, Vol.11, No.6, 1986. For further discussion of the 'Drug offensive' see White, *op.cit.*, 1987.
20. Mike Presdee, 'Class, Culture and Crime and the New Social State of Australian Youth', paper presented at the Australian Criminology Institute Bi-Annual Conference, Canberra, February, 1987.

apprenticeship training

TREVOR SINCLAIR

Turning Point community work course is considered by some to be a pioneering venture, with a number of distinctive features. Many commentators have remarked favourably on the approach of the course to race, gender and class in terms of intake policy, course management, teaching methods and curriculum formulation. To others, it is the model of participation, accountability and real local community involvement which is important. Turning Point is a local initiative and thriving example of what determination and a strong political commitment to bring about structural change can create. Selection policy and intake procedures all reflect a new attitude and a change in the power relationships between college establishment, trainers/tutors and placement agencies.

Much has been said about proper community work training that is field-based. In the context of Turning Point, students are now apprentices. The use of experiential training techniques have been elevated to the forefront of the debate on how best to develop professional competence through an emphasis on the value of such techniques across all subjects. From the range of responses to the course, community work practitioners, trainers/tutors and employers have welcomed the reality of an apprenticeship training model. It is what constitutes the apprenticeship model as applied to community work training at Turning Point that will be the primary focus of this article.

Brief History of Turning Point

Turning Point originated in Deptford in the London Borough of Lewisham, a working class, multi-racial inner city area. In 1972 a group of community workers living and working in Lewisham got together with activists and members of the local community to discuss their experiences about why people of working class background, with community and youth work experience were not finding a way into professional training. Out of those discussions came the idea of training community and youth workers through a field-based apprenticeship. In 1973 discussions began with Goldsmiths' College, who in 1978 agreed to validate such a course if funding could be found.

The work of the North Lewisham Project (NLP), a project set up to challenge racism and social inequalities with interests in education and community work in Deptford, clearly indicated that a new type of

course was needed. Such a course would be appropriate not only to white working class people, but would also address itself to the training needs and societal struggles of Black people for racial justice. Those involved knew black people who had practical experience, skills and potential, but were being denied the opportunity to undertake professional training in community and youth work.

In 1979 the NLP which had been involved in the original planning of the apprenticeship scheme, applied through Lewisham Council, to the Docklands Urban Programme, for five year funding. The application was successful and in October 1980 the development of the pilot course began. The course is now firmly established and funded by Inner London Education Authority, Lewisham Borough Council and Goldsmiths' College. In 1985 the course was endorsed by the Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work and recognised by JNC in the same year as an initial training course for community and youth workers.

Turning Point provides a two year full-time professional training in community and youth work for fourteen Black and white people aged between 23 and 50. All entrants are required to have had some relevant experience in community and youth work. The field-based apprenticeship training programme focuses upon the actual work undertaken by an apprentice within a multi-racial, multi-purpose, community and youth work agency. The apprentice works alongside an experienced and competent community and youth worker, who ensures 'responsive' support.

The principal ideas under-pinning Turning Point were a fusion of views on class and gender inequality and racist oppression; these were recognisable long before they became fashionable 'isms'. Community work was seen as a radical instrument that could make a real impact re-structuring society along lines that would bring about social and racial justice. The neighbourhood of Deptford had all the racial, social and cultural factors that became a unique womb that gave birth to Turning Point. Housing estates had open racial conflict, white and Black workers were working together, honestly seeking ways to achieve community development. The local authority was prepared to listen to local workers and responded favourably to new ideas with funding to pioneer new work approaches. The

original funding of Turning Point is but one of those initiatives. The aim was to produce a new type of worker. These workers would be selected from and trained within their own local setting.

The inequalities existing in society were reflected in miniature in Deptford, but experienced more intensely. The problems caused through class and discrimination were everyday experiences; poverty, bad housing, poor education and lack of justice were the reality, not matters solely for polite social debate over dinner.

A collective perspective grew out of the Deptford experience and helped those involved to shape their analysis of the goals and desires of community and youth work. This leads to the conclusion that communities and youth work had a major part to play in removing the current imbalance of power and levels of inequality.

It was recognised that for community work to effect any meaningful change for the powerless and subordinate groups within the community, it must acknowledge that people's experience of oppression relates to its role and potential in generating, organising and implementing community directed social change, and with the implications this may have for training and practice. A community and youth work course must develop the relevant methods and techniques, together with knowledge and information whereby apprentices learn to take the everyday experiences of ordinary people as a starting point. Thus they will recognise the value which changes, say, to an estate or play facility or educational programme, can bring to people's lives and the need to appreciate the importance of strategies for change which involves participation, democracy and the responsible exercise of power.

Why an apprenticeship method?

From the outset Turning Point had a strong philosophical commitment to experimental methods. This was in part based on the experiences of the project's main sponsors. They had learnt community work methods, techniques and approaches whilst doing the job. To them there were no substitute for real experience. They obviously considered the experience of others as important but felt it could not replace that gained by one's own actions. Direct experience is qualitatively different from indirect, e.g. book learning forms. How to link real experience of a sustained type, supported academically/theoretically and supervised by competent field-based practitioners was the real problem. College type courses were thought not appropriate on the grounds of their remoteness from practice and the fact of their inadequate attention to the realities of rampant discrimination and oppression.

College lecturers and administrations were not generally composed of working class or Black people, with few women. Hence, they would offer a different sort of training experience to that required to train people for the field. What is significant about a multi-cultural curriculum cannot be introduced without having lecturers and course management staff from different cultures in sufficient numbers to radically alter the inbuilt white power hierarchy. Racism and power are

inexorably linked. Thus far, colleges have not tackled this fact, not even with the advent of equal Black and white intakes by a few, a practice pioneered by Turning Point.

Apprenticeships have traditionally been the commonest form of training open to working class people and the concept of apprenticeship satisfied all the prerequisites deemed essential. But before it was fully embraced major modifications were necessary.

What should people be trained for? What is community work about? What is the relationship between theory and practice? What forms of learning can be truly experiential? How could a course be developed that would be anti-racist/sexist and provide space for equal expression of different cultures. In essence, if all existing courses then had a standard culture, one had to be created which would be different but have the attraction of acting as a model for others to follow and alter their own training programmes.

Those involved believed in collective action to achieve change in society and rejected the view that community work means assisting people to express and act on needs, problems and concerns which they share (Wyatt p1). Community work is about structural, attitudinal and cultural change. It requires practitioners that are politically, socially and culturally aware and equipped with a range of skills that are too numerous to list at this juncture. Their stance against oppression of all forms leaves no room for doubt. From their analysis based on the work being done in the micro-environment of Deptford, we began to ask certain important questions. They saw its relationship and relevance to the whole of Britain and the international scene. They had also learnt a lot from work being done in Brazil, Tanzania and India. Their local, plus national and international view gave compelling reasons to find a trans-cultural educational methodology to train a multi-racial-intake. People understand each other better when engaged co-operatively on practical tasks for their mutual benefit.

Learning is best achieved when there is a combination of thought and purposeful action. It was never the intention to begin a worship of practice, nor would such a notion be supported. What was important was the positive reinforcement that **doing** accomplishes as opposed to theorizing in abstract. Theories arise out of action and are best understood whilst actively engaged in implementing them.

Guided by a challenging notion of community work and accepting that experiential means were the best methods for developing the requisite skills, it was clear that a typical college approach would clearly be unsatisfactory. People looked to the world-wide experience of oppressed people acquiring skills to deal with their environment. In Britain, Africa and Asia, an apprenticeship or similar based concepts were the format most widely used to pass on knowledge and practical techniques.

Roots of the apprenticeship and Turning Point variant

Today the term apprenticeship is mostly associated with vocational training for young men in engineering,

construction, printing and a few other related activities. Women are on the outside apart from hairdressing. In industry apprenticeship entry qualifications range from none to possessing a degree for those wishing to enter a profession.

The practice of apprenticeships has existed throughout history in all cultures. It is probable that an apprenticeship system has operated since shortly after humans began to engage in cooperative production. 'From the earliest times, Egypt and Babylon, training in craft skills was organised to maintain craftsmen in adequate numbers. The laws of Hammurabi of Babylon, which date from the 18th Century BC required artisans to teach their crafts to the young' (New Encyclopaedia, 1971). The old view would define an 'apprenticeship as the procedure by which young persons acquired the skills necessary to become proficient in a trade, a craft, art or profession under the tutorage of a master practitioner.' (Ibid)

Community work training is more than the acquisition of skills, techniques and methodology. Training is not only a door to the profession. It is a multiple of related factors; a consolidation, enhancement, a renewal and a means of developing the self-determining committed activist. The question of how to transform the local activist into a professional worker led to the choice of an apprenticeship model of training.

The traditional concept of the apprenticeship had many identifiable characteristics;

A dual concept

- Learning and earning.
- Training and undertaking productive work.
- Unskilled person learns from a skilled person.
- A contractual relationship between worker and employer.
- Employer obliged to teach, worker to serve employer.
- A means whereby unions and employers control intake into skilled trades/professions, wages and conditions.
- A partnership between educational and economic systems.

As currently evolved there are numerous negative aspects of the apprenticeship - both in industry and the white collar professions.

- Conditions for entry are restrictive and outmoded.
- Quality of training poorly supervised and inadequate for modern society.
- The systems have been generally inflexible i.e. age limit, gender.
- Too much emphasis on length of apprenticeship as opposed to the skills required.
- Poor link between college (theory) and workshop (practice).
- The apprenticeship became a social institution with a life of its own failing to serve the needs of society.

Turning Point has refined and re-designed a practical learning model, which had become restrictive and slightly elitist, into an approach that would seek to open hitherto closed occupations, such as community

work, to working class Black and white people with proven ability. The old form of apprenticeships are outmoded in theory, impractical to implement and unsuitable for the outcomes desired in community work training. We were concerned with the acquisition and assessment of competence gained, whilst on the job, over the full period of the apprenticeship.

The purpose of community work training is viewed from various vantage points. First, it is a time for reflection on past experience and for the development of a worker's own distinctive style. It provides an opportunity to collectively share values, attitudes and political ideologies. It should enable local people to relate their past and current neighbourhood work to the wider national and international society and encourage the development of strategies and tactics to pursue community work goals. Second, the period of reflection offered gives time for an appreciation that the wide range of academic disciplines (sociology, psychology, social policy, etc.) have their origins in everyday range of academic disciplines (sociology, psychology, social policy, etc.) have their origins in everyday experience and that community workers, more than any other group, require the broadest range of theoretical understanding, plus multiple and divergent skills. It demands individuals that are not only technically proficient but who possess personal integrity, political commitment and the confidence to work alongside people to achieve political, social and economic change. Third, training should enable people to learn that constructive use of experience can enhance personal development that is self-sustaining and that continuous learning is a life long process. Fourth, specific areas of practice should be undertaken and opportunities provided for realistic work. Fifth, all training courses have a view of society and of the changes which community workers leaving them are setting out to accomplish. The training should offer a total view and a vision for the future. It has a valuable part to play in enabling workers to adjust to a rapidly changing and complex society which demands an innovative response.

The strengths of the apprenticeship system as evolved at Turning Point can be argued from several viewpoints. Underlying the approach is a firm belief that ordinary people; Black and white, men and women, minority (racial or cultural or sexually orientated) groups should collectively determine the structure of society and only they should decide the allocation of power and resources. As Freire says the important thing is to help men and women help themselves, to place them in consciously critical confrontation with their problems, to make them the agents of their own recuperation. (Freire, 1974)

From the very beginning it was decided to retain some desirable aspects of the old, tried and tested apprenticeship concept, and to add new modifications. There are three major concepts of the Turning Point variant. (a) Apprentices would be engaged in socially useful (productive) work whilst learning on the job. (b) Apprentices are jointly selected (Turning Point and placement agency) to undertake clearly defined work tasks (job description). Employer and worker relationships involve mutual obligations. (c) The

whole apprenticeship is undertaken in one multi-faceted community work agency, with a designated support worker (experienced practitioner) working alongside the apprentice, backed by a tutor who maintains theory (study days) and practice (fieldwork) link. Contact by tutor is regular and supported by frequent individual tutorials, these are in addition to three way meeting (tutors, apprentice and support worker) to monitor skills acquisition, comprehension of community methods and processes, evaluation of personal and professional development and lastly, to determine direction of current and future fieldwork.

Underpinning the apprenticeship approach is a learning model that is both humanistic and experiential. It is humanistic to the degree that it emphasises notions like people learn best when they are given responsibility, autonomy and choice; personal growth is a natural process, if the conditions are right; a non-hierarchical atmosphere is facilitative and stimulating. A departure from the us and them attitude and the rigid teacher/student relationship is conducive to the development of self motivating community workers. The apprentice/support worker relationship is crucial for the transmission of knowledge and skill. It is one of the linchpins of the course. Great care is taken in the choice of support workers to ensure they fully understand teaching methods, theoretical programme, ethos and principles of the course, and the quality of supervision needed from them. The relationship is neither rigid nor hierarchical. Equality between the parties is encouraged. Support workers concentrate on making apprentices self determining and equipping them with understanding of the processes rather than enforcing particular practice skills. The emphasis is on the individual's growing in ability to cope and work with new situations and resolve existing ones more proficiently. All individuals, their culture, class and gender are respected. The practicalities of achieving these ends should form an integral part of the course's foundation and must be reflected in curriculum development, course management and fieldwork emphasis, forms of written work assignments and marking philosophy. Finally, the racial/gender composition of staff team should reflect these aims.

The experiential learning model used at Turning Point rests on the twin principles of self-responsibility and the notion that learning is more meaningful if a person gains full understanding of their own experience and this new insight is integrated into the individual's own perceptual world to guide future behaviour or aid comprehension. As a model experiential learning starts with actual experiences, followed by reflection, discussion, analysis and evaluation of that experience. The fuller understanding arising out of that dialogue leads to it forming an integral part of an individual's conceptual world that is used for future learning. In a sense experiences are ordered, structured and sorted out by the learner, which has the effect of increasing self-awareness, leads to examination of attitudes and provides a greater insight into one's own behaviour. Taken together, behavioural and attitudinal change are likely to result.

Learning is viewed as an action led, dynamic process that is best supported in forums that are clearly

participative and anti-authoritarian. Experiential learning is a structured approach that also has democratic elements. A course that is anti-racist and takes a multi-cultural stance finds it essential to adopt a learning approach that freely permits the essential acceptance that 'all perceptions are relative (cultural), class or gender) and these personal worlds are dependent on the individual, his or her goals, self image, feelings and past experiences.' (Kolb, 1976)

The experiential method involves a continuous reinterpretation of the past, assimilation of new knowledge and a reorganisation of what is already known. Due to the emphasis on encouraging a new approach to learning, some de-learning, and more certainly, a demystification of educational methods and content must take place. Apprentices have come to Turning Point in the main with negative experiences of traditional education

The learning medium is a powerful influence on the learner. At Turning Point it is the teaching processes that are the corner stones. As such they have to be experienced directly for full comprehension. Apprentices are active, capable of self-reflection on what they do in work (activities), they are able to see their own work and emotional world and are able to place themselves within both. Tutors enable them to perceive in a critical manner their own reality and thereby learn. The value of the experiential approach is not solely based on its effectiveness for learning. As Freire says, if one adopts a method which fosters dialogue and reciprocity, one must first be ideologically committed to equality, to the abolition of privilege and to non-elitist forms of leadership wherein special qualifications may be exercised, but are not perpetuated. In essence training based on an experiential model can help facilitate the transformation of the committed but 'semi-conscious' activist into a professional worker who is prepared for the challenges of promoting real change for the oppressed, discriminated against and powerless. The development of an action-consciousness, (which is a mental state) would enable a person to rise above the struggle for mere survival to conduct and do battles with the realities of structural inequalities. Apprentices have to become both actors in and directors of their own destiny.

The real value of this approach is typified by the Black perspective action based analysis. Black people's presence in Britain has been characterised by undisguised discrimination. In response, they have offered steadfast resistance and active struggle. The experiential ideology provides the best framework for women to equip themselves to counter male sexism. Likewise, the working class position is further reinforced through the development of a consciousness based on current and historical struggles and finally, Black participants are able to further develop their Black perspective. Community workers must be able to deal effectively with power and conflict. In seeking societal change they need the awareness that social justice, full human rights and democracy cannot exist in a racist, sexist and class divided society.

Experiential methods and teaching theory

Techniques that are essentially experiential are not

simply related to fieldwork practice, they are also relevant across the full range of academic subjects. Theoretical subjects have their origins in practice and are only valuable when they are returned to the arena of action. For example, to teach the sociology of politics and political process, apprentices were asked to individually draft their own election manifesto, emphasising personal political priorities. They were then separated into three groups and asked to draft a political manifesto of what they would do if given power in a local Town Hall using as a starting point their individualised drafts. We chose the borough of Lewisham where most would be familiar with the local conditions. Each group's manifesto was later presented to the whole group which subjected it to close collective scrutiny. The whole process was later analysed collectively, starting with actual issues presented for change and the achievability of each proposal. Checks were also made if suggestions were outside the powers of a local authority. Ideas thought impractical or frivolous were rejected. This was followed up some weeks later, when apprentices were asked to collect real manifestos issued by various political parties contesting the local government elections. These were analysed and compared with the group's own drafts. Along with these sessions apprentices were encouraged to read, watch, and listen to the media concerning the elections.

Before the political sessions started there were apprentices saying they were not very political but later it was they that became most insistent about issues of great concern that should be placed at the top of their group's manifesto. The experiential model is easy to use and traumatic in its impact. The division into small groups was also used to help clarify group processes, leadership styles and the roles individuals play. The multi-dimensional learning opportunities that an experiential method permits is still being explored by Turning Point. It presents endless possibilities to which a particular real experience can act as a foundation for further learning. The style is self-perpetuating. Fundamentally, it enables individuals to learn how to learn.

It is also important that the learning processes utilised are at one level efficient and transferable. Once internalised this commits an apprentice to its use for themselves, and more dramatically, it is also available for their use in their role of adult educators and political agitators.

The role of the tutor

At Turning Point tutors are human beings first and tutors second. For tutors who are remote from their students cannot respond accurately to the learning needs of their students (Klein, 1984). The more tutors are open to learn from others, including apprentices, the greater is the educational benefit of the course.

Maintaining the right learning climate/culture is one of the major tasks both within the study days and at fieldwork agencies. How tutors relate to apprentices is crucial. The relationship must be apprentice centred. Tutors are primarily people, not roles. A collaborative relationship must exist between tutor and apprentice. A bond that has no barriers; teachers and learners are roles that are freely inter-changeable.

Commitment to the creation of a new spirit, based on creative imagination is an important element in the perspective of the tutor/apprentice relationship. Learning is seen as a developmental process that welcomes questioning, skepticism and criticism. Conflict is used constructively when it arises. A practice stance is encouraged. Participation, democratic structures and notions of equality are major goals. To instil the objectives, goals and methods of community work apprentices must experience them in a tangible manner throughout their training it's the tutor's job to ensure that the necessary competence is achieved.

Tutors are engaged in a dialogue with apprentices. Self-determination, self-reliance, involvement, self-motivation and shared responsibility are valued. Mutual respect becomes real, not mere sentimentality or a pious hope. The task is difficult but with determination and commitment, achievable. Learners are encouraged to select, generate, use their own resources and each other support workers as well as tutors. The role of a tutor is to set the mood, climate, develop trust and be a flexible resource to each apprentice. Tutors need to have vision, initiative-taking confidence and the ability to pose the right questions. Experiential learning requires careful preparation and lots of creative imagination. Tutors must possess imagination, broadly based knowledge and group work and inter-personal skills. Turning Point focuses on the process of learning in the first instance but values the significance of theoretical content. Finally, tutors must ensure there is collective evaluation of the course, its content, methods and fieldwork aspects. Tutors are also subject to such evaluations.

The apprentice as course participant

Turning Point starts by accepting that individuals come with numerous and diverse concerns, from many different cultural backgrounds and differing political stances. They possess various perspectives and have countless desires, hopes and priorities. Their view of British society is based on their cultural, racial, political, gender and economic awareness that has been formed through their direct experiences. Historical and contemporary factors such as colonialism, slavery, imperialism, neo-colonialism and racism have shaped and moulded Black and white participants. However, the result for each is different in important respects. One is taken as superior, the other inferior. Being a woman in a gender differentiated society is also a major source of influence. The apprenticeship model with its use of an experiential approach enables Black and white to learn together, co-operatively shaping their perceptions and organising themselves to confront issues that are prioritised and based on the different perspectives. A Black person does not become whiter on the course, neither is a white working class person encouraged to adopt pseudo Black stances. They each learn to respect, appreciate and value their differences. They form alliances around the aims and objectives that are held in common, for example, working towards the creation of a society that would eradicate racism, class and gender oppression. They are able to work together, not on the basis of an artificial 'forced' harmony or because as community workers they must. It should be and is based on the recognition that fundamental differences exist and major contradictions abound. It is only when

these are openly explored, plus space and time is given for each major grouping, sub-groups or individuals to develop and strengthen their stances that the conditions for real co-existence can be said to be possible. This may mean, separate Black and white women's groups. A Black only group, a white only group, a men's group and women's group, to mention a few. We also recognise that to lump or put people into Black and white camps is neither sufficient nor necessarily desirable. Individuals may also wish to declare and convey their particular distinctive culture, political views, experience or personal histories.

Time and space needs to be allocated for those most important purposes.

Turning Point's belief in the notions of Maslow's self-actualised person and Roger's fully functioning individual finds ready application in the goal of facilitating the development of each apprentice according to their own expressed inclinations. The chief characteristic of the self-actualized person is that she will continually be constructing new facets of meaning in her experience. When this is allied to the fact that the learners exercise some responsibility for their own learning in fieldwork; and collectively for study days, content through the use of a negotiable curriculum and fieldwork programme, it is apparent that workers will develop community work approaches.

On the job training

The fieldwork process starts by being meticulous in our choice of fieldwork agencies and being extremely careful in the selection of support workers. Based on a continuous dialogue between support workers, tutors and apprentices, each term's fieldwork is documented, learning goals are set, tasks outlined and work monitored and assessed. The aim is to achieve a consensus about the appropriateness and timing of work objectives and learning targets. These are not only individually tailored but need to be consistent with broadly defined course objectives. Apprentices agreed to come onto the course with those goals firmly in their minds. When given the responsibility for refining their own learning objectives, they are able to accurately devise a similar set of core theoretical and practice skills as thought essential by the course.

Field-based training as undertaken at Turning Point is not non-college, but a new type of training model. It involves a radical transformation through which the college is re-defined both in practice and philosophy. Standards are greatly enhanced, barriers that hitherto prevented Black and white working class people entering are removed. The belief is that competence grows out of real work alongside structured reflection.

The apprentices work locally in environments that share their differing value systems and for improvements in social conditions that they are familiar with. While acquiring skills through practical work, confidence and self-reliance is gained so that the two year period enables the apprentice to fully experience the ups and downs of community work. This intense experience is based on a consistent work pattern.

Attachment to a multi-purpose community and youth

work agency with its many commitments, provides a very varied work setting; training with all ages within the community. The programme is consolidated by full-time block placements with the agency in the first term and third term of the first and second year of training. The placements deal with the organisational aspect of the work, from keeping a diary, time-keeping and reliability, to planning a full work programme and ensuring that necessary skills develop.

The long term intense training period also moves the apprentice from being a trainee to a worker. The apprentice is perceived as a colleague, which in turn helps to create more equal relationships. Some of the processes which occur in agencies, that directly affect the work of the community and youth worker, can only be understood over a long period. The apprenticeship provides experiences over a realistic time scale for change, and gives a long enough period to acquire skills for long-term tasks and sufficient time for proper assessment.

The apprenticeship offers actual as opposed to cursory work. The training approximates the real professional experience of community and youth workers, including all the responsibilities and demands. Written work is expected throughout the course in an ordered sequence taking account of fieldwork commitments. Practice and written work are not competitors.

During the apprenticeship the degree of responsibility the apprentice assumes can be gradually increased. Apprentices are able to broaden life experiences and have sufficient time and opportunity to become confident to develop new areas of competence.

The primacy of practical learning is the bedrock of Turning Point's apprenticeship approach, with theory always predicated on practical experience, enriching and stimulating fresh approaches to actual practice. Despite our emphasis on practice, we acknowledge the value of theory. The ability to interpret, diagnose, evaluate and understand the complexities of society and human motivation is not just a function of individual personality and the quality of practical experiences. Theory and the cumulative experience of others, are also necessary tools for interpreting and responding to the job.

One of the initial goals is to try and ensure that apprentices appreciate that theory originates with practice, and is integrated with it. By the end of the course it is hoped that apprentices will have become skilled at constructing their own 'practice-theory', which is self-checking, continually expanding, informing and altering practice, and forming a continuum in which theory and practice are merged.

The sequential progression of the apprentice during the apprenticeship is best described by the termly role expectations.

- First Term -- Characterised by student orientated approach and close supervision by support worker.
- Second Term -- Characterised by apprentice orientated approach with regular supervision by support worker.

- Third Term — Characterised by worker/apprentice orientated approach with continued regular supervision by support worker.
- Fourth Term — Characterised by worker orientated approach, and regular consultations with support worker.
- Fifth Term — Characterised by worker directed approach, and regular meetings with support worker.
- Sixth Term — Characterised by full-time worker leaving completing pieces of work for new employment.

From Turning Point's analysis of the competence needed by a community worker, the apprenticeship model affords the best means for obtaining them. According to Thomas 'The ostensible purpose of the award of a qualification is to signal to the outside world that a person has reached a required level of competence' (Thomas, 1983). The strong signal that apprenticeship sends out is that it has fused the intellectual and experiential into a new training configuration that offers an innovative approach. In summary, the apprenticeship offers:

- Strong ties between learning and work.
- Excellent support for learner (apprentice), through tutor and support worker contact.

- A chance for intervention methods, strategies and techniques to develop through continuous application.
- The use of real situations to maximise learning, utilising processes that are creative, self-generating and personally meaningful.
- A means to develop workers to confront an unjust and oppressive society.

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protests by pupils

ROBERT ADAMS

Disturbances in British schools receive a good deal of attention in both the popular press and in academic circles. But the main emphasis of this attention tends to be upon incidents involving physical violence. Further, as has been instanced, the bulk of discussion of the causes and significance of these disturbances until recent years was psychological in orientation and behavioural in its perspective (Grunsell 1980; P.46). That is, explanations for disturbances were sought in the pathology of the individual, the group, the sub-culture or whatever. At the same time, one category of disturbance - collective protests by pupils - has received scant attention from researchers.

In one sense this is surprising, since schools in Britain have a long history of pupil protest. One might even claim that in some sectors of the education system protests by pupils has become almost so respectable as to be institutionalised, a point I shall return to below with reference to a Cumbrian school. Other protests, like the Burston rebellion described later, acquire the sort of mythological status accorded to the Tolpuddle Martyrs in some circles. Still others, as in the case of the National Union of School Students demonstrations of the late 1970s, may be used by many people as one more sign that modern young people are degenerating into indisciplined and often criminal irresponsibility.

In this article, I should like to use the excuse of some observations on ongoing research to raise a number of queries and comments about the significance of pupil protest, associating these with some wider discussion of its incidence and character. At the outset it must be acknowledged that the way in which the information has been gathered imposes limitations on its interpretation. It is drawn from a survey of undergraduates in a college of higher education in 1984, regarding their memories of school. This survey was not systematic in its coverage of Britain, insofar as the former pupils questioned were recruited to a college of higher education in the North of England. But in spite of this limitation, which produced a majority of respondents from Northern counties, others ranged from the home counties, the West Country, Wales and Scotland. The initial administering of a questionnaire was followed up with lengthy tape-recorded interviews with 30% of informants who reported positively about disturbances in their schools. Of the total of 160 respondents, 90 (over 56%) gave accounts of disturbances in their

schools, either as participants or as bystanders. They gave details of over 160 major incidents involving several pupils or in some cases whole classes or even schools, about half of which took the form of large-scale fights. In addition, they report on 36 incidents which may be unambiguously described as protests, such as demonstrations or strikes by pupils, and it is these which are drawn on mainly in the discussion below. At the same time, reference is made to work in the related but distinct fields of inter-communal disturbances and those in penal establishments.

Histories

The history of pupil protest over the past century or so has been marked by occasional reported incidents, very varying in character and in some cases rather bizarre in quality. In 1869, John Bolton wrote of the regular "barring out" of his schoolmaster during his schooldays at Urswick in Furness. The master quietly submitted to have a little dirty water thrown over him when he attempted to storm out barricade, and as he never could succeed, being forced to retreat, it was not with frowns and threatenings for another time, but with a good natured smile at his defeat. (Rollinson 1974 p 60) Respectable parents, too, did not necessarily punish their children for their part in these disturbances. Sir Daniel Fleming of Rydal regularly made money presents to his children at their "barring out" usually between 7th and 15th December each year, in anticipation of the Christmas holidays.

In effect, schoolboy riots of this kind, occurring on an annual basis, persisted well into the mid-nineteenth century. Often they were an institutionalised ritual means by which to bargain with the master for longer holidays. In some cases, their significance may be appreciated by the fact that they are to be found illustrated in the structure of school rules. Thus, the school character of St. Bees did not allow the rebellion to go beyond "a day and a night, and the next day till one-o'clock in ye afternoon". (Rollinson 1974 p 60)

Given this evidence of a seeming lengthy and even institutionally embedded tradition of disturbances in schools, it is not surprising to find later incidents of pupil protest. On occasions riots by pupils have required military intervention. In 1889 and 1911 waves of school strikes rolled through Britain. Perhaps it is a coincidence that in the latter instance Hull, at the time wracked by widespread industrial disputes among

dockers and women workers among many others, was one of the earliest towns where the children went on strike. Local newspapers of the day were full of astonishment at the sight of hundreds of children under fourteen years of age taking to the streets, some marching to the city centre with banners demanding longer holidays, pay for pupils and the abolition of sanctions such as corporal punishment.

Shortly after, in 1914, a seemingly unique and entirely localised, yet protracted strike by schoolchildren occurred in Burston near Norwich. (Higdon 1984; Zamoyka 1985) After that, there is a virtual silence in what we may call the publicised history of pupil protest until in the late 1950s a riot occurred in the Approved School at Carlton House near Reading. Again there was a hiatus until the late 1960s when protests swept through all kinds of educational establishments, not just in Britain but in many Western countries. Following the controversial publication of the infamous Little Red School Book (Hansen and Jensen 1971) pupils seemed to quieten down briefly.

Militancy among pupils became more self-consciously politicised in the 1970s. The most obvious outgrowth of organised activism was the National Union of School Students, whose birth, flowering and death occurred within a decade of its birth in the early 1970s.

Late in 1986, protests by French students opposing the proposed introductions of a new education law became so insistent that after violence by riot police which led to the death of a student (Observer 7.12.86), the Government withdrew the intended legislation. As the French disturbances reached their height, in three quarters of Spain's 52 provinces, students closed most schools in protests demanding educational reforms and increased spending on education (Guardian 18.12.86.) In December, thousands of Chinese students were involved in widespread demonstrations for several days in the name of political and social reforms (Guardian 18.12.86. ; 19.12.86. ; 23.12.86.).

Now in a way, the presentation of the above historical survey as a series of rather staccato and tantalising references, without any depth to enable the reader to assess the nature and meaning of each incident, makes the point. For there is a notable lack of coherence in the historical record of these widely dispersed, fragmentary instances of pupil protest. Nor is there simply an absence of coherence in the historical record. Quite simply, we know little about the incidence of such disturbances as a whole, or why they have arisen at particular times and not others. In particular, we do not know what relationship exists, if any, between what happens in one place and events in other places. For example, does the fact that the school strikes spread so rapidly throughout the country in 1911 draw our attention to the need for the history to be embedded in an understanding of shifts or strains which may have occurred at the time in the institutional arrangements for schooling?

But a further series of puzzles arises from the presentation of a series of dates of disturbances. Are we being asked to accept that these imply some kind of rise and fall in the incidence of pupil protest, like the trade cycles over which economists argue? Again,

given the seeming virulence of youthful unrest since the early 1960s, do we assume that in some way pupil protest is becoming more widespread, more serious or more militant and political than it used to be? Finally, what causes such protests to arise? How do the authorities tend to respond to them? And what outcomes follow from them?

It is clear that these questions range far wider than the scope of a brief article but they indicate the problematic context in which any discussion takes place. However, whatever else is examined, it is necessary first to assess from the literature to date the meanings which commentators ascribe to pupil protests.

Meanings

An adequate understanding of pupil protest necessarily will be rooted in an appreciation not simply of the experiences of pupils or the psychology or the social psychology of protest, but will address issues such as the structural situation of childhood and youth in society and concerns associated with social class, race, age and gender. Yet in books concerned with the sociology of schools, for instance, either pupil protest is omitted altogether or it receives only a brief passing reference.

As for the numerous studies which have been carried out concerning disturbances in schools, the dominant perspective focusses on pupil behaviour from the viewpoint of the authorities and invariably seeks explanations of causes in the psychology of individual pupil disorder. The recent review of the literature by Galloway (1982 Ch 1) illustrates this. In many ways, too, it is understandable, since disturbances inevitably seem to be associated in people's minds with the "disturbed behaviour" of individuals or small groups in circumstances where the context may be assumed to represent normality or stability.

At least, that was the picture until recently when a spate of research influenced by the sociology of deviance and often ethnographic in character, began to be published. From the mid-1970s, labelling theory has shifted the emphasis in the classroom from the individual to the processes generating deviant acts and reactions to them (Hargreaves 1975).

But this is not to say that much earlier sociological theories were dislodged, as is evidenced by 'the teacher in Hargreaves' study who may not have read Le Bon but noted the risks of escalation of incidents through contagion (Hargreaves 1975 p 230).

In the 1970s ethologists, influenced both by labelling theory and by social psychology, were also attempting to explain not only classroom violence but also riots on the football terraces with reference to some allegedly fundamental and persistent reservoirs of aggression in animal and human groups, expressed in more or less complex aggressive rituals, which only overspilled into violence when disturbed by external authorities (Marsh et al 1978).

Perhaps some of the deficiencies in Marsh's approach are illustrated by setting it alongside the work of Willis on the transition from school to work, who emphasised the importance of social analysis which

takes account not simply of the meanings attributed to situations by pupils but also tries to grapple with the structural factors like class and culture, in terms of constraint and opportunities they provide (Willis 1978)

What is missing from many studies is a central concern not simply with pupils' lives or even with pupil violence or other disturbances, or indeed with how to control pupils in the classroom, but rather a way of understanding acts of protest. A complication is to determine what we mean by protest, given the variety of forms it may take: individual or collective, destructive or non-destructive, spontaneous or planned, short-lived or long-term, assault of self-mutilation (Fitzgerald 1977 p 119).

Peasants Revolts?

The Burston rebellion illustrates in part what has been called in another context (Walton 1984 p 15) the peasant revolt thesis. Of this 25 year long strike by pupils in a remote Norfolk village, it was hoped that "this remarkable event will soon be recognised, along with the story of Tolpuddle, as one of the great developments in the fight for independence of the rural working man" (Zamoyska 1985 p 111). A clear link has been drawn by commentators between the actions of the pupils within the school and the struggles of socialists and others for improved conditions for agricultural labourers. The assumption here is that conditions in the school reflect rural underdevelopment and that protest by pupils is a manifestation of rural revolt.

Urban Guerrilla Struggles?

Another contrasting, and even rival, perspective is that of the urban guerrilla struggle. It is a mistake to confine this explanation to the area of communal disturbances, like for instance the 1981 'riots' in Britain, or even to restrict it to isolated examples such as the 1981 'riot' in St. Saviours School, Liverpool. The 1911 children's strikes provide a more striking example spread across the much larger canvas of many large towns.

Acts of Rebellion?

The comparison with guerrilla war may break down at the point where the commentator attributes to isolated acts by rebellious pupils a continuity and collective ideological unity or commitment which they do not possess. Perhaps our perspective on demonstrators by pupils needs to recognise that the disturbances we witness are generally not ambitious revolutionary plans designed to overthrow the authority of the school or indeed to use this as the first step towards the transformation of society. It may be more realistic to see them as acts of rebellion which illustrate widespread divisions of social class, age, sex, race and power in society, but which in general do not aim at or achieve basic transformations of policies and structures, either within the school, in the education system or in society at large.

Characteristics

In some ways the protest is a particular cause of the riot. Yet at the same time, the word "riot" has connotations which confuse rather than clarify. Perhaps the borderline between riots and demonstrations may be viewed in terms of the degree to which participants

at the time display collectively some purposeful protest in respect of one or more grievances. But the broader task of defining what is meant by protest precedes the description of its characteristics. Whereas observed behaviour may not be interpreted as protest, the meaning attributed to it by participants may be otherwise. Thus, self-mutilation could be viewed either as a manifestation of individual disturbance or as a form of protest. Then again, there are so many forms of protest. Thus it is difficult to distinguish from other forms of collective disturbances in schools. In the case of a walk-out at one school, for instance, when the central heating broke down, some pupils may have been protesting, others simply reacting or their motives may have been mixed.

A description of the life history of a particular incident cannot be undertaken in this limited space, and in any case it would not illustrate the wide variety of protests which occur in schools. But some general points can be made about the nature of such protests, in the light of this survey.

The largest single kind of protest (30%) took the form of sit-ins of one kind or another, sometimes associated with marches, lock-outs or other demonstrations. Other forms of protest included a march round the school playingfield, a strike and picket at the school gates, chaining the school gates and throwing stones and tomatoes at teachers, and 200 pupils barricading themselves in the gymnasium. Most protests took the form of physically visible demonstrations like sit-ins or walk-outs. Petitions were relatively rare.

The duration of most demonstrations was brief, the overwhelming majority lasting less than three hours, the longest extending over three days.

Incidence

Among a whole range of collective disturbances such as fights, attacks and protests noted by informants in this survey, 20%, reported by nearly a quarter of positive respondents, took the form of strikes, demonstrations, sit-ins or other similar incidents involving pupils. Yet one has the impression from the media that when disturbances occur in schools, they always take the form of violence such as fights or assaults, rather than protests. From the written record too, it might be observed that the somewhat discontinuous history of pupil protest suggests not simply that one asks why they occur but also the further question as to why there are not more protests. A parallel drawn with the prison and the inner city highlights this point. Given that prison conditions have been criticised by humane observers from John Howard to the present day, the puzzle is not so much why the Dartmoor Mutiny of 1932 and the riots of the 1970s along with the great Hull prison riot of 1976 occurred, so much as why there have not been outbreaks of rioting in every other year as well. And in the inner cities, the lack of riots in 1982 and 1983 was almost as much a talking point for commentators as the quest for the origins of the 1981 disturbances themselves (Kettle 1982a; Kettle 1982b; Kettle and Hodges 1982).

But the school protest is susceptible to the same processes of amplification or suppression by the authorities and the media as other forms of distur-

bance. Media responses, for instance, are conditioned to a degree by the information the police choose to feed to them in the first place. And the same is true of the choices made by school head teachers. It is easy to see why the authorities will tend to act differently in different circumstances. In a study in a related field, I noted that a pitch invasion at a Leeds United football match was treated very differently by police and local and national media. The police played the incident up at half time until they had convinced the Football Club of the need for money to fence off the pitch, then subsequently were concerned to deny there had been a pitch invasion at all. The officer in charge of crowd control told the local Yorkshire Evening Post that his men had ordered the crowd onto the pitch as part of preventing policing. By then, of course, the national papers had no more interest in this "non-news", having used a range of headlines to discredit Leeds fans (Adams 1978a; Adams 1982). The point here is not who is right so much as to appreciate the variety of versions of a disturbance which exists and how different considerations may cause people to change their versions. In this case, latterly it did not suit the police to give the impression that they could not cope with such a pitch invasion, so they played it down and asserted that they were always in charge. But that only made sense once the directors had met to approve the additional expenditure for crowd control measures.

In this survey, it is not possible to compare the versions of different parties to disturbances. But even from the inevitably partial standpoint of pupils, the survey suggests that some incidents attracted more media attention than others. Thus, pupil protests, in the view of pupils themselves, were played down by teachers, whilst cases of arson leading to substantial damage seem to have been reported to the media by teachers. In line with the case study of the pitch invasion, it seems appropriate to consider that a head teacher who wanted to ensure that the reason for disruptions to timetables and class closures was widely known to lie outside staff control would have a strong motive for publicising the burning down of part of the school. On the other hand to admit to outsiders that pupils were demonstrating might be felt to be to admit to a failure to manage. In the same vein, I recall the outrage of a visiting party of judges in a borstal when during their visit they witnessed the presentation to the governor of a petition concerning the bad state of the food. In contrast with most of the staff, the judges felt that, far from its granting, the actual presentation of the petition reflected on the management of the institution and should not have been allowed at all.

Finally, it is noteworthy that informants tended to recall that cases of bomb scares in schools were played down by staff as well. Perhaps, staff recognised in such cases that, as with protests, the publicising of an incident would lead to imitative behaviour.

Bearing in mind the above caveats about the difficulty of establishing the frequency of disturbances, in general, some points about the incidence of pupil protests can be made. Protests were reported from schools in all parts of the country covered by the survey. Protest was not confined to inner city or even urban schools. The overwhelming majority occurred

in secondary schools. Of these three-quarters (21) were 1000 pupils or more. A significant minority of disturbances were in primary schools, although only two could be called collective protests. Most protests took place on school premises during teaching hours in term-time. Sometimes boys or girls protested in single sex schools, but most cases involved mixed protests in co-educational schools. Invariably protests were one-off affairs though the factors leading to them seem often to have included chronic disaffection of one kind or another amongst pupils. Exceptionally, repeated protests of a similar kind were reported at a time interval of, say, a year.

Participants

This survey did not set out to discover whether factors associated with gender, age or race correlate with the incidence of pupil protests in schools. However, responses indicate that girls often play a prominent part in disturbances, either on their own or alongside boys. The fact that the sample of informants interviewed was overwhelmingly white and that over half had middle-class parents or guardians, says more about the college student population from which it was drawn than about the incidence of protests by black or working class pupils, although both groups were involved in such incidents.

Most protests involved secondary school pupils in their middle years at school, that is fourteen and fifteen year olds. But there were notable exceptions. In one case an entire school in North East England walked out and held a sit-in on the playing field following rumours of boy's expulsion and only returned to classes when the head had given reassurances that the rumours were unfounded. In another case the entire upper sixth of a mid-Wales school walked out, surrendered prefects' badges and picketed the school gates until the head reversed the banning of a few pupils from A levels following end-of-year horseplay. In 6 cases, or at least 10% of disturbances, incidents seemed to be related closely to the transition of fifth or sixth form pupils who were leaving.

Protests by the entire body of affected pupils were more likely to cause the school authorities to change their practices than sectioned protests by a proportion of pupils. It was rare for demonstrations against head teachers' actions or policies to achieve total success, although in some cases modifications seem to have been achieved. Thus, in a West Yorkshire school the new head teacher introduced homework diaries and banned the wearing of denim jeans so about 200 pupils held a sit-in over a three-day period on the sportsfield at the end of which the ban on jeans was restricted to new pupils but homework diaries were still introduced. Given the disciplined nature of the school regime, the size of many protests may come as a surprise. Over half the reported protests involved more than 100 pupils and four involved more than 300 pupils.

In an ethnographic study of boys' experiences in a residential community home with education on the premises, I noted that the institution's population does not divide once and for all into conformists and deviants. It is more accurate to describe a range of responses by pupils to their situation. Further, a pupil

may adopt differing roles in different circumstances (Adams 1978b). In the present survey, several pupil informants observed how some pupils in the higher streams of comprehensives, perceived as respectable and more conformist by teachers, played the part of initiators of disturbances and then retreated from active participation while those from the lower streams who might be identified more obviously as trouble-makers carried the protests forward and were picked out subsequently by the staff for punishment as ring-leaders. There is a need to explore further the implications of this finding, with regard to a growing body of ethnographic research into pupil deviance (Woods 1986; p.160).

Barrington Moore comments that very different sets of people provide mass support, lead and profit ultimately from a revolution (Barrington Moore 1977; p.417) and in a much more restricted setting the same may be said of school protests. Although it seemed as though the pupils most involved as leaders of disturbances, including protests, were those who staff would see either as less able or as more disruptive, or both, many pupil informants suggested that these leaders to a large extent were discharging the weapons supplied to them by pupils viewed by staff as respectable.

In several instances, protests were initiated and fuelled by so-called respectable pupils in this way, but carried forward by others. One informant in the current survey referred to her experience moving to and fro across the border of what she saw as deviance. She rose to be a senior prefect but on occasions she helped to set up rule-breaking situations, with the motto that "I enjoyed myself . . . the rules were quite strict . . . it could be very boring . . . it was nice to bend some of them"

Origins

Any discussion of the origins of protests in schools at this stage is largely speculative. But some general comments about factors associated with the outbreak of protests can be made, drawing on the quite distinct, but related, fields of large-scale riots in prisons, in both Britain and the U.S.A. This is not to imply that necessarily there is a common causality for these very different phenomena. It is merely to indicate that similar factors may recur and to pose the question as to whether this has implications for the school setting. So the following discussion should be taken as a basis for discussion rather than as proven.

It makes sense to distinguish long term, structural or chronic factors from immediate, trigger or precipitating factors, though as has been appreciated in a recent report on the Broadwater Farm Riot, they interact in a complex fashion and the immediate factors should not be assumed to have less fundamental causal significance simply because they are not chronically present (Broadwater Farm Inquiry 1986, p.191).

Chronic factors are three-fold:-

- i. a social and political climate which maintains or reinforces the subordinate, dependant status of the inmates in the institution relative to peers elsewhere.

- ii. the coercive nature of the regime at least in the period covered by this survey, when physical control was the ultimate sanction.
- iii. the tendency for the institution to act as effective custodian and therefore to contain physically and for the growth of an 'anti-culture' among potential protestors.

The significant features of the situation of prisoners or residents of a downtown district in Toxteth or Brixton may seem at first sight difficult to apply to the circumstances of school pupils. But it is arguable that children and young people in the disturbance-prone school are in a setting which downstages them relatively in terms of status.

The link between the threat of control by physical force as employed by prison staff or police and corporal punishment in the classroom may seem tenuous but nonetheless it is real.

Just as after 1967 increasing effectiveness in prison security curtailed escapes and made institutions much more effectively into warehouses from which contained pressures could not be vented easily, so the worsening economic conditions of the 1970s emphasised restrictions of physical and social mobility by residents in some ghetto-like localities. Similarly, in some schools, an emphasis upon their custodial role parallels the existence and/growth of a culture among some pupils which emphasises themes running counter to respectability and being a good pupil in the terms of staff. (Willis 1978).

Chronic factors include also the social and political climate. In the years since 1968, the climate which once might have fostered widespread student rebellion had altered adversely. Whereas in 1968, Paris students were protesting for change, in 1986 their demonstrations were directed against proposed government reforms.

It is difficult to isolate precipitating factors from the wider context since the outbreak of a protest, like any other collective disturbance, is the product of the complex interplay of psychological and social forces in which the triggers of the explosion of an incident may interact with the responses of the authorities at the actual scene of the outbreak of visible disorder. Further, the response of the authorities, media and so on may contribute to the initiation of an incident or may actually damp down or prevent a riot. In the light of these comments four precipitating factors can be identified.

- i. an institutional regime which protestors experience either as already repressive or as suddenly moving in that direction
- ii. specific weaknesses in the way the institution is managed which either prevent staff being sensitive to incipient disturbances or lead them through mishandling to provoke them.
- iii. a breakdown in relationships between staff and potential protestors.
- iv. a precipitating incident.

There is a similarity between the complaints of prisoners in the Hull prison riot of 1976 that the regime was becoming tougher and the views of blacks in Brixton that the police were cracking down unfairly on them. Often in such circumstances there is a divergence between the view of the authorities and that of the protestors or rioters. It is unlikely that protests by pupils will attract much sympathy from teachers, since any demonstration of collective opposition to the education system contradicts the idea that the school knows what is in the best interests of its pupils (Tapper and Salter 1978; p.109).

The significance of the first factor above is that, whatever staff perceived, protesters felt that they were getting a raw deal. As far as the second factor is concerned, it is noteworthy that protests exploit existing weaknesses in the way institutions are run rather than creating them. There is invariably a schism between staff and inmates at the point where a protest becomes manifest and then an incident occurs which catalyses all the above factors and is able to convert potential into actual disorder by functioning as an igniting spark. It is worth noting that such an incident may seem trivial in itself but taken in the context of the chronic and precipitating factors identified above will acquire the significance of a spark before a forest fire. Of course, later events, including crucially the responses of the authorities, will help to determine whether the forest fire escalates into a conflagration.

The vast majority of protests by pupils in this survey was precipitated by a specific grievance. Most commonly, this involved a school rule which pupils regarded as unjust. The most common way in which this was recalled (4 cases) was as a shift towards a more restrictive rule, for instance, concerning girls' make-up or school uniforms.

A typical example is a sit-in by most of the pupils in the upper school (mostly 14 to 16 year-olds) of a medium sized (1000) pupils comprehensive in Sheffield in 1973, when during a wet break they occupied the school hall and afterwards refused to move. There had been rumours for a few days that teachers were going to tighten up on the wearing of uniforms for both boys and girls. Resentment grew among pupils that girls were going to have to wear standard styles of skirts and boys were going to have to wear standardised blazers, badges, socks and ties. Pupils saw much of the motivation for this as coming from the headmaster and in fact when he left shortly afterwards school uniforms disappeared with him.

In a further four cases, protests were a consequence of lunch-time restrictions on pupils arising from industrial action by staff. Other precipitating issues mentioned included a dispute over a threatened expulsion, overheated classrooms in the heatwave summer 1976 and dissatisfaction with the poor quality of school dinners. Sometimes the issue was limited to one class or even a lesson.

As a girl recalled of her Lancashire grammar school in 1977:

"I remember the whole of our Latin class refusing to turn up for a latin lesson because we decided it was too boring . . . so we found a spare classroom and stayed there for the lesson time . . . the teacher

eventually found us and went to the headmistress to complain . . . we were told how pathetic we all were and then the incident was forgotten"

In a comprehensive school with over 2000 pupils in Cumbria, in September 1978 pupils went on strike for over four weeks over the withdrawal of bus contracts from many pupils. Eventually, after parental and community support and media attention had raised the issue to the point where some councillors resigned, the concessionary fares were re-introduced.

Sometimes an escalated protest occurred if the behaviour of a staff member impinged on the wider population of pupils as this girl's account of a demonstration in a Sheffield comprehensive in April 1976 indicates:

"Whilst in the third form a large number of fourth year girls were offended by comments made by the deputy headmistress regarding their appearance and behaviour. She implied they were slovenly and sluttish. At this the girls tried to draw other girls from various years to demonstrate against these accusations. Pupils did not leave the classrooms they were in to demonstrate, but at lunch time the whole school (around 300 pupils) congregated - however many pupils were not even aware why they were there. There was no violence and even though the police were called in no arrests or charges were made. At the time it seemed a very dramatic and disturbing incident (---) A formal apology was offered from the deputy headmistress. This appeared to be sufficient to appease the girls."

The factors which induce conformity in the inmates of institutions are not simple to unravel. Apart from the major considerations discussed above, it has to be appreciated that the absence of overt rebellion is not necessarily an indication that the subjects are not inclined to resist. It may be simply that they do not consider it worth their while to demonstrate collectively; their outward compliance has been bought at a price. Or they may incline towards other tactics of escape, real or symbolic (Cohen and Taylor 1975).

Again, we cannot talk about the school as a homogeneous setting with a uniform tendency to produce protests. One class may be a relative Colditz compared with another. Further, the crucial factor is not so much whether the regime is controlling but in what aspects of pupils' experience control occurs and how the authorities try to maintain it. Paul Willis found that the lads in his midlands study, rather than challenging the system head-on, marked out their territory distinctively in cultural terms (Willis 1978).

Following Willis's work on the culture of working class male pupils, is it conceivable that some populations of people are less protest-prone than others? For instance, it has been argued that anti-semitic inhumanity in World War Two would have been lessened if the Jews themselves had protested. But this ignores many recorded examples of collective resistance in such circumstances, including the revolt and later escape of 300 prisoners in labour camp Lat Sobibor in 1943 (Gilbert 1986; p.618). Such resistance continued even when German reprisals were aimed specifically to eliminate it (Gilbert 1986; p.184). The

isolation of the Jews in ghettos did not stamp it out (Gilbert 1986; p.314). Surely the relevant question here is how some groups acquire reputations for characteristics at variance with the historical record. And in the case of children, of course, the record of the history of protest is fragmented and has yet to be written.

It is often alleged that riots are born in long hot summers. Whether or not this is true of race riots in the U.S.A., cold weather seems almost as likely to produce pupil protests in schools in Britain. This suggests that the origins of protests are to be found more in conditions of schooling and specific grievances arising within the school than in external or environmental factors, though these may have a contributory part to play. Thus, demonstrations by pupils arising from disputes over rules governing the wearing of school uniform arose in autumn, spring and summer terms. In such disputes it was the inflexibility of rules and the lack of choice by pupils which was at issue and not the heat or the cold itself.

Much has been made of the argument that in general violence may be induced by mimicry and in particular some of the summer 1981 riots were "copycat" riots or that violence on television may be copied by young, impressionable viewers. To what extent may pupil protest be understood primarily as "copycat" phenomenon? In the last resort, there is little new under the sun. Every disturbance will display at least some characteristics of an incident which has occurred elsewhere. But specifically, in only three protests did pupils make an explicit reference to another disturbance as a way of providing a possible explanation for their own behaviour.

The complexity of processes of interaction and influence involved in the initiation of disturbances makes clear-cut assertions unwise. But speculation may be advanced in the light of this study that "ringleaders" should not be viewed so much as originators of disturbances as contributors to their precipitation. That is, leaders play an important part during the life history of particular disturbances, but for a proper understanding of the processes involved a fuller investigation of the different kinds of leadership and influence, in its more and less visible aspects, needs to be carried out.

Several pupils noted an association between increased disturbances in their schools and externally-induced events, notably strikes as part of campaigns by teachers and ancillary staff. Three protests by pupils were allegedly linked with the restrictions imposed on them as a consequence of industrial action by lunch-time supervisors. One strike by pupils apparently was copying a teachers' strike in the winter of 1979. Two pupils referred to the impact on their schools of growing militancy amongst pupils in the late 1970s. As one former Bristol pupil put it:

During the 6th form we began to direct the 'trouble' towards the obtaining of representation in school decisions (i.e. National Union of School Students not allowed, Rock against Racism or Anti-Nazi League)."

However, in general, the origins of protests in schools cannot be located simply in the growth of militancy in the late 1970s, since informants reported incidents occurring during their entire school careers, from 1973 to 1981, with a concentration in the years 1976 and 1977 (one third of incidents).

Responses

To the complications of retrospective research must be added the difficulty of providing any firm commentary on how different parties to pupil protests responded without reference to an observer stationed with each at the time, to chart the complexities of stances, intra-group differences and shifting positions through time. Therefore, the following observations are made within the limitations imposed by this pupil-based survey.

Gut reactions to disturbances involving pupils in terms of the psychological defects of individuals tend to ignore their social origins and particularly may neglect the fact that some incidents may be in part, at least, responses to staff practices. Whilst more loosely such factors as the way teachers manage their lessons or the way heads manage their schools may be identified (4 cases), in specific terms at least two incidents seem to have been induced directly by alleged attacks by staff on pupils.

Generally, protests which took the form of a sit-in or mass demonstration tended to be responded to by head teachers, who would go to where the pupils were and talk or harangue them. Invariably, demonstrations came to an end at such a point. Pupils' reports indicate commonly that in such circumstances as much had been achieved as could be expected and there was no point in prolonging the action.

Such immediate responses by staff were generally followed up by two kinds of behaviour. First, in some cases account was taken of the reasons for the protest and some slight concession was granted, for instance, in the case of pupils objecting to uniform regulations. Second, in most cases punishments were meted out to pupils identified as ringleaders. These varied from canings and detentions to suspensions and expulsions in what were deemed to be the more serious incidents.

It is interesting to speculate on the instances where staff apparently applied no sanctions. Was this a reflection of management style, or a tacit recognition that the protest was partly or wholly justified? In such circumstances another feature was noted which recurs throughout the survey, namely the tendency for staff to play down some incidents whilst others were given a high profile. In the school just mentioned, perhaps due to the aftermath of the Birmingham pub bombing, bomb scares were a popular way in which disaffected fourth or fifth year leavers especially could protest and bring about effective half-day abandonment of all lessons while buildings were searched. Whilst staff seemed to allow media coverage of these, riots or strikes by pupils were invariably played down. Research into the recent miners' strike in Britain indicates that responses by the authorities, and police in particular, are crucial factors contributing to subsequent disturbances (Jones 1986).

This current study provides little evidence of the responses of the wider community to protests by pupils. But we can guess from the data that issues which arouse parental support pupils - at least 10% of the incidents identified - may tend to attract a neutral to positive response from the wider community. On the whole, demonstrations and strikes do not receive very favourable media coverage in Britain and recent efforts by young activists to campaign for a better deal for pupils have not been received favourably in many quarters. 'BLOT', the newspaper of the National Union of School Students, was banned by staff in many schools.

Clearly, responses by the authorities to a near-riot are capable either of damping it down or suppressing it or contributing to its escalation. One Birmingham pupil whose cousin attended a nearby comprehensive school reported an incident in 1977 when more than a hundred pupils from that school marched to her own "shouting 'come and join us, we're going on strike.' Nobody joined because the teachers rang up from the other school and they were met at the front gate by five or six teachers who tried to bide time until the police came. When the police came they just dispersed all over the place. Nobody from our school went and joined them mainly because we were all in lessons at the time and because we only saw it out of windows and things, that they were marching through and trying to get into the school." In this school the pupil reported classroom disturbances as very common in a context where a new stricter headteacher was less in touch with pupils.

In some cases, pupils were very aware of the high profile given to incidents at particular schools in the local or national media and in seven cases pupils contacted the press and managed to get some coverage for their protest. In other cases, every effort was made by staff and the authorities to play disturbances down.

It needs to be recognised that the role of the media in the reporting of disturbances is not determined solely by the way school staff respond, since the way is open for pupils or parents, participants or bystanders, to telephone a reporter at any time and thereafter factors even less under the influence of the authorities will come into play.

Conclusions

If the results of this survey are typical, then protests by pupils are occurring regularly in schools all over Britain, without regard to urban or rural setting, location or size of school, sex of pupils or time of year.

The existence of pupil protest is not an invitation to condone pupil misbehaviour, but neither, is it to be dismissed with the comment that all is well in our schools. But just because some pupils protest does not mean that all schools are run badly. And just because many pupils complain about the way schools are managed does not mean automatically that the schools should be run differently. However it does seem that questions need raising about whether the wishes of the children are sought in the running of some schools and if not why they are not.

An obvious limitation of this study at this interim stage is its reliance on pupils' own versions of disturbances. This selectivity is more crucial in the light of research into life history of disturbances in a distinct but related area, which suggests that more detailed attention needs to be paid to excavating the versions of disturbances which are constructed, held, modified or even abandoned by different parties to them (Adams 1982). Disturbances in school are no less subject to being used in the interests of their different parties. Thus, although the 1911 strikes in schools were widespread in Hull, in all the surviving school log books for Hull held in Beverley County Record Office I found only one reference to them. Perhaps it is significant that the headteacher concerned, in Crowle Street Boy's School, was using the strike to point up in contrast his own good discipline: "12 Sept. Hull Schoolboys' Strike - not one boy affected in this Department." In contrast this same head was not slow to record absences of children through high sickness rates (reg. 1906-7, January 1910), truancy (reg. 14 July 1911) or bad weather (28 January 1910). Beverley C.R.O. 5L 64/1 Crowle Boys School log book 1884-1911).

The factors to which pupils themselves ascribe a whole variety of protests, from strikes to more limited disturbances may be impossible to corroborate in retrospect. But their reflections offer a striking commentary on the system as seen from below. Although recalling a large co-educational comprehensive school in Birmingham, one girl could have been speaking for many other pupils when she said that "a lot of it is the power struggle. It's like anything where there is someone over you. There's always a struggle albeit really subtle. I think often you try to get away with a bit more and a little bit more . . . trying to see if you can get away with not going to lessons, to see if you can do something to almost change it. You know, can I stop lessons? I can't stand in the middle of the school and shout 'out everybody.' I can't do that as a pupil. I can ring up the fire brigade and get them to come out so lessons will be stopped. I'm sure that's behind it."

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the influence of fathers' unemployment on the values of school children

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It comes as no surprise that the alarmingly high levels of unemployment that have been experienced recently should be accompanied by social research into the consequences of unemployment for individuals and our society as a whole. The research presented here, however, takes a rather different approach to the possible psychological consequences of unemployment to the majority of existing research from both the current recession or the research conducted at the time of the high unemployment in the 1930's.

Whereas the overwhelming majority of previous social psychological research into the effects of unemployment has concentrated on the actual individual who fails to find or loses a job, it is highly likely that effects of unemployment extend beyond that individual to family and friends, particularly if the individual is a breadwinner for a family unit. The particular focus of this research is the children within families whose father has experienced unemployment during those childrens formative years.

As well as focusing almost exclusively on the individual experience of unemployment, previous research has also concentrated almost exclusively on the period of unemployment, assuming that this time is when individuals are most likely to suffer the main effects of job deprivation. The implications of the literature reviewed here, though, are that value changes brought about by unemployment are likely to stay with an individual for life.

Another departure from the norm is the concentration on the directly economic aspects of unemployment. The dominant model from within psychology has considered that the most important psychological effects of unemployment are not caused by the deprivation of the manifest consequence of paid employment, the earning of money, but rather on the loss of the latent consequences of employment. These latent functions of paid employment are:-

- 1 An imposed time structure on the waking day
- 2 An enlargement of the scope of social relations beyond the immediate family
- 3 A demonstration that collectivity can transcend the purposes and achievements of the individual
- 4 Work assigns social status and clarifies personal identity
and
- 5 Work requires regular activity.⁽¹⁾

Thus, the majority of social-psychological research into the detrimental effects of unemployment has concentrated on these 'incidental' aspects of unemployment, and largely ignored the primary function of unemployment, to earn money. This concentration has been criticised by some psychologists who would like to see a more economically aware psychology.⁽²⁾

While it is possible to think of many ways in which those children may be affected psychologically (for instance, in their self-esteem, view of the future, attitude to work and psychological health), this research will concentrate on just one feature of the possible effects, the effect on their socioeconomic values. This focus is particularly interesting for three reasons. Firstly, there is evidence that the socioeconomic value system of individuals is 'learned' at a young age, as early perhaps as the age of eight to twelve years.⁽³⁾ Secondly, once the core values have been determined, they seem to remain relatively stable over the entire adult life. Finally, it is the individual values which, to a large extent, determine political involvement, voting behaviour and ultimately changes in the nature of society.⁽⁴⁾

'The Silent Revolution'

Inglehart's theory of the 'Silent Revolution', based on Maslow's need hierarchy, suggests that economic value formation is a function of the individual's formative affluence. Maslow's model of human motivation⁽⁵⁾ states that a person will strive to fulfil whichever needs are most pressing at that phase in their lives, and the needs that humans face can be arranged hierarchically. The lower order needs are those necessary for survival, such as acquiring food, shelter and safety. When these have been adequately dealt with, though, people will no longer be concerned with them, but they will strive for higher order goals such as social, aesthetic and intellectual ones.

To this notion that individuals concentrate on fulfilling the needs that confront them at the present time, Inglehart proposed that an individual's motivational re-orientation is not constantly fluctuating, but that one's basic motivational orientation is to a large degree determined by the environment one experience during the formative, pre-adult years. Those who are brought up in relative affluence have their basic, lower-order needs satisfied and their values reflect more intellectual and aesthetic concerns, while a person who experiences hardship or

insecurity during their pre-adult years would put a high priority on those aspects of life that are concerned with providing a high level of security or material wealth. At a political level this would lead them to value governmental policies concerned with the standard of living, rising prices, a healthy economy, law and order, national security and so on. In contrast, a person who experiences affluence during their youth and does not feel insecure or in danger of failing to near the subsistence level will tend to prioritise the social and non-material aspects of life. This will lead to a concern with 'quality of life' political issues such as the promotion of more widespread participation in decision-making in government and at work, the protection of free speech and ecological issues.

Inglehart has suggested that post-materialists (individuals who hold these values) have become more prevalent in advanced western cultures due to the greatly increased standards of living brought by the widespread affluence of the last few decades. The unprecedented economic growth undergone this century by western civilisation means that the vast majority of individuals will never experience material deprivation – our incomes are now at least ten times higher than those of individuals living in the subsistence economies characteristic of the third world.

It is important at this stage to define what is meant by the term 'values', and how values differ from other levels of representation like attitudes and beliefs. The critical features of values is that there are relatively few of them, but they are of fundamental importance in determining the whole orientation of a person. Thus a person who for instance, values equality highly, is likely to have favourable attitudes to a variety of issues such as the re-distribution of wealth, feminism and anti-racism, while a high value placed on wealth is likely to determine attitudes to work, the economy, taxation and so on. The other important feature about the types of value here is that they are almost always universally held to be beneficial but it is in the order of prioritisation that individuals differ. Whilst there is almost total consensus that freedom, prosperity, security, peace and the like are desirable, there is disagreement between people as to which of these values should take precedence over the others. Thus post-materialists are not anti-materialist; but simply think that other issues are more important than materialist ones.

According to this theory, values, once formed, might be subject to some change due to factors such as economic booms and recessions but these swings should not be of sufficient magnitude to overcome the powerful effects of formative affluence. The notion that we are more 'malleable' to influence when young is not new – indeed it is widely accepted that our outlook on many issues such as religion and morality are determined at a young age.

A large amount of empirical data has now been collected to test this theory, and the evidence has been highly supportive of it. The most persuasive of this evidence is based on comparisons between different age cohorts and countries at different stages of economic development. The main prediction made by

the theory is that younger birth cohorts will contain a higher proportion of post-materialists than older cohorts who were socialised during the poorer and less secure economic climate before and soon after the second world war. Not only has Inglehart found this, but he has also found that this difference between the young and old in post-materialism has been greatest in countries where the rate of economic growth has been greatest (like West Germany) and smallest in countries where it has been slower (eg. Britain).⁽⁶⁾ Furthermore, there is evidence that this is a genuine cohort effect, and not simply a life-cycle effect whereby people become more materialist as they get older.⁽⁷⁾ More recent evidence also shows that the youngest adult cohorts who have experienced the current recession during their formative years are showing a return to a more materialist outlook.⁽⁸⁾

In Inglehart's lengthy analysis of all of the causes of an individual's value orientation, unemployment was not seen as an important factor. While this omission was understandable given the low levels of unemployment between the second world war and the early seventies, any theory attempting to account for political orientation in the 1980's clearly needs to consider unemployment as a major factor.⁽⁹⁾

It is not difficult to derive interesting, important and testable hypotheses about unemployment from Inglehart's theory of political values. Firstly, the theory would predict that unemployment would lead to a more materialist value orientation. Not only do most unemployed individuals experience a cut of income to between a half and a third of their employed levels,⁽¹⁰⁾ but unemployment also brings a strong sense of insecurity – insecurity and poverty being the two most central causes of a materialist outlook. A second prediction from the theory is that any swing towards materialism due to the insecurity and poverty brought by unemployment is likely to be greatest amongst younger people, perhaps between the ages of eight and twelve, and to a lesser extent, the mid to late teens.⁽¹¹⁾

The empirical work reported in this paper tests these predictions. Measuring the value orientation of fifteen to eighteen year olds should find that those with fathers who have experienced more unemployment between their eighth year and the present day should be more likely to be rated towards the materialist end of Inglehart's scale, when compared to individuals whose fathers have experienced less or no unemployment in that time.

Method

The Sample:

The pupils from two comprehensive schools were used as the subjects in this survey. The first school was a large co-educational in Bedford, the second was a boys school in the East End of London. The self-completion questionnaires were administered by teachers during the form periods in both schools. The data collection took place in December 1984 and October 1985 in the two schools respectively. The achieved samples were 236 and 52. In both cases this was about half the number of total eligible pupils aged between 15-18; although no details of refusal rates are available it is thought likely that some were caused by teachers not being able to administer all of their questionnaires.

The Questionnaire:

For the purpose of the main hypothesis under test, there were two important items on the questionnaire, the measure of materialism and a record of parental unemployment.

Inglehart assessed individuals economic values by a ranking task in which individuals had to decide which sets of possible priorities of governments were most and least important. The first set contains 4 items, which subjects had to rank from one to four:

- * *Maintain order in the nation*
Give people more say in the decisions of government
- * *Fight rising prices*
and
Protect freedom of speech

(the starred items are the "Materialist" ones, the others are the postmaterialist ones.)

The second list contained eight items, and subjects had to indicate which three they considered to be the three most important, and which three they considered to be the least important.

- * *Maintain a high rate of economic growth*
- * *Make sure that the country has strong defence forces*
Give people more say in how things are decided at work and in their country.
Try to make our cities and countryside more beautiful
- * *Maintain a stable economy*
- * *Fight against crime*
Move towards a friendlier, less impersonal society
Move towards a society where ideas are more important than money

A total materialism score was computed by adding together all of the rankings of the materialist items. This gave a score between a possible 13 and 33, higher scores indicating a more post-materialist orientation.⁽¹²⁾

The logic of this measuring instrument closely parallels the hypothesised nature of human values. It is not that some values are desirable and others undesirable, but rather that they are (by and large) all desirable, individuals differing only in their priorities. Thus it is not that post-materialists shun or are disinterested in money, but just that they are more interested in other things. A ranking task forces choices on the individual in the same way as we have to choose in real life.

The experience of unemployment from each subject's eighth year was measured using a grid. A box represented each year since their eighth birthday, and subjects entered a tick into each box if their father had been unemployed during that year. The scores were then transformed into percentage of years when the father had been unemployed. For instance, if a fifteen year old subject ticked two of the boxes, they would be given a score of 25 (2/8).⁽¹³⁾ Although we were concerned that the schoolchildren may have had problems remembering and recording such information, there were no reports of difficulties with this item on the questionnaire.

Other items which are also known or possible predictors of materialism - postmaterialism were also recorded on the questionnaire. These were:-

- Age*
- Voting Intention*
- Father's Job (giving Socio-economic status)*
- Sex*
- Subject's own estimation of wealth*
- Age at which they intend to leave school*
and
Church attendance

At the end of the questionnaire the respondents were asked for their comments with an open-ended question, and thanked for taking part in the survey.

The rest of the items on the questionnaire related to their attitudes to unemployment and other salient political happenings such as the miner's strike. The responses to these items will not be reported here.

Results

The data collected in this survey is clearly inter-related in a very complex manner. This means that the analysis of the data will have to be complex in turn in order to cope with it. The simplest way to analyse the data would be look in turn at the relationship between each individual's materialism score with their scores on each of the other variables, particularly with the 'experience of unemployment' variable.

This could, however, lead to some potentially misleading conclusions. Since, for example, manual workers are typically over-represented among the unemployed, one may end up concluding that there is a casual link between unemployment and materialism, whereas it is, in fact, only a function of the socio-economic class of the unemployed, and the link between socio-economic class and unemployment.

In order, then, to unravel the relative importance of each of the predictor variables (ie. Age, voting intention,⁽¹⁴⁾ socio-economic status, gender, perceived own wealth, church attendance, intended school-leaving age and father's unemployment) on an individual's materialism score, a technique called stepwise multiple regression was used. Multiple regression attempts to predict the score on one variable (here materialism) from the knowledge of another set of variables. Stepwise multiple regression is a refinement of this process, which builds a model that only includes the significant predictors of the variable; that is, the ones whose relationship with that variable could not easily have occurred by chance.

The only variable to be entered to predict scores on the summated materialism scale was voting intention; more left-wing voting intentions being associated with post-materialism. This variable accounted for 9% of the variance in materialism (adjusted R²). Experience of father's unemployment seemed to be unrelated to materialism scores.

It was suspected that the failure of any of the other predictor variables to enter the regression model may have been caused by reliability or validity problems with the materialist scale - although it has been

validated on other subject populations, there are reasons to suspect that it may no longer be measuring materialism reliably given the current political climate and the young respondents. The possible reasons for this will be considered in the discussion.

To test the internal reliability of the scale the second (eight item) block was subject to a Guttman-Lingoes Smallest Space Analysis (SSA). The SSA tests to see whether a scale that is meant to measure just one thing (materialism) is actually represented in one dimension when plotted in space. When this was carried out the four materialist and the four post-materialist items did, indeed, cluster separately, but did not form the tight clusters that one would expect of a uni-dimensional scale (Guttman - Lingoes coefficient of alignment = 0.149, for two dimensions).

In order to get around this problem, each of the 12 items were considered separately. Each pupil was given twelve separate scores, one for each of the items, and each of the scores was subject to a separate stepwise multiple regression as before, using the same predictor variables.

For the sake of brevity the results of all twelve multiple regressions will not be presented, only the two in which father's unemployment was entered as a significant predictor.

These two items were two of the materialist statements, 'Fight rising prices' and 'Fight against crime'. Both of these statements are likely to be ranked as more important by subjects whose fathers had experienced more (or some) unemployment. These effects are both in the direction predicted by the 'unemployment-materialism' hypothesis.

For the 'Fight against crime' item, father's unemployment was the only item to be entered, and it accounted for only 1% of the variance (adjusted R^2). For the 'Fight rising prices' item, father's unemployment was entered first, accounting for 4% of the variance. Then age and voting intention were added in that order, taking the total amount of variance accounted for to 7%; younger and more right-wing subjects were also likely to rate this item as more important.

The other ten items generally showed that when the other predictor variables were entered into the equations, they did so in the direction predicted by Inglehart's theory. The amount of variance accounted was again fairly low for all items, varying from 0% to 8%.

Discussion

The results do provide some evidence for the hypothesis that experience of unemployment causes school-children to develop more and more materialist value orientation, but not in as clear-cut a manner as one might hope. While it was found that school-children whose fathers had been unemployed were more concerned about two of the materialist items, the fight against crime and the fight against rising prices, there was no evidence for a greater materialism on the scale as a whole, and the amount of variance accounted for was quite low. These points will be discussed separately.

The validity of the scale

In Inglehart's analyses he found that the connection between voting behaviour and materialism was not simple. He said that post-materialists were perhaps likely to be less satisfied with the status-quo in Western countries, because of the generally materialist orientation of the culture, and thus would perhaps be more likely to vote for radical parties. This would be in contrast to the fact that post-materialists are most likely to come from affluent backgrounds, and thus if they were to vote according to class they would be more likely to vote for parties with right-wing policies.

So, while the materialism dimension may have been fairly independent of party-political allegiances in a climate of traditional Labourism versus traditional Conservatism, the advent of the 'New Right', or Thatcherism, may have changed that. A look at the six materialist items in the questionnaire shows that they are all now central themes of the present British government, concerned with inflation, law-and-order, defence and the economy. Equally, other political parties have begun to talk in post-materialist terms, parties like the 'Green' or ecology parties and the 'New Left' of the labour party characterised by politicians such as Livingstone and Benn. Thus political debate around these policies may have polarised society on these issues, and instead of values determining political party allegiances, or at least being fairly independent of them, the direction of causality may have reversed so that political party allegiance now determines an individual's response to Inglehart's items. Put another way, Inglehart's questionnaire items may have become party-political slogans that people react to 'automatically' rather than statements which people think about carefully.

A related problem is that some of the items may have undergone a change in their meaning between the late sixties when the scale was developed and now, the mid eighties. In particular, the item 'Make sure that this country has strong defence forces' has taken on new meanings in the light of the heightened awareness of the nuclear weapon debate. Whereas the values are all meant to have positive connotations, this one may conjure up strong negative among some individuals. Another item that may have taken on a different sense is the item referring to giving people 'more of a say in how things are decided at work . . .'. While this may previously have referred to a general industrial democracy, it is now likely that it could be taken to relate directly to the issue of unemployment.

The other reason that this scale might not have yielded a high internal consistency is concerned with the age of the subjects. It has been found by other researchers studying young people's political belief systems that any one individual can hold several apparently inconsistent attitudes or values simultaneously, combining, for instance, extreme right-wing and left-wing views.⁽¹⁵⁾ The general conclusion that has been drawn is that knowledge in the political sphere is very unstable in an individual's pre-adult years, and it is therefore very difficult to measure using scales that embody 'adult' representations of the structure of political debate.

Given these reasons it is perhaps not surprising that the scale, which had been validated in very different political climates and with older subjects, was not unidimensional for our subjects. The new alignment of the scale with the main political parties, though, may put a new importance on the materialist-post-materialist dimension. We will take up this point again later.

The Variance accounted for

In assessing the relevance of an observed effect it is important to get some idea of its magnitude. If only a very small amount of the variance in the dependent variable is accountable for from the presumed cause, the significance may only be theoretical, and be unlikely to make an important contribution to affairs in the real world. It was thus disappointing that father's unemployment could only account for four and one per cent of the variance in the two questionnaire items (3 and 10 respectively) where it seemed to make any contribution at all. To express this in more concrete terms, imagine two schoolchildren who are alike in all other respects, but one of their fathers had been unemployed in a third of the years since they were eight. The predicted difference in rankings for the third item ('Fight rising prices', on a four-point scale) would only be about 0.7 of a place, and a similar amount for the tenth item ('fight against crime') on an eight point scale. While, on the one hand these differences may not be large, from a more detailed consideration of the results it will be argued that these figures may be a considerable underestimation of the true effect of fathers' unemployment.

The first reasons for this may be to do with the contents of the questionnaire and the way in which it was administered. It will be remembered that the self-completion questionnaires were given out by the teachers in the two schools. This is far from an ideal situation, as it allows very little control over the way in which the pupils filled them in. It is quite possible that some of the subjects collaborated in deciding on their value preferences, or simply did not pay much attention to them. It is also likely that some of the pupils may have had difficulty in remembering and accurately recording their fathers' employment histories. Even though an example of a completed 'unemployment grid' was given on the questionnaire, and every care was taken to ensure that the task was explained clearly, it is highly likely that retrospective recollections of father's unemployment from up to 10 years ago would contain errors. The effect of random error thus introduced would be to reduce the calculated strength of the relationship between unemployment and materialism.

The fact that we were only measuring father's unemployment as opposed to family unemployment or total experience of unemployment may also have caused an underestimation of the actual relationship between unemployment in a society and the materialist values of individuals in that society. It is also very possible that even those children who have not experienced any unemployment through their own family may react to the generally high level of unemployment and thus even our 'control group' may be much more materialist than they would have

otherwise been had unemployment been lower. There is, after all, a lot of evidence that even quite young children are aware of the high likelihood that they themselves will experience unemployment, and it is very unlikely that such a gloomy perception of the future that awaits them will not affect them.

A further source of unduly large random error in the measurements may have been caused by the use of single items as measures of materialism, rather than a summated scale. One of the main reasons that psychological scales of measurement usually contain many items is to overcome measurement error. As the responses to a number of items are combined, the error inherent in measuring single items will be minimised. As this was not possible in this case, due to the very low internal reliability of the scale, the dependent variable necessarily contained much unwanted error variance.

A comparison of father's unemployment with the other demographic variables used (ie. age, father's socio-economic status, sex, expected school-leaving age, etc.) gives an additional reason for suspecting that father's unemployment may be a relatively important factor in determining these children's values. A check of how often each of these variables were entered into each of the 12 regression equations shows that Father's unemployment was entered at least as often as any of these other predictor variables. It is not, therefore, as if father's unemployment is low in significance compared to other influences on them, but that none of these seem to be highly important. Given that Inglehart has shown that some of these other demographic variables are important determinants of values, the fact that father's unemployment is more important than these things is a further sign of its potential strength as a factor in determining values.

It is also possible that the full effect of father's unemployment is not evident until a later stage in the individual's life-cycle. Psychological changes within individuals can often 'lay dormant' and only manifest themselves at a later time. As mentioned previously, the political sphere is very unstable in an individual's pre-adult years. Inglehart's materialist scale employs adult representations and when these terms become more meaningful to the individual it can be expected that the effects of father's unemployment become more apparent using this measuring instrument designed for adults. So maybe the effects of father's unemployment on the person's values will only become apparent in adulthood — and after all Inglehart measures the effects of conditions in people's formative years even in very old cohorts of adults. A follow-up of the same group of individuals in five or ten years time may show up larger differences caused by father's unemployment than those detected in this empirical study.

In Summary, this all points to the fact that father's unemployment may be a much more important influence on children's value orientations than has been detected here. Our estimates of the effects are probable underestimates.

Conclusions

The implications of this research are both important and surprising. It has usually been assumed by social researchers that a normal reaction to unemployment is a radicalisation of political attitudes. The fact that this predicted political swing to the left has been seen to be so slight has been treated as a rather unusual finding, and various explanations have been put forward to account for it, such as the lack of any political leadership for the unemployed as a group, or the very individual, isolated way in which unemployment is experienced.

The findings reported here suggest that the political changes brought about by the experience of unemployment may result in a shift in completely the opposite direction, a shift towards right-wing policies.

It has already been argued that the 'New Right' brand of conservatism encapsulates all of the materialist values in Inglehart's 12 items. If, as has been demonstrated, the experience of unemployment causes a shift towards materialism, then it would be reasonable to predict that the experience of father's unemployment in one's youth will lead to values typical of those embodied in the present conservative party. It will take further research to verify these findings and see whether young people are aware of these changes themselves.

While it is impossible at this stage to fully understand the nature and duration of the effects of father's unemployment, politically we could be in a vicious circle. Not only might Conservative governments cause unemployment, but unemployment may cause conservative governments too!

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12. This is logically equal to adding the ranks of the post-materialist items, or of subtracting the ranks of the materialist items from the post-materialist items.
13. In fact, mother's and older siblings' employment histories were also measured, but since we were primarily interested in financial deprivation, and given that we had no other indication of financial dependence, the assumption (albeit crude) was made that the fathers were the main breadwinners, and thus only the father's unemployment was used. This also overcame the difficulty that women's unemployment is often more difficult to identify and define than men's unemployment. It is noted however, that we may have ended up with a rather narrow measure of the experience of unemployment through males. When the analyses were replicated using a combined parental and older sibling unemployment measure the results were largely similar, but it was not quite such a good predictor of materialism.
14. Whilst Inglehart's data opposes the view, it is still arguable that voting intention may be affected by values more than it affects values. If this were the case it would be misleading to treat voting intention as a predictor of values in the multiple regression models. To safeguard against this, the analyses were all also run without entering voting intention. The results with respect to unemployment were totally unaffected.
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Bob Franklin (ed)
THE RIGHTS OF CHILDREN
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It is, as Patricia Hewitt says in her foreward 'astonishing and disturbing how little attention has been paid to the rights of children in this country.' In the early 1970s, while still under the influence of '60s optimism, it sometimes looked as if the issue was making progress, at least in terms of public awareness, if not in legislation. But time passed and very little was achieved - 'consciousness raising' on behalf of children was not a great success. The political activists on the left had other and what they considered to be more important causes. Children's rights, rather like the campaign on behalf of animals, was consigned to the fringe interest groups. And today, apart from the valuable work being done in relation to juvenile justice and children in community homes (and not forgetting the hard won victory for STOPP), 'child care' often looks like nothing more than a euphemism for state nursery facilities 'on demand'.

The debate on children's rights has traditionally focussed on the differences between the 'liberationist' lobby and those known as 'protectionists' or 'paternalists'. Broadly speaking liberationists favour extending a number of 'rights', hitherto held exclusively by adults, to children, for example, to make contracts to become full-time wage earners, to vote, to leave home, and so on. Protectionist-paternalists favour legislation which restricts children from doing on the one hand, while compelling them to do on the other: for example, children have to attend school but are prevented from exercising a vote. Put another way, in the words of Rogers and Wrightson the 'nurturance' orientation 'stresses the provision by society of supposedly beneficial objects, environments, services, experiences, etc., for the child'; whereas the more liberationist tendency stresses 'those potential rights which would allow children to exercise control over their environments, to make decisions about what they want, to have autonomous control over various facets of their lives.' These different perspectives might be said to illustrate the rather artificial distinction between protecting children and protecting their rights.

In the past the most influential participants in the debate have tended to be North American with outstanding contributions coming from among others, Rodham, Gross and Gross, Wald, Farson, Hold, Worsfold and Rogers and Wrightsman. British academics have not been entirely silent as can be seen from the writings of Hoyles, Harris, Wringe and on the socio-legal aspects King, Tutt, Szwed, Geach, Morris, Giller and Freeman. In Britain the emphasis has recently been on paternalist-protectionist penal reform and organisations such as Justice for Children and the Children's Legal Centre have acted as pressure groups in an attempt to influence practice, rather than to explore the possibilities of young people's social and political emancipation.

The publication of *The Rights of Children*, however, is obviously an attempt by the editor and a few of the essayists to argue for an adventurous and radical reappraisal of conventional attitudes, practices and policies in

order to take the notion of 'rights' beyond 'welfare' and 'justice' in search of new political, educational and sexual freedoms. The liberationist viewpoint is expressed by Franklin in his lucid introduction and in his chapter on political rights and by Tony Jeffs in support of rights at school. Similar claims are made by Gerry Lavery, Robert Adams and Richard Ives for children in care, juvenile delinquents and child sexuality, respectively, though Lavery and Adams are primarily concerned to describe current approaches. Emma MacLennan puts the classic protectionist case in her account of rights at work and Ruth Adler and Alan Dearling provide a Scottish perspective. An innovative feature of this collection is the inclusion of separate chapters on girls' rights and those of black children. Surprisingly there is nothing about the parent-child relationship - surely an arena of oppression?

In some respects the variety of views presented here is to be welcomed. The introduction is an excellent summary of current thinking about 'rights' and Franklin's essay on young people's political enfranchisement is generally thoughtful and fair-minded, as is the piece by Tony Jeffs. Most of the other chapters are equally well written and informative. Perhaps the least successful are those dealing with sexism and racism which effectively obscure the significance of age in preference to gender and colour. (It would be tragic were the children's movement to become fragmented with separate girls' and black groups.) And this points to a weakness in the structure of the book - too many interests are considered, but not any one in the depth demanded by the subject. While these essays constitute a fine introductory text there is much more to be said about the concept of children's rights and in answering objections from different kinds of protectionist theory.

One of the strengths of the book is that it is a clarion call for reform in the public domain. Such reform, however, will be very difficult to obtain, especially in the realms of social, political and educational status. Furthermore, like it or not, the onus is on those of us who are liberationist in outlook to find ways of putting the issue onto the political agenda. But first we have to be clear in our minds that children's 'liberation' is not entirely comparable to that of either women or black people. Childhood is a limited experience for the individual human being - the child grows into adulthood whereas the woman and the black person remain what they are: their condition is permanent. Children are always in motion - they are in the process of becoming full members of the adult community. Our awareness of the stages of growth influences our perception of children and serves as a justification for paternalism - the protection of interests until 'maturity' is reached. However, paternalism is not necessarily malevolent; indeed, its virtue arises from its legitimate concern for those people who are physically, emotionally and intellectually weak or defenceless and in need of some form of sustenance. The fact that paternalism/protectionism is also very often oppressive does not make it analogous to sexism and racism. Ageism, then - the oppression of the young on the basis of age - is a more complex noun.

Secondly, there is no way of avoiding the concept of development and maturity, however unfairly it may be used by ageists to confirm

their prejudiced view of the young. Adler and Dearing call for recognition of the concept in relation to juvenile justice, but is of far more comprehensive relevance. The liberationists' failure to offer any account of development - emotional, intellectual, physical, physiological and psychological - between children of different ages has allowed Freeman, the leading advocate of liberal paternalism, to argue in his important book, *The Rights and Wrongs of Children* (1983); that their case is 'politically naive, philosophically faulty and plainly ignores psychological evidence.' The pretence that children's rights can be won for them by adults (and this fact alone should tell us something about the nature of their abilities) without reference to developmental theory, is counter-productive. We know that children are not an undifferentiated age-group, but this knowledge needs to be consciously incorporated into the liberationist critique or, as I prefer to call it (somewhat clumsily) a humanistic protectionism.

Thirdly, perhaps we should speak of 'reform' rather than 'rights', or even 'interests'. The phrase 'children's rights' is notoriously difficult to discuss with any precision. In Hilary Rodham's famous remark, it is 'a slogan in search of a definition'. Slogans, however, are rarely effective as political tools, even when they abound in definitions. Instead it might be wise to campaign on two levels: for a greater sensitivity on the part of adults towards children, in other words, a certain amount of consciousness raising is necessary, and for legislative change in such areas as juvenile justice a lowering of the voting age, pupil representation in schools and an extension of parental 'duties'. Furthermore, this kind of programme will have a better chance of success if it is presented within the broad framework of paternalist-protectionist politics. After all, the decision to abolish corporal punishment in state schools probably owes more to the protectionist tradition than to liberationist philosophy. The decision which could well prove to be revolutionary in its implications for parent-child relations, is proof that, in Freeman's words, protecting children and protecting their rights are not 'polar positions', but rather 'points on a continuum'.

It would, however, be unreasonable to conclude this review with an emphasis on those issues not covered by these essays, or at least only partially so. Given its introductory focus, the importance of *The Rights of Children* is that it seeks to re-open the debate among academics, social work practitioners, teachers and the general public and that it does so in an intelligent and balanced fashion. Hopefully it will find its way on to the appropriate reading lists in colleges, polytechnics and universities. No doubt most of the essays will be summarily dismissed by the majority of readers. Nevertheless some of the important questions concerning the dignity of children and childhood will have been asked and that's a good beginning.

Harry Hendrick

David Berridge
CHILDREN'S HOMES
Basil Blackwell 1985
ISBN 0 631 14137 5
£7.50 (pbk)

'Children's Homes is one of the most recent
'Children's Homes is one of the most recent
publications arising out of research by the

Dartington Social Research Unit. David Berridge, a member of the unit, spent a week living in each of 20 children's homes, sharing the daily lives of the children and staff. He also met with social workers to discuss the processes by which individual children had arrived in particular homes.

This work by Berridge compliments several other recently published studies currently supported by the D.H.S.S. in a series of Regional Seminars on Decision Making in Child Care. It is hoped they will encourage collaborative responses to research and policy making for children in care.

The Dartington team are well known for their previous studies of institutional life and its implications for child care policy and practice. They have made systematic studies of boarding schools within the private system, Community Homes with Education, Secure Units for children and training for residential care. Berridge has used a similar model to the previous studies, classifying the different types of homes, describing the children and staff experiences, together with in-depth studies of some of the children, their families the reason for care and the children's care careers.

Berridge offers a thoughtful and sensitive analysis of the problems faced by children and workers. His case studies place the research findings in context, reminding the reader these are real children and adolescents. It is a welcome addition to the limited literature on children in residential care making an informed contribution to knowledge which could help residential and field workers unravel some of the issues surrounding the use of residential care.

Parts of the book make painful reading for someone who is an ex worker with children and adolescents in residential communities. This is particularly so when Berridge reports on interviews with social workers who generally saw residential care as something to be avoided rarely as an appropriate placement, despite the social workers' personal experiences of avoiding a residential placement in the first instance, but eventually having to move children into a home following a fostering breakdown. The study describes how workers tend to follow ideological reasoning rather than attempting to match the individual and her family's needs to particular models of care. This reactive mode of response to children's needs is shown to lead to inappropriate placements within the residential sector, or an under-use of those homes offering a more appropriate model of care for particular children.

These last factors need to be posed against the research findings which reveal that the majority of residential workers remain untrained and inadequately supported in their work with unsettled unhappy and sometimes behaviourally difficult children and young people.

This reader is left too with the question 'has social work's reluctance to be positive about residential care locked the service into a vicious circle of low expectations, inadequate resources disappointing results and a disregard for its successes?' Whereas foster care, with its own limitations and disappointments, continues to be viewed as a satisfactory alternative to living with one's own family.

A strength of Berridge's study is that it relates the children's family experiences and situations to the children's care careers. He gives a full picture of the complex situations which bring children into residential care. He also confirms that frequently parents and relatives of children tend to be left out of decision making and discouraged, in some instances, from maintaining regular links with their children. At the same time, the children are not always helped to make sense of the confusing and ever changing family patterns or changing placement experiences. Whether the choice is residential or foster care, Berridge's work demonstrates that as yet social work is failing to make decisions which could provide stable and stimulating living situations for children unable to live within their natural families.

'Children's Homes' brings the general picture of residential care up-to-date. It provides the links between the problems of the families, the proper care of their children, social workers' individual decisions and the resource problems of Social Services Departments. It is absorbing reading as it brings up old and new issues, (training and low expectations as previously mentioned).

It is one of the few studies to query the educational experience of children in care and to question whether children already disadvantaged should be leaving care inadequately prepared at intellectual, economic and emotional levels. The issue of preparation for learning to live on one's own is being tackled by many authorities, but this does not mean that practitioners and policy makers should not review some of the issues raised by the study.

The message from Berridge is that social work should review its placement policy, consider whether decisions are made to suit individual children's and families' needs, think through some of the recent research findings regarding decision making and train and support practitioners to carry out a residential task more appropriate to the 1980's.

Ivis Lasson

Willie More and Andrew Howell
LONG-TERM UNEMPLOYMENT
Pepar Publications 50 Knightlow Road,
Harborne, Birmingham. B17 8QB, 1986
ISBN 0 948680 02 4
£5.00 (pbk)
pp 69

This very short book was written with a specific audience in mind. Its main purpose is to give suggestions on how carers can help the long-term unemployed to cope with the social and psychological consequences of unemployment. For the large number of carers who find themselves in that situation the practical suggestions in the book could well be of some use, but in other ways it is disappointing.

In the first chapter the authors try to make the reader understand and experience some of the problems faced by the unemployed. They do this by interspersing paragraphs describing the effects of unemployment (eg. poverty, loss of self-esteem, etc) with the phrase 'stop reading and think'. At the end of the chapter they summarise the key psychological problems into the four categories, 1. Loss of confidence, 2. Hopelessness 3. Anxiety and 4. Disintegration of Personality (leading to possible suicide).

Chapter 2 states briefly that most practitioners will not have received any specific training on how to cope with the unemployed. The authors conclude that this is a very poor state of affairs, which gives them the justification for sharing their experiences on attempts to help the unemployed in the final two chapters.

Taking the four categories derived in chapter 1, in chapter 3 they suggest methods of helping the unemployed to come to terms with these problems. Their suggestions range from talking through situations in order to overcome loss of confidence to ways of involving suicidal individuals in projects associated with the centre. I find this section of the book to be the most interesting and useful. The examples of counselling methods that are given could well give practitioners ideas of new techniques that they could use both in individual and group situations to help clients to understand and overcome psychological problems.

The final chapter suggests ways in which all of the professionals involved in caring, from practitioners through to policy-makers, should respond to the challenge that long-term unemployment poses. It is argued, for instance that training courses for practitioners should be brought up to date by including a component on unemployment.

I find the publication disappointing in a number of ways. I sympathise with the fact that it does not attempt an analysis of the academic literature on unemployment but there is an almost complete absence of influence from any contemporary research on unemployment regardless of discipline. What references there are to the literature on psychological health are often drawn from sources which are notable for their lack of relevance to unemployment. While it can sometimes be a strength to bring together disparate fields of study, I see no merit in this case to base their arguments about unemployment on observations from the victims of maternal deprivation and bereavement whilst ignoring the very influential studies of unemployment itself. I can only conclude that the authors have hardly read a single book or article about the psychological effects of unemployment. If they had included some of this material it could have enriched the book considerably.

Because of this failure to use the research on the psychological effects of unemployment, the techniques suggested are certainly not new. In fact they will probably already be familiar to most counsellors who put an emphasis on talking through problems with patients, so do not expect this book to revolutionise your practice!

So, don't be fooled by the title into thinking that this is a general book about long-term unemployment. However, if you do come into contact with the long-term unemployed in a caring role of any sort, you might find some of it interesting, but you may put it down feeling that you haven't learnt anything new, and that the authors would have been better to either write half a dozen pages in a journal on general counselling ideas for the unemployed or to have written a better researched book. Their present effort is an uneasy compromise and at five pounds it is not cheap for a thin booklet that you will read cover to cover in less than an hour.

Brendan Burchell

Geoff Dench
**MINORITIES IN THE OPEN SOCIETY:
PRISONERS OF AMBIVALENCE**
London, Routledge and Kegan Paul; Reports of
the Institute of Community Studies, 1986.
ISBN 0 - 7102 - 0898 - 7
Price, £15.95 (hbk) 275 pages.

In 1975 Geoff Dench wrote a very interesting book about the Maltese in London which caused a great stir in the Maltese government but had rather less impact on the management and the theorising of race relations. In that early book he noted the apparently contradictory way in which British society treated this minority group. On the one hand Maltese were expected individually to assimilate and government policy encouraged the break-up of the Maltese community. On the other hand, each Maltese person was expected to accept responsibility for the behaviour of other members - particularly criminal members - of that community. Whilst appearing contradictory these two tendencies were much more intertwined than they seemed. 'They could perhaps even be seen as complementary aspects of an unspoken and only half-conscious majority strategy for keeping them subordinate by keeping them confused' (Page 6). The present book is an attempt to develop some of the conclusions arising from that empirical study to the wider issues of race relations theory and management.

The argument in brief is as follows. Modern States have a dual character. They are formally committed to universalistic progressive values - integrationism but still operate in traditional 'national' ways. This ambiguity presents no problem for the majority but it does for the minority who are obliged to display their communal faith in the system by accepting a sanitised version of the state policy, whilst having to wait, as a community, before receiving the rewards of equal participation and achievement. Such minorities throw up individuals able to provide integrative leadership in times of national crisis, retaining the confidence of their minorities, and the approval of the international community, whilst doggedly acting in the interests of the dominant majority. So the possibility of advancement for some few ambitious individuals does not improve the status of the minority as a whole. The ambiguities of the status of the minorities are too readily exploitable by the dominant communities in order to underline their own supremacy.

The final section of the book is perhaps the most theoretically interesting. In it the author returns to some of his initial themes. He is particularly interested in the role of ambiguity in the maintenance of ruling elites and argues that it is the elites' ability to act as a third party in dyadic conflicts which is their most effective means of maintaining their supremacy. 'By mediating between a national majority and minorities the elite can take control of the situation and resolve it into a comparatively stable triad. It's own position is enhanced by the conflict which it serves to contain.' (Page 228). 'The stronger the liberal state, the freer is the elite to 'move between ideological dimensions without being exposed to double standards' (Page 229).

He concludes with a discussion of the impact of social theory. Here he argues that whilst many theorists fear that to admit the strength

of communalism will encourage majorities in their oppression, the opposite is equally likely. Theory, by playing down the obstacles to incorporation and endorsing universalistic values, flatter, and so help maintain the duality of minority experience and so keep them confused and dependent.

This is a complex book, very well illustrated with empirical examples. Some illustrations work better than others. There also remain some difficulties with conceptualisation. Communality is clear enough in the context of the Maltese community, but perhaps needs tying down more precisely on the wider scale.

However these are carping criticisms of an original and exciting piece of work, which succeeds in raising serious questions about the race relations industry and its liberal integrationist assumptions, whilst also undermining its left-wing critics. It should be essential reading for all workers and writers in the field and anyone who wishes to understand the complexities of life for ethnic minorities in industrial societies.

David M. Smith

P. Greasley
GAY MEN AT WORK
Lesbian and Gay Employment Rights
(L.A.G.E.R.)
Room 203, Southbank House, Black Prince
Road, London SE1 7SJ.
ISBN 09511149 1 3 . 1986.
£2.50 pbk.
105 pages.

As with so many aspects of the lives of lesbians and gay men the extent of employment discrimination faced by gay men remains under researched. In general, little is known about the social and demographic features of gay men either in or out of work and we remain largely invisible and oppressed. Britain's first openly gay M.P. Chris Smith, states in the foreword to this survey that AIDS has increased anti-gay discrimination; this could mean more dismissals, and result in fewer gay men being prepared to be open about their lives.

This report, published alongside a report on lesbians at work, is based on a survey of gay men and work undertaken in London during 1985 by L.A.G.E.R., a project funded by the G.L.C. and set up to fight employment discrimination against lesbians and gay men. Good use is made of additional material to highlight the widespread oppression experienced by gay men from fellow workers, employers and the law. Some solutions to these difficulties are proposed.

A major drawback to the report, and one frequently acknowledged by the author, is the size and unrepresentative nature of the survey itself.

It was based on a questionnaire completed by 198 gay men living in London plus follow up interviews which, due to lack of time, were held with only 18 of the respondents. In the author's words the questionnaire was 'designed by white middle class gentiles and distributed in their circles'. Respondents were mainly contacted through gay political and community groups in London. Given the difficulty of contacting the large mass of gays who are married or closeted it is unclear

why greater efforts were not made to reach the wider cross section of gays who frequent more commercial meeting places. The result is a survey which is far from random or representative of gay men working in London and which tells us little about the work patterns of those living in other parts of Britain. Hence it is hardly surprising to find that half of the respondents were employed in the public sector, 92% of those employed were in non manual work and that the vast majority were white and by their own definition middle class.

The survey largely focuses on those in employment but can give no indication of ways in which gay lifestyles or oppressions in a large conurbation influence employment patterns. It would be useful, for example, to know the use made by gay men of self employment, prostitution, of alternatives to traditional work, of work in the helping professions, of part time work or of work within the 'pink economy'. More importantly, this survey shows the need for research into gay men and unemployment, race, class, disability and age. The effect of multiple discrimination, for example where to be gay is one thing but to be gay and black is altogether harder, is raised by the author. Racism is more important than sexuality for many non-white gay men. The author has included interviews with several black men who did not respond to the questionnaire to highlight this point.

It is a pity that other groups such as the young unemployed were not similarly dealt with. Even though 40% of respondents were aged between 16 and 25 the prejudice suffered by gay teenagers is not covered.

The real benefits of this report lie in the well summarised and up to date information on gays and employment law, AIDS, Equal Opportunities and Trades Unions. Here the author provides much useful advice for rights workers, Trades Unionists and individuals involved in fighting discrimination at work. Extensive and often very moving extracts from the interviews are used to highlight the need for campaigning at every level.

Phil Greasley constantly underlines the principle that in any campaign there is the need for disadvantaged groups to work together. He provides practical examples of ways in which gays and non gays from different class and racial groups can campaign for law reform and better equal opportunities policies from employers by making greater use of Trades Unions and Industrial Tribunals to fight discrimination. Also included are a list of campaigning organisations, the equal opportunities policies of several London Boroughs as well as the current responses of many Trades Unions to gay rights at work. The chapter on AIDS, is a particularly useful summary of information about the disease and provides personal accounts of the implications of taking the antibody test and of dismissal due to AIDS hysteria. The legal anomalies surrounding the disclosure of criminal convictions of those working with children and young people is highlighted in the chapter on the law. This process is currently under review and the report proposes changes which could form the basis of effective lobbying.

Detailed proposals for changes in employment and criminal law as well as ideas for individual and collective action are provided throughout

the report. All the recommendations are excellently summarised for ease of reference. Despite the limitations of the survey it is based on, this report deserves to be read by anyone fighting discrimination at work and that probably includes all of us.

Norman Powell

GIRL ZONE VIDEO
Birmingham Film Workshop
60 Holt Street, Birmingham
£50 + VAT (VHS)
Running Time - 38 mins

This video is excellent. It is made and performed by a group of school age young women from Birmingham who present a lively, intelligent and most of all convincing picture of their lives and experiences. It covers a number of expected areas going out, usage, sexual relationships, adolescence and pregnancy but always in an exciting way and bringing new approaches to old ideas. It is funny, informative and questioning. It portrays young women in a strong and positive light. The technique of interviewing famous women to highlight the points is extremely effective and sustains interest, although I found Claire Rayner embarrassingly patronising.

My only criticism is that it is implicitly aimed at white heterosexuals, it would have been useful to include the special problems of black young women and the extra pressures on a young woman who is or thinks she may be lesbian. I appreciate these are both enormous areas to tackle but worth including.

I am sure it is the case that male workers, even those who are 'struggling with anti-sexist work' will gloss over this review or even draw it to the attention of women workers without reading it themselves. Girl Zone has a lot to offer male workers who are seriously looking to resources which stimulate discussion amongst young men with a view to confronting their sexism.

It is obvious Girl Zone had considerable financial and professional backing with the result that the young women can present what are clearly their own ideas in an extremely attractive way. Perhaps the days of girls work and girls issues being presented on crackly tape with a hand held camera because no-one will provide the money or take the project seriously are over - I wish! Anyone who watches this has got to take the issues strongly because the production methods make it impossible to do otherwise. You can't fail to be affected by the energy and strength of the young women - I hope it is catching.

Gaynor Clarke

TRAINING FOR LOCAL ACTION: 1 INVOLVING LOCAL PEOPLE: THE FIRST STEPS
Kevin Morris
1985
ISBN 0 9510773 0 9
£4.00

TRAINING FOR LOCAL ACTION: 2 SHARING, LEARNING: NEIGHBOURHOOD ACTION
Charli Johnson and Fran Johnson
1986
ISBN 0 9510773 1 7
£4.00

North East Region Training Group
Available from: East Community Centre,
Moor Terrace, Hendon, Sunderland, Tyne &
Wear. Tel. (091) 5677057

These books document the experience of three training courses designed to respond to the requirements of local people active within Community and Youth Work Agencies in the Borough of Sunderland and Cleveland.

The philosophy behind the courses which were sponsored by the North East Region Training Group (NERTG), uses the active and participatory community work approach as a model for good practice in training. Thus learning is defined as a process of empowering individuals and groups. This process is one of discovery. Participants in all the courses outlined are presumed to possess between them a fund of experience, skills and knowledge. The purpose of the course is to develop self-awareness among local people that they do already possess these resources; that they can share and thus activate such resources for the benefit of their own communities. Within this model, the role of the trainer is, as the books describe, to act as facilitator, helping to create the structures within which positive learning can take place, responding to the informational demands of the group and taking responsibility for continuity between training sessions.

The Sunderland Community Education Group (SCEG) and the Cleveland Community Workers Training Forum who were directly responsible for activating and for the ongoing organisation of the courses are obviously very self-conscious about the need to put their philosophy into practice. The books emphasise the importance of process as opposed to content, stressing the need for flexibility and responsiveness and discussing the practical difficulties of minimising the power and control of the facilitators. Within the text, careful attention is given to the practical details, covering issues which are very seldom mentioned in documents of this nature. Thus, questions of accommodation, timing, transport, child-care and even the provision of refreshments are considered important and are at times incorporated into the decision-making process of the 'student' group.

The books are designed to be read in 'pack' form. As such they are directed primarily at those concerned with training and a great deal of effort is spent outlining the three courses on a week-by-week basis. The case-study format allows the authors to both describe the details of each session and to reflect upon problems and issues emerging. There is some information about the process of decision making and of group interaction. Outlines of the exercises actually used are provided. Aims of each session are delineated clearly and 'key points' emerging from each session are noted. For anyone interested in or involved in training, these are useful and informative details covering areas which are so often taken for granted in more theoretical texts. Having said that, there is a notable absence of detailed description about the background process in which the facilitators engaged. The reader is provided with information about funding sources, about information gathering and contact with would-be participants prior to the courses and about the choice of venue, but the processes involved

in this work are not given equal consideration. Given that the books seem to be aimed at trainers, it would have seemed appropriate, and in keeping with overall philosophy, to have included this information.

At the same time, whilst the details provided in the case studies are important aspects of the whole presentation, they do seem to defy the assertion of the authors that it is process rather than content which is important. From the text, it is apparent that content is of rather more importance to the participants than the authors seem willing to acknowledge. This is particularly apparent in the account of the third course where the open-ended nature of an on-going simulation which provided the context seemed to leave participants floundering except where the content input was very clear. This is not to deny the authors' points about the significance of process. It is rather to identify an absence of discussion around this area. Whilst acknowledging the commitment to produce working documents which illustrate theory in practice and the weighting which this gives to practice, I would have welcomed more discussion in the realm of theory. For instance, how does content relate to process? Once the skills of participant groups have been discovered, how is new learning achieved? How can these methods be extended beyond the Community Work area and what are their implications for training in general? Raising such issues is not to dwell unnecessarily on theory. It is merely to provide a pointer to the reader to the underlying questions which are raised by practice. Addressing these concerns can ultimately only lead to improved training practice.

There is no doubt that these books provide a useful working resource for trainers and I would recommend them on that basis. However, I must add that I would have found them more coherently, efficiently (and cheaply?) presented within one, rather than two books. Sometimes the layout and organisation is slightly confusing. Particularly within the introductions and between courses 1 and 2 there is some repetition and overlap which could have been prevented had the whole enterprise been presented as a single contribution. Having said that, the constraints of funding and the demands upon workers to account for particular pieces of work at a particular time often leave community and youth workers in a difficult situation when it comes to documenting their work coherently. These factors could have been significant in this presentation. Overall, the authors are to be congratulated for having managed to record their work in such an honest, explicit and useful manner.

Jean Spence

Charles Landry, David Morley, Russell Southwood, Patrick Wright.
'WHAT A WAY TO RUN A RAILROAD' - AN ANALYSIS OF RADICAL FAILURE.
Comedia, 1985
ISBN 0 906 890 80 2
£2.50
pp 101

I always have a sense of dread about books with explanatory sub-titles, several authors and written in the first person. That sense of dread was compounded by chapter sub-head-

ings and foot notes in small print.

This short book - the main text is less than one hundred pages - has only seven chapters, but the contents list runs to a page and a half. Chapter one immediately converted my sense of dread into feelings of joy. That is not to say that I found the style easy, but I found myself agreeing with what I read. The margin was full of nods of agreement before I had completed the first page. It examines the social history of the 1970s in the context of libertarianism, opposition politics and crusading zeal. It analyses the moral assumptions underlying these and the high expectations of those involved. It rightly accuses many of priggishness and middle-class arrogance in expecting success for campaigning organisations as a moral right.

Chapter two analyses the field of alternative publications. This analysis leads to a single conclusion that in a capital-led society the process of production cannot be given a higher priority than the finished product and its marketing. Such an ideological style of management is doomed to failure.

Chapter three accuses many of the 70s radicals and idealists of disdaining business principles and rejecting well-tried management and business methods because of their capitalist associations. It points up the disastrous consequences of this.

Chapter four returns to examining the process of the production by the collective method more closely and highlights the inherent dangers of corporate ill-trained and ill-informed decision-making.

Chapter five is a remarkably good analysis of management process; more especially so because it is a jaundiced look that seems persuaded of good points against its better judgement.

Chapter six could have the alternative title of 'How to get ahead of our capital motivated brethren and still retain a purity of purpose'. The answer appears to be one of compromise, but it is remarkable how many of the points raised are to be found within the radical and crusading organisations of today.

Chapter 7 'The Political Economy of the Future?' I have tried to be fair and positive about this book. It is a book written by a collective and it shows. Because the argument of earlier chapters is clearly defined the jargon and pompousness of the language is easier to cope with. The prophetic style of chapter 7 enhances all that is worst about campaigning journalism - italics, quotation marks, dashes and parentheses abound. Words are redefined to suit the argument. To any, but the most loyal reader, this chapter must be unreadable.

Most of this book is a vital read to anyone embarking on a journey into campaigning publications, involved in a collective or interested in the failure of so many radical companies of the 70s, but it is a hard read that should have received a heavy dose of editor's pencil prior to publication. It is no book for the faint-hearted. I must admit to a sense of gratification that many of my gut feelings of the 1970s about radical politics are now expressed in print. However, the book misses one essential point. It centres on the failure of radical

publications. It fails to reflect that their demise might not be failure, but a real success in that the cause of their establishment had either been cured or the issue taken up within mainstream journalism, therefore gaining a major foothold within society.

Ian L. Johnson

Beverly Hooper
YOUTH IN CHINA
Penguin, 1985
ISBN 0 14 008158 5
£3.95 (Pbk)
pp.235

The appearance of China's students on the streets in December 1986 demonstrating for better work and living conditions and for greater political freedom and democracy drew attention to their dissatisfaction with the current state of affairs. The backlash it produced showed how much their aspirations differed from what 'conservative' Party leaders had in mind for them. Such open displays of the 'generation gap' are rare in state-socialist societies. Control of the media, the official youth organisations and the limited channels for interest articulation all mean that it is extremely difficult to penetrate what the interests of young people in China are.

Despite such problems it has become apparent that young people in China are unwilling to accept passively what their Communist Party masters tell them. In Beverly Hooper's study we are given a rare chance to gain information on a vital topic. Through a mixture of interviews, discussions and scouring of official publications she provides us with an interesting account of the hopes, dreams and realities of young people in China. With nearly thirty years of history behind it, a whole generation has grown up under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party. Hooper's study gives us a chance to see whether a new pattern of life has been created.

Hooper states that three basic features distinguish China's youth from young people in other countries: the legacy of the Confucian past, the communist political system and the low level of economic development. Yet, while these define, and to some extent limit, the interests of young people, it is interesting to note how remarkably similar the interests and problems. Lack of things to do, schooling, employment chances, sexual insecurities and problems seem to dominate the discussion themes.

Despite outlining these general patterns, Hooper's study has the added advantage of highlighting key differences between the current generation and its predecessors and also within the generation itself. She depicts today's youth as being in the vanguard of the new materialism and more concerned with personal matters. By contrast, Hooper depicts the fifties generation as being idealistic while those of the sixties and seventies whether they liked it or not are highly politicised.

I would add two experiences that make the current generation distinct. First, they have grown up during a time when reform has been high on the political agenda. Since 1978, they have witnessed a steady increase in terms of what is acceptable both politically and economically. Secondly, they have experienced

increased contact with the West. Not only have bilateral exchanges, tourism and business contacts expanded rapidly but also the Chinese media has brought more news about the West and its culture into the homes of Chinese people.

Not surprisingly, much of the Hooper study concerns urban youth and especially the students, the most accessible for foreigners. However, one theme that seems to unite the different groups is their alienation from the system. Even the Party's own papers have pointed to this problem amongst the young. To overcome the 'generation gap' the Party has even commissioned a series of films reminiscent of the Cliff Richard and Monkees films of the sixties. The message is the same, while the young may seem zany, wear outrageous clothes etc., deep-down they share the common consensus and values of society. The crackdown in early 1987 suggests that some Party leaders were truly worried about whether they do share the values of the old revolutionary generation.

In particular, Hooper shows how the life of urban youth 'remains completely beyond the imagination of most young people in the countryside' (p.28). It was in the countryside that the Chinese revolution really began and the conditions there show just how far the revolution still has to go. While young rural dwellers are becoming increasingly aware of other lives beyond the village, much of their own life is steeped in the same drudgery of previous centuries. Perhaps the last words should be left to two of the rural dwellers. A young man notes 'Life here is just so boring, there's hardly ever a film. There is just no entertainment. There's nothing to do but wander around the village. What can be done about it?' A young woman observes 'My friends tell me not to think about it - this is life in the countryside. It's simply a matter of eating, sleeping, getting married, establishing a household, having children. Is this really how I must pass my life?'

Tony Saich

**Paul Gordon &
Francesca Klug
NEW RIGHT, NEW RACISM
Searchlight, 1985
£3.00 (pbk.)
pp. 69.**

The new racism: old wine in new bottles

For the Irish and Jewish minorities of Britain, racism has a long history. But Gordon and Klug chose their title deliberately to highlight the quality of the old wine in new Tory bottles.

What this racism derives from is a well-known brand of English-centred racism based upon an exclusivism and chauvinism that increasingly finds representation at the level of the ruling Conservative party. It is also allied to a form of free-market Liberalism, never before seen in Britain.

What is new is the target, Black and Asian minorities (although there is still plenty of pernicious anti-Irish and anti-Jewish racism around), and the context, crisis-ridden Britain in the 1980's.

Gordon and Klug argue that the politics of the new racism has depended upon a revitalisation

and reconstruction by the new right politicians of British Conservatism. This new right politics sees its destiny in the necessary revolution to halt Britain's economic and moral decline. Thatcherism has become the government means of achieving this ideological end.

Thatcherism is the balance between the two central strands of the new right. These are a laissez faire social and economic doctrine championed, essentially, by people like Alfred Sherman, Keith Joseph and the Centre for Policy Studies, and a Social Authoritarianism, represented by such diverse individuals as Enoch Powell, Roger Scruton of Birkbeck and P.A.J. Waddington, reader in Sociology at Reading. The first strand usually promotes its racism by ignoring ethnic inequalities (witness Honeyford's diatribe against multi-cultural education); the second seeks to incorporate and repress both those brought into and those excluded from the system.

This combination represents the lynchpin of the new right

An uneasy collusion between libertarians, whose main orientation is with the freedom of the market and social authoritarians who focus on the authority of the state p.12.

What is crucial about Thatcherism is its ability, as a set of beliefs and actions, to sustain some reasonable working balance between these two aspects of new right politics.

Although Gordon and Klug are concerned to document the considerable spade work put in by those who now make up the new right, from as far back as Powell's infamous 'Rivers of Blood' speech in 1968, they do not imply that this was inevitable, or indeed rationally figured out. Certainly, while those like Roger Scruton, editor of the *Salisbury Review*, have some notion of their ideological project, the authors emphasise the extent of conflict within the new right. Thatcherism, then, is not so much the initiator as the ideological battlefield within which this conflict is fought.

But of course, it is not contained here, though sometimes Gordon and Klug give the impression that it is within the conflicts of the new right as an organised form of racism and individualism, that the future of the new right will be resolved. Yet the world of 'commonsense' racism is vital, as they point out.

The new racism, as an important part of the new right politics, prides itself largely on a denial of its racism. This is where it is innovative. It makes a virtue out of the kind of commonsense non-racist racism of those who, like Jill Tweedie of *The Guardian*, believe themselves to be not racists, but respectful of ethnic difference and a common concern for ones own kith and kin (pp. 14-15).

This is the problem. The new racism is particularly insidious not just because Thatcherism champions its claims, nor because it is so often framed by the terms of that wonderfully British form of abuse and debasement, the charming understatement, but because the ideas were there all the time as commonsense wisdom - 'we are not racist because':

. . . race is not a matter of being inferior or superior . . . but of being different (p. 21).

Thatcherism has given the new racists appeal because they are identified with freedom

(although as Gordon and Klug show, the Social Authoritarians are profoundly anti-democratic) and individual success. This is in contrast to the discredited social democratic expression of collectivism and consensus held by Labour.

The question is whether Thatcherism can succeed in making the new right the new and accepted consensus, for it will be a triumph of the reactionary right and the market over the . . . reactionary left (?).

This highlights part of the problem, if the new right politics utilises commonsense racism, then it is important to note how this commonsense invades social democracy too. Here it has its parallels and it would be very useful to chart some of the Labour party's contribution to reinforcing this commonsense racism.

It is more than a little salutary to realise that one of the crucial aspects of the new racism's very denial of racism has found open expression in Labour's rejection of Sharon Atkin in Nottingham: 'there is no racism in the Conservative Party', says Thatcher in 1978 - 'The Labour Party is not racist', says Kinnock and Hattersley in 1987. 'Let's look after the wealth of our nation' (Thatcher). 'Let's look after the nation' (Kinnock).

The point is that collectivism and social democracy provide no automatic security against racism. But individualism and anti-welfare (Scruton calls them virtuous anti-equality) programmes ensure its success, for they insist on the destruction of organised labour and undermining the oppressed.

This is not inevitable, even if Labour is often the bedfellow of the new racism, for as Gordon and Klug point out, not all in the kingdom believe in Thatcher(ism). This would not be enough however, since they might all equally believe in Kinnock's brand of racism. That many hundreds of thousands do not, and must be encouraged, is evident from the struggles of people like Sharon Atkin and Labour party Black sections, people in Brixton and those in the mining communities in 84-5. All have been disowned by the Labour party leaders, the stalwarts and defenders of decency.

The success of those hitherto denied by racism will depend upon the support they receive from those challenging racism and the new right. The price paid will of necessity be the politics of Kinnock and Co. As Atkins pointed out in Birmingham, at least with the Tories, your enemy declares itself. Gordon and Klug ignore this reasonable aspect to the detriment of their otherwise excellent analysis. This good little book should be read by all those concerned with the challenge posed by the new right.

Paul Stewart

analysis

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

welfare:

The column for this issue has been prepared by Michael Coxon of Houghton and District Advice & Support Centre, 15A Beatrice Terrace, Shiney Row, Houghton-le-Spring, Tyne & Wear, DH4 4QW to whom any queries should be addressed.

At the time of writing, and with the General Election behind us, it can be assumed that April 1988 will see full implementation of the 1986 Social Security Act (the Act). The Welfare column in this issue will concentrate on the changes under the Act introduced on benefit uprating during April 6th 1987.

1. Abolition of Maternity and Death Grants and of Single Payments for Supplementary Benefits claimants for baby items and funeral expenses. Replacement by payments from the Social Fund for Maternity Needs and Funeral Expenses.

From April 6th 1987 the universal £25 Maternity Grant and the contribution based, though effectively universal, £30 Death Grant are abolished. At the same time Single Payments, payable to Supplementary Benefit claimants for baby items and funeral expenses, were also abolished. Payments are now made from the new Social Fund. Unlike the part of the Social Fund to be implemented in April 1988, payments for Maternity Needs and Funeral Expenses will be paid as of right, being governed by regulations rather than discretionary; they are not 'cash limited' are paid in the form of grants rather than loans and there remains a right of Appeal to a Social Security Appeal Tribunal. Both grants are means-tested and are reduced by the amount of any capital held by the claimant/partner in excess of £500.

Maternity Needs Payment

To qualify the claimant/partner must be in receipt of Supplementary Benefits (S.B.), Family Income Supplement (F.I.S.), Housing Benefit Supplement or weekly Urgent Needs Payments (U.N.P.'s). Claims should be made no more than 11 weeks before the week in which the baby is due or no more than three months after the date of birth or adoption. A grant is also payable for an adopted child provided that s/he is no more than one year old at the date of claim. Claims made later can be accepted if good cause is shown and it is arguable that, as well as such as illness, confusion regarding legislative changes can constitute good cause. Young people under 16 are not eligible to claim, though their parents, or an adult with whom they live, can do so provided they are in receipt of one of the qualifying benefits.

If the claimant/partner is involved in a trade dispute and receives S.B. then they will only qualify for the grant if the dispute has lasted at least six weeks. F.I.S. recipients will qualify if their entitlement is based upon a period prior to the onset of the dispute.

The Social Fund payment is a flat rate grant of £80.00. Whilst F.I.S. recipients are undoubted gainers of £55 nett, everyone whose income is above the qualifying benefit levels, and S.B. claimants, are worse off.

S.B. recipients in particular have already seen the amount allowed for Single Payments reduced from upwards of £300 to a maximum of £187.45 in July 1986. From then up until April 1987 the quantities and prices were governed by regulations and the following were allowed:

Item	Cost	Item	Cost
4 vests	1.00 each	6 bottles and teats	0.85 each
3 babygros	4.00 each	1 cot	30.00

2 cardigans	3.00 each	1 cot mattress	10.00
1 pramsuit	6.50	1 pram (carry cot)	40.00
1 wrap/shawl	5.40	3 cot sheets	4.00 each
3 plastic pants	0.95 each	3 cot blankets	5.70 each
24 nappies	1.24 each	1 baby bath	6.50 each

Total: £187.45

(note: claims for a pushchair, high-chair and safety-gate are made under a different regulation and are not affected by the April changes)

For S.B. claimants however, who are more than £100 worse off, the so-called fall-back provision remains. Regulation 30 of the S.B. (Single Payments) Regulations states that a payment can be made for an item if it can be proven that it is 'the only means by which serious damage or serious risk to the health or safety of any member of the assessment unit (family) can be prevented'.

Whilst the £80 allowed would buy, for example, nappies and clothes from the above list there would be insufficient for anything else; and the Health Visitors' Association have also argued that for a mother who has to share a kitchen and bathroom a sterilizing unit should be seen as a necessity. There is obviously a place here for claims under Reg. 30. It remains to be seen however how far this provision will be exploited in practice. Young single mothers in particular usually have more to think about at these times than tearing around amassing letters of support from sympathetic G.P.s and Health Visitors. Much will depend upon the effectiveness of take-up and training exercises with the medical and social work professions and, just as important, sympathetic support for claimants.

Grant for Funeral Expenses

To qualify the claimant/partner must be in receipt of S.B., F.I.S., weekly UNPs or Housing Benefit. The claimant/partner needs to take responsibility for the funeral which must take place in the U.K. Claims should be made within 3 months of the funeral taking place though good cause for a late claim can be accepted.

A claimant is entitled to a payment to cover the cost of any necessary documents; a plain coffin; transport for the coffin and bearers and one additional car; the reasonable cost of flowers; undertaker's fees and gratuities; Chaplain's, organists and cemetery/crematorium fees for a simple funeral; the cost of any additional expenses not in excess of £75 arising from the religious beliefs of the deceased; the cost of transporting the body home within the U.K. and the reasonable cost of one return journey within the U.K. for arranging and attending the funeral.

Once the costs are calculated then the following deductions are made, or recovered:

- the value of the deceased's assets if they are available without having to go through formal legal proceedings, (eg probate),
- any insurance policy payment, pension scheme or similar.
- any payment from a charity or relative left over after extra expenses, other than those listed, have been met. It is in order for example, and will not affect the grant, for a relative to pay for extra cars and flowers and only money left over will be counted.

Losers as a result of this alteration include everyone not in receipt of a qualifying benefit. Everyone else gains and even S.B. claimants will find that it is now sufficient to take responsibility for the funeral of a deceased person and not necessary that the deceased was either a close relative or a member of the claimant's household. A D.H.S.S. officer suggested to me that he could envisage groups of claimants establishing themselves as clearing agencies and making Social Fund claims for expenses for the funerals of their non-claimant friends' nearest and dearest; I don't think he was serious.

2. Statutory Maternity Pay and a residual Maternity Allowance replace rights to Maternity Pay and Maternity Allowance.

If the Social Fund is the most contentious aspect of the Act introduced so far then Statutory Maternity Pay is easily the most complex. The new arrangements will effect women whose babies are due on, or after, June 21st.

Statutory Maternity Pay (SMP) represents the minimum maternity payment to which a woman is entitled from her employer and is administered, as Statutory Sick Pay, by the employer. Many employees/employers have negotiated better provision than this, retaining the spirit of agreements made before the changes were introduced, so it may be valuable to consult contracts of employment and trade unions.

To qualify for SMP a woman must satisfy 7 principal conditions and must satisfy others if she is to be entitled to the higher rate of SMP. The principal conditions are as follows: To qualify for SMP on any day, a woman must:

1. Be an employee who is not excluded from the scheme (That is, she must also satisfy condition 2 to 7 below and she must have normal earnings which entitle her to pay Class 1 national insurance contributions; be within the E.E.C.; and not be in legal custody),
2. have been working for the same employer continuously for at least 6 months ending in the 15th week before the baby is due (the qualifying week)
3. have given her employer notice of her expected week of confinement and the last week she intends to work, furnishing him/her with such proof as is reasonably requested.
4. have average weekly earnings for the period of 8 weeks, up to the last pay day before the end of the qualifying week, not below £39 - the lower earnings limit this year for N.I. contributions. This average will include bonuses, overtime, SSP and most other earnings during the 8 weeks.
5. not be actually working for the employer making the payments.
6. after the birth, not be working for another employer.
7. either be expecting a child within the next 11 weeks or have recently given birth.

Hereafter, SMP is paid at one of two rates.

The **higher rate**, which is 9/10ths of her average weekly wage and so equivalent to maternity pay under the old scheme, is payable if she has been working for her employer:

- either - full-time (16 hours per week) for at least 2 years
- or - part-time (8-16 hours per week) for at least 5 years.

The higher rate is paid for the first 6 weeks of any SMP which a woman qualifies for, thereafter she becomes entitled to the lower rate.

From 1987/88 the lower rate is £32.85 per week and is payable once the woman has exhausted her right to the higher rate, or if she does not qualify for it because for instance she works less than 8 hours a week or she has not been with the same employer for 2 years.

SMP is both taxable and national insurance deductible, although the lower rate is in fact below the lower earnings limit and carries entitlement to N.I. credits. It is counted as a resource in full for S.B. purposes and claimants on a low income could well find, as now, that they are entitled either to S.B. or to Housing Benefit.

SMP is payable the way that normal wages/salary is and is subject to a maximum period of payment of 18 weeks, as under the former Maternity Allowance Scheme. There is however some flexibility in when the allowance is taken. There is a core period of 13 weeks which starts with the 6th week before the baby is due; the balance of 5 weeks can be taken either before, or after, the same period or partly before and partly after, depending upon when the woman finishes work.

Maternity Allowance is a flat rate benefit paid by the D.H.S.S. and will provide for those women who do not qualify for SMA. The principal conditions of entitlement are as follows:

To qualify a woman;

- 1 - must satisfy the contributions condition. That being that, in respect of at least 26 of the 52 weeks immediately preceeding the 15th week before the expected week of confinement, she must have actually paid Class 1 or 2 N.I. contributions. There is no longer an entitlement to a reduced rate of benefit based upon reduced contributions,
- 2 - must either be expecting a child within the next 11 weeks or have recently given birth,
- 3 - must not actually be working,
- 4 - must claim within the time limits, which are similar to those for SMA
- 5 - must satisfy the employment rule. This is a new rule which states that a woman, in order to qualify for M.A., must have worked for an aggregate period of 26 weeks in the year which runs to the end of the 15th week before the expected week of confinement.

Part-time and self employed work will count.

This recent work test, implicit in rule 1 above and borrowed from Unemployment Benefits qualification rules, states, in effect that, for example, two different claims for MA must be separated by periods of work during which the employee paid N.I. contributions.

M.A. is payable for a total of 18 weeks at the rate of £30.05 per week for the claimant and £18.60 for an adult dependent.

It would seem that under these new schemes the winners, and then only in logistical terms, are women who did quite well under the old rules: those women with a long work record with an efficient and generous employer. For such women it will make obvious sense to receive all their income from the usual source rather than some of it as a normal wage/salary and the rest by benefit order book.

Among the losers we might list the following:

- smaller or less clerically efficient employers. To these employers SSP still causes problems. They have now been issued with new SMP tables and complex instructions relating to confinement dates, core periods, average pay etc. The confusion which this may cause is probably unimaginable.
 - the employees of such employers who risk being paid an incorrect amount at an incorrect time and possibly losing entitlement as a result, or who are unsure of when their employer is entitled to have certain information. It is noteworthy, and depressing, that many smaller employers depend almost entirely on a young female workforce.
 - women who have not worked and not paid N.I. contributions recently. Such women could already be mothers of young children who would, under the old rules have qualified for Maternity Allowance for the expected child. They could have no maternity support at all although they may have a residual right to **sickness benefit**, particularly from the 11th week before confinement up to delivery, when they would not be required to be available for work for Unemployment Benefit purposes.
3. **Other Changes effective from April '87**
- (i) An increase in the Housing Benefit rent taper, from 29% to 33%, for claimants whose income falls above the government set Needs Allowance. This will remove some people from Housing Benefit altogether and save, in total, about £68m.

- (ii) The middle rate of Statutory Sick Pay is abolished. Previously SSP has been paid at one of three rates depending upon the normal gross income of the claimant. Last year the figures were as below:

Earnings	Benefit
£74.50 and above	£46.75
£55.50 - £74.49	£39.20
£38.00 - £54.59	£31.60

this year they are amended as follows:

Earnings	Benefit
£76.50 and above	£47.20
£39.00 - £76.49	£32.85

This has the effect that those who would have qualified for the middle rate are about £7.00 per week worse off. It is worth noting that, with the proliferation of part-time Community Programme schemes paying precisely in this 'middle' range and often to young people, this should represent an appreciable loss especially to those who live in their parents' household as non-dependants and who will not be entitled to S.B. in their own right.

(iii)

Reduced Earnings Allowance replaces Special Hardship Allowance in the Industrial Injuries Scheme. It will no longer be subject to the rule that when added to the disablement pension it cannot take the pension above the 100% disablement rate. As it is earnings in relation to a claimant's regular occupation that are relevant it is unlikely that this change will benefit many young people.

(iv)

Adjudication

All Appeals to Commissioners now have to be on a point of law. Previously, except in the case of S.B. or F.I.S., Appeals could be heard from Social Security Appeal Tribunals on factual matters. The time limit for all Appeals are extended from 28 days to 3 months from the date of hearing. Given that most late Appeals were accepted this is a reasonable concession to participate; however given that the section of the Social Fund to be implemented in April '88 may seek to restrict Appeal rights anyway it may prove empty.

A tribunal chair can **strike out** an Appeal which is not pursued by a claimant, though the claimant must be given notice and reinstatement is permissible.

All applications for leave to Appeal to the Commissioners must first go through the Tribunal Chair. Previously this was only necessary if the original tribunal decision was unanimous, which most were anyway.

Arrears of benefit can be paid beyond 52 weeks where they are a result of official mistakes.

It is now possible to have decisions **set aside** where 'the interest of justice so requires'. This could be a useful means of circumventing the protracted Commissioners Appeal procedure with regard to bad tribunal decisions.

(v)

Overpayment of Benefits

Up until April 1987 repayment of benefit following an overpayment could be sought on different grounds, depending upon whether the benefit overpaid was means-tested, (S.B. F.I.S.), or a National Insurance Benefit. In the case of means-tested benefits a repayment could be requested if it was held that the claimant had either misrepresented or **failed to disclose** relevant information regardless, apparently, of any ill intention. For N.I. benefits the weaker 'due care and diligence' test was used; benefit would not be deemed repayable if the claimant had acted in good faith. This latter test has now been replaced for N.I. benefits, with the 'failure to disclose' test. No doubt consistency has been achieved but at a high cost to claimants who will now be requested to make repayments when they otherwise should not have been.

The new test will only be applied to overpayments **discovered** after April 6th. Where a recoverable overpayment is made then deductions may be from the partners' FIS or SB., and there is a new right to recovery where payments are made by **direct credit transfer** into an account. There remains, as yet, the right to Appeal against the decision that you owe the D.H.S.S. money. If the overpayment is accepted then there is no right of Appeal against the Secretary of State's decision to recover.

In conclusion I would point out that it has not been possible within allocated space to go into detail on every issue and, whilst I hope to have covered most of the principal changes implemented in April 1987, I would recommend that those interested refer to C.P.A.G's two readable and reliable handbooks on benefits: the National Welfare Benefits Handbook, 17th Edition, and the Rights Guide to Non-Means-Tested Social Security Benefits, 10th Edition. Other events to look out for this year include the laying before Parliament of regulations covering Income Support, Family Credit, the Social Fund, Housing Benefit and Pensions, though these changes would more properly be the subject of later articles.

education:

The column this month has been prepared by Alan Jones who is Acting Head of Department (Social Sciences) Sunderland Polytechnic.

WHITE PAPER ON HIGHER EDUCATION: MEETING THE CHALLENGE

This is the most important document on higher education since the Robbins Report signalled an expansion era a generation ago. It offers a future which is alarming and damaging to the fabric of higher education.

1. Student Numbers.

Although the White Paper makes much of increasing numbers, it monumentally fails to deliver. The proportion of 18-19 year olds in higher education is planned to rise to 18 per cent by the end of the century. This is a mere 4 per cent increase in a generation. Although there is to be an increase in mature student access, that too is small and mainly in part-time education. By the year 2000, we will still have a restricted, elite system of higher education, modified only marginally by these changes, for which there are to be no additional public funds.

2. Privatisation.

One reason for the absence of additional money is the dramatic change in funding. The introduction of contracts, through two new funding bodies, is likely to lead, not only to more specific definitions of purpose, measures of achievement and governmental control, but to an increasing reliance on contracts with industry as the only means of balancing budgets and maintaining provision. A policy more calculated to further divide the relatively industrialised, contractable south from the deindustrialised, less contractable north is difficult to imagine.

3. Centralisation.

The removal of 30 polytechnics and 60 other colleges from local authority control is a major blow, not only to local government, but to local higher education. At a time when mature student access, mainly from further education access courses, is being encouraged, to divide further from higher education will be a tragedy, for which greater institutional autonomy through corporate status will be no compensation.

It is small wonder that, in a Times Higher Educational Supplement survey, less than one in five HE lecturers intended to vote Conservative in the recent election.

'Monitor for' this issue:

Sunderland Community Resource Centre

Elsie Palmer

Pearl Johnson

Liza Biddlestone

Oscar Topel

Denise Sides

Sharon Taylor

Code

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings are as published

The following code describes the reference 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;	adjoined
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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School Buildings

3. Mr. Terry Davis asked the Sec State for Education and Science what representations he has received on the report of Her Majesty's Inspectorate with regard to the standard of maintenance of school buildings.

Mr. Campbell-Savours asked the Sec State for Education and Science what representations he has received on the report of Her Majesty's Inspectorate with regard to the standard of maintenance of school buildings.

The Parliamentary Under-Sec State for Education and Science (Mr. Bob Dunn): My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State has received no representations specifically on HMI's findings, but has discussed the repair and maintenance of schools in meetings with the local authority associations and in the National Economic Development Council.

Mr. Davis: But how many representations does the Sec State need? Is it not enough to receive a report from HM's inspectors, who say that one fifth of all lessons in primary and secondary school are being adversely affected by being held in unsuitable and unsatisfactory accommodation, that the situation is getting worse, and that that is putting an unfair burden on teachers such as the staff at Gossey Lane school in Birmingham, who told me that they take a calculated risk of a child being seriously injured whenever they take a PE class in inadequate accommodation? In the face of such facts, is not the Minister's complacency verging on criminal negligence?

Mr. Dunn: I have to tell the hon. Gentleman, who has used unusually intemperate language in the House today, that I share the concern expressed by HMI, but I remind Opposition Members that the poor physical state of many school buildings has not suddenly occurred in the past 10 days. It is not a new event. It springs from the gradual effects of 20 years of neglect, and Opposition parties must take their fair share of responsibility for the present position. Mr. Campbell-Savours: Is the Minister aware that capital allocations to the county of Cumbria are so low that the education service in parts of the county is now at the point of collapse? Is he aware that buildings are leaking, teachers are complaining, and that parents resent the Government and object to the cuts? Does the hon. Gentleman realise that secondary organisation in my constituency is being threatened by the inadequacy of buildings? Why does he not do something? Why does not the Sec State win an argument in Cabinet and get some more money for education so that we can have a decent system throughout the country, particularly in my constituency?

Mr. Dunn: We are concerned here with good housekeeping and planned maintenance programmes. Some LEAs chose in the past not to follow such programmes, and I am sorry to say that the authorities that chose not to do so are now reaping the consequences of their past inactivity.

Mr. Allan Howarth: Does my hon. Friend agree that some rather wasteful administrative procedures are in use for the maintenance of school buildings? Does he agree, for example, that when a boy or girl kicks a football through a window, if the head teacher were allowed to send a caretaker to the DIY shop and get him to mend the window on the spot, rather than have to wait for the arrival of the accredited team of window repairers from the LEA offices, our schools would be better maintained at appreciably lower costs?

Mr. Dunn: My hon. Friend's question only reinforces my view that we were entirely right to include in the Education Bill that has just left the House a degree of local financial management. Of course, LEA are free to build upon that and delegate much more than we require of them in law.

Mr. Liley: Is my hon. Friend aware of the fine example set by the parents and staff of St. George's school Harpenden in that respect as they are half way through a five-year voluntary programme of repainting their own school? Did my hon. Friend read the article in The Times Educational Supplement praising them for that, and saying that as well as releasing resources for a lower pupil-teacher ratio and better equipment, it had a marvellous impact on morale and the involvement of parents in the school?

Mr. Dunn: My hon. Friend should extend to the parents of children in the school that he mentioned our thanks for being so forward looking and enterprising in what they have done. If the school cares to invite me to visit it, I shall have great pleasure in accepting such an invitation.

Mr. Flannery: Is the Minister implying that if we reorganised the schools and had the caretaker telling the man next door to do repairs, suddenly the crumbling buildings - the Minister's predecessor said that in Sheffield they were "crummy", for instance - would come to life and be done up properly? Is it not a fact that the Government do not provide enough money to make the schools habitable? If the money is not forthcoming, the half million unemployed building workers who are ready to do the work will not be able to? Are not the Government helping private education while the schools of 90 per cent. of our children are going to ruin? Mr. Dunn: The hon. Gentleman occupies his own special time warp and does not understand what is happening in the education service. All of our policies are designed to make sure that we get value for money from our schools. I dare say that because of that he supports our policy on local financial management.

Mr. Hill: Does my hon. Friend not agree that the difficulty about some of the priorities on repairs and maintenance can quite often mean that a school is overlooked? In my constituency the Millbrook comprehensive school has been overlooked for several years. The out-

buildings are made of wood and are rotting. There are Acrows supporting the beams in the classrooms and children have to walk around them to be taught. Perhaps that is one case my hon. Friend will examine to see whether he can bring that school back into an active programme of repair and maintenance.

Mr. Dunn: I congratulate my hon. Friend on making such effective representations on behalf of his constituents. If he cares to write to me about the case I shall inquire into it.

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett: Can the Minister tell us of any local authority that he has visited that has not pressed him for more resources to repair existing schools? Can he tell us of any local authority that he has visited that is not desperate to replace old schools with new ones? Is it not obscene that when the Government get a little bit of extra money they spend it on city technology colleges rather than on desperately needed repairs to and replacement of schools? Surely the Government ought to be putting resources into state schools and not adopting this D-I-Y approach to school building.

Mr. Dunn: We spend over £500 million a year on capital projects and many millions more on repair and maintenance. I object to the hon. Member implying that all the faults in our school stock have arisen in recent months. They have not. I recently visited schools where problems have existed for more than two decades. Those problems did not arise recently.

General Certificate of Secondary Education

4. Mr. Proctor asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he is satisfied with progress towards the introduction of the GCSE and if he will make a statement.

19. Mr. Waller asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will make a statement on progress in introducing the GCSE.

Mrs Rumbold: In the past few weeks some 600,000 pupils have started courses leading to the GCSE. The measures that my right hon. Friend announced on 10 June have allowed all local authorities to increase expenditure on books and equipment for the GCSE. In addition, further training for the GCSE will be supported by a programme of £15 million in the financial year 1987-88 under the new in service training arrangements from 1 April 1987.

Mr Proctor: How much of the funding has gone to the county of Essex?

Mrs Rumbold: I am happy to tell my hon. Friend that this year the county of Essex has Government supported expenditure of £620,000. For 1987 and 1988, it will receive Government support of £664,000.

Mr. Waller: Is my hon. Friend aware that some pupils are having to be sent home from classes because of the failure of local education authorities and examining boards to reach agreement about payments for cover for teachers who take time off for training? That includes training for examiners and moderators for the GCSE. Will my hon. Friend encourage local education authorities and boards to reach an agreement that will prevent this happening in future?

Mrs. Rumbold: As my hon. Friend may be aware, the recent Scott judgement in the courts made clear that covering for absent colleagues is a professional obligation on teachers. For that reason it is disheartening to know that teachers are refusing to fulfil that obligation. That is probably further proof that we need clearly defined and properly enforceable contracts for teachers.

Mr. Freud: What advice will the Minister give to an hon. Member who receives a letter from a schoolmaster saying that the examining board has not sent the syllabus and thus cannot teach pupils for the GCSE?

Mrs. Rumbold: If the hon. Gentleman will let me have details I shall be happy to take the matter up.

Mr Pawsey: I acknowledge that the GCSE is the best prepared examination ever and that some £80 million has been made available for its inception, but will my hon. Friend note the less exact that concern is being expressed by teachers about the staffing implications of the new examination? Will she assure the House that she is keeping this aspect under review?

Mrs Rumbold: We are of course monitoring the introduction of the GCSE examination very carefully, but I remind my hon. Friend that this new examination has been widely welcomed and that it was important that we should get it off to a good start. Most teachers have been extremely co-operative and very anxious to ensure that the examination becomes a success.

University Grants Committee

5. Dr. Godman asked the Sec State for Education and Science what representations he has received from the Association of University Teachers about the future funding of the University Grants Committee.

The Parliamentary Under-Sec State for Education and Science (Mr. George Walden): My right hon. Friend and I met representatives of the AUT on 24 July when we discussed various aspects of university funding and other matters.

Dr. Godman: Is the Minister aware of the very deep concern of members of the association in Scotland about the threatened closure of highly reputable university departments in Scotland? Is he also aware that this is particularly acute in Strathclyde university, where the very fine departments of mathematics and biochemistry are so threatened? Will the Minister assure the House that Scottish universities will not suffer such dismemberment of departments? Does he not agree that the time has surely arrived for the establishment of a Scottish UGC?

Mr. Walden: In the first place, I think that the hon. Gentleman is dramatising. Secondly, there has been no geographical discrimination against Scotland. Thirdly, if the hon. Gentleman is referring to the UGC's selectivity exercise, I can only commend the UGC for the boldness with which that exercise is being pursued.

Mr. Forth: Is my hon. Friend yet in a position to say anything to the House about the future of Ruskin college? Many people are most anxious to know what is to happen to this most valued institution.

Mr. Walden: I share the concern that has reached me from others about recent incidents at Ruskin college. For that reason, I wrote to the principal of the college asking for his account of events there. I have now received that account. It has not reassured me. I have therefore asked the principal to call to see me next Monday. I am sure that no right hon. or hon. Member is against the education of trade unionists. If, on the other hand, that education is to be in the spirit of the intellectual equivalent of the closed shop—and that is what the accusations are about—the taxpayer who, to a very large extent, funds this college will expect clear answers to clear questions.

Mr. Dormand: When a person is deemed by a university to be capable of undertaking a first degree course, will he or she be assured of financial assistance either from the university or from the local education authority? If the answer to that question is no, what will be the effect not only on that person but on the wellbeing and economic state of the country?

Mr. Walden: I am not at all clear about the point of the hon. Gentleman's question. If he is asking his question on the basis of an individual case, I ask him to write to me about it. In general, more people are receiving maintenance grants than ever before.

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett: Does the Minister accept that Ruskin college has striven very hard to protect two rights: the right of an individual to express his views and the right of other people to disagree with those views? Does he also accept that the college should not be criticised for trying to maintain fairness between those two fundamental rights, and that no one has the right to object to other people being critical of his views.

Mr. Walden: "Ruskins members are not there as union members or socialists but as teachers and students. Ruskin is not a party school diffusing received opinion."

That comes from this week's *New Statesman*. I commend the article in question to the hon. Gentleman.

School Governors

6. Mr. Gerald Howarth asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he has any plans to seek to change the constitution of school governing bodies; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Dunn: The Education Bill provides for school governing bodies to be freed from domination by local education authority representatives and, armed with effective powers, to be more broadly representative of parents and the wider community served by the school.

Mr. Howarth: Although the modest changes in the Education Bill are welcome, does my hon. Friend agree that real accountability will come only when parents are given a decisive say, when politicians are given virtually no say and when the boards of governors will be able to manage their entire budgets themselves?

Mr. Dunn: I congratulate my hon. Friend and some other of my hon. Friends on the recent publication of their document, "Save our Schools". I urge hon. Members not to underestimate the substantial powers that the Education Bill would put in the hands of reconstituted governing bodies and all governors and parents who will serve on them in much larger numbers than hitherto.

Mrs. Dunwoody: Can we therefore take it that the Minister will treat seriously the views of governors who do not want their village schools closed? When they are asking for continued education, will he ensure that he supports them in keeping village schools in being?

Mr. Dunn: My right hon. Friend the Sec State made the position regarding village schools quite clear at our recent party conference. The hon. Lady will know that certain legal requirements have to be followed before a local education authority can close a school. I know that she has exercised party of her right in that respect quite recently.

Vol 103 No 167

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE WA A.I.D.S.

Mr. Pawsey asked the Sec State for Education and science what plans he has to educate children as to the possible health hazards of (a) promiscuity and (b) homosexuality, with specific reference to acquired immune deficiency syndrome; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Dunn: The Government have made it clear, in their recent draft circular on sex education at school and in the booklet "Children at School and problems related to AIDS", circulated under cover of "Administrative Memorandum 2/86", that schools should see it as part of their task to warn pupils of the health risks of promiscuous sexual behaviour, whether heterosexual or homosexual, and should provide factual information about the AIDS virus (HIV) and modes of transmission of infection.

Single Sex Education

Mr. Murphy asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will make a statement on Government policy on single sex school education.

Mr. Dunn: The Government wish to preserve existing opportunities for parents to opt for single sex schools where the demand warrants it and where the schools are educationally effective.

Vol 103 No 170

HOME DEPARTMENT Amusement Arcades WA

Mr. Waller asked the Sec State for the Home Department what assessment he has made of the extent of the correlation between the use by young people of amusement arcades and their subsequent acquisition of a gambling habit.

Mr. Douglas Hogg: We have noted carefully reports which suggest that some young people in some areas may have acquired a habit of gambling on amusement machines, and we shall continue to monitor the situation. However, there seems at present to be little hard evidence about the extent to which use of amusement machines may lead to the acquisition of a habit, either as regards these machines or, subsequently, other forms of gambling.

Mr. Waller asked the Sec State for the Home Department if he will introduce legislation to restrict the age at which children may enter amusement arcades; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Douglas Hogg: We have at present no plans to do so.

Vol 103 No 171

Village Schools WA

Mrs. Dunwoody asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will instigate a special grant to maintain village schools in rural development areas.

Mr. Dunn: My right hon. Friend has no proposals to introduce a special grant to maintain village schools in rural development areas. The extra cost of schooling in sparsely populated areas is already taken into account in allocating block grant to local authorities. In addition my right hon. Friend is currently providing educational support grants to 14 local education authorities for a pilot project to explore educational and cost-effective ways of enriching the curriculum provided in small rural primary schools.

Religious Education WA

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Sec State for Education and Science what is his policy regarding the teaching of Christian-based and biblical instruction in schools.

Mrs. Rumbold: Within the statutory framework for religious education laid down in the Education Act 1944 an introduction to the Christian tradition remains central to the religious education provided in our schools. Many of the central values of our society and culture are derived from religion and from Christianity in particular. A knowledge and understanding of

Christian belief and practice, including biblical study, is therefore essential to an understanding of our society and its values.

Vol 103 No 172

Child Abuse WA

Mr. Fatchett asked the Sec State for Social Services how much money his Department allocated in 1985-86 and 1986-87 for local authorities to help in the fight against child abuse; for which local authorities; and for which projects.

Mrs. Currie: Local authority services for children are mainly funded through the rate support grant system and it is for individual local authorities to determine how the money should be distributed between the services for which they are responsible.

On 30 October to help with child abuse training projects for professional staff and telephone counselling services we announced grants of £400,000, part of which sum will be spent in 1986-87. The training projects will be based at The National Children's Bureau under the aegis of training advisory group on the sexual abuse of children and at the department of psychological medicine at the Hospital for Sick Children at Great Ormond Street. The two counselling services are Touchline based in Leeds and run by the National Children's Home and Child Line.

Mr. Watts asked the Sec State for Social Services (1) how many children were removed from the family home in each year since 1975 by reason of abuse by their parents or step-parents; (2) how many cases of child abuse by parents or step-parents were reported to social services departments in each year since 1975.

Mrs. Currie: I shall write to my hon. Friend.

AIDS WA

Mr. Kirkwood asked the Sec State Social Services if he will list those regional health authorities that have not forwarded district health authority complete service plans on AIDS as requested in circular HC (86)2; and if he will list those district health authorities that have yet to draw up such plans.

Mr. Gareth Wardell asked the Sec State Social Services if he will publish in the Official Report for each health authority the number of persons receiving treatment for AIDS for each of the past five years.

Mr. Chris Smith asked the Sec State Social Services what funds HM's Government has so far (a) allocated and (b) spent specifically on the fight against AIDS, categorised under (i) research, (ii) public information and education, (iii) additional health care facilities, (iv) support for voluntary agencies and organisations and (v) other aspects.

Mr. Newton: I shall write to the hon. Members.

Mr. Gareth Wardell asked the Sec State Social Services what information he has as to whether any persons in the United Kingdom have contracted AIDS following transfusions of infected blood that was not detected in the screening process; and what information he has about the efficacy of the screening process in other countries.

Mr. Newton: The safety of the blood supply in the United Kingdom is maintained in two ways. First, those people who may have been exposed to the AIDS virus are told they must not donate blood. Secondly, as explained in my reply to the hon. Member on 3 November at column 356, all donations are now tested and no cases of AIDS virus transmission through blood transfusion have been reported since testing was introduced. Comprehensive information on other countries who test blood donations for HIV antibody is not available, but their experience is understood to be comparable.

Vol 105 No 4 WA

Education (Resources)

Mr. Barry Jones asked the Sec State for Wales what representations he has received (a) from teaching unions and (b) from other sources on the provision of (i) books, (ii) equipment and (iii) school buildings in Wales; what extra resources he will make available, and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: Representations about such matters have been received from teachers' unions and others. Additional resources of £1.2 million in 1986-87, specifically for GCSE books and equipment were announced in June. Further announcements about the 1987-88 service distribution of current expenditure and capital allocations to local authorities will be made in due course.

Mr. Barry Jones asked the Sec State Wales if he has received representations regarding (a) resources for higher education in Wales and (b) future funding by the University Grants Committee and if he will make a statement concerning the difficulties encountered by the University College of Wales and by the University College of North Wales.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: We have received a number of representations regarding resources for the university of Wales and its constituent colleges. Resources for the university sector in GB and the distribution of grant to individual institutions is a matter for my right hon. Friend the Sec State for Education and Science and the University Grants Committee. My right hon. Friend recently announced an increase of £95 million for university recurrent grant in 1987-88. We are aware that the University College of Wales, Aberystwyth and the University College of North Wales, Bangor are reviewing their academic provision in the light of the resources available to them. We hope that the additional resources now being made available to the university sector will enable the rationalisation plans in the university of Wales and its constituent colleges to be completed successfully.

GCSE

Mr. Barry Jones asked the Sec State for Wales if he is satisfied with the current level of progress in Wales regarding the introduction of the GCSE; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: Yes.

School Governing Bodies

Mr. Barry Jones asked the Sec State for Wales if he intends to seek to change the constitution of school governing bodies in Wales; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: Yes. Our policies are contained in the Education (No. 2) Act 1986 which received Royal Assent on 7 November.

Open University

Mrs. Virginia Bottomley asked the Sec State Education and Science what additional grant the Open University will receive over the next financial years.

Mr. Kenneth Baker: I am pleased to announce that the OU will receive an additional £4.8 million in grant over the financial years 1987-88 to 1989-90. The university already plans to admit an extra 1,500 students on to its undergraduate programme in 1987. It will now be able to offer places to a further 2,000 students in 1988, which will raise the annual intake from 22,000 to 24,000. This will mean that an extra 6,000 students will be offered a place between 1988 and 1990. Two thirds of these additional students will take mathematics, science and technology courses.

About £1.5 million of the money will be used to give further support to mathematics, physics and technology teaching in schools. This will include the development of in-service training packages for physical teachers, and other activities.

In reaching my decision I received the advice of the OU visiting committee, a copy of whose report has been placed in the Library.

English Teaching

Mr. McCrindle asked the Sec State Education and Science when he expects to complete a review of how English is taught in schools; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend intends to appoint a high-level independent committee to recommend what school pupils should know about the English language. He hopes to announce the committee's composition and terms of references shortly, and will look to it for an early report.

Community Programme

Dr. Godman asked the PG if the inquiry by the MSC into the funding of certain community programme projects administered by the Renfrewshire, Dumbartonshire, Argyll and Bute community programme area office has yet been completed; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Lee: The report of the inquiry by MSC officials has now been received and is being considered in detail.

I will write to the hon. Member as soon as possible about the outcome of the inquiries.

Mr. Bermingham asked the PG what is the total number of persons registered on community programme placements in the St. Helens area at the last date available.

Mr. Lee: It is not possible to give information in the form requested. However, at the end of September, the latest date for which statistics are available, there were 4,649 people employed on community programmes in the Merseyside outer area. This includes the Metropolitan borough council area of Knowsley, Sefton and St. Helens.

Youth Training Schemes

35. Mrs. Virginia Bottomley asked the PG how many young people are currently participating in the YTS; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Trippier: At 31 October, the latest date for which figures are available, 352,381 young people were in training on YTS in Great Britain. I am satisfied with the development of two-year YTS, and am confident that the YTS undertaking will be effectively met once again, as it has been in the previous three years.

49. Mr. Wigley asked the PG what proportion of young people who have been engaged on YTS have subsequently found full-time employment in each of the years since the scheme's inception.

Mr. Trippier: Direct comparison between each of the three years of the operation of one year YTS is not appropriate. The results of the postal surveys conducted by the MSC are influenced by changes in the survey methodology. For example, an analysis of the relatively high proportion (6 per cent.) of 1985-86 leavers who said they were "doing something else" has shown that the figures understate the true proportion of leavers in full-time work by about 2 per cent. to 3 per cent. In addition the results for 1983-84 leavers cannot be treated as typical due to the very high incidence of early leavers. With these qualifications, the information requested is set out below:

	April 1983 and March 1984 (ad hoc surveys)	April 1984 and March 1985 (2.5 per cent. sample survey)	April 1985 and March 1986 (100 per cent. survey)
Percentage of leavers in full-time employment	49	55	53
Number of questionnaires issued	2,715	64,845	379,648

Vol 105 No 7

Drugs WA

Mr. Nicholls asked the Sec State for the Home Department if he will make a statement about the Government's current campaign against drug pushers.

Mr. Mellor: We are continuing to step up action on all aspects of our strategy. Recent developments include the agreement of European Community Ministers, at a meeting chaired by my right hon. Friend the Home Secretary, to a seven-point plan for combating drug misuse. The announcement by my right hon. Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer that 460 further posts will be allocated for customs work, including 110 more specialist drugs investigators, support and legal staff; the introduction of subordinate legislation to control the so-called "designer drugs"; and the implementation of a number of the provisions of the Drug Trafficking Offences Act 1986 as part of a phased implementation programme which will be completed as quickly as possible. In 1985 nearly 5,000 people were convicted of drug trafficking offences, an increase of about 20 per cent. compared with 1984.

Diet and Behaviour WA

Mr. Shersby asked the Sec State for the Home Department what plans there are for experiments to be conducted at a youth detention centre by his Department under the auspices of the British Society of Nutritional Medicine involving the interacting of diet and behaviour; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Mellor: We are not aware of plans for any such experiments to be conducted at an establishment for which we are responsible.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE WA

Higher Education

Mr. Hargreaves asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will publish updated projections of higher education numbers.

Mr. Kenneth Baker: I am today publishing, with the agreement of my right hon. and learned Friend the Sec State Scotland and my right hon. Friend the Sec State Wales, new projections of possible student demand for higher education in GB until the year 2000. Copies are available in the Vote Office.

Since 1979 the number of home students in higher education has increased by almost 140,000, including an increase of 80,000 in the number of full-time students; the proportion of the 18 to 19-year-olds entering full-time higher education has risen from 12 to 13.9 per cent.; and the number of mature entrants to full-time higher education is up by more than 15 per cent. The proportion of home students on science courses has increased from 44 to 47 per cent. and the proportion who are women from 42 to 44 per cent.

The new projections envisage further increases in numbers over the next few years and illustrates what may happen in the 1990s when the number of 18 to 19-year-olds is going to fall by one-third.

Two projections have been prepared. Projection P assumes broadly the continuation of present trends in numbers obtaining qualifications for entry to higher education, and the present pattern of such entry. For mat 3 students it assumes continuation of the recent higher entry rates. Projection Q illustrates how demand would rise if the proportion of young people qualifying for higher education increased further over the period and if the proportion of those qualifying and of older people wanting to enter higher education also increased. The document sets out the detailed assumptions and statistical techniques which underpin these projections.

Neither of the projections should be interpreted as offering a statement of Government policy. They underline, however, the need to review the implications of the fall in numbers of young people for the supply of highly qualified manpower. In addition, the analysis brings out the extent to which participation rates in higher education will depend on the success of the Government's policies to raise standards in schools, to increase participation in education and training among young people after the age of 16, and to encourage more suitably qualified mature students to enter higher education. The Government's policy remains the provision of places for all who have the intellectual competence, maturity and motivation to benefit from higher education and who wish to do so.

I shall be studying carefully the implications of the new projections for the future funding and planning of higher education, consulting the University Grants Committee and the National Advisory Body for Public Sector Higher Education as appropriate.

Drug Abuse

79. Mr. Lawler asked the Sec State Social Services what future plans he has to continue to make young people aware of the dangers of drug abuse.

Mrs. Currie: During the course of the year we have been continuing and developing the campaign of education and information about drugs which we launched in 1985. This year's campaign involves:

- advertisements on television, radio and in the press (focussing both on young people and their parents);
- the provision of leaflets for parents, professionals and others;
- a video package for use with 12-15 year olds which we have made available free of charge to all secondary schools in England and Wales.

We shall shortly be evaluating the effects of this year's campaign of education and information and will consider how best further to develop the campaign in the light of the evaluation.

In addition, my right hon. Friend, the Sec State Education and Science, is taking a range of initiatives to improve drugs education in schools.

Young People (Crime)

Mr. Hayes asked the Sec State for the Home Department if he has any plans for new initiatives to counter crime amongst young people.

Mr. Douglas Hogg: On Tuesday the Home Office standing conference on crime prevention decided that the theme for its working groups for the coming year would be "Young People and Crime". It is to set up three working groups to look at: juvenile crime; advice on child molestation and abuse; and young people and alcohol. Arrangements are now in hand to set up these groups which will report their findings and present their recommendations to standing conference next November.

There are, in addition, a number of projects under the five local crime prevention initiatives focussing on the problem of crime and young people.

Vol 106 No 9

MSC Schemes WA

Mr. D. E. Thomas asked the Sec State for Wales how many of the people employed on MSC schemes in Wales work on schemes for agencies based in England; and what proportion of the total employed on such schemes they represent.

Mr. Wyn Roberts (pursuant to his reply, 17 November 1986, c. 38): The latest information available on scheme participants is as follows:

	Number on England-based agency schemes	Percentage of total
Community Programme	5,036	25
Youth Training Scheme	2,791	13
Voluntary Projects Programme	313	28

Source: Manpower Services Commission Wales.

Participants include those who are employed, receiving training or given the opportunity to do voluntary work on MSC schemes. The figures do not include supervisory staff.

Vol 106 No 11

Enterprise Allowance WA

Mr. Colvin asked the PG if he will make the enterprise allowance available to those working in agriculture.

Mr. Trippier: The enterprise allowance is available to all unemployed people who can fulfil the eligibility conditions of the enterprise allowance scheme. Currently 4 per cent. of scheme participants are engaged in businesses in agriculture and horticulture.

Vol 106 No 16

Medical Students WA

Mr. Shersby asked the Sec State for Defence what scheme is currently in operation whereby medical students can study for their degree courses whilst at the same time undertaking a short service commission; what is the cost to public funds of assisting a typical student; and what is the minimum period of service required of service men and women who take advantage of such schemes.

Mr. Freeman: All three services currently offer cadetships to medical students. The cadetship leads to a short service commission of six years on the active list and a further two years on the reserve. The total cost to public funds of assisting a typical student in his cadetship is in the region of £17,000 after repayment of various grants and external earnings in the pre-registration year.

As with all types of SSC, the individual also receives a gratuity paid at the end of his active service, based on the number of years of active service rendered.

Vol 106 No 10

Restart Scheme WA

Mr. Prescott asked the PG if there are any circumstances in which the form UB671, "Availability for Work Questionnaire", has been used or would be expected to be used by DE group staff working in restart teams.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: The form UB671 is completed by claimants in the unemployment benefit office when they first make a claim for benefit. It is used by the unemployment benefit service in determining eligibility for benefit in accordance with long standing legal rules.

It is not used by staff in restart teams and I have no present plans for them to use it. Our restart teams are helping a completely different group of people - those who have been unemployed for over twelve months.

Mr. Prescott asked the PG how many claimants called for restart interview have failed to attend their interview; how many of those failing to attend are believed to have found work; how many of those failing to attend have not found work, how many failing to attend have had their benefit stopped; how many of these have successfully appealed against the benefit decision; and how many failing to attend have subsequently re-registered as unemployed.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: By 9 October 528,115 people had been contacted under the restart scheme, of whom 27,533 had failed to attend an interview, after two invitations. We have no means of knowing how many of them have, or have not found work.

Of those who failed to attend, 8,405 had their benefit stopped, in accordance with long standing laws which require recipients to attend an interview. Of these 4,504 had their benefit reinstated because they subsequently attended an interview. Statistical records for the numbers of appeals are not available. A total of 377 people who failed to attend after two invitations to interview have subsequently made fresh claims and were awarded benefit again as unemployed people.

Mr. Prescott asked the PG if he will list the circumstances or cases in which claimants referred to restart courses have had any benefit penalty exercised.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: We are not exercising any benefit penalty solely as a result of declining the offer of a restart course.

Job Monitoring WA

Mr. Prescott asked the PG what is the form of monitoring and report conducted by his Department or the MSC to establish how many people have found jobs, started self-employment, entered training or become involved in volunteer work, as either a direct result of restart or as a result of (a) advice given by restart interview staff, (b) use of a job club, or

(c) advice from a restart course subsequent to volunteer work.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: We have no means of knowing how many of those who have had a restart interview, or who have been on a restart course, subsequently find jobs, start self-employment, enter training or take up voluntary work. People have always ceased to claim benefit for those and other reasons at any time and will continue to do so.

However, when people are referred direct from restart interviews to jobs, self-employment, training or voluntary work the employers or organisations and so on are asked about the result. When people leave job clubs they are asked whether they are going into a job, training or some other opportunity. We cannot guarantee the completeness of our returns however. We do not have any means of following up every participant. There is no sensible reason why we should devote extra staff and resources to doing so.

Jobstart WA

Mr. Frank Cook asked the PG how many people have applied for jobstart allowances and how many people have been refused jobstart allowances, for each of the jobcentres at Billingham, Eston, Guisborough, Hartlepool, Middlesbrough, Redcar, Saltburn, Stockton, Thornaby and Yarm.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: Jobstart was piloted in nine areas of GB from Jan 1986 to the end of June 1986. One of the pilot areas was Billingham and during that period 13 people applied for the allowance, of whom 12 were successful and one was rejected.

Since 1 July 1986 jobstart has been extended nationally and the numbers of jobstart applications and rejections till 14 November 1986 for the offices requested are as follows:

	Applications	Rejections
Billingham	8	-
Eston	1	1
Guisborough	-	-
Hartlepool	5	2
Middlesbrough	28	7
Redcar	10	4
Saltburn	4	3
Stockton	9	-
Thornaby	1	1
Yarm	-	-
Total	66	18

Vol 106 No 12

Employment and Training Programmes WA

Mr. Rooker asked the PG if he will list those employment and training programmes operated by his Department in which right hon. and hon. Members as employers can participate.

Mr. Lee: Right hon. and hon. Members as employers can participate in the following employment and training measures:

- YTS
- Community Programme
- Voluntary Projects Programme
- Job Release Scheme
- New Workers Scheme
- National Priority Skills Scheme
- Local Consultancy Grants
- Local Training Grants
- Wider Opportunities Training Programme
- Training for special groups
- Management Development Projects
- Local Collaborative Projects
- Open Tech
- Training for Enterprise
- Job Introduction Scheme
- Adaptation to Premises and Equipment Scheme
- Employment Rehabilitation
- Sheltered Placement Scheme
- Special Aids to Employment
- Personal Reader Service.

However, the rules of some of these measures (particularly YTS and the CP specifically debar schemes which would involve participants in political activity or any action in support of a political party.

Manpower Service Commission WA

Mr. Dobson asked the PG what will be the estimated spending by the MSC on television, radio and newspaper advertising, respectively, and other promotional literature in the current year; and what was the total in 1979-80 and each intervening year.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke (pursuant to his reply, 19 November 1986, c. 215): I regret that the estimates given for the spending of the MSC on advertising and promotional literature in 1986-87 were inaccurate. Planned and committed expenditure is: TV, £15,700,000; press (including radio) £5,350,000; other promotional, £9,758,000. In addition, the MSC's latest and best estimate is that £4,472,000 has yet to be allocated to specific forms of advertising and promotion. The programmes to benefit include the YTS, adult training restart, the CP the enterprise allowance scheme, the jobcentre service, the technical vocational and education initiative, professional executive recruitment and the skillcentre training agency.

Vol 106 No 15

SOCIAL SERVICES

AIDS

Mr. Kirkwood asked the Sec State Social Services what proportion of the additional resources made available to the National Health Service in the Chancellor's "Autumn Statement" will be devoted to publicising, preventing and researching AIDS and caring and counselling for those infected.

Mr. Newton: My right hon. Friend has announced that £20 million will be spent over the next 12 months on public education on AIDS. Additional resources will also be allocated for costs of treatment, counselling and training; we shall make an announcement on this shortly.

Mr. Aspinwall asked the Sec State for Social Services if he will list those hospitals and clinics in Avon which have in-patient facilities for treatment of aids sufferers.

Mr. Newton: I refer my hon. Friend to my reply to the hon. Member for Greenock and Port Glasgow (Dr. Godman) on 20 November at column 323.

Mr. Meacher asked the Sec State for Social Services what is the level of current expenditure, and in each of the last four years, on, respectively, research into an AIDS cure or vaccine; screening of persons for AIDS antibodies; advice and counselling for AIDS victims; national publicity for a public health education programme, regional publicity, support for voluntary bodies combating AIDS, clinical care (including hospices) for AIDS victims; and how much is now planned for each of the next three years.

Mr. Fowler (pursuant to the reply, 27 November, c. 352): I refer the hon. Member to my speech on 21 November, when I reported to the House that there were no known cases of AIDS before 1981; that the first case of transmission by blood transfusion was reported in the

United States of America in 1983; and that a reliable test for routine screening for blood donations was developed in 1985.

Research in the United Kingdom is being co-ordinated by the Medical Research Council (MRC) which receives its grant-in-aid through the science budget of the Department of Education and Science. The MRC has awarded 15 special project grants for research on AIDS and immunodeficiency viruses totalling about £1.5 million. Included in the total is an annual special allocation of up to £300,000 from 1986-87 by the health Departments for epidemiological studies of AIDS and support of the United Kingdom centre for co-ordinating epidemiological research on AIDS. Additionally the Department is supporting directly AIDS-related research projects costing £50,000 this year, and £80,000 in 1987-88, and will consider proposals for further directly supported research. Over and above this, a number of major pharmaceutical companies in this country are devoting increasing resources to research relevant to AIDS.

The following information sets out the allocations made by the Department in England in 1986-87:

An effective screening test for the presence of AIDS antibodies suitable for routine use only became available last year. The Blood Transfusion Service is spending some £2 million to £3 million per annum on testing all blood donations. The Department has specifically allocated nearly £¼ million in 1986-87 to the Public Health Laboratory Service Board to do tests for other parts of the National Health Service. In addition the Public Health Laboratory Service Board is spending another £500,000 in 1986-87 on other AIDS related work.

The Department has also made available in 1986-87 £270,000 to the haemophilia reference centres for the provision of advice, testing and counselling services for haemophiliacs. Similar services have also been provided in genito-urinary medicine clinics for those who fear they have been infected by the virus, but comprehensive data are not available on its cost.

As I announced to the House on 21 November, the Government will be making available £20 million over the next twelve months for a national public education campaign. In addition, regional and district health authorities are mounting AIDS public education campaigns from within their own resources.

The Department provides financial support for a number of voluntary bodies providing advice, counselling and care for AIDS patients. In 1986-87, £204,000 was allocated for this purpose.

So far as the cost of clinical care is concerned, the Government made available a total of £2.5 million in 1986-87 to the three regions coping with the largest number of cases. The total cost of clinical care will of course depend on how many cases occur; treatment costs can also vary considerably between cases. On the basis of the numbers of cases notified total expenditure in 1986-87 could be of the order of £3 million to £5 million nationally.

Allocations to health authorities and other bodies for 1987-88 in respect of AIDS are currently under consideration.

Vol 106 No 16

Child Abuse

Mr. Tom Cox asked the Sec State for Social Services (1) if he will state the policy of his Department on the help and advice to be given in the training of people to work with children who are suffering, or have suffered, from sexual abuse;

(2) what is the estimated number of child psychiatrists in the UK with special expertise in child sexual abuse; and if he will make a statement as to the policy of his Department towards the development of training in this field.

Mr. Newton: The Department recognises the importance of advice and training being available to professionals working with children who are or who have suffered from sexual abuse. On 30 October my right hon. Friend announced that £300,000 was being made available over three years to set up an advice and training facility at the National Children's Bureau and the Department of Psychological Medicine at Great Ormond street. The number of consultant child psychiatrists in England and Wales is 318.3 (whole-time equivalent). Their professional training enables them to assess and treat cases of child sexual abuse. The numbers of child psychiatrists with additional special expertise is not known.

Mr. Tom Cox asked the Sec State for Social Services what guidance his Department has given to local benefit offices as to the financial help they can give to local groups working with children who have suffered, or are suffering from, child abuse.

Mr. Newton: The Department has not issued guidance to local benefit offices on this matter.

Children in Care

Mr. Wigley asked the Sec State for Social Services if he will publish a table showing for the latest available date the number of children under 16 years of age in each region of England who are living permanently (a) in long-stay mental subnormality hospitals and (b) in other institutional care; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Currie: The figures available do not distinguish "institutional" from more homely care, nor do they distinguish "permanent" residents from those who are resident at that date for a short period.

NHS Mental handicap hospitals and units are not categorised by the length of time people stay. Table 1 shows the number of children under 16 years of age resident in NHS mental handicap hospitals and units (of various sizes) at 31 December 1985, by regional health authority. The table also shows the number of children resident in small (fewer than 25 beds) NHS units providing community provision for mentally handicapped people. The figures include children admitted for short-term care—for example, for family respite—as well as permanent residents.

Local Authority: Table 2 shows the number of children under 16 years of age resident in homes and hostels for mentally handicapped people at 31 March 1985, by local authority region. Most of these children were in local authority "homes" (of various sizes)—just over a quarter were accommodated in voluntary or private "homes". Again, the figures include short-term as well as permanent residents.

My right hon. Friend has already indicated that he is asking the Health Service to ensure that by the end of 1988 no mentally handicapped child receiving long-term care should be required to live in a large mental handicap hospital.

Table 1: Children under 16 resident in NHS mental handicap hospitals and units at 31 December 1985

Regional Health Authority	Hospitals and units	Small units in the community
England	585	293
Northern	47	10
Yorkshire	40	5
Trent	81	-
East Anglian	19	6
NW Thames	27	7
NE Thames	27	25
SE Thames	67	16
SW Thames	56	15
Wessex	63	70
Oxford	56	6
South Western	27	68
West Midlands	48	34
Mersey	19	3
North Western	5	28
Special Health Authorities	3	-

Table 2: Children under 16 resident in "homes" for mentally handicapped people at 31 March 1985†

Local Authority Region	Number
England	1,468
Northern	94
Yorks/Humberside	150
North Western	301
West Midlands	125
East Midlands	70
Thames/Anglia	237
London	288
Southern	167
Southern Western	36

† Children in LA homes or in LA-sponsored residential places.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE WA

School Attendance

46. Mr. Heddle asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will make a statement on the levels of truancy in inner cities.

60. Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Sec State Education and Science what was the percentage rate of truancy amongst 15-year-old pupils on the most recent date for which figures are available what was the comparable figure for five years previously; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: The information requested is not available. However, research and local surveys show some deterioration in the attendance of 14 and 15-year-olds, in inner city schools and elsewhere. It is clear that unjustified absence occurs too often in some schools and that valuable educational opportunities are being missed. In Feb 1986 my right hon. Friend issued guidance to local education authorities on how to use their education welfare services to tackle more effectively non-attendance at school. In addition, the Government are taking major initiatives to improve the quality of teaching, the school curriculum and examinations, all of which should beneficially affect school attendance.

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Sec State Education and Science how many education authorities responded by 31 May to the request in his circular on school attendance and educational welfare services issued on 10 February, that a review be undertaken of their educational welfare structure and organisation; whether he was satisfied with the nature of the responses; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: Forty-five responses were received by 31 May. Replies are still outstanding from seven authorities. The responses are currently being analysed.

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Sec State Education and Science how many educational welfare officers were employed by education authorities in England and Wales on the most recent date for which figures are available, what were comparable figures two and five years previously; and if he will provide separate figures on this basis for the Essex county council.

Mrs. Rumbold: The Department has not collected such information in the past in relation to local education authorities in England, but it will be available when the responses to circular 2/86 on "School Attendance and Education Welfare Services" have been analysed. The figure for the Essex county council is 77. Information about Wales is a matter for my right hon. Friend the Sec State Wales.

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Sec State Education and Science (1) what was the statistical basis for his statement in his circular of 10 February regarding school attendance rates in general and attendance rates for pupils in the 14-16 year age group; and if he will make a statement;

(2) if he will take steps to require local education authorities to make periodic returns of school attendance rates in the various age ranges to his Department; and if he will make a statement;

(3) what information he has received from local education authorities and HM's Inspectorate about changes in the patterns of school attendance over the past two years; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: Although the Department does not collect national statistics on attendance, it has received information from a small number of local education authorities. The statement in question was based on this information supplemented by reports by HM's Inspectorate and independent surveys. There are widely differing views on what constitutes unjustified absence and difficulties in applying any such definition in individual cases. Before embarking on the collection of national statistics we should need to be satisfied that the problems of definition could be overcome and that the value of such statistics, justified the cost of collection.

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will publish a table showing the number of prosecutions which have been initiated by local education authorities in respect of non-attendance at school under the Education Act in each year of the most recent five-year period for which figures are available; and if he will publish a separate table showing the number of supervision orders initiated by education authorities in co-operation with social services departments under the Children and Young Persons Act for the same offence in each of these years.

Mrs. Rumbold: Numbers of prosecutions in England and Wales under the Education Acts in the years 1981 to 1985, the most recent five years for which figures are available, are as follows. It is not possible to distinguish between different offences under the Acts, but most are believed to relate to failure to attend school regularly.

	Prosecutions under Education Acts
1981	3,287
1982	3,214
1983	2,757
1984	2,970
1985	3,158

Statistics of supervision orders on grounds of failure to attend school regularly do not distinguish between those initiated by local education authorities and by other agencies. The total numbers of such orders made in the same five-year period are as follows:

	Supervision orders related to School Attendance
1981	427
1982	551
1983	456
1984	361
1985	445

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Sec State Education and Science what decision he has made on the recommendation of the interdepartmental working party, published in October 1985, on the use of child care law in relation to non-attendance of pupils at school; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: As announced on 1 May, at column 472, by my right hon. Friend the Sec State Social Services, proposals will be published shortly as the basis for legislation.

Children (Special Education Needs)

54. Mr. Amess asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will make a statement on his policy towards the provision of resources for children with special education needs.

Mr. Dunn: The Government's recently announced plans for local authority spending on education for 1987-88 represent a cash increase of 18.8 per cent. over the figure for 1986-87. The increase should enable authorities to pursue their policy priorities, including those for special education.

Class Sizes

55. Mr. Madel asked the Sec State Education and Science what recent discussions he has had with local education authorities about future policy on class sizes; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend has had no recent discussions with the local education authorities on this subject.

Police Officers (School Visits)

57. Mr. Hirst asked the Sec State for Education and Science what guidance his Department is giving to education authorities on school visits by police officers; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: On 28 April the Association of Chief Police Officers and the Society of Education Officers published a discussion document "Liaison between police and schools". The document, which was prepared in association with the Home Office and the Department of Education and Science, was welcomed by my right hon. Friend for its comments on the relationship between the police, schools and the community and its recommendations. Copies were distributed to all local education authorities and schools in England. My right hon. Friend attaches great importance to constructive co-operation between schools and the police who have a valuable contribution to make in educating children about crime prevention and many other aspects of law and order, drugs and road safety.

City Technology Colleges

59. Mr. Allan Stewart asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will make a further statement on his plans for the establishment of city technology colleges.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend has invited sponsors to work in partnership with the Government on this initiative. A large number of organisations and companies have responded constructively, many wish to explore the practicalities with the Department and others have indicated that they will support the proposals in other ways.

French Language Teaching

62. Mr. Holt asked the Sec State Education and Science what is his policy towards the amount of French language teaching in secondary schools; and if he plans to make any changes.

Mrs. Rumbold: The draft statement of policy, issued by my right hon. Friends in June, called for more pupils to study foreign languages throughout their secondary schooling, and for a wider choice of alternative first and of second foreign languages. The effects of these changes on French would depend upon local discussions about the range and duration of language provision within the available curricular time. Following consultations on the draft, a final version of the policy statement will be issued.

Vocational and Academic Assessment

63. Mr. Jim Callaghan asked the Sec State for Education and Science what representations he has received on the proposed integration of vocational and academic assessment.

64. Mr. Eastham asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will make a statement about his plans to integrate vocational and academic assessment.

Mrs. Rumbold: The Government attach considerable importance to the need both to build bridges between GCSE and A-levels on the one hand and vocational qualifications on the other, and to ensure that opportunities exist for entry into, and progression within, higher education and higher level professional qualifications. We have made it clear that the recently established National Council for Vocational Qualifications would be expected to work in collaboration both with the Secondary Examinations Council and with those responsible for higher level qualifications to establish linkages with the NVQ framework so as to ensure the minimum of barriers to access, progression and interchange. I am aware that several commentators on the report of the review group on vocational qualifications have called for a more radical integration of qualifications systems; the Government believe, however, that a more appropriate and feasible way forward is to develop qualifications from existing bases, ensuring that possible linkages and equivalences are fully exploited. Only if an effective national system of vocational qualifications is established, with pathways commanding the respect and status to draw in the ablest young people, will the unhelpful divide that exists between the so-called "academic" and "vocational" routes of learning be bridged.

AIDS WA

Mr. Kirkwood asked the Sec State Social Services whether his Department has any plans to establish an autonomous body to co-ordinate measures taken against aids.

Mr. Newton: My right hon. Friend announced in the debate in the House on 21 November at column 805 that the Health Education Council is to be reconstituted as a special health authority and will in the longer term have the major executive responsibility for public education about AIDS. Overall responsibility for co-ordinating measures to combat the spread of AIDS will remain with the Government.

Mr. Kirkwood asked the Sec State Social Services when his Department will commence distribution of leaflets on aids to every household, and associated advertising; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Newton: I refer the hon. Member to my right hon. Friend's speech to the House on 21 November at columns 801-10.

Mr. Madden asked the Sec State Social Services what information he has as to in which parts of Yorkshire and Humberside those people who, to date, have been confirmed as having AIDS live; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Newton: This information is collected by the communicable disease surveillance centre of the Public Health Laboratory Service from confidential reports of cases from doctors. Because of the small numbers involved, breakdown of data into small area statistics would create the possibility of identifying individuals and thereby breaching this confidentiality.

Mr. Madden asked the Sec State Social Services how many health visitors in the Bradford district are trained and qualified to give help, advice and information about AIDS; what arrangements are being made (a) in Yorkshire and (b) elsewhere in the United Kingdom to increase the number of health visitors with such training and qualifications; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Newton: The information on Bradford and Yorkshire is not available centrally and the hon. Member may wish to approach the relevant health authorities.

The following action has been taken in England to assist community nursing staff:

1. Guidelines for the community care of AIDS patients were sent to health authorities and professional organisations in July 1985.

2. Guidance on problems related to AIDS and children at school was sent to health authorities in July 1986 (Chief Nursing Office letter CNO(86)12).

3. The second edition of the Royal College of Nursing guidelines: "Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome/HIV related diseases" is published today.

4. The national boards for England and Wales have approved an outline curriculum on care and management of persons with AIDS and courses are expected to begin in January 1987.

Mr. Madden asked the Sec State Social Services (1) what discussions he has had with the British Medical Association and others on the provision by doctors of information to insurance companies, or other public or private organisations, as to whether any patient, National Health

Service or private, has undergone tests for AIDS, or of information about the outcome of such tests; and if he will make a statement:

(2) what discussions he is having with representatives of the insurance industry on the matter of individual companies approaching general practitioners asking for information as to whether patients have undergone tests for AIDS; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Newton: None. Disclosure of clinical information about patients to third parties is a matter for the responsible doctor, and can normally take place only with the consent of the patient. **Mr. Madden** asked the Sec State Social Services (1) what representations he has received from (a) British Telecom and (b) others about the technical difficulties arising from telephone inquiries following national publicity concerning AIDS; and what action he is taking to ensure telephone enquiries are dispersed on a regional basis to alleviate pressures on voluntary agencies with limited telephone lines in London;

(2) if he will arrange for regional free telephone numbers to be made available so that people can obtain information and advice about AIDS; if he will arrange for such telephone numbers to be publicised widely, including on leaflets he is proposing to circulate to all households; and if he will make a statement;

(3) what information he has as to how many organisations in Bradford provide help, advice and information on AIDS; if he will list the name of each organisation and information available to him on (a) the times of the week when the public can obtain counselling and (b) the telephone number of each organisation and what action he is taking to ensure that the public in Bradford have free and easy access to advice and information about AIDS.

Mr. Newton: We are aware that the telephone advisory service on AIDS operated by several voluntary bodies have become overloaded because of the increasing level of inquiries. We are in contact with them and with British Telecom to see what can be done quickly to increase the capacity of their telephone systems.

Urgent consideration is also being given to ways of providing additional telephone advisory services both nationally and regionally to meet any further demand generated by our publicity campaign.

I suggest the hon. Member writes to the district health authority chairman for specific information relating to AIDS information and advice services in Bradford.

Mr. Madden asked the Sec State Social Services when he expects to announce decisions on the free provision of needles and condoms to help prevent the spread of AIDS; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Newton: On the question of the provision of injecting equipment to drug misusers, I refer the hon. Member to the reply from my hon. Friend the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Health to my hon. Friend the Member for Brentwood and Ongar (Mr. McCrindle) on 28 November, at column 405.

Suggestions have been made that condoms should be provided free as part of the fight against AIDS. Careful consideration will be given to whether this is likely to be worthwhile, given that they are already widely available at low cost.

Vol 106 No 18

Student Grants WA

Mr. Freud asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will list the changes in rights to higher education grants for mature students over the last five years, and give the dates of orders whereby these were affected.

Mr. Walden: The Education (Mandatory Award) Regulations do not define a mature student. Students aged 26 or over may be eligible to receive an older students allowance in addition to their basic grant if they satisfy certain conditions. One change has been made to those conditions in the last five years. Until 1 September 1986 students were eligible for the allowance if they had been in full-time employment for three of the six years immediately preceding the start of their course; but students commencing a course after that date must have earned sums totalling at least £12,000 at any time during the three years prior to the course in order to be eligible. This change was effected by the Education (Mandatory Awards) Regulations 1986 (SI No. 1306) which were laid before Parliament on 1 August 1986 and came into operation on 1 September 1986.

Mr. Freud asked the Sec State for Education and Science how many mature students will lose their eligibility to statutory right to a grant for higher education as a consequence of changing the criteria to include remuneration as well as three years of employment; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Walden: Students aged 26 and over may be eligible to receive an older students allowance in addition to their basic grant if they satisfy certain conditions. No students who were receiving the allowance under the arrangements operating before 1 September 1986 will lose their entitlement. Information about the number of students entering higher education since that date who would have qualified for the older students allowance under the previous criteria but who are not now eligible is not available. A number of students who were not eligible before will be under the new arrangements.

Mr. Stanbrook asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will publish the terms of reference for his inquiry into the funding of undergraduate student support; if they include part-time students; and when he expects it to be completed.

Mr. George Walden: The terms of reference of the student support review are:

To review the present arrangements for the financial support of students studying at first degree level or equivalent in Great Britain and to consider the future basis for such support, having regard to:

- (i) the situation and the maintenance needs of students, and the extent to which it is appropriate that those needs should be supported from public funds;
- (ii) other actual and possible sources of support which would allow the removal of students from the social security system—including the case for a system involving loans as well as grants, and the contribution of sponsorship to the needs of students on vocationally oriented courses;
- (iii) the Government's stated policies for higher education and access to it; and
- (iv) arrangements made in other countries with developed systems for the financial support of students.

The review will consider the support of part-time students who are studying at first degree level. Its work is expected to be completed next year.

Vol 107 No 26

Child Abuse WA

36. **Mr. Maclean** asked the Sec State Home Department if he will make a statement on the action being taken by his Department to prevent child abuse and to improve the likelihood of prosecutions where child abuse has taken place.

62. **Mr. Watts** asked the Sec State Home Department what initiatives have been taken by his Department to combat child abuse.

Mr. Hurd: A "Stranger Danger" campaign has been in operation for some years. It aims to increase the awareness of children, parents and teachers; to get across an easily understood set of simple rules for children to follow, and to alert parents and teachers to the need to ensure children know and follow these rules. The national standing conference on crime prevention agreed last month to set up a working group to review existing publicity and publications on child molestation and abuse and to make recommendations on the most appropriate messages, presentation and audience for future publicity on this subject. The group has asked to complete its work by next November.

A Home Office-led review is examining the disclosure of criminal backgrounds of those seeking to work with children. As a result new arrangements have been introduced for checks on newly recruited staff and volunteers in the education, social and probation services with substantial access to children, registered child minders and foster and adoptive parents and adults in their households. We are preparing circulars on children in long-term care in the

National Health Service and on staff in independent schools. The Rehabilitation of Offenders Act 1974 (Exceptions) (Amendment) Order 1986 ensures that all those seeking or holding positions which give access to children may be required to declare convictions which are spent under the Act, and may be excluded or dismissed on account of such convictions.

I have requested the Inspectorate of Constabulary to gather information about arrangements which police forces make in child abuse cases. On the basis of this information, and in consultation with chief officers, I will consider the need to issue a circular to the police later next year on the investigation of such offences and the treatment of victims.

The Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 made a spouse a competent and compellable witness against a person accused of a sexual offence or an offence of violence against a boy or girl aged under 16. That Act also permits a jury to treat an unjustified refusal to provide an intimate sample as evidence corroborating, for example, the unsworn testimony of a child victim of a sexual assault. We gave full support to the Sexual Offences Act 1985, introduced by my hon. Friend the Member for Plymouth, Drake (Miss Fookes), which increased the penalty for indecent assault on a woman or a girl to 10 years. If enacted, clause 21 of the Criminal Justice Bill will permit a child witness in the case of a sexual offence or offence of violence to give evidence before the Crown court via a live video link.

Those sentenced to life imprisonment for the sexual or sadistic murder of children must normally expect to remain in custody for at least 20 years; and those sentenced to more than five years for physical or sexual abuse of children will be granted parole only when release supervision for a few months before the end of a sentence is likely to reduce the long-term risk of re-offending or in circumstances which are genuinely exceptional.

Vol 107 No 27

YTS WA

Mr. Lawler asked the PG what ethnic breakdown he has of current YTS participants or of those who have recently left the scheme.

Mr. Trippier: The most recently available information on the ethnic group of YTS participants who entered under two-year YTS rules relates to trainees in training at 10 November 1986. The data are as follows:

	Number
Ethnic Group 1 (White)	319,797
Ethnic Group 2 (Black/African/Caribbean descent)	5,937
Ethnic Group 3 (Indian Sub-continent descent)	5,042
Ethnic Group 4 (None of these)	2,102
Ethnic Group 5 (Prefers not to say)	3,280
Total	336,158

The latest group of leavers from YTS for whom information is available are those who left one-year YTS training programmes between April and June 1986. Of the 82,820 leavers in this period, 79,140 were recorded as "white" 1,510 as "black/African/Caribbean descent", 1,010 as of "Indian sub-continent descent" and 1,160 as "all others".

The number of ethnic group categories changed from four to five with the introduction of two-year YTS.

Vol 107 No 26

Training Colleges (Entrant Selection)

Mr. Leighton asked the PG what criteria laid are down by the principals of publicly funded training colleges when selecting entrants.

Mr. Trippier: The question of criteria used by principals of publicly funded colleges when selecting entrants is a matter for my right hon. Friend the Sec of State for Education and Science. For adult training provisions financed by the MSC, selection criteria will be largely determined by the demands of the course, and the qualifications, experience and personal qualities necessary to complete it successfully. Consideration will also be given to any specific requirements within the occupations and industry to which the training is directed.

Trainees (Employment)

Mr. Leighton asked the PG when people have completed a publicly funded training course what restrictions are placed by his Department or the MSC on them finding employment.

Mr. Trippier: None. Quite the opposite; we actively encourage and assist people to find suitable jobs after training.

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