YOUTH

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issues in child care in northern ireland

BRIAN CAUL

In this article, the central concern will be to critically examine the legal and professional justification for intervention by social workers in the lives of families in Northen Ireland, with particular reference to those situations where statutory orders are made by the juvenile courts. By way of introduction, the child care statutory services will be briefly placed in legal and historical context; recent statistical trends in court decision-making will then be examined; and finally the assumptions typically employed by social workers in decision-making will be analysed. Of particular interest will be the ways in which social workers define the concept of self-determination and justify their decisions to supercede that right.

The Legal Context of Child Care Services in Northern Ireland

The legal heritage of Northern Ireland can be summed up relatively simply. Since 1921, when Partition was introduced in Ireland, there has been a multi-layered step by step relationship between Northern Ireland and Britain. For reasons which were initially largely political and economic, what England got one year, the Province tended to get a few years on, and usually in vertabim form. For instance the 1948 Children Act was echoed in the 1950 Children and Young Persons Act (Northern Ireland) and similarly the 1963 Children and Young Persons Act which brought preventive family casework to the fore in England and Wales was largely reproduced in Northern Ireland in the form of the 1968 Children and Young Persons Act. At present, we are awaiting news of a new Child Care Order which will in all probability be a compromise between welfare and justice models of child care, as was the 1969 Act in England and Wales.

Social Workers in Ulster therefore have the same range of duties and powers as were contained in the 1963 Act in England. They can take out Place of Safety Orders on the signature of a Justice of the Peace, if they believe that a child is at risk; they can provide assistance to families in cash or in kind if they believe that it will diminish the need to receive children into care; they act as 'fit persons' if a court commits children to their care; and they can apply to the court for an order to assume parental rights if they assess that a child already in voluntary care would be at risk if returned home. Figure A illustrates the various measures employed to cater for children in care in the Province. It is notable that the substantial majority of the children in care are either boarded out with foster parents or placed with parents (on trial), relatives or friends.

FIGURE A

CHILDREN IN CARE 1984 (PROVISIONAL FIGURES).

Manner of Accommodation:

Boarded out with foster parents	1,235
Lodgings or residential employments	7
Statutory Children's Homes	339
Voluntary Homes	225
Accommodation for Handicapped	5
Hostels for Working Boys & Girls	22
Under Charge of Parent, Guardian, Relative or friend	593
Other Accommodation	22
Total	2,448

N.B.: In addition approximately 272 adolescents have been committed to the 5 N. Irish Training Schools for either offences or non-school attendances. These Training Schools Orders are made directly by the juvenile courts.

Source: Child Care Branch, Department of Health and Social Services

The Origin and Powers of the Juvenile Court

The juvenile court in Northern Ireland has its original roots in the British Children Act of 1908, the 'Children's Charter', and is a court of summary jurisdiction specially constituted to deal with children and young persons under the age of seventeen years, whether in need of care and protection or an offender. Any juvenile appearing before the court charged with an offence is tried by the process of law but it is suggested that in many ways the court has acquired the character and functions of a concerned social agency. The court is presided over by a resident magistrate who has at least six years experience as a qualified solicitor or barrister, and two members of a lay panel, one of whom must be a woman. There are five Training Schools in Northern Ireland, residential establishments approved under Section 137 of the Children and Young Persons (Northern Ireland) Act 1968 for the reception and training of children who are considered by the courts to be in need of a period of residential treatment away from their home environment. Juveniles between 10 and 17 years old can be committed to training school if found guilty of an offence punishable in the case of an adult by imprisonment; where there has been persistent non-attendance at school, or where the juvenile is deemed to be in need of care, protection and control. The Training School Order is known as a semi-

determinate sentence and its maximum duration is three years, although school managers review progress regularly and have the power to release juveniles on licence if they are considered ready to be restored to the community. Recent trends indicate that more than 50% of the training school residents have been committed as being in need of care and protection.

A Young Offenders Centre receives committed juveniles over the age of 16 years. Children in need of care and protection may also be committed to a range of children's homes managed by either the statutory area boards for social services or the Catholic and Protestant voluntary organisations such as De La Salle and Dr. Barnardo's. The treatment options under the 1968 Children and Young Persons Act are as follows:

(a) committal to a Training School;

(b) committal to the care of a fit person (usually the local Area Social Services Board);

(c) a supervision order (for children only);

(d) an attendance centre order, which requires a juvenile to work on nominated days under supervision in a local centre;

(e) committal to a remand home (usually one of the four Training Schools);

Under other legislation, the juvenile court can order:

(f) a period of probation

(g) a period in the Young Offenders Centre, which is basically a young persons prison.

Statistical Trends in Admissions and Commitals to Care

As indicated in Figure B below, the numbers of children in care in the Province rose by 20% between 1979 and 1983. Of the 2,547 children in care in 1983, 48% were placed with foster parents, 25% were accommodated in statutory and voluntary children's homes and 24% were under the charge of a parent, guardian, relative or friend. This represented a decline in the use of residential care and an increase in placements of children on a home on trial basis. The major reasons for admission to care in 1983 were the granting of Fit Person Orders to the Area Social Services Boards by the juvenile courts (34%) and the incapacity of the parent(s) or guardian (25%). This reflects an increase in court committals by 6% over the four years from 1979 when 28% of admissions were due to Fit Person Orders.

FIGURE B

|	1979	1980	1981	1982	1983
Children in care	2,127	2,444	2,584	2,559	2,547
Admissions of children to care	1,016	1,143	1,070	894*	958
Discharges of children from care	879	920	945	928*	961

*Information not available from one district
Source: Child Care Branch, Department of Health and Social Services.

The provisional figures for 1984 indicate that, of the 969 children admitted to care, 36% were committed by the courts under Fit Person Orders.

With regard to children in trouble with the courts, it is indicated in Figure C that the rate of indictable offending is considerably lower than in England and Wales - the statistics for the latter suggest an offending rate of 15 per 1,000 of the juvenile population whereas in the Province it is a rate of about 5 per 1,000.

FIGURE C

INDICTABLE OFFENCES - JUVENILES FOUND GUILTY
PER THOUSAND OF JUVENILE (10-16 AGE GROUP)

Key: ------- England and Wales
———— Northern Ireland
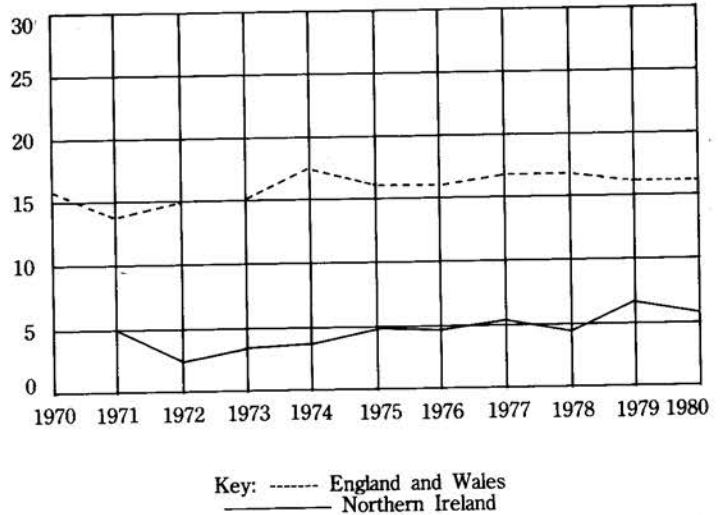
During the mid-1970s there was deep and widespread concern that the rate of scheduled offending among juveniles (that is violent or homicidal behaviour) was running at over twenty times the rate in Britain. It is arguable that this had the effect of bringing about a form of moral panic among the Province's agents of law and order - the fear that the very fabric of society was being threatened. Indeed one Northern Ireland memo of which I had scrutiny described the importance of adopting strong measures lest the problem of juvenile delinquency get out of control. However, as illustrated in Figure D the rate of scheduled offending had dropped remarkably in Ulster by the end of the decade to the extent that the rate in England and Wales was one and a half times greater by 1980. By way of explanation, Section 73 of the Children and Young Persons (Northern Ireland) Act 1968 and Section 53 of the Children and Young Persons Act 1933 (England and Wales) correspond exactly. Section 73 states as follows:

sub-section (1) Sentence of death shall not be pronounced on or recorded against a person convicted of an offence if it appears to the court that at the time when the offence was committed, he was under the age of eighteen nor shall any such person be sentenced to imprisonment for life .... but in lieu thereof the court shall sentence him to be detained during the pleasure of the (Minister of State)....

sub-section (2) Where a child or young person is convicted on indictment of any offence punishable in the case of an adult with imprisonment for fourteen years or more, and the court is of opinion that none of the other methods in which the case may legally be dealt with is suitable, the court may sentence the offender to be detained for such period as may be specified in the sentence ...

FIGURE D

SECTION 53 DETAINEES IN ENGLAND AND WALES

	1970	71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	1980
In childcare establishments	1	2	4	5	5	10	16	15	17	12	29
In prison system	11	7	21	46	25	42	53	59	78	55	56
Total	12	8	25	51	30	52	69	74	95	67	95

SECTION 73 DETAINEES IN NORTHERN IRELAND

	1971	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	1981
Within training schools	—	—	—	2	7	1	—	—	—	—	—
Within prison system	—	3	5	24	36	17	40	12	11	2	3
Total	—	3	5	26	43	18	40	12	11	2	3

The overall picture indicated by these statistics is one of a society which is largely rural and traditionalist, and where the ties of family and kinship are still very strong. While the civil conflict has been a strongly imbedded dynamic across wide areas in the Province since 1969, there seem to be clear signs that the more conventional forms of delinquency, so to speak, have remained as a separate phenomenon from sectarian antagonisms. Indeed even when young people were being incarcerated in the mid-1970s for very grave offences, there was evidence that many of these young people had no previous juvenile court appearances and would in any other context have been seen to have intelligent and talented profiles. The amount of overlap between the young housebreaker and the budding paramilitary was limited. What is much more difficult to measure and thus open to conjecture is the extent of the stress imposed on many Ulster working class families living in flashpoint areas, particularly in urban areas, who have had to bear the brunt because they have literally been at the storm centre of the conflict.

The number of children being received into care seems to be stabilised in the last few years. It is notable however that the proportion of committals of children to care by courts on the grounds that they are in need of care and protection has been increasing.

The Significance of the Increase in Court Committals on Care and Protection Grounds

Social workers now have wide powers of intervention into the lives of families in Northern Ireland. An increasing proportion of children appear in court as a result of such interventions and are committed to care as being in need of care and protection. There is a worrying tendency for many parents and children to become alienated and overcome by a feeling of powerlessness as a result of such processes. This is evidenced by the fact that a self-aid organisation called Parents' Aid has recently established several branches throughout Northern Ireland. The aim of this group is to offer mutual advice and support to parents whose children are or have been in the care of the statutory authorities. This being so, the next section of this article will analyse this trend in committals and inquire whether social work practice is in danger of infringing some of the fundamental ethical principles which are supposed to underpin professional child care.

Social work training since the 1940s has been dominated by the psychosocial school of thought. Whether of British or American origin, the theorists have been concerned with improving the social functioning of individuals and families. Social workers have been encouraged to apply a variety of strategies to enhance the ego functions (the reality base of the psyche) and if necessary help to effect interventions in parts of the social environment where change is deemed to be necessary. Underpinning these practice theories lies the fundamental principle of self-determination. Foren and Bailey refer to the tenet that 'the soundest growth comes from within'. They refer to the importance of releasing the individual's 'life energy' to take hold of their situation; and they assert that 'the strength to understand and act upon one's understanding comes only as one actually experiences and exercises freedom to direct one's faults and behaviour'. However they draw the following limits to complete self-determination:

(i) when people are too sick mentally or physically to be able to take responsibility for themselves;

(ii) when a person's behaviour is damaging to himself or herself or to others;

(iii) when it is a case of children or mentally retarded adults who may need the active intervention of the social worker in their lives because they have neither the knowledge nor the maturity necessary for the complete conduct of their affairs. (Foren and Bailey, 1968)

This reflects the firm conviction that a person has the potential for self-determination and that any conscious or wilful violation of this freedom without due cause is an unprofessional act which transgresses a client's natural right, and not only damages the social work process but makes it impossible. Self determination is held to be part of one's essential dignity as a human being, a fundamental right of all people in a democratic society. Thus it must be one of the foundation stones of all social work agencies. Any erosion of that right has to be rigorously justified in terms of the client's capacity to make decisions, or by the requirements of the law. Refining this argument, McDermott (1975) suggests that there is a close identification between self-determination and virtue. If one took the literal definition of self-determination to embrace all choices and decisions including those that are 'illegal' or 'immoral', then to elevate it as a principle or to recognise it as a right of clients might appear to be a rejection of law and morality. After all, the literal meaning of self-determination is to make one's own choices and decisions as opposed to submission to those decisions made by others. However in social work practice, McDermott suggests that a 'persuasive definition' is given to self determination - social workers actually ascribe a 'real', true or 'essential' meaning to it. Thus clients are encouraged to choose routes that are 'worthwhile' and 'important'. And an important decision should be rational, based on a proper appreciation of the realistic situation. The real threat to the client's right to self determination comes if the social worker exercises the opportunities for manipulation that are open to him or her by dint of their authority - whether that is in the form of legal and administrative authority, or the authority of knowledge that it often mythically accredited to them. As a safeguard against oppression, McDermott argues that the right to self-determination should literally place a **Moral Restraint** upon social workers in the midst of their professional aims. This moral restraint springs from a client's right to go his or her own way not because this route is constructive or good, or socially acceptable, but simply because it is their own. If social workers are blindly pursuing a persuasive definition of self determination (where behaviour is open to modification or coercion because it fails to measure up to prescribed virtues) then this moral restraint can be rationalised out of existence. (McDermott, 1975)

Indeed it is arguable that this ability of professional social workers to rationalise their coercive actions is the very cause of the birth of the Parents Aid group.

Several themes predominate in the shared experiences of parents who seek support from the group -

(i) parents often do not share or even understand the explanations given by social workers when children are removed compulsorily into care;

(ii) parents feel powerless as individuals to contest decisions in the face of professional expertise and the force of the law;

(iii) parents feel powerless during and after the committal to care of their children because they feel stigmatised and marginalised;

(iv) even when the reasons for decisions are communicated parents often find the legal or professional language codes mystifying.

Consequently there appears to be ample evidence that professional social work intervention has increasingly felt justified in employing a **persuasive** definition of self determination. The fact that many parents have not been able to accommodate themselves to this persuasive behaviour modification is reflected in the increasing proportionate numbers of committals of children to care in need of care and protection. As a direct consequence of this trend, parents have felt the need to establish a mutual support group. Resourced by professional lawyers, lecturers and sympathetic social workers, they have now produced a booklet outlining the legal rights of parents whose children are deemed to be 'at risk' or who have been received into care. They also meet on a regular basis as a forum for exchanging experiences and perhaps mobilising collective support in trying to resolve particular issues.

Conclusion
An increasing proportion of children appear in court as a result of social workers' interventions and are committed to care. There are indications that parents and children experience feelings of confusion and powerlessness as a result of these actions.

Northern Ireland has witnessed a review of its present child care system and awaits new legislation to signpost future child care policy. It is to be hoped that any decisions about future practice will be informed by the following key principles:

(i) *Minimum essential state intervention in the lives of families*
It has been argued in this article that 'moral restraint' should be exercised by statutory authorities in their dealings with families. The state should provide the support in cash and in kind for families to exercise their right to go their own way, in the belief that society is at its most healthy when it is self-regulating. The most insidiously negative tendencies in state intervention arise from its official agents imposing standards of virtue on its citizens.

(ii) *Community based alternatives*
As previously indicated, there are four training schools and an array of statutory and voluntary Childrens Homes in Northern Ireland. In many instances, these are a throwback to the assumptions and values of the Poor Law Board of Guardians, although the basic positive helping motivation is not in doubt.

Now is the time to phase out these institutions as the benign anachronisms that they are, and to inject financial aid, as a real alternative, into communities themselves in a preventive way. Through neighbourhood based youth schemes, family advice centres and adequate financial support for families with special needs, many of the presenting reasons for family breakdown can be removed or alleviated.

Michael Young (1958) has graphically described how the elements making up the meritocracy in bourgeois society gain their legitimation in various ways. In practice as the professionals aspire to elite positions, there is a danger that a social distance is created between them and the people they hope to help. The very mandate which legitimates the profession embraces certain significant assumptions - that the professional has achieved his or her position of elevation because of merit; that the profession itself is based on an authority of knowledge which is expert and beyond the comprehension of the ordinary person; and that it is appropriate to invest the professional with a monopoly of judgement. In effect this produces a growing detachment between professional groups and the people they purport to serve. Social work with its aggrandisement and professionalisation over the last two decades has been accumulating the appropriate status ratings in order to take its place on the rarified heights inhabited by the 'experts'. If there is to be a valid role for community social work, certain inalienable values are imperative. Social workers must take their place alongside their fellow citizens. As local communities experience the continual tension which is inevitably associated with a social life ranging from collective activity to social diversity, mediating intervention by community social workers can prove constructive and positive. However this must be distinguished from activity which only serves to label and stigmatise young people or their parents as troublesome deviants who require treatment or incarceration. What is required of social work practice in Northern Ireland is that it moves away from being a process of 'virtuous' domestication to becoming one of the many elements in a process of liberation. If we all have faith in really listening to each other identifying our mutual needs and hopes, then we can collectively transform our world for the better.

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juvenile justice and systems intervention in the education system

TIM PICKLES

Systems intervention in the juvenile justice system has now entered our everyday practice as a result of the work of the Centre of Youth, Crime and Community at Lancaster University[1]. Their thinking and research has prompted us to look beyond the needs of individual young people who come to the attention of the authorities because of their criminal activities, to examine how the response of the authorities itself can contribute to the definition and labelling of young people in trouble. This has been a particularly valuable exercise and has led to significant developments in the field of diverting young people away from the criminal justice system, developing programmes of minimum intervention, and a re-examination of the labelling process which operates once young people have entered the system. Above all, the systems intervention approach has helped to move attention away from the young person as the focus of attention and onto the consequences of the juvenile system itself. The argument that over-intervention in the lives of young people, however well-intentioned, can itself have unintended side-effects, which tend to push young people further into the system at an earlier stage, has now been widely accepted. As a result of this thinking, the policies of many social work agencies have now been changed in order to divert more young people and reduce the labelling effect of any intervention.

Any study of young people in residential care will show that a significant factor in leading to the care requirement is the poor school attendance or the disruptive behaviour in school of the young person. In several cases, one or other of these causes will be the principal reason contributing to the care placement. The purpose of this article is to consider ways in which the systems intervention thinking which has been developed in the juvenile justice system can be translated and applied to the education system. If this were to be successful, we could expect to see a more rigorous monitoring of pupils to assess whether they required residential care for educational problems, and a likely reduction in the numbers of school pupils placed in residential care as a result of problems associated with truancy and school disruption.

Keeping Young People in the Community School

It is the policy of both central and local government to develop our system of comprehensive schools. The intention is that these schools should be able to accommodate all young people from the local community. They are neighbourhood schools, offering a variety of subjects to educate pupils of a wide ability range to their full potential. Whether this is the case or not we assume that all young people will go to their local community comprehensive school unless there are particular circumstances which dictate otherwise.

It is the point at which this decision to place a few young people in facilities other than comprehensive schools which I suggest we could subject to a systems intervention approach. Such an approach could also be used when a response to persistant truancy is being considered. Following the implementation of recent Education Acts this area has been standardised in many respects, particularly with regard to the assessment of special educational needs. What I suggest is that this whole area of alternative provision could be placed within a broader framework of educational monitoring. This would begin with the statement that all school pupils should be educated in their neighbourhood comprehensive school. This is the norm and any alternative needs to be rigorously checked. In particular, specific criteria need to be met before any alternative placement occurs. These criteria would include:

1. that the young person is unable to learn in his or her comprehensive school. If this condition were met, special education assessment procedure would be followed. Or,
2. the young person is unable to live in the community - in which case there is a need for joint assessment with the Social Services in order to formulate a longer term plan for the young person's care and education, or
3. the young person has specific behavioural difficulties which will be exacerbated by continued attendance in a large school setting.

In practice, each of these criteria require further definition and refinement in the context of each Local Education Authority.

These criteria introduce little which is new to the present system until we start to examine their implications. Unless one of these criteria is met, removal from normal day school should not occur because the community school is the best place for that pupil to receive his or her education. Furthermore, neither school disruption itself, nor school absenteeism, on its own, forms sufficient grounds for the removal of a young person from home and community. In other words, despite the problems presented by a pupil, unless one of these criteria can be met, the school must go on accommodating and educating the young person.

For schools, this means a continuous appraisal of both the curriculum and the teaching methods to ensure that the education available is relevant and accessible to young people attending the school. There is an obligation on the school to try new and different ways of responding to the needs of these pupils so that they survive satisfactorily and are educated within the community school.

For the pupils, these criteria mean the provision of support resources which motivate and enable them to learn as much as possible within the school.

For both school and pupil, the criteria require a system which ensures that the two are responsive to each other.

Responses Within the School System

Schools require a strategy which ensures that the maximum number of young people are educated satisfactorily within the comprehensive school system, and only the absolute minimum number of pupils fulfill one or more of the criteria above. Such a strategy depends in the first place on an objective assessment procedure which enables those pupils who are presenting the school with difficulties in supporting them to be looked at constructively.

This assessment procedure would involve senior staff within the school and would start from the premise that the school is the best place for the pupil to be educated but that changes are required in the school system to allow the pupil to take advantage of it. The recording of such procedures must be carefully scrutinised to avoid any dossier of negative information about the pupil being built up.

Once the school accepts its responsibility toward the pupil, it will require a range of in-school resources to allow the policy of continued support to be maintained. Such resources are likely to include an extensive pastoral care network, the provision of school counsellors available to pupils, and part-time 'sanctuary' or 'respite' facilities which operate not as a withdrawal facility for the benefit of teachers but as a homebase, support facility accessible to pupils.

This network of in-school resources changes the value system of the school. It shifts the school system from one determined by teachers operating on the basis of their standards to which all young people must conform to participate, to a pragmatic system of negotiation between pupil and school aimed at sustaining the greatest degree of school attendance and universal provision. There will be occasions when in-school procedures and resources fail to accommodate some young people adequately within the neighbourhood school. One or other of the criteria cited earlier will have been met. In such cases other responses will occur either through special education resources (which are not considered here) or through special day units or exclusion and report procedures. The rest of this article considers a systems approach to such units and procedures before examining a few of the general issues which have arisen.

School Units

In this section I wish to focus particularly on the use made of school support units (which also exist under a variety of other names). They tend to be small group classrooms, operating either on the main school site or sometimes off-site (where they may service feeder schools), with specialist teachers who are able to offer more attention and individual learning programmes to pupils who are not surviving in ordinary school or who have been excluded.

One problem with some such units is that immediately they are established they tend to become full and to develop a waiting list of pupils. In other words, they can become a dumping ground for pupils the main school would rather not have. It can also be difficult to move pupils back from these units to conventional schools because of a resistance on the part of mainstream schools to re-accept the 'troublemakers'.

There are other dangers associated with the establishment of such units. Pupils who attend them can become labelled as deviant pupils and such labels are far more difficult to get rid of than they are to gain. Without a clear definition of the role of such units, any dumping of pupils into them simply broadens the range of problems they are expected to deal with and brings more and more potential pupils into their referral catchment - a classic example of widening the net to include more of the general population.

Since these problems have been demonstrated so many times, careful thought needs to be given before any such units are established, so that they are not regarded as a quick panacea. Assuming that such units are created, their effectiveness in overcoming these problems will depend on their gatekeeping.

Gatekeeping, as its name suggests, is the process by which access to such units is strictly controlled and monitored. Support units are scarce and expensive resources which should not be mis-used. In particular, they should not be used to accommodate young people for whom other, less intensive support could be made available in the conventional school. Gatekeeping is a way of controlling access to this resource and limiting it to those who meet the established requirements. In this way, the criteria which permit removal from a conventional school as identified above, can be checked.

What would a gatekeeping system for support units look like? I suggest that there are several elements which need to be put in place for the system to be fully effective:

— Specific entry criteria for each support unit which specify the status and identified needs each pupil must have reached before entry can be considered.
— A panel of people who make the decision about entry based on these criteria alone. It is helpful to include an outside person in this panel in order to prevent any condoning of suspect entries by people directly involved in the school system.
— The identification of routes out of the support unit for each pupil who enters. This should be planned at the time of entry and would normally involve a return to conventional school. It helps to establish an ideal time scale for this even though that may be reviewed later.
— Regular reviews on all pupils in the support unit to assess their progress back to mainstream education as soon as possible.
— Independent monitoring of all support units centrally to ensure that they are keeping to their objectives.
— The provision of 'outreach' teachers who can enter the conventional school and advise on ways in which particular pupils can be better accommodated in the school without the necessity for any removal in the first place, and who could assist in the re-integration of pupils from support units into mainstream school.

Several schools and support units would recognise many of these elements in their current system, but in a great many cases, important elements are missing and consequently a wide variety of young people find their way out of conventional schooling into a range of alternative provision which, no matter how good it is, is serving to label the pupil and increase the likelihood of even further removal from the community if he or she should come further to the attention of the educational or justice authorities.

The Educational Support Curriculum

I am not concerned here so much with the curriculum on offer

in conventional schools as with the content of the educational curriculum which is made available to pupils who are outwith the mainstream education. Of course such pupils should learn standard subjects which they will need, and in some cases they will also need access to remedial teaching programmes. However, these should be available in conventional schools - that is, after all, one of the main functions of schools. That being so, then support units must have an obligation to prepare their pupils with the skills they require to take advantage of the learning that is available in ordinary schools. If they could do this, then these pupils would be enabled to return to their ordinary schools and classrooms at the earliest opportunity and gain their education there.

So, one of the key functions of these alternative facilities must be to provide their pupils with a 'School Survival Programme' which focuses specifically on the consequences for the young person of remaining outwith conventional schooling in terms of labelling, poorer references and an adverse image should they enter further into the educational or judicial system in the future. The Programme should then look at what happens to them in school, their attitudes, their behaviour, and the alternative responses and coping strategies which they could develop. In the support units these strategies could be worked out with the teaching staff, assessed, practised, role-played and refined on an individual basis. Each pupil might then need some help in translating this strategy into action back in the main school, and the 'outreach' teachers could assist in this process. They will need to be active in helping the school to change and accommodate the pupil where school factors have been shown in the assessment period to be contributing to the problem. They will also have to ensure that the curriculum in the main school is relevant to the interests and abilities of the returning pupil.

Such 'School Survival Programmes' need to be devised for a range of school problems including disruptive behaviour and truancy. If the function of support units is to return pupils to conventional schooling in the community at the earliest opportunity, then I suggest that the teaching of this sort of curriculum in support units is more important than any academic teaching, and needs to be far more focused than at present.

School Exclusions
One of the most widely known educational systems is that which deals with the exclusion of pupils for varying periods of time. In the extreme, this may result in the permanent exclusion of a pupil from a school for some act of serious misconduct. School exclusion procedures are usually well defined by the education authority, though the extent to which these guidelines are adhered to varies considerably between schools. As a general rule, most short term exclusions where the pupil is re-admitted within a week, are left to the discretion of the individual headteacher. Where longer term exclusion is considered, the headteacher needs to consult the Director of Education before taking such serious action. There must be formal systems for the recording of all exclusions (irrespective of their length) and their appeal by parents or the pupil in each authority.

The ability to exclude a pupil is a necessary part of dealing with incidents in school, and from time to time will need to be exercised in the case of serious disturbance. It should never be used as a sanction for truancy: if a pupil is a frequent truant, excluding him or her on return to school is surely a way of making their truancy legal and cannot be in the interests of resolving the problem.

Whilst exclusion from school remains an option, it does need to have several systems safeguards introduced where this is not already the case. First, each incident of exclusion, no matter how short the period, must be recorded and the Education Department informed; there should be no such thing as an exclusion which only the headteacher within the school knows about. Secondly, all the pertinent facts of the incident should be recorded including the perceptions of all those involved. In addition to the teacher reporting the incident this would mean a recording of the pupil's perception of the incident. If the matter is in dispute, then it is important to record the events at the time and not to rely upon memory at a later date. This recording should be scruplous in relying only upon factual material, and should avoid conjecture and interpretation, which may not be pertinent to the incident. Finally, all the information about exclusions should be collected, monitored and appraised centrally within the Education Department. This will enable Education Officers to identify patterns in school exclusions, and help to pinpoint causes, problematic schools and the influence of different forms of school management upon this behaviour of pupils. If this material is regularly scrutinised, examples of good school management and educational systems can be identified and used as models of good practice in other schools for the benefit of all pupils.

School Reports
Another way in which schools influence the lives of young people through the educational system is by the writing of school reports. Schools are obliged to prepare reports on pupils for various reasons. Those connected with references and end of term progress reviews are not considered here. Instead, I shall concentrate on the influence of school reports written for formal appearances of the pupil before a Juvenile Court or Children's Hearing. Much work has already been done to examine the content of Social Enquiry Reports by social work agencies to ensure that they are relevant to the grounds of appearance by the young person, and to ensure that they contain a specific and positive recommendation for the outcome of the appearance. A similar approach needs to be adopted in the case of school reports to such appearances. NACRO have produced an excellent report[2] on this subject whose recommendations if accepted by education authorities, would go a long way to ensuring that school reports restricted themselves to the facts relevant to the circumstances of the appearance, included positive information about the pupil as well as an assessment of his or her difficulties, and indicated how the school intended to go on supporting the education of the pupil in his or her own community. Such reports need to be made public to the pupil and his or her family so that incorrect factual statements can be challenged and the school authors asked to substantiate their views. Such procedures would go a long way to making the educational system more accountable for the way in which it handles young people in our schools.

Some Issues in Systems Intervention in the Education System
Consideration of these points raises a number of issues which will be of concern to all those involved in the education system.

The first of these asks who it is that has control over pupils in schools. The headteacher presently has a high degree of autonomy in the running of the school and is able to make many day-to-day decisions regarding individual pupils. If a systems intervention approach were to be widely adopted it would inevitably curtail some of the present decision-making powers enjoyed by individual headteachers. The school system requires a high level of organisation. Maintaining the

procedures for assessment and in-school responses requires the active involvement of a senior member of the school staff. As has been found in social work settings, the deliberate use of an external person in this process can prevent collusion and enable a more objective response to be made. There is no avoiding the fact that such decision-making processes can only be developed at the expense of the headteachers current level of autonomy.

It is the Education Department in each authority which has the duty to provide education for every young person in its area, and it is the Department's responsibility to decide how this will be carried out.

Education Departments need to be made aware of some of the consequences of young people's involvement in the education systems. They are then in a position to act through the creation of policy on decision-making procedures and the gatekeeping of specialist resources. They can also monitor the impact of policies and procedures through the centralised collection of information about exclusions, referrals and the use of alternative facilities.

Systems intervention also highlights the fact that many problems are not solvable by one agency acting alone. To make progress on some difficulties facing young people there needs to be a pooling of resources, ideas and facilities from several agencies in order to enable young people to stay in the community. Education Departments, by working together with other agencies to maintain pupils in universally available and non-stigmatising provision for as long as possible (and if specialised provision is required, ensuring that its duration should be for the minimum necessary length of time) would be offering young people the greatest chance of remaining and surviving in the community.

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educational suspensions - what's the fuss?

DEBBIE SMITH

The vast proportion of literature currently available on the subject of disaffection completely ignores the wider social and political ramifications of alienated behaviour, concentrating instead upon individual characteristics, personality and family defects of the young people involved. As a consequence those solutions forwarded reflect this emphasis, advocating 'remedies' which are individually orientated and which attempt initially to reconcile the disruptive pupil to the existing school regime. In addition such proposals make only tentative in-roads into the negative impact of certain educational factors such as school organisations and ethos, upon the behaviour and academic performance of particular pupils. Responses to disaffected behaviour are thereby heavily dependent upon specific perceptions of the 'problem' - perceptions which in effect can not be divorced from certain overarching ideological perspectives.

The official LEA response to disaffection for example, revolves predominantly around the **Individual/pathological model** of analysis. This approach places responsibility for deviant behaviour primarily upon individual inadequacies and is heavily derivative from Classical Liberalist and to a certain extent Egalitarian conceptions of social organisations, educational orientation and disaffection.

However the Individual/pathological model of disaffection and underachievement has been fiercely criticized by the Marxist influenced **Sociological approach,** an approach which effectively forms the cornerstone of this study. The sociological model maintains that disaffection and underachievement are the educational reflection of the social and economic inequalities created and perpetuated by a capitalist social structure. This assertion is substantiated through analysis of the class composition of disaffected pupils, an analysis which clearly highlights the predominance of individuals from lower social class backgrounds within disruptive and absentee statistics as illustrated within Tables 1 and 2.

Examination of the legal foundations relating to areas such as educational suspension therefore effectively highlights one facet of the educational inequalities encountered by both working class youngsters and parents, and remains therefore a crucial area for analysis. However initially a definition of suspension is required.

What is Suspension?

In essence suspension can be defined as the formal removal of a pupil from a school situation. The imposition of such a measure is widely interpreted by LEAs as residing with individual Headteachers. The 'right' of suspension is therefore

DISTRIBUTION OF ATTENDANCE RATES FOR EACH SOCIAL CLASS

Table 1

Distribution Within Social Classes (%)

Attendance Rate (%)	I	II	IIInm	IIIm	IV	V
Less than 85	6.3	5.7	5.1	10.3	11.5	19.8
85-95	27.4	33.7	33.3	36.3	37.9	34.7
Greater than 95	66.2	60.6	61.6	53.5	50.6	45.6
	100.00	100.00	100.00	100 00	100.00	100.00
N =	386	1330	717	3383	1349	481

Source: K. Fogleman/K. Richardson in B. Turner's 'Truacy' (Study of 16,000 children born in 1958 p31.)

Key:

I Professional; II Intermediate and management group; IIInm Skilled; IIIm Skilled Manual; IV Semi-Skilled manual; V Unskilled manual.

Table 2

Social Class Distribution of Truants

	Social Class				
	I & II	IIImn	IIIm	IV	V
Truants (%)	--32	−54	1.1	1.8	3.1
N=	2861	1117	5201	2000	708

Source: M. Tyerman in B. Turner's 'Truancy' Ward Locke Educational (1974) p 33.

Table two presents the incidence of 'truancy' within each social group and confirms the manual/non manual dichotomy consistently found by other writers.

'officially' perceived of as a necessary corollary of the primary responsibility Heads carry for matters of internal discipline. However nowhere within the various Education Acts is this assumption explicitly confirmed, whilst the actual evocation of suspension generally occurs as a result of school authority interpretations of 'excessively' disruptive and uncooperative behaviour and occasionally in instances of absenteeism.

Legal Framework

The various Education Acts ranging from 1944 to the present period make no direct reference to the subject of suspensions. However specific Acts do outline the responsibilities and obligations of individual LEAs under Section 7 of the Education Act 1944, placing particular emphasis upon the provision of an **efficient education** capable of meeting the **needs** of the population of the area. Additionally Section 8 of the Act states that all schools should be well equipped and able to 'meet the

needs of pupils of all ages, abilities and aptitude', whilst simultaneously ensuring that the education provided is **not discriminating** in terms of race, sex or educational facilities.

Given the compulsory nature of school and the lack of realistic alternative education provision for the vast majority of the population, close examination is obviously required of the State education system in order to ensure that LEAs adequately fulfill their responsibilities.

As a conseqence of the lack of emphasis within the Acts individual LEA **Articles of Government** remain the primary source of the right of schools to suspend. The only counter-balance to the LEA's right to suspend is contained within the Schools Regulations 1959 Section 7 (1) which maintains that 'a pupil shall not be refused admission to or excluded from a school on other than **reasonable grounds**'. However the ambiguous nature of the statement renders such a clause virtually useless as indicated by a Stockwell and Clapham Law Centre Report on the subject. [1]

Within Scotland and Northern Ireland the right of suspension derives directly from section 35 of the Education (Scotland) Act 1980 and the Education and Libraries (Northern Ireland) Order 1972 respectively.

Suspension Procedures

The Taylor Report [2] identified three main actions available to Headteachers in disciplinary cases:-

1 **Exclusion** - Debarment on medical grounds.
2 **Suspension** - Temporary debarment from school for any other reason (i.e. disruption/absenteeism)
3 **Expulsion** - Permanent debarment.

Meanwhile Bullivant [3] listed four features commonly evident within suspension procedures.

1 Head informs Governors parents and LEA of suspension.
2 Governors meeting arranged (time period varies widely if arranged at all).
3 Report given to meeting by Head, parents of suspendee may speak on young person's behalf, School Specialist Services and Welfare Services are also present and Reports may be given which they have prepared.
4 Governors decide whether to confirm or terminate suspension. The right of appeal to the Secretary of State under Section 68 of the 1944 Education Act exists if suspension is confirmed/extended.

Anomalies and Inequalities Within the Suspension Process

No co-ordinated national strategy exists in relation to the compilation of suspension procedures; the only common point of reference being each LEA's Articles of Government. Consequently individual LEAs have enormous discretion in the formulation of policies and in the use made of suspension generally. As a result marked discrepancies and lapses in points of practice (i.e. timing of Governors meeting/length of suspension) are evident as highlighted by a 1981 ACE survey. [4]

The objective of suspension itself is also highly questionable. Two views proliferate:

1 **Professional viewpoint** - Suspension seen as a vital disciplinary tool theoretically facilitating a move for the individual to a more appropriate educational environment with specialist attention.

2 **Unofficial Scenario** - Interpretation of suspensions as representative of the School and authorities interest via removal of a non-conformist.

In addition inequitable treatment frequently arises over interpretations of behaviour deemed as warranting suspension as indicated by a Stockwell and Clapham Law Centre [5] paper, with 'breakdown' being heavily dependent upon different discipline structures within particular schools.

Another fundamental 'bone of contention' is that there clearly exists an anomaly in the whole basis of suspension. For example, Taylor states that, 'a child under suspension is still registered as a pupil at a school as the law requires, but is not necessarily receiving the efficient, full-time and suitable education which the law demands.' [6]

The situation is antithetical to the central tenet of the 1944 Education Act which stipulates that each individual is entitled to an 'efficient' education appropriate to their particular 'abilities' and 'aptitudes'.

Such a situation is enhanced by the considerable length of time usually taken to resolve suspension cases and the inadequate nature of home tuition. This is certainly paradoxical when taking into account the fact that those pupils generally involved often require more concentrated educational attention, yet in certain cases actually receive less. Bullivant [7] consequently suggests that it may be appropriate for Governors in such circumstances to recommend, and the LEA to accept, that the person be removed from the register, forcing the LEA to make provision for the pupil's education.

The nature and composition of the Board of Governors, the body which most frequently sits in 'judgement' in suspension cases, is also an area of great concern, as is the whole process of Appeal itself. Question marks are raised as to the subjectivity of the Governors, who are expected to discard their traditional supportive role in relation to the School and the Head and to make a judgement over his/her decision. Clearly a conflict of loyalties exists between the two roles. Governors are bound to see the upholding of an appeal as undermining the Head's initial suspension.

In consequence, an ACE Survey [8] highlighted the clear necessity to distinguish between a genuine appeals procedure in which parents and pupils have the right to present their case in a forum where guilt is not automatically assumed, and a preconceived case conference in which the meeting basically constitutes a justification of the Headteacher's decision and at which parents are present but not actively involved as legitimate parties in the discussion. Principles of natural justice need to be incorporated within the overall appeals process via the construction of a hearing which is basically impartial and which gives parents the fundamental rights to express themselves in an atmosphere which is not accusational. Jones, Bradshaw and Brown [9] have subsequently outlined a **Justice model,** which includes a number of basic but essential factors:
1 Establishment of a neutral, objective Appeals body, unrelated to either party.
2 Equal access to information and documentation for all interested parties.
3 Equal expression of case allowed to both parties - case decided upon after and not before presentation of evidence.

The incorporation of a Justice model would therefore eradicate the current 'welfare' orientated structure of the appeals

process. This presently lends itself to the institutionalization of suspension decision, reinforcing the Head's position, whilst simultaneously promoting the individual/pathological model of the suspended child - via the concentration of support services upon the child's individual inadequacies (i.e. presentation of Social Work and Educational Psychology Reports). Such a process succeeds in deflecting attention from the education system itself.

The statistics below illustrate the farcical nature of Governor appeal bodies as reflected by the small number which actually takes place.

Appeals 1978-1981
LEAs

Cambridge	13
(Suspensions)	
Clwyd	1
Hertfordshire	1
Barnsley	1
Birmingham	3
Trafford	5
South Tyneside	7

Source: ACE Survey 1981

Monck states 'Governors asked to confirm suspension and expulsion are probably more often than not ready to do so. For instance in 1981/2 in ILEA there were 470 suspension hearings, in all of which the Governors upheld the decision'. Monck continues, 'it may be unfair, but the thought persists, that many education authorities at times prefer passive governors who do not ask awkward questions'. [10]

However another problem emerges in relation to the origins of Governing bodies, whose members are pre-dominantly drawn from articulate, professional, middle-class backgrounds and whose general perceptions, sympathies and experiences often differ dramatically from those of suspended pupils and their parents, who are primarily from the more disadvantaged sectors of the Community. Additionally those governors elected by parents often feel ill-equipped to become actively involved in the suspensions process allowing the more professional elements to dominate the appeal; namely the Headteachers, teaching staff and specialists who, as previously indicated, are far from 'objective' parties.

As a result of the overall unfairness of the process, a number of studies have explicitly outlined general guidance to parents 'defending' suspension cases, for example Bullivant, [11] Taylor [12] and the Stockwell and Clapham Law Centre, [13] whilst ACE [14] have also produced a model procedure to which parents can refer for information and advice.

Alternative Educational Provision
A principle area of contention within this sphere concerns the concept of 'appropriate' provision and the subjectivity of judgements in relation to the assessment of behaviour and individuals deemed as being 'intolerably' disruptive and/or emotionally and psychologically disturbed. As previously indicated interpretations of 'disruption' are largely dependent upon and significantly influenced by allegiance to certain overarching ideological perspectives, which also effectively determine the suitability of alternative educational provision and treatment. Differences therefore exist between those who perceive disruptive behaviour as being indicative of primarily psychologically and constitutionally based factors and those who regard disruption as reflective of wider social and environmental deprivation.

The process of selection of 'appropriate' provision further illustrates the negligible existence and virtual complete disregard of the authorities for the rights of parents and young people in terms of choice of future educational alternatives. [15] It is therefore of paramount importance that decisions concerning the treatment and welfare of 'problem' pupils be taken with the full awareness of the gravity and future consequences of such actions - in terms of the interest, development and possible restrictions upon future prospects of the individual concerned.

Alternative Provision - The Areas of Concern
Because of their psychological interpretation of behaviour, certain schools and teachers may be pre-disposed to recommend that the majority of disruptive pupils be educated outside the mainstream, as highlighted by Goodwin [16] and an article produced by the Liverpool Teachers Advisory Committee. [17] The underlying reasons for referral to Child Guidance must therefore be carefully examined. The motive for referral to relevant bodies can frequently be interpreted as largely indicative of a desire by some schools to remove a 'problem' pupil from their particular institution. This subsequently transfers responsibility for that person, whilst simultaneously diverting attention away from and pressure for curriculum change or the restructuring of teacher practices.

The applicability and appropriateness of referral in certain cases is also highly questionable when taking into account evidence presented by Gath [18] and Galloway which revealed marked differences between local education authority areas and regions in rates of referral and in the numbers of children ascertained as 'maladjusted' or awaiting placement in special schools.

Galloway notes that:
> It is clear that the general availability of special education places, within an authority will have a major influence on the numbers of children diagnosed as being in need of such provision, and it may also influence the type of initial assessments made by schools. [19]

In the vast majority of suspension cases it is the school and other professional agencies (i.e. Educational Welfare Service/Educational Psychological Service) who determine the finality of suspensions and decide upon what alternative educational provision will be provided. Frequently alternative educational provision is made available for an 'excessively' disruptive individual without actual suspension taking place, thereby negating even the minimal right of Appeal incorporated within this process as a form of comeback.

As far as young people considered to have 'special needs' are concerned (i.e. mentally handicapped) there has been a limited historical tradition of provision, and more recently legislative attention. In comparison, the concept of the 'disruptive' pupil has only recently been recognised and included amongst the lexicon of education categories, exemplified by the few brief references to disruptive behaviour and those involved in it in the Warnock Report. [20] The characteristics, motivation and treatment of such individuals is therefore currently open to wide interpretation and provision, unhindered by legislative guidelines.

A substantial degree of concern is evident in relation to the different routes that can be taken by pupils according to the decisions made about them by schools and welfare professionals. Millham encapsulates this dilemma, stating that,
> if you are difficult with worried parents, you go through

child guidance, maladjusted schools and later to adolescent units. If however, you are just a deprived and delinquent child with indifferent parents you are processed through local authority care into the penal system.[21]

Lawrence[22] illustrates the difficulty of identifying conduct which could be described as 'maladjusted', emphasizing how teachers and educationalists readily assign an 'Educationally Subnormal' (ESN) or 'maladjusted' label to pupils when classifying those in need of special education, using pre-Warnock vocabulary and categories which in effect are largely unsatisfactory. For example, prior to the 1981 Education Act pupils could be categorized as possessing various handicaps, the majority of which were physical in origin, whilst two particular categories related to educational, behavioural and emotional handicaps - 'Educationally Sub-normal' (ESN) and 'maladjusted'. The Education (Handicapped Children) Act 1970 divided the ESN category informally between ESN (m) or 'moderately' mentally handicapped and ESN(s) for 'severely' mentally handicapped.

A study by Galloway and Goodwin[23] reviewed the way in which these groups were identified and assessed and concluded that although some agreement existed as to the level of I.Q. which defined ESN (m) pupils, the identification of 'conduct' which could be described as 'maladjusted' was fraught with ambiguity and heavily dependent upon subjective interpretation. Therefore as a consequence of the 1981 Education Act the older educational categories were abolished and replaced with the Warnock-derived concept of young people with 'special needs'.

The range of 'welfare' orientated initiatives theoretically available to assist LEAs and teachers to cater for the needs of disruptive and absentee pupils can effectively be divided into two groups:-

1) **School Sponsored Initiatives** - Including pastoral care and counselling, referral to other school based welfare staff, social education and one-to-one befriending schemes.
2) **Referral to Outside Agencies** - Involving the Education Welfare Service, the School Psychological Service, Child Guidance Service and Social Services Department.

In this context it would be possible to offer a detailed analysis of each available facility. However, such analysis has taken place elsewhere. Much of the literature concerning pastoral care systems tends to concentrate upon technical aspects such as design and organisation and is generally deficient in terms of systematic evaluation. Skinner defined pastoral care systems as, 'the functions of guidance and support, discipline and administration that schools perform in relation to pupils.'[24] However Best[25] states that in practice schools tend to place more emphasis upon the disciplinary and administrative functions of systems. This leads inevitably to the hypothesis that pastoral care is a mechanism for the imposition of tighter discipline on disaffected pupils. It becomes a euphemism for the administrative periods which are necessary to enable a large school to operate efficiently.

Bird argues that the disciplinary and administrative procedures within pastoral systems are incompatible with the system's 'caring' functions. This argument reflects the hidden tensions currently evident within the educational sphere, particularly in relation to under-achievement and disaffection. She also claims that systems which require teachers to refer pupils to specialist agencies or Head of year staff, often divert the problem from its source and can inadvertently turn a relatively

minor situation into a major confrontation, increasing the risk of suspension.[26]

The Educational Welfare Service has also been criticised in a number of respects. For example, Pedley[27] highlights the inherent contradictions between the Service's dual 'care' and 'control' responsibilities. The emphasis of the Ralphs[28] and Seebohm[29] Reports on the Service's social work functions and the subsequent shift to the more 'caring' aspects of its role, has led the EWS into a situation of friction between itself and the schools, with schools tending to see the EWS primarily as an extension of certain disciplinary mechanisms, and placing considerable emphasis upon the 'control' capacity of the service.

The problems and pressures encountered by agencies such as the EWS and the Educational Psychological Service in their relationship with the schools are clearly highlighted by a study carried out by one LEA. This Report maintains that frequently suspensions and referrals to educational psychologists are unnecessary, time-consuming and in effect representative of an attempt by schools to 'shift responsibility'. The Report further argues that 'the problems which lead to suspension are seldom signs of psychological illness in the child but are more often normal responses to a pupil's environment, circumstances and interaction'.[30]

Such an approach 'flies in the face' of the majority of schools who seek to deploy individualistic and psychologically based criteria when explaining the causes of disruptive behaviour. For example the Report already quoted above maintains that, 'school based factors - which are considered to play a significant part in the rates of suspension in given schools - are not seen by all schools as a legitimate field of enquiry in any single case. The educational psychologist is expected to focus on the individual as the problem'.[31]

Therefore although an apparently impressive range of initiatives exist for dealing with problematic behaviour the actual erratic distribution of those resources nationally gives cause for concern. A National Youth Bureau report concluding that, 'some pupils may experience very little in the way of sympathetic and remedial handling of their problems before resort to punitive action, while others with similar difficulties may be matched to a range of highly imaginative approaches under the auspices of specially qualified and skilled workers',[32]

The lack of clarity and differentiation between the roles of the various 'welfare' agencies involved, leaves room for improvement, especially in terms of the different perceptions of the 'problem' evident, (i.e. Welfare and discipline approaches). These perceptions are reflected within the order of priorities and functioning of specific groups. (For example the difference in attitudes between schools and Educational Psychological and Welfare Services regarding the nature and causes of disaffection).

As a result of the growing awareness of the need for interagency and inter-professional collaboration both in terms of the interests of the organizations and the young person involved, a number of recommendations have been forwarded to help overcome those problems evident i.e. Haubert and Kogan in ADSS[33] and Davies.[34]

The main aspect of these recommendations can be listed as follows:-
- Corporate planning to review and coordinate policies, operations and resources.

- Making agency boundaries co-terminous.
- Local monitoring to identify blocks in communications and the development of local communication systems for sharing basic information.
- Careful analysis of working situations in their organisational contexts to identify points of friction.
- Joint in-servicing training.
- Reduction of anomalies in pay and conditions of service.
- Development of inter-disciplinary teams and cross placement of workers.
- More responsive bureaucracies.
- Adequate resourcing of services.

However implicit within many of these recommendations remains a fine 'dividing line' between the 'desired' enhancement of services and the danger of the introduction of measures which effectively make available services more monolithic, impersonal and bureaucratic and further disadvantaging for those young people in need of attention.

LEAs differ markedly in the adoption of policies intended to cater for the 'needs' of disruptive and absentee pupils; the selection of practices in essence involving a choice between alternative strategies of provision. Of these selections 3 key areas of debate can be distinguished:

1. Preventive pastoral care versus specialist provision on or off-site.
2. On-site versus off-site specialist provision.
3. Short-term versus long-term provision (on or off-site).

The issues involved in these areas are in themselves enough to encompass a separate article and as pastoral care systems have already been briefly discussed, it is appropriate at this juncture merely to outline the principle points of debate relating to on and off-site provision.

Special Education Units

Two major educational controversies are evident when assessing the validity and effectiveness of Special Education Units.

The first area of contention concerns the most appropriate location for such units whether on or off the school campus. Consequently the terms 'integration' and 'segregation' have evolved to describe the different approaches to the dilemma of unit provision.

The second area of controversy centres around the 'explicit' and 'implicit' objectives of special units:
1. Is transference to special units specifically designed to provide a young person with a stimulating educational environment combined with compensatory social and learning experiences as is maintained by LEAs? Further does this represent the best interest of the young person involved?
2. Do Special Units effectively constitute substandard educational alternatives, more analogous to 'dumping grounds' for 'difficult' or 'unmanageable' pupils? Does this subsequently benefit the school and authorities at the expense of the individual concerned, via the removal of the disruptive pupil from the mainstream school environment?

This second viewpoint is for example put forward in a **Guardian** article on Special Units concerning the 'labelling' effects of this type of provision. It argues:

the worry about these units is that they create a certain category of child - the disruptive, who may never again be allowed the chance to escape from that identity. And they allow schools to dump their 'trouble-makers' without thinking seriously about how they might change their approach to young people. [35]

Grunsell[36] reiterates this point to a certain extent maintaining that by allowing the continued development of plural provision outside the mainstream school structure, local authorities are in danger of making a mockery of their professed belief in the equal status of all pupils. He states that there exists a strong tendency for off-site provision to become isolated from normal provision and as a consequence special units acquire an inferior status. This point is well illustrated by media referral to such units as 'sin bins'.

In 1977 there were 239 units in 69 local authority areas, the majority having been established during the previous four years. By 1980 this figure had risen to approximately 340 and the number of pupils being catered for had increased to 6,791. Consequently almost without public discussion a new form of provision had been created.

In relation to the effectiveness of Special Units provision Galloway[37] noted in a Sheffied Study that on-site provision generally proved unsuccessful in terms of reintegration with mainstream education, whilst it also appeared ineffective in reducing suspension rates. Certainly the Report of one LEA[38] has outlined certain criticisms of off-site units, particularly as regards the frequent lack of clearly thought out criteria concerning such matters as the objectives of the unit, the type of young person to be admitted, procedures for admission, criteria used for return to the main school and the pupil's projected length of stay in the unit. This Report further asserts that the absence of 'normal' models of behaviour, as a result of the placement of difficult pupils together may lead to an actual increase in deviant behaviour. It also highlights the existence of an extremely wide pupil ability or 'intelligence' rate within the units; a too wide and undifferentiated range of problems and needs; a limited range of curriculum provision and because of staffing arrangements a restricted range of available teacher expertise.

It has been the overall intention of this discussion to highlight some of the major issues currently evident within the educational sphere in relation to the management and treatment of disaffected pupils and the inequitable nature of alternative educational provision. The confusion and lack of uniformity evident within suspension practises and alternative provision effectively illustrates the considerable degree of discretion exercised by LEAs in the determination of what constitutes appropriate and effective education under the 1944 Education Act. The article has also attempted to illustrate the range of different interest groups involved in debate within the sphere of education highlighting the pre-dominance of attitudes and priorities which discriminate against the interests of the parents and young people concerned. Such phenomena as previously indicated at the beginning of this discussion can be partially explained by reference to certain overarching ideological perspectives. These would clearly require further elucidation in an additional article in order to highlight their full magnitude and significance.

Since the bulk of the article was prepared the 1986 Education Act has become law. The Act does to a limited degree attempt to clarify suspension procedures. For example Sections 22 to 28 do directly relate to matters of discipline and suspension,

although such references are largely negated by the general lack of specifics and the continued overall ambiguity in the way in which the issue of suspension is discussed.

In brief the Sections indirectly reinforce emphasis upon child based criteria for determining acceptable behaviour and causes of school alienation, in so much as no acknowledgement is made of the effects of school organisation and ethos upon disaffection (i.e. there is no reference made to the necessity of analysing school behaviour and actions as a contributing factor in the production of the 'perceived' breaches of discipline). Whilst in addition principles of 'natural justice' are again omitted from any consideration with regards to any aspect of the disciplinary process - for example appeal bodies remain composed of 'interested parties', namely the Governors at the school involved and representatives of the LEA.

In effect therefore the Act merely confirms the Headteachers responsibility for internal school discipline, (Section 22) although giving the LEA the ultimate power of decision to over-ride or confirm that of the Head and Governors (section 28). Sections 23, 24, 26 and 27 however do outline limited rights to parents and pupils, in relation to the immediate informing of parents of suspension and its length, rights of appeal and the possibility of re-instatement. Finally a recent ACE survey[39] has illustrated that the current attention given to the question of suspension has resulted in increased consideration of suspension by many LEAs, although as highlighted in the article many serious anomalies remain to be rectified.

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e.s.r.c. - young people in society

KEN ROBERTS

This article plots a sociological starting point for the Economic & Social Research Council (ESRC) 16-19 Initiative. It surveys current socio-economic trends, summarises findings and conclusions from recent and, in some cases, on-going enquiries , and thereby defines our present state of knowledge about the situations of young people.

The exercise is sociological in focusing on youth's social context. Successive sections sketch recent trends in the economy, education and the family that are restructuring young people's situations. Sociology's special interest in youth in the 1980s concerns the inter-relationships between these trends, the various configurations - the youth situations currently being forged, and the implications for young people's political behaviour and orientations, peer relationships, leisure activities, self-concepts and other socio-psychological processes.

This review concentrates on trends and investigations in the 1980s. Ten years ago a review of sociological youth research would have been very different and possibly much closer to the ESRC initiative's focal concerns. In the mid-1980s British sociology has more research in process among young people, but may appear to have lost sight of youth cultures. Young people are now being studied to clarify trends and to test theories about the organisation of labour markets, gender and whether leisure can compensate for unemployment. Theories about youth cultures, youth as a developmental process and life-stage, the transition to adulthood and the reproduction of social patterns have been set aside. However, the older concerns and theories have not been abandoned or eclipsed so much as placed in abeyance while investigators take stock of the effects of broader social and economic changes on young people's situations.

The sociology of youth culture
The sociology of youth was born between the wars when Mead (1935), Reuter (1937), and their contemporaries claimed youth as a social phenomenon, a product of specific types of society rather than an inevitable stage in bio-psychological maturation. In post-Second World War British and American sociology the study of youth culture became a major research area. It was theoretically lively, sensitive to and often in the vanguard of broader intellectual fashions, and attracted scores of empirical enquiries. At the time, in the 1950s, the main issue in youth research was the extent to which youth cultures were rebellious, at war with mainstream society (Coleman, 1961). Youth culture was a social issue as well as a sociological problem. Delinquency research and the investigation of youth culture became virtually synonymous.

Functionalism was then sociology's leading theory, particularly in North America. The theory's defenders tried to explain how, despite surface appearances, adolescent rebellion and dissent could be processes of continuing socialisation, how this aided the emancipation of young people from childhood roles and restrictions, taught independence and other qualities required for eventual entry into adult roles, and reconciled inconsistencies beteen values inculcated during chldhood and the adult prospects that awaited teenagers (Elkin and Westley, 1955; Parsons, 1954; Smith, 1962).

During the 1960s functionalism was jettisoned, and youth research gained a fresh impetus alongside a new ascendant brand of deviance theory. Youth and delinquency research remained intimately related. They were not only influenced by broader theoretical fashions - phenomenology, ethnomethodology and symbolic interactionism, but became major vehicles for popularising these theories in British sociology. New deviance theorists taught that delinquents were simply different and that their deviance was only relative to other groups' norms. Explaining delinquent behaviour, it was argued, required a transcendence of official definitions. Youth and delinquency researchers, therefore, endeavoured to appreciate their subjects. The latter's conduct was related to and explained, in the first instance, by their own values, beliefs and definitions of their situations. Official statistics were dismissed or treated as just one of many possible definitions of social reality. Ethnography became the orthodox type of youth research. Fieldworkers sought to 'get inside' youth cultures, much as social anthropologists had once 'gone native' before returning to 'tell it as it really happens' (Cohen, 1970; Parker, 1974; Young, 1971).

For a time, youth and deviance theory abandoned not just functionalism but the entire vocabulary of social structure. The idea of society existing 'out there' as a system of inter-related institutions and roles awaiting actors was dismissed as an unhelpful metaphor. Deviance theorists insisted that social reality was fluid, not rigidly structured; that what had previously been treated as 'social facts' were ultimately beliefs and values. However, before long the new deviance theorists were proposing a newer criminology that resurrected society (Taylor et al, 1973). A theory of social structure appeared necessary to explain the sources of, or young people's susceptibility to certain values and beliefs in preference to the alternatives, and to account for societal reactions. It also became evident that attempted cultural revolutions could encounter external realities that refused to crumble when challenged by unorthodox beliefs. Hence the argument for situating youth cultures, analysing them within and refusing to abstract them from their wider social contexts.

By the mid-1970s British sociology had a 'new wave' theory of youth cultures. The new wave retained deviance theory's insistence upon appreciating its subjects and support for ethnography, but incorporated a model of social structure derived from sociology's conflict tradition (Hall and Jefferson, 1976; Mungham and Pearson, 1976). After their release from the structural restrictions of childhood, young people were seen as heirs to cultures handed down through their families and neighbourhoods. In addition, they had access to cultural resources offered by the entertainment industries that had developed alongside post-war youth cultures. Young people were seen as beset by contradictions whose sources, however obscure to the actors, were attributed to wider social conflicts. The particular contradictions with which youth had to contend were seen as varying with family and neighbourhood backgrounds, educational attainments, gender, ethnic origins and labour market situations. Youth cultures, according to the new wave, were to be understood as collective attempts to generate solutions by young people facing common contradictions. The solutions were essentially cultural and imaginary, rather than material. They usually proved temporary and were eventually abandoned in preference for conventional adult roles (Cohen, 1976; Hebdige, 1979). But the new wave refused to accept this abandonment as functionally inevitable and insisted that, given some favourable historical situation, youth cultures could become genuinely radical, even revolutionary instruments (Willis, 1977).

The language was different, but this sociological theory of youth culture had similar pre-occupations to those of social psychologists who were, for example interested in the development of young people's self-identities and social representations. The research encouraged by the new wave sociology of youth explored young people's understanding of their societies, their own positions, and their attempts to negotiate then enact identities (Jenkins, 1983).

The new wave was always more of an agenda for, rather than a programme of accomplished research. The class model of society that the theory incorporated was asserted, then used to interpret, rather than tested by ethnographic evidence. Investigators never employed replicable measurements of their subjects' self-concepts and social beliefs. The theory was applied selectively. The investigations that it inspired dealt mainly with male, working class youth. Girls were ignored or treated as appendages to male peer groups and youth cultures. This treatment would be justified and inevitable if, as Brake (1985) claims, **all** recent youth cultures have been masculine. However, some female and feminist followers of the new wave have attempted to apply its ideas and methods in studying the lives of female teenagers (McRobbie and Garber, 1976; Griffin, 1985).

The new wave and the preceding sociological literature on youth cultures are examined fully elsewhere (Smith, 1981; Brake, 1980, 1985; Roberts, 1983). It is unnecessary for this review to recapitulate in detail, but it is important to stress that sociology has not abandoned the ideas. They are prominent in the main recent textbooks and present day courses though the research itself has dried to a trickle. The sociologists who generated the new wave have probably grown too old to remain credible ethnographers of youth cultures and the generation has not been replaced. By the late-1970s the findings from ethnographic research among young working class males had become predictable. Since then the literature has been overwhelmed by changes in the situations of working class teenagers, and these changes themselves have preoccupied sociological investigations in the 1980s.

Throughout the 1960s and early 70s the main 'facts' about teenagers' situations were well known and agreed. The vast majority of working class teenagers finished school at 15 or 16. Most boys entered unskilled manual jobs or obtained apprenticeships. Girls were recruited into offices, factories and shops. The transition from school to work was soon followed by courtship and marriage. Trajectories and destinations were not in doubt. The main problems for theory and research concerned how young people became reconciled to their destinies, whether because of or in spite of the various youth cultures in which they became involved. Since the mid-1970s trajectories and outcomes have become doubtful. Hence the pre occupation of researchers in the 1980s with the effects of changes in employment, vocational training and education on young people's situations. As the effects of recent trends become clearer, the older genre could merit revival, possibly in the ESRC initiative.

The following sections discuss the main trends affecting young people that recent research has exploited, together with some questions about the trends' implications that are posed but so far unanswered, and which could be pursued in the type of fieldwork envisaged for the ESRC initiative - a set of longitudinal studies in different areas combining quantitative surveys with qualitative ethnographic methods. There remain serious gaps in our knowledge about the impact of recent trends in education and the labour market on young people's situations. Most of these gaps could be at least part filled by the ESRC enquiries. However, an even stronger case for a new research initiative can be made in terms of a need to revive the type of youth research that has fallen into abeyance, by exploring how young people are now coping, and the identities and understandings of their society that they are formulating in the new youth situations of the 1980s.

The Economy
1. *The decline of youth employment.* This is undoubtedly the most dramatic single development affecting young people and possibly the main reason why a new research initiative is deemed necessary. Jobs accessible to young people with just basic education have declined rapidly. In 1974, 61% of 16 year olds were in employment: in 1984, only 18% held jobs. Hence the talk of a 'vanishing youth labour market' (Ashton and Maguire, 1983).
Postponing work entry is a long term historical trend. Throughout the twentieth century it has been making young people into 'age segregated outsiders' (President's Science and Advisory Committee, 1974). However, since the mid-1970s the trend has accelerated at a pace that was neither planned nor predicted. Various explanations have been offered and disputed. Is the recent decline of youth employment due mainly to recession, to sector and occupation shifts, to new technologies, or to the internationalisation of production and distribution? Is contemporary youth unemployment structural? If so, does this make it intractable? Would market forces clear unemployment if allowed to operate freely? Or does persistent unemployment reflect British governments' social and economic priorities?

A series of investigations have examined variations in unemployment rates between regions, males and females, with different educational levels, and from different ethnic groups. The ESRC enquiry will need to take account of these differences, but there is no need for a new initiative into these matters. The initiative will be probably be ill-advised to attempt to participate in, let alone resolve debates about sources of and cures for youth unemployment. The enquiry

envisaged will be better equipped to explore social and psychological implications rather than causes of the decline of youth employment.

2. *Schemes have replaced jobs in most early school leavers' immediate prospects.* The current generation of special measures began with Job Creation Projects in 1975, from which a Work Experience Programme for young people was separated in 1976. In 1978 work experience was absorbed into a larger Youth Opportunities Programme, which was superseded by the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) in 1983. In 1983 and 1984, most 16 year old school-leavers entered the YTS (Employment Gazette, 1984) and in 1986 the scheme was extended from 12 to 24 months.

Successive special mesures have been subjected to detailed investigation by the MSC (Bedeman and Courtenay, 1983) and independent researchers (Fiddy, 1983; Varlaam 1984). As a result, we are well informed about who has entered the various programmes, the types of training, work experience and continuing education offered, and what happened to the young people subsequently.

Some of the more interesting findings have emerged incrementally rather than from single enquiries. For instance, when special measures were first introduced to cater for a minority of school leavers, the training and work experience overcame some disadvantges associated with lack of qualifications. Schemes have now become normal preludes to orthodox employment and, in the process, have ceased to compensate. The effects of social class, ethnic and educational backgrounds are now surviving the programmes (Bedeman and Courtney, 1983; Greaves, 1983).

From the point of view of the ESRC initiative, the most interesting consequences of schemes may not be the immediate implications for trainees' prospects, but their cumulative impact on the process of work entry. School leavers used to make smooth and rapid transitions into the workforce, along trajectories leading to adult jobs. The majority settled quickly. Those who changed jobs were mostly learning patterns of mobility associated with their occupations.

Transitions are now protracted. New transition systems are being created from training schemes and educational programmes (see below). The normal progression is now from school, to schemes to employment, often punctuated by periods of joblessness. It has been argued that these changes amount to a 'new curriculum' for the less able, the young people who used to be called 'Newson children' (Edwards, 1984).

Some commentators argue that this new curriculum is best understood in terms of social control (Loney, 1979; Rees and Atkinson, 1982). Young people are kept off the streets. The provision of training, hopefully leading to good jobs, secures their compliance. Yet the real functions of the new curriculum, it is argued, are to conceal the true level of unemployment, to shift the blame to the victims, to preserve young people's labour power, their willingness and ability to work while, simultaneously, deflating occupational aspirations and wage expectations into line with what, in most cases, are objectively limited prospects.

3. *Quantitative decline has been accompanied by a deterioration in the quality of youth employment.* From the Second World War until the end of the 1970s there was a trend towards narrower pay differentials between young and adult

males, though not females (Wells, 1983). Subsequently age differentials have widened. Youth employment has become relatively lower paid, and less secure (Jones, 1983, 1984).

These trends are products of market conditions reinforced by government measures - the allowances fixed for youth trainees, and the Young Workers Scheme (which was replaced by the New Workers Scheme when the YTS was extended to two years). One body of opinion considers a further erosion in the terms of young people's employment desirable, to be achieved, possibly, by removing the protection of Wages Councils, and by further reductions in young adults' welfare rights.

4. *The above trends have not been uniform throughout the country, in all business sectors, and have not affected all young people to the same extent.* A side effect of the changes therefore has been to create or deepen divisions among out-of-school youth. Youth recruitment by some sectors has remained relatively buoyant. Banking and insurance, hotels and catering, and new technology firms are leading examples. Demand for better qualified young people has proved far more resilient than the less qualified's opportunities. School leavers in areas with relatively low unemployment, and with business mixes in which growth sectors are well represented, have been protected from the general deterioration in opportunities.

The result has been widening gulfs - between regions, including the South and the rest, then within regions between young people who obtain primary employment, those left in secondary labour markets, others who are catered for in a new 'tertiary' sector created by special programmes, and an unemployed residue.

The above trends set the context and define problems for further research.

1. We need to identify and distinguish different career patterns that are being established among different groups of young people in different parts of the country. It was once sufficient to locate school leavers' destinations within the Registrar General's social classes or similar classifying schemes conventionally used to grade adult occupations. Such members have ceased to describe the process of work entry. New typologies of early career patterns are required (Roberts et al, 1982a; McDermott and Dench, 1983).

The following scheme is provisional. It may serve as a starting point, but the fieldwork could suggest a more satisfactory typology:-

a. Traditional transitions, straight from school into primary occupations which can be practised into adulthood. Some young people still make such transitions which were the norm for most school leavers in all parts of Britain until the mid 1970s;
b. Protracted transitions, which lead to primary adult employment via various combinations of schemes, youth jobs and periods of joblessness;
c. Early careers in which young people become trapped in special programmes, youth jobs and secondary labour markets;
d. Careers in which young people descend into long term unemployment. Government measures that have reduced unemployment among 16-18 year olds have been accompanied by a rise in unemployment among the 19-25s. In some parts of the country, substantial numbers of young people are now proceeding from school through youth training, then becoming

long term unemployed. By age 20, with no substantial work experience, they have joined the 'hardcore', as employment service staff often describe them. Employers prefer 'nice fresh school leavers' to young adults who have grown accustomed to idleness and settled into claimant roles. There is evidence of the long term young unemployed gravitating into separate social networks, becoming a new underclass in which social pressures to find work and individuals' commitment to employment are relaxed (Banks et al, 1984).

2. We need to investigate the social-psychological implications of youth unemployment - long term, transitory, and repeated short episodes. The effects may vary considerably depending on the types of young people involved and the career patterns within their unemployment is located.

Recent investigations confirm that employment remains a crucial aid and symbol in becoming an adult (DES, 1983). The occupations in which they establish themselves or hope to enter are foundations for young people's social identities and self-concepts. So what happens when individuals leave school or training schemes then cannot obtain employment, or wish to protect their real selves from, rather than to identify or be identified with secondary occupations? Investigators have found that unemployment reduces young people's mental health scores. Work experience, YOP and now (presumably) the YTS can preserve well-being while individuals are on the programmes, but these benefits do not persist into subsequent periods of unemployment (Graves, 1983; Banks et al, 1984). The findings from enquiries that have administered standardised tests of mental health are unambiguous, but they do not describe exactly how different groups of young people feel, flounder or cope.

3. The preceding passages have referred to a deterioration in young people's prospects, which is the popular, common sense view and the dominant academic interpretation of recent trends. However, there is an alternative diagnosis. It can be argued that youth labour markets in the 1980s are offering better vocational preparation than school leavers received in previous decades.

Most youth unemployment consists of short episodes. The exceptionally high level of youth compared with adult unemployment is explicable partly in terms of young workers' mobility. Many appear willing to face and able to cope with short spells out of work. As youth unemployment rises, periods between jobs lengthen, but rates of job-changing do not appear to diminish (Ashton and Maguire, 1984). The proportion of involuntary departures increases (Jones, 1983), but some young people seem not only able to cope, but actually prefer intermittent employment to continuous work in low paid, unskilled jobs (Roberts et al, 1982b). The levels to which youth unemployment in Europe has now risen have been normal since the Second World War in North America where a period of 'milling around' is commonly regarded as a healthy preparation for life in a competitive, dynamic economy (Gaskell and Lazerson, 1980; Gordon, 1979; Freeman and Wise, 1982).

It can be argued that British school leavers' former smooth and rapid transitions into the labour force involved hidden but heavy long term costs - that decisive choices had to be made prematurely, and that vocational development was often stunted. If so, the more flexible youth labour markets of the 1980s could be offering new opportunities for experiment and self-assessment, and could be allowing young people to formulate, then set themselves en route towards realistic goals. Alongside current educational developments (see below), recent changes in youth labour markets could be nurturing 'enterprise cultures' among certain groups of young people, and the ESRC initiative should be aware of, and prepared to check out this possibility.

4. If youth unemployment is not the time-bomb once imagined, a source of discontent and frustration that will eventually explode, the main reasons may have less to do with young people discovering opportunities for growth and development in the new bracing conditions than their capacity to 'survive'. The ESRC initiative should examine the extent to which different groups of young people are using different resources and strategies to 'keep afloat';-

a. Work in 'alternative economies' - self-employment, co-operatives and community projects. Are there any signs of youth unemployment being drained by the development of work outside orthodox employment? (Watts, 1983).

b. Work in the 'black economy' - illegal, and legal but undeclared.

c. Voluntary work. Is an expansion of voluntary service a plausible solution to youth unemployment (Marsland, 1984), or should proposals for 'youth conscription' be resisted (Jeffs, 1982)?

d. Mobility: to what extent do young people still insist on working close to their homes? Is high unemployment in certain regions leading to more youth migration?

Education
There has been little recent change at the top - in curricula, teaching methods or the proportions of young people gaining five O-levels, three A-levels, then proceeding to higher education. University and polytechnic expansion during the 1970s only kept pace with the size of school-leaving cohorts. The contraction in higher education in the mid 1980s has not been as sharp as the decline in the numbers reaching the normal age of entry. The major recent changes in education have involved the other 80 per cent.

1. *More are staying on beyond 16*, becoming 'new sixth formers', and less than 14 per cent of school leavers are now completely unqualified. In 1974, 35% of 16 year olds continued in education. By 1982, 48% were staying on. This trend appears to have been checked by the introduction of the YTS. In 1984, 31% of 16 year olds remained at school, and another 14% transferred to full time further education. Girls are more likely than boys to stay on (50% and 40%).

If the financial implications for young people were neutral, if it was not financially advantageous to leave school and join the YTS or even remain unemployed, staying on would almost certainly become the majority choice. Already the issue of whether to leave or continue has become a matter of choice for virtually all young people. This is a novel situation in Britain.

Many educational institutions have become entrepreneurial, keen to enrol and to retain young people. Their efforts are likely to increase as the size of the age group declines. Schools sometimes fail to notice when sixth formers 'sign on'. Colleges design courses so that students can meet the '21 hour' or whatever other rules are intended to prevent the abuse of social security in lieu of student grants.

Many young people who stay on obtain part time jobs.

Students have become a major source of labour in certain growth sectors, particularly catering and distribution. Educational institutions often ignore their own rules when full time students take part time jobs. Private finance, raised through part time employment, is playing an enlarged role in supporting students who remain at school, then proceed to college.

2. *Traditional careers education is being engulfed by a 'new vocationalism'* (Bates et al, 1984). Since the 'Great Debate' there have been renewed attempts to promote work experience for secondary school pupils. Virtually all schools are now equipped with computers. Courses in information technology have multiplied. Many of these developments are supported under the MSC's Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI). By 1984 two-thirds of LEAs were involved. Simultaneously, the MSC's role in further education, as financier and arbiter of course content, is being strengthened. Young people are being prepared more thoroughly for employment that has become scarcer than ever.

3. *Enrolments in part-time further education have risen.* Off-the-job training, which often means college, is mandatory on the YTS. In 1974, 47% of 16 year olds left school, obtained employment and severed connections with education. In 1984 only 24% (13% unemployed, and 11% in jobs) had lost contact. These trends offer further support for claims that far from their prospects deteriorating, school leavers are now being given better than ever starts in working life.

Educational developments, like economic trends, raise a series of issues for investigation.

1. *Why are more young people staying on* despite the financial disincentives? Are they 'human capitalists', anticipating or hoping for vocational returns? Are they motivated by the intrinsic satisfactions? Or are they simply afraid of dropping out and entering the labour market? Are the identities and statuses associated with the student role attractive or repellent?

2. *Do recent educational developments yield vocational returns?* Up to now, education has played a major role in fixing and producing consistency between levels of occupational aspiration and attainment (Ryrie, 1983). In general, qualifications and years of schooling are still positively related to grades of employment and, indeed, to young people's chances of obtaining any jobs. Whether current developments are strengthening or eroding these relationships is less clear.

In the past, the returns from vocational courses have been no greater than from academic syllabuses (Freeman and Wise, 1982). So, do work experience, computing and other technical subjects that are being strenuously promoted within the TVEI and MSC-backed further education yield greater returns than students could expect from conventional studies?

Can Britain's new sixth formers, particularly those who leave after one year without taking A-levels, expect any vocational return? Even before the recent expansion, there was talk of over-inflated school systems, of young people being over educated and sickened by a 'diploma disease' (Dore, 1976), and of credentials failing to measure the true value of their holders' labour power (Berg, 1973). Evidence from the Scottish school leavers surveys suggests that staying on may actually damage some young people's prospects (Raffe, 1984). Ashton and Maguire (1984) have found, among 18-24 year olds, that the unemployed are equally qualified as individuals in non-skilled jobs.

Some countries with generations of experience in mass post-compulsory education have long-running debates on the inherent dangers. One fear is that over-qualified employees will be dissatisfied and frustrated. Italian evidence links this syndrome with political radicalism (Barbagli, 1982). In contrast, in the USA Burris (1983) claims no major repercussions from over-education because the effects on job satisfaction are so marginal.

3. *A new underclass?* Europe's earlier elitist educational regimes distinguished successful minorities from the mass of young people. Today, in Britain and elsewhere, majorities can gain qualifications and stay on beyond the statutory requirement. Unqualified early leavers are now a minority. Enlarged and democratised school systems blur former divisions beneath elites while, simultaneously, separating minorities of failures from the mainstreams.

Coleman and Husen (1985) argue that these new educational practices are helping to create a new underclass. They claim that, within secondary schools, a tail-end abandons hope and effort, and sometimes attendance, long before the official leaving date. The majority of young people now leave school with qualifications, so the failures are a disadvantaged minority.

Whether their disadvantages persist will depend on labour market conditions. In times of high unemployment, as at present, when employers have scope for choice, it is possible that current educational practices are creating or perpetuating an underclass, and the ESRC initiative should test this possibility.

4. *The enterprise culture.* Aitken and Fasano (OECD, 1983) argue that educating workforces of the future will require flexible institutions which can offer opportunities for individualised learning. Economic recovery in Britain, according to one school of thought, requires the promotion of an enterprise culture in which, instead of being spoonfed, individuals learn to accept responsibility for equipping themselves with the education, training, skills and qualifications required for occupational success or even survival. A report from the National Economic Development Office (Hayes, et al, 1984) claims that education and training in Japan, the USA and the Federal Republic of Germany, albeit in very different ways, nurture enterprise cultures, and that Britain must follow suit or fall further behind her competitors.

Some recent educational trends could be construed as movements in the right direction. More 16 year olds are choosing to stay on and the decision is becoming a matter of choice for all. Approximately a third of those who stay on transfer to further education. Some young people are pioneering their own forms of alternation - moving from education into training or employment, then back to college. Current educational trends could be creating an underclass at the bottom, and a more enterprising younger generation in the middle layers.

The Family
The economic and educational trends just described can hardly avoid influencing processes of family disengagement and formation, but the character of the implications remains unclear. Indeed, different groups of young people appear to be responding to objectively similar predicaments in opposite ways.

Some general trends in family patterns are well known and predate the recent changes in young people's situations.

1. *Parent-child relationships.* Child-rearing families are now an economically disadvantaged minority. They have become a minority as child-rearing has been compressed into a smaller part of a lengthening lifespan. The birth rate fell from 1965 until 1977. One result has been a further reduction in the proportion of child-rearing households, and there are still no signs of the birth rate returning to earlier levels.

Child-rearing families' economic disadvantages have mounted alongside labour market participation by married women. This has increased the opportunity costs of rearing children. Mothers of young children are disadvantaged in the search for work. They are less likely to be employed than other women. When obtained, their employment is typically low paid and part time.

The direct costs of parenthood have risen more rapidly than welfare benefits. This is especially so with teenage children. The latter are remaining longer in education, and parental contributions to the maintenance of those entering higher education have been increased. Early school leavers can no longer expect a rapid transition to affluence. They face immediate futures on training allowances, supplementary benefit and/or low wages. Welfare payments to the young unemployed have been reduced. Sixteen year old summer school leavers' entitlement to benefit has been postponed until September. Housing and lodging allowances have already been reduced. Further cuts are now proposed.

These trends must have implications for teenagers' relationships with parents, for their roles and statuses in their families of orientation. As yet, however, the character of these implications is unclear. There are various possibilities and, probably, different trends among different groups.

Current trends could be 'strengthening the family' by confirming parental responsibilities and young people's dependence. There is evidence of some families and neighbourhoods reviving that traditional virtue, 'looking after your own', (Allat and Yeandle, 1984). Where they exist, strong family relationships appear to cushion and thereby limit the psychological damage otherwise inflicted by unemployment (Donovan and Oddy, 1982).

Alternatively, or in different families, current trends could be weakening and, in some cases, provoking breakdowns in parent-teenager relationships. Both parties may resent the burden of teenagers' dependence (Fagin and Little, 1984). According to Cusack and Roll (1985), the spread of unemployment and simultaneous cut-backs in the young unemployed's welfare rights, are contributing to a growing problem of teenage homelessness.

There are additional longer term trends, which, in some families, may have weakened parent-child relationships. Divorce and separation rates have risen. More teenagers now live with step-parents and in lone-parent households. Parents' sense of competence may have been undermined by the growth and professionalisation of education, the influence of the mass media and, in recent years, by their inability to assist school leavers into employment (Coleman and Husen, 1985).

2. *Family formation.* Once again, the evidence is sparse and contradictory. On the one hand, there is support for a decceleration theory, of unemployment obstructing and delaying processes of growing up, going out, feeling adult and establishing heterosexual liaisons (Gurney, 1980; Hendry et al, 1984). Other evidence supports an acceleration theory. Girls' first responses to employment difficulties sometimes include more strenuous efforts to 'get a man' (Griffin, 1985). For young women, marriage and parenthood have always been an alternative route, arguably their primary route to adult status. Unemployment must make this route appear more attractive than ever.

National trends in marriage and fertility among teenagers offer some support for both theories.

a. There is no teenage baby boom. Birth rates among the married under 20s have fallen since the mid 1970s. There are fewer teenage marriages and legitimate births, which is consistent with the decceleration theory.

b. However, illegitimate birth rates among under 20 year old women (and in older age groups) have risen. There are now more illegitimate than legitimate births to the under 20s. The majority of these births appear to be unplanned and unwanted, but two-fifths of teenage mothers say that they intended or did not mind having babies (Francome, 1983; Simms and Smith, 1985). Most sexually active teenagers are now controlling their fertility successfully. The rise in illegitimate births, therefore, may be cited in support of the acceleration theory. The stigma of illegitimacy has probably lessened and, in some communities, 'precipitous routes' to parenthood and marriage have been accepted for generations (Klein, 1964; Wallace, 1985).

c. Cohabiting, often but not always in pre-marital relationships, has become more prevalent. This suggests that current trends may not be fully comprehensible in terms of the acceleration or decceleration of older transition processes. New strategies and routes to family formation are probably being developed, by some young people. Getting married and leaving the parental home are no longer the indivisible steps that they appeared to earlier generations, particularly in working class communities (Leonard, 1980).

National trends can conceal numerous, sometimes conflicting tendencies. There is plentiful scope for the ESRC initiative to contribute to knowledge:

(i) It should aim to clarify the sexual and domestic careers that are taking shape in different sections of the population.

(ii) It should examine how these career opportunities are structured by trends in education and employment, plus the operation of housing markets and welfare rights (Ineichen, 1981).

(iii) It should distinguish the implications of current trends for males and females. There is no evidence of unemployment propelling males into marriage and paternity. Quite the reverse: unemployed males appear condemned to perpetual adolescence, and to sexual exploits in fantasy (Wallace, 1985). This may limit girls' escapes from the labour market to lone-parenthood, and the attractions or stigma probably vary considerably between different sections of the population.

Politics
There has been relatively little research into youth and politics. Unemployment has been the dominant issue and,

contrary to some earlier forecasts, fears and hopes, it has not elevated young people's political behaviour into 'a problem'. Unemployed young people have not been successfuly mobilised by any political party, moderate or extreme. Youth in the 1980s are politically acquiescent, probably more so than in the 1960s. This is why the literature on 'Young Radicals' and 'The Making of a Counter-Culture' is not being revived.

It used to be said that the return of mass unemployment would drain support from moderate democratic parties and swell extremist movements. A 1980 UNESCO report anticipated mass unemployment creating a new radical generation. From time to time there are reports of Britain's young unemployed being recruited by the National Front and kindred organisations, but there is really nothing that counts as evidence of the extreme right carrying any greater appeal or threat than in the 1960s.

Throughout the western world in general, the spread of unemployment in the late 1970s and early 1980s was accompanied by a shift of political opinion towards the 'moderate' right of Reagan, Thatcher and Kohl. This trend may now be arrested. While it was underway, young people were sensitive to the drift, but they did not lurch to any political extreme, or in a contrary direction to general political opinion.

The majority of young people currently at risk and, in many cases, actually unemployed, display little overt interest in politics. Many are vehement in proclaiming disinterest. Needles to say, an apolitical younger generation is not a new phenomenon. Radical activists in the 1960s were a minority, even on campuses. Political socialisation by families, schools and the media is simply continuing to produce disinterested school leavers.

This lack of political interest, young people's apathy despite all attempts to mobilise their support, is politically significant. It helps to explain the persistence of inferior stereotypes of the unemployed, and why so many blame (and thereby police) themselves (Breakwell, 1983; Walsgrove, 1984). It suggests that most young people will seek solutions individually, or within families and local peer groups rather than in broader industrial or political movements. The ESRC initiative must check and take account of young people's political indifference, assuming that it is not due to be shattered, but disinterest is not a new teenage phenomenon, and we already possess convincing explanations (Dowse and Hughes 1971a, 1971b; Strading and Zurick, 1971).

Some people are politically active, and the initiative could attempt to identify political youth. Questions on political knowledge, interest, activity and partisanship will suffice for these purposes. However, an issue that deserves at least equal attention is whether unemployment, a sign that politicians have broken their side of an unwritten contract, is eroding the state's legitimacy (Turner, 1984) thereby creating the conditions for social disorder which erupts intermittently, but maybe more frequently than during previous decades, on the streets, picket lines and football terraces. The ESRC initiative might miss the point if pre-occupied with the opinions, attitudes and party loyalties that are regularly polled to predict election results. Young people's attitudes towards dealings with various civil authorities - the police, courts, government, parliament and managements - could prove far more interesting.

Leisure

Youth researchers and theoreticians have written extensively about young people's leisure activities. Leisure has been impossible to ignore. After all, youth cultures are constructed and celebrated primarily during leisure time, through leisure pursuits. The importance of leisure in nurturing and maintaining peer relationships, gender roles, adolescent and adult identities has always been recognised. Unfortunately, youth researchers have never developed instruments to measure and typify young people's ways of life systematically and comprehensively. The time may by ripe for youth investigations to incorporate ways of collecting and analysing information about uses of time, income and expenditure, social networks and contacts, and participation in leisure activities that have been developed in other areas of leisure research.

Recent studies of youth at leisure have been pre-occupied with the effects of unemployment. What are the implications for social relationships, leisure activities and spending? Can leisure compensate for lack of work? It is necessary to stress some limitations in most studies. (i) The subjects have usually been recent school leavers. We know far less about older young people. (ii) Many studies have compared young people in education, jobs and/or on schemes with 'the unemployed'. There have been few attempts to distinguish the effects of different types of unemployment. (iii) Virtually all the evidence is of short, rather than long term effects. (iv) Some results are from very small samples. (v) Investigators have focused on specimen activities, which is easier and cheaper than more comprehensive measurements of young people's ways of life.

Despite the above limitations, the following conclusions are quite firmly established.

1. Few young people respond proactively to unemployment (Fryer and Payne, 1984). The experience is usually considered 'an ordeal' (Hendry et al, 1984). Unemployed young people are the more anxious and prone to worry about clothes, appearance and money (DES, 1983). According to one study, long term youth unemployment is related to suicidal tendancies (Francis, 1984). Unemployment among school leavers appears to delay growing up, going out, developing 'mature' relationships, acquiring adult tastes and spending patterns (Gurney, 1980; Hendry et al, 1984). As previously mentioned, unemployed young people have lower health scores than those in work (Breakwell, 1983; Banks et al, 1984).

2. Participation in leisure activities lessens, but does not eliminate the socio-psychological damage of unemployment (Stokes, 1983; Warr, 1983). At best, leisure is a 'palliative' rather than a substitute for work (Kelvin et al, 1984).

3. The (short term) social and psychological effects of unemployment among young people are less pronounced than among adults (Warr, 1983). In general, modifications in leisure patterns are undramatic. Unemployment does not isolate young people. Unlike adults, they spend more, not less time with friends than when in employment (Kelvin et al, 1984). Unemployment does not reduce the frequency or range of young people's leisure activities. Leisure is simply 'scaled-down' (Willis, 1979). It becomes cheaper, localised, and less commercial (Sandhu, 1984, 1984). Unemployment appears to have led to greater use of the Youth Service (DES, 1983) and reversed the former situation where the educationally successful, usually from middle class homes, were the main beneficiaries.

4. The effects of unemployment are not identical for boys and girls. The latter appear the more restricted, and are rendered less adaptable by the availability of a domestic role (Banks et al, 1984). Girls are more isolated than unemployed boys who, when frustrated and depressed, may act out their problems on the streets. Girls' problems seem more likely to be bottled up, and they display more evidence of psychological disturbance (DES, 1983; Donovan and Oddy, 1982).

Future research needs to build on the above findings and transcend the limitations listed earlier. In particular, if possible, the research initiative should attempt comprehensive assessments of the ways of life of different groups of young people, not just the unemployed but the larger numbers in education youth training and jobs.

There are two additional issues, so far the subject of mere speculation, that the initiative could engage:

1. It is frequently suggested that youth unemployment, and the associated despair and desperation, are parts of the backgrounds that breed crime against property, drug abuse, violence on streets, soccer terraces, against girl friends and ethnic minorities (Scarman, 1981). However, causal links have not been demonstrated. The initiative could aim to clarify any connections.

2. Many young people are affected directly by unemployment. Other effects will be indirect, transmitted through households with unemployed parents. Previous studies have found many parents doing their utmost to ensure that out-of-school children do not suffer when unable to find work. Families can offer moral and material support, but the price of acceptance often includes more pressure to find employment, plus prolonged dependence (Wallace, 1985). Some working teenagers, especially those with unemployed parents, may lead more impoverished lifestyles, but enjoy greater independence. What happens when both generations are unemployed? Parents' ability to support teenage children may have become a key factor in decisions on whether to remain in education. Even transitions to unemployment mean a rise in personal income.

Since 1975 the amounts of pocket money received by 14-16 year olds have lagged behind rising prices. This may be because many families are poorer, but average living standards have risen, and 5-7 year olds' pocket money has kept well ahead of inflation. Parents may be adjusting the sums given to young people in their final school years in response to the postponement of, and/or the lower incomes now expected after leaving. If so, young people will still be experiencing a gradual rise in personal income as they move from school, through schemes and unemployment, then towards adult jobs. This could be a reason why the short term effects of unemployment on teenage leisure are undramatic.

The value of the ESRC initiative will be enhanced if parents or, even better still, entire households can be studied. The effects of unemployment will sometimes be transmitted through, and may also be mediated and blunted by changes in parents' behaviour.

Young People In Society
A research initiative that addresses the questions outlined above, about the implications of current trends for young people in education, the labour market, the family and leisure will interface with broader sociological debates about changes in the pattern of stratification, the shape of society in the 1980s.

1. It has been hypothesised that, in some respects, recession then persistent unemployment are accentuating rather than reversing trends that began during the post-war decades of economic growth and affluence. For example, it is suggested that conflicts are increasingly distributional, that privatisation is spreading, and that a pecuniary instrumentalism is becoming more pronounced than ever (Newby and Vogler, 1983). One study reports that young people place even more stress than their parents on economic rewards from employment (Turner et al, 1983).

2. The British working class has long regarded the macro-economic structure, the contours of inequality and the labour market as 'beyond control' (Blackburn and Mann, 1979). Hence workers' renowned fatalism and stoicism. Apolitical responses may be explicable in terms of the experience of unemployment being assimilated within this prior frame of reference.

3. Newby and Vogler (1983) suggest that, in the 1980s, class divisions are becoming more opaque, and that boundaries are less easily discerned. This may be true of the middle-working class schism, but unemployment and occupational restructuring appear to be creating other clearer divisions. It has been argued that primary and secondary economies and labour markets are to become more distinct (Craig et al, 1983). There are several indications:-

a. Wider income inequalities;
b. Firms distinguishing core workforces from temporary and casual staff. High unemployment creates a reserve army, some of whom are prepared to accept exceptionally low wages and/or to work 'off the record' (Morris, 1984);
c. Some firms are making greater use of internal, and extended internal labour markets, recruiting by word-of-mouth (Jenkins et al, 1983). Jobcentres have retained their market share, but firms are making less use of newspaper adverts and fee-charging agencies (MSC, 1984);

d. Some households are participating in a virtuous circle in which work breeds work. Primary employment supplies contacts and skills that enable individuals to take second jobs, and provides the income necessary for self-provisioning. Meanwhile, other households are trapped in a vicious circle, excluded from all types of work (Pahl, 1984).

Many of the issues for the 16-19 initiative outlined above are closely related to problems being addressed in the parallel ESRC enquiries into social change and economic life. The latter investigations will examine the implications of parents' employment and unemployment for children's economic socialisation, attitudes towards technical change, trade unions and other work-related issues, and the impact of on-going economic changes on family patterns, community integration, physical and psychological well-being.

The economic life fieldwork is concentrating on over-20 year olds only because young people are being treated in separate existing and proposed investigations, including the ESRC initiative. Young people are especially sensitive to current rather than peripheral economic trends. Hence the inevitability of overlap and the case for collaboration between the two ESRC initiatives. This collaboration could involve fieldwork in the same areas, which would supply the 16-19 initiative with information about the local labour markets and adult

populations. In addition or in any event, each initiative could benefit from standardised questions on, for example, family relationships, work attitudes, and well-being.

The economic life research is already underway, so the 16-19 initiative cannot become a major influence on the design of these enquiries. Collaboration may necessarily mean the 16-19 enquiries using areas and research instruments already selected by the economic life investigators. The 16-19 investigators are likely to resist becoming mere adjuncts, and quite rightly, for the issues to be investigated in the two initiatives overlap but are not identical. At this stage, therefore, the 16-19 initiative will probably benefit by treating collaboration as a potential opportunity rather than a constraint. If the 16-19 researchers can decide, initially, which methods they would prefer given the issues **they** define for investigation, the ways and extent to which collaboration with the economic life teams might be mutually advantageous can then be considered.

The core issues

It has been impossible to prevent this review of recent trends and investigations being dominated by unemployment since the issue has prevaded virtually all recent youth research. Enquiries into other spheres of teenagers' lives, including their fertility and leisure, have tended to concentrate on the implications of joblessness.

Unemployment remains far too important an issue to ignore in the ESRC initiative, but it needs to be set in context:

a. The majority of young people are still making transitions to employment.
b. Other young people, apart from those unemployed at any point in time, will be affected by the socio-economic trends reviewed in previous passages.
c. The assumption of economic determinism implicit in much recent research needs to be challenged, or at least investigated. Gender divisions, family behaviour, leisure patterns and educational trends can have a momentum of their own. Everything else does not necessarily hinge on whether young people are employed and, if so, their types of jobs. Work or its absence is not always the central, determining feature in individuals lifestyles. As previously explained, strong family relationships and/or leisure interests appear capable of lessening the damage of unemployment. There is evidence of marriage fostering different attitudes towards work. Males feel that it becomes more important to hold a job. Some become less selective and stress instrumental at the expense of instrinic satisfactions (Wallace, 1985).

The questions left by gaps in, and posed by ambiguous results from recent research define two sets of core issues for the ESRC initiative. Firstly, an initiative is required to identify comprehensively the main outcomes of recent trends - the emergent patterns in young people's careers in education, employment, the family and leisure, and to explain how these careers differ between various groups of young people.

Sociologists routinely divide the population into middle and working classes. It would be amazing if the ESRC enquiries ignored this schism. The investigators will be aware that previous youth researchers have emphasised the significance of a cleavage within the manual working class, separating the skilled from the rest, or the respectable from the rough, or the aspiring from the indifferent (Carter, 1962), or those who anticipate and experience career progression from the careerless (Ashton and Field, 1976), or 'lads' from 'ear oles',

'citizens and ordinary kids' (Willis, 1977; Jenkins, 1983). ESRC investigators will want to discover whether these are still major divisions. Do they apply among girls? Are there equally significant divisions among middle class youth?

Secondly, an initiative is needed to examine how careers in education, the labour market, the family and leisure interact. Patterns of interaction may vary considerably between different groups of young people. Education and employment are unlikely to have exactly the same meaning for males and females, whatever their qualifications.

The ESRC initiative must build upon, but in some respects it will be intentionally different from recent investigations in its concern for all aspects of young people's situations, and with developmental processes and patterns from age 16 or earlier to 19 or older. It will want to separate, not in order to isolate, but eventually to inter-relate young people's experiences in employment, education, the family and leisure. The initiative will want to engage young people's attempts, successful or otherwise, to make sense of and to exercise some control over their total situations. The research will be attempting to identify typical configurations formed by the interaction between careers in different domains, and young people's own attempts to understand their predicaments, and to create and sustain identities from the consistencies and contradictions that they encounter.

A fresh research initiative is required partly because recent enquiries have left many of their own questions unanswered, but equally because these studies have been preoccupied, for excellent reasons, with the impact of specific trends, particularly the spread of unemployment, and have thereby submerged an older genre of youth theory and research which now needs resuscitating in order to assess the overall impact of recent trends on youth cultures and transitions towards adulthood. In conceptualising its problems, the ESRC initiative must be sensitive to the changes in young people's situations wrought by the trends on which recent research has focused, but the initiative will also be able to draw upon the type of sociological theory and research on youth culture that was interrupted after the rise of 'the new wave' in the 1970s. When reviving this older genre, a synthesis with social psychological concepts and findings may be productive. The different vocabularies are grappling with similar problems. Cross-fertilisation could facilitate solutions.

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coping with transition:
esrc's new 16-19 initiative

JOHN BYNNER

Since the war there have been two surges of policy making directed at young people. The first arose from recognition of their role as consumers. The commercial potential of 'youth culture', a phenomenon fuelled in part by the mass media (Brake, 1984) led to intense interest in the activities of the young. Although in recent years youth culture as such has attracted less attention (Roberts, 1985) many of its supposed concomitants - delinquency, drug-taking, soccer hooliganism and sexual precocity - remain very much in the news, and a central concern of policy makers.

More recently, interest has shifted to the role of young people as workers. Economic decline, concentrated in particular areas of the country, and the growth of new industries, requiring different kinds of skill, have contributed to what Ashton and McGuire (1983) describe as a 'vanishing labour market' for young people. The response has been a burgeoning of curricula innovations (TVEI), new examinations (GCSE, CPVE), educational reorganisation (Tertiary colleges) and training schemes (YOPS now 2 years YTS), to rectify what is perceived to be the deficiencies of the education system in preparing young people for work. Some critics (eg Edwards, 1983) have seen much of this activity as a means of diverting attention from the structural causes of unemployment and training schemes as a means of keeping young people occupied who would otherwise be at a loose end.

For the young people themselves, the situation is complex and sometimes stressful. The traditional transition from full-time education to full-time job which at one time upwards of 60% of the population could expect at age 16, has given way to a variety of educational, training and employment experiences, including unemployment, across the period 16-19. Such experience has had reverberations throughout all parts of adolescent life, with the extension of dependency on parents and consequent changes in leisure activity and marital expectations. When unemployment is involved there may be damaging psychological consequences, especially when commitment to working is strong (Banks and Ullah, 1986).

The objective facts of what has been happening are relatively well known (eg Rafe, 1984) and especially in the case of training schemes like YTS, detailed monitoring of progress and outcomes is being carried out. Yet little is known about the adjustment processes involved and what their personal consequences are: how are young people coping; how are the influences on them changing and what are the outcomes in terms of the way they perceive the world and their own role in it?

It is not surprising, therefore, that of all the domains of adolescent development studied in the Economic & Social Research Council's (ESRC) earlier Young People in Society programme (YPS), (Beloff, 1986), economic and political socialisation emerged as the topic for a new five year integrated programme of research - the 16-19 Initiative.

This article sets out the main features of the programme and principal themes the research will address. It ends with some key policy questions that the research may help to resolve.

Main Themes

Socialisation is a difficult term to pin down, embracing as it does both outcomes and the processes which give rise to them. To structural sociologists, it is about economic and political outcomes set against societal structures: who ends up doing what and where and what transitions have they experienced in getting there? For the micro sociologist, with an ethnographic perspective, the focus shifts to the interactional context, which bestows meanings on particular forms of economic status and political positions: how is the economic and political world represented in such contexts and how are roles within it entered? Psychologists set out to unpack the processes surrounding the formation of occupational and political identity and self-efficacy in the individual; what is the relative importance of the different socialising agencies the young person encounters, and how do these shape attitudes and behaviour?

There is of course overlap between these different stances and in any event the concerns of all social science disciplines have been changing. Most obviously the need for psychometric and statistical methods to assess the magnitude of effects and ethnographic methods to elucidate processes is increasingly recognised in all of them. Where the distinctions between disciplines continues to be important, in a truly interdisciplinary research programme, is in the critical theoretical elements they believe such research should address. These were mapped out at an early stage in the new Initiative by two consultants, sociologist Ken Roberts of the University of Liverpool and psychologist Glynis Breakwell of the University of Surrey who were commissioned to review research and theory in the field of economic and political socialisation (Roberts, 1987; Breakwell, 1987). Roberts framed his review around the concept of 'career trajectory' pointing out the variety of changes that had occurred, not only with respect to occupation but in domestic, social and political life as well. He also stressed the need to recast the political domain in terms of the immediate concerns of teenagers, especially relations with authority, at school, in the family, in

the workplace and outside, e.g. the police and the judiciary. Breakwell focussed her review on the formation of occupational and political identity and the components of self-esteem and self-efficacy. Recent research and theoretical debates were reviewed on 'social representation' and 'social attribution': how people represent economic and political events and each other and how they attribute cause and effect in their lives.

Both perspectives highlighted the importance of the influence of social and occupational structures on economic and political attitudes and behaviour as mediated through the agencies of the school, the family, the workplace, the mass media and the peer group. They also stressed the need for understanding the way these effects are internalised and reproduced as the norms and values of the coming adult generation.

Accordingly it is proposed to bring the two themes of career trajectory and psychological process together in a single analytic framework. The idea would be to analyse the patterns of adolescent career development and within each pattern, to elucidate the psychological processes that were occurring and their effects. This scheme is represented in Table 1, which divides the conceptual framework for the study into four sections: structural influences and constraints, socialising agencies, psychological mediating processes and behavioural and attitudinal outcomes of socialisation.

TABLE 1

Core elements of socialisation

in the construction of adolescent careers

Structural influences	Socialising agencies	Social psychological processes	Outcomes of socialisation
Labour market	Education/training	Identity Self efficacy	Economic and political status
Social status	Work		
Age	Family	Social representation Social attribution	Behaviour
Gender	Leisure (peer group)		Understanding
Race			Attitude
Physical attribute (e.g. disability)	Mass media		

Research Design

The shape of the research design for the Initiative followed directly from this scheme. First, to uncover structural influences on career development requires study of representative samples from populations resident in contrasting labour markets. Second, the development and testing of a typology of adolescent careers and the unravelling of influences on the crucial choice points within it, demands longitudinal survey data. Third, to analyse the full range of socialising influences operating on a given career trajectory requires the charting of life histories through extended interviewing of individuals from each career category. Fourth, the elucidation of the psychological processes concerned with the formation of identity and social representation and attribution requires observation of the interactions of young people through ethnographic investigation.

In summary therefore the Initiative research design is area based and longitudinal with data collected by different methods at a number of levels.

(a) Areas

Essential to the charting of career trajectories and the influences that impede or accelerate them is the knowledge of the local education system and employment opportunities. As Ashton and McGuire (1986) have shown such structural constraints override dramatically all other factors such as social class, gender and educational achievement in determining career prospects. Much work has already been done in the documentation of six contrasting labour markets in the ESRC **Economic Life** initiative (Gallie, 1984). Two of these, Kirkcaldy and Swindon, were also chosen for the 16-19 Initiative; the two others are Liverpool and Sheffield. The responsibility for carrying out the work in each area is shared between a local university research team and the central coordinator for the Initiative. The surveys are organised nationally albeit with a local university address, whereas the interviewing and ethnographic work is being carried out by the local team. The universities involved are Edinburgh and Dundee (for Kirkcaldy), Liverpool, Sheffield and Surrey (for Swindon).

(b) **Repeated cohorts**

Cross-sectional surveys provide snapshots of a population's characteristics at a particular point in time. What they fail to do, except in a very limited way, is to uncover the origins of particular population characteristics. To elucidate cause and effect we need to be able to observe changes by following up individuals over an extended period of time.

Table 2 shows diagramatically the sequential cohort design that we are using. Two cohorts of young people - those currently in the 5th year at school (now aged 15-16) and those who were in the 5th year two years ago (now aged 17-18) will be followed up for two years starting in 1987. Over the two years of the study for which data are collected, this will encompass an age range of 15-20. One group will be studied twice, the older cohort will be 17-18 at the beginning of the study; the younger cohort will have reached this age at the end of the study, ie two years later. This will give us the opportunity to assess any changes that have occurred over the two-year time period covered by the study, ie the 'cohort effect'.

TABLE 2

Longitudinal Cohort Design
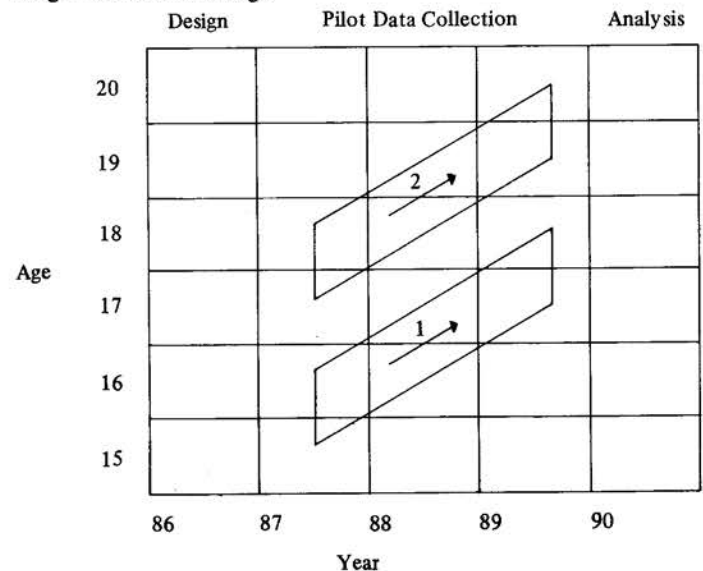
(c) Samples

In each area 800 young people will be selected for each cohort, i.e. 1600 in each area and 6400 overall. This will be the basic survey sample. Table 3 sets out the number who will be involved in subsequent levels of the enquiry, the interviewers, and the ethnographic studies.

TABLE 3

Sample design in each area

LEVEL	Sample design	Cohort 1 (15-16)	Cohort 2 (17-18)
1. Introduction Letter inviting participation with option to refuse in writing	Random sample of total school 5th year population in designated area 1987 and 1985	825	825
2. Postal Survey Self-completion questionnaire to chart career patterns and main features of socialisation	Non-refusers in Level 1 sample	800	800
3. Interview enquiry Intensive study of social psychological elements of socialisation via life histories of individuals representing different career patterns	Sub-samples selected from career pattern typology	80-100	80-100
4. Ethnographic study Observation of and account gathering from groups in social and work settings	Purposive sampling of teenage groups	3	3

Level 1 comprises sending out an introductory letter to all members of the total sample. We have added an extra 25 to each cohort of 800 in each area, because our initial pilot suggests that about 4% will take the opportunity to refuse to take part at this stage. At the second level, questionnaires will be sent out to those remaining in the cohort, an anticipated 800. The first stage questionnaire data will be analysed to identify the main career patterns of adolescence that are emerging. At Level 3 between 80 and 100 young people representing these career types will be interviewed in each area. Finally at Level 4, selected groups of young people identified through membership of the main samples, will be asked to cooperate in an ethnographic investigation involving their friends - up to six in each of two areas, Kirkcaldy and Sheffield.

(d) Finding and contacting the sample

Population lists of young people in the 16-19 age group are exceptionally difficult to come by. Preregistration by parents of their teenage children on the electoral roll is very inaccurate and school records, though up to date for the younger cohort, are two years out of date for the older cohort. Enumeration methods involving field workers who list all the young people acknowledged to be living around a selected address are expensive to carry out and inaccurate in some locations such as the inner city.

After reviewing all the options, we finally decided to use centrally held school records in each LEA for both cohorts, and to attempt to track down those in the older cohort who had moved. For only 4 LEAs this decision has revealed an amazing amount of variation, both in the form and in the completeness of what is recorded. Agencies that held central records were the Careers Service, or the Educational Welfare Service. In one area there were no records at all so individual schools had to be approached. Methods of record keeping were also very variable, with one area having a fully computerised system containing detailed information on every individual listed; in others there were hand-written records, sometimes children at special schools were included and sometimes not. Basis information like postal codes on which small area statistical data can be linked, was also frequently missing. These difficulties now justify even more strongly the decision we took early on to use a central market research agency to draw up population lists, undertake sampling and collect the questionnaire data. The agency was able to put the necessary resources into the rewriting and revision of the records so that they could be put into a standard form before sampling undertaken.

(e) Data Collection

Because most of the older cohort had left school, it was essential to contact them via their homes. At a time when morale in many schools is still low, there were also anticipated difficulties in collecting data in schools from the younger age group. Accordingly it was decided to collect all data for the questionnaire survey by postal methods with follow-up through interviews of those sample members who had not responded. The procedure finally agreed involves an initial posting of the questionnaire to all sample members, and one follow-up to those who had not responded; visits are then made by interviewers to all those sample members who had still failed to send in a completed questionnaire. On the basis of the pilot using these methods we are reasonably confident that we can achieve a response rate of over 80% which is essential to ensure sufficient numbers would be left in the survey at the end of the two-year period. As indicated earlier, all data collection through the postal survey, including follow-up of non-respondents by interviewers, is handled centrally by a market research agency. At subsequent levels of the study, data collection will be undertaken by the local research teams who are carrying out the area based studies. The timetable is shown in Table 4.

Special Topics

The core study of the Initiative which has been outlined here is directed at analysing the main features of economic and political socialisation. This involves the charting of career patterns and the elucidation of socialisation processes within each career type. Within this broad framework, a number of issues of particular interest to policy makers can be addressed. For example, the question of gender roles and expectations under new circumstances in different geographical areas will receive attention. Under the pressure of increasing and mounting unemployment in some areas, to what extent are young people changing their traditional views of marriage and the family? It has been suggested that girls' response to unemployment is to seek marriage and childbearing earlier than previously (eg Griffin, 1985), whereas with boys unemployment produces the opposite effect; they typically enter an extended period of dependence on their families which effectively extends their adolescence (eg Roberts, 1985). Some topics, however, cannot be studied in the depth they deserve within this framework because in a representative random sample their numbers are insufficient

TABLE 4

Time-table for core study

Year	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3	Level 4
1986 Jan March May July Sept	Draw sample			
1987 Jan March May July Sept	Pilot Introductory letter	Postal Questionnaire	Draw Sub-samples Interviewing ↓	
1988 Jan March May July Sept		Postal Questionnaire		Identify groups Ethnographic Studies ↓
1989 Jan March May July Sept		Postal Questionnaire	Interviewing ↓	
1990 Jan March May July Sept	← Analysis → ← Report →			

either overall or locally to make analysis worthwhile. It is intended to support work on some of these through earmarked funds for specialised enquiries. A number of examples set out below show the sort of issues that can be addressed.

Although in Liverpool we may expect fairly substantial numbers from ethnic minority communities to be included, no one ethnic minority such as, for example, Bengalis, or West Indians, will be there in sufficient numbers for adequate analysis. These groups are facing particular difficulties in the labour market currently and deserve special attention in the Initiative.

Another group of young people in which there is particular policy interest are those with special needs. For practical reasons we excluded special schools from the population lists, so although we may expect to find young people with moderate learning difficulties in the main survey, those with particular forms of physical disability, such as blindness and deafness or mental handicap, will be excluded.

Young people attending private school constitute about 8% of the total population, with increasing numbers entering private education at the secondary stage. The association of private schools with better educational resources, higher examination performance, and somewhat privileged access to higher education and the labour market, makes them a particularly interesting group for study. Again largely for practical reasons to do with the compilation of population lists, we had to exclude young people at private schools from the sample.

Finally, there are many other groups of young people who, though atypical, are particularly interesting from a policy point of view. Those who leave home to live alone or with friends, or to get married, are one such group. Others with distinctive lifestyles, which have set trends in the transformation of 'youth culture' are also worthy of study, as are those actively involved in political activity on the left or right, and those involved in drug-taking, and soccer violence.

Policy Issues

The study of groups and the study of processes bears on policy in two ways. Groups can be classified in terms of the advantages or disadvantages they experience within the labour market and the origins of these advantages and disadvantages analysed. The knowledge gained can point to specific needs for new resources, either in the form of cash benefits or new educational training and work provision. A need for better information and advice services may also be identified. The Initiative should help to reveal the mismatch between adult conceptions of teenage knowledge and experience and what actually exists. Making good deficiencies through educational and training curricula and enhancing the work of careers advisors will be an important target here.

Another important area of policy interest stems from the study of political socialisation. Fears have been expressed for some time that the growth of youth unemployment would enhance recruitment to extremist political parties, particularly those on the right. So far there is little evidence to date of this happening. In fact, in adult political terms the main consequence of unemployment seems to be an increase in political apathy and alienation from all adult political structures of parties and trades unions. The pilot revealed that even the term 'political activities' was off-putting to many young people as they do not see their own social lives and attitudes as having any connection with politics. The research should help us to find where the origins of political apathy lie and how personal and social education might be improved to tackle it.

Perhaps the most important policy outcome will be the shaping of public opinion about young people. Enhancing our understanding of adolescent perceptions of economic and political questions will help to improve communications across the generations and strengthen relations between them. Young people today face a bewildering range of options in their occupational and social lives and obstacles to achieving their aspirations of a quite different kind than those experienced previously. Helping them to understand better the economic and political world is a prerequisite for helping them to function effectively in it. And the ability to function effectively in the economic and political world is a prerequisite for changing it.

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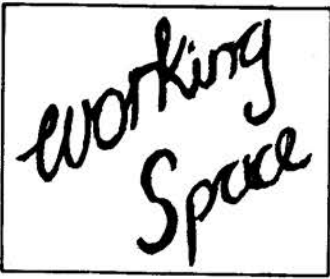
Working Space

Working Space is a section of the journal aimed at those who may not normally consider contributing an article. Contributions may be written in whatever style the individual feels comfortable with eg. Poem, Short Story, Short Article, Open Letter, Working Notes, Diary, Research and reflections on practice.

TRAINING AWARENESS TRAINING?

I am a self employed trainer who works predominantly in ILEA. Training is a growing industry. In these critical times training has taken on a new importance. In London there are a number of small businesses springing up to respond to the growing demand, in fine entrepreneurial style.

As a trainer I have become increasingly aware of the importance of training in relation to policy and practice. Especially in ILEA, strong paper policies have been documented and training has been seen as the primary way both to introduce these policies and to translate them into practice. This has occurred particularly in the anti-oppression policies. In relation to sexism, racism, heterosexism and able-bodiedism, staff have been seen to need more awareness and trainers have appeared to meet this need. This article is an attempt to contextualize training in policy, practice, management and implementation. My experience in ILEA leads me to think that there is training, then there is management, then there is policy, then there is practice, all in their separate compartments. Trainers need to see the wider context: a preoccupation with training methods has led them to miss an important role in linking these areas.

Here is a youthwork scenario:

At a meeting of full time youth workers in a London Borough one of the workers raises the issue of heterosexism: she says it is important for us as workers to be raising this issue with young people and for us as workers to be challenging negative attitudes about gay men and lesbians. There are a number of responses around the room. One worker says that AIDS jokes are rampant in his club, that he doesn't know what to do; others nod as he speaks. Another worker talks about a part timer at her club who is out as a lesbian and the effect that has had on the staff as she has challenged the attitudes both with staff and young people. While the conversation continues, there are another three or four workers who are becoming more and more uncomfortable as the discussion goes on. After an hour they decide to set up a training session on heterosexism awareness. Two workers are delegated to find trainers to facilitate a two day residential.

If we stop there and look at a fairly common series of events, we can see how training can come about:

1. An issue is raised;
2. there is a consensus that it is an issue;
3. it is decided there is a need for training because no one feels confident enough to tackle the issue.

If the issue is a practical one, then the discussion may bring about some action, a decision by workers to do something. If the issue is instead about attitudes - sexism, racism, heterosexism, for example, then workers tend to think. We don't know enough about this to do anything: We need to know more. Workers are seeing training in this instance as a way to find out so that they can develop their practice.

For most of us, our so called learning at school has involved collecting knowledge. We are taught that to know about something is to have information, understand it and to be able to regurgitate it in examinations. It appears that this **is** knowledge and the way we increase it is to read books, ask a teacher and think. We look outside ourselves and consume: our confidence grows as we understand more, pass more exams and become clever. Because of our experience of this model of learning, our view of training often becomes distorted. We look to trainers for knowledge, awareness and insights, that will enable us to understand.

Unfortunately, as a model of training youth workers in such areas as sexism, racism and heterosexism this has gross inadequacies. My experience of many workers is not that they lack information but that they lack confidence in dealing with their own and other people's attitudes. It's not that they don't know or understand their attitudes and the implications of holding such opinions, it is rather that they don't know how effectively to challenge and to support young people (and other workers) in their attitudes about people.

In our previous experience the collection of knowledge gave us confidence and validation, consequently in training events it often feels as if our confidence to act is growing as our knowledge increases. Participants will say, 'Oh I see, I realise that now', but will leave and often still not be able to use those insights and increased knowledge to make changes; and, if they can, once the influence of the training event has worn off, they frequently can't maintain the momentum. What confirms this myth of effectiveness is training evaluation which invariably is based on **the event.** The participants are asked to evaluate whether what went on at the training event was useful, what was good, what could have been better and the like. In effect, they are asked to evaluate the experience in relation to the expectations of the trainer. They are **not** asked to evaluate the training in relation to their practice.

Another aspect of training in anti-oppressions is the way that those who have some understanding and are convinced of the value of anti-oppressive work set up courses for those who haven't and aren't. I often receive a training request from

those who think it will be good for them, and see the trainer in this instance as the problem solver. It's the ones who have the traditional attitudes we need the training for. The trainer is expected to come in, make them aware and disappear. Of course, what happens is that those for whom the training was set up don't come.

At this stage, I'm not suggesting that collecting knowledge, information and setting up courses is not useful. In fact I would say they are essential, but they must be part of an approach which is inter-related with other crucial areas. The aim has to be to resolve how we can move from solely an awareness strategy to transforming this into practice, so that young people can actually benefit from workers' enhanced awareness. Training up until now has, on the whole, engaged with raising awareness in short bursts (weekends, residentials), enabling workers to 'understand' the issues in their own lives and maybe in their workplaces. The emphasis has been on the 'what' (awareness) and not on the 'how' (practice).

I believe that trainers need to begin to evaluate their work on the basis of whether it enables practice to develop, as well as whether it raises awareness. If it doesn't, we need to ask why. Budgets for training are growing as some authorities begin to develop equal opportunities, anti-sexist and anti-racist policies. Trainers now need to guage training on the basis of whether it helps towards the implementation of these policies. It is not acceptable to fall back on claims of the participants not responding to or engaging in the training, or on **their** failure to put into practice what they have been taught. Training strategies, at least in part, have to be evaluated on the basis of what comes out of their part in the process of implementing anti-oppression strategies. It is this inter-related dimension of strategy that trainers have as yet failed to grapple with. Apart from a few exceptions this includes training officers, full time training courses, initial training, self-employed trainers and occasional trainers.

What then is the trainer's role in developing an anti-oppression strategy? There are I believe at least three components in such a strategy:

1. **Policy:** A worked out written down view of what is to be achieved, in ideological as well as practical terms;

2. **A management team that can (and want to) manage change:** Officers, committees, senior workers who are prepared to 'risk' and allow for failure;

3. **A developing practice:** Workers who experiment, again take risks and show their commitment to young people.

When there is policy but not risk-taking practice by management and workers, everything remains on paper. When there are workers operating in isolation then they are soon discouraged and worn out. Only when there are all three of the conditions cited can the work move forward. Training needs to address the practice in these three components, see them as inter-related and to decide how and when it can be used most effectively.

One of the major stumbling blocks has been the second of the three components above. How to manage change, how to enable managers, youth officers and senior workers to support the work. Management theories and practices have often developed into containment models. A preoccupation with bureacratic procedures, paper and criticism of workers has often interfered with the work rather than supported it. Management traditionally becomes worried when changes provoke unpredictable circumstances. When for example girls' nights began, often the response of young men was to disrupt and to intimidate the young women and women workers. Managers' responses seldom dealt with the real problem, that of the young men. Their management experience had led them to believe that unpredicatable circumstances and potential chaos, as they saw it, were to be avoided at all costs, rather than seen as part of the process towards desirable change. Training and support in managing change, in trusting workers, in taking risks is crucial if work is to develop.

Another stumbling block is the lack of continued support for workers' developing practice. Training sessions have been in spurts, eg expensive residential courses, whereas the major issues, as suggested above, come in the implementation of practice.

Over the last year I have been testing a model of training that focuses on workers' practice. It has consisted of monthly support groups where workers report on their actions, discuss them generally and in detail, then set goals for the next period. These sesssions have shown how simple 'understanding' has not enabled workers to act, but a focus on action, on difficulties and successes as they develop, has enabled an 'action understanding' that helps put policy and theory into practice.

Readers who are looking for training need to ask: 'Do I really need to know more?' Is it information, support or confidence that you want? Readers who are trainers need to ask: 'What exactly am I offering on training courses?' I have suggested here that when people request awareness training it is because they are unsure of how to develop their practice. What form of training is going to be the most effective for them?

This article began by suggesting that training and trainers needed to have a more thoughtful role in the development of anti-oppression youth work. In summary that:

* Training cannot be seen as an end in itself.
* Training cannot **just** focus on awareness.
* Training has to be related to practice, policy and management.
* Training has to be focused on how to develop practice, on the process of change.

If trainers take on this challenge, their role will be an important one. If they don't the danger is one of pretence in that they will believe they are enabling change when in fact they may even be hindering it.

TREFOR LLOYD

feature review
education and ethnic minorities

JENNY WILLIAMS

Godfrey L Brandt
THE REALISATION OF ANTI-RACIST TEACHING
The Falmer Press 1986
ISBN 185000 126 x
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pp 210

S Modgil, G K Verma, K Mallick, C Modgil
MULTICULTURAL EDUCATION: THE
INTERMINABLE DEBATE
The Falmer Press 1986
ISBN 185000 0549
ISBN 185000 9557 (pbk)
pp 240

D Rothermund & J Simon
EDUCATION AND THE INTEGRATION OF ETHNIC
MINORITIES
Frances Pinter 1986
ISBN 086187 613 x
pp 225

The three books reviewed in this article all focus upon the role of education in fostering equality of opportunity and social integration for ethnic minority groups. At a very general level they demonstrate remarkable similarities. They are all written by professional educators and designed for other professional educators or students of education. Thus they take for granted an academic concern with education as a vehicle for the improvement of both social relations between groups and the life chances of individuals. All three sets of authors define themselves as 'realists'. By this they mean that social engineering through educational reform is inevitably circumscribed by the political and economic contexts of particular epochs and societies. All question, to varying degrees, the ability of educational reform to achieve the goals of social equality, justice and social harmony. This is neatly summarised by Rothermund who demonstrates that education can be 'an arena for political conflict and actually accentuate conflict by providing institutional focus for it, rather than contributing to its resolution' (p11).

Two of the three books question simplistic portrayals of 'multiculturalism', by which they mean attempts to incorporate static and 'fossilised' minority cultures into the school curriculum and so promote intercultural understanding and better community relations. The third (Rothermund and Simon) provides numerous case studies illustrating the political manipulation of education in the name of equality, justice and integration. In spite of this 'realism' all three retain a certain

degree of optimism concerning educational reform, often proposing alternative policies, labelled as radical multiculturalism or antic-racism.

However here the similarities end. Two of the books are readers; the product of cooperation by a considerable number of academics. In one case the experts span British, American, Canadian and Australian experience (Modgil et al). The similarities between multicultural debates and policies in all four countries are apparent. In the second the comparisons are more world wide and include Israel, India, Nigeria, Sri Lanka and Japan as well as Germany and the United States (Rothermund and Simon). What is apparent is both the uniqueness and convergences between ethnic experiences and educational policies across a very wide range of differing societies. Brandt however, is writing as a black academic primarily from his own experiences and knowledge within the British educational system. It is 'racial' exploitation and injustice rather than 'ethnic' comparisons which concern him. Let us now look at each one in more detail.

The key to the book of readings edited by Modgil et al lies in its subtitle 'The Interminable Debate'. The introduction begins by asserting that 'confusion and contradiction permeate multicultural education'. (p l). What follow are the views of fourteen different authors on aspects of the debate, which add to the confusions, and contradictions and prolong the interminability. Each of the fourteen is an interesting, short introduction to a particular arena of concern, but with no explicit links between them, except a general focus on multiculturalism. Unfortunately, the introduction provides a short outline of each contribution plus quotations from even more authors, not included in this volume. It does not delineate the parameters of the debate, nor the differing theoretical alliegances of these authors: nor does it provide guidance as to why particular themes were chosen for this volume and how they link together.

The reader is presented with chapters using differing terminology, drawing on differing political and theoretical paradigms, the majority of which are implicit rather than explicit. Bhikhu Parekh, for example, argues that multicultural initiatives can be justified as good education. Schools, he suggests, cannot alter economic and political inequalities but teachers can demonstrate that a monocultural education does not develop curiosity, or imagination, or critical faculties; in fact it breeds arrogance and insensitivity, thus providing sound educational reasons for reform. In contrast Chris Bagley writes that 'the superficial multiculturalism of Canada, Britain and the Netherlands not only fails to address the basic problem

of class exploitation (of which racism is but a part); it also actively assists class exploitation by putting stress on what are in fact superficial differences between people. Multiculturalism in its present form is little more than a masking ideology with which an artful and ruthless capitalism protects itself' (p 56/7).

Mike Cole spells out a similar Marxist framework in much more detail, defining the problem to be tackled as one of white racism, whose origins are found in the processes of capital accumulation during the epoch of Empire, reinforced and perpetuated by contemporary economic and political exploitation of black migrants. John Rex is much more pragmatic and by his own admission reformist, arguing that equality of opportunity is an acceptable educational goal, and suggesting 'that we test existing policies against what is after all a moderate and realistic goal and, in so far as it can be shown that this goal cannot be realised....prepare the ground for asking what goals are in fact being pursued' (p207).

Other authors were clearly given the task of summarising particular and more limited issues. Sally Tomlinson provides a useful outline of data and debates around achievement and underachievement. James Lynch develops a more formal/ abstract typology of guidelines for teacher education and Roger Homan provides an idiosyncratic account of three particular forms of supplementary schooling, supporting the policy of educational vouchers as a way of fostering parental choice and denominational control of schools.

Other authors provide short introductions to subjects as diverse as formal theory on intergroup relations, school ethnography, cognitive styles and Australian and Canadian multiculturalism. Thus there appears to be little coherence in the selection of contributions and at times very little dialogue possible between their differing academic and political traditions.

Probably the most useful chapter is the last one, by James Banks, which attempts to provide a summary of some of the critiques of multiculturalism. He points out that social scientists during the 1940s and 1950s predicted that ethnicity would wane in advanced nation states. In fact ethnic identification has remained and conflicts are bitter. 'Since the school is viewed by ethnic reformers as an important institution in their oppression, they attempt to reform it because they believe that it can be a pivotal vehicle in their Liberation' (p 222). Widely differing reform movements with diverse goals and strategies are labelled multiculturalism. The gaps between academic theories, political analyses and practical reforms are enormous. Thus critics of both the left and the right can select and oversimplify to suit their own ends. 'Radical scholars criticise multicultural education for not doing what the conservatives are afraid it will achieve: significant reform of the social structure' (p 223).

In order that the interminable debate becomes comprehensible, accessible and productive, it is this last chapter which needs expanding. As it stands, in order to use the book with preservice or inservice teachers (clearly groups for whom it was designed) I would have to provide an historical account of the emergence of this particular range of debates, summarise the differing usages of the term multiculturalism, delineate the opposing stances of differing critics and provide examples of policy initiatives in local authorities and educational institutions demonstrating the practical problems of implementation. Within that framework many of the contributions would provide interesting and illuminating insights. Unfortunately without it, they remain disjointed, fragmented and unable to progress the debate to a coherent set of alternatives.

One of these coherent frameworks provides the initial impetus for Brandt's study. He rejects multiculturalism in favour of antiracism but asks: 'Is anti-racist teaching practicable or is it simply an academic and political exercise generated by political militants and by academics who are so far removed from the chalk face that they have no sense of the real issues facing teachers and teaching and have little sense of what is operable?' (p l). The book is written to be useful for 'student teachers, practising teachers, educationists, other academics and anyone with some general concern for the future of British education and the specific development of a just, equitable and emancipatory system' (p 3).

What we are presented with are four lengthy chapters which focus on the history of racism, on the context of anti-racist education, on constructing anti-racist pedagogy and on observing anti-racist teaching in particular classrooms. Thus the aim is to move from an historical account of the emergence of racism within imperialism to the contemporary manifestations of black political and economic exploitation. This then sets the scene for an understnding of current debates within education and the perpetuation of the existing racial hierarchy within schools. 'Racism is an essential and crucial element in the structuring of social relations...Fundamental to anti-racism is the concept of the racist state and schooling as a part of the functioning of the state is itself racist' (p 134). From this standpoint the construction of an antiracist pedagogy, derived from black experiences and perspectives is defined as oppositional, in the sense that it must challenge institutional racism, must foster equality, justice and emancipation and be collaborative and group centred in method. Anti-racist and multicultural approaches are contrasted and the differing ways in which they are linked together by particular authors and approaches highlighted.

The final chapter outlines the authors observation of two primary schools and four secondary school lessons and provides an evaluation of their context, pedagogy and the school policies within which they took place and to which they contributed. It is in this chapter that the earlier theoretical debates can be concretised and made relevant to day to day practice.

The aims of this book, the linking of historical and contemporary contexts to what goes on in schools and what should go on in classrooms, are exciting and original. The explicit attempt to include class and gender exploitation alongside and together with race is also important. Unfortunately not all of the aims are achieved in practice. Many at the chalk face will find the language of exposition difficult and obscure, largely through unfamiliarity, but at times through unnecessary obfuscation. The diagrams in particular do not aid understanding. Figure 4, for example on p108 is headed 'The realization of Institutional Racism' but fails to provide any clear understanding of the operation of these processes within schools.

Particularly disappointing is the lack of real links between the chapters. What is it about the observed antiracist lessons which links with the earlier chapters? I suspect Brandt wants us to tease this out for ourselves. This will probably be the most widely used section of the book and it would have been helpful to have some of the links spelled out more directly.

What was 'new' and antiracist in their pedagogy? How did they differ from many similar schools and lessons often labelled as multicultural? What is it about participation, enquiry and discovery which make them antiracist? The content of the secondary school lessons observed appears more straighforwardly antiracist than that of the primary schools. What was it about the context of these primary school observations which made them antiracist?

Finally, and raising a rather different set of issues, why should teachers try to 'Realise Antiracist Teaching' and what will hinder them should they choose to try? Though I support whole-heartedly Brandt's description and analysis of antiracism as a political project, as an oppositional stance in the current climate, can it be realised only by those whose conversion is political? If so little will be possible. Can no pragmatic alliances be formed? The state is currently changing the context of teaching and education. And so the context of anti-racist education is far wider than suggested in chapter two. It includes the centralisation of the curriculum and 'standards', the removal of many aspects of control from local authorities, the undermining of 'professional' autonomy and competencies and increasing competition for resources and rewards. How do these changes relate to anti-racist teaching and can any of them be used in the struggle for a just and equitable system?

Rothermund and Simon have edited a book based on a paper given at a workshop in Bad Homborg in 1984, convened by the International Centre for Ethnic Studies. Most British educationalists (including myself) are extremely insular. It is a welcome change to be forced to consider ethnic conflict and integrative policies in Sri Lanka, Nigeria, Malaysia, Indonesia and Japan for example, and to test this range of comparative data.

Unfortunately, this book suffers from most of the weaknesses of readings from conferences. The chapters are far too short to give the necessary historical, political and economic contexts to educational policy making. We are not privy to the range of 'taken-for-granted' knowledge with which the conference participants were blessed, nor to their questioning of speakers and so elicitation of more relevant information. Thus our appetite is wetted but left unfulfilled and frustrated.

What is needed in such circumstances is an introduction which provides the context of debates and a theoretical overview linking the contributions. This is not provided. Rothermund simply selects certain themes such as the language of instruction, the problems of second generation migrants, ethnic identity versus integration and the pitfalls of positive discrimination, and comments briefly on the contribution of the speakers to these themes. Why were these themes chosen? What are the crucial variables which seem to influence the emergence of issues and governmental and minority responses? What differing theoretical paradigms/models would provide coherence to the debate within particular themes? The last two chapters by Hoffman-Nowotny and Simon do provide introductions to theorising. Unfortunately the former writer provides a formal systems approach which bears little relationship to the discussions which precede it. John Simon attacks this contribution, pointing out that 'burying such powerful social determinants as ethnicity, religion and race in a catch all category called culture does more to obscure the problems of minority groups than clarify them' (p 210). Instead of presenting his own clear alternative he continues to attack the Hoffman - Nowotny contribution. He does, unlike most other contributors to the book, suggest that racism is a key

issue. He also states very clearly that education cannot guarantee a fair distribution of jobs or economic rewards or provide equal access to anything but ideas.

What this book demonstrates clearly and starkly is the political nature of educational decisions and the central importance of the economic position of migrants and ethnic minorities. Political and economic exclusions and discrimination are reflected in educational decisions. Attempts to 'integrate' groups and foster national loyalties frequently result in the adoption of particular national languages and quotas to privileged education. Educational decisions mirror power struggles and can enhance struggles rather than produce harmony. Even though it is profoundly pessimistic I would recommend that this book be read by those, like myself, who have tended to focus primarily on Britain and its problems.

All three of these studies leave many questions unanswered. What is the relationship between discrimination and inequality and the emergence of ethnic and racial groups as key social divisions? Brandt comes closest to providing an answer for one particular form of division within one country. For him racism is fundamental rather than ethnic allegiances. For the rest, ethnicity is largely taken for granted. There appears to be no necessary connection between migration and ethnicity or between ethnicity and racism. Ethnic identity and the preservation of ethnic cultures are not synonymous. The processes described by Miles (1984) in his study of racialisation in this country are equally relevant to the emergence of ethnicism in other countries. The creation and perpetuation of significant social devisions and forms of privilege linked to some aspect of culture or colour is reflected in educational provision and policies. As Simon suggests, education is neither the answer to these divisions nor, of itself, the source of the problem.

Miles R 1984 **Racialization in E E Cashmore** (ed) **Dictionary of Race and Ethnic Relations.** Routledge and Kegan Paul, London, pp 223 - 225

back to the future

MIKE NEARY

The world of work and unemployment has gone through a radical and structural change. We now have very high levels of unemployment, levels that will stay high and get higher. The work that is left is and will be of a short term, contractural and casual nature with some traditional employment, more training and re-training, a rise in the informal economy and all of this allied to a decline in the support structures for young people. (Robinson et al 1986) Many people have written about this lurch into the post industrial society (Handy, 1984), why it happened, what it looks like, and what it means, but there have been very few appropriate responses for equipping young people to cope with the third wave (Toffler 1970). It is my intention to outline Wandsworth Youth Development's (WYD) response and to put it forward as an idea for working with young people now and in the future.

So as to be able to look at WYD in context it will be necessary to begin by looking at what is currently available for unemployed young people, what the issues are to which we must address ourselves and indeed what exactly is the problem.

The biggest difficulty in attempting to formulate coherent policies to deal with the massive numbers of young people out of work is to regard unemployment as the problem. If unemployment is the problem then the solution is getting people back to work. If this is not possible in any real sense then there is no solution. We need, to return to basics, to dissect the notion of a job, to look at its constituent parts and so to reconstruct it as something else. Thus, in this way the problem is not that young people have no job but that they have no money, no access to money, little or a deluded self esteem, no feeling of self worth, no status, no responsibility, and no power. If they had a job then one, some, or all of these things might become available to them but without work they have no recourse to them through legal means. We need, therefore, something to replace the job as the provider of these social, political and economic treats.

While not going so far as to agree with the notion of reconstructing the nature of the job there has been tacit acceptance that something needs to be put in its place and in recent years self employment has and is being marketed as that replacement. [1] The idea that self employment for young people will save the day appeals for two main reasons:-
a. it puts the onus on the young people to create their own work and thus deflects criticism from government and policy makers and
b. it is no threat to the present economic system and if successful can only enhance it.

The problem for people who espouse this idea is that it does not work in practice for four main reasons:

1. *System of education*
The system of British education was designed with the Industrial Society in mind. Toffler gives us the structure with the students as the raw materials, the teachers as the workers and the school as the factory. Young people rolled off one production line onto another into a highly structured, time orientated, employer dominated, reward laden society. While that was appropriate for a society of full employment it does nothing to engender young capitalists or would-be entrepreneurs.

2. *Work as an instinct*
For someone who has never been employed, the idea that they know what employment is and, indeed, are so comfortable with the notion that they can set up their own employment structure, is nonsense. It assumes that people are born with an instinct about employment. Nothing, I would suggest, could be further from the truth and I would contend that formal work is quite contrary, to people's nature.

3. *Set up to fail*
Young people who attempt self employment are forced to compete against each other. This happens because almost all are in the weak end of the market, trapped there with their limited resources, lack of research, development and marketing skills. They are chasing the same customers, undercharging, undercutting, and putting each other out of business. It also makes it more difficult for established small businesses to survive.

4. *Self employment and the law*
Many businesses started by young people are so risky and vulnerable that they are driven into the informal economy where they continue to both sign on and still earn some income from their business. This has also been the pattern of many young businesses when their 12 months on the Enterprise Allowance Scheme (EAS) comes to an end. Young people are, therefore, becoming criminalised (Finn) A recent report on the EAS shows that the people who are succeeding on the scheme are aged on average 39, white, have a spouse or partner in full time employment, have invested considerably in the business and have had several years experience of being employed in the area in which they are now employing themselves. (Gray and Stanforth 1986)

There are, of course, some people under 30 employing themselves but they tend to be approaching or past 25 years of

age, and / or are middle class, and / or are well educated achievers. The young people who usually get ignored and in particular the young people from ethnic minorities are once again passed over when it comes to apportioning the resources for business start up and enterprise as narrowly defined.

What sort of replacement is needed?
I have already said something about what the future of the world of work will look like. To cope with this young people will need to be more capable and adaptable than ever before so as to find new ways to support themselves as the old foundations crumble. The educational principles of control, conformity and obedience will be of no use in the new 'Ad Hocracy' (Taffler 1970) with its nomadic patterns of housing, training, employment and other social relationships. Young people will have to be encouraged and trained to develop skills, experiences and attitudes that enable them to be more personally effective in planning and achieving their goals. Francis Pym[2] said on the subject that finding a new 'framework' for employment to replace the increasingly outdated work ethic will in its own way be as important as economical and political attempts to solve the problem' (Moynagh 1985) It is my contention that this framework will be built around the framework of Enterprise, not enterprise in the narrow sense of self employment, but in the fullest meaning of the word. As Bob Friedman from the Corporation for Enterprise Development in the USA says: 'The real strength of an entrepreneurial policy is not just the number of jobs or of enterprises created, nor even the additional wealth created. It is the new dynamic which is established to enable people to become adaptive, creative, resiliant and to take the initiative' (Friedman 1986)

Thus a structure needs to be developed to facilitate this process.

What does that structure look like?
For young people to be enterprising they need:
a.   to have power - at least to have access to it and certainly to be involved in the decision making process about what they are trying to achieve.
b.   income - this may be in the form of wages, grants, allowances. A good deal of research is being done on the concept of the basic income where every person by dint of citizenship receives a weekly allowance of approximately £100 per week. If they have a job this money would be tax deductible. No longer would people need to sign on and be available for non-existent work, it would remove the distinction between the employed and the unemployed, the need for special schemes for the jobless, the poverty trap and would legalise the informal economy. It would also boost small firms and 'start ups'.[3]
c.   to be encouraged to take risks based on a knowledge of what is involved and that despite the difficulties feel reasonably confident that they can make what they want to happen happen.
d.   to be given responsibility and to be treated responsibly.
e.   status from what they have achieved.

In this way we have defined the 'problem' and redefined 'the job'.

What is Wandsworth Youth Development's Approach
Wandsworth Youth Development[4] exists to encourage young people aged between 16 and 25 who live in the borough of Wandsworth to develop an enterprise idea of their own outside of the formal education and training structures currently available. The main aim is to encourage the self development

of young people by allowing them to explore choices, make decisions and acquire new skills. WYD is anxious that these new skills should be relevant and appropriate to future employment trends and to transformations that are occuring in the world of work.

WYD is now a limited company with charitable status. It began in 1983 as a support structure for the Wandsworth Unemployment Youth Project which funded schemes involving young people. The support structure evolved into WYD with members of the support team becoming WYD's Trustees and Management Committee. In its first year of trading WYD was managed by this Committee with the help and support of an advisory group made up of local youth and community workers, careers officers and others involved with issues affecting the local young unemployed. In April 1985 it was decided that WYD should appoint a full time Coordinator.

WYD's funding comes from Wandsworth Borough Council (£26,000), Boots Ltd., (£300) and Thames Telethon Trust (£2,500). This provides the Coordinator's salary, the running costs of the project and, in addition, £10,000 is available for grant-aiding young peoples' projects.

Young people with an idea for an enterprise meet with the WYD coordinator and they discuss whether or not it would be appropriate to begin the process of application for funding from WYD. It should be stressed at this point that WYD takes the view that the support and advice it can give in the process of working the idea out is as important as the finance it can provide. To facilitate the process the young people must identify and liaise with someone from the local community who can provide help and assistance in organising their enterprise. If the young people have no one they can ask to act as such a facilitator then WYD suggests people who have expressed an interest in doing the work. Because at the position they occupy between WYD and the young people these facilitators are referred to as Link Workers.

WYD is anxious that the experience the young people gain will equip them for a rapidly changed and changing world of work. Thus, as said before, it is keen to emphasize the notion of enterprise, using that word in its broadest sense. Link workers are therefore encouraged to concentrate throughout the process on enterprise skills. A list of such skills would include:-

1.   organising time and energy
2.   carrying out agreed responsibilities
3.   coping with stress
4.   dealing with people in authority
5.   dealing with peer group pressure
6.   negotiating/communication skills
7.   seeking information and advice.[5]

Once these skills have been identified and used the young people should be made aware of the fact by the link worker/co-ordinator so that with their new skills they will have the confidence to be creative, adaptable and capable. They have made something happen once, so why not do it again? In such a way is young people's development enhanced.

Where the process has been brought to the stage where funding is necessary for it to continue, the idea is brought before the Trustees in the form of an Enterprise Activity Proposal. If it is felt that money is needed then a grant is awarded.

As well as awarding grants WYD is now able to offer workspace to help enterprises to develop.

The Workspace (approx 1100 sq. ft.) is provided for young people to assist them in developing their enterprise activities. The young people are involved in the decision making as to what happens in that space: organising and attending regular meetings to discuss the space; representing the scheme at meetings about the space; collecting and accounting for the rent (the young people pay between £1 and £10 and they decide themselves what should be payed); they decide if anyone should be offered space or, indeed, if anyone should be asked to leave. All have keys with 24 hour access. There is no limit as to the amount of time for which they can have the space, although their situation is reviewed every three months with the WYD coordinator.

At the time of writing the occupants of the workspace include an artist, a metalsmith, a silkscreen printer, three clothes designers, one horticulturalist and two leather workers. Six are young women and three are young men.

Since WYD began operation in its present form it has been approached by 302 young people. From this number 80 have gone all the way through the WYD process culminating in the award of a grant. Eleven of the enterprise ideas have been about creating some sort of income for the young people involved. They have included clothes designers, caterers, photographers, an illustrator, a street trader, a printer, bike repair and musical projects. With regard to social and cultural enterprise activities WYD has supported visits to Belgium, Turkey, and Italy; a Carribean Focus exhibition; musical workshops and sound equipment building and a dance/drama project.

Not all of the young people are awarded a grant. For some the grant was not what they wanted or needed most, for some space is more important, some of the activities are still in the planning stage, some of the young people disappear, some have gone into further education to upgrade their skills to the level needed to ensure their activity happens and some get jobs of one sort or another.

Conclusion

The vast majority of responses to youth unemployment have been designed in such a way that young people do not acquire skills and experiences that are directly relevant to the fast changing and uncertain labour market of the 1980s. Policy makers and programme managers yearn for the security of old and proven ways even though the context of their work has changed dramatically. The design of educational, training and employment programmes frequently assumes that all young people will have a traditional 9 to 5 employee culture 'job' sometime in the future. Somewhere in our subconscious are images of the great depression and because the economy cranked itself up to provide full employment we assume that this will happen again. However, history does not repeat itself-only historians do.

The challenges to change our thinking and the way we design and implement programmes is immediate. In recent months, a number of emerging groups are thinking in a similar way to Wandsworth Youth Development. The MSC has commisioned 'Entrain' to encourage YTS trainees to design and manage their own adventure, business, community or training projects. A large group of grassroot agencies in Sunderland hope to initiate a pilot programme whereby young and long term unemployed people can design initiatives and develop enterprise skills. In Cleveland, the private sector, the County Council and the voluntary sector are working with the MSC to establish 'CREATE' an enterprise training agency with a broad brief which will resource groups to take action in their community and to develop enterprise skills.

There is a willingness to look at new structures, people's attitudes are changing, work is being redefined, there are new approaches to education and training. The future has, in other words, already arrived.

References and Notes

(1) There has been a huge growth of projects, agencies and trusts attempting to encourage young people to employ themselves e.g. Youth Enterprise Scheme, Youth business Initiative, Project North East, Livewire, Young Enterprise. They all offer a sort of DIY capitalism.

(2) I mention Pym because his views are at variance with the 'enterprise culture' as propounded by Lord Young. A Guide to the capatalist view of such a culture, for anyone who might be interested, can be found in 'Self Help' by Samuel Smiles, first published in 1859 and now republished by Penguin in '86.

(3) For further information about this the Basic Income Group can be contacted at 26 Bedford Sq. London WC1.

(4) Further details about WYD can be found in 'Initiatives' Vol 3 No. 1; Guardian Jan 31st 1987, 'Scene' - the Youth Workers Journal No. 122 June '86 from the National Youth Bureau.

(5) This way of working is similar to CITY model (Community Involvement Through Youth) an Australian project, whose coordinator Dave Turner is currently an associate with the Centre for Employment Initiatives.

CITY is funded by the South Australian Dept. of Labour. It resources young unemployed people to design and manage 'not for personal profit' enterprise of their choice. Grants and skilled facilitators are provided directly to young people who run their projects in the community. Facilitators seek to help participants identify, develop and transfer 12 core skills which are essential to the organization of any social, economic and /or political project. The 12 skills are
1. assess strengths and weaknesses
2. seek info and advice
3. make decisions
4. plan time and energy
5. carry out agreed responsibility
6. negotiate
7. deal with people in power and authority
8. problem solve
9. resolve conflict
10. cope with stress
11. evaluate own performance
12. communication skills

20,000 young people have been resourced by CITY since 1977 and projects include-
recreational camps for handicapped children,
production of videos on drug abuse and on unemployment,
environmental projects,
music workshops.

CITY belives that the experience of organising a project and the development of the 12 skills is essential for people who face an uncertain labour market and a rapidly changing society.

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"can m s c serve workers interests?"

COLIN RANDALL

Introduction

At the beginning of 1986, the Centre for a Working World (CWW) produced a major report entitled 'Manpower - serving whose interests?' which has provoked discussion both in the labour movement and in academic circles. The report was the result of a unique survey of 148 (out of 280) TUC representatives on MSC's Area Manpower Boards (AMBs). It offered a first-hand, vivid, account of the pressures and problems confronting trades unionists involved in the 'delivery' of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) and Community Programme (CP).

But amongst the feedback to this document was a regularly expressed concerned that the CWW should have offered more in the way of 'alternatives' to MSC and its schemes. The Centre for a Working World holds the view that policy-making and political decision taking must reside in the organised structures of the labour movement. It was not thought appropriate, therefore, to end our report with a 'shopping-list' of demands. Nonetheless, we were prompted to produce a Discussion Paper in July 1986 entitled 'Socialist alternatives to MSC' - simply as a contribution to the debate which we believe must take place on the future education, training and employment opportunities of the working class.

What follows is an attempt to summarise some of the general findings of our first report and to offer some tentative suggestions on 'socialist alternatives'. More specifically, this article for 'Youth and Policy' is about the questions;- 'How far does trade union involvement in MSC advance workers' - and especially young workers' - interests?' and 'In what ways can MSC structures and programmes be interpreted as progressive channels for working class demands?'

Advancing workers' interests?

Concern over the high unemployment (in my area) and the quality of training on schemes made me become involved to stop (successfully I hoped) abuses of these schemes. Such abuses still exist and AMBs seem to have no real power to stop same - despite interventions by trades unionists. (NALGO AMB member from Scotland).

This comment reflects many of the conflicting pressures under which trades unionists operate within MSC.

There is a very high priority given to aiding the unemployed - and particularly the young - in whatever ways possible. But since the mid 1970s such aid had been increasingly focussed upon the **individual** skills, abilities of unemployed people - as though they were responsible for the collapse of the 'labour market'. A huge gap has opened up where the policies and

programmes necessary to tackle mass unemployment should have been. Into that gap - increasingly intrusively and with a centralised programme often irrelevant in many areas of high unemployment - governments and MSC have fed the plethora of training schemes and make-work programmes.

Trades unionists - indeed the TUC itself at Annual Congress after Congress - knew that such schemes did not substantially mitigate the economic disasters imposed by the IMF or by Friedmanite injunctions - and compounded by 'tight-spending' governments of both major parties. Some trades unionists - especially under YTS's unhappy predecessor YOP - recognised that 'training' might itself be simply a legitimising cover for' youth exploitation' and 'work experience' a convenient employers' catchphrase for 'cheap and flexible labour'.

Finally, a limited number of trades unionists had their doubts about 'tripartism' itself. They questioned whether the best way to advance the education, training and employment demands of the working class was through the elite, consensual and often powerless structures of MSC - both locally and nationally. They wondered whether the practice of sitting down at table with equal numbers of 'employers' representatives' (through the Confederation of British Industry) offered any practical solutions beyond the ritualistic intoning of 'schemes'.

Nonetheless, the vast majority of trades unionists involved as representatives of the TUC in the various MSC structures over the past decade and more have clearly felt compelled to stay 'within', first for the 'benefits' they hope to gain the unemployed (and especially the young); and second in defence of their own members' interests.

I do not entirely agree that the TUC has all that much influence on the matter. The TUC Commissioners (at national MSC) are outvoted on many major issues. Still it would be political dynamite for the TUC to withdraw and I am not so sure that they aren't members of the Government - including the Prime Minister - who would welcome a TUC withdrawal. More important, it is the kids that matter and we must help them as much as we can. (Harold Marks 'TASS member' Birmingham/Solihull AMB.)

Time and again trades unionists return to the interests of the unemployed. Though it should be pointed out that there is significantly less expressed involvement with the long-term **adult** unemployed on the Community Programme.

This is an issue demanding urgent airing as the insidious CP (with a large proportion of its temporary workers under 25

years old) expands to dimensions which the originators of the Job Creation Programmes in the mid 1970s) would have found unbelievable.

But since the stress remains primarily on youth and YTS it is clearly necessary to analyse the concrete outcomes of trade union involvement in MSC with as sharp an eye as possible. It is also important to recognise that we are not dealing with a new phenomenon - though undoubtedly many in MSC and government would wish us to forget the ill-fated Youth Opportunities Progrmme.

The Temple Foundation and the Trade Union Research Unit at Ruskin College, Oxford, produced an exhaustive study of trade union MSC Board members involved in YOP 'delivery' in Wales and the North-West of England in 1979-80. That report - alongside TUC Congress debates for the period - makes salutary reading. The concerns for youth wages, for quality training and an end to 'cheap labour and exploitation', remain as constants to this day. The genuine commitment of many trades unionists within MSC 'advisory' structures continues to shine through. But, in all essentials, the class issues and conflicts for young workers remain equally firmly unresolved.

> (MSC Special Programmes) replicate the present division of labour, class and gender divisions, which are inappropriate for making full use of all individuals in our society. I also think that training must involve an educational dimension which goes beyond equipping someone for a slot in the occupation hierarchy.
> (Dr. Lena Dominelli AUT member (personal capacity) Warwickshire/Coventry AMB.)

There is little doubt that government intervention in education, training and broader 'manpower' issues in the past decade has been primarily motivated by service to a capitalist economy in crisis. Indeed 'employer-led' MSC schemes are now the openly espoused 'order of the day' from TVEI in secondary education upwards and on. It may be argued that MSC's emphasis on 'flexible skills' and 'constructive work disciplines' offer employers a stream of state-subsidised young people on precisely the terms suited to exploitative enterprises.

Meanwhile, the 'trainees' allowance replaces a 'working wage' for hundreds of thousands of young workers and YTS (and CP) schemes and placements substitute temporary, often non-unionised, labour for mainstream employment opportunities. Indeed, the extent to which MSC schemes - in all their colours and clothes - have contributed to the cataclysmic run-down of many local economies needs to be analysed and quantified far more deeply. It may be that MSC has more to answer for than the oft-repeated charge of 'massaging' the unemployment figures.

MSC outlined its role in the early days of its existence in its report 'Towards a Comprehensive Manpower Policy' (1975);-
> The Commission has a vital part to play in facilitating and structuring labour market changes . . .

Interestingly, it argued in the same report than;-
> a good deal of structural change in industry takes place without major disturbance to the labour market. There have been major contractions in coal-mining and railways, for example, without on the whole creating excessive hardship or unmanageable unemployment problems.

One way in which MSC believed it could manage unemployment problems was by continuing the practices started under its Employment Services Agency predecessor;-

to send in teams to firms as soon as major redundancies are announced to enable workers to begin the search for new jobs.

It is doubtful now whether MSC would stand by its assertion that 'excessive hardship' has been avoided during the restructuring process. But little has changed on the 'unemployment management' side in the past decade. MSC appears to use most of the same schemes, techniques and methods of intervention - facilitating the worker acceptance of redundancy. But objective analyses of these continuing MSC interventions - and more comprehensive socio-economic studies of areas devastated by restructuring (demolition?) of major manufacturing, extractive and transport sector industries - have been relatively sparse. The 'pay off' for local economies is rarely calculated. National calculations, however, in sectors like the building industry, have demonstrated the fatuity of maintaining 350,000 building workers on poverty level state benefits whilst 'losing' the taxes they would generate in work and the additional jobs - in building services and supplies industries - which would 'spin off' their mainstream re-employment.

Similar calculations have been made - at the peak of the all too rare anti-redundancy and closure campaigns in a few areas - on a 'social-cost' basis. It is these forms of 'accounting' which play little or no part in MSC approaches to restructuring issues.

In addition, the major 'offerings' of MSC - the temporary work of STEP or CEP or CP and increasingly the supposedly 'juicy' prospect of self-employment, using redundancy payments to float off a small business need to be assessed far more objectively than currently occurs. In particular it is necessary to investigate the income generated - in the medium to long-term - not only for individual workers but also for the 'social treasury' of the affected localities.

The admittedly limited evidence points to a 'wage depression' process in large part engendered by the growing number of workers tied into the 'scheme economy'. In addition, more precise research from a range of institutions - including CURDS at Newcastle University - highlights the considerable 'failure rate' and relatively low 'job generational' capacity of the new, small businesses sector.

By offering a supposed 'life-line' to working class communities faced with massive redundancies and closures, MSC can be seen to have facilitated the very process of capitalist restructuring which has added millions to the dole queues. Later, in those same communites, the capacity for working class organisation and collective fightback is weakened by MSC programmes emphasising the private and individualised 'guilt' of unemployed people and offering non-unionised and transitory make work projects rather than mainstream public sector jobs so desperately needed.

The material bases of many local economies may have been irreparably damaged by a combination of state or private capitalist closures and redundancies, and divisive, poverty-level, MSC job substitution schemes.

Most trades unionists involved in MSC tripartite structures would not accept the severity of these characterisations of MSC. Many continue to work within the structures precisely because they believe, on balance, improvements are possible. But we would still seriously question the ability of trades unionists to win significant advances for working people through such processes. Could things be different under radically changed economic and political circumstances?

A progressive channel for working class demands?

Training programmes and public works will be part of any socialist response to the economy and unemployment. This Government is not looking for 'economic recovery' it is seeking to restore profitability to capitalist enterprises with the minimum of social disturbances. Thus YTS may have some training content and be used by some firms (Of-Construction Industry Training Board schemes) for skills training, but it is generally about lowering wage expectations, socialising a docile workforce, massaging the unemployment statistics etc.

(NATFHE member from the Midlands.)

There is a widely held assumption amongst TUC reps involved in MSC that a future Labour Government will be able to utilise the Commission as part of its programmes for rebuilding education, training and employment in the UK. But we would question whether such a body can ever be reshaped to progressive, working class ends. It would not be distorting the history of MSC too far to portray it as a consistent pillar of 'free enterprise'. In this it had, of course, from its invention during the Heath Government of 1970-74, the continuing support of the Confederation of British Industry.

But at no point did the Labour Government of 1974-79 seriously challenge the roles which MSC acted out. Far from servicig as the socially-useful 'manpower' planning agency which the TUC had proposed, MSC - in its tripartite structures and consensual policy-making, rapidly turned to reinforcing the social and economic 'status quo'. Some trades unionists became inceasingly engrossed in MSC machinery and distanced from those they sought to represent or serve. Whilst MSC schemes increasingly effectively 'disciplined' unemployed people into the harsh 'realities' of the enterprise culture.

And since government and business often appeared 'united' in their global economic strategies and social solutions, it might on occasions seem difficult to trades unionists to offer any 'realistic alternatives'. MSC and governments increasingly set the agenda for business. One trade unionist commented;-
Under a Tory Government the unions (involved in the tripartite approach) are at some risk of becoming too identified with the objectives of the Government;- ie-low pay and high unemployment and cuts in public expenditure will lead to economic recovery.

(NUPE member in North of England.)

The question must be in light of the labour movement's experiences in the 1970s, how different will it be under a new Labour Government? At the time of writing there is no genuine indication that matters would be substantially different. It is likely therefore that MSC would continue to carry out its dual roles of aiding the restructuring policies currently required by capitalist interests and limiting the negative responses and activities of labour movement organisations to those policies.

However, the majority of trade union reps currently involved with MSC would undoubtedly take a more optimistic view;-
I do not believe we should withdraw from MSC structures. Had (Labour) remained in office there would have been a different development of MSC programmes and services and better consultation and co-operation with the trade unions. The YTS is an ongoing thing. Therefore we should stick with it to make whatever impact we can to improve it

and to look forward to the return of a Labour Government with better consultation and higher allowances. We should anticipate the withering away of CP schemes under a Labour Government which should create more 'real' employment opportunities thus reducing the need for CP schemes.

(UCATT member from the North of England.)

But we would argue that a progressive alliance of a Labour Government and radical trade unionists is unlikely to substantially alter education, training and employment programmes in favour of the working class, unless it is committed to wholly transformed 'goals and structures' from those currently operative through MSC, DES, D.E. et al. There is not the space to outline all the potential 'transformations' which might be envisaged. Nor is the Centre for a Working World the 'repository' of such wisdom! But among the 'goals' we might suggest;-
Asserting the primacy of social/community needs served through ecologically-aware production and non-exploitative services
as against the present
Primacy of the need for growth attained through private profit accumulation and a reliance on multi-national corporations serviced by the burgeoning mini-capitalists.
And
Establishing broader conceptions of 'working' - involving social and monetary recognition as required for domestic and home working, now unwaged - and the values of all kinds of 'work' to a progressive society
as against the present
Free labour market in which 'work' is determined as those activities primarily serving capitalist ends and in which the 'workers' best served remain, generally, full-time, skilled, white and male.
And in regard to transforming 'structures', we might suggest
Demolishing the elitism and secrecy surrounding many existing structures - whether in MSC, Local Authorities or Companies - and emphasising openness and accountability of structures to workers and 'consumers'.
as against the present
Hierarchical and exclusive bodies - from which most workers and almost all 'consumers' are barred - and which ostensibly engage in decision-making on behalf of society as a whole.
Such generalities, however, only begin the discussion. And we feel it more appropriate to conclude with the views of two more trades unionists actually involved in MSC Boards, since the diversity of views within the movement demonstrates the urgent need to firm up discussions and policies if the educational needs and employment aspirations of all working people are fully to be met in the years ahead.
I am increasingly disillusioned with the 'corporatist' approach and now feel the that MSC Training Division cannot be reformed and should be disbanded so that we may 'start again'.

(NATFHE member in the South of England.)

I happen to believe that young people get a particularly raw deal at the present time. I also believe that if we allow their discontent to fester until it erupts into something far more serious for our society then we will only have ourselves to blame. I think, therefore, that all of us ought to do what we can to improve the lot of youngsters. I think YTS can help tremendously in this direction.

(AUEW member in the South of England.)

Three things are apparent in this quote. The first is the paternalism inherent in the, undoubtedly well meant, assumption of the engineering worker that he and his colleagues will have to do their best for young workers. Such 'Paternalism' continues to permeate all levels of the trade union movement. It extends from the continued unwillingness of the national TUC to 'allow' a meaningful Youth TUC - with an ongoing organisation meeting between its Annual Conferences - to the large-scale unwillingness of many TUC reps on local MSC boards to accept a youth representative alongside them.

Such blockages have to be argued against within the trade union movement in order to ensure young workers the right to voice their opinions on the 'raw deal' they are getting and the remedies they feel should be adopted.

Undoubtedly, their opinions and remedies will vary - some may not be immediately acceptable to the established labour movement - but the present position of hundreds of thousands of unemployed young people is far less acceptable.

Occasional union attempts to involve young people as members - to listen to their views and to act with them upon the issues raised - have demonstrated the importance of the approach. NUPE in the North-East with its 'shop stewards courses' for YOP trainees; UCATT nationally with its sample survey of YTS members; and most recently, the TGWU with its major push towards young member involvement both in YTS and CP; have all pointed up some fruitful avenues.

The second assumption which needs to be challenged in the engineering workers' analysis is that the 'blame' for the present unemployment problems may justifiably be laid at workers' and trades unionists' doors. This argument has been peddled particularly heavily by the present government and with especial emphasis on the shoulders of young people themselves. Despite all the research evidence to the contrary - which demonstrated 'youth wages' as a percentage of 'adult wages' dropping as unemployment rose in the late 1970s - the Thatcher Government continues to attempt to 'blame' the young for 'pricing themselves out of jobs'.

And when they have run that horse into the ground they saddle up the hoary argument - with precise precedents back to the crisis of the 1930s - that young people today are 'individually inadequate' because of irrelevant schooling which does not meet the needs of modern employers.

It would be more accurate to report that with YTS - as with YOP-young workers demonstrably are meeting the needs of many employers for 'cheap labour' and a free 'training programme' which is often little more than a narrow induction into that labour process.

So if young people first need to organise themselves within the trade union movement and to demand that that movement carries out the radical internal reforms required to 'make space' for young workers' needs and goals, they secondly (and in parallel) need to campaign on every possible occasion for the 'blame' for mass unemployment to be located where it most certainly deserves - with the policies and processes of an economic system in crisis.

Finally, and accepting that the search for progressive, redistributional 'solutions' to national and international economic problems is a long-term and complex affair, it would be important to take up the third assumption inherent in the engineering workers' analysis - that 'YTS can help tremendously, . . . to improve the lot of youngsters.'

There is clearly a great deal of current campaigning work still required if that assumption is to be shown in any way true for the vast majority of young workers involved with YTS.

Some years back there was MSC talk of Programme Review Teams (PRTs) for YTS schemes which would allow for trainee - and trainees' Union - representation and within which regular 'consultation' on all aspects of scheme operations would take place. The PRTs were noticeable by their absence nationwide. But as 2 year YTS came on stream and the MSC once again sought ways of demonstrating that their 'new' product was indeed 'new and improved' (in addition to throwing millions of pounds worth of advertising at it) the PRTs have been raised from the grave.

They may not be the appropriate forum from the viewpoint of young people themselves - they are certainly not an alternative to independent organisation inside and beyond specific YTS schemes - but they do serve as a reminder of the need to continue the battle for decent training, working conditions and trainee allowances, alongside the longer-term social and political objectives. For despite the relative optimism of the AUEW member, the recent Youth Aid Report on the first 3 years of YTS, and much other evidence from the grassroots of the scheme, demonstrates that YTS is still no great deal for the majority of the young people channelled into it.

tertiary colleges as community colleges

JOHN PLOWMAN

There is a tendency in Britain to confuse the concepts of community college and community school. Generically and comparatively the term 'community school' would be more appropriately used of the type of community college which is based usually on primary and secondary sites. The tertiary college is not a community college in this sense. It has much more in common with the American concept of what a community college is. However, there are important differences which must be taken into account.

Although American community colleges were meant initially to cater mainly for 18-21 year olds, now they are running courses for all age groups, including pensioners, with the average age of students being in the late 20's. By contrast tertiary colleges are concerned mainly with 16-19 year olds at present, but the future equally could lie with adults who want to do courses for a variety of reasons. If present trends continue there will be economic reasons for tertiary colleges recruiting adult students as the government funds for various courses such as Restart and MOTEC are made available through the Manpower Services Commission.

Firstly, it would be best to discuss what tertiary colleges are and actually do. The tertiary college may be considered a 'community college' because in its area it is the sole provider in the state system of post-16 education, full and part-time, for students who are not attending a separate establishment of higher education. Besides catering for adult continuing education, tertiaries may offer some higher education, usually part-time, where local circumstances warrant it as at Richmond-upon-Thames TC which retained certain of the higher education courses from the College of Technology which had become incorporated into the Tertiary. Tertiary colleges therefore offer a wide range of full and part-time courses characteristic of colleges of further education.

These usually include mechanical, production, electrical, electronic and motor vehicle engineering, construction, business studies and secretarial, art, science and home management, catering and hair-dressing. Such a variety of studies allow students the opportunity to combine academic and vocational courses. Furthermore, courses of varying duration and modes of attendance cater for the special needs of both unemployed and employed, of the disabled and those with other disadvantages. For example, Restart programmes are run as week-long courses for the unemployed in an attempt to motivate, and to inform them about how to obtain work; MOTEC, on the other hand, is a seven week course in modern office technology.

The disabled are provided for in a special unit in many colleges - with ramps, lifts and other modifications making it possible for such students to use the college's facilities in general. Overall, adult and community education is actively promoted and developed, so making more effective use of college facilities. (ACFHE, 1980 P. 9-11).

Considering what tertiary colleges have to offer and the sort of development which is likely to occur in the future, it is likely they will become a national institution. Tertiaries are a natural extension of comprehensive education. As the demand for further education grows beyond the age of 16 it seems necessary to have an institution which can cater for the needs of older students in a way that schools simply cannot. Cross-age learning in comprehensives has partly brought adults into non-advanced continuing education but not to the extent that colleges of further education traditionally have done and tertiary colleges increasingly are doing. Adults may be reluctant to study in schools where the starting age is eleven and, although a similar objection could be made where the starting age is 16, nonetheless an adult atmosphere is a possibility where a significant minority of students are in their twenties and thirties and beyond.

There is evidence that the presence of adult students has a beneficial effect on the teenagers in the colleges. A Report by H.M. Inspectors on Richmond-Upon-Thames T.C. noted that the proportion of adult students was higher than would be expected because of the college's retention of full and part-time advanced study which would normally be provided by an institution of higher education. At Richmond, the difference in age between the majority of advanced course students and younger full-time students was found to be approximately six years. The attitudes to study and to employment among the advanced course students was found to be a positive benefit by way of example. A high proportion of older students were very committed to their courses and the part-time students were more concerned with the vocational value of their studies and were proud of their status as young workers rather than as students. As the Report concluded: 'For young students making the transition from school to adult and working life, the presence of advanced course students . . . may generally be thought an advantage.' (HMI, 1982: P6).

The influence on teenage students is bound to be more circumscribed when courses such as Restart and MOTEC last only one week and seven weeks respectively. Nonetheless, the fact that adults are on campus, if only for short periods, is likely to lead to a more adult atmosphere in the college as a whole.

Ongoing research by the present writer has revealed that the great majority of students in a sample of 172 from a population of 2500 students at Crosskeys College see the institution as a friendly and/or casual place. The precoded question was asked: 'What sort of atmosphere does the college create as an education centre?' Responses were as follows (Students being allowed to tick more than one category.)

TABLE1.

Atmosphere in College	No. of Students Responding Positively
Scholarly	9
Friendly	68
Regimented	1
Casual	114
Others : Boring	1
Active	1
Relaxed but not casual	1

The figures could be interpreted as indicating an adult atmosphere which is encouraged by the staff and administration because the college is meant to bridge the years between secondary and higher education as well as offering a pathway to employment. A certain autonomy, then, is given to the student in a friendly and non-regimented atmosphere, to encourage the independence necessary to survive and do well in what may be an alien environment in a university or college town far from home - or in the working world.

The tertiary college, it could be argued, probably performs both functions of transition to higher education and the working world, but better than do schools, sixth form colleges or colleges of FE, because it fuses further education and academic, sixth form education. It allows students to take combinations of subjects which would not otherwise be possible. For example, at Richmond-Upon-Thames T.C. Art and Design students can take the DATEC (Design and Art TEC) diploma course that takes up 15 hours of a 30 hour week. In the remaining 15 hours students can choose academic A level subjects such as History or English Literature or they can choose. A levels relevant to their Art and Design course such as Photography, Design and Technology, Drama, Art or History of Art. Successful students end their time at college qualified for degree courses in Fine Arts or vocational courses in Art and Design. (Heley, 1981; p.65).

In common with colleges of further education tertiary colleges have a significant number of lecturers who have come from other careers in eg business or industry. This in itself allows students to learn something about the world of work from their teachers which is not likely in a school or sixth form college where virtually all teachers have made their teaching their only career. On the reverse side, because tertiaries also recruit experienced academic teachers in the catchment area where they serve, they are gaining a reputation for good academic results. The traditional FE colleges cannot do this because they do not have the equivalent of a sixth form and for this reason would not have the range of academic and highly qualified staff found in tertiaries.

Just as comprehensives had their opponents when they were first set up, so tertiary colleges have met opposition. Headmasters of the feeder schools are reluctant to lose their sixth forms and cannot be expected to be objective about alternatives to through-schooling for 16-18 year olds. For example, a former headmaster in Newport, Gwent, Dr. John Herbert, comments on the proposed secondary reorganization in that town:

Locally, we are to witness another upheaval in secondary reorganization. When Newport was independent of the County its leaders were far seeing in education and declared for a system of big, purpose-built 11-18 years comprehensive schools. These were constructed in . . . strategic places where children and teachers could work in ideal surroundings. Alas these are now to be destroyed and taken over by a single (new) tertiary college where true education will be a thing of the past. (Argus, 1987; p.8.)

Anxiety about such change is understandable but the argument has already been stated to show how tertiaries serve 16-19 year olds better than do schools. A different argument against tertiary colleges is presented by Dr. W. Stephens, Chief Education Officer for Waltham Forest. He argues that 16 is the wrong age at which to transfer to a different type of educational institution. He recommends instead that the transfer take place at 14 when the GCE and CSE (to become the GCSE) start. He thinks that it is disruptive for pupils to be taught in two different institutions for O and A level and that fourth and fifth year pupils need the service of graduate and specialist teachers. (Education; p.1045.)

From what has been said in this article so far it must be clear that there are two main flaws in Stephens' argument. First, although 14-18 year olds should be catered for in a through-school where O and A level are the main leaving courses, this makes less sense in an institution that aims to offer a large variety of courses and to give students the opportunity to try more varied combinations of subjects that schools traditionally do not even offer. Secondly, it overlooks the fact that the 14-18 age range is not the only one doing O and A levels. A growing percentage of students are adults returning to education who need the qualifications they failed to gain at school or were not given the chance to take exams. As mentioned previously they are more likely to feel at home in a college with a significant minority of adults than in a school.

In addition to the latter point, a major survey by J. Dean et.al. came to the conclusion that: 'The establishment of separate colleges for students over school leaving age seems to have much to recommend it.' (NFER, 1979; p.329) The survey also showed that students prefer these colleges because of their more adult atmosphere. In addition the colleges appear to be developing expertise, because of their greater resources, in various areas specifically concerning 16-19 year olds, e.g., careers advice and tuition in study skills. A further point is that students whose fathers are in manual occupations are under-represented in post-compulsory education in general but they are not particularly under-represented in the 16-19 colleges. This is probably due to such colleges 'open door' policy and the fact that, especially in tertiary colleges and broadly-based FE colleges, there is concern to give slow learners and disadvantaged students further chances of succeeding in the educational system whether this involves remedial or academic courses.

The NFER survey conducted by Dean et.al. concerned all types of state educational institutions involved in educating 16-19 year olds. These included grammars, comprehensives, sixth form colleges, further education colleges and tertiary colleges. Dean et.al. argue that of these institutions it is only the tertiary that can offer the widest possible range of courses since it fuses the further education system and the sixth form:

... it is the tertiary colleges which point the way to a future where the two sectors are fused and post-compulsory education is seen as a cohesive whole. This does not

represent a further education takeover as some critics of the tertiary system would seem to suggest but a synthesis of the best of both systems - incorporating the F.E. sector's flexibility, responsiveness to industry, technical and vocational expertise and the secondary sector's expertise in academic teaching and emphasis on pastoral care. (NFER, 1979, p.326.)

Since tertiary colleges are a synthesis of traditional further education and academic sixth forms it must be emphasised that this is their brief and that activities outside these areas must be assessed in relation to how efficiently the colleges can carry them out. Some things which are better left to the community are many courses provided in the adult education sector. There is no clear advantage, for example, in tertiaries' trying to run courses in yoga, flower arranging, various sorts of craft and so on which are offered by school-based community colleges increasingly in the day as well as in the evening.

Even so Cotterell proposes that tertiary colleges could provide an efficient base for adult and continuing education at the local level. However, he does admit that there are dangers in this situation. One danger is that the academic boards, where departments in the colleges compete for resources and where decisions are made about allocation of resources, may give the diverse learning requests of the over-20's short shrift as the main priority of academic boards is going to continue to be vocational and full-time courses. Cotterell proposes a possible solution- that the governing body be brought into management decisions on adult education even if this means some erosion of institutional and staff autonomy. In addition participation by the community in running tertiary colleges with a recurrent education programme cannot be avoided if the needs of the community are going to be met. (1980; p.131-33.)
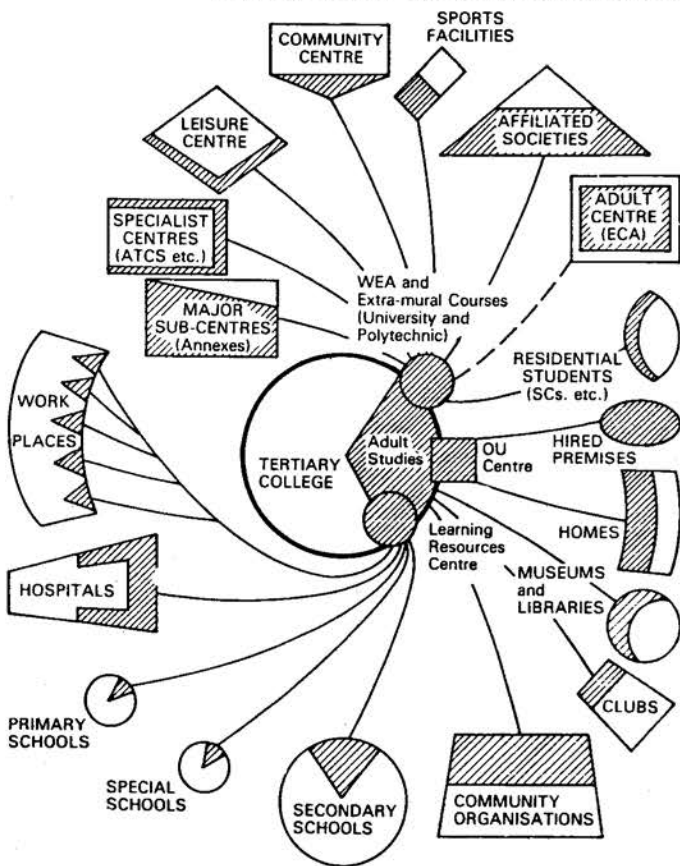
TERTIARY: A RADICAL APPROACH

Fig. 1. An area organisation for adult and continuing education centred on a Tertiary College. Shaded areas indicate location of learning. (Cotterell, 1980: p.132)

Cotterell's solution is seen in Figure 1. A similar solution-differing only in details - for relating colleges to the community is put forward by Gleazer in the US. Gleazer sees the community college as the nexus of a community learning system, relating organizations with educational functions into a complex sufficient to respond to the population's learning needs. The college would be a link for all community organizations that provide any sort of learning activity: radio and TV stations, libraries, museums, schools, colleges, theatres, parks, orchestras. (Cohen and Brewer, 1982; p.354.)

However, seeing a need and devising a solution to meet that need does not mean that resources will be made available by those in a position of power. The situation is very similar in both countries. The more traditional courses for full-time and part-time students have the resources funelled into them. The courses for 'lifelong' and community education, contrariwise, would be allocated very limited funds.

Even if the demand exists, there is the problem of how the public can articulate their needs or have the organization and power to get courses off the ground. The demands which tend to be heard are those of Chief Education Officers HMI's, Principals and middle class parents. In the US it is the equivalent bodies such as the State Boards, the State Directors, Presidents of Colleges and middle class parents. In both countries it would be the teachers of more traditional types of courses who would be heard rather than those involved in adult and community education.

Conclusion

Overall, tertiary colleges seem to be more advantageous to youth in their late teens compared to other educational institutions that also provide for the age group concerned. A caution has to be sounded, however. Any new type of institution has a mystique and momentum behind it which gives it perhaps an unfair advantage over more traditional institutions. Although it is a centre of controversy at first, it may also be seen as a panacea. It seems strange that 11-18 comprehensives were considered the answer just two decades ago but are now seen to be somewhat dated and uneconomic. As replacement for the tripartite system, comprehensives were innovative institutions in the 60's but are now increasingly giving way to the tertiary form of education and becoming 11-16 schools exclusively. Whatever objections might be raised, the process is taking place as more LEAs make plans to establish tertiary colleges. It should be noted, however, that tertiary colleges are a logical extension of the comprehensive idea to an older age range. In fact, because the colleges take nearly every conceivable type of student they are more comprehensive in the 16-19 age range than any comprehensive could hope to be.

It is likely, then, that the tertiary system will continue to expand and perhaps even become the national institution catering for 16-19 year olds. There are good educational reasons for this but just as likely the tertiary sector will expand for economic reasons because it is also the cheapest way to provide for the relevant age group: the classes are generally larger than in school sixth forms and only a single set of buildings, centred around one campus rather than different sites, is necessary.

How far tertiaries will go in the direction of American commmunity colleges is a matter for speculation. However, just like any other institution in society, educational institutions are constantly changing and are unlikely to be the same twenty

reviews in this issue:

ENABLING AND ENSURING is a welcome contribution to the literature of supervision. In the youth and community field it is the first book on the subject to appear since Supervision in Youth Work by Joan Tash in 1967 (recently republished.)

ENABLING AND ENSURING contains seven articles by different supervisors, all experienced practicioners. The book clarifies the differences between consultant and management supervision and the relationship between them. In achieving this is has made major contribution in providing the words which express supervision rather than demeaning it. Brief linking pieces by the editors pick up the particular aspects which are the focus of the book.

The articles cover supervision of students, training methods both for and in supervision, including co-operative accountability, the supervision needs of supervisors together with illustrative material and case-studies. The term 'non-managerial supervision' appears in the titles of two articles. Despite this the comment and the content describes the two constituents of supervision. The unequivocal Consultant Supervision of the Foreword is primarily the Enabling of the title, and management supervision primarily that of the Ensuring process.

The history of supervision

Enabling and Ensuring is also important because it contributes to the history of youth and community work. History lies habitually in the hands of those with power. The general lack of a sense of the history of the youth service, (with due acknowledgement to the efforts of Y&P in this direction) reflects its progressive marginalisation. One effect of this is that its specialist contribution to such fields as supervision slide into oblivion. Such losses matter because they reinforce the impression that what is marginalised is therefore insignificant. Both through its contributors and the references the book provides a record of the development of supervision in the youth and community field. This is long overdue and due credit to editors and authors in recognising this gap.

Recording is a significant political act. This book provides a record of the key contribution of Joan Tash, of the first trainees from Leicester in 1961 and the YSA. The early history of supervision in the Youth Service owes much to YSA and the unstinting efforts of Harold Marchant as its Hon. Training Officer in particular. His article refers to YSA work and training over about fifteen years. A read through the references is a read through this history and whilst it is by no means complete, this book in just 87 pages deftly manages to sketch in the main outlines of that history.

Labels, definitions and power

The fresh definitions are also a reason for welcoming this book. Making definitions is probably more often about control and the public exercise of power than it is about the desire or need for intellectual clarity. Those who make definitions assert their power. They may even gain power by defining.

Much energy has gone into defining supervision in the past, perhaps an indicator of its significance. The phrase 'non-managerial supervision' which emerged in 1979/80 relegated supervision practice to a negative other-land, a limbo, clearly secondary to management. Without going into details of that particular bit of history, what happened in effect was the hi-jacking through definition by management and organisations of a process which

had been developed significantly by workers and trainers. The definitions in this book are both more positive and constructive.

Although it is sometimes not clear what audience the book is addressing it reads easily - almost in one sitting - and key points are made in a clear, unfussy way. The articles on training and student supervision and methods and the overview in particular offer the quality of observation, insight and experience one would expect from these contributors. The articles also reflect LEA and voluntary organisation experience as well as those of practicing supervisors.

Particularly useful is the clarification of the management responsibility to ensure delivery of both the enabling and ensuring processes but that this does not necessarily involve carrying these out. It is in discussion of the concerns of organisation that the book really seems to come into its own and this suggests that its impetus springs from organisational rather than training perspectives.

I received Enabling and Ensuring with considerable excitement and enjoyed reading it. Inevitably with the first book to emerge after such a long silence too many expectations rushed to meet it and the book is short at 87 pages. I must therefore admit to some feelings of disappointment when I put the book down. This is not so much in what is said as in what is left unsaid. Its shortcomings lay perhaps partly in an uncertainty about its readership. The thrust of the editorial comment gives the book its focus on organisation concerns related to supervision. What is missing for me and which this book perhaps could therefore offer only tantalising glimpses despite its contributors, is a focus on the person-context dialectic which is the basis and context of supervision.

I was surprised that a book about training and supervision does not include contributions from any of the experienced practioners trained on the only current Diploma course in Supervision and Counselling, the course at Roehampton Institute of Higher Education, in spite of the reference to the need for training. Such a contribution would have added an interesting perspective.

A subject context would locate the contribution to supervision made by the youth and community field by reference to supervision developments elsewhere, such as in teacher training in the late 60s, or with student counsellors in the last decade. A stronger historical base could refer to work in the early 50s, to the socio-political meanings of supervision, to the fact that it was a worker-led initiative and to post-structuralist influences. Discourse analysis, for example, has had an exciting impact on supervision. Team supervision too.

A brief comment on the presentation. The now universal publishing practice of listing only the editors names on the covers is not only unjust to the authors. In this case it has done the publication and potential readers a disservice. The contributors are well-known and their names on the covers too would have been a good advertisement for the book.

Overall this book makes a useful contribution. Its value lies chiefly in what it offers on organisational concerns relating to supervision and its working definitions of supervision. It introduces a fresh language, the language of Enabling and Ensuring of the title and this should mean the demise of that demeaning term 'non-managerial supervision'. If the intention of the publication was to draw attention to supervision and the value of this invisible, ignored although practiced field. I hope it succeeds. It deserves to. I hope it encourages more published material. I recommend it to all who have responsibility for ensuring that the enabling happens and to those who are interested or are involved in supervision, training and staff development.

Marion Leigh.

John Springhall
COMING OF AGE: ADOLESCENCE IN
BRITAIN 1860-1960
Gill & Macmillan 1986
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£30
PP 270

With the moves currently taken by the Tory Government to ensure that adolescents do not become an endangered species, Springhalls book reminds us through what a range of historical paradigms this particular section of Society has been barred. Springhall takes the history of the male working class adolescent as his main area but, unfortunately unlike his previous publications where he restricted his coverage to particular groups or factions, using primary sources, he now takes on a wider field without the same attention to research. There is only one small section on 'industrial Schools' which gives any real impression of not having been culled from Secondary Sources. The major flow of the book is that it claims to be a history of 'adolescence', but apart from a muddled recapitation of a 'Youth and Policy' piece on the origin of the concept, the majority of the book concentrates on 'adolescents', 'youths', 'teenagers' or 'Juveniles' depending on which particular period of history is being investigated.

The problem encountered by the early theorists was in part a search for a name. Quick (1868) in his essays on education was in need of a name or title for "the youth who is 'neither man nor boy' ....". Springhall is right in crediting G. Stanley Hall with the invention of the adolescent. Halls two volume 'Adolescence' (1904) contains 1,372 pages on every conceivable aspect and facet on the subject. Hall is a psychologist by training but a self publicist by inclination allows this magnum opus to be a dubious mix of fact and fantasy. The task of setting the adolescent before the British professional public was taken on by John Slaughter another American psychologist with wayward interests. By clever alchemical practice he reduced the bulk of Hall's ideas, and a few of his own to 100 pages. The result being 'The Adolescent' (1911). Later editions of the book contain reviews by the 'London Teacher' and 'School World' who are anxious to pay due homage to the discoverers of the beast. The following year Spiller (1912) in his influencial 'The Training of the Child' devotes just one page to the 'Adolescent' which has become pure problem. By 1917 Stephen Paget the first M.D. to write a book on the subject turns his Oxford lecture into a moral crusade which includes his own increasing anxiety over sexual matters " ...... the male and the female have actually come together; and that is all that you need to know" (P.48). Springhall claims the teenager hit Britain in 1956 and quotes George Melly as saying that he was not sure where he first heard the phrase 'teenager'. Following the Chronology of the notion of adolescence; 'The Teenage and its training' by D.L. Ritchie (1918) is heavily influenced by G. Stanley Hall who Ritchie calls "the great master". By the 1920's with the assimilation of 'adolescent' into State educational publications (1927) the process of Social Control becomes greater. The institutionalisation of the adolescents existence in both working and free time takes place and although Springhall recognises this process there are moments of doubt in his conclusions where the effect of cultural reproductions is such that the adolescents very freedom is their allegiance to cultural hegemony.

Although it must have been tempting for Springhall to leave the adolescent hanging about in the historical safety of the early 1960's he does, however, travel near to the present, near enough to include the early 1980's with the riots. This proximity to the adolescent brings forth the greater degree of anxiety, there is as Springhall maintains no need to romanticise the actions of youth. Similarly there is danger of substituting our intellectual analytical process for a 'knee jerk' response. The expertise of the historian of youth is not furthered by this book. The subject does not lend itself to the overview formula. Ketts (1977)

'Rites of Passage' is a more ably constructed overview of American youth. Springhall does however score highly compared with Walvims (1982) 'A Childs World'. The Tory Reich seems as if it will continue for some time, the need is to delineate the process whereby adolescence was created as a control mechanism in order that this information can be used in constructing a firm resistance.

Stuart Murray

Cairine Petrie
THE NOWHERE GIRLS
Gower, 1986
ISBN 0 566 008742
£19.50 (hdbk)
pp 348

Cairine Petrie is (or rather was) a Principal Psychologist for List D schools in Scotland. The latter are institutions for the compulsory residential care of young people, and in 1980 Ms Petrie published a study of young men in these schools: 'The Nowhere Boys'. The text under review is intended to cover the female section of the List D school population, since Cairine Petrie had noticed that the situation for 'delinquent girls' was very different to that of their male peers. The bulk of the book presents information from interviews and reports on 80 young women who had been referred to one List D school over a five year period. These young women were interviewed by Ms Petrie and a male psychologist in their official capacities, a potential flaw in the research design which is acknowledged in the book.

The young men from Petrie's study of 'The Nowhere Boys' are used as a control group, and some of her most powerful points develop from comparisons between the treatment of female and male delinquency. One of Petrie's main hypotheses is that: "the placement of girls in compulsory residential institutions is not due, as in the case of boys, to outright and proven delinquency, but mainly to inadequate care from their families, (for whatever reason), their consequent lack of protection, and the anxiety of professional workers and the hearings concerning their sexual vulnerability" (p.89).

'The Nowhere Girls' begins with a comprehensive review of the academic literature on crime and delinquency, which takes a broadly favourable view of feminist work, and criticises the male focus of most studies. The remaining chapters cover the research design and the methods used; a description of the school and the geographical location of the young women's homes; two chapters on their families, and a separate chapter on the social class and employment of their parents; young women's intelligence levels and academic performance; incest and other 'disturbing data'; the follow-up and conclusions.

The book is grounded in the official definition of delinquency and the provision of care in Scotland, as outlined in the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968. The state sees the need for their "protection and welfare and their removal from moral danger, and bad associations" (p.89). Hence the focus on 'inadequate family care' in Petrie's hypotheses: "it seems that girls are committed to List D schools to protect them from the community, whereas boys, with different behaviour, are committed to protect the community from them" (p.130). Young women's offending behaviour was relatively innocuous compared to their male peers: often they had committed no offence whatsoever, but were defined as 'in moral danger'.

Since Cairine Petrie cites 'inadequate family care' as the primary reason for young women's committal to the List D school, she spends two chapters considering this aspect in detail. There is an implicit assumption that the ideal family is centred on a monogamous heterosexual married couple, both healthy and able-bodied, with a wage-earning father. All deviations from this norm

are treated as indices of disadvantage, although Petrie admits that there was also 'family stress' amongst the 'intact' families of some young women.

Cairine Petrie does emphasise that much of the 'inadequate family care' received by the young women was beyond the control of their parents, often exacerbated by poverty, overcrowding and large families. Most young people in care come from working class backgrounds, and it is no surprise to find "that highly educated, wealthy and influential families are not represented in the List D school" (p.214). When Cairine Petrie attempts to apply a traditional sociological analysis of social class to the young women's families, she encounters some real problems.

Defining social class according to the occupation of the young women's fathers or father-figures means that Petrie ends up using the occupations of dead or absent fathers, separated and divorced fathers, stepfathers, established male cohabitees, and even dead or absent mothers (where there was no father or father-figure), to identify the social class of young women's families. This traditional definition is totally male-centred, and Petrie's analysis shows up all of its inadequacies all too clearly. Yet her earlier positive comments on feminist studies of delinquency and youth rest uneasily alongside this almost unthinking acceptance of the traditional approach to the definition of social class.

Petrie seems to accept the official notion that to be working class is to be economically, socially and culturally disadvantaged. She follows the Registrar General's system in defining social class 5 as "unskilled, unemployable and convicts" (p.206). She seems strangely unaware of the implications of using the occupation of the male (or male-substitute) head of household to identify young women's social class. Petrie's information indicates that "List D girls seem less working class (ie more working class) in their family circumstances than the boys" (p.210, my insertion) according to the occupation of their fathers (or father-figures). When she analyses the occupations of mothers, the picture is not so clear. There are no stepmothers or male mother-figures: all the 'mothers' are the young women's biological mothers. Only 17 are in waged work, and Petrie is unable to allocate the full-time housewives or the alleged prostitutes to the Registrar General's list.

The book makes the point strongly that young women are often 'in moral danger' in the family itself from sexual abuse. Petrie defines incest as "the child being sexually victimised by close male relatives or family friends" (p.227). I found this section was the most harrowing to read: only two fathers had actually been convicted, and one other was in a psychiatric hospital for sexual abuse of the young women or their female relatives. The incidence of young women running away from home and/or alleging sexual abuse was far higher, and no action was taken against the man: it was the young women who were punished by committal to a List D school for their own 'protection'. This pattern is all too familiar to feminist researchers on sexual abuse. I was pleased to see that a professional psychologist, clearly sympathetic to the young women's situation, should place so much emphasis on an issue which has been hidden for so many years by researchers in a similar position.

Young women's experiences are presented in a case study format. Parts of the book make rather 'dry' reading, full of statistical analyses, tables and percentages. The difficult and painful nature of many young women's predicaments is made clear, but young women's actual voices are seldom heard. The latter are pushed into the background, since the dominant perspective is that of the professional (but sympathetic) psychologist, rather than the young women themselves. This is an unavoidable result of the research design, but it intended to reinforce the official view of young women as passive victims. There is a sense in which young working class women **are** relatively powerless, but they are not all totally passive. Incest survivors

groups have made this point by naming themselves as 'survivors' rather than 'victims'.

There was one aspect of the book which I found more disappointing, though hardly a surprise. The chapter on Incest went on to cover 'other matters of concern', which were collected as 'disturbing data' on the young women in several pages of tables. These included: pregnancy, illegitimate births, glue-sniffing, physical handicap, allergy to light, enuresis (bed-wetting), anorexia nervosa, attempted suicide, absence from school, parental pressure from lonely mothers, and self-mutilation (including tattooing). This list also included two other 'matters of concern': the wish to be a boy, and lesbianism.

Those young women who "adopted the stereotype behaviour and appearance" (and the non-status offences) of young men were seen as a cause for concern. Petrie never places this in the context of pressures on young women to look and behave in an acceptably feminine manner: to be 'nice' and pretty and to adopt the accents and appearance of white middle class girls.

Cairine Petrie was surprised to find little evidence of lesbianism in the school, unlike so many other studies of similar instutitions. She concludes that this is due to the less closed and cloistered atmosphere at 'Ross School', in that "the normal freedoms obviate the creation of lesbian culture" (p.241). So lesbianism is "not one of the **troubles** of the girls in Ross" (my emphasis), although Petrie admits that she did find evidence of lesbianism in her work in 'normal comprehensive schools'. Petrie shares the traditional and deeply contradictory view of homosexualtity as both an innate tendency **and** a product of particular social conditions, in this case a closed single-sex community. Petrie might not give lesbians electric shock aversion therapy as some psychologists have done with gay men, but she does treat lesbianism as a disturbing problem to be tolerated, but also 'solved'. Heterosexuality is accepted as normal and natural, and no mention is made of the pressures on young women (and men) to prove themselves as normal by getting a boy (or girl) friend of the opposite sex.

In general, 'The Nowhere Girls' is an important text for professional psychologists, youth workers and social workers of a more traditional persuasion. Most people with some knowledge of feminist studies and practice around young women and delinquency will find little that is new to them, although the literature review is wide-ranging. The book is excellent at illustrating the different treatment and experiences of young women and young men. It is less good at linking official concerns over young women's sexual vulnerability with sexual abuse in the family and the subordinated position of young working class women in class and gender terms. 'Race' and racism are not mentioned at all. Cairine Petrie welcomes feminist studies of youth and delinquency, and it is a pity that she did not feel able to use an explicitly feminist analysis in 'The Nowhere Girls'.

Christine Griffin

THE EDUCATION PAPERS: WOMEN'S QUEST FOR EQUALITY IN BRITAIN 1850-1912
Dale Spender (ed)
1987 Routledge and Kegan Paul
£25 h.b.

'The Education Papers' is one of the first volumes in a set of reprints from sources in the possession of the Fawcett Library, at the City of London Polytechnic. This volume spans the years 1850-1912, a period which witnessed the emergence of the organised movement for women's education. From the sixteenth century, when it had been possible for a woman to be educated without causing undue hostility, there had been a decline in the attitudes towards, and facilities for, the education of girls. In her introduction, Dale

Spender notes how, in contrast to feminists present day concerns with the type of education girls receive, the battle in the latter half of the nineteenth century was fought on a single front; those who wanted education for women and those who did not.

One of the most interesting facts to emerge from the papers is that many of the arguments supporting or refuting the need for women to be educated can still be heard today. The paper by George Romanes (1887) reminds us of the 'natural' differences between men and women; the female being always at the mercy of her emotions. The papers by Mary Carpenter (1862) and Jessie Boucherett (1862) use the idea of 'natural' differences to support the argument for women's education. They suggest that educating girls would enable them to carry out their 'natural' domestic roles more intelligently, as well as making them wiser mothers and more intelligent companions for their husbands. Although these arguments were ultimately successful in achieving girls right to be educated they also helped to set the seal on the type of education deemed suitable for women a hundred years later. As recently as 1966 the Newsom Report advocates an education for girls which places emphasis on "their most important vocational concern - marriage". However, some writers of this period were aware that in educating girls for their future roles as wives and mothers was clearly misconceived as there would inevitably be women who could not look to a man for protection and would have to support themselves. The majority of teachers in the nineteenth century were women but they received little or no training in developing professional skills. The papers by Dorothy Beale (1865) and Maria Grey (1871) note that unless women received an education emphasising intellectual development they would be ill-equipped as teachers of the next generation. Other issues debated in these papers are, the extent to which girls health would be damaged if they were educated, or received the same education as boys (Sewell, 1865; Beedy, 1873); parental attitudes towards the education of sons and daughters (Tod, 1874); and, the question of whether women should receive higher education (Cobbe, 1862; Hutchins, 1912).

A salutary reminder of the continuing struggle to ensure women's political voice is heard comes from reading the paper by Emily Shireff (1873). She calls attention to the fact that the future of women's education is dependent upon collective, voluntary work of women in attempting to bring about legislation. It was the lobbying by groups of feminists in the late 1960's and early 1970's which succeeded in bringing about the Sex Discrimination Act in 1975.

'The Education Papers' will be of value to those who are students of history or have an interest in Women's Studies. However, the extent to which such a collection provides new historical insights into the present day educational inequalities experienced by girls and women in our society is somewhat debatable.

Christine Skelton

West Midlands YTS Monitoring Unit
THE GREAT TRAINING ROBBERY CONTINUES......
TURC Publishing (7 Frederick Street, Birmingham B1 3HE)
unpriced (pbk)
pp 59

It is an unfortunate truth that, in order to give at least the appearance of dynamism, Manpower Services Commission ("MSC") programmes change rapidly, in name if not substance. This means, effectively, that any critique of a specific measure is likely to be old news by the time it moves into print and so it is with this report. Many of the criticisms made here have been independently identified by the MSC and notional steps taken to circumvent bad management practices via instruments such as Approved

Training Organisation ("ATO") status. In order for any organisation to now operate as a YTS Managing Agent, they have to fulfil very specific criteria. If they come up to scratch, they are awarded ATO status - if not, they are given provisional status and have to re-apply next year.

The report is a follow-up to NATFHE's 1984 publication "The Great Training Robbery", which investigated organisations described as "Private Training Agencies" ("PTAs") providing YTS places in the Birmingham/Solihull area. This sequel reports that nothing much has changed since the original study took place and that the "struggle" still goes on for the "right to training for social need and individual fulfilment, not private profit." It states that its conclusions "make shocking reading with examples of poor quality, racial discrimination and false promises abounding in the privatised training agencies which manage a large proportion of YTS places."

Examples of malpractice are identified within specific, named schemes, and more general points are made about the profit v. quality dilemma. However, I was not shocked to learn that one scheme had a staff/trainee ratio of 1:53. I was not horrified to learn that another scheme visited its trainees on placement only twice in one year.

Evidence of race and gender discrimination is mentioned in the introduction but a scant three sides are dedicated to these fundamental issues. We are told that 98% of hairdressing/beauty therapy trainees ae white and, in case we can't work it out, only 2% are black. We are also treated to the startling fact that 93% of these same trainees ARE WOMEN. Whilst these findings may very well demonstrate explicit examples of racial discrimination and evidence of "a large female training ghetto", they can hardly be viewed as problems associated exclusively with PTAs.

There is little, if any evidence to show that on a sliding scale of efficiency, public sector, voluntary or college-based YTS perform any better on service delivery, adequate training and supervision or equal opportunities. Given the authors' not inconsiderable discretion in ascribing the label of PTA to particular YTS providers (the term "PTA" is not found in official MSC parlance) it comes as no surprise to find that none of the agencies investigated could pass muster. "It would be unfair to argue that all PTA providers are equally inept or ill-equipped to fulfil MSC criteria....", says the report, the inference being that they are all inept, but not equally so.

The shock/horror lead-in and liberal use of Steve Bell cartoons for cover and content illustration, fixes the study within a fairly rigid perspective. The report must therefore be read with some understanding of the authors' stance. Given the report's explicit view of privatisation-bad : public provision-good, PTAs cannot, even in principle, provide quality training. These concepts are, as far as this orthodoxy is concerned, mutually exclusive - in order to maintain profit margins, all other things cannot remain equal.

The report appears simply to pay lip service to the notion of "careful research" because what it really wants and recommends is "an effective campaign - including trade unionists, the labour movement, teachers and YTS workers.....to oppose the use of PTAs on YTS." I must say that at times I felt I was reading a rather sophisticated Beano, long on immediate iimpact but somewhat shorter on critical analysis with heavy use of bold typeface and exclamation marks and an off-centre pic. of MSC H.Q. From my reading of the report, the fate of PTAs was more or less sealed on page 1. and the rest, as they say, is history. A disappointing report which ultimately alienates the 'on-side' reader by its hectoring tone and one-dimensional thrust.

Serious points have been made in this report but I remembered Steve Bell's penguins long after I had forgotten the rest.

Karen Ross

Rosemary Deem
ALL WORK AND NO PLAY? THE SOCIOLOGY OF WOMEN AND LEISURE
Open University 1986
0 355 153542
160 pages

This book fills some gaps in our knowledge about women and leisure. Rosemary Deem draws on her own and other recent research to offer a wide ranging and informative analysis of women's leisure in Britain. The book shows essentially three things. Firstly, that women's leisure is immensely varied. Leisure is treated in a broad context, covering activities ranging from competitive sport to sitting down at home, and the author lets us appreciate the wide variety of interests and pursuits from which women gain enjoyment.

Secondly, although women's leisure is varied, all women face problems and constraints which it is necessary to overcome if they are to have a leisure of their own. The point is made that whilst some of these problems are of necessity individual and idiosyncratic, many of them are traceable to patriarchal and capitalist structures and ideologies, and there is a limit to which individual women can challenge them.

Thirdly, some women are better than others at dealing with the constraints and that these women, although in a minority, experience extensive and satisfying leisure within the confines of what is socially and economically available to them. A contrast is made between this minority and those women whose leisure experiences are limited and fragmented to such an extent that they do not really have any significant leisure separable from the rest of their lives.

The book begins with an introductory chapter which looks at some of the preliminary questions that need to be raised in any discussion on women's leisure. I found this chapter both interesting and useful although rather abstract and theoretical.

Chapter 2 concentrates on a single piece of research done by the author in the early 1980s on 497 women living in Milton Keynes and was designed to look at women's leisure in a community context. The project involved two distinct stages; Study A on an 'a typical' group of women - those with leisure outside the home; and Study B on a random sample of women from five different areas of Milton Keynes. The main findings which emerged were that, although both groups faced constraints with regard to their leisure, the two groups differed significantly in terms of socio-economic background, age, activities undertaken, the extent to which 'selfish' leisure is seen as legitimate and the ease or difficulty with which constraints are met or overcome. I found this chapter useful in that it sketched out the issues which were to be the substance of the rest of the book. I also agree with Deem's comment that this chapter conveys some of the 'flavour' of researching women's leisure in a particular area.

Chapters 3 to 5 expand on some of these issues and concentrate on the kinds of leisure and some of the constraints which operate to restrict the range of experiences and time available to women. The author shows that whilst factors such as class, age, income level, employment, sexual orientation, household composition, life style and ethnicity influence what's possible, **all** women face constraints - of both a material and ideological nature. There is the question of what is available in terms of publicly financed and commercially provided facilities, but more importantly, there is the question of men's and societies' expectations as to the kinds of activities and locations which are 'female appropriate'. It is emphasised that, both within and outside the home, it is male patriarchal control which exerts the greatest constraint on women's leisure.

Although the emphasis is on constraints, Deem does make the point that women gain real enjoyment from their leisure, especially that

carried on outside the home. Women get the companionship of other women, the possibility of learning new knowledge and skills, and the development of confidence, relaxation and pleasure. Chapter 6 looks at some of the inter connections between employment (or its absence) and women's leisure, whilst chapter 7 makes the point that leisure is not necessarily influenced by the same factors throughout adult life. The book concludes with a chapter entitled 'Towards More Play and Less Work' which summarises the main points of the book and looks at the kind of changes necessary if women's leisure is to be improved. The changes suggested are 'creating an environment for women's leisure'; 'leisure for women'; and 'changing women's social position'.

This book presents an informative and useful account of women's leisure in Britain. However I found it dull to read, the only parts I really enjoyed being the women's own accounts of their leisure and work, which were alive and real. If I am to explain why I found the book dull, I must return to chapter 2 (the research chapter). To my mind the organisation of this research is such that it addresses issues which are seen as 'relevant' (ie academic) to the current concerns of the study of women's leisure, namely constraints and how to overcome them. I would argue that these issues do not necessarily represent a true or realistic picture of women's leisure from the point of view of women's reality. We get an account written from theoretical concerns-not the concerns of the women studied.

That is why I found the book dull - because it doesn't tell me anything new or exciting about women and leisure, it only repeats and expands on what's gone before. The problem is that the research in question merely sets out to 'prove' what is already known to be true in terms of the knowledge existing about women and leisure.

However, having said that, it may be that I am asking too much of the book. Overall it does its job well in the sense that it fills some gaps in the knowledge about women and leisure and it presents a scholarly analysis of the current situation.

Anne Thompson

A. Gaines & N. Turner
STUDENT LOANS: THE COSTS AND CONSEQUENCES
NUS 461 Holloway Road, London N7 6LZ
ISBN 0 947908 013
pp 89

Once again the Tory Government is putting student loans back on the political agenda with its current view of financial support for students in higher education. Providing loans for students holds both political and ideological attractions to the Tories. Their main problem has been how to construct a scheme which meets Treasury objections and the requirements of the banks.

In December 1984 the last time student loans were being discussed by the government, NUS commissioned research because they felt that there was 'a lack of comprehensive and up-to-date information available' about the effect of student loans. The Report of this research, having examined in experience Denmark, Sweden, USA and Canada (countries chosen for their different mixtures of loans and grants) comes to a number of significant conclusions:

* successful schemes are expensive: they have high initial costs and require a high level of subsidy to reduce defaults;

* with greater levels of unemployment the lack of vacation employment opportunities create greater financial burdens on current students and affect the ability of graduates to repay loans;

* loans increase the length of time students take to complete courses, because students take time out to work and therefore reduce their potential debts;

* student intake and study patterns are distorted in favour of subjects leading to well-paid jobs and away from those disciplines which require a long period of study;

* participation rates may be affected because of 'negative attitudes to loans by sections of society that do not traditionally borrow' and because of difficulties created for mature students whose future working life may not be long enough to repay a large loan.

Opposition to student loans can take two forms. An opposition based on principle; financial aid for those in further and higher education should consist of the universal provision of maintenance recognising society's benefits from individual's participation in education. An opposition based on practice argues that loans are expensive and don't achieve their purpose. The report is an amalgam of the two. It fails to provide convincing empirical evidence for a practical opposition to loans while avoiding spelling out the argument for an opposition in principle. In part, this is because of the obvious impracticality of NUS engaging in primary empirical research - rather they rely on secondary data and discussions with a small number of individuals in the four countries. For these reasons some interesting questions are left unanswerable and some causal relationships are claimed which leave room for doubt.

The four countries have a different mix of five elements of student support:
- grants
- government loans
- commercial loans
- government guaranteed loans
- work study schemes

Comparison of these elements in a systemmatic fashion is difficult. There are a range of variables to take into account; the nature of a degree, the cost of living, future graduate expected earnings, the operation of the banking system, the structure and administration of higher education.

What the NUS report does provide is a clear account of the systems of student support in four different countries. As well as this being useful and informative, it also provides some contrasts. For instance in the USA there are three major sorts of programmes:
- The Pell Grants Programme set up in 1972 means tested grants based on a complex calculation;
- Guaranteed Student Loan Programme, which was set up in 1965 and is the largest loan programme, is administered on an individual level by the lender (bank, credit union or credit association). Loans are approved by a 'guarantee agency' in turn guaranteed by the Federal Government; College Work Study Programme, a campus-based programme providing part-time work for students during term time.

These aren't the only programmes in the States. The Federal Government promotes some, individual states others. If the system in the UK with different grant giving bodies depending upon subject area, different regulations for students from England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland and complex conditions affecting students according to residency, age, sex and other factors seem difficult to follow, then that in the States as it effects individual students is extremely convoluted.

Meanwhile, in the U.S.A. the loan system itself is undergoing changes. In 1984, 3.4 million loans were made averaging $2,314 per student. The total amount loaned was $7,900 million. Federal funding is proposed to be reduced by means testing and through introducing a self-help requirement on loans.

Any proposal from the Thatcher Government which effects young people must be examined carefully. On their past performance, their policies have two central aims:
- To create and maintain new forms of

dependency, for example the Fowler changes to social security;
– To develop new forms of control over young people, for example through emphasising discipline.

The Tories approach to financial support for students operates within three broad parameters:
– increasing personal dependency in line with their overall social project.
– reducing public expenditure;
– accomodating political opposition from middle class students and their parents.

Introducing loans creates problems for public expenditure. It seems likely the initial costs will be high at a time when the government wants to maximise revenue savings to allow for tax cuts. It is also likely to be resisted by many students.

For those opposing the Thatcher Government, financial support for students in higher education is also politically important. But it engages a number of disparate threads. There are issues about equitable and effective support for people in vocational training or higher education. There are other issues about levels of support for those who are not in the labour market whether they are students or not. Again there are issues about support for carers. It is difficult to focus solely on providing a means of support for students as a group, without examining more general issues of income maintenance.

Angus Erskine

Paul Willis & Youth Review Team
THE SOCIAL CONDITION OF YOUNG PEOPLE IN WOLVERHAMPTON IN 1984
pp 226
£20.00 pbk
Wolverhampton Borough Council
1985
Wolverhampton Information Centre, Queen's Arcade, Mander Centre, Wolverhampton.

In 1983 the Wolverhampton Borough Council appointed a research team to survey the social condition of young people in the city and to make some youth policy recommendations. This was an important political initiative by the Labour group and the resulting collaborative report provides an interesting blend of national concern about youth unemployment and of decisions about how the local authority should respond to the problem and develop a city centre site at St. George's. Indeed, readers who know the history and the local politics of the area well will perhaps be far more critical of the report that this reviewer. The Youth Review team has provided an important analysis of youth

work and it is therefore surprising that **Youth and Policy** have waited so long to review it.

The Youth Review Team was led by Paul Willis and David Cliffe and in 1984 employed three full-time workers with a total budget of £30,000 to complete the project. Its brief was to provide -
(i) a detailed picture of the various life styles and needs of groups, especially in relation to unemployment.
(ii) a critical review of local authority services which affect young people's lives.
(iii) a coherent and honest recognition of the social and economic position of young people, with an exploration of future policy options.

In the chapters that follow the report examines the local configurations of policies and circumstances which have led to 1 in 3 of Wolverhampton's 25,000 unemployed being under 25 years of age. With deindustrialisation continuing apace in West Midlands manufacturing, the position of Wolverhampton is exacerbated by its particular demographic profile, as a large cohort of young people, predominantly unskilled working class, attempt to find employment in local industries that are fast disappearing. The statistical picture of living standards, employment and educational outcomes for young people is nothing but depressing. Yet, this stark local collective experience of unemployment is fractured by class, race, gender and locality, with the authors stressing the differential impact upon the individuals themselves and (a neglected area of research) upon the economic prospects of their parents.

The bulk of data collected by the Youth Review Team was by means of a 1% sample survey of young people, resulting in a sample size of 253 which often meant much smaller subsamples when comparisons were made between long and short term unemployed and which inhibited a powerful detailed empirical exploration of the differential impact of class, race and gender. The questions explored reflected more conventional 'leisure studies' research and 'activity rates' were constructed to document how young people spent their free time - visits to the town centre, courtships patterns, recreational activities and so on. The results of the survey pointed to striking similarities in terms of subcultural membership, beliefs, values and attitudes amongst the unemployed and the employed. Political activists of both right and left who may have hoped for a simple one to one relationship between the material condition of unemployment and cultural responses will be disappointed by the research. Nor should one realistically have expected such a mechanistic reading of social life, given the previous theoretical sophistication of Willis' own work in the 1970's on white working class youth and subcultures. Indeed, academics will pick over the theoretical and methodological carcass of the document to point up the similarities and differences between Willis' previous work and this report.

The Youth Review Team found unemployment to be a collective condition of suspended animation between school and work. The unemployed lacked a sense of their own future, symbolised by the suspension of plans for marriage and family. With the wages of the young dropping in proportion to adult wages, the potential for consumption is further curtailed, particularly in relation to home ownership. Because of the age structure of black youth and their concentration in industries suffering recession and discrimination in the job market, on YTS and in mainstream education, their rates of unemployment tend to be twice that of whites. Unemployment draws girls further into the domestic burden of housework and childcare, as the youth service provision is deemed no longer appropriate and city centre visits are avoided because of fears of male violence.

The second half of the report examines the generic services affecting youth - Social Services, Technical and Environmental Services, Housing as well as agencies which have a particular focus on youth such as the Police, Intermediate Treatment, Careers and last but not least the Youth Service. the Youth Review policy solution is the creation of a Principal Officer and Policy Coordinator who will report directly to the Policy and Resources Committee. He or she would be responsible for the Youth Affairs Unit and ensuring that all local authority departments had a stated policy on youth. The rationale of the many policy recommendations is to change the institutions of the local state which has been drawn into the youth crisis and to make collective democratic provision to mediate the broken transitions from school to work. The authors are well aware of the enormity of the task ahead but demand an advocacy role from professionals to treat the unemployed not as the problem (and hence 'blaming the victims') but as the material for potential solutions.

The research and the policy solutions have been and will be subject to many criticisms but it does represent an important initiative in both local politics and policy research. It is easy to quibble about the individual policy recommendations but the crucial point is that Willis is asking the right sort of questions about youth and youth policy and encouraging others to do so.

Peter Bramham

analysis

law

YOUNG MOTHERS

The law column in this issue looks at the way the law intervenes in the life of a young unmarried woman who becomes pregnant. The information in each section is not comprehensive and we have not sought to provide a critical analysis. What we have aimed to provide is an 'at a glance' guide to restrictions imposed and rights granted at each stage of the 'story'.

Sexual Relationships

In practice prosecutions seldom result from consenting heterosexual relationships between young people of roughly the same age. However the law does exist and therefore could be (and occasionally is) used. The basic rules are as follows:-

1) Young women cannot face criminal charges for having heterosexual sex. (there are technical exceptions to this)
2) Lesbian relationships are not recognised by the law therefore homosexual sex between women is not illegal (it is obviously very different from men where the age of consent is still 21)
3) Men and boys can face criminal charges for having sex with consenting girls. These are:-

a) Unlawful Sexual Intercourse[1] - any male over 14 can be charged with this for having sex with a young woman under 16.
b) A boy under 14 can't be charged with unlawful sexual intercourse but can with indecent assault (which is unlikely) even if the young women consented.
c) If the young woman is over 13 it is a defence for a man under 24 (who hasn't been convicted of the offence before) to prove that he had reason to believe she was 16 or over.
d) It is a more serious offence if the girl is under 13 and it is no defence that the man believed the girl was older.

It is possible for a young woman to be taken into care by the Local Authority on grounds that she is in 'moral danger' because she is having sexual relationship(s). This can happen even after she is 16 but would only be likely if combined with other circumstances.

Contraception

Since the Gillick ruling[2] in the House of Lords (see Youth & Policy issue 15 for a full discussion) it was re-established that a young woman under 16 but over 13 can get advice about contraception from a Doctor or Family Planning Clinic without her parents' permission and without the Doctor informing her parents.

The Law Lords in their judgement however felt there should be some restrictions on the giving of such advice.

Basically the young woman should have sufficient understanding and intelligence to know what the treatment and advice involved are and the Doctor should only give advice to under 16 year olds in exceptional circumstances and provided s/he is satisfied of five points. These are:-
i) The young woman should understand the advice.
ii) The doctor could not persuade her to inform her parents or to allow her/him to inform her parents.
iii) She was very likely to have sexual intercourse with or without contraceptive treatment.
iv) Unless she received such advice or treatment, her physical or mental health or both were likely to suffer.
v) Her best interests required such advice or treatment or both to be given without parental consent.

This therefore leaves a lot of discretion in the hands of the doctor and if in doubt a young woman under 16 may be best advised to go to a Family Planning Clinic rather than her G.P.

A young woman over 16 can decide for himself whether she wishes to tell her parents that she has received contraception advice and/or treatment.

Abortion

Since the 1967 Abortion Act abortion is legal up to 28 weeks (although the majority are carried out in the first 12 weeks) and a woman can have an abortion provided two doctors consent. They must sign a written statement saying that:-

a) continuing the pregnancy would involve risk to the woman's life or to the physical or mental health to her or her existing children, and that this risk would be greater than the risk involved in ending the pregnancy; or
b) that there is a substantial risk that if the child were born it would suffer a serious mental or physical handicap.

About half abortions are on the National Health and the rest are at private clinics which are normally non-profit making charities. Whether or not a National Health abortion is available still depends very much on the attitude of the local Doctors, which varies enormously.

Since the 1967 Act was introduced there have been consistent attempts to change the law through private members Bills. The latest male M.P. to try is David Alton.
Organisations such as Family Planning Clinics and the British Pregnancy Advisory Service can give advice on abortion. If considering an abortion, young women should be careful not to consult anti-abortion organisations who advertise apparantly unbiased counselling services.

A young woman under 16 can normally get a National Health abortion although the Doctor may insist on consulting her parents. The full impact of the 'Gillick' case (cf ante) in this area has not yet been established.

The young woman's sexual partner has no right to prevent her obtaining an abortion.

Adoption[3]

The young woman may wish to go ahead with the pregnancy and then allow the child to be adopted.
It is important for her to realize that once the child is adopted she will lose all her rights as its mother and all contact with the child. If she has decided on this course of action she should contact her local Social Services Department who will arrange the adoption themselves or refer her to an appropriate agency.

Where the parents of the child are not married the father's consent to adoption is not required unless he has a Custody Order (cf post)

'Within the Family

It may be that the young women's family wish to keep the child themselves. (e.g. her mother may wish to bring up the child). 'Custodainship' which became available in this situation in 1986 (although it is contained in The Children's Act 1975) is normally appropriate in this situation. The potential custodian should consult a solicitor and Legal Aid will be available (subject to financial eligibility)

Financial Support

Welfare Benefits[4]

Maternity Needs Payment
The old maternity grant (which was a non-means tested benefit) and single payments for baby items for those on Supplementary Benefit (SB) were abolished as from 6th April 1987.

Now a flat rate grant of £80 can be available where certain conditions are satisfied. These are:-
1) The young woman or her cohabitee must be getting Family Income Supplement (FIS cf post) or Supplementary Benefit or weekly urgent needs payments.
2) The claim must be made no more than 11 weeks before the week in which the baby is due and no more than 3 months after the date of birth (or the date of adoption if the baby is adopted)

If the mother is under 16, her parents or the adults with whom she lives can claim, provided they are getting FIS or SB.

The new grant is much less than the old single payment scheme and it may be possible (where the young woman is on SB) to get further help under the single payment fallback powers.

Child and One Parent Benefit
A young woman under 16 cannot claim SB. She will however be able to claim Child Benefit (which is now £7.25 per week) and one parent Benefit (currently £4.70 per week)
Supplementary Benefit
If she is over 16 she will be able to claim SB unless she is still at school or has just left in which case she cannot claim until the baby is born or until the end of the school holidays after she leaves - whichever is first.
Health Benefits
She will also be entitled to free prescriptions, free dental treatment and may be eligible for free milk, vitamins and fares to ante-natal clinics.
Family Income Supplement
If she is working full-time on a low wage she will be able to claim FIS.
Housing Benefit
If she pays rent and/or rates she may be entitled to Housing Benefit which should be claimed from the Local Authority. If she is on SB and living in rented accommodation she will qualify for certified Housing Benefit which will cover all her rent and rates.
Maintenance
If a woman gets maintenance for the child from the father this will be counted as income for the purposes of means tested benefits. She does not have to apply to the court for maintenance. If the DHSS want to pursue the matter they can take the father to court themselves. If they do so they may ask the woman personal questions about her relationship with the baby's father. If she refuses to give this information, her benefit cannot be affected.

If she wants to apply for maintenance for the child she can do so whether or not she is married. Legal Aid will be available subject to financial eligibility.

If the father denies it is his child it will be necessary first to apply in the Magistrates Court for an 'Affiliation Order'. This can be done whilst pregnant or within three years of the birth. She will have to prove that he is the father (e.g. by using blood tests and proof of cohabitation). If this is proved he then may be ordered to make regular payments or a lump sum. Even if the father has very little money it may be worth getting a nominal order (e.g. for 1p per year) so that if he starts earning more (perhaps after the 3 year period had passed) the woman can go back to Court to get the amount increased.

The Father's Rights

The Family Law Reform Act[5] which makes considerable changes to the rights of children whose parents are not married and to the fathers' rights was passed by Parliament earlier this year.

The changes contained in part 1 of the Act (which relates to the child's rights to inheritance/property etc.) will be brought into force sometime in early 1988. However (because they will require money to implement) the Government have stated that the provisions contained in Part 11 which relate to affiliation proceedings, maintenance and custody will only be brought into force when resources allow. So the old law still stands.

The unmarried father starts off with no rights over the child whether the birth was the result of a "one night stand" or the planned child of a cohabiting couple.

He can apply for custody or access under the Guardianship of Minors Act 1971 in the Magistrates, County or High Court (normally the Magistrates Court) and if paternity is in dispute there must first be a finding of paternity. An order cannot be made giving joint parental rights. It would be unusual for custody to be granted to the father but access will normally be granted unless for example he has a history of violence against children or has made no attempt to see the child for some time. The welfare of the child is considered to be the most important issue when the Court makes it's decision on custody or access.

Education

Under the Education Act 1944 Local Education Authorities have a duty to provide suitable full-time education for anyone until they are 19. This does not stop because of pregnancy. Unless the young woman has to stay off school for medical reasons there is no reason why she should be told to stay off school. Some Local Authorities provide a home tutor and some have special units.

References & Notes

1. Sexual Offences Act 1956
2. TLR 18.10.85 H.L.
   See also "Childright" Nov/Dec 1985 issue No. 22 & Youth & Policy Law Column issue No 15 Winter 1985/86
3. Adoption Acts 1958 & 1968.
4. See CPAG 'National Welfare Benefits Handbook' 17th ed. Lakhani & Read & 'Rights guide to non means-tested Social Security Benefits' - 10th ed. Luba & Rowland.
5. See Legal Action Bulletin - May '86 p62.

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years on. Whatever happens, it would seem that the future of tertiary colleges is assured even if in a somewhat modified form. This has happened to comprehensive schools in the past twenty years and indeed to community colleges in the US and can already be seen to be happening in tertiaries even though they are comparatively new institutions of learning.

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3. Cotterell, A.B. (1981) 'Adult and Continuing Education: Life-long learning' Chapter 7 in **Tertiary: A Radical Approach to Post-Compulsory Education**. Stanley Thornes.
4. Dean, J. et.al. (1979) **The Sixth Form and Its Alternatives** NFER.
5. Heley, E.W. (1981) 'The 16-19 Curriculum'. Chapter 4 in **Tertiary: A Radical Approach to Post-Compulsory Education**.
6. Herbert, J. 'Are State Schools Really Free?' **The News and Weekly Argus**, January 15, 1987.
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Employment and Training Initiatives
1.24 pm
Mr. Lewis Stevens (Nuneaton): I beg to move,

That this House notes the wide range of education and training initiatives providing opportunities for employed and unemployed people to obtain and enhance skills; welcomes the greater publicity given to the schemes by television advertising; notes that now all 16 year old school leavers are able to have two years training and that 460,000 places are on offer; recognises the importance of the review of vocational qualifications and the extension of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative programme; further notes that adult training measures have been increased to assist over 250,000 people; acknowledge the need for continuing education and training in industry and business; notes the proposed increase to 100,000 places per year on the Enterprise Allowance Scheme due to the demand brought about by its success; and recognises the important part played by Local Enterprise Agencies and other schemes in helping small businesses.

Parliament has been aware of employment and training initiatives for some time but it has tended to overlook them in general debates. The Government have put in place a wide range of measures to help the unemployed and people in employment who want to enhance their skills or obtain new ones. Such measures are among the most important factors in industrial and business life today.

By tradition, we are not as aware or as forceful about training in industry as some of our continental competitors. Even between the two world wars, our training provision was significantly smaller than that of Germany, which trained to a far higher level and on a broader basis. We had apprenticeship schemes and various other provisions, but we still had a restricted system which did not recognise the importance of training for the future.

Schemes that are run by the Department of Employment or which are run in association with it are being advertised in the press and other media. I welcome that. People are affected by advertising on television more than by any other source, and the people whom we are trying to communicate with concerning the availability of schemes are sometimes at home, depressed and watching television. Television advertising is therefore a successful method of getting the message over.

I have been impressed by the advertising of the youth training scheme, which shows people what opportunities are available to them and encourages them to explore what it offers. We want to communicate with people who have had difficulty in the past. The restart programme, which incorporates an interview procedure and counselling, has shown that, although several schemes have been in place for some years, people have not taken them up, perhaps because of lack of knowledge, lack of advertising or lack of communication in jobcentres.

The extra advertising has been shown to be helpful with the restart programme as it has got over to people the fact that their needs are recognised. That is extremely important in any training programme. The idea within the restart programme is the knowledge that many people go along with the same job or the same type of job that they did before. It is understandable that people who have worked in a trade or industry for some 20 years–I recognise that some industries may end completely–will, if they are looking for another job, seek one to which their skills will contribute directly. It is harder for them to look for something entirely different–to move from the manufacturing industry into a service job. Such people may have thought that they could never do a job that involved being in direct contact with the public. It is very difficult for such people to recognise that there are opportunities for them to undertake such work.

Having said that, there are the contradictions of skilled people in the engineering industry who were made redundant during the 1970s–perhaps they were skilled grinders – who did not look for another job in the industry but rather looked for a job as a milkman or something of that nature. Often they have been satisfied and happy in the new environment that they have chosen. However, most people are reluctant to retrain, or unaware that they can be retrained. Such retraining is not necessarily for unskilled or semi-skilled work, but there are skilled jobs that require a considerable amount of training.

One of the biggest advantages of the restart scheme is that it opens the eyes of people. The counselling and understanding of the interviewers will help such people to try to find out their aptitudes, which they may have been waiting to use. In the past, very often industry has not looked at the aptitudes of people and what they may have to offer. Those companies which have been facing redundancies and have carried out some redeployment that involved considering the aptitudes of particular individuals have been successful. People have been taken from clerical work and put into something different, or vice versa.

This attempt to consider the aptitude and willingness of people to relearn, at all levels, is of great value. The restart scheme is successful in helping poeople to go out and retrain, to take the opportunities or at least, to consider those opportunities available to them. All this has been done within the general umbrella of the Government's measures and it is welcomed.

With regard to YTS, television advertising has been particularly successful. The first scheme came in for a great deal of criticism and perhaps it was not run in the same way as the present one. There have been a number of satisfactory developments. The young people I have spoken to who have been on YTS have welcomed the opportunity it offers. They consider that YTS has made a worthwhile contribution to their lives.

It is also important that, in a great many cases, YTS has enabled young people to acquire qualifications that they thought were impossible to achieve. The young people may have left school with modest or no qualifications, but under YTS, they are willing to take opportunities to qualify or to start qualifying for a particular trade. Something like a quarter of the people coming off YTS have some new qualification.

I welcome the Government's extension of the scheme to two years. There were many criticisms from people on the previous scheme that, just when they had got to grips with the work, they were having to leave and get a job. The extension was welcomed by both sides of the House and I think that that is a much more satisfactory basis on which young people can learn and be introduced into the work situation.

Whatever happens with the YTS, there will always be some individual criticisms, but I am encouraged by the fact that although there were many criticisms when the scheme started, the problems have diminished and the monitoring and control of schemes and agencies seem to be much more successful, which gives us hope that those coming out of the scheme will have a sound background for work.

Considerable progress has been made in the review of vocational qualifications. We have a proliferation of qualifications and bits of paper that people can pick up. I do not demean all qualifications, but they are not readily understood or comparable, particularly by small employers.

The review of vocational qualifications up to higher national certificate level–the HNC is no mean standard to achieve – will produce a rationalisation and understanding of qualifications and that will encourage young people to look at the worth of courses when seeking qualifications that will help them when they look for jobs.

Not only individuals will gain; industry and business will gain enormously when people obtain qualifications on schemes. We need a sufficient number of well-trained and qualified people if our businesses are to prosper. It has not been uncommon for us, especially in the past 25 years, to have a shortage of skills in some areas. Companies have often not developed and the lack of skills has made us comparatively inefficient in our use of labour.

As training becomes available, companies will have a better source for the skills that they need. The issue is wider than the employment and training initiatives, because we have a long way to go in developing our education systems to give us what the country needs. The system has been too fragmented and too ad hoc. A rationalisation towards a more understandable

system will be helpful.

The technical and vocational education initiative is being expanded and it is hoped that about 100,000 school leavers will be helped next year, at a cost of about £250 million. That is good, because it brings in the relationship between industry, the education system and the Manpower Services Commission. Through collaboration, many schemes are becoming more realistic and more in tune with the needs of an area.

In my own area, at the north Warwickshire college, the collaboration between the MSC and business has been successful. Any initial reluctance to see the MSC and employers directly involved was overcome without much trouble. There is a genuine willingness to have co-operation and involvement in these ongoing schemes. I refer to people of all ages, not just those who are leaving school or those still at school. Older people are embarking on other schemes involving open learning and the Open Tech, which provides an excellent opportunity for the development, extension and acquisition of skills.

I was impressed by the way in which the Open Tech system allows people to work at their own speed and ability. Many of us became used to set courses at technical colleges. Now, 50,000 people will take Open Tech courses. That is an important contribution to the development of skills.

The Government's proposed adult training measures are significant. They range from local training grants, job training schemes, training for enterprise, the Open Tech, and so on. About 250,000 people will take advantage of those schemes at a total cost of around £270,000. That is a major contribution towards helping industry and the unemployed. Many people taking part in the adult learning schemes will be unemployed. At that cost and with such a large number of people, it is a significant contribution. The training and employment initiatives are worthwhile. A number of people are engaged in community programmes and the Government are making a further 250,000 places available.

The criticism that they are not real jobs or that they do not help does not alter the fact that schemes help people to learn new skills and encourage people back to industry. As well as restart, there are other programmes, such as the community programme.

Another successful course that I am glad to see the Government recognise every few months by extending it is the enterprise allowance scheme. That scheme is expected to increase to 100,000 places a year. It has provided an opportunity for people to have a go at something. Those who have faced a bleak outlook will no longer be penalised. This scheme is successful and is attractive to people who have been absent from industry through redundancy. They know that they have some help. One hundred thousand places are available, and that shows the success of the scheme. So far, 190,000 people have taken advantage of the scheme. All hon. Members would welcome those who are enterprising. It makes the forceful point that we are creating new businesses, small though they may be. About 90-odd jobs for every 100 firms will be offered. That is one of the most successful and attractive schemes and every bit of advertising helps to promote it.

Local enterprise agencies have helped in setting up many small businesses and they have been very successful, although I am sure that their success varies from area to area. The Warwickshire enterprise agency has given enormous help to those starting on enterprise allowances and to those who already own small businesses. The Department of Employment has recognised the many difficulties faced by small businesses, which benefit from being able to turn easily to enterprise agencies for assistance in continuing and expanding. In some cases, those agencies have enabled people to start small businesses.

There are more than 300 local enterprise agencies, and I am sure that the numbers will increase. Their work fills a gap. The Government provide £2.5 million to the enterprise agencies, but it is important also that such agencies are privately based. They give invaluable advice to business men. The Government have set up other schemes to help small firms. It helps small firms to know that they can obtain impartial advice, some of which is free.

Small businesses still have some problems. Some large companies do not pay their bills quickly, which creates tremendous cash flow problems for small companies. A small company's very survival may be determined by how quickly large companies pay. I am sure that my hon. Friend the Under-Secretary of State is more than aware of this problem, which has been drawn to his attention many times. There must be careful consideration to determine what pressure will make large companies recognise the needs of small business people.

The Government's measures to build businesses, not barriers, are important. Many small businesses face financial problems, not just because they are unsuccessful but because of the reaction of the banks and other financial institutions. Manufacturing businesses have fairly large investments in relation to their size, so there may be difficulties in paying for supplies. The set-up is much more complex that it is for retail businesses. Many are at times threatened by the financial world's lack of understanding of their needs.

The Department of Employment and the Department of Education and Science have been involved in important training facilities to alleviate unemployment and to enable people to look forward to new or better jobs. Even if people are involved in industry and commerce, a problem remains.

The Engineering Council in its document "A Call to Action" mentioned the problem of continued education and training. That is important and needs to be considered by industry and commerce. Even professional people in industry and commerce need to update their knowledge, awareness and skills. The Engineering Council has suggested continual education and training of engineers, whether qualified, chartered or technical. Many people in industry and commerce retain and attend courses to update their knowledge, but it is logical and important for most professions to produce a structured way of doing that. I certainly support the view and I know that the Department of Education and Science has been sympathetic and given universities some help with that.

Training does not end after initial training or after a job is found. It is continuous. All hon. Members know that it is important to retrain people who leave one job and go to another and we must recognise that training thereafter is equally important. A range of schemes is available through the Department of Employment, which provide opportunities and have a significant contribution to make to employment. They will give us a better trained work force in future. It is important that that information is conveyed in the most suitable ways to those who can take advantage of it. Television advertising and the restart programme have contributed.

We have the technology and the schemes to give people a better opportunity to return to work and to enhance their skills in work. Now is the time to use them.

1.51 pm
Mr. Alan Williams (Swansea, West): First, there can be no question but that we in the Labour party welcome training and retraining schemes when they are proper schemes. One could hardly do otherwise considering that we have the highest level of unemployment anywhere in the industrial world and one of the highest levels of long-term unemployment in the industrial world. Indeed, the Department of Employment is getting itself a rather shady reputation. The notice outside its door states:

"Department of Employment: official Government massage parlour."

For the Department, any method of massage for employment statistics is considered. The notice continues:

"Eighteen methods currently in use. Reducing is our speciality."

If only the Government showed the same dedication to, obsession with and imagination for, dealing with the problems of employment that they show in dealing with the employment statistics, they might have a record of which they could speak with pride.

We are discussing training and retraining against the background of the worst trained work force in the developed world. That is astonishing considering that we used to be the workshop of the world and considering that we are told that the future

of our economy must lie in high value added and new industries. How can it when there are not the people to man those industries?

In January, the Financial Times carried the headline, "MSC warns of growing skills shortage".

The article stated

"British industry faces continuing and in cases increasing shortages of skilled workers across a widening range of jobs, says a report by the Manpower Services Commisssion."

That is the view of the MSC, the Government's own quango. The article continued:

It says various indicators point to skill shortages not only in the new advanced technology areas of engineering and electronics but in service sectors on which the Government's hopes of economic growth are pinned.

In new technology areas such as electronics and software, research indicates growing shortages at all levels of the engineering industry–craftsmen, technicians, professional engineers and computer specialists."

We are preparing ourselves for the economy of the future and the markets of the future with diminishing skill levels and the replacement of previous schemes with new schemes which are largely synthetic and cosmetic in aim. It is hardly surprising that at both skill level and graduate level we trail behind virtually all our competitors.

A remarkable feature of British industry is the idea that training is someone else's job. Business men turn up at meetings to bleat about the schools, the universities and the technical colleges, but they do nothing themselves. They do not put their money where their complaints are. In this country, industry spends 0.15 per cent. of turnover on training – about one sixth of 1 per cent. The Germans spend 3 per cent., so it is hardly surprising that their products tend to win in the market and that their efficiency is greater than ours. Productivity is not just a function of the work force. It is a function of the quality of the work force, the quality of investment and the quality of management. The best workmen in the world cannot match productivity if they do not have the equipment or if the firm is not adequately organised.

Before anyone comes out with the nonsensical argument that people in this country are incapable of matching productivity levels, let him talk to Japanese, American and German firms using their managerial techniques with a British labour force and obtaining productivity levels as good as those anywhere in the world. Yet according to the National Institute of Economic and Social Research productivity in West Germany is now 60 per cent. higher than in this country.

As I have said, productivity involves a combination of elements. I have quoted the view of the MSC that there is a desperate and galloping shortage over the whole spectrum of skills, especially in the new technologies. How much investment is being made in those areas? Are we making up for the skill deficiencies in the engineering of our products? Are we putting in equipment to provide the inbuilt engineered skill that the work force does not possess? The answer is no. Only today there are newspaper reports on this. I quote from a press notice from the Department of Trade and Industry, so the Government cannot question its authenticity. We are told that:

"Total investment by manufacturers . . . is expected to rise around 2 per cent. in 1987 compared with 1986."

That is wonderful. At that rate of matching resource to need–if the Government can sustain that marvellous increase in manufacturing investment–we shall only have to wait until 1995 to get back to the level of investment in 1979. They are making progress! The Opposition cannot be blamed, however, for being rather dubious even about the claim of 2 per cent. growth from next year, which is what the Government envisage. During Trade and Industry and questions to the Prime Minister during the year, the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry and the Prime Minister have said, "We are on our way." We have been told that investment is on the upturn. The right hon. Gentleman and the right hon. Lady have said, "Investment is growing and our predictions are being fulfilled." It must be noted, however, that the press release from the Department of Trade and Industry to which I have already referred shows that after a year of "marvellous" progress as a result of "highly successful" Government policies, investment will be £150 million less than a year ago. It seems that that will happen despite all that we have heard said from the Government Dispatch Box. Even if the increase is achieved next year that the Government are claiming, we shall return to the pathetic level of performance that the Government achieved a year ago.

British industry must shudder when it sees what is happening elsewhere. There is a shortage of manpower skills across the board. If we are lucky and if the Government can sustain the rate of growth in investment, we shall return to the level of 1979 only by 1995. How proud the Government must be of their success and achievements.

Industry seems to show no more sense of urgency than the Government. A recent report in the Financial Times showed that 56 per cent. of the companies surveyed had no formal training scheme. The investment figures suggest that companies do not have formal investment plans either. If the three components are a trained and skilled work force, adequate investment and good quality management, what can be said about the quality of our management when we are faced with an across-the-board shortage of skills because it will not train, and a lack of capital equipment to match that which is provided by our competitors because British industry will not invest because it has no confidence in the Government's policies and progess?

Various schemes are coming forward, some of which are interesting and some positively fascinating. Preliminary results in the nine pilot areas where the restart scheme is being operated show that only 1 per cent. of restart interviewees were placed in proper full-time jobs after leaving the scheme.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Employment (Mr. David Trippier): No.

Mr. Williams: I shall be glad to hear why that is wrong when the Minister replies. I shall be delighted if he can provide some information that is not as dubious as the unemployment statistics. I suggest that he sends a message along the Government Front Bench to the Box as to ask whether the figures that he is to give when replying to the debate will have been massaged 18 times between leaving the Box and his receipt of them, bearing in mind that the unemployment figures have been massaged 18 times by the Government.

The hon. Member for Nuneaton (Mr. Stevens) used the term "real jobs". I can recollect the indignation that the Prime Minister displayed during Prime Minister's Question Time when she was told about the need for public expenditure. That was put to her by the CBI, the TUC and the Opposition. The right hon. Lady did not want to know and said, "We want real jobs". She argued that jobs created by public expenditure are phoney jobs. The clarion cry for years was "real jobs". We do not see any real jobs being created. Nearly all the improvement in the employment statistics is as a result of the creation of unreal jobs, using the very public expenditure that the Prime Minister was supposed to be disdaining.

Let us look at the phoney jobs and the statistical method used by the Government–the massage parlour approach, which removed over 1 million people from the employment record. The motion tabled by the hon. Member for Nuneaton mentions employment schemes. About 600,000 or 700,000 people are on those schemes, which, coincidentally, takes them off the unemployment register, but there is no guarantee that there will be a job at the end of the scheme for which, temporarily, the Government are using public expenditure.

The enterprise allowance scheme is mentioned in the motion, and the hon. Member for Nuneaton spoke about it. I gather that it is one of the Government's great success stories. An article in the "Financial Guardian" on 24 November this year examines the scheme and, to his surprise, the writer discovers:

"one man's job creation can become another's job loss."

There has been a new study of entrants to the enterprise allowance scheme, based on its operation in Strathclyde, Tyneside and London. It was carried out by the small business unit of the polytechnic of Central London. So the figures and effects have been looked at. It was fascinating to see what emerged. Nearly two out of five–40 per cent. — of the firms surveyed were sure that their business activities had either partially or completely displaced competitors. Surveys by the Manpower Services Commission, which controls the scheme, give a displacement rate of 50 per cent., so the very scheme that the hon. Member for Nuneaton is lauding in his motion is in fact destroying one job for every two that it claims to create. That displacement figure may be on the low side.

Mr. Trippier indicated dissent.

Mr. Williams: The hon. Gentleman knows that. He need not shake his head. He knows my background on the creation of small businesses, and so on. I think that I know as much about the matter as he does. Most of the people entering those schemes are going for the jobs for which entry is easiest. One cannot blame them. That is understandable and natural. They go for the sectors where the capital cost going in is lowest because they do not have the capital and, as the hon. Member for Nuneaton said, the local bank managers make sure that they do not find it easy to obtain the capital. Then those people try to knock out existing businesses so that they can take over their work. The newspaper article states:

"More than one third of survivors indicated that their preferred business strategy involved cutting prices, 'presumably below that of their competitors.' A further 15 per cent. used advertising and 14 per cent. said that they offered a faster service than their rivals."

This is the important point:

"In other words, more than 60 per cent. of surviving firms employed a strategy aimed at taking customers from their rivals rather than creating a new market." The report goes on to suggest that the real 12-month job creation rate could be as low as 17 per 100 surviving firms when one excludes the number of people who have lost their job as a result of the consequences of the scheme. In many cases the schemes are not only fraudulent about what they purport to be, but are destructive of the objectives that the Government claimed in advancing them.

Far from having anything to be proud of, the Government should answer to the House why it is that the Manpower Services Commission is so worried about the future supply of skill. The Government chose to abolish the training board system and many of the other training systems. If these were genuine training proposals that in any way related to the scale and quality of our needs we would applaud them. Unfortunately, they are not.

2.10 pm

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Employment (Mr. David Trippier): I congratulate my hon. Friend the Member for Nuneaton (Mr. Stevens) on his success in the ballot and on his choice of subject for this debate. I welcome to the debate the right hon. Member for Swansea, West (Mr. Williams). We are old sparring partners from the time when I was a junior Minister in the Department of Trade and Industry. We shared many interesting hours together in Standing Committee on what became well known as the Co-operative Development Agency and Industrial Development Bill which is now an Act.

I shall not devote as much time as the right hon. Gentleman would wish me to devote to answering all his points, because if I did that I would be deflected from my main purpose, which is to thank my hon. Friend the Member for Nuneaton for his support for the "Action for Jobs" campaign. However, the right hon. Gentleman will not be surprised if I take him up on one or two issues. We have spent an enormous amount of money, £3,000 million, to provide opportunities and help for over 1 million people in more than 30 schemes and programmes.

We introduced our campaign in April because research told us that far too few people knew about the help that we offffered through our employment enterprise and training measures, and both employers and employees proved to have little knowledge of our measures and suggested that we should do more to publicise them. That is why we produced the "Action for Jobs" booklet. It is an easy-to-read guide to the support and opportunity that we make available.

So far more than 3.3 million people have picked up a copy of the booklet. Many people, including my hon. Friend the Member for Nuneaton, have told us how useful it is. That view was endorsed this week because the "Action for Jobs" booklet

was one of the winners of the Plain English award. We in the Department are proud of that because only eight awards are given in any one year. The Department of Employment won two awards and one went to the Department of Health and Social Security. I think it is unique for one Government Department to win two such awards.

It is clear that we are effective in putting across our message and we shall continue to put it across in a straightforward and simple way. Our principal aims are to make people more aware of the range of measures introduced by the Department and to improve the awareness of individual schemes. That is why we have also used television advertising because we want to get the message across to people who want to open more doors to more opportunities. That is why our campaign slogan "Action for Jobs, Opening more Doors" has caught on, and the evidence shows that our campaign is working.

I was fascinated to hear the right hon. Member for Swansea, West speak about 18 changes. The Labour party constantly speaks about those changes. In many different ways the right hon. Gentleman accuses the Government of exaggeration. In reality, there have been just six changes that can be detailed and have already been detailed by my noble Friend the Secretary of State for Employment and my right hon. and learned Friend the Paymaster General when they were giving evidence to the Select Committee on Employment.

How on earth the Labour party can come up with 18 changes stretches credulity to breaking point. It is up to the Labour party to explain which of the six changes that have taken place it would reverse. Which category of people that we have removed would Labour put back on the register? It is up to the Labour party to explain what it would do. The Labour party's shadow spokesman on employment admitted on television that if he had been advised by the Chief Statistician in the Department of Employment, as Ministers have been advised, to change the methodology, he would have accepted his advice. By that admission, he blew the Labour party's cover. We have referred to that time and again in the past, and we shall certainly do so in the future.

The right hon. Member for Swansea, West said that the enterprise allowance scheme will lead to displacement, and he referred to the Manpower Services Commission's figures. There is an element of truth in what he said. It would be wrong of me to mislead the House; there is bound to be some displacement. The Manpower Services Commission's figure was agreed with the Treasury, which calculated that the cost of each job under the EAS would be £2,300. However, there should be detailed research of the displacement that will be caused by the scheme.

My hon. Friend the Member for Nuneaton rightly said that about 192,000 people have been set up under the scheme and that 99 additional jobs are created by every 100 businesses that succeed. Many of the small firms that have been set up under the EAS will employ even more people, and that figure will eventually be higher. Most of the firms that fail do so within the first 18 months. This scheme has been running for three years and three months, so we are able to compare it with other schemes on a three-year basis.

On the help that is available to the long-term unemployed throughout the Action for Jobs programme, the central feature is Restart. By March 1987 we shall have invited 1.4 million people who have been out of work for over a year to an interview at their local jobcentre. We aim to offer everybody we interview a positive way back into employment. Restart has been amazingly successful. In the nine pilot areas to which the right hon. Member for Swansea, West referred, 91 per cent. of those who were interviewed were offered positive help. The right hon. Gentleman did not refer to the enterprise allowance scheme, because he thinks that those people are not employed. But they are in a job; they are self-employed. Therefore, I challenge his figures. They are completely wrong.

Included in the Restart package are a number of positive and practical opportunities, such as a job interview or a place on a Restart course or in a job club. The right hon. Gentleman and the labour party are quick to rubbish a number of these initiatives, despite the fact that they have been successful. The right hon. Gentleman is an honourable man in every possible sense and meaning of that word, but I challenge some of his colleagues who do not, I believe, want the unemployment figures to come down. They do not like the fact that, for the last three consecutive months, the unemployment figures have come down. As the general election approaches, they do not like the fact that we are on top of the problem; it is unacceptable to them. Again I make the point that I do not accuse the right hon. Gentleman, but I am absolutely convinced that many of his colleagues are of that opinion.

After Restart, many people will go into the community programme, our principal scheme for providing help for the long-term unemployed. About 250,000 places are available on the programme, and this year 300,000 people will benefit from the scheme. Jobs are offered that last for up to a year on projects that significantly increase the long-term employment prospects of the participants and that result in the creation of something that is of practical value to the local community.

We are doing quite a lot to assist the long-term unemployed, and so we should. However, we are not neglecting those who are still at school or those who have recently left school—far from it. Young people need and deserve an education and training system that allows them to develop their talents and that equips them for future employment. Therefore, we have developed policies that are designed to reform and modernise our education and training system.

The technical and vocational education initiative programme announced by my right honourable Friend the Prime Minister in 1982 has rapidly become one of the most exciting and far-reaching developments in the school curriculum since the war. In my view, it was long overdue. In that programme emphasis is placed on the development of initiative and problem-solving skills. Its benefits are numerous — improved motivation, a more relevant curriculum and the giving of more impetus to school–industry links. But the main thing that hits one when one visits a TVEI school or college is the infectious enthusiasm of the pupils and teachers. That is why the £250 million being spent on the pilot projects is money well spent, and why, even at this early stage, we have committed £900 million over the next 10 years to extending TVEI to all secondary schools and colleges in Great Britain.

Of course, many young people will continue to leave school at the age of 16 or 17, and for them there is the new two-year youth training scheme, which builds on the enormous success of the one-year YTS which we launched in 1983. Opposition Members are far too quick to criticise or to rubbish the scheme. That is staggering, because it is an insult to those young people who are on such schemes. My hon. Friend the Member for Nuneaton was right to say that the vast majority—83 per cent.—were well satisfied with the training that they had received on the YTS.

In acknowledgement of a point made by the right hon. Member for Swansea, West, one must admit that Britain still lacks an adequately trained work force. The Conservative party has said that since 1979. We consider that a combination of the two-year YTS and the review of vocational qualifications is the one thing that will put that right. The two things go together. It is absolutely vital that we come out with a new system of vocational qualifications which will be respected and recognised by employers. Otherwise we are wasting our time.

I welcome the opportunity of paying a warm tribute to Mr. Oscar DeVille, chairman of the review vocational qualifications, for all the work that he is doing.

The motion refers to

"the need for continuing education and training in industry."

The Government entirely agree that effective training at all levels and throughout working life is an essential element in ensuring the competitiveness of British industry. It is primarily industry's responsibility to train its work force. Industry should consider that as an investment and not as a cost.

Hon. Members may be interested to know that a few weeks ago I had the privilege of visiting Sir John Egan, the chairman and managing director of Jaguar plc, in Coventry. I was interested to see what he was doing about management training, because no hon. Member would deny that Sir John Egan has effectively turned that company round. He puts its success down to two factors: first, quality assurance, and, secondly, management training.

The thing that I find interesting—the right hon. Member for Swansea, West will welcome this as much as I did—is that Sir John Egan insists that everyone, from the lowest rungs of management right up to the top, must take two weeks out a year to go on a management training course. That should be broadcast from the roof tops. When I asked Sir John whether that included him, he said that it did. I asked him where he went for his management training and he replied "The London Business School". He considered that it was important for him to get out of the company, perhaps to take a wider view and to find out what was going on in other companies. Jaguar plc, with Sir John Egan at its head, recognises the importance of management training. It must permeate all the way down to the shop floor because, obviously it has concentrated on skill training with the company and that has led to the company's undoubted success. The company deserves to be warmly congratulated.

The right hon. Member for Swansea, West got it wrong when he referred to the article about skills shortages and to the MSC's statement. The truth is that skills shortages are not as he said, desperate and widespread.

There are shortages in some specific skills, such as in the new technologies, and in specific geographic areas, such as in London and the south-east. Indeed, only yesterday, I was dealing with a particular problem. I must admit that there are shortages, particularly in the construction industry, but we shall do something to try to put that right pretty quickly.

I should like to respond to the praise in the motion for our enterprise programmes, because I believe that the Department's prime aim is to encourage the development of an enterprise economy. To that end, the Government attach considerable importance to the local enterprise agency movement. My hon. Friend the Member for Nuneaton has a very distinguished and successful enterprise agency, known as the Warwickshire enterprise agency, which covers his constituency. It applied to my Department for grant under the local enterprise agency grant scheme, and I am pleased to say that we were glad to support it in August, by giving it a £16,000 grant.

Tribute should be paid to Mike Whitfield, who has done a tremendous amount to build up that agency. I know that my hon. Friend the Member for Nuneaton and many of our colleagues use that agency when dealing with constituency problems in relation to small businesses. It must be said time and again that, if only small businesses took advantage of the hand-holding service provided by enterprise agencies, they would be much more likely to succeed. The failure rate is one in 12 over a period of three years, compared with the average failure rate of one in three. Therefore, the proof of the pudding is in the eating.

My hon. Friend the Member for Nuneaton also referred to the enterprise allowance scheme, which the Department regards as the jewel in the crown. I am extremely proud of it. My hon. Friend made some forceful remarks about the importance to small businesses of being paid on time. He urged large companies to pay their bills to small businesses on time. I have been crusading for that for many months.

As a result of research that we had done, a new Government code of practice entitled "Payment on Time" was issued. It was well received, and has had to be reprinted. The most important thing that I had to do was to write to the chairmen of the top 100 companies in this country, saying it was important that they should recognise that delaying payment to small businesses could make all the difference between survival and failure. If the reverse happens, the large firms could withstand the pressures.

But it is also important to point out that the procurement departments within Government must also pay their bills on time. I am pleased to say that they are under standing instructions to pay on time. If any hon. Member has evidence of that not happening, I hope that he will write to me so that I can endeavour to put things right very quickly.

In the short time available, I hope that I have given the House an indication of how wide-ranging our employment, enterprise and training initiatives are. It has only been an indication, as there are other important initiatives that I have not had time to mention. I again congratulate my hon. Friend the Member for Nuneaton on his initiative and enterprise in initiating this debate, and I am very happy to support the motion.

Question put and agreed to.
Resolved,

That this House notes the wide range of education and training initiatives providing opportunities for employed and unemployed people to obtain and enhance skills; welcomes the greater publicity given to the schemes by television advertising; notes that now all 16 year old school leavers are able to have two years training and that 460,000 places are on offer; recognises the importance of the review of vocational qualifications and the extension of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative programme; further notes that adult training measures have been increased to assist over 250,000 people; acknowledges the need for continuing education and training in industry and business; notes the proposed increase to 100,000 places per year on the Enterprise Allowance Scheme due to the demand brought about by its success; and recognises the important part played by Local Enterprise Agencies and other schemes in helping small businesses.

BUSINESS OF THE HOUSE

Ordered,

That, at the sitting on Thursday 18th December, notwithstanding the provisions of Standing Order No. 14 (Exempted business) and No. 15 (Prayers against statutory instruments &c. (negative procedure)). Mr. Speaker shall—
(1) at Six o'clock put the Question on the Motion in the name of Mr. Neil Kinnock relating to the Supplementary Benefit (Single Payments) Amendment Regulations (S.I., 1986, No. 1961), if not previously disposed of; and
(2) at Ten o'clock put successively any Question already proposed from the Chair and the Questions on such of the Motions in the name of Mr. Secretary Fowler relating to Social Security or to Terms and Conditions of Employment or in the name of Mr. Neil Kinnock relating to the Housing Benefits (Amendment) (No. 5) Regulations 1986 (S.I., 1986, No. 2183) as may then be made, if those Motions have not been previously disposed of.—[Mr. Durant].

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Written Answers
EMPLOYMENT

Jobclubs

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Paymaster General how many jobclubs have been established at jobcentres in the United Kingdom; and if he will make a statement on what they have achieved in securing employment for the long-term unemployed.

Mr. Lee: On 3 December 1986, 303 jobclubs were open for business. In the period from 7 April 1986 to 7 November 1986, 9,372 people passed through jobclubs. Of these, 61 per cent. obtained jobs. A further 14 per cent. found temporary work on the community programme or took up a training place or the enterprise allowance scheme.

The success record of jobclubs is impressive and we have asked the Manpower Services Commission to expand the jobclub network to 1,000 by March 1987 and, if the need continues, to 2,000 by September 1987.

Departmental Achievement

Mr. Pawsey asked the Paymaster General if he will list the principal achievements of his Department since 1983.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: I will publish the information in the *Official Report* as soon as possible.

Departmental Initiatives (Women)

Ms. Richardson asked the Paymaster General if he will list those initiatives of his Department which have been of benefit to women, since 1979, the cost or estimated cost of those initiatives, and the proportion of the total budget of his Department this represents.

Mr. Lee: The main employment, training and enterprise measures offered by my Department and the Manpower Services Commission since 1979 are:

Special Temporary Employment Programme[1]
Community Enterprise Programme[1]
Youth Opportunities Programme[1]
Training Opportunities Scheme[1]
Short-time Working Compensation Scheme[1]
Temporary Employment Subsidy[1]
Small Firms Employment Subsidy[1]
Adult Employment Subsidy[1]
Young Workers Scheme[1]
Temporary Short-time Working Compensation Scheme[1]
Part-time Job Release Scheme[1]
The Employment Transfer Scheme[1]
The Job Search Scheme[1]
Free Forward Fares Schemes[1]
Community Programme
Enterprise Allowance Scheme
Voluntary Projects Programme
Community Industry
YTS
Technical, Vocational and Educational Initiative
Job Release Scheme
Job Splitting Scheme
Restart Programme
Jobstart Allowance
New Workers Scheme
Training for Enterprise
Training Grants for Employers
Wider Opportunities Training Programme
Access to Information Technology
Job Training Scheme
Jobclubs
Travel to Interview Scheme
Open Tech Programme
Career Development Loans[2]
Loan Guarantee Scheme
Job Introduction Scheme
Adaptation to Premises and Equipment Scheme
Personal Reader Service
Special aids to employment
Assistance to fares for work for the disabled
Skills—linked and Preparatory English as a second language (ESL) Courses
Industrial Language Training

All of the measures are open to both women and men who satisfy the individual eligibility criteria for each scheme. Since 1979 the Government have spent in the region of £10 billion on these measures and are spending a further £3 billion this year. It is not possible to assess what proportion of the Department's expenditure on these initiatives is taken up by women.

In addition to training courses open to both men and women the MSC runs a number of single-sex courses, including JTS courses, for women and girls, in occupations where women are under-represented and single-sex courses for women wanting to return to work after time at home looking after families[3].

We have designated 172 training bodies to run training courses for women in non-traditional occupations or for women returning to work after a period of domestic responsibility. The Sex Discrimination Act 1986 freed training bodies from the need to obtain ministerial designation[3].

Since 1979 the following legislation of particular benefit to women has been passed[3]:

Equal Pay (Amendment) Regulations 1983.
Sex Discrimination Act 1986.

In London on 8 and 9 December 1986 the Government, in conjunction with the European Commission, sponsored a conference on women and training. This drew together practical experience from across Europe in training women for occupations where women are under-represented; training for the new technologies and for setting up small businesses (approximate cost to Department of Employment £12,500).

[1]This scheme is now closed.
[2]This is a pilot scheme which is running for a three-year period from April 1986 in Aberdeen, Bristol/Bath, Greater Manchester and Reading/Slough.
[3]The cost of these items is not readily available and cannot be provided without disproportionate expenses.

Mr. Michael Brown asked the Paymaster General how many people (a) are, and (b) have been in jobclubs in the constituency of Brigg and Cleethorpes since 1983.

Mr. Lee: There are no jobclubs in the Brigg and Cleethorpes constituency. However, there are jobclubs in Grimsby and Scunthorpe. No separate records are kept of people attending these jobclubs from Brigg and Cleethorpes. The Grimsby jobclub opened on 7 July 1986; 87 people have joined since then, and 70 per cent. of leavers have gone into employment. At 5 December there were 24 people in the jobclub. The Scunthorpe jobclub opened on 13 January 1986; 185 people have joined since then, and 73 per cent. have gone into employment. At 5 December there were 37 people in the jobclub.

Restart Scheme

Mr. Tom Cox asked the Paymaster General how many people who live in the London borough of Wandsworth have had their benefit terminated or suspended for failure to attend restart interviews.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: No-one can lose their benefit entitlement solely as a result of the restart programme. Under long-standing legal rules people can lose their entitlement to benefit if they fail to attend an interview, are not available for work or refuse an offer of suitable employment.

The information asked for is not available in the exact form requested as it is not possible to match precisely unemployment benefit office areas with the borough of Wandsworth boundary. Up to 13 November 1986, 126 people claiming unemployment benefit in the offices covering the London borough of Wandsworth had failed to attend a restart interview after two invitations and as a result had their benefit disallowed by independent adjudication officers. Subsequently 56 of them attended a restart interview and had their benefit reinstated.

Mr. Wainwright asked the Paymaster General what percentage of the people carrying out restart interviews have been through the full training programme for restart interviewers and counsellors.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: In all but exceptional cases of unforeseen absence of trained staff, restart interviews are always carried out by fully trained counsellors.

Work Tests

Mr. Tom Cox asked the Paymaster General how many people who live in the London borough of Wandsworth have had their benefit terminated or suspended as a result of interviews on the availability test.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke; Information is not available in the form asked. Not all the unemployment benefit offices serving the Wandsworth area are yet operating the improved procedures to establish that new claimants are available for work and, therefore, entitled to unemployment benefits in accordance with long standing legal rules. They have so far been introduced at the Tooting B, Wimbledon and Fulham offices.

At 12 December, the latest date for which information is available, 107 claimants had their claims suspended and referred to the independent adjudicating authorities because of doubts about their availability for work. Of the 12 cases upon which the adjudicating officer has taken a decision, 10 have resulted in disallowance of benefit and two in the restoration of benefit.

Tooting B benefit office also took part in the experimental test of improved procedures to establish the availability for work of those existing claimants over the age of 50 years who attend the office quarterly, and I refer the hon. Member to my reply of 26 November at c. 255-56.

Mr. Ernie Ross asked the Paymaster General how many people in Dundee have been interviewed under the availability for work test; and how many have had their benefits stopped as a result.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: The improved procedures for testing the availability for work of new claimants using a revised questionnaire were introduced in the Dundee unemployment benefit offices during November. They have been applied to all new claimants at those offices but records are not kept of the numbers who have also been interviewed separately about their availability.

At 12 December, the latest date for which information is available, 23 claimants had had their claims suspended and referred to the independent adjudicating authorities because of doubts about their availability for work. To date, one of these claims has been disallowed, 13 allowed and nine are still under consideration by the adjudicating authorities.

YTS

Mr. Lawler asked the Paymaster General 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/Carribbean 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 of "black/African/Caribbean descent", 1,010 as of "Indian sub-continent descent" and 1,160 as "all others".

The numbers of ethnic group categories changed from four to five with the introduction of two-year YTS.

Labour Statistics

Mr. Thurnham asked the Paymaster General how many of those out of work at the latest date for which figures are available (a) for more than one year, (b) for more than three years and (c) for more than five years (i) were married, (ii) have more than one child, (iii) have two children and (iv) are single parents of a child or children under the age of 16 years.

Mr. Lee: The available information which is from the labour force survey is set out in the table:

Number of people without a job and looking for work
Great Britain, spring 1985

		Unemployed and seeking work for over 1 year Thousands	Unemployed and seeking work for over 3 years Thousands
(i)	Married People	633	288
(ii)	People[1] with more than one child under 16	283	131
(iii)	People[1] with two children under 16[2]	164	67
(iv)	Single parents with children under 16[3]	47	21

[1] Heads of family units and wives of heads of family units.
[2] Included in (ii).
[3] Included in (ii) and (iii).

Note:
No separate analysis is available of those unemployed more than five years.

Mr. Gordon Brown asked the Paymaster General if he will publish a table showing the number of additional (a) jobs in service industries, (b) jobs in banking, insurance and finance, (c) self-employed and (d) small business starts over stops, created in (i) Northern Ireland and (ii) the United Kingdom between June 1983 and June 1986.

Mr. Lee [pursuant to his reply, 17 December 1986, c539]: Information about job gains and losses is not available from the Department's statistics, but an indication of the net changes can be seen by comparing levels of employment at different dates.

Table 1 gives the net changes between June 1983 and June 1986 in the numbers of employees in employment in the industries specified, and in the numbers of self-employed, in Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom.

TABLE I
Net changes in Employment between June 1983 and June 1986

	Northern Ireland	United Kingdom
Employees in Employment		
Service industries (6-9)[1]	1,000	948,000
Banking, Insurance and finance (8)[1]	no change	333,000
Self Employed		
Total	-1,000	505,000

[1] Figures in brackets denote the divisions of the 1980 Standard Industrial classification.
The available information on numbers of businesses relates to the number registered for VAT and is given in table 2.

	Northern Ireland	United Kingdom
Start of 1983 to end of 1984[1]	2,200	63,000
Start of 1983 to end of 1985	—	83,000

[1] Later estimates are not available for Northern Ireland.

Mr. Gordon Brown asked the Paymaster General if he will publish a table showing for Northern Ireland and the United Kingdom as a whole the number of persons at work who are (a) employees and (b) self-employed in June 1979, June 1983 and June 1986 or the latest month for which figures are available; and if he will estimate the number of second jobs included in these figures.

Mr. Lee [*pursuant to his reply*, 17 December 1986, c.539]: The following tables give the numbers of employees in employment and self-employed at the dates for the areas specified.

The second jobs included in the employees in employment estimates are not separately identified, but estimates from the labour force surveys suggest that the numbers of people with a second job as an employee in the United Kingdom in spring 1979 and spring 1983 were 247,000 and 382,000, respectively.

Estimates are not available for spring 1986. The survey sample is not large enough to give reliable estimates separately for Northern Ireland. The employment estimates do not include second jobs when they are held as self-employed.

Tabele 1
Employees in employment

			Thousand
	June 1979	June 1983	June 1986
Northern Ireland	519	466	455
United Kingdom	23,157	21,037	21,525

Table 2
Self employed

			Thousand
	June 1979	June 1983	June 1986
Northern Ireland	83	80	79
United Kingdom	1,925	2,240	2,745

Employment and Training Act 1973

Mr. Alfred Morris asked the Paymaster General if he will list the bodies established under section 10(2) of the Employment and Training Act 1973; if he will name the person appointed to each body in accordance with the requirements of section 13 of the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act 1970 as amended by the 1973 Act; and which of those persons is a person with a disability.

Mr. Lee: I shall write to the hon. member and will place a copy of my letter in the Library.

Enterprise Allowance Scheme

Mr. Peter Bruinvels asked the Paymaster General how many jobs have been created within (a) the city of Leicester and (b) Leicester, East constituency since the introduction of the enterprise allowance scheme.

Mr. Trippier: The enterprise allowance scheme is designed to help unemployed people who wish to set up in business but are deterred from doing so because they would lose their income from unemployment or supplementary benefit. The figures are not available in the form requested. Since the scheme was introduced nationally in August 1983 up to the 10 December 1986, 2,587 people have joined in the Leicester area which includes the city of Leicester. Recent survey information shows that 61 per cent. of those who take advantage of a full year's support under the scheme are still trading in their enterprise allowance scheme business three years after start-up. For every 100 self-employed people continuing in business at this stage, survey evidence indicates that 99 additional people have been taken on as employees.

Job Training Scheme

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General whether early leavers from the new job training scheme will be liable to the 13 week benefit penalty.

Mr. Trippier: I refer the hon. Member to my reply given on 28 November at column 391 to the hon. Member for Caerphilly (Mr. Davies).

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General what instructions have been issued on the fees that job training scheme placement agencies may charge employers for use of the labour of trainees.

Mr. Trippier: The new pilot job training schemes provide individually tailored programmes of integrated training and practical experience for people who have been unemployed for more than six months. Managing agents arranging new job training scheme programmes are encouraged to charge the providers of practical experience and use the income generated to help meet the costs of training. There is no set charge, which is a matter for agreement between the managing agent and the practical experience provider.

Equal Treatment Directive

Mr. Hayward asked the Paymaster General what was the outcome of the consideration of the directive on equal treatment between men and women in self-employed occupations at the Council of Labour and Social Affairs Ministers on 11 December.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: At our meeting on 11 December the Council of Labour and Social Affairs Ministers adopted the directive on equal treatment between men and women in self-employed occupations. The main effect of the directive, in the form in which it was adopted, is to remove restrictions in some member states of the European Community, which may hinder women from taking up self-employed occupations. I do not expect the directive to have any significant effect in the United Kingdom where women do not face the legal obstacles to self-employment or employment by their husbands which they face in some other member states.

17/10/86 Vol. 107 No. 25 pp 515-516.

YTS

23. **Mrs. Virginia Bottomley** asked the Paymaster General how many young people have now completed YTS courses.

Mr. Trippier: Under one-year YTS, which ran between 1 April 1983 and 31 March 1986, 1,166,255 people started in schemes. Up to 31 October 1986 there have been 548,704 completers.

Since the introduction of two-year YTS on 1 April 1986 up to 31 October 1986 there have been 315,357 entrants, but it is too early to say how many will complete their training.

44. **Sir John Farr** asked the Paymaster General what new steps he is taking to promote support for YTS among trade unions.

Mr. Trippier: YTS has the active support of the TUC and large numbers of individual unions. The commission maintains a close liaison with all unions involved in YTS. MSC staff, both at head office and in the field organisation meet frequently with union officials to develop particular schemes or to discuss particular aspects of YTS.

Unions not currently associated with YTS feature in the commission's ongoing marketing plans. A number of general YTS pamphlets and videos are available for this purpose.

53. **Mr. Nicholas Baker** asked the Paymaster General if he will introduce into YTS an element of overseas service in the Third world.

Mr. Trippier: YTS is provided through independent managing agents who are responsible, within the agreed guidelines, for preparing the training programmes they propose to offer to trainees. If a programme is proposed which includes overseas experience, the general rule is that this is acceptable provided that such training forms an integrated part of the programme and there are adequate safeguards covering essential matters such as safety and insurance.

78. **Mr. Lawler** asked the Paymaster General when he will respond to the recommendations made by the commissioner of the Manpower Services Commission regarding the YTS.

Mr. Trippier: I refer to my hon. Friend to my right hon. and learned Friend's reply to my hon. Friend the Member of Staffordshire, Moorlands (Mr. Knox) on 3 December 1986 at columns 671-73.

Enterprise Allowance Scheme

16. **Mr. Chapman** asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement about the progress of the enterprise allowance scheme.

Mr. Trippier: The enterprise allowance scheme continues to flourish. By the end of November 1986 191,145 previously unemployed people had entered the scheme and over 71,000 are currently receiving the allowance.

Recent survey information shows that 54 per cent. of entrants to the scheme are still trading in their enterprise allowance scheme business three years after start-up. For every 100 businesses continuing at that stage, survey evidence indicates that 39 additional people have been taken on as employees.

24. **Mr. Hickmet** asked the Paymaster General what is the latest figures for applicants for the enterprise allowance scheme.

Mr. Trippier: By the end of November the enterprise allowance scheme had assisted 191,145 previously unemployed people set up in self-employment. This includes 3,331 people who entered the pilot scheme between January 1982 and July 1983.

45. **Mr. McLoughlin** asked the Paymaster General if he has any plans to extend the enterprise allowance scheme; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Trippier: Since the introduction of the enterprise allowance scheme, up to the end of November 1986, 191,145 people have been helped to set up in business. The success of the scheme has led to the number of places being expanded from 86,000 in the financial year 1986-87 to 100,000 in 1987-88 and 1988-89.

55. **Mr. Michael Forsyth** asked the Paymaster General how much money he has so far been spent on the enterprise allowance scheme.

Mr. Trippier: From the beginning of the pilot scheme in January 1982 to the end of November 1986, £306 million has been spent on the enterprise allowance scheme. This includes £13.5 million in administration costs.

62. **Mr. Hayes** asked the Paymaster General if he has any figures to indicate how many of those people who started their businesses on the enterprise allowance scheme are still in business after two years.

Mr. Trippier: The latest survey results show that 68 per cent. of entrants are still trading in their enterprise allowance scheme business 18 months after start-up and 54 per cent. are still trading in their scheme business three years after start-up.

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Examination Statistics

Mr. Greenway asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will detail the percentage of pupils gaining (a) five or more O level passes grades A to C, grade 1 CSE and (b) two or more A levels in (i) comprehensive, (ii) grammar, (iii) secondary modern and (iv) independent schools in 1956, 1966, 1976 and 1986 respectively; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Dunn: Statistics for 1960-61, 1965-66, 1975-76 and 1984-85 are as follows. Data prior to 1960-61 are not available on a consistent basis and 1985-86 figures are not yet available.

School leavers, England[1]

Academic year and type of school	Percentage of leavers with		2 or more A-level passes
	5 or more higher[2][3] grade passes at GCE O-level or CSE		
1960-61			
Comprehensive[4]	10.9		2.3
Grammar	53.2		23.6
Secondary modern and all age	0.6		—
Independent	61.0		30.5
All schools	15.3		6.5
1965-66			
Comprehensive	11.6		5.4
Grammar	63.7		35.4
Secondary modern and all age	2.0		0.1
Independent	68.2		40.7
All Schools	20.8		10.9
1975-76			
Comprehensive	17.5		8.8
Grammar	69.7		44.6
Secondary modern	5.4		0.5
independent	73.3		53.8
All schools	22.9		12.8
1984-85			
Comprehensive	22.7		10.5
Grammar	78.0		47.9
Secondary modern	9.6		1.1
independent	75.8		58.8
All schools	26.9		14.1

[1] England and Wales for 1960-61 and 1965-66.
[2] O-level only for 1960-61 and 1965-66.
[3] For 1975-76 and 1984-85 O-level grades A-C, CSE grade 1. For 1960-61 and 1965-66, O-level pass.
[4] Includes technical, bilateral, multilateral and comprehensive schools and secondary schools which were not seperately classified.

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EDUCATION AND SCIENCE
Student Grants

Mrs. Peacock asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he will make a statement on the current level of student grant; and what plans he has to alleviate the problems students currently face.

Mr. Walden: The level of grant reflects the necessity for the consideration of student needs to be balanced by an assessment of what taxpayers can reasonably be expected to contribute. My right hon. Friend will announce rates of grant for the academic year 1987-88 shortly.

Future arrangements for students' financial support are the object of a comprehensive review.

Statistical Information

Mr. Meacher asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will list all the changes that have been made since 1979 in his Department in the presentation of statistical information; and what further changes are now planned.

Mrs. Rumbold: Regarding changes to the presentation of statistics by my Department, I refer the hon. Member to my reply to the hon. Member for Dagenham (Mr. Gould) on 5 December, at columns 839-40. Further changes may result from Government policy needs, quinquennial reviews of regular statistics or for statistical and technological reasons.

Educational Change (White Paper)

Mr. Spearing asked the Secretay of State for Education and Science if he expects to publish a White Paper setting out his latest proposals for educational change.

Mrs. Rumbold: The Government's policies for improving school education were set out in the White Paper "Better Schools" (Cmnd. 9469). Those are now being implemented.

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Students

Mrs. Shields asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science how many students left the education system without any qualifications at O level or CSE in 1985-86; and what are the comparable figures for each of the countries in the EEC.

Mr. Dunn: Figures for 1985-86 are not yet available. In 1984-85 it is estimated that 9.4 per cent. of school leavers (69,400) in England left with no O level or CSE qualifications; some of these young people will subsequently have gained qualifications in further education colleges or on the youth training scheme.

Information is not yet available to draw comparable international comparisons in this area.

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GCSE

Mr. Ron Davies asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he intends to make funding available for the introduction of GCSE into post-school education; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Rumbold: It is for local authorities to determine the resources made available for GCSE provision, whether in schools or in further education. The Government's plans for 1987-88 provide for an increase of 18.8 per cent. in total local authority expenditure compared with the current year; of this some £100 million is intended for GCSE non-teaching costs.

In addition, the Government have directed substantial resources specifically to help meet GCSE-related costs, including £25 million for in-service training for teachers in schools and further education in the financial years 1985-86 to 1987-88; and support for local authority expenditure on books and equipment in schools through education support grants and the Manpower Services Commission in the financial years 1986-87 and 1987-88.

The available resources should enable authorities to ensure that maintained institutions offering GCSE courses can meet the demands of the new examination courses.

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Child Abuse

36. **Mr. Maclean** asked the Secretary of State for the 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 Secretary of State for the 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 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 to give evidence 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 under 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.

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Community Programme
Mr. **Thurnham** asked the Paymaster General how many of those eligible for the community programme have benefit entitlement in excess of (a) £67 a week and (b) £53 a week.

Mr. **Lee:** Estimates based on survey information about the characteristics of those eligible for the community programme suggests that about 310,000 have benefit entitlements in excess of £67 a week, and about 490,000 have benefit entitlements in excess of £53 a week. The total number of persons eligible for the community programme is in excess of 1.4 million.

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Benefits
Mr. **Foulkes** asked the Secretary of State for Social Services if he will publish figures for the estimated take-up of supplementary benefit derived from the 1984 family expenditure survey on the same basis as his reply of 30 November 1983 to the hon. Member for Mitcham and Morden (Mrs. Rumbold), *Official Report*, columns 532-34.

Mr. **Lyell:** Estimates of take-up of supplementary benefit based on the family expenditure survey are produced biennially. The latest available figures are for 1983. For those I refer the hon. Member to my reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Illford, South (Mr. Thorne) on 30 October at columns 231-34.

Mr. **Dobson** asked the Secretary of State for Social Services how many claims for sickness benefit were submitted in each quarter since 1979.

Mr. **Lyell:** The information is available for broad quarters — 12 to 16 weeks — only. Numbers include claims for invalidity benefit and, up to April 1983, for non-contributory invalidity pensions. Numbers are affected by self certification for the first week of sickness, introduced in June 1982, and statutory sick pay which was introduced in April 1983 for periods of up to eight weeks, extended to 28 weeks in April 1986.

Year	First quarter	Second quarter	Third quarter	Fourth quarter
1979	2,160,620[1]	2,738,139[2]	2,106,298[2]	3,086,454[3]
1980	2,402,766[2]	2,368,149[2]	1,975,074[2]	2,613,817[3]
1981	1,939,192[2]	1,873,705[2]	1,514,038[2]	2,297,542[3]
1982	1,937,728[2]	1,926,029[2]	1,347,311[2]	1,824,185[3]
1983	1,581,222[2]	1,443,071[4]	300,280[2]	344,326[2]
1984	490,434[3]	294,610[2]	289,854[2]	338,463[2]
1985	483,606[3]	315,542[2]	302,953[2]	344,024[2]
1986	479,895[3]	222,055[2]	203,572[2]	—

[1] 10 week period only (December 1978 data not available).
[2] 12 week quarter.
[3] 16 week quarter.
[4] 20 week period (to bring in change to counting period).

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Benefits (Costs)
Mr. **Meacher** asked the Secretary of State for Social Services how much of the additional £1.7 billion allocated to social security expenditure for 1987-88 in autumn statement was in respect of the estimated cost of (a) real increases in benefit rates, (b) increase in number of retirement pensioners, (c) increase in number of unemployed people claiming benefit, (d) increase in number of people claiming because of long term sickness disability, (e) increase in the number of single parents claiming benefit, (f) increased cost of administering a larger number of claims specifying how much is due to the expected increase in the number of staff, (g) increased cost of implementing the Social Security Act specifying how much is in respect of (i) replacement staff to enable permanent staff to be trained in the changes and (ii) extra staff costs in respect of conversion to income support and (h) other factors.

Mr. **Major:** A detailed explanation of the changes to the programme will be published in the 1987 Public Expenditure White Paper in the normal way.

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Training Schemes (Income)
Mr. **Ron Davies** asked the Paymaster General, pursuant to his reply of 28 November, *Official Report*, column 390, whether providers of practical work experience will make payment to job training scheme managing agencies for the work done and any consequent income generated by trainees; and whether he can give any indication of the likely level of such payments.

Mr. **Trippier:** Job training scheme managing agents will expect providers of practical experience to pay a fee which will be used to help meet the costs of the training provided. There is no set rate for the fee which will be negotiated between the parties concerned.

Job Training Scheme
Mr. **Ron Davies** asked the Paymaster General whether, pursuant to his reply of 28 November, *Official Report*, column 390, he will make it his policy that participation in the job training scheme after pilot stage will continue to be voluntary and that benefit sanctions will not apply to persons who do not accept offers or who leave courses prematurely.

Mr. **Trippier:** I cannot anticipate whether the job training scheme pilots will be extended, or the terms on which that extension would take place.

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Community Programme
7. Mr. **Andrew F. Bennett** asked the Paymaster General why he has changed the community programme eligibility rules for 18 to 25-year-olds in the nine pilot areas chosen for the job training scheme.

Mr. **Lee:** The job training scheme pilots offer training and work experience, particularly for those aged under 25 who have been unemployed for six months or more. We therefore decided that in the pilot areas places on the community programme should be concentrated on those who have been out of work for 12 months or more.

Mr. **Bennett:** Will the Minister accept that what young adults want, like everyone else, is real jobs? However, at least the community programme has ensured that many of them can do something useful and in many cases they can get training while on the schemes. Does he also agree that it is unfair of the Government to stop young people in the trial areas continuing on the community programme unless they have been out of work for more than 12 months? Will he accept that the Government are again penalising those young people who desperately want jobs and forcing them to go on a training scheme, when many of them have been on the youth opportunities programme and youth training scheme and have had their fill of training? They want jobs from the Government.

Mr. **Lee:** The whole point of the job training scheme is to improve the quality of training of our young people and I wish that Opposition Members, the hon. Member for Denton and Reddish (Mr. Bennett) in particular, would support us in that. The aim of the scheme, with regard to particular individuals, is to place emphasis on an agreed training plan, particularly to concentrate on new technological skills and self-employment.

Mr. **Thurnham:** Does my hon. Friend share my amazement at the fact that the Opposition do not welcome the pilot schemes which are designed positively to improve training for 18 to 25-year-olds, especially if that can leave more room for older people to take advantage of places on the community programme?

Mr. **Lee:** I thank my hon. Friend for his comments. We are trying all the time to improve the quality of our training schemes and training for our young people.

Ms. **Clare Short:** Has the Minister seen the MSC's recent report on the attitude of the long-term unemployed to the new job training scheme? Is he aware that it was, in the words of the report, "cynical and suspicious" and saw the reduction of the unemployment figures as the main benefit. They also described the scheme as, "tantamount to slave labour." How can the Minister possibly justify paying participants their benefit only, removing them from the unemployment figures and then charging employers a fee for their labour? Is that not the most cynical and nasty of all the schemes that have been introduced, simply to reduce the unemployment figures in the run-up to the election?

Mr. **Lee:** I totally reject the hon. Lady's comments. We are trying to improve the quality of training all the time. I believe that the scheme is proving popular in the pilot areas but we must await the results of the scheme before we can consider whether to extend it further.

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Students
Mrs. **Kellett-Bowman** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science how many students were in (a) higher education and (b) universities in each of the years 1979 to 1986.

Home student numbers in higher education, Great Britain

Thousands

Academic year beginning	Full-time and sandwich		Part-time	
	University[1]	All higher education	University[1]	All Higher education[1]
1979	255.1	451.2	99.6	268.0
1980	262.9	465.5	99.7	288.2
1981	265.6	488.9	104.2	297.1
1982	262.1	504.9	108.0	302.6
1983	257.9	517.9	110.9	311.7
1984	256.0	524.9	113.3	312.6
1985 (provisional)	255.0	528.0	114.0	328.0

[1] Including the Open University.

Higher Education
Mr. **Dover** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what measures the Government is taking to bring about a reduction in the per capita cost of higher education; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. **Walden:** Since 1979 the number of home students in higher education in Great Britain has increased by 18 per cent. Over the same period total public expenditure on higher education has remained roughly constant in real terms. For the university sector, my right hon. Friend has agreed a programme of action with the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals and the University Grants Committee so as to sustain and improve quality and cost-effectiveness; that programme is detailed in letters dated 4 and 5 November from the chairman of the two committees, copies of which are in the Library. For the public sector, my right hon. Friend's predecessor invited the national advisory body for public sector higher education (NAB) to undertake a study of good management practice, which will be completed in the new year; that invitation was contained in a letter of 8 May 1985, a copy of which is being placed in the Library.

Pupils (Statistics)
Mrs. **Renee Short** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science how many pupils stayed on at school after 16 years; how many passed A-levels in each year since 1979 to 1985; what were the numbers of pupils in the respective age groups over the same period.

Mr. **Dunn:** The information for maintained secondary and independent schools in England is given below:

Thousands

	School leavers with one or more "A" level passes[1]	Number of pupils aged[2]			
		16	17	18	19 and over
1979	113.5	202.1	129.5	11.6	1.0
1980	117.0	210.6	133.8	12.5	1.4
1981	120.8	221.4	140.2	13.6	1.4
1982	127.9	240.9	149.8	16.0	1.7
1983	131.2	238.2	155.0	17.5	1.8
1984	129.8	224.2	149.2	18.6	2.1
1985	125.8	215.8	142.3	18.0	2.6

[1] Relates to academic years 1978-79 to 1984-85.
[2] Numbers in january of year shown with ages at 31 August of preceding year.

Higher Education
Mr. **Ron Davies** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science (1) what is the number of students in public sector higher education, divided into men and women, in each of the last five years for which information is available; (2) what is the number available of students currently enrolled on access courses to higher education in public sector higher education institutions; (3) what is the number of public sector higher education students divided into men and women in each of the different modes of full-time study, sandwich study, and part-time evening and part-time day study, in the last five years for which figures are available.

Mr. **Walden:** Figures for each of the last five years for the number of public sector higher education students in England divided into men and women in each of the different modes of study are shown in the table. No data are available on enrolments on access courses to higher education.

Enrolments in Public Sector Higher Education: England

Thousands

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985
Men					
Full-time	74.8	79.2	83.8	86.1	88.0
Sandwich	39.7	41.1	42.2	42.2	40.9
Part-time Day	93.9	92.9	93.9	92.8	94.2
Evening Only	28.4	28.2	28.9	28.2	29.5
Total	236.9	241.3	248.9	249.4	252.7
Women					
Full-time	76.2	83.0	88.4	92.4	94.9
Sandwich	13.1	14.6	16.2	17.4	18.2
Part-time Day	28.5	30.3	33.8	36.7	44.0
Evening Only	13.7	15.1	15.3	14.2	18.0
Total	131.5	142.9	153.7	160.6	175.2
Men and Women					
Full-time	151.0	162.2	172.2	178.5	183.0
Sandwich	52.8	55.6	58.5	59.6	59.2
Part-time Day	122.4	123.2	127.7	129.5	138.3
Evening Only	42.1	43.2	44.2	42.4	47.5
Total	368.4	384.2	402.6	410.0	427.9

Note: Owing to rounding totals may not agree with the sum of component figures.

Mr. Ron Davies asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science (1) what is the number of students in public sector higher education in England and Wales for each of the last five years for which figures are available, divided into the 19 different programmes utilised by the national advisory body; and if he will make a statement;

(2) what are the percentages and full-time equivalent numbers of public sector higher education students in (a) full-time study, (b) sandwich study, (c) part-time evening and (d) part-time day, in the last five years for which figures are available;

(3) what the numbers of students in public sector higher education have been in the past five years for which figures are available, in each of the subject programmes 01, 02, 12, 13, 14, 16, and 17, as used by the national advisory body; and if he will make a statement;

(4) what are the numbers and percentages of public sector higher education students studying (a) in polytechnics and (b) in other colleges in each of the last five years for which figures are available in each of the subject programmes utilised by the national advisory body;

(5) what the percentage change in the number of first-year students on public sector higher education courses in the three areas of art, design and performing arts has been in the last five years for which figures are available; and if he will make a statement;

(6) what is the number and percentage of students aged 21 years and over who have been in public sector higher education in each of the last five years for which figures are available;

(7) what is the number of students in higher education studying fine art in each of the last five years for which figures are available, divided into the university and public sector higher education; and if he will make a statement;

(8) what is the number and percentage of mature students aged 25 years and over who have been in public sector higher education in each of the last five years for which figures are available;

(9) what is the number of higher education students in (a) Great Britain as a whole and (b) England and Wales in the academic years 1981-82, 1982-83, 1983-84, 1984-85, together with the best estimates for 1985-86, and divided into the figures for universities and public sector, the latter split into the figures for polytechnics and other colleges;

(10) what is the number of first year students in public sector higher education in England and Wales for each of the last five years for which figures are available, as compared to the number of first year students in the universities over the same period, and divided into the subject classification utilised by the University Grants Committee and national advisory body, respectively;

Mr. Walden: I shall reply to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

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Children at Risk

Mr. Teddy Taylor asked the Secretary of State for Social Services if he has given any guidance to social service departments on the advisability of informing head teachers of schools when a child is notified to social service departments as being at risk; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Newton: Guidance issued by the Department recommends that the decision whether the responsible agencies should regard a child as at risk of abuse should be taken at a case conference of the professionals; including teachers, concerned with the particular child and his family. In May we issued new draft guidance on child abuse procedures and we are now considering the comments received. Communication with the head teacher is one of the subjects which will be covered in the final version which we hope to issue in the spring.

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Local Education Authorities (Capital Allocations)

Mr. Fatchett asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether it is the Government's intention to include any new schemes in the capital allocations for buildings in the local authority sector of higher education for (a) 1987-88 and (b) 1988-89.

Mr. Kenneth Baker: It was not possible to make any allocations for major new building work in local authority higher education in 1987-88. In making allocations for new capital projects by local education authorities I had to give priority to projects to provide new school places in areas of population growth and to work arising from statutory proposals to remove surplus school places. After taking account also of local education authorities' contractual commitments I had little remaining to allocate either for much needed improvement work in schools or for other capital expenditure in further and higher education. However, with the total spending power available to authorities from allocations and capital receipts and the freedom they enjoy to vire within their total of prescribed expenditure between and within services, some authorities may decide nevertheless to start work on major building schemes in their higher education institutions. It is too early at this stage to predict whether, and, if so, at what level, it will be possible to make allocations for major new building work in local authority higher education in 1988-89.

Grammar Schools

Mr. McCrindle asked the Sec of State for Ed and Science what is his policy towards the retention of the remaining grammar schools; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Kenneth Baker: The draft circular "Providing for Quality", issued for consultation in August 1986, makes it clear that in exercising his statutory duty to consider on their individual merits proposals for the reorganisation of schools the holder of my office will have regard, inter alia, to parental preference for retention of grammar schools and to whether the established quality of the school was likely to be sustained. He would normally approve the closure of a school only if he were satisfied both that it was unlikely to be able to sustain its established quality and that the alternative provision would be better.

Private Schools

Mr. McCrindle asked the Sec State for Ed and Science what is his policy towards the maintenance of charitable status for private schools; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Kenneth Baker: The independent sector's contribution continues to enrich the education system and the Government are committed to preserving and fostering it. We have no plans to remove charitable status from those schools which enjoy it.

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Job Training Scheme

Mrs. Virginia Bottomley asked the Paymaster General if, pursuant to the reply to the hon. Member for Colne Valley (Mr. Wainwright), Official Report, 9 December, column 115, he plans to make any changes to arrangements for assessing training allowances for those taking part in the pilots of the new job training scheme.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: Changes are being introduced this month which will simplify arrangements for people going on to the scheme.

Under these revised arrangements new trainees will receive a training allowance based on their benefit entitlement and normally this will equal the amount of unemployment benefit last paid or, in the case of those receiving supplementary benefit, a fixed amount below the non-householder scale rate. This will be topped up by a training supplement, where appropriate, to the person's level of benefit entitlement. People getting this training supplement will continue to qualify for single payments, certificated housing benefit and other passported benefits without the need for any special arrangements.

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Benefits

Mr. Gordon Brown asked the Sec of State for Social Services what is his estimate of the numbers and proportion of unemployed persons who are not in receipt of any social security benefit.

Mr. Lyell: At 14 August 1986 the total number of unemployed claimants was 3,168,100. Of these 520,548 (16.43 per cent.) were not in receipt of unemployment benefit or supplementary benefit (though some may have had other benefits, for example, child benefit).

Vol 108 No 35 P 483

Youth Training Scheme

Mr. Hargreaves asked the Paymaster General how many people entered the youth training scheme in Hyndburn and North East Lancashire in 1985; what was the placement percentage; and how many people completed the scheme.

Mr. Lee [pursuant to his reply, 19 January 1987]: Between April 1985 and March 1986 a total of 1,145 young people entered YTS in Hyndburn and a total of 1,190 entered in the rest of North East Lancashire.

The Manpower Services Commission follow-up survey of YTS leavers shows that of those who left YTS schemes in Hyndburn between April 1985 and March 1986, 68 per cent. were in work some three months after leaving and 78 per cent. were either in work or in further education/training. The comparable figures for the rest of North East Lancashire are 66 per cent. in work and 77 per cent. either in work or in further education/training.

From April 1985 until March 1986 a total of 469 young people completed YTS schemes in Hyndburn and 536 completed in the rest of North East Lancashire.

Mr. S. R. Edwards (Child Benefit)

Mr. Terry Davis asked the Secretary of State for Social Services when the arrears of child benefit will be paid to Mr. S. R. Edwards, as promised in the letter of 16th July 1986 from the child benefit centre to Mr. Edwards; and whether he will explain why it has then taken such a long time to pay this money to Mr. Edwards.

Mr. Lyell: This was a complex case but the arrears of benefit have now been paid. I am sending a detailed reply to the hon. Member's letter of 24 December 1986.

Drug Addicts

Mr. Beith asked the Secretary of State for Social Services why he proposes to make plastic rather than glass syringes available to drug addicts at the centres announced in his answer of 18 December to the hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Galley) Official Report, column 703.

Mrs. Currie: Glass syringes require sterilisation between use. Experience has shown that injecting drug misusers do not always follow sterilising procedures when using injecting equipment.

Plastic syringes are for single use only and will help to reduce the risk of infection caused by the sharing of injecting equipment.

Mr. Dobson asked the Secretary of State for Social Services which special health authorities have beds available in special in-patient units for drug misusers.

Mrs. Currie: At December 1985 National Health Service returns indicated that there was a special unit exclusively for the in-patient treatment of drug dependence in Bethlem Royal and Maudesley special health authority hospital.

Mr. Aspinwall asked the Secretary of State for Social Services how many in-patient beds there are for registered drug addicts in Avon; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Currie: On 31 December 1985 there were no special units in Bristol and Weston, Frenchay or Southmead district health authorities for the in-patient treatment of drug misusers. Most people admitted for drug misuse are treated in general psychiatric wards and not in beds specifically assigned for drug misuse.

Diabetics

Mr. Beith asked the Secretary of State for Social Services whether diabetics requiring insulin injections will be precluded from obtaining disposable syringes or needles in any answer of 18 December to the hon. Member for Halifax (Mr. Galley) Official Report, column 703; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Currie: The schemes refered to in my right hon. Friend's reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Halifax (Mr. Galley) on 18 December at column 703 are being set up specifically to counter the spread of the AIDS virus among injecting drug misusers. Any exchange of used and possibly infected needles and syringes will be accompanied by advice and counselling for the individual's drug misuse problem and about AIDS and the risks of infection through the use of contaminated equipment.

If single use of disposable syringes and needles are necessary for diabetic treatment they may be supplied through the hospital service. Free reusable syringes and needles are supplied to all diabetic patients requiring them.

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Board and Lodging

Mr. Austin Mitchell asked the Secretary of State for Social Services if he has any proposals for relaxing the restrictions on bed and breakfast accommodation and lodging allowances for the duration of the present cold spell.

Mr. Major: There is already an extensive list of exemption from the time limits on supplementary benefits board and lodging payments to protect vulnerable groups, such as the long-term sick and disabled. There is also a discretionary power to exempt in individual cases to prevent exceptional hardship.

Vol 108 No 35 898/901

Rent Control (New Lettings) Abolition

3.52 pm

Mr. Michael Brown (Brigg and Cleethorpes): I beg to move,

That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Rent Acts to permit new lettings to be free of rent controls.

The Bill is designed to enable more people in Britain to be housed. One of the problems of housing in Britain is homelessness. Empty homes, whether in the public or private sectors are a waste.

It has been said:

"Local authorities estimate—these are the only estimates we have—that in England 545,000 private sector homes were empty in April 1985. Nearly 100,000 of them were in London, where the problem of homelessness is greatest. Many of those homes, but not all — even some needing refurbishment—could be let to people who need them if landlords were not inhibited by the effects of the Rent Acts."

—[Official Report, 19 February 1986; Vol. 92, c. 381.]

Those are not my words, but the words of my hon. Friend the Minister for Housing, Urban Affairs and Construction who spoke so eloquently on 19 February 1986. How right he was. [Laughter.] Opposition Members may scoff at those words, but they were true then and if they were true then, they are even more true today.

We all recognise that there is a problem of homelessness, and that over 500,000 homes are available in Britain. Surely there is little doubt, even among those blinkered Opposition Members, that if we seriously want to do something about the problem of homelessness, it is the Rent Acts which are standing in our way.

I acknowledge that there are people who benefit from the Rent Acts. Indeed, my Bill specifically excludes, by both its short and long titles, those people who benefit from the Rent Acts. But there can be little doubt that at present in Britain there is a demand for rented accommodation which is not being met because of the Rent Acts, which have been on the statute book for several decades.

Surely the time has now come for us to give the British people the right to rent. There are people in Britain who want to be tenants in council houses and they still have that right. There are many people who wanted the right to become home owners, and my hon. Friend and his predecessors gave them that right. But there are single people in Britain who come to London for the first time to start their working career, as I did in the early 1970s: I must be typical of many hundreds of thousands of single people who, in their early twenties, leave the provinces for London and face the problem of a shortage of accommodation. They would be willing customers of the suppliers of private rented accommodation.

I recognise that one must go slowly in such matters, but, heaven knows, we have gone at a snail's pace in the past in addressing ourselves to this delicate problem. I also recognise that it would be unfair at this stage to include within the scope of my Bill those who are at the moment beneficiaries under the Rent Acts. But there is little doubt from the statistics of comparison available between Britain and other countries that Britain has a low level of supply of rented accommodation. In West Germany, 36 per cent. of households rent from private landlords; in France, the figure is 32 per cent., and in the United States it is 33 per cent. In Britain it is just 9 per cent. In those other countries, private renting is not the major political issue that it is in the United Kingdom.

We must ask—the question is posed not by me but by my hon. Friend the Minister for Housing, Urban Affairs and Construction in his excellent speech last year—why we in the United Kingdom seem to concentrate on just two types of tenure—home ownership or council tenancy. There must be an alternative middle way to supply accommodation for those people who wish to have the right to rent.

We know that more than 500,000 homes in Britain are empty. They must be empty because of the restrictions of current and previous legislation. I believe that there is a willingness on the part of the Government to address themselves to the problem of homelessness in a way that no other Government have done in the past.

It may be possible for the Bill to reach the statute book in the present session of Parliament. However, I recognise that that is a big step. If the Bill is given a fair passage this afternoon, it is more likely that it will be a spur to my hon. Friend and his colleagues to ensure that it is included as a firm commitment by the Government in the Conservative party's next election manifesto. The people in Britain who are homeless and looking for rented accommodation and who want to exercise that right to rent will be able to do so only with a Conservative Government.

If I am successful this afternoon, I would dearly wish my hon. Friends in the Department of the Environment to ensure that Government time is made available so that the Government's clear wish can come to pass before the next election. I recognise, eternal optimist though I am, that might be difficult. I note that my right hon. Friend the Leader of the House is here and he might wish to make Government time available. But if, by chance, there is some difficulty, I urge my hon. Friends to pick up the Bill immediately they are re-elected after the next general election.

3.59 pm

Mr. David Winnick (Walsall, North): I begin by congratulating the hon. Member for Brigg and Cleethorpes (Mr. Brown) on raising this matter. He has done us a service by spotlighting what would certainly occur if, by some mischance, this Government were re-elected. I remind him that, when the hon. Member for Eastbourne (Mr. Gow) was Minister for Housing, Urban Affairs and Construction, he tried to persuade the Cabinet, of which he was not a member, to bring forward legislation along the lines advocated by the hon. Gentleman today. The hon. Member for Eastbourne was reported in the press as having been quite upset when the Cabinet told him that no action would be taken in that Parliament.

The Cabinet is no less keen and enthusiastic in wishing to see the decontrol of the privately rented sector than the hon. Members for Eastbourne and for Brigg and Cleethorpes. The Prime Minister and her Cabinet colleagues simply consider it unwise to take any action before the next election. That is why, unlike last Friday, the ministerial payroll will abstain today. Eighteen months ago, when I opposed a private ten-minute Bill, it was lost by one vote. I am sure that the ministerial payroll will abstain today and that I shall be proved right.

The present Housing Minister, as the hon. Member for Brigg and Cleethorpes said, has made the Government's position perfectly clear. He has done us a service by spotlighting what would certainly occur if, by some mischance, this Government were re-elected. In February last year, he said that there was little point in putting forward major legislation halfway through a Parliamentary term because of what he described as the destructive attitude which the Labour party was sure to take. If by "destructive attitude" he means that the Labour party would defend the right of private tenants to have protection on rents and security, we plead guilty. We are not ashamed of that.

Moreover, in his speech at the party conference on 7 October last year, the Minister made it clear that the Government, if re-elected, would remove controls and security of tenure from new lettings.

The Minister referred during that speech and on other occasions to "Socialist controls" in the privately rented sector. If they are "Socialist controls" why have they not been removed in nearly eight years of a Right-wing Conservative Administration? Why were these "Socialist controls" agreed to by the Conservatives when the Labour party was in office? The Conservatives made it clear that they would not oppose the Rent Acts being restored?

The hon. Member for Brigg and Cleethorpes was right in one respect—there is an acute housing crisis, but deregulating the privately rented sector would make it far worse. The Conservatives use the same argument that was used when the Rent Act 1957 was going through. In 1956 the right hon. Member for South Down (Mr. Powell), when he was a junior housing Minister said that deregualtion would provide more tenancies and more flexibility. The same argument is used today by the housing Minister, other Ministers and the hon. Member for Brigg and Cleethorpes today.

In June 1956, before the 1957 Act came on the Statute Book, there were 6.5 million private dwellings. In 1961, after four years of the Act, there were 5 million. Where were the further dwellings?

The truth is that, once the places became vacant, many of the owners simply sold them off. Therefore, the Act which provided for decontrol led not to more but to substantially less rented accommodation. The Rent Act 1957 led to something else. It led to great homelessness, misery and injustice for many many private tenants and to Rachmanism. It led to the terror that existed in parts of London and other places, where Rachman and his agents were even willing to use Alsation dogs to force tenants out.

When the hon. Member for Brigg and Cleethorpes says that existing tenants will be protected, I say that, if deregulation came along, there would be great harassment and intimidation of sitting tenants, in order to get them out so that the places would become decontrolled and the landlord could let those places without any limits on rent and without any security. Hundreds of thousands of existing private tenants would be greatly at risk if this Government were re-elected and they introduced another Act like the 1957 Act. I say to the Labour Front Bench and to the Labour party nationally that we have a duty and a responsibility to ensure that, during the election campaign, we warn private tenants what is likely to happen if the Tories win.

Many, many people are desperately in need of accommodation, but they will not find that accommodation at a reasonable rent in any deregulated private sector. That is why it is so necessary for local authorities to start building once again. This year, there will probably be even fewer than 30,000 new dwellings built by local authorities and housing associations. So many of our people are desperately in need of housing. They want rented housing, but they will get adequate rented housing at a reasonable rent and with protection only from the public sector.

I call on my right hon. and hon. Friends to oppose this Bill, to ensure that, even in this Tory-dominated House of Commons, private tenants will continue to have that protection.

Mr. Speaker: The question is that the hon. Member

Mr. Tony Marlow (Northampton, North): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker.

Mr. Speaker: Order. I must put the Question.

Question put, pursuant to Standing Order No. 15 (Motions for leave to bring in Bills and nomination of Select Committees at commencement of public business):—

The House divided: Ayes 132, Noes 144.

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Community Programme

Mr. Leighton asked the Paymaster General how much was spent last year on community programme linked training; how much will be spent in the current year; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Lee: In 1985-86 it is provisionally estimated that £3.5 million was spent on community programme linked training. The figure planned for 1986-87 is £5.2 million.

Mr. Leighton asked the Paymaster General how many places there are at present on national initiatives on the community programme.

Mr. Lee: At the latest count, in November 1986, there were 26,100 filled places on national initiatives.

Mr. Leighton asked the Paymaster General, what proportion of community programme participants are subject to an EC4 form.

Mr. Leighton: The EC4 form referred to by the hon. Member is a record of termination of employment by participants on the community programme. Its purpose is to provide information on the success of community programme workers in going on to other employment and training opportunities.

However, since completion of the form is voluntary the information provided is incomplete and I am unable to answer the question in the form requested. In order to improve this source of information, however, the form has been revised and from 2 February 1987 there will be a requirement for project sponsors to complete it.

Community Programme

Mr. Leighton asked the Paymaster General how many schemes for tender currently exist on the community programme; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Lee: Schemes for tender arrangements were introduced in 1982 in order to encourage the building industry to participate in the community programme, and its predecessor the community enterprise programme, by allowing private building contractors to tender for, and sponsor, building projects.

Although a small number of projects are known to have operated under these arrangements, no central record is kept and it is not possible to state with any certainty how many such projects are currently running. However, the arrangements have not been widely used and as a result discussions have been taking place with the building employers about how they might be improved. Currently the Manpower Services Commission is awaiting detailed proposals from the building employers in this regard.

Centres for the Unemployed

Mr. Pike asked the Paymaster General if the Manpower Services Commission will continue to develop joint sponsorship of centres for the unemployed with local authorities.

Mr. Lee: The Manpower Services Commission currently provides funds through the community programme to provide employment opportunities for long-term unemployed people at 83 centres for the unemployed, all of which are sponsored by local authorities. There are no plans to develop further such projects within the community programme.

Mr. Pike asked the Paymaster General how his Department assesses the success of trade union centres for the unemployed receiving Manpower Services Commission support.

Mr. Lee: All community programme projects are monitored to ensure that they meet the objectives of the programme, are managed effectively, and provide worthwhile employment opportunities for long-term unemployed people.

Employment Statistics

Mr. Flannery asked the Paymaster General what is the net loss in manufacturing jobs in the South Yorkshire Region since 1979.

Mr. Lee: The precise information requested is not available. The Department's statistics for the county monitor only net changes in employment between census dates.

The available figures are from the September 1981 and the preceding June 1978 census of employment. In that period there was a net change of minus 47,500 employees in manufacturing industries, as defined according to the Standard Industrial Classification 1968, in the county of South Yorkshire. The September 1984 census estimates for counties are not yet available. Between censuses, employment statistics are based on small-scale sample inquiries which cannot produce reliable results for areas smaller than the standard economic regions.

Mr. Gordon Brown asked the Paymaster General what is the decline in numbers and as a percentage between 1979 and June 1986 in (a) construction employment and (b) construction and manufacturing employment in (i) Great Britain and (ii) the United Kingdom.

Mr. Lee: The information is as follows:

Employees in employment: net changes between June 1979 and June 1976

	Great Britain Numbers	Percentage	United Kingdom Numbers	Percentage
Construction industry (5)[1]	−235,000	−19.6	−252,000	−20.4
Construction and manufacturing industries (2-5)[1]	−2,194,000	−26.4	−2,259,000	−26.6

[1] The figures in brackets denote the Divisions of the 1980 Standard Industrial Classification.

Employment Measures

Dr. McDonald asked the Paymaster General if he will publish in the *Official Report* the percentage of those long-term unemployed leaving the employment register after being contacted through the restart scheme, who have been (a) added to the sickness register or (b) added to the disablement register; and if he will further break down the latter figure, according to sex and age groups (i) under 24 years, (ii) 25 years to 44 years, (iii) 45 years to 59 years and (iv) over 60 years.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: I will reply to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

Dr. McDonald asked the Paymaster General (1) if he will publish in the *Official Report* for each job club (a) its location, (b) the length of time it has been operational, (c) the number of males and females who have been members, (d) the percentage success rate in each case and (e) the average number of weeks as a member (i) for those unemployed finding employment through the job club system and (ii) for those unemployed leaving the job club scheme not having found employment;

(2) if he will number and identify (a) those groups who have been successful in finding employment through the job club system, and (b) those groups who have left the job club system not having found employment, in terms of standard age groups, sex, and standard duration of prior unemployment groups;

(3) if he will publish in the *Official Report* in respect of (a) the community programme, (b) the enterprise allowance scheme, (c) the restart scheme, (d) the job club system, and (e) the job start scheme (i) the statistical survey title, (ii) the survey date, (iii) the publication date; and if for each item he will show the distinction between surveys of the pilot, participant or follow-up types.

Mr. Lee: I will reply to the hon. Member as soon as possible.

Mr. Knox asked the Paymaster General how much the Manpower Services Commission spend on employment measures per head of the labour force in (a) each English region, (b) Scotland and (c) Wales.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: The figures for approximate total estimated expenditure in 1986-87 on all Manpower Services Commission programmes, including employment and training measures, are given in the table below. Manpower Services Commission salaries, capital expenditure, central services and some other costs which cannot be apportioned by region are excluded.

Approximate spend per head of the labour force[1]

Manpower Services Commission Region	£
South East	59
London	66
South West	121
Midlands	116
Yorkshire and Humberside	131
North West	179
Northern	161
Wales	143
Scotland	107
Great Britain	107

[1] The labour force includes the employed and self-employed, and the unemployed who are available for work.

Mr. Aspinwall asked the Paymaster General how many people in Avon have left the enrolment register through the Restart Programme since it started.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke [*pursuant to his reply*, Monday 19 January 1987]: We have no means of knowing what proportion of the 2,706 long-term unemployed people who have left the unemployment count in Avon since the beginning of the Restart scheme did so as a direct result of the scheme. Long-term unemployed people leave unemployment for a variety of reasons, including finding work, or training with or without the assistance offered at Restart interviews, Restart training courses and at job clubs.

Mr. Sheerman asked the Paymaster General what was the total cost per head for breakfasts provided for business bodies and opinion formers at the Action for Jobs launches.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke [*pursuant to his reply*, Monday 19 January 1987]: Costs vary from place to place, but the average total cost per head of the breakfast is £4.90.

Mr. Sheerman asked the Paymaster General (1) out of whose budget the cost of the breakfast launches for Action for Jobs for opinion formers and business bodies comes;

(2) what has been the breakdown of costs for the breakfast launch of Action for Jobs on a region by region basis;

(3) what has been the total cost to the Government of the breakfast presentations to business leaders and opinion formers in relation to the Action for Jobs projects.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke [*pursuant to his reply*, 19 January 1987]: The total cost of the breakfast presentations held in 1986 was £164,141.56. This figure represents 0.0055 per cent. of the total £2.956 billion expenditure by the Department of Employment and Manpower Services Commission this year on employment, enterprise and training measures. I believe that this expenditure is necessary to increase knowledge of the programmes that we now have on offer among those who are intended to benefit from them and who can help others to benefit from them. The table allocates the costs by Department of Employment regions:

Region	Cost £
Midlands	25,783.75
South West	36,365.70
Yorkshire and Humberside	3,794.28
North West	57,429.62
South East	37,151.91
Scotland	3,616.30

Action for Jobs expenditure is included in the Department of Employment's budget Vote 3.

Mr. Sheerman asked the Paymaster General (1) how many opinion formers and business leaders have been invited to the breakfast launches of the Action for Jobs programme (a) nationally and (b) by region;

(2) which cities and towns have been used for the launch of breakfast presentations by the Action for Jobs project.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke [*pursuant to his reply*, Monday 19 January 1987]: Thirteen breakfast presentations were held in 1986 to increase awareness of the employment, enterprise and training measures offered by my Department and the Manpower Services Commission and particularly to reach local employers whose participation is crucial to the success of many of the programmes. Invitations to the breakfasts were sent to some 13,643 people in all. The location of the breakfasts and the numbers invited are listed below by Department of Employment region:

Region	Locations	Number invited
Midlands	Leicester, Birmingham, Droitwich	2,888
South West	Bristol, Bournemouth	2,613
Yorks and Humberside	Leeds	804
North West	Carlisle, Chester, Manchester, Burnley	4,355
South East	Maidstone, Brighton	2,481
Scotland	Edinburgh	502
		13,643

We intend to hold breakfast presentations in the following towns and cities in the early part of 1987.

Region	Locations
Yorks and Humberside	York
South East	London
Eastern	Cambridge
Scotland	Glasgow, Ayr
Northern	Middlesbrough, Newcastle

contributors

Pete Bramham is a lecturer at Bradford and Ilkley College.

John Bynner is Co-ordinator of the E.S.R.C. 16-19 Initiative, at the Open University School of Education.

Brian Caul is Head of Student Services at the University of Ulster at Coleraine.

Angus Erskine works with the Centre for Employment Initiatives, Edinburgh.

Christine Griffin is a lecturer in Social Psychology at Brunel University and has been involved in Youth Work with girls since 1979.

Marion Leigh is an independent consultant and trainer in the education field.

Trefor Lloyd is a self-employed trainer.

Stuart Murray is a lecturer at Waltham Forest College in North East London.

Mike Neary is the Co-ordinator of Wandsworth Youth Development.

Tim Pickles works for the Scottish I.T. Resource Centre.

John Plowman is a lecturer in Sociology & Psychology at Crosskeys College, Gwent.

Colin Randall is the Co-ordinator of the Centre for a Working World.

Ken Roberts works at the Department of Sociology, University of Liverpool.

Karen Ross, is a Youth Training Scheme Employment Worker for Tooting Youth Project.

Chris Skelton is a lecturer in Teaching Studies at Sunderland Polytechnic.

Debbie Smith is a Community Outreach Worker with Northumbria Probation Service.

Anne Thompson was a Co-ordinator with Youth Action, Hull. She is now doing research on women and sport.

Jenny Williams is Principal Lecturer in Sociology at Wolverhampton Polytechnic.

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contents

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