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Editorial Group:

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in defence of initial training

John Holmes

A student who had just been awarded a youth and community work qualification after 2 years full-time study commented that she had recently read the article by Tony Jeffs and Mark Smith 'What future for initial training?'⁽¹⁾ and was now unsure of the value of the last 2 years. The following is an attempt to re-assure this and other students that they should value their qualifications and defend a form of education which has much to offer a number of possible occupations involved with working with people. It is also argued that the 2 year courses have much to teach others who are running or setting up similar courses.

Supply and Demand Issues

The need for the defence of 2 year initial training has never been greater for while the Youth Service is not yet a 'beached whale'⁽²⁾ it is clearly undergoing a period of considerable change with the movement from Education to leisure services in some local authorities, the inclusion within community education in other authorities and the growth of competing social work, police and MSC models of working with young people. With the closure of one of the long standing 2 year courses at Crewe and Alsager due to the politics of higher education, and the Council of Education and Training in Youth and Community Work promoting alternative routes to qualification (mainly apprentice type and post-graduate diplomas), it is clearly not a time for complacency. There is a danger that with the proliferation of new training initiatives, often led by employers, that the trainers within the agencies who have developed around the 2 year model will retreat into fighting survival battles within their own institutions of higher education. This would be a considerable loss to the development of professional training for the 2 year courses can provide a considerable stock of knowledge for new developments as well as the central core of initial training for the foreseeable future.

With interest focussed on alternative routes to qualification (apprenticeship schemes, post-graduate diplomas, distance-learning and part-time in-service courses) it is easy to forget that in sheer numbers the 2 year specialised courses at present make up over 75% of all output. Even with the most optimistic forecasts in terms of increasing supply they will continue to make up the majority of annual output⁽³⁾.

A notable omission of the section of the Jeffs and Smith article entitled, 'The failure of professionalisation'⁽⁴⁾ was the recognition of the importance of the change in 1988 that demands a specialist qualification for JNC posts. This is a critical and crucial step for an emerging profession, although it is true that it is very difficult to estimate the likely shortfall in terms of supply. Jeffs and Smith are also wrong to place so

much emphasis on teacher entry to youth and community work posts as evidence of the failure of professionalisation. Recent analysis of the register of youth and community workers⁽⁵⁾ now housed by CETYCW shows that the upward trend of an increasing proportion of teacher-qualified workers during the 1970s has been reversed and in 1987 more workers have a specialist qualification than a teaching qualification. Whereas as in the late 1970s over 50% of workers were teacher trained (with or without a youth option) and less than 20% specialist-trained⁽⁶⁾ the comparable figures in 1987 are 36% (including B.ED Youth and Community courses) and 37% respectively. Although those having received specialist training are not yet a majority of all workers, this will be achieved within a few years if present trends continue.

It is also misleading to compare unfavourably youth and community work to social work with regards to reliance on unqualified workers⁽⁷⁾. Although often not having received any specialist training, teacher-trained entrants who are now practising as youth and community workers are recognised as qualified and will continue to be after 1988. The proportion of actual unqualified workers has fallen steadily since the mid 1970s from 18% in 1975 to 11% in 1987 (compared to nearly 30% in social work) and with the JNC ruling on trainee posts there is every indication this will continue.

Partly by quoting my own research of the 1970s Jeffs and Smith are able to paint a picture of 2 year training which is now outmoded and has failed to make the critical breakthrough to professional status. The identikit I constructed of the 2 year student of the 1970s⁽⁸⁾ is now significantly out of date because the 2 year courses have been responding to new developments and in particular, have increased the output of women and black students. There must be concern whether these students will take up jobs in the Youth Service or elsewhere⁽⁹⁾ but it does demonstrate that the 2 year courses are concerned with professional development.

Jeffs and Smith argue that the senior posts of the Youth Service are occupied by those with higher status forms of professional and academic qualification than the 2 year qualification⁽¹⁰⁾. This is hardly surprising given that the time from leaving a 2 year course is only 15 years and for most ex-students is much less. The potential for 2 year graduates to move into officer/adviser posts, training agencies, HMI positions, is difficult to ascertain as so little research has been done of these groups. Much more important is the trend over the next few years than the actual numbers in post now from the 2 year courses.

The crucial issue of the potential shortfall of workers in the Youth Service is seen as unimportant by Jeffs and Smith because 'the entrepreneurial spirit lurking within higher education would quickly ensure the space should funding be forthcoming!'⁽¹¹⁾.

Certainly there are people ready to respond, both within higher education and outside, but a response which is tuned to the demands of the field both regionally and in terms of the most appropriate forms of training requires planning ahead. It is hoped that the current research project analysing Youth Service staffing will provide information on the changing demand for qualified workers, which will lead the DES and LEAs to make rational responses as well as trainers and potential trainers. The present position whereby about 13% of ex-students remain unemployed 6 months after leaving courses⁽¹²⁾ is relatively good with some choosing not to look for work at this stage but it hides a changing job market, which will demand a revision of course curricula.

The strengths of the 2 year training courses

It is sometimes an advantage in coming from a different perspective and seeing what insiders take for granted. The sociology of education has demonstrated for years that schooling tends to reproduce and legitimate the inequalities of society. This is even more true today with the growing inequalities within society. Adult education has had a significance beyond the student numbers involved in emphasising that the division forged in schools are not immutable and that those women, black students and others from working-class backgrounds and deprived areas, can achieve in, and benefit from, education. However, much adult education has promised a lot more than it has delivered in these terms. Adult education itself reproduces a tiered system in being overwhelmingly middle-class but with some initiatives for working-class adults. Further and higher education as well as the MSC even more clearly channel people according to class, race and gender to their allotted place in a highly unequal, hierarchical society. It is not surprising that the elite world of higher education has become increasingly closed to working-class entrants in recent years.

It is in this context of higher education that 2 year training courses have been developed. These courses have not only been open in access to those from a wide range of backgrounds but are also open in their curricula and allow an expression and sharing of different cultures. It is not uncommon for other forms of professional training to provide a route out of a working-class background but this is usually done in a way that socialises students into a professional, middle-class culture. This can involve a denial of cultural roots if students are to succeed. The 2 year courses that have resisted the conventional higher education academic entry criteria have done much to ensure a wide access to talented individuals. However, open access is insufficient to ensure success and too often higher education reproduces existing divisions by failing those students who do not conform to academic criteria, or as in the case of the Open University, losing them by drop-out⁽¹³⁾. What is significant and maybe unique about youth and community work training is that the relations and curricula encourage success from those who are expected to fail in other environments.

This educational method demands the confidence that adults derive from life experience and work experience and a curriculum that encourages this to be expressed as valid knowledge. This curriculum has been forthcoming within

youth and community work training. It has been largely developed within the 2 year courses because of strongly held views on student participation in the control of courses, of dialogue as a basis for training, and a resistance to over-academic conceptions of knowledge. It is true that thinking has been influenced by the student activism of the 1960s but this strand of thought, while often over idealistic did demonstrate that it is possible for the meaning and value of education to be re-awakened by some of the rejects and drop-outs from conventional schooling, and in the process achieve high standards of work.

Jeffs and Smith make much of the supposed anti-theoretical and anti-intellectual basis of youth and community work training. If by this they mean a resistance to pseudo scientific bases for knowledge and to jargon-ridden presentation then trainers and students have a right to be sceptical, even if other occupational groups are claiming professional status on the basis of such mystification. Only by so doing can the experience of students be recognised as valid. It is true that some students come to courses with an inflated view of their own experience which is defined as practical and guided by some ill defined intuition or gut feeling. This is often a defence mechanism against a threatening academic world which has previously defined them as inadequate or incompetent. It is difficult to talk of all courses but this can be one of the demanding but exciting challenges of a course to get students to examine their own practice, discover and analyse their own theoretical underpinnings (which must be there however unreflected upon) and then compare their theory to alternative theories.

This process is only possible with considerable intensive small group and individual work in which students are able to challenge tutors and other students and be challenged themselves but in a supportive way. It is to be wondered how much Mark Smith's frustrations over 'anti-intellectualism and anti-theory' derives from his own experience with the distance learning course at the YMCA. Distance learning has in other areas a strong tendency towards the one-way transmission of knowledge, and this knowledge being defined in over academic terms, which tends to divide theory and practice⁽¹⁴⁾. The 2 year courses have the advantage of the space, time and extended 2-way relationships to explore theoretical underpinnings. Often this is done through articles that are specific to youth and community work and books that are general to working with people. This does not build up the shelf of academic books on youth work desired of Jeffs and Smith but may be of more relevance to future practice. How many workers in whichever sphere of people-work have the time to sit and read books? Maybe it is better and more realistic to establish a practice of reading articles, journals and reports.

The resistance to the academic tradition within 2 year courses has created numerous problems within the elitist world of higher education but it has made courses of more relevance to the field than in some other areas. The relationships between the training agencies and the field have been fraught but a degree of tension is inevitable, even healthy, and it is to be remembered that the courses have been called 'training agencies' from the start. They have not rejected the vocational implications of this name. They have been concerned with the job prospects of their students and have conducted regular research to understand the current position⁽¹⁵⁾. The training agencies have not resisted but actively promoted apprenticeship courses, have kept an open mind about accrediting learning from experience and have offered to share their experience with those developing new initiatives. It is

true that there are now doubts being raised about the employer-led training initiatives but this is from a concern that vocationalism could be defined too narrowly and close off opportunities for those so qualified. Not only could qualifications so gained not be accepted in other local authorities but there are clear dangers for the profession in training becoming too distanced from institutions of higher education.

The Dilemmas of Professionalisation

The nub of the case by Jeffs and Smith would appear to be based on the case that youth and community work has failed to achieve professional status where other people-work professionals have succeeded. In particular it is argued that those people-work professionals that have made their case for taking responsibility for young people (social workers, teachers, probation officers) have increasingly colonised areas that youth and community workers might have seen as their specialist professional responsibility. The training agencies are seen as a major cause of the failure of professionalisation in youth and community work.

There is certainly doubt in the minds of those who make decisions influencing this occupation about the professional claims of youth and community work. These decision makers include central and local government officials and politicians and other people-work professionals. A case can be made that as a result of doubts or ignorance about youth and community work, this field has lost out in recent years. But other decision makers are the workers themselves and the users or 'clients' they work with. It is less clear if the perception of professional status is such an apparent advantage and some students in training rightly doubt if this should be their aim.

Students on courses can see the fear and resentment engendered in people by those who justify their authority by an expertise mystified by jargon and said to be beyond the knowledge of their 'clients'. Sometimes it is accepted, albeit with resentment, when the knowledge the professional possesses is medical or legal but the risks run by groups such as journalists, teachers or social workers, are clear whenever there is another court case or official enquiry which shatters the myth that their exclusive expertise was a sufficient basis for people's trust. Child abuse scandals and the like can be turned around to justify increased professionalisation (e.g. 3 year Social Work courses) by stating that only by controlling entry to the profession can such incidents be reduced but the risks are then even greater and it is highly unlikely that rigid entry criteria will eliminate scandals. However, it is extremely difficult for any occupational group which has legal powers to enforce, such as taking children into care or ensuring attendance at school, to defend itself in our society without taking the route of attempting to increase professionalisation.

This is not to say that such attempts to gain professional status will ever be secure for not only will the profession continue to run the risk of exposing differences between theory and practice, but will do so in what is clearly a hostile social context to people-work professionals as a whole. Not only are many people looking for a chance to expose the inadequacies of professionals but the linked government policies of cutting local authority expenditure and returning services to the private sector make the welfare professions vulnerable. The bitter battles over pay and conditions of service have demonstrated the weakness and divisions of welfare professionals and the government aim of discrediting their claims to justify removing further areas of professional autonomy. It seems odd that Jeffs and Smith pick out youth

and community workers as those who have failed to achieve professional status⁽¹⁶⁾ when most welfare professionals must feel bruised and threatened by central government policy. It is teachers, social workers and nurses who have been in the front line of these conflicts.

Jeffs and Smith quote Wilding that one of the functions of the professions is to give tangible expression of public concern regarding private troubles which have been translated into public issues⁽¹⁷⁾. It was C. Wright Mills who first coined the phrase of translating private troubles into public issues and saw this as a crucial role for the sociological imagination⁽¹⁸⁾. It is not surprising that both sociology and welfare professions are under attack from a government which wishes to privatise as many areas of life as possible. The successes of the government in achieving its policy have been much helped by a privatisation ideology which has been able to point to public sector professionals who set themselves up above people and are unresponsive to 'consumer' demand. The fear and resentment felt by many people towards welfare professionals has proved to be fertile ground especially in the minds of many working-class people. The question of translating private problems into public issues has proved to be 'which public defines the issues?'.

What is largely hidden by the rhetoric about responsiveness to consumer demand is the way in which central government has increasingly come to define the response to public issues which cannot be privatised, or not at present. The clear government aim is to pursue policy with or without the consent of welfare professionals and with much greater control over the implementation of that policy. The position that the welfare professions could increasingly find themselves in is the unenviable one of having insufficient professional clout to defend themselves from central government initiatives yet also alienated from the 'client' groups who might lend their weight to supporting them. The risk of aiming for the trappings of professional status and esteem is to be left, so to speak, between the devil and the deep blue sea.

The position of youth and community work is one where to lose credibility with 'client groups' is particularly damaging but also increasingly likely with the alienation of so many young people from present society. Youth and community work does not have the power of compulsory attendance of schooling, I.T. and MSC, and so relies on being seen of some value and relevance. When this is achieved it is done not only by 'responding to consumer demand' but by having knowledge of the contemporary socio-economic and cultural issues which are affecting the dynamics of the lives of young people and other 'client' groups. Realistically only so much can be learnt from academic books and theory. Equally important is the varied cultural experience of student groups and the space to reflect on and learn from this experience during courses. It is for this reason that the success of the 2 year courses in promoting adult education for those groups who have been given up on, and themselves gave up on schooling is so important. The working-class, black and women students need to be given opportunities for professional training not for some notion of educational justice but because they will be able to work more effectively in a varied social field than a white, male, middle-class group who have 'learnt up' about disadvantage.

The position of black students who are currently undergoing training highlights some of the dilemmas facing workers about professionalisation. Many black students during training are conscious of the danger of losing contact with their own

communities as a result of being trained in institutions dominated by white values and being perceived, when they return as 'professionals', as agents of a profession with alien values whose primary aim is to control 'troublesome youth'. Not surprisingly black students usually continue to identify with their own communities and see themselves as better able to represent the legitimate claims about racism and injustice. In so doing they often hold back from some notion of a unified professional group.

However, to throw out all trappings of professionalisation would be self-defeating and could even reinforce the ghettoisation that is being fought against. Some of the recent moves to develop separate apprentice-model training in the inner-city areas suggest the institutionalisation of a second-class route of qualification which would reinforce the existing pattern whereby job opportunities for black students are largely limited to inner-city areas. Whatever the tensions caused by holding training within largely middle-class, white, higher education institutions they do have a number of advantages. They provide at present the opportunities for multi-cultural education and have better resources in terms of staffing and equipment for the intensive small group and individual work required to address the difficult issues raised by such mixed student groups. It is not clear how much longer this will be true with planned changes in higher education, but remains the case for now.

Equally at the worker level there is at least a degree of autonomy, if limited, that comes from being seen as a professional. It can help in crucial links with other agencies in the area of co-professionals. The alternative of being accountable to local communities is unlikely to be available in the increasingly political world of the inner-cities. More likely is that youth and community workers will find themselves as part of some inner-city taskforce directly controlled by MSC or some other central government quango.

It is a tightrope that black students will have to walk between laying claim to professional status that will alienate them from the very groups from which they must have respect and a sub-professional role which will result in a continuing second-class status and probable take-over by central government initiatives. This position is not that different from the youth and community work profession as a whole which runs the risks of not professionalising outlined by Jeffs and Smith but runs equal risks from a traditional form of professionalisation. An alternative form of professionalisation must be sought

which does not make discussion of participation and sharing sound like so much rhetoric.

The two year training courses still have much to offer in providing the basis for an alternative more democratic form of professionalisation. Policies relating to a wide basis of recruitment, to teaching method, to integrating theory and practice are all a good foundation for further development. This is not to say that training can stand still for clearly new developments are occurring but rather that these should initially be measured against the good practice of the 2 year courses. There is also a need to broaden the curriculum of courses so that the youth service does not become trapped into 'the ghetto of a leisure-based youth service'⁽¹⁹⁾. Rather than being a choice between e.g. leisure management, informal education or I.T., it would seem advisable to broaden courses to include the range of issues that are pressing on young people and many others, especially those living in the more deprived communities of Britain. This would include knowledge (if not expertise) of welfare services, housing, education and training opportunities, policing and juvenile justice, and health issues. This almost certainly would require a move to a 3 year course but for reasons of what is required of youth and community workers rather than parity of esteem with other people-work professionals. Such a move should not be allowed to jeopardise the principles already established by the 2 year courses for a democratically based profession.

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- Working for young people.

young people, sexuality education & AIDS

Peter Aggleton, Hilary Homans & Ian Warwick

At the time of writing (July 1987) about 800 men and women in Britain had been diagnosed as having AIDS and an estimated 50,000 others had been infected by the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), its putative cause. In the US some 30,000 people have been diagnosed with AIDS and an estimated 1½ to 2 million others have been infected. In Central African countries such as Zaire, Uganda and Zambia, it has been estimated that some 5 to 10% of the population has already been infected by the virus (Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences, 1986).

It is anticipated that unless the spread of HIV infection is checked in some way, then by 1991 the incidence of AIDS in GB may reach 20,000 (Weber, 1986) and in the US it may reach 135,000 (Lancet 1986). If these events occur, they will do so at a time when large numbers of people know how to prevent the spread of this most serious disease. We know, for example, that the virus responsible is transmitted in semen, vaginal fluid and blood. We know that it is **not** transmitted by coughs, sneezes, touch, social kissing, casual contact or by spending time in the same house, school or clinic as someone who has HIV infection. Thus, were every person to adopt reasonable and sensible precautions to ensure that they minimise the risk of coming into contact with, or transmitting the virus, the outlook could be far less bleak than the spreading scenario suggests.

In early 1986, the first government information campaign relating to AIDS and costing £2.5 million was announced. In November of the same year, a further £20 million was earmarked for a more co-ordinated and substantial programme of public information designed to enhance people's understanding of HIV infection and AIDS. Both of these campaigns have aimed specifically to increase public awareness of the **sexually transmitted aspects** of the disease, and have tried to bring about behavioural change as a means of containing the epidemic.

Unfortunately, the preliminary evaluations of the first of these two campaigns (which took the form of full page newspaper and magazine advertisements) carried out by both the Department of Health's own specialist advisers (DHSS, 1986) and by Mills et al (1986) at the University of Southampton indicate that if anything, people were **more** anxious and **less** knowledgeable about AIDS after the first of these campaigns than they had been beforehand. The second of these studies found that only 31% of respondents in Southampton were aware of the advertisements and concludes somewhat pessimistically that the campaign, 'seems to have had little effect on the public's knowledge of AIDS, and the increased

publicity may have caused some confusion about the principal causes of AIDS ..'

It is still too early to predict what the outcome of the most recent campaign will be. In addition to newspaper advertising, it uses television, radio and billboard announcements in order to enhance public awareness of AIDS as well as the steps that can be taken to minimise the risk of infection. However, research into the effectiveness of mass media campaigns in general as an approach to changing behaviour should make us less than optimistic about the possible outcomes. Gather et al (1979) for example argue that the most effective way of spreading health-related information is through word of mouth and personal contact, **not** through the mass media, and our own research (Aggleton, Homans and Warwick, 1987) would seem to suggest that one of the unintended consequences of the recent campaign has been to suggest that **everyone** is at risk of AIDS, whether or not they involve themselves in activities likely to result in the transmission of HIV. This has tended to confuse people and raise their levels of anxiety, rather than inform and re-assure.

Such a situation is clearly serious, not only for levels of public health but also for the members of those groups which have been quite erroneously identified by the popular press as the **causes** rather than the **first people to develop** AIDS. In Europe and North America, groups singled out for attention in this way have included gay and bisexual men, prostitutes and injecting drug users, as well as the residents of central African states such as Zaire, Zambia and Uganda. Somewhat curiously, given their under-representation in statistics relating to HIV infection and AIDS, young people too have been identified as a group likely to be at special risk of HIV infection and/or AIDS.

In this paper, we intend to raise a number of questions about the role that different kinds of health and sexuality education can play in helping people respond to the challenges posed by AIDS. While our emphasis will be upon young people, many of the issues we discuss have relevance also to those in their middle and later years. Indeed, in our view it has yet to be shown that the needs of young people and adults differ significantly within the context of AIDS education.

First we will focus on some of the assumptions and ideologies which underpin the way in which sex education in schools and elsewhere currently takes place. In doing this, we will identify some of the barriers which conventional sex education strategies are likely to create for effective education about HIV infection and AIDS.

Second, we will consider media representations of AIDS and the possible consequences of these for popular perceptions of risk. Reference will be made to preliminary findings from research carried out in connection with the project **Young People's Health Knowledge and AIDS**. As part of this work, a series of in-depth semi-structured interviews has recently been conducted with heterosexual and homosexual young women and men. These interviews have attempted not only to explore popular perceptions of HIV infection and AIDS, but to locate this health knowledge within the broader context of lay theories about the causes of health and illness in general.

Finally, we will consider the relevance of four more rather different health educational paradigms for effective AIDS education. These four **models of health education** as they are sometimes called, emphasise information-giving, self-empowerment, community-orientation and social transformation respectively.

Sex Education Today

Reading the popular press today, one might be forgiven for assuming that the curriculum of British primary and secondary schools is awash with teaching about sexuality, and that in every classroom there is a sexually 'permissive' teacher preaching the virtues of polymorphous perversity and criticising traditional 'family values'. In reality, of course, nothing could be further from the truth. Teaching about sex and sexuality is most usually conspicuous by its absence, and when sex education has been on the agenda, it has most often been within the context of concern about morals, social hygiene, sexual purity and the promotion of motherhood (Bland, 1982).

In the present century, there have been, and there continue to be, perennial debates about **who** should teach sex education - whether this should be the prerogative of parents, the task of the education system or the duty of the state. However, the grim reality for many young people today is that either sex education does not take place at all or, if it does, it appears in a strangely contorted and token form. As Lee (1983), a sex educator working in London schools has put it, the common reaction of teachers, parents and politicians has been to adopt a response of 'nervous neglect'. Amongst parents in particular, sex education is afforded low priority.

Well over 80% of the roughly 1500 teenagers I have seen in eight years of teaching say that they have had **no** sex education **whatsoever** within the home. No member of their family explained to them how sexual intercourse takes place, how a baby is born or **why** sexual intercourse takes place. Lee (1983) (with emphasis added)

A recent survey of parents' attitudes to sex education conducted by the Policy Studies Institute (Allen, 1987) has also found that parents do not see themselves as good sex educators. In this study, many parents stressed that they did not know how to express themselves when talking about sexuality with their teenage children, and most were very critical of the inadequacy of their own education in this respect. 96% of those surveyed said that schools should provide sex education and over a quarter wanted schools to take sole responsibility for teaching their children about sex.

In most schools, on the other hand, sex education makes spasmodic and sporadic appearances, most frequently under the guise of 'biology', 'personal hygiene' and 'physical education' and, more occasionally, as part of the personal and social education curriculum. As a teacher in Marshall and

Smith's (1986) recent study explained.

Sex education was taught in the third form in **one week** at the end of the summer term. During this week, a whole programme of films and specialised talks were organised by the head of Home Economics. It was a terribly limited programme which covered up the subject of sex education under the heading of 'health education'. It was very clinical. The whole stress was on hygiene and the prevention of misbehaviour. The whole emphasis was on VD and the pill. It relied very much on hidden notions of sin to keep the children clean.

Paradoxically, when young people themselves are asked what they want to learn about within the context of sex education, masturbation, homosexuality and the range of the sexual spectrum figure prominently on their agenda (WHO, 1984). It should come as little surprise to learn, therefore, that there is still a great deal of confusion in young people's minds about sex and sexuality. Lee (1983) cites examples of boys who believe that masturbation can cause sexually transmitted diseases, and who think that the word 'lesbian' means prostitute. She also quotes girls who know about the workings of the contraceptive pill but who believe that it should be inserted into the vagina, and others who believe that they can not become pregnant the first time they have intercourse.

Ideologies about sexuality

Of course, such confusions are not simply the result of inadequately reconciled debates about whose responsibility sex education is. They also relate to contradictions between the ideologies that operate within modern approaches to sex education.

From the beginning of this century, sex education in schools has been closely linked to a moral agenda whereby girls in particular should be directed 'away from promiscuity' towards parenthood (Bland, 1982). The early proponents of sex education in Edwardian Britain argued that a certain amount of sexual knowledge was necessary to **protect** girls and young women and to ensure that they sought sexual 'satisfaction' within monogamy, motherhood and marriage. As Dr Elizabeth Sloan Chesser put it at the turn of the century, '... The longing of every normal woman is to find happiness in sex union, and to exercise her functions physically and psychically in marriage and motherhood is an eradicable instinct ...' (cited in Bland, 1982) In retrospect of course it has been shown that these early moves for sex education in schools had less to do with protection than with the **regulation** of female sexuality, something deemed essential at the time in order to protect racial purity and social hygiene (Bland, 1982). Hygiene education (which was the most usual context within which sex education took place) thereby became an important forum for discussing not only hygiene itself but also moral and social restraint: the latter being particularly linked to the inculcation of respect for motherhood and domesticity (Davin, 1979).

Prior to the late 1940s when the first official literature for use in schools was produced, teachers were dependent largely on popular sources for their teaching materials. Many of the early texts available were written by medical writers but subsequently these authors were joined by an ever expanding number of sexologists. Within the tracts they produced, Marcell (1982) has identified the operation of two dominant modes of discourse. The first of these, which he calls the **obfuscatory paradigm** emphasises the **mystery** of life itself at the expense of clear understanding.

So, in response to the question 'Where do babies come from?' the wise parent or teacher in 1910 was advised to reply, '... This baby grew in mother's body. God has made a little room in mother's body purposely to hold a baby ...' (Hall & Hall, 1910). Nevertheless, accounts such as these were frequently linked to women's future role within the family as a nurturer of and provider for the child which 'God' had given her.

Looking at sex education materials available during the mid-twentieth century, the Birmingham Feminist History Group (BFHG, 1979) has identified the beginnings of a disjunction between official ideologies relating to sex education in schools and those operating in popular literature at the time. Whilst school based sex education remained pre-occupied with women's future role within the family, books and magazines for popular readership became more concerned to provide explicit information about the sex act itself. This brings us to the second of Marcell's paradigms - that which emphasises **scientific** explanation.

This sought to blend evolutionary theory with botanical and zoological explanation to provide accounts of sexual activity which were none the less obscure. Many of the explanations offered within this logic began by describing the ways in which plants and animals reproduced, and made copious reference to 'seeds' and 'eggs'. Hence adults might claim, '... The daddy puts a little seed, that grows inside him, right inside the mother, and when the daddy's seed and the mother's egg get together the baby begins to grow...' (Groves & Groves 1929) Explanations such as these were frequently couched within scientific-sounding terminology to give parents and teachers the chance to, as Hall and Hall (1910) put it, 'eliminate the personal element': something deemed eminently desirable within this objectivist mode of discourse. Furthermore, children were often introduced to the sexual activity of humans in a graded manner contingent upon their age. Hence, it was often presumed that younger children would have an easier time understanding the reproduction of simple organisms such as plants (via a consideration of the functions of stamens, pistils, anthers and calyxes) than that of animals. A little later, the sexual behaviour of molluscs, oysters and fish might be explored more fully, but only at an advanced age were the wonders of human reproduction considered to be fully comprehensible.

These evolutionary and biological perspectives were subsequently superceded by a 'new realism' within scientific explanation in the 1960s and 1970s. Here, and perhaps stimulated by Piagetian research into the conceptual limitations of concrete operational thought, children were taught that,

The penis consists of two (sic) long sausage like structures [and] the female anatomy can best be imagined as a person standing with two footballs one under each arm, and leaning slightly forwards. The footballs are the ovaries which produce the ovum (egg) each month, and are separate from the rest. The ovum crosses into the fimbriae (the fingers) and up the Fallopian tubes (the arms) into the body of the uterus (the body of the person). If it is not fertilised, the ovum is swept out into the vagina (the legs) and into the menstrual flow. (Bevan, 1970, with emphasis added)

Pfeffer's (1985) more recent study of the ways in which reproductive anatomy is portrayed in scientific and medical texts shows how the language used to describe these organs is gendered - the male reproductive system is frequently described as an **efficient factory** for the production of spermatozoa whereas the female reproductive system is most

frequently described in terms of its **pathology**. Similarly, spermatozoa are usually presented as active and competitive, in contrast to the passive and docile ovum.

As cells, spermatozoa are in a class by themselves ... It is an **actively mobile** cell, in many ways resembling a free living micro-organism, whose only function is to race in the direction where an ovum may be **waiting** to be fertilised - and to be the first of some 300 million competitors to reach the ovum.

(Macfarlane-Burnett, 1973, with emphasis added)

To these two modes of discourse (the obfuscatory and the scientific), must be added a third more **romantic** one which seeks to link sexual expression to untheorised and unproblematic notions of heterosexual love and desire. Thus, it has been claimed that,

When a man and a woman who **love** each other go to bed, they like to hug and kiss. Sometimes, if they both want it, the man puts his penis into the woman's vagina and that feels really good for both of them. Sperm comes out through the man's penis. If one sperm meets a tiny egg inside the woman's body, a baby is started, and the man and woman will be the baby's parents.

(Gordon & Gordon, 1974, with emphasis added)

Within the romantic paradigm, which incidentally operates blithely unaware of women's and men's very different experiences of penetrative sexual intercourse, sex education becomes linked once more to a moral agenda emphasising personal responsibilities and commitments usually expressed within the context of **love** and **marriage**.

Sex education and familial ideology

This third approach to sex education is that which has most informed official documents relating to sex education in schools. One of the first of these, **Sex Education in Schools and Youth Organisations** (Board of Education, 1943) for example argued that the 'difficult and delicate task' of sex education should not only provide information about the physiology of sexual activity, but should aim to help young people gain 'control of [their] sexual impulses and emotions in preparation for the ultimate goal of marriage'. Implicit in its recommendations were normative and functionalist conceptions of family relationships, in which appropriately regulated sexual behaviour is intimately linked to procreation and childcare for girls, and to the no less thorny question of heterosexual fidelity (after marriage) for boys.

The **Handbook of Health Education** (Department of Education, 1956) was the first official document in Britain to recommend that sex education should be a subject in its own right. Underpinning the approach it took to sex education was a peculiarly 'Freudian view of sexuality as a series ultimately resolved in heterosexual monogamy, with motherhood as an additional obligation for mature femininity' (BFHG, 1979)

It was not until 1977 and the publication of **Health and Education in Schools** that the link between sexual activity, marriage and procreation came to be weakened in official statements about sex education. Its authors argued that sex education is best viewed as a complex phenomenon, 'bound up with the physical, emotional and mental development of children, especially in adolescence, and for **many** with their not too far distant prospect of parenthood.' (DES, 1977, with emphasis added) Nevertheless, in keeping with what by now was a well established tradition, this report too had little concrete to say about the nature and value of either

non-genital modes of sexual expression or non-heterosexual relationships.

This severing of the connection between heterosexual activity, marriage and procreation proved to be short lived, however, and the most recent government statement on health education **Health Education from 5-16** (HMI, 1986) once again argues that sex education should be, 'presented in the context of family life, of loving relationships and of respect for others: in short, in a moral framework' But not just **any** moral framework. It would appear from reading between the lines of this pamphlet to be one which values above all other forms of sexual expression those that are linked most closely to normative conceptions of family life.

Health Education from 5 to 16 is also relatively explicit for the first time in its treatment of non-heterosexual relationships. Whilst arguing that, 'there has been a marked shift away from the general condemnation of homosexuality', a claim which is itself questionable, this document adopts a patronising and neo-Freudian tone by arguing that an attraction to members of the same sex is little more than, 'a **phase passed through** by many young people' (emphasis added).

Sex education and heterosexism

Within these three paradigms relating to sex education (the obfuscatory, the scientific and the romantic) are a number of recurrent themes which seek to **privilege heterosexual activity** above all other forms of sexual expression. The first of these argues forcefully for both the 'naturalness' and 'inevitability' of heterosexuality: be it amongst daffodils, strawberries, oysters, lions, elephants, dogs or humans. Homosexuality, bisexuality let alone other non-genital forms of sexual expression are, above all, conspicuous by their absence. When reference is made to these other forms of sexual expression, and this tends to occur only in those sex educational materials that have been prepared specifically for an **adult** readership, they are relegated either to the realms of **perversion**. 'the word perversion should only be used .. where heterosexual intercourse is consistently bypassed in favour of other sexual activities' (Cauthery, Stanway & Stanway, 1984) or of **handicap**, 'Like their male counterparts, lesbians are handicapped by having only half the pieces of the anatomical jigsaw puzzle. Just as one penis plus one penis equals nothing, one vagina plus one vagina still equals zero' (Reuben, 1969) Alternatively, they may be described as phases to be 'passed through' or 'got over' en route for the ultimate goal of heterosexual bliss.

Why are some people homosexual? The short answer is that no one knows. As we have seen the vast majority of boys go through a developmental stage around puberty during which some degree of homosexual behaviour is normal, and many experts believe that most adult homosexuals have remained frozen at this stage of their development. (Cauthery, Stanway & Stanway, 1983)

A second theme equates sexual expression narrowly and genitally with procreation. Thus, biological reproduction, which is logically the **consequence** of certain forms of heterosexual activity, comes to be seen as the **cause** and motivating principle behind all 'natural' forms of sexual expression.

A third theme seeks to establish clear cut differences between the two partners involved in 'valid' sexual acts. In doing this, it sets up different roles for each to play within the pre ordained

and highly conventional heterosexual scenario. These usually assign to men the role of initiation within sexual activity and to women the supposedly complementary role of acquiescence (see Dworkin, 1981 and Jackson, 1984a for critical reviews of these accounts). They also suggest the desirability, indeed the near inevitability, of bodily penetration in 'authentic' sexual encounters (Jackson, 1984b). All other forms of sexual expression are thereby presented as preliminaries (foreplay), optional extras or substitutes for the 'real thing'. Pollock (1985) has recently extended this analysis to suggest that modern heterosexual activity has become increasingly geared to male pleasure. Evidence for this can be seen in the widespread adoption of contraceptive practices which are deleterious to women's health (the IUD, the contraceptive pill) but which are less likely to interfere with men's enjoyment of penetrative vaginal intercourse.

So pervasive is this third theme, and so powerful is it in naturalising particular social and sexual scripts, that in books such as Comfort's (1972) **The Joy of Sex** (sub-titled 'A Gourmet Guide to Lovemaking'), it is little coincidence that vulvas, penises and beds are listed under 'Starters', the missionary position under 'Main Course', and bisexuality, excesses and safe sex under 'Problems'. Indeed, as Jackson (1984b) has pointed out, 'the very term "sexual intercourse" which could in theory mean any form of sexual interaction, is in practice synonymous with coitus in everyday speech as well as in the scientific literature'

Modes of sexual expression which are non-genital in character, or in which the relations between partners, be they physical or otherwise, are less unequal, are rarely mentioned in readily available educational materials.

In the light of the preceding analysis, any concern that the images and understandings of sexuality commonly available to young people in modern sex educational materials might pose a serious threat to 'conventional' sexual practices and 'established' moral values would seem premature, to say the least. Official prescriptions about sex education, as well as those materials readily available to parents and teachers, operate with an almost uniform commitment to heterosexuality, procreation and 'traditional' role relationships between women and men. They also emphasise the damaging and pathological aspects of 'increased sexual activity' during adolescence. For example, in a recent book on sex education for teachers, Went (1985) identifies a variety of **medical** considerations that should be taken into account when introducing young people to the 'joys' of sex. For girls, these include the dangers of ectopic pregnancy, infertility, possible damage to the foetus and cervical cancer. For boys, there is of course the ever present threat of sexually transmitted disease.

Any inroads that the recent 'positive image' education policies of a few education authorities (such as the Inner London Education Authority and the London Boroughs of Haringey and Ealing) may have made into this state of affairs would seem so far to have been minimal in their effect. Indeed, in a recent survey of the experiences of young lesbians and gay men in London schools, 60% said that the topic of homosexuality had **never** been mentioned in any lessons at school, and of those who said that the topic **had** been mentioned, 80% said that this had been in a way which was unhelpful to them (Warren, 1984).

Some problems for AIDS education

At this point it would seem useful to consider some of the

implications of the approaches to sex education so far identified for effective AIDS education. By equating 'authentic' forms of human sexual expression narrowly and genitally with penetrative vaginal intercourse between a woman and a man, official ideologies informing modern styles of sex education are likely to militate against the adoption of 'safer' forms of sexual expression within the context of AIDS. Unprotected vaginal intercourse is of course one of the most effective means of transmitting HIV from man to woman (Institute of Medicine, National Academy of Sciences, 1986) and woman to man (MMWR, 1985; Calabrese & Gopalakrishna, 1986).

Moreover, if non-penetrative forms of sexual activity are represented as somehow lacking in 'authenticity', or as 'preliminaries' or 'substitutes' for the 'real thing', and if forms of contraception which limit male pleasure (but which also prevent the transmission of HIV) come to be seen as somehow less 'acceptable' than those which do neither of these things (the IUD and the contraceptive pill), then there may be real problems for programmes of health education which seek to reorient heterosexual expression away from those activities which are likely to result in the exchange of body fluids between two partners.

Popular Representations Of AIDS

Before considering the varieties of health education intervention possible within the context of HIV infection and AIDS, it is important to identify a second set of factors which may militate against the widespread adoption of safer forms of sexual practice. These relate to the popular understandings that people operate with in making sense of health and illness in general and AIDS in particular. Some of these are likely to relate to recent media representations of AIDS. Others will have their origins in the folk and lay understandings that people operate with in making sense of health and disease.

Media responses to AIDS

Until very recently media representations of AIDS in Britain have represented it as a predominantly **gay** issue. Even supposedly 'quality' newspapers such as **The Times** have fallen prey to this common misconception. An editorial published in 1984 claimed,

The infection's origins and means of propagation excites repugnance, moral and physical, at promiscuous **male homosexuality** .. Many members of the public are tempted to see AIDS (as) some sort of retribution for a questionable style of life

(Times, 1984, with emphasis added)

More recent reporting has done little to remedy early inaccuracies such as these. **The People**, for example, recently 'discovered' that, 'AIDS is not **just** a gay disease - victims now include a rocketing number of heterosexual men, women and children.' (The People, 1986) Of course the use of the word 'just' in this report effectively reinforces the misperceptions that many people have. It should come as little surprise, therefore, to find that 44% of the respondents questioned in Vass's (1986) recent study of public opinion and AIDS felt that homosexuality **per se** was the cause of AIDS. Only 14% identified a viral etiology for the syndrome. In the light of this evidence, there would seem to be good reason for supposing that popular perceptions of AIDS are presently bounded by an agenda which, in Watney's (1986) words 'blocks out any approach to the subject which does not conform in advance to the values and language of a profoundly homophobic culture - a culture, that is, which does not regard gay men as fully or properly human' Further evidence supportive of such a claim can be found in recent statements

by conservative social commentators,

.. The attempt to suppress the moral aspects of AIDS won't work as anyone who looks at leaflets such as those from the Terence Higgins Trust can see. .. **Homosexuals** appear to get up to a range of .. bizarre and revolting practices which are particularly unsafe if the skin is broken .. (Digby Anderson, in **The Times**, 1986, with emphasis added) and Chief Constables of Police.

Everywhere I go I see increasing evidence of people swirling about in a human cess-pit of their own making .. Speaking as a man, Christian, husband, police officer, father, lover of the human race, believer in God's creation and, above all, someone who wants to see a future for children born today, we must ask why **homosexuals** engage in sodomy .. and other obnoxious practices.

(James Anderton, in **The Guardian**, 1986, with emphasis added)

Comments like these display levels of ignorance and prejudice which is almost unbelievable in a modern supposedly rational society, since they seem **ignorant** of the fact that AIDS is not specifically a homosexual disease, **ignorant** of the fact that the virus responsible for AIDS can be transmitted by **any** act (sexual or otherwise) which involves the bodily exchange of blood, semen or vaginal fluid, and **prejudiced** in their efforts to privilege above all other forms of sexual expression those that are narrowly linked to received notions of (again, ill-defined) 'normal' heterosexual intercourse.

Popular analyses such as these may have more serious consequences in that they encourage the reader to identify either with an ill-defined 'them' who engage in activities that are claimed to be so unspeakable that they can not be printed or referred to, or with an equally poorly identified, but morally more desirable, 'us' whose present sexual practices are, by and large, acceptable, even laudable. Given messages like these, which combine a rampant homophobia with glib reassurance, it is little surprise that one effect of the 1986 government public information campaigns has been to **raise anxiety** without producing the necessary **changes in behaviour** that might minimise the risk. In this latter respect, Alan Woltz, the Chair of London International, the manufacturer of condoms which has 96% of the UK market said in mid-November 1986 that there had been a minimal increase in UK sales over the past twelve months (IDS Newsletter, 1986).

Media attempts to portray AIDS as a predominantly gay issue are likely to be far reaching in their consequences, not only for heterosexual perceptions of risk but also for societal reactions towards a section of the community which has been scapegoated as the 'cause' rather than the first to be affected by a life threatening disease. But in order to understand popular responses to AIDS more fully, we must also take into account the effects that lay perceptions of health and illness may have in disorientating professional health messages.

Lay understandings of AIDS

Co-existing with the professional understandings of health and illness generated within medicine are popular or lay beliefs about health. These operate so as to 'make sense' of an individual's state of illness or well being. Lay beliefs about health are generally syncretic in origin (Fitzpatrick, 1984), being derived from a variety of sources. The claims that they make may also be contradictory in some respects (Blumhagen, 1980). Additionally, there is often some degree of overlap between lay and professional explanations of ill health, with

health professionals themselves subscribing to both these sets of beliefs, and lay beliefs being influenced by those advances in medical knowledge that are popularly known about (Helman, 1978).

In our work associated with the project **Young People's Health Knowledge and AIDS**, we have begun to explore the nature of popular perceptions of AIDS. Amongst those that we have interviewed, we have identified generally high levels of awareness with respect to the nature and transmission of AIDS. Most young people we have talked to recognise that AIDS is a disease for which there is, at present, no cure - 'a killer disease' as many describe it. What is more, amongst these same young people there seem to be reasonable levels of awareness concerning the principal ways in which AIDS can be transmitted - via blood, shared needles and unprotected sexual intercourse.

But coexisting alongside health benefits such as these are other less accurate perceptions. In particular, there would seem to be some scepticism about the accuracy (or otherwise) of official explanation of AIDS. Some of our respondents go so far as to suggest that there have been attempts to cover up the 'true' incidence of AIDS within the general population and the ease with which the disease can be transmitted.

In making sense of these perceptions, our enquiries have led us to identify the existence of three powerful **lay models of causation** which underpin the ways in which young people and others 'make sense' of AIDS. Although we are only just beginning to identify the internal dynamics of these models, we would suggest that **miasmatic, serendipitous and endogenous** lay theories of causation may serve as important disorientating devices in mediating the impact of official health education messages.

We have, for example, frequently encountered the miasmatic belief that, 'There's a lot of it around, this AIDS. It's everywhere. You get it from the environment you live in, the people you mix with and what have you' Coupled with this, many of those we have interviewed believe that whether or not they personally are likely to fall prey to infection depends very much on chance or luck. In making sense of these views, it is important to recognise that these same respondents make similar claims about the likelihood of their contracting sexually transmitted diseases in general. ' "Why do some people get AIDS and not others?" 'Uh, luck. OK, there's a little bit of limiting or trying to limit the amount of risk .. But I think with everybody it's just luck.' Concurrent with both miasmatic and serendipitous lay theories of causation are others which suggest that AIDS (like cancer, so some of our respondents claim) may already be present within us all. Like the creatures in the film 'Alien', AIDS may lurk endogenously within us, simply awaiting the right combination of circumstances to appear. 'AIDS Oh people are born with it. It's in them from the start. It's something you carry'

The complex relationships between these lay theories of causation, the states of well being and illness to which they relate, and AIDS itself, is only just beginning to be unravelled in our work. Nevertheless, before examining in detail the approaches to health education that can be used to help people learn about AIDS, it is possible to make some preliminary comments about some of the issues that any effective programme of educational intervention relating to AIDS will have to address.

Some further problems for AIDS education

In the light of our discussion so far, it would seem essential that health educators working to develop effective AIDS education strategies recognise the importance of a full discussion of sexuality within the initiatives they develop. At the present time, popular perceptions of 'authentic' forms of heterosexual expression are bounded by an agenda which ascribes highest status to those activities which in fact carry the **greatest risk** of transmission so far as HIV is concerned (penetrative forms of intercourse involving the exchange of body fluids). As we have seen, these perceptions are reinforced and reproduced by the narrow way in which human sexuality is portrayed within the three major paradigms in which sex education is currently carried out.

Second, people working in AIDS education will need to anticipate the disorienting effects which media representations of the syndrome and 'commonsense' understandings of health and illness can have on official health education messages. Miasmatic, serendipitous and endogenous lay theories of causation, as well as the media propagated belief that AIDS only affects certain groups of people, can powerfully influence the extent to which individuals perceive themselves to be at risk of infection. Health educators will clearly need to identify strategies to circumvent these effects if their interventions are to be successful.

So far, via a critique of existing forms of sex education and by an examination of the ways in which AIDS has been popularly represented, we have tried to identify some of the factors which need to be taken into account within future approaches to AIDS education. In the final section of this paper, we intend to move beyond critique to explore some of the options open to those who would seek to move beyond the difficulties we have identified.

Towards Effective AIDS Education

In recent years a number of writers have begun to differentiate between the different styles or **models of health education** (Tones, 1981; Ewles and Simnett, 1985; French and Adams, 1986). These differentiate between the **goals and means** of particular educational initiatives be they related to sex education or health education more generally. Amongst the better known models of relevance to those working in AIDS education are those which emphasise **information giving, self employment, community orientation and social transformation** (Aggleton & Homans, 1987; Homans, Warwick and Aggleton, 1987).

Information giving approaches to AIDS education

Information giving is by far the most familiar health education strategy and has underpinned many of the recent AIDS education initiatives devised by the Department of Health in Britain as well as those of many local health and education authorities. In a recent article identifying health education priorities to do with AIDS, a Medical Officer at the then Health Education Council, argued that,

The first aim of education must be to **make information widely available** about the size and characteristics of the epidemic .. Information about the numbers and types of cases and carriers of AIDS is important for professionals and the public in order to combat ignorance and unrealistic fear .. Further information about the way infection is transmitted is crucial in taking steps to contain the epidemic (Kurtz 1986, with emphasis added)

In its own work, the Department of Health has also felt it important to alert people to the 'facts' about AIDS - its signs and symptoms as well as the ways in which it is 'spread'. As part of its 1987 campaign, every home in Britain has received a leaflet on AIDS, and newspapers, radio and television have been used to disseminate 'public information' messages such as 'AIDS: Don't Die of Ignorance' and 'The Longer You Believe AIDS Infects Others, the Faster It'll Spread'.

Local health education initiatives within this paradigm have aimed to increase public awareness of AIDS via the use of posters, leaflets and talks by physicians, health education officers and other 'experts' (Griffiths et al, 1985). Many of these have identified as their first priority, information giving exercises in which factual information about HIV infection and AIDS is made available to **as many people** as resources allow.

By and large, information giving models of health education operate from the assumption that women and men are rational decision makers and posit a relatively direct relationship between three supposedly discrete variables - knowledge, attitudes and behaviour. They take individual behaviour change as their primary goal, and advocate the use of relatively didactic pedagogic strategies whilst recognising that 'knowledge' may need to be packaged differently to meet the needs of particular client groups. Sadly, very little effort has so far been put into identifying the kinds of information that young people may want within the context of education about AIDS. All too often it is simply assumed that this is more scientific and medical information about the mechanics of transmission.

There are though many reasons why we should be sceptical about the likely effects of health education interventions which use information giving as their sole means of bringing about behavioural change. First, although these strategies have been widely used in tobacco, drugs and alcohol education there is little evidence that they produce immediate or lasting effects (Gatherer et al 1979). Second, information giving approaches to AIDS education have to contend with difficulties created by the fact that by and large they advocate those very forms of heterosexual expression which have been rendered **inauthentic** by the discourse of modern sex education - those which do not involve bodily penetration or which, by ensuring that there is a physical barrier to the exchange of body fluids, interfere with male pleasure during the sexual act. Finally, of particular importance in determining how people respond to health education messages are lay beliefs about health (Helman, 1978; Fitzpatrick, 1984; Herzlich & Pierret, 1986). From our earlier analysis of young people's beliefs about AIDS, there is every reason to believe lay beliefs about the syndrome may act as powerful filters of official health education messages.

Such an analysis is supported by findings from a recent study amongst sexually active heterosexuals conducted for the San Francisco AIDS Foundation (NYN, 1986). This concluded that although those surveyed seemed generally well informed about AIDS and its modes of transmission, 40% of them were in fact at 'high or medium' risk of infection: having had sex in the last twelve months with four or more different people, with prostitutes, gay or bisexual men or injecting drug users. 15% of the men interviewed said they had had sex with 10-20 different female partners during the last year and 10% of the women reported having had 8-20 different male sexual partners. Yet 66% in total reported that they did **not** use condoms during oral or vagina intercourse and few felt themselves personally threatened by AIDS. In a city in which

publicity about AIDS is marked by its omnipresence and sophistication, and in which there have been truly remarkable shifts amongst gay men to safer forms of sexual expression, such findings are quite alarming.

Self empowerment approaches to AIDS education

In contrast to information giving styles of AIDS education self empowerment approaches aim to be more experiential and client centred in their emphasis. They argue that individuals should be provided with opportunities in which to explore the extent to which their anxieties and feelings about a particular issue may block the ability to act rationally. The major aim of self empowerment models of health education is to identify and work with people's personal needs so as to extend the range of existential choices open to them. Self empowerment styles of AIDS education advocate the use of participatory styles of learning whereby each person's knowledge and feelings about a particular issue can be made available and used as a resource for others. Ideas like these have underpinned the approaches to AIDS education advocated by writers such as Spence (1986) and to a lesser extent Tatchell (1986).

In our view, however, the concept of self empowerment is highly problematic since it suggests that the process of self empowerment and the skills thereby developed are **sufficient** for the individual to actually become more powerful. The major problem with this approach is that it marginalises the effects of **systematically structured inequalities** between people in limiting the expression of personal power. Someone who has been through an experience which enables them to 'reclaim their power' or their sense of 'personal efficacy', for example, may **feel** stronger, more self important and more confident, but unless the original conditions which led to their feeling powerless in the first place are changed, then these enhanced feelings are likely to evaporate on the next occasion that their real cause is encountered. For example, people may leave a workshop on 'safer' forms of sexual expression with every intention of adopting these in future, but may then find their options blocked by the expectations of their sexual partners.

It is not enough for individuals to participate in their own learning experiences. They need also to participate in the decision making processes that affect day to day life (and which make resources available). Self empowerment can therefore be a **first stage** in enabling people to gain greater self confidence, but action to tackle the fundamental causes of disability, disempowerment and ill health is also needed if this approach to AIDS education is to have lasting effectiveness. These criticisms have particular relevance to young people whose role in decision making is distinctly marginal.

Community orientated approaches to AIDS education

Community orientated approaches to health education attempt to move away from the idea that individuals are responsible for their own health to suggest that people should act collectively to identify and change the environmental and community-based factors which affect their well being. A distinction is sometimes drawn between community orientated initiatives which have their origins in the issues that health educators and policy makers have defined as important and those which arise from the concerns of self help groups organised around particular health issues (Beattie, 1986).

Within the context of AIDS education, the Terrence Higgins Trust is a good example of a self help group formed originally to meet the educational and counselling needs of gay men, but whose activities have been extended dramatically in recent

months to provide services to injecting drug users, women and church goers (amongst other groups). The success of this and other community groups in providing realistic and appropriate information on 'safer' sex and health education more generally has been widely recognised as a significant factor in reducing HIV transmission amongst gay men. There is some evidence therefore that community orientated approaches to AIDS education can be relatively successful in meeting a wide range of needs. As yet however, there is little evidence that this approach has been employed in any systematic way to address the needs of young people in Britain.

Socially transformatory approaches to AIDS education

In contrast to the styles of AIDS education so far discussed, socially transformatory approaches aim to enhance health and well being by bringing about far reaching social change. It is possible to identify four inter-related aspects of society which AIDS education with a commitment to social transformation will need to address - ideologies about health and sexuality, the social relations supported by these, the micro and macro politics of AIDS, and resource allocation. Within the context of this article it is only possible to begin to spell out what this alternative approach to health education might look like. A more thoroughgoing analysis of some of the issues can be found in Aggleton & Homans (1987).

With respect to ideologies, a socially transformatory approach to AIDS education might seek to challenge both the medicalization of the syndrome and the extent to which popular understandings of AIDS have been informed by racism, ageism and homophobia. Much of what presently counts as medical knowledge about AIDS would need to be demystified and replaced by more accessible medical understandings in which scientific arguments are clearly separated from moral considerations. For example, present medical knowledge does **not** suggest that it is the number of sexual partners *per se* which increases the likelihood of contracting HIV infection. Rather, the particular acts that are engaged in with these partners are crucial in determining whether or not the virus is transmitted. Non-penetrative forms of sexual expression which do not involve the exchange of body fluids do not result in the transmission of the virus. Yet relatively few people seem aware of this, believing instead that it is **medical** evidence (rather than normal proscriptio) which suggests that a high number of sexual partners will itself increase the risk of infection.

Similarly, popular understandings of AIDS seem currently to be informed by beliefs suggesting that (i) AIDS is 'caused' by gay men, (ii) AIDS has 'spread from Africa' and (iii) 'young people' are 'especially at risk'. Views like these are currently used to advocate the unequal treatment of gay men (through quarantine), people entering the country from Africa (through immigration control) and young people (through the moral intervention of parents, teachers, youth workers and media personalities). AIDS educators committed to social transformation may very quickly find themselves involved in struggles to counter the homophobia, racism and ageism generated by these sorts of interpretations.

In terms of social relations, one of the greatest challenges to be faced by a socially transformatory model of AIDS education will be that of encouraging increased understanding and concern for those who have (or are assumed to have) HIV infection. Already, criteria identifying the 'innocent' and 'guilty' victims of the disease have achieved wide circulation. AIDS educators working with a commitment to social transformation

may find themselves acting politically as the advocates and allies of particular client groups.

Socially transformatory approaches to AIDS education also advocate the development of a more genuinely **participatory politics of AIDS**. Opportunities may therefore need to be provided for members of the popular constituencies most affected by AIDS to meet and systematise their experiences and insights. As a result, people may become more critically conscious of the possibilities and limitations associated with existing forms of health and social service provision. AIDS educators may also have a role to play in fostering popular alliances between health care workers and community groups involved in work to do with HIV infection and AIDS. These alliances may subsequently generate new approaches to sexuality education and health care provision.

Efforts will also need to be made to ensure that the AIDS educational needs of young people are more carefully identified rather than assumed. This will require a degree of openness on the part of adults who, all too often, have considered that their own sexual preferences are universally shared. Young people's concern to know more about and to explore forms of sexual expression that are not linked to bodily penetration and/or the management of procreation can be seen as a positive force for change in this context.

At the present time, it is only possible to spell out schematically the main features of this fourth approach to AIDS education since as yet there have been few concerted attempts to allow principles such as these to inform the actions of AIDS educators.

Conclusions

In this paper, we have tried to spell out some of the issues which need to be addressed by those seeking to develop effective AIDS education initiatives for young people. We began by first identifying some of the barriers posed by present sex education practices in schools and elsewhere for effective education about AIDS. We then explored some of the ways in which popular and lay understandings about HIV infection and AIDS may further disorient the impact of official health education messages. Finally, we have considered some of the strengths and limitations of four rather different kinds of educational strategy for future approaches to AIDS education. If this paper stimulates debate and constructive criticism amongst those who work with young people, our intentions will have been achieved. If in turn this leads to new and effective AIDS education initiatives then our aims will have been more than realised.

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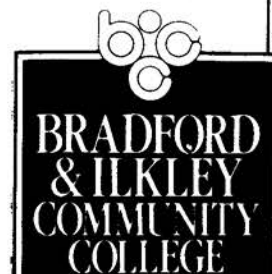
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objective or objectionable? school reports in the juvenile court

Maggie Sumner,
Graham Jarvis and Howard Parker

Two very significant strands of debate and practice in the field of juvenile justice in recent years have concerned 'diversion' from care and custody and calls for a return to 'justice' rather than welfare as a principle for dealing with juvenile offenders. Social Enquiry Reports (SERs) assume a significance in both debates, as potentially a key part of a diversionary strategy or as a mechanism whereby welfare interventions are invoked. School reports, another important source of information to the court, have received rather less attention. This is perhaps surprising since there is evidence that school reports raise serious issues in relation to justice and to the use of custody. In particular, Caroline Ball's research has highlighted the pervasive negative and derogatory bias contained in school reports, which is particularly disturbing in that the content of these reports is often not disclosed to the young people concerned and/or their parents (Ball, 1979; 1981).

NACRO has taken up the issue of school reports and its working group produced a set of model guidelines on the preparation of reports as part of its published findings (NACRO, 1984). These guidelines have been adopted in some areas, where exhortations have been issued to school report authors to confine themselves to matters of fact rather than opinion, to avoid unsubstantiated allegations (particularly in respect of criminal matters), and to emphasise positive aspects of character and behaviour. Encouragement is also given to the discussion of the contents with the pupil and his/her parent or guardian. This latter aspect has been given further impetus from the Government's announcement early in 1987 of a revision of the Magistrates' Courts Rules, addressing the issue of the disclosure of contents of school reports and bringing the rather confused legal position into line with the court pertaining in respect of other reports presented to the court. Moves towards a greater openness might also be expected to act as a restraint on the content of school reports, a prospect viewed with dismay by those who favour secrecy as encouraging 'frankness'. Whilst less secrecy may be welcomed as a move towards greater justice and any consequent impact on content may aid practitioners in arguing for alternatives to custody in individual cases, our own research suggests that progress via these means is likely to be limited, in the short term at least. Meanwhile, poor school reports will continue to have a very strong influence on sentencing and to push young people towards custody. We suggest that a more radical change is required.

This discussion is based on research findings from a wider study of the impact of the Criminal Justice Act, 1982, (CJA) on the sentencing of 14 - 20 year olds in magistrates' courts, focussing particularly on the use of custody. As part of this

study, a sample of thirty juveniles at risk of custody was selected in each of four juvenile courts situated in large conurbations in different parts of England. As well as having access to all the information presented to the courts in these cases (including antecedent record and social enquiry reports as well as school reports), the research team observed the court sessions in which the sample cases were sentenced. An important feature of the research was that magistrates were interviewed at the end of each session about their sentencing decision in the specific sample case. Unlike previous research on sentencing, this discussion is therefore grounded in what magistrates said about real cases rather than hypothetical cases presented in simulated sentencing exercises or in more general interviews. Thus, although the research was not primarily a study of school reports, it did provide a unique opportunity to examine the impact of school reports on sentencing.

Variations in Practice

Fifty nine of the 120 juveniles in the sample had school reports available to the court in their case. These were not evenly distributed between the four courts: in Court B, only four of the thirty cases had school reports. In this court, information about a young person's school performance was routinely included in social enquiry reports, a high proportion of which were prepared by a small specialist team of probation officers. Magistrates here accepted this with apparent equanimity, although their counterparts in other courts sometimes considered it necessary to adjourn cases for a school report to be obtained if one was not available. The weight given to school reports is yet another example of the local variations which characterise every aspect of juvenile justice in this country, from cautioning rates to custody rates (see e.g. Parker et al. 1981). But the experience of some courts clearly suggests that school reports need not be regarded as essential to the administration of juvenile justice.

Practice in relation to disclosure also varied between the courts. Court D had a clear policy of providing parents with a copy of the report and of asking during the course of the hearing if they had any comments to make. Whilst the atmosphere of the courtroom may make it very difficult for parents to voice any disagreement, those who did so had their views taken seriously. In some instances however, this resulted in further adjournments for investigations to be made. This had its own consequences, not only in terms of delay before a final adjudication was made but also in that some juveniles had actually left school before the case was finally dealt with. This was so with nearly a third of the school reports presented in Court D. There is an issue here about the extent

to which greater justice in respect of disclosure may lead to other difficulties. The potential problems were well illustrated in the case of a 16 year old girl in court on a charge of occasioning actual bodily harm during the course of what the prosecution described as a 'schoolgirl fight'. The case was treated as a minor matter, with no SER presented or requested, until the girl's mother disputed the truancy alleged in the school report. This was taken seriously by the bench who adjourned the case, asking for an SER focussing on the school attendance issue. When the SER, duly focussing on the school issue, became available some weeks later, by which time the girl had already left school, the bench on that occasion were not happy with it and adjourned the case again for a fuller report. On the basis of that SER, there was another adjournment, this time for an Intermediate Treatment assessment. When the case was finally dealt with, nearly five months after the first appearance, the girl, now pregnant and so considered not suitable for IT, was made subject to a Supervision Order although the bench on that occasion was no longer interested in the school issue. Without wanting to suggest that instances like this were routine in Court D, it does illustrate how school reports can assume a more central place when parental reaction is taken seriously and how a rapid acceleration through the tariff can occur as a result. In Court C, efforts towards a greater openness were also made, but much less systematically. Practice in the remaining two courts was rather more haphazard, but in Court B only a very small number of school reports were presented. Court A gave no active encouragement to parents to comment on the contents and on the very few occasions when the report was questioned, the challenge was ill-received by magistrates. The example of Court A suggests that formal rules about disclosure would not, of themselves, necessarily produce more substantive justice in practice.

Despite these variations in local practice, the format of the reports was similar in all the courts. Information was supplied under pre-given printed headings covering topics which included attendance and punctuality, academic ability and achievement, attitudes to school work and behaviour in school in relation to both staff and other pupils, special interests, an assessment of the pupil's character and parental contact with the school. Although the focus was primarily on educational issues, report writers were clearly being asked to make some kind of moral assessment of the pupil's character which, as we shall see, they were apparently keen to provide. School reports presented in Court D, the court with the most progressive policy in respect of disclosure, were covered by guidelines similar to the NACRO model. However, they did not differ in content from those presented in the other three courts. Across the courts there was a depressing similarity in terms of content, with a preponderance of extremely judgemental and negative observations under every heading on the school report forms, frequently without any substantiating evidence.

The Content of the Reports

Educational and disciplinary problems were regularly cast as symptomatic of undesirable social attitudes in the individual pupil. Problems were rarely presented in context or with any suggestion that they might arise from the characteristics of the school or the education system more generally. Thus, for example, attendance was often baldly stated as a fraction of actual over possible attendances, without any explanation of whether the poor attendance mentioned in two thirds of the reports was due to truancy or to illness, and without reference to average attendance rates for that particular school. The

report which made clear that the defendant's recent truancy and lateness was part of a more general pattern during the period of the teachers' industrial action was a rare exception. Much more common was a statement such as: 'His report at the end of his 3rd year showed his attendance to be poor, 126 half days out of a possible 160 and he was often late for morning school.'

The negative tone here suggests that the defendant was culpably absent and late, but this is implied rather than stated clearly. Similarly, problems with levels of academic achievement were attributed to the unavailability of an appropriate educational environment in only one case and this was a child who had been assessed as having special educational needs. In the majority of cases, educational attainment was said to be below average because of 'under-achievement' which was generally implicitly attributed to the pupil's own moral failings. For example, the statement that: 'He has required close individual attention to maintain in him any ability and willingness to cope with academic work at which his level of achievement is below average' could equally well have been phrased in a more positive way, in terms of this boy being able and willing to cope with academic work when given the close individual attention which he needs. However, educational issues often shaded into disciplinary issues within the school. Over half of the sample were said to be below average in their standards of behaviour in school and comments here ranged from the relatively mild: 'A. can be very helpful and polite. However he does have great difficulty in controlling his temper and this has led to a number of disruptive incidents in school.' to the much more damning: 'Generally his attitude to members of staff seems to be offensive and he has been rude and uncooperative on occasions and even used abusive language. He is stubborn and does not like criticism however well intended and constructive it is intended to be.'

Indeed, who does? However in the school context a dislike of criticism is seen as symptomatic of a deeper unwillingness to conform and attitudes to school rules were treated as an important indicator of a more basic 'anti-authority' stance. A fifth of the sample were said to present major discipline problems for the school. They were described in terms such as: 'Impervious to normal school discipline' and 'Attention seeking, especially if boys are present. She hates schools and people in authority. She can be polite but is often rude and aggressive and insolent. It is a constant battle to make her conform to school rules.'

However, even those who presented no real problems of discipline were open to superficial allegations which might disguise less acceptable attitudes, as in the case of the boy who was said to 'obey the rules but only because he fears the consequences of not doing so'. Again this is something that would probably be true of most people in some contexts. Lack of commitment to school rules was also 'read off' from appearance in descriptions of young people as 'scruffy' or as having 'skinhead' or 'punk' hairstyles. Thus a number of reports conveyed a distinctly negative image even where no overt difficulty had been mentioned.

No fewer than 36 (61% of the reports contained at least some unsubstantiated negative comment of this type. In some cases it was mixed in with a more positive view in a way that suggests someone should investigate the incidence of a 'Jekyll and Hyde' syndrome in the nation's secondary schools:

He has been remarkably polite and helpful, and during the Autumn term he helped paint the music room. The work was completed diligently and with enthusiasm. He appears to enjoy doing odd jobs around the school, but the availability of these jobs has decreased due to incidents of thieving. Yet he is a liar and will lie even to the point of stupidity.

The insinuation here is that this youngster was actually responsible for these incidents of 'thieving', but it is ambiguous: perhaps there has been a general curtailment of jobs until the culprit is identified. This report did at least have some positive aspects, but in a fifth of all cases the negative comments were totally unmitigated and these reports can only be described as full scale character assassinations. The following examples are not at all untypical: 'Devious, plausible, manipulative and shallow.', 'A liar and a thief', 'Devious and untrustworthy. Recalcitrant ... selfish and egocentric'

Such unsubstantiated allegations, especially where they include allegations of criminal matters such as theft, would not be allowed in adult court and would probably provide some grounds for a libel suit if expressed in a different context. As comments made by adults with pastoral as well as educational responsibilities for young people going through the experience of a court appearance, such comments are surely unprofessional. Undoubtedly teachers have a very difficult task in dealing with 4th and 5th year pupils alienated from school and with few prospects when they leave. But reports to the court cannot be regarded as an appropriate forum for the expression of teachers' frustration, however understandable this may be.

The criticism is not so much that school reports contain moral judgements: this is inevitable given the kind of information which is asked for on the forms sent out for completion. The more pertinent criticism is that these judgements are based upon an individual's behaviour within the very specific context of a particular school regime, but are cast as being about what that individual is 'really' like. Non-conformity within the school environment is thus seen as symptomatic of an underlying set of attitudes which can easily be generalised to the likelihood of similar conduct in other contexts, outside the school, in the community at large. The negative bias apparent in so many of these reports is thus likely to convey an impression to the court that it is dealing with an anti-social or anti-authority individual who is likely to engage in further offences. Our research shows that this is indeed the effect which these reports have on sentencing.

School Reports and Sentencing

Our interviews with magistrates about the sentencing of the sample cases leave no doubt that school reports are extremely influential documents. School reports were referred to as an influence on sentence in 45 (76%) of the 59 cases in which they were available. They were second only to social enquiry reports (83%) in the percentage frequency with which they were mentioned, although SERs were available in a higher number of cases. Clearly all the possible factors which influence sentence (for example the nature of the offence, the presentation of the facts of the case by the prosecution, local 'clampdowns' on specific offences) may not carry the same weight nor can they be assumed to militate in the same direction (for example mitigations would be expected to influence the bench towards greater leniency whilst a bad prior record would lead to more severity). School reports were, however, a major influence on sentencing in 37 (63%) of the 59 cases. In percentage terms they carried more weight than any

other single factor: SERs, the second most important major influence, were mentioned in 61% of the cases in which they were available. SERs, however, were mainly referred to as having influenced the Bench 'down tariff' or away from the imposition of a custodial penalty. The effect of school reports tended to be in the opposite direction, with 20 (34%) of the 59 school reports being a major influence towards the use of a custodial or other high tariff penalty. They were in percentage terms, more important than any other single factor, including the prosecution, in swaying the Bench towards a higher tariff penalty.

The effect of this can be seen in the outcomes of the sample cases. Thirty six (30%) of the 120 juveniles in the total sample received a custodial penalty. The proportion was slightly lower in the fifty nine cases in which a school report was available, with 27% receiving this type of disposal. This lower proportion might be expected since those on whom school reports were available were younger than the juvenile court sample as a whole. However, those whose school reports suggested problems were more likely to lose their liberty. Of those with school reports, half of those who had been suspended from school were sentenced to custody, compared with just under a fifth of those whose educational status was unproblematic. Attendance had less effect than suspension, with a third of below average attenders receiving custody, as did a third whose behaviour was said to be below average standard. The proportion was higher for 'frequent rule breakers' in school, nearly half of this group being sent to Prison Department establishments. Overall, a third of all the cases in which some negative bias could be discerned were sent to custody. For those with the most damning school reports, the 'character assassinations', the proportion of custodial sentences was two-thirds, more than twice that for the juvenile sample as a whole.

The numbers involved here are of course quite small, but there is a very strong suggestion that a poor school report is linked with a higher probability of a custodial sentence. This did not seem to be because the worst school reports were written about the more serious offenders or those with the most serious offending histories. Although some individuals dealt with for the most serious offences or who had the worst antecedents did also have bad reports, this was by no means always the case. Nor did the converse hold: condemnatory reports were also submitted on the less serious offenders in the sample. In particular, the 'character assassination' reports were not on the most serious offenders and most of them concerned individuals in the group with the least serious previous records. The small numbers involved in the sample mean that a statistically convincing argument cannot be made, but the suggestion that a poor school report was linked to the use of custody was also reinforced in the reasons which magistrates gave for their choice of the specific sentence given in the sample cases.

One aspect of the interviews with magistrates was an attempt to reconstruct the discussion which had taken place in the retiring room, or in court, prior to sentence. On this basis, up to six reasons for sentence were coded for each case. School performance was mentioned as a reason in 16 cases. None of these came from Court B, the court in which few school reports were presented, suggesting that school performance is less of an issue for the court where information about it is provided from sources other than the school itself. With this proviso, school reports figured as highly as seriousness of antecedent record in the rationale of sentencing and more highly than the recommendations in social enquiry reports in

percentage terms, though still much less often than the seriousness of the current offence. In some individual cases, it was not clear whether the defendant was in fact being sentenced for having broken the law or for having a bad school report. Thus magistrates dealing with a 14 year old girl for an offence of burglary commented in court that 'It is only fair to say that all three of us are concerned about this dreadful attendance record at school'. In the subsequent interview, although they did refer to the 'nasty' nature of the offence, they also explained their decision to make a supervision order for two years in terms of wanting more supervision for this girl because of her poor attendance at school: 'she has to learn to conform'. This, rather than the offence, seemed uppermost in their minds. Another Bench, sentencing a 15 year old for an offence of malicious wounding, explained their decision as being partly based on 'the seeds of concern' in his school report. An offence of this type cannot be regarded as a minor matter, of course, but it was evident that this boy was given a six month Youth Custody sentence, the maximum that the court could impose, partly because he 'could not accept authority in the school football team': a matter which does not even come within the jurisdiction of a criminal court much less carry a severe custodial penalty.

'Teachers Really Know'

Why do school reports have this effect on sentencing? One reason why they carry such great weight with magistrates may be that juvenile court panels seem to attract a number of teachers to their membership. (Indeed on one occasion during the fieldwork, the author of a school report on one defendant had to stand down from the bench while the case was dealt with by her colleagues!) What this suggests is that the content of school reports cannot really be explained in terms of their authors not being aware of the purpose and use of reports to the court. If so, it appears that the prospects of altering the focus of school reports through 'educating' the authors in some way is likely to have limited impact. But, more fundamentally, the credibility of school reports in court does not derive from the occupational composition of the Bench. Reports are seen as having a specific and valuable function in sentencing and there is a 'fit' between the content of school reports and the sentencing process, according to our interviews with magistrates.

Magistrates considered that school reports contain a very thorough and objective view of the defendant's character which is not available from other sources. Repeatedly these reports were favourably compared with social enquiry reports: 'Generally we take more notice of school reports because schools have them all the time and know them well. Social enquiry reports are only based on what the parents tell the social worker.'

Not only were schools thought to know the defendant better than social enquiry report authors, but magistrates also considered that schools provide a more 'objective' assessment. Social enquiry reports were viewed as 'very useful for the background' to a case, but as being often biased towards the defendant and 'after leniency' rather than being objective assessments. The other main source of information about the defendant's character and background, the defence plea in mitigation, was generally regarded as suspect for the same reasons. From what has already been said about the content of school reports, it is evident that they could not be criticised for their bias in favour of the defendant. This does not, of course, mean that they are 'objective': indeed their bias against the defendant might suggest 'objectionable' as a more appropriate adjective. However, for magistrates hearing a

case they provide an 'alternative' and apparently acceptable source of information about the defendant's character.

What was clear from the interviews was that, alongside considerations of the nature of the offence, the antecedent record and the need to protect the public, which were expected to be important, a key factor in sentencing is magistrates' own assessment of the moral character of the defendant. This is arrived at partly by a direct assessment of the defendant's appearance and demeanour in court (for example, one magistrate's comment about a 14 year old girl: 'I saw her split skirt and high heels and I thought "You'll be on the game in a year or two"') and in part from the information given in reports and in lawyer's pleas in mitigation. Since much of this information is considered to be 'biased' in the defendant's favour, the availability of an alternative and apparently 'unbiased' moral assessment can become a crucial element in the Bench's own judgement. For example, it was primarily on the basis of his school report that a fourteen year old boy was judged by one bench to be 'a potential future mugger' who needed to be dealt with accordingly. It is precisely the moral content of school reports which magistrates value and it is precisely their negative content which gives them credibility.

A Case For Expulsion?

It might be that the influence of school reports in the court, and specifically the tendency of these reports to encourage magistrates to think in terms of custody, could be minimised by encouraging more positive and more factual content. However, it should be noted that the Court in which guidelines to this effect had been adopted was no different from the other courts. Nor did the more open policy in respect of disclosure in this court seem to have had any discernible impact on content. Whilst this more open policy may well be considered desirable in itself on grounds of justice for young people and their families, the data presented here would suggest that any progress via this means is likely to be slow and problematic. The impact of negative reports about school performances was, in our sample, minimised only in the court in which responsibility for providing information had been taken on by social enquiry report authors. Should this model be adopted more widely?

There is an argument here for saying that school reports as such should not be given to the court at all. In adult court, the defendant's employment situation, which is the parallel of school performance for juveniles, is considered relevant to sentence and the court would normally be given information about this. However the information would be given via the plea in mitigation or the social enquiry report by the Bench's own questions in Court. A report from the employer would be requested by the court only in exceptional circumstances. The difference between adults and juveniles in this respect would be justified by reference to the Welfare remit of the juvenile court. However, welfare has never been the sole consideration in juvenile courts in England and Wales: rather principles of welfare and punishment have had an often uncomfortable co-existence. Furthermore, the welfare model has increasingly been subject to criticism from both advocates of the 'justice model' on the one hand and the 'law and order' lobby on the other. Whilst these academic and political debates continue, the practice of juvenile justice has clearly been altered by the Criminal Justice Act (C.J.A.) 1982. This piece of legislation implicitly marked a distinct shift in the definition of childhood in so far as criminal culpability is concerned. Those under 14 are still regarded as children who are not appropriately dealt with in penal establishments. However,

fourteen to sixteen year olds are now to be dealt with in ways that are largely commensurate with the penalties available for young adults, although a boundary is still drawn between this group and those over 21. Thus the CJA introduced Youth Custody for 15 - 20 year olds of both sexes and introduced Community Service Orders for 16 year olds. Taken together with the removal of the suspended sentence for 17-20 year olds and the development of Schedule 11 Section 4(b) day centre packages parallel with Intermediate Treatment requirements, this means that there is scarcely any difference between the sentencing options available for a 15 year old and a 20 year old. Interestingly, these developments are contained in a Criminal Justice Act rather than a Children and Young Persons Act, again suggesting an implicit move away from the special welfare considerations which have previously accompanied legislation on the under 17 age group, a move which is also apparent in the introduction of determinate sentences instead of Borstal training and the legal 'safeguards' on the use of custody in Section 1 (4) (however weak the latter can be shown to be in practice (e.g. Burney, 1985)). Older juveniles are therefore now being treated as young adults in most respects. This makes the presentation of school reports on them increasingly problematic, particularly when they are actually past the statutory minimum school leaving age. Eleven of the 59 reports in our sample were presented in cases where the young person concerned had already left school. Older juveniles are placed in an invidious and anomalous position whereby they can be, and our research shows they are, dealt with as naughty schoolchildren but also penalised as fully culpable young adults. Thus they may well spend periods of

time in Her Majesty's prisons awaiting allocation to a youth custody centre partly as a consequence of their poor school records. Whilst effective constraints on the content of school reports may ameliorate some of the worst examples of this process and the rights of young people and their parents to know the content may be welcomed on grounds of justice, neither of these moves addresses the more basic ambiguity in the status of older juveniles. This ambiguity would remain even if the content of school reports did alter substantially. If young people in this age group are to be defined as 'young adults', and implicitly this is the definition in the 1982 Act, then there is surely a good case for saying that school reports should only be presented on 'children', that is those under 14, and that social enquiry report writers be asked to make more limited enquiries about school performance just as they might include information on employment in reports on other young adults. At present, the role of school reports for fourteen to sixteen year olds seems to ensure that they experience the worst of both worlds. Perhaps the time has come to expel school reports for this age group from the juvenile court.

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A two-day

RESIDENTIAL FOR LESBIAN AND GAY YOUTH AND COMMUNITY WORKERS

is to be held at Edale, Derbyshire, on March 21st and 22nd 1988.

It will be the first time that a specifically lesbian and gay youth and community workers residential has taken place and over the two days it is hoped that participants will share ideas, experiences and feelings as lesbian and gay workers, and more widely in terms of their work with young lesbian and gay people, as well as anti-heterosexist work in general.

Early responses are sought to enable maximum pre-residential preparation. It is hoped that a support network may be developed to encompass personal, professional and political aspects of our work. The initiators of the residential believe that this is particularly important in view of the draconian Local Government Bill clause which attacks lesbian and gay positive images.

For full details contact Jo Adams, tel 0742 735834 (daytime) and Peter Kent-Baguley, The Old Vicarage, Newchapel, Stoke on Trent, 07816 5270.

the youth work response to lesbian and gay youth

Mike Heathfield

The initial search for background material on youth provision for lesbian and gay young people proved to be limited; there is little written material available. I have had to draw on wider sources; the Women's Movement, Girls' Work and now Work with Boys. I must acknowledge that a large amount of my background material concerns the liberation of gay men, but where relevant in my professional capacity I refer to both gay men and lesbians. The piece is written to represent the views of homosexuals in a society that is almost wholly structured and controlled by those who do not recognise this sexuality. (I use the term homosexual to mean both genders and use the recommendations for terminology provided by the most recent initiative for lesbian and gay men (G.L.C. 1986))

The Minority?

This article considers a group of people who are poorly represented in the power structure on the grounds of being perceived to be different. Definition allows for both the subjective and objective nature of the experience and does not wholly concentrate on a quantitative assessment. Lesbians and gay men are a secret minority, always present, regardless of gender, race, class, religion or differing physical and mental abilities. It is a minority that has no real identification and no collective existence: a hidden section of society because initially, for all lesbians, and gay men the realisation of their differing sexuality is a private, subjective process. (Gough and Macnair 1985). For many lesbians and gay men it may never be anything more than this personal knowledge. It may never be acted upon or communicated to anyone else, let alone develop into the full-blown political statement of coming out as recommended by Trenchard and Warren (1984).

Is it possible to quantify the group? There seems to be a generally accepted figure of 10% of the population. I can find no original source for this and as we will see from the difficulties of definition, any statistic may be no more than an empirically informed guess. However, figures still depend on what life-style the term homosexual encompasses; from those who are exclusively same-gender orientated, to those who have some form of 'pleasurable' homosexual experience at some point in their lives. Even for those who become exclusively heterosexual in later life, adolescence is a period when they are likely to be exploring the possibilities for their sexualities. Youth workers could and should play a very important role in helping their clients form an understanding, define and be happy with their emergent or resolved sexualities (Trenchard and Warren 1985).

Professor Tony Coxon has recently provided some new statistics based on the Kinsey Report (1948). The figures have

been rounded up and translated from the original American survey to represent equivalent percentages for the male population of England and Wales:

50% of males are exclusively heterosexual throughout their life (which means that 50% aren't).

40% have at least some overt homosexual experience to orgasm between 16 and 65.

30% have been actively homosexual for a period of at least three years.

6% are exclusively homosexual throughout their life (Coxon 1986).

Note that this totals 126%, helping to prove the quantitative approach may be inappropriate! To attempt to arrive at some percentage figures for lesbians would probably be even more variable and confusing, as many more women find their sexuality later in life after many years of 'socially acceptable' heterosexual family life.

So the pertinent question may not be 'How do we quantify this minority group?' but 'Why should we?'. I believe the real reason for wanting to quantify is to make it easier for it to be removed. Pomeroy (1968) despite liberal pretensions explains to parents that they can help to stop their sons becoming gay. Labour politicians despite support for the Sexual Offences Act (1967) were still obsessed with trying to remove the 'problem'.

The paramount reason for the introduction of this Bill is that it may at last move the community away from being riveted to the question of punishment of homosexuals which has hitherto prompted us to avoid the real challenge of preventing little boys from growing up to be adult homosexuals. Surely, what we should be preoccupied with is the question of how we can, if possible, reduce the number of faulty males in the community. How can we diminish the number of those who grow up to have men's bodies but feminine souls. (Abse, 1967 in Gough & McNair 1985)

Lesbians please note, surprise, surprise, you don't appear to pose a threat to Mr. Abse. 'Faulty' females are of no consequence!

Discrimination?

If we accept that attitudes are inferred from behaviour, that

prejudice is a strongly held attitude and that when this is motivated into action this becomes discrimination (based on Allport G W 1954), then lesbians and gay men suffer discrimination in a multitude of ways. This ranges from acts of extreme violence (The Nazis were not only concerned with Jews: homosexuals, gypsies and trade unionists also suffered systematic destruction), to supposed unthinking, unintentional assumptions. The institutionalised heterosexism of society is the most damaging weapon that heterosexuals use against lesbians and gay men. Lesbian and gay history is at best ignored, at worst re-written. The law criminalises a lot of gay sexual behaviour and for both lesbians and gay men, any outward, open and public display of their sexuality is prey to indiscriminate punishment.

The media both generates and feeds on society's homophobia, the most recent disturbing examples being the media response to Aids. Despite an N.U.J. order to the contrary, certain newspapers still refer to the 'gay plague' even now, when science tells us that it threatens the whole of our society, regardless of one's sexuality. In the last few months the Press Council rejected complaints and found in favour of 'The Sun', saying a certain article wasn't likely to provoke discriminatory action against people with Aids. The article, complete with composed picture of father pointing shotgun at his son, reported how Rev. Robert Simpson had said he would shoot his eighteen year old son if he had Aids, 'and that would go for the rest of the family as well as strangers'. All forms of mass communication continue this prejudice. If the only gays portrayed on the television pretend to be heterosexual, how do young people see positive, hopeful images of gay and lesbian life?

There is no space here to even begin to discuss the Church's very confused attitudes (See Pomeroy 1968 for a potted history of Christian/Jewish culture), the illegality of homosexuality in the armed forces or the persecution of lesbians and gay men both within the police force and outside it. The most damaging form of constant discrimination at first can seem trivial and unimportant. Yet for the whole of one's life to be surrounded by the assumption that one is heterosexual, can cause the most permanent injury to personal development (see Trenchard and Warren 1985 for excellent verbatim accounts).

We are all brought up to be heterosexual regardless of whether we are or not, and there is, 'havoc wrought in souls of people who aren't supposed to exist'. (Shange, in Denny et al 1984 p412)

Of course all this prejudice and discrimination brings with it the attendant stereotypes, scapegoats and ignorant generalisations to help ensure the oppression of lesbians and gay men.

Before we even dream of gathering up the courage to act on our desires, we are told that we are virtual rapists, that no member of the same sex is safe from our advances, that sex is constantly on our minds. We discover that we have a mission in life; to convert as many people as possible to 'our ways'. Indeed our mere presence may be enough to 'corrupt' the young. Nor does our sickness limit itself to our sexuality: we learn that our whole personality is deformed. We are immature, selfish, childish. If we are lesbian we must be aggressive, insensitive, hard. If we are gay men, we must be weak, over-sensitive, soft. We are the opposite of everything that is balanced and normal. (Gough and Macnair, 1985).

The Price Adolescents Can Pay?

If adolescence is the most accelerated period of physical and mental growth in the sexual area (Pomeroy 1968, McRobbie and Nava 1984), then it follows that this discrimination can be most hurtful at this time. An awakening understanding of one's sexuality should take place in a happy and positive atmosphere. A lot of young people first begin to understand that they may be lesbian or gay during adolescence and this slow or sudden awareness of being 'different' leads to intense isolation and loneliness. At a time when warmth and support are vital, lesbian and gay young people are suffering from a terrifying fear of rejection, which can traumatise their integrity to the point of making them believe that their very being is wrong, evil and corrupt (Trenchard and Warren 1984).

The assault on the integrity of the self which every gay experiences should never be underestimated. It is the basic tactic our weirdly homophobic culture uses to destroy us; first isolate, then terrorise, then make disappear by self-denial. (Denney 1984)

The Service Provides?

In looking at the contemporary youth work response, I must briefly state my boundaries. I have a good knowledge of what the service offers young people in Lancaster and Morecambe. I have a general knowledge of standard provision throughout Lancashire. My knowledge of national provision for lesbian and gay young people is based solely on what little material there is available, mainly from the prolific London Gay Teenage Group.

There is no provision for lesbian and gay young people in Lancaster and Morecambe. Neither can I find any evidence of work, projects, surveys or assistance for any provision for this section of young people in Lancashire.

In what the service offers all young people are there benefits for young lesbians and gays? From my own observations in Lancaster and Morecambe generally, full and part-time workers would seem to agree that it is important for young people to be able to make choices about their sexuality and most would submit that they would try to be as free from prejudice as possible. So youth centres in this District should be places where young people could come and find an open, honest and trusting atmosphere in which to explore their sexuality and professional workers are busy ensuring that the clubs and projects they are responsible for provide this important opportunity for personal growth, which surely, must be of benefit to all young people.

From my experience I gather that this is a fantasy for most young lesbians and gay men. Youth provision in this District is incredibly threatening to them. This means that these people spend their time with the Youth Service living in fear of discovery and passing themselves off as heterosexual or keep well away from the Youth Service provision because it only serves to negatively highlight just how much they are different and do not 'fit in'. If this is the case, how can the Service be fulfilling its obligations if 'The Youth Service has the duty to help all young people who have need of it?' (Thompson 1982)

Surely lesbian and gay young people are in greater need of help than those securely and safe in their 'acceptable' sexuality? We must look more closely at standard provision and hopefully identify why it fails (see Trenchard and Warren 1985 for opinions of London provision) and what elements conspire to condemn and ostracise young lesbians and gay men.

The role of the leader or worker in charge cannot be

over-emphasised. They carry responsibility for the curriculum, atmosphere and approach of the club or project. If these key workers are not aware of the problem and are continually heterosexist in their approach to young people, then what hope is there? This in itself is not a heterosexist assumption; I am not assuming that most leaders and workers are heterosexual but that **all**, lesbian, gay and straight have been brought up and conditioned to react in a heterosexual manner. Unless levels of awareness are high, then we can only be reinforcing prevalent heterosexual attitudes.

Looking closer at worker attitudes assuming some level of awareness: how many workers would be happy to have and support openly, lesbian and gay young people in their clubs and projects? Of workers with their own families, how many would be happy to use an openly lesbian or gay babysitter? How many workers worry about the 'problem' caused by open lesbian and gay behaviour? No doubt many workers would say that they would attempt to provide an open, equal setting where all young people are treated the same, because being lesbian or gay is perfectly acceptable, just as valued as heterosexual. We are all people and should be free to choose our own lifestyle.

Liberals assert that we are **essentially** the same as them and therefore our oppression is unjust. This passes for tolerance. However, tolerance can only be tolerance of real diversity and difference. The liberal position is not really tolerant - although it is subtle - because it denies that we are different, which at bottom is another way of denying that we exist **as gays**. This position is absurd - if we are not different, why all the fuss in the first place? (Denney 1984)

If workers admit that young lesbians and gay men are different, their needs are different, then the first step is taken towards ensuring that they are catered for by separate provision. If this seems a long way off or inappropriate, what can workers do to ensure that young lesbians and gay men do have a happier time in standard youth provision and are not threatened or persecuted by it? In my experience the most common insult used by adolescent males is 'poof', 'gay', 'bender' etc. If it is the most common insult, it must obviously be the most common fear for young men. This rampant homophobia must be challenged constantly. Slowly youth work provision is coming to a realisation that language is a fundamental weapon in the armoury of discrimination. (Spender 1980). This understanding is certainly due to the Women's Movement generating awareness of how language continually condemns women to inferior status. Such knowledge needs to be translated across the board. In many male youth workers, the 'it's only words' attitude still holds strong. Put downs based on sexuality should be challenged just as those based on gender, race or disability should be constantly and consistently challenged.

The contemporary curriculum is also very important. If discos are about heterosexual couplings, if discussions are about contraception, abortion, weddings and babies, if we encourage young people to be assertive, to know what they want and go for it, what signals could we be sending out to young lesbians and gay men? Yet again we may only be highlighting how they do not fit in, helping them only to become more lonely, confused, isolated and desperate.

Today's Youth Service now has a strong grasp of the principle of separate provision (see McRobbie and Nava 1984 for an analysis of the wrong grasp of separate provision historically). Girl's Work is flourishing and hopefully at last, Work with Boys

seems to be getting off the ground. Certainly this type of provision provides a far more appropriate atmosphere for young people to be open and question their sexuality. These groups must help engender trust and safety to explore conditioning. Workers responsible for this work must ensure that it is not heterosexist. Access to advice on contraception, abortion and the like is vital but it must never be forgotten that it may also be completely irrelevant, particularly to young gay men.

So at last we have male workers working with young males on an anti-sexist curriculum; but look more closely at what they are doing. Lloyd (1985) gives three descriptions of Work with Boys projects. The interview with Neil Davidson illustrates this point. Neil works for New Grapevine, a community sex education project, he is talking about his first session with an unknown group of boys:-

I always insist on doing something on contraception because most young men haven't seen anything beyond a sheath..... How does it affect your relationship? Your sex life? What are the problems if you don't know what to do, if you're too embarrassed to ask? Not that there are any easy answers - it's a problem when you want to put the sheath on in the middle of foreplay, we all know that that's difficult....

(Davidson 1985)

So we all know that's difficult do we? Has Neil had the whole group screened to ensure they are all heterosexual? Being gay is not mentioned once, nor is Aids, and this is work of a progressive sex education project. In Lloyd (1985) Aids does not appear and homosexuality gets a nominal five mentions. How does this square with the fact that the most common way to insult a man is to call him gay and that up to now mainly men are dying of Aids? Surely these are vital topics to a Work with Boys curriculum. This is not about imposing a radical curriculum onto young people - this is about starting where they are at; constantly reading rubbish about Aids in the press and desperately striving to be 'real men' and accusing everyone else of being 'poofs'.

I believe it to be true that work to counter the effects of heterosexism must inherently be countering the effects of sexism. Conversely, it is not true to say that anti-sexist work necessarily counters the effects of heterosexism.

Moving Forward?

Are there any positive signs that the Youth Service is responding adequately to the problems of heterosexism? I find that on an individual basis many workers do act as positive, helpful influences for young lesbians and gay men. Workers may often be the safe person to 'come-out' to. This is good positive work but it still maintains it on a private individual basis. Perhaps the people to raise the issue and open the forum for better provision for young lesbians and gay men are lesbian and gay youth workers. There are lesbian and gay workers in Lancashire. However, they do not come-out to their employers because they feel that the Authority would not recognise the advantages of this stance. I feel it highly unlikely they would positively welcome open lesbian and gay behaviour or encourage this different form of role model for their young people. Is it surprising that workers are wary of coming-out at work?

Having embraced the concept of separate provision to provide anti-sexist youth work that same rationale should be applied to provide separate provision to counter heterosexism. Across

the country there are already a number of gay and lesbian youth groups. Not surprisingly these seem to be in major cities; Nottingham, Liverpool, Manchester and London. There may be many more that don't advertise their presence. There are also specialist counselling services for young lesbians and gay men, like the one based in Liverpool.

Finally, what recommendations are there to help improve provision and ensure that our contemporary youth work response does adequately cater for the needs of our lesbians and gay young people? (See Trenchard and Warren 1985 for recommendations to ILEA and GLC 1986 for all-encompassing recommendations.)

1. Youth Work Agencies should include a sexual orientation clause in their Equal Opportunities Policy and take all appropriate steps to ensure it is enforced.
2. Youth Work Agencies should provide Heterosexism Awareness Training with recognised trainers for their employees.
3. Lesbian and Gay rights should become an **integral** part of the Youth Service curriculum and every centre/project should give equal prominence to this issue enabling it to become part of what the mainstream service offers **all** young people. It should not become just a ghetto-ised and specialist area of work. (A danger that Girls' Work has yet to avoid).
4. All lesbian and gay literature, posters, etc., should always be prominently displayed in all centres/projects. This is vitally important with Aids information, which should be readily accessible to all.
5. Youth Work Agencies should make it advantageous for gay and lesbian workers to come-out at work and should value this as being in the best interests of the Agency, the workers and most importantly, the young people they work with.
6. Agency, Borough or County-wide working parties should be set up to collect information about separate lesbian and gay

provision nationwide. They should then proceed to make recommendations to establish, support and encourage all initiatives that provide separate provision for lesbian and gay youth.

I would hope that these recommendations would provide a structure within which the Youth Service could begin to cater for its lesbian and gay clients and workers. They are structural changes that would hopefully set a tone and atmosphere. This in itself may change nothing but it would provide a background in which both workers and clients are more likely to be happy and positive about their sexuality. This can only be of advantage to the Youth Service, structures can change, attitudes take a little longer!

Denney (1984) suggests that the transformation that lesbians and gays go through during the process of coming-out, 'the self-renewal that constitutes gay liberation', is a positive and creative process that should be put to greater use. If the Youth Service is about change, then there is a fine example from the lesbian and gay movement. In a society that condemns, that constantly and consistently insists that homosexuality is wrong, we can find a body of people who are happy and proud to be homosexual. The Youth Service should encourage and enable this creative process to occur for many more people, many of whom unfortunately at this moment, it actually oppresses.

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youth in postwar british fiction: the fifties and sixties

Dave Glover & Mike Pickering

In this article we look at some of the ways in which youth was constructed in British fiction in the 1950s and 1960s and in so doing present a preliminary survey of a very diverse body of writing. We have tried to collect as many texts dealing with youth culture as we could find, irrespective of genre, reputation, of author's intent, in order to see what themes and issues emerged and how these were treated.⁽¹⁾ We were interested in what such fiction had to say about the collective experience of 'being young' and how it depicted young peoples' attempts to come to grips with this, particularly when they were with one another outside the home. In turn, we wanted to see how these early steps towards independence were shown to act back upon the family as the uneasy negotiation of adulthood begins to take shape.

From the outset we were struck by how ill defined the term 'youth' was in the literature of this period. To some extent this is simply a matter of the variety of backgrounds and lifestyles amongst the young: the oft noted point that middle class youth cultures tend to be more long-lived than their working class counterparts means, for instance, that their members are typically older and post-adolescent. But, against this example, it is surprising to find that in Alan Sillitoe's *The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner* and *Saturday Night and Sunday Morning*, two stories about working class youth using virtually the same voice, the main characters are separated from each other by some seven years. It took a Colin MacInnes to counterpose the 'teenager' to the 'teddy boy', and we would argue that as the novels of the fifties gave way to those of the sixties it is possible to discern a growing awareness of the socio-cultural differences between young people, most apparent in a recognition of the specific problems posed by adolescence. This was, after all, a time in which the status of the young was constantly being reassessed, as in the 1969 legislation which extended the vote to 18 year olds.

It is hard to be certain how representative of the literature of the day our collection may be. One particular difficulty is that amongst the texts we were able to track down, male authorship was overwhelmingly the rule. Approximately 85% of the novels discussed below were written by men, and there is a predictable concentration upon male experience or the male point of view, although this is also true of two of the six books written by women. In compiling our list of novels we drew upon the collective memories of a number of readers - friends and colleagues, male and female - but there remains the possibility that our analysis is distorted by the absence of books by women writers which somehow escaped our notice. Certainly the fresh insights into gender relations in the writing of Nell Dunn and Lynne Reid Banks contrasts markedly with

the self-absorbed masculinity so common in other books from this period. In any event there will doubtless be omissions. However we do hope to have rediscovered some informative texts which are by now almost forgotten - a novel like Gillian Freeman's *The Leather Boys*, unheard of today, but which went through five editions between 1961 and 1969, and was also turned into a film, is one case in point - though its original publication under a male pseudonym may well indicate how the stereotyping of authorship banned certain subject matter to women authors even at this late date. Our intention is to initiate, in relation to fictional images of youth, the kind of critical reassessment undertaken in recent years of the ways gender, race and class have been represented in postwar British culture.⁽²⁾ We hope that our work will encourage others to take up the questions we raise and also those we fail to raise, and would be interested to hear from readers about texts and issues not included here.

'Angries' and beyond

The sweeping Labour victory of 1945, still a recent memory (I was just too young to vote, but I was solidly behind Labour in street-corner discussions), appeared to usher in a social revolution. I see no sign of that revolution, and I am prickly and impatient. I want hampering old conventions, particularly class distinctions, to be swept away. I want freedom, creativity, adventure, and I do not see them in the society around me. In short, I am a typical young person.⁽³⁾

Whether or not John Wain was 'a typical young person' in the mid-1940s, his recollections of that period give voice to a mood, of disaffection which was to crystallise around the label 'angry young men' just a few years later. Although the term didn't come into widespread usage until after John Osborne's controversial play *Look Back in Anger* in 1956, John Wain's *Hurry on Down* (1953), together with another first novel, Kingsley Amis's *Lucky Jim* (1954), were rapidly acclaimed for 'striking new notes in fiction'. But, as the critic Walter Allen noted in 1964, *Lucky Jim*'s 'immediate success was much more that a literary one' for 'in the popular press *Lucky Jim* himself was very quickly being used as a readily understandable symbol, while among the young he became a figure to be identified with . . . the hero of a generation in the everlasting battle between the generations'.⁽⁴⁾

With hindsight it is clear just how complex this symbol was. At its height, the term 'angry young men' was associated with attacks on the materialism of postwar affluence and on the persisting rigidities of social class; with reaction against both Suez and Hungary; with skiffle, jazz, James Dean, Elvis Presley and rock 'n' roll; and with a general scorn for the cant

and hypocrisy of the British establishment. There was, too, a strong undertone of misogyny, best exemplified by **Look Back in Anger's** Jimmy Porter.⁽⁵⁾ It may be going over the top to see writers like Wain and Amis as 'the first pop stars of literature', but this exaggerated judgment does point to their cultural impact at the time, making Wain's claim to be writing as 'typical young person' seem highly plausible.⁽⁶⁾

Yet whatever else the hero of Wain's **Hurry on Down** was, he was **not** 'a typical young person'. For a start, like 'lucky' Jim Dixon, Charles Lumley is a recent university graduate and thus in a privileged, a typical, and ageing category amongst contemporary youth. Nevertheless, university represents for Lumley exactly the kind of social conformism he has set himself against, studiously avoiding its uniformities of dress:

Even as an undergraduate he had not worn corduroys or coloured shirts. He had not even smoked a pipe. He had appeared instead in non-committal lounge suits which were still not the lounge suits of a business man, and heavy shoes which were still not the sophisticated heavy shoes of the fashionable outdoor man.

Nor is 'the chic disorder of the Chelsea Bohemian' appropriate to him either. The important thing is to evade any group identity, any social commitment:

He must form no roots in his new stratum of society, but remain independent of class, forming roots only with impersonal things such as places and seasons, or, in the other end of the scale, genuinely personal attachments that could be gently prized loose from all considerations involving more than two people.

The novel entertainingly charts his progress through a variety of casual jobs, from window cleaner, lorry driver, and drug smuggler, to hospital orderly, bouncer, and chauffeur. It closes with Lumley in an unconventional, but well paid post as a gag writer for radio shows, signalling that 'the running fight between himself and society had ended in a draw.' Wain was not the only author to write about the 'jungle of the nineteen fifties' in these terms. In 1954, for example, Alexander Trocchi's **Young Adam** appeared, another novel about 'a rootless kind of man', this time a university drop out and drifter working the Scottish industrial canals. Here 'the running fight' against society climaxes in a strong denunciation of capital punishment, though the book naturalises male violence against women in making its point.⁽⁷⁾

In **Lucky Jim** we never leave the university - although the hero does make his escape from it in the novel's final pages. Where **Hurry on Down** is picaresque, its grim humour only intermittent, **Lucky Jim** is full scale comedy, bordering on farce. Jim Dixon is an assistant lecturer in history at a provincial university and doing very badly at it. Social complications, often self-inflicted, dog him at every turn, culminating in a public lecture in which he parodies both the Principal and his Professor and declares the utter uselessness of the lecture topic, before the Principal can force him to stop. The targets here, and throughout the book, are the kind of sententious authority figures who make Dixon's life a misery. His arch rival is, however, a contemporary: his Professor's affected, arty son, Bertrand Welch, replete with beard and beret. In the end Jim Dixon triumphs by scooping Bertrand's job and his girl.

In the fifties **Lucky Jim** was praised as 'a tough, funny and irascible piece of . . . social comedy' and one criticism of the 1957 Boulting brothers' film was that its characters had 'lost contact with redbrick reality', losing 'the book's social satire' in the process.⁽⁸⁾ In retrospect, however, **Lucky Jim** is probably

Amis's least closely observed novel. As a number of commentators have recognised, 'it is obviously not a realistic novel in any sense.'⁽⁹⁾ Social mannerisms are caricatured and sent up, but their wider social setting is sketched in only very vaguely. Oddly, we see hardly anything of university life and students are practically non-existent. But it doesn't matter that 'the university is nothing but a geographical location, a building with people rushing about inside it for Dixon to bump into or avoid as the progress of the plot dictates'⁽¹⁰⁾; what counts is the irreverence, the manic comedy, the dreams of shoving his Professor down the lavatory or pushing beads up his girlfriend's nose. While nothing is sacred, the violent comic revolt here is purely figurative; it has little documentary value. It appeals to youthful dissatisfactions, but tells us hardly anything about them.

Despite its severely limited account of university life, **Lucky Jim** is now usually seen as the prototype of the campus novel. This genre didn't come of age in Britain until a decade or so later, and higher education in general, and student experience in particular, seldom appear in the fiction of this period. The first true campus novel, Malcolm Bradbury's **Eating People Is Wrong**, came out in 1959. With its rather insecure view from within the senior common room, it is a comedy of liberal good intentions in which, as Bradbury was later to put it, 'situations don't quite yield up their moral meanings in the way that they should'.⁽¹¹⁾ Underneath there is a persistent feeling that things are ineluctably drifting out of control, an anticipation of the sixties lament. 'Undergrads aren't what they were', opines one character, and the lecture theatre and the seminar room provide scenes of genteel hopelessness:

Thus these three sat before him, the usual unpromising examination material which three years of tuition and, more importantly, self-discipline, concentration, good influences, would bring to degree level - gauche youths, shuffling their feet, opening and shutting their new briefcases, noting down with ostentation the not-always-valuable points, turning red when spoken to, . . . furtively inspecting their new watches to see how much longer this was going to continue.

The central figure, Professor Stuart Treece, has reached the point 'when one doesn't want anything else to change, however hard one has fought for change in one's youth'. But as he pathetically contemplates a copy of **Essays in Criticism** which has had its pages torn out, he reflects that 'the end was coming, as people like him had less and less of a social function, and were driven out into an effete and separate world of their own.' His liberalism is rapidly becoming an irrelevance and 'if he had learned anything about the younger generation, it was not what he wanted to know.' The young, whatever they are really like, are becoming part of what is inscrutable and forbidding about the modern world. This assumed dismay was to become one of the stock fictional responses to youth, a cliché of the campus novel still current in such writers of the eighties as Frank Parkin and Howard Jacobson.

The much rarer view from the other side of the lecture theatre can be found in Andrew Sinclair's **My Friend Judas** (1959) which chronicles the final term at Cambridge in 1958 of a lower middle class scholarship boy from Cardiff named Ben Birt. Written as a racy first person narrative and carried along by Ben's witty, imaginative and opinionated observations on everyone and everything around him, it describes the start and break up of a brief relationship (with the Judy/Judas of the title) and Ben's near expulsion from Cambridge for allegedly writing an obscene poem in a university arts magazine. Ben is at pains to distance himself from the bulk of the university, however: 'these pages aren't really about Cambridge, but about some of

us there . . . the publicity boys, the golden kids of our year', as he terms those who inhabit Cambridge's theatrical and literary fringe. Ben's own identity is very much defined by an aggressive, but arty modernism. He writes poetry, designs and paints theatre sets, makes wire sculptures, and plays modern jazz piano, and this gives him a critical edge in a community where he is still a relative outsider. At one level the novel is about the clash between the old and the new, whether this is in terms of class or art or style, and typically all three; after all, Ben wears drainpipe trousers or jeans while they ('the rich sport-and-no-work world') wear suede bootees and Harris tweeds. This is the source of most of the book's social comedy. At another level, though, it deals with the painful growth of Ben's self knowledge as he discovers that 'everyone is his or her opposite', and learns to see the people in his life as they really are.

Ben's marginal status vis a vis the rest of the university is rather disguised by his forceful and egocentric language, but his self proclaimed modernism has all the impatience with 'hampering old conventions' associated with the 'angry young man'. His views on class, for instance, are resolutely egalitarian and meritocratic and wary of class envy and class condescension alike. He is unable to write for *Varsity* or *Granta* because these 'were under the thumbs of the serious and neo-realistic and committed boys', and he longs to get away from 'this whole class-racket' and still be secure in the knowledge that class means having 'a fair idea of what you can do and what you can't, and saying that's that'. There is, of course, no such security. As the gushing upper class poseur Winkie Lloyd-Lumsden declaims at him:

My dear Benjamino, you **are** the new. You are tough, slushy, forthright, vulgar and **boring**. Your god is action, your method proletarian. Your language is that of a bargee trying to speak like a bishop. Or a bishop trying to speak like a bargee.

In fact, people often seem to be afraid of what Ben represents. Judy is scared by his cleverness and energy, while Winkie is jealous enough to seduce, even to rape Judy in order to destroy their relationship and to set Ben up by adding obscene verses to one of his poems. Beyond this world of glittering prizes and despite furious Vespa rides up and down Cambridge streets, there lies only a pointless, unavoidable spell of National Service ahead. One of the grimmest episodes in the book is a description of a dismal careers interview at the Apointments Board which reminds Ben that he is merely one more oversupplied arts graduate.

Ben Birt's championing of artistic modernism, his use of it as a kind of ideology for youth, would doubtless have horrified 'lucky' Jim Dixon and Charles Lumley, both of whom set their faces firmly against what they see as fake Chelsea artiness. In fact, then as now, few novels have dealt with its social base, the art school, despite its enormous impact upon youth culture. As Simon Frith and Howard Horne have recently stressed, the way in which 'rock reflects youth . . . has been mediated, crucially, by art schools, by art school experiences of boom and unemployment.'⁽¹²⁾ One of the very few exceptions is the artist John Bratby's neglected novel **Breakdown** (1960). True to its title, the book is chiefly about the crack-up of a painter/art school teacher - a kind of 'angry young man' figure - and concentrates upon the details of his personal life, ending with his ridiculous accidental death. To be sure, long stretches of the novel, such as the painter's distressed wanderings through Cornwall, have little to do with either art schools or art students, but there are some vivid descriptions of art school life and of bohemian Chelsea in the late 1950s, its

parties, people and fashions. The following passage is typical: The bell had rung and classes were changing. In the corridor students rushed hither and thither. A beard and a pipe, long skirts and wickerwork baskets, drawing boards and books rushed by. Long strings of beads bounced on flat chests and curved with full ones. Ponytails and long long hair on the girls, greased wavy quiffs and long long hair on the boys. A boy with an easel, a girl with paint on her dress and paint-brushes in her hands. Turmoil after the ringing of the bell. A girl with a dedicated, sincere, heavy face, in a smock covered with paint-brush wipings. A young man with a bow-tie, an imbecilic grin, a burnt-umber oil-colour smeared absent-mindedly on his artistic brow, chattering inanely in sandals and bright yellow socks. Gay, gay student life. The turmoil of changing classes. A fifteen-year-old boy in a lower class, wishing to be back at the telly. The dream-girl of the school, bangles, bracelets, and beads, huge eyes encircled with black, with a pale vacancy inside the encirclement of generously applied mascara, four youths around her, all happy in her personal atmosphere of sex. Flat heels, low low skirt hems, hair in rats'-tails, and some with reddened mouths: the girls. The boys with boxes of paints, and rolls of drawing paper, some in jeans, some in Marlon Brando leather jackets. Half teddy-girls, half teddy-boys. Part middle-class daughters in appearance and part art-school girls in appearance. Full arty types, veterans of the school, mixed with newcomers just from secondary schools. Gradually the noise died down and the corridor emptied.

As one would expect, Bratby has the painter's eye for dress and demeanour, but this passage also exemplifies the harsh, mocking style of the novel, and adolescents are often the targets of this angry young man's uncomprehending rage. Here students do little more than pose in order to escape their own inadequacies. In Bratby's caustic thumb nail sketch 'a real art student lives in a low-rent bed-sitter with paintings stacked in it, talks about painting most of the time, thinks he is a genius, doesn't wash, adores early classical films, and despises Jayne Mansfield, eats very little, thinks five pounds is a fortune, and is to the rest of society sordid and parasitic.'

In a way, Bratby's **Breakdown** represents the angry young man at the end of his tether, flailing out at anyone and anything, morose and self destructive. By 1960, when this book appeared, the label was already starting to creak. To the anonymous teenage narrator of Colin MacInnes' **Absolute Beginners** (1959) 'the Angries' are just another 'kick', just another pose or scene, and are lightly sent up. Certainly the roster of authors to whom critics and commentators were applying the term by that time was extremely diverse: writers as different as John Braine, Keith Waterhouse, Alan Sillitoe, and, strangely, Iris Murdoch were being indiscriminately lumped together. Were there really any common factors here? One suggestion, put forward by Frederick Karl, is that they depicted a predominantly 'petty bourgeois world' of librarians, teachers, civil servants, and clerks, a definition which would obviously exclude Sillitoe.⁽¹³⁾ There is a grain of truth in this point, because it indicates a central preoccupation of novels and films of the fifties and early sixties, the awareness of class boundaries and the possibility of social mobility. Often, for example, as in the case of Kingsley Amis's **Lucky Jim** or **That Uncertain Feeling**, the narratives hinge upon the careers of young upwardly mobile working class or lower middle class males, their progress marked by encounters with upper middle class women.

This concern with social mobility is at its most ruthless in John Braine's **Room at the Top** (1957), a bleak study in youthful

ambition in which we follow Joe Lampton as he opportunistically climbs out of the northern working class community he was brought up in. His aims are simple: 'I wanted an Aston-Martin, I wanted a three guinea linen shirt, I wanted a girl with a Riviera suntan . . . ' In order to gain these prizes, he compromises his own feelings, and those of others, when they obstruct his progress. Thus, although Joe loves Alice, an older woman with whom he has an adulterous affair, he betrays her in the end for Susan Brown, daughter of the local industrial magnate in the middle class town of Warley where he has his new home. He does so because through Susan he can marry into wealth and social position. While his affair with Alice continues, Joe's duplicity and guilt are buried beneath his passion for her, and he enjoys the best of both worlds, echoing his landlady's words: 'You always get what you want when you're young . . . ' The whole world's in a conspiracy to give you things . . . ' Joe swears that he wants Alice to divorce her husband, that there'll 'never be anyone else', but his eye is always on the main chance, and just as he has turned his back on his working class background, so he treacherously turns his back on Alice, leaving her to a drunken, suicidal death. Joe cannot resist the challenge of sexual rivalry with Susan's other suitor, an upper class RAF officer called Jack Wales, because this offers a way of getting into and getting back at a world he both aspires to and, because of his background, views with contempt. Hence his sadistic abuse of Susan's sexuality and his callous use of her pregnancy to force her into marriage with him. Though horrified by Alice's death, Joe is able to overcome his sense of guilt by convincing himself that aggressive (male) greed and lack of compassion constitute the reality of the human condition, and is now ready to enter that 'room at the top'.⁽¹⁴⁾

Keith Waterhouse's *Billy Liar* (1959) is almost a reverse image of Braine's Joe Lampton. He is just as dissatisfied with his provincial life in a northern town, but lacks the decisiveness to take advantage of the opportunities for escape. If *Lucky Jim* and *Hurry on Down* have fantasy endings (what Raymond Williams has called 'magical resolutions') in which success is suddenly conferred by individuals like Jim Dixon's benefactor Julius Gore-Urquhart, 'a rich devotee of the arts', *Billy Liar* is submerged in fantasies of his own making that are all too real. He unsuccessfully attempts to deceive virtually everyone around him, to subordinate them to his own idle daydreams, and this leads him into embarrassment, guilt, petty theft, and failure. One of the most striking features of the book is Billy's psychological distance from the working class community in which he lives, whether this is represented by his family, or 'the women shoppers, shuffling miserably after each other with their string bags and their packets of cream biscuits' or 'the girls in gypsy earrings and youths in drainpipe trousers' in 'the X-L Disc Bar'. The tensions within his family are especially acute, and when Billy incurs his father's anger it is his education ('By Christ, if this is what they learned him at technical school, I'm glad I'm bloody ignorant!') and white collar job ('I'll clean shirt him round his bloody earhole! With his bloody fountain pens and his bloody suede shoes!') that comes in for abuse. For his part, Billy compulsively caricatures the traditional northern dialect and small town moral respectability of Stradhoughton, but, in the end, only deceives himself too. The chance of a job in London is a chance he cannot bring himself to take, and the book's comedy turns to pathos.

The claustrophobic family in *Billy Liar* is common to a number of novels from this period. It is at its starkest in Colin Spencer's 'Generations' series, which tells the story of a family of small builders in Brighton. Although these books have little

to say about youth culture as such, they present a terrifying picture of (sometimes literally) incestuous generational conflicts so extreme that, in *The Tyranny of Love* (1967), Matthew Simpson's hatred of his father and inability to accept his own homosexuality drives him into madness. In *Billy Liar* there is at least a sense of the possibility of escape when Billy pins his hopes on showbusiness. The fact that he spends much of his free time in dance halls (the Roxy), clubs and pubs (where he is sometimes a stand up comedian) therefore has a special significance. One writer seriously prepared to question the whole idea of social mobility, opportunity and escape, however, was Raymond Williams, who in two novels published in the early sixties examined the impact of educational advances on working class life. In *Border Country* (1960) the key contrast is between railwayman Harry Price and his son Will. Will is the classic scholarship boy split between two entirely different, and in many ways opposed worlds, and the cost of his movement into another social class, as a London university lecturer, is the loss of all that Harry represents. His research on population patterns, for example, is as abstract and remote as Harry's work and leisure activities are concrete, practical and political. Will's return to his old Welsh border village to visit his sick and dying father occasions a series of flashbacks recovering his own rural childhood, making him realise how much he has lost.

These dilemmas are much sharper in *Second Generation* (1964), which revolves around the lives of two working class families who left Wales during the economic slump of the 1930s and moved to an English university town to work in a car factory. The social setting of the book is presumably modelled on Oxford and Cowley, and what is here a symbolic border country creates a more emotionally charged intensity as Peter Owen, a doctoral student at the university who represents the second generation of the book's title, passes back and forth across it (as does his mother through her affair with a manipulative left wing don).⁽¹⁵⁾ Peter faces several acute dilemmas. Firstly, there is his constant heart searching over the validity and worth of his postgraduate research (ironically on the sociology of community), measured as it is against the working class communities of his own experience. Secondly, there is the generational contrast with his supervisor, Robert Lane, whose superbly portrayed liberal sensibility is continually confronted by Peter's youthful, radical challenges. He sees Lane as having abandoned the effort to work through the connections between work, personal life, and political commitment. He finally turns down an attractive university post in the United States, and though it is completed, decides not to submit his thesis. Peter is bitter that 'what they call extended opportunities has turned out just an extended adolescence' and he feels he 'could have married seven years ago'. For Peter 'education had dwindled to an end in itself, but was still given a quite mystical approval' by his own people who 'would rather see their own sons separated, going away from them into the rituals of another kind of life, than probe at all deeply into their own lives, where the important changes must come'. Yet his mother Kate rejects his youthfully self-righteous judgement of her - 'Don't push your generation at me. Don't try all those songs about youth. I've had all that, being proud and twenty, condemning the middle-aged for the mess they've made of it' - and their reconciliation is far from easy.

Youth as Other

All the figures in the books discussed so far are at odds with society in some way: critical of its class privileges, uncomfortable in social relationships, or distanced from their elders, and sometimes withdrawing into a fantasy world as a

result. Serious or comic, their plots are kicked along by alienation, disaffiliation, and a drive to escape at times so fierce that in at least two cases (Bratby and Spencer) it becomes a kind of insanity. But though young people in these novels are clearly troubled, we get little sense of male youth, as a **source** of trouble. What seems to be missing is any exploration of youth as a social problem, as a collective identity potent enough to unsettle and disrupt, rather than merely to dismay. For example, the hooligan, the layabout, the spiv, the cosh-boy, the delinquent, the flash harry - to take just one relatively narrow set of male labels - are conspicuous by their absence. If the idea of youth as a distinctive social category was coming into sharper definition during the fifties, then it is the sheer **otherness** of youth that seems at first to pass unnoticed.

Actually, this is not quite true for, here and there, a few scattered references to the ways in which youth culture was changing do surface, but they are marginal to the core narratives. The 'teddy boy' casts a shadow over the life of the 'angry young man' representing a style of rebellion that is all but incomprehensible. Amis's **That Uncertain Feeling** (1955) and Bratby's **Breakdown** both contain examples of this.

At one point John Lewis, Amis's librarian hero, finds himself in the local dance hall, and there follows a graphic description of mid fifties fashions at a provincial Welsh palais. Lewis passes the time by studying male hair styles. He notices that 'crew-cuts seemed to be on the wane, superseded by elaborately-waved styles like Tony Curtis and the D.A.', requiring a great deal of ritual combing. One even has 'a Seminole' (Mohican?) 'consisting of a band of hair, perhaps four inches wide and of crew-cut length, running from forehead to nape and the rest of the head shaved to the pate'. Elsewhere there are references to electric blue suits, turquoise shirts and 'Slim Jim' ties, 'a bow with extravagant loops and ends . . . little thicker than the average bootlace, calling to mind the neckwear of corrupt sheriffs in Western films'. The dance hall is hedged about with petty rules and restrictions in a vain attempt to control its patrons. The posters may say 'DANCING Mon TEENAGER'S NIGHT Tues OLDE TYME Wed MODERN', but there is still a sign by the bandstand (much ignored) which says 'NO BOPPING'. Naturally enough, the evening ends in a fight, from which Lewis, aided by a teddy boy neighbour, makes good his escape to cries of 'make with the feet' and 'beat the bricks'.

In Bratby's **Breakdown** an entire chapter is devoted to a dance hall fight, this time at an art school ball in Camberwell. But here the scenes are altogether more sinister and grotesque: 'up swung a bicycle chain, links polished and gleaming, down across a Tony Curtis haircut.' The weapons are 'chivs, sharp scalpels, flick knives', broken bottles, even a revolver, and the whole lurid episode is one of motiveless violence as 'ding, ding, ding, a teddy-boy clangs his knuckles on one basin after another, his waving aggressive head held laughing high, blood lust in his stupid excited eyes'. This is the language of contemporary moral panics and elsewhere in the book the sight of this 'new generation full of youthful power and aggression' on the streets provokes equally aggressive and bitter rantings:

Born in the World War II, and raised when mother worked all day in a factory, and father was at war. Developed in post-war years of too much intellectual understanding and tolerance by their elders, who were too tired of the recent war to stop teddy-boy aggression with force, for the elders were bellyfull of force. And anyway, Freud started the

understanding, over-tolerant way of thinking; in which fertilizer the weed of teddy-boy aggression grew large, prickly, and poisonous - a weed that needed a sharp fierce scythe, unblunted by too much understanding, to cut it down, so that a flower could grow in its place.

With this kind of tabloid moralising the image of youth as threat, as society's brutal Other, emerges full blown. In fact, the shift from Amis's relatively benign observations in 1955 to Bratby's almost apocalyptic vision in 1960 reflects something more than differences in literary tone and temperament, for it accurately indexes the elaboration of the teddy boy label to designate a figure who 'seems to stalk like some atavistic monster through much of the otherwise prosaic newspaper reporting of the fifties.'¹⁶ This, then, is part and parcel of the dominant ideological discourse on youth in the fifties and early sixties whose themes were repeatedly taken up and recycled into cultural circulation throughout these decades. But we need to be careful, for these themes can be inflected in a number of different ways when combined with the other discourses on youth which were in play in the fiction of the period. In MacInnes' **Absolute Beginners** with its cool scanning of style, Ed the Ted and his friends may be nasty, racist and reactionary, but they are also neanderthal and ridiculous, the true dinosaurs of youth.

We would argue that by the late fifties, when the early shock waves sent out by the 'angry young men' were nearly over, novels about youth resolved themselves into three main parallel genres which we will call **working class realism**, **Soho bohemia**, and **the deviant teenager**. Each genre has roots in earlier literary forms, but each one picks up and throws into relief a particular facet of socially constructed youth, thereby adding to the popular vocabulary used to think through the problem it represented. Needless to say, these genre labels are meant only as first approximations until better ones are devised, and they contain some significant overlap.

Working Class Realism

By **working class realism** we refer to a rich vein of documentary writing which goes back to the working class novel of the nineteenth century and includes authors as varied as Robert Tressell, Walter Greenwood, and Jack Common. The post war focus on youth which we identify is best known in the work of Alan Sillitoe and Barry Hines, but also takes in Brendan Behan, Stan Barstow, Sid Chaplin, and Nell Dunn. It probably begins with Edward Blishen's intense fictional accounts of working class school life. His first two novels dealing with this, **Uncommon Entrance** and **A Nest of Teachers**, set in the 1940s, are semi autobiographical stories of a teacher's life outside as well as inside school, and are concerned with 'slum children' of pre eleven plus age rather than adolescent youth. Yet both set the scene for a further two novels about teaching in a secondary modern school during the 1950s and early 1960s - **Roaring Boys** (1955) and **This Right Soft Lot** (1969). The first is set in the period when the 'spiv' image was superseded by the teddy boy style, and maps a transformation of attitude, outlook and self image on the part of the teacher (in whose voice the narrative is written) as he settles into the school. From viewing the pupils as 'savages' whose main aim in life is to defy all aspects of 'unpopular education' and to reduce all teachers to blubbering wrecks, he comes to understand the social determinants of post war youthful rebelliousness, and the individual psychologies of some of his most difficult and recalcitrant pupils. A pupil designed and acted play, a sort of grand guignol full of blood and gore, a burlesque trial and peremptory justice, reveals the truth about 'their culture'. For Blishen: 'the only sense of

humour was the vulgar, violent one of the comic; the only language was the comic's monotonous one of howls and squawks and cries of pain'. Comics, not books, because 'you can't read in noisy houses, and in any case, most of the boys lacked the skill for sustained reading. The cinema and television was no true substitute, since the story read aloud stimulates the imagination in ways that these other forms of romance do not'. Like Hoggart's **The Uses of Literacy** (1957), Blishen contends that material deprivation is compounded by the poverty of modern cultural forms.

The second of the Stonehill Street novels chronicles the teacher's next five years at the school. Blishen makes starkly clear that the problems faced by the youth he taught arose from a 'combination of gross social and educational inequities'. Though this period was one of the heydays of post war moral panics about juvenile delinquency, the boys of Stonehill Street are portrayed as simply rough and tough rather than mindless morons genetically programmed for a career in crime. Both novels give a more balanced and sympathetic picture of the world of deprived working class youth in the 1950s than could ever have been obtained from contemporary news stories or from references to the writings of Cyril Burt. Nevertheless, Blishen's accounts remain those of an outsider, oscillating between fear and loathing on the one hand and sentimental affection on the other.

One measure of Blishen's sense of involvement with the boys is his feeling of distress on seeing one or more of them periodically 'disappear altogether into an approved school'. Two texts from the late fifties followed them there: Brendan Behan's **Borstal Boy** (1958) and Alan Sillitoe's **The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner** (1959). Behan's fictionalised autobiography tells of a young IRA recruit's time in an English borstal after being caught with explosives in Liverpool, and is one of the best accounts of the life of a 'young offender' to have appeared. To bring boys of the 'bad sort' back to the 'straight and narrow', respect for elders and for authority, the work ethic, graft, punctuality and obedience have to be relentlessly stamped in. By teaming up, the boys manage to resist this regime, as well as engage in the constant struggle for establishment of place, and defence of space, that characterises the day to day life of each and every inmate. 'I've got the funnest feelin' for 'alf-inchin' and for stealin'/ I should 'ave been in Borstal years ago' they sing to the 'screws'.

Collective solidarity is also invoked in Sillitoe's classic story, but as rhetoric rather than action. Smith, the 17 year old borstal boy, speaks as a representative of 'us' against 'them' of 'Out-law blokes' against 'In-law blokes like you and them'; yet his deliberate losing of the cross country race that the governor wants him to win is an act of individual defiance, unrecognised by the other inmates who excitedly cheer him on while he comforts himself with the thought that 'they didn't mean what they were shouting, were really on my side and always would be, . . . in and out of cop-shops and clink'. He is essentially a loner who teams up with others like his silent partner Mike, for 'I suppose the only reason why I was pals with him was because I didn't say much from one month's end to another either'. By the end of the story Smith's break-ins are being carried out entirely alone.

Smith's tough, stoical creed of 'it's a good life . . . if you don't give in to coppers and Borstal-bosses and the rest of them bastard-faced In-laws', is echoed in almost the same words by Arthur Seaton in Sillitoe's famous **Saturday Night and Sunday Morning** (1959). Arthur is 21 when the book begins (24 when it ends) and has been working in a Nottingham

bicycle factory since he was fifteen, except for a brief spell of National Service. As a lathe turner he is now skilful enough to set his pace of work to suit himself, cunningly disguising periods of inactivity, and he can work the machine automatically, leaving him free to daydream. Because of this the work is bearable 'and in the evening . . . you stepped out into a cosy world of pubs and noisy tarts that would one day provide you with the raw material for more pipedreams as you stood at your lathe.' Saturday night is the riotous highpoint of the week's leisure, when work is 'swilled out of your system in a burst of goodwill', in 'a waterfall of ale and laughter'. Though Arthur discounts them, this relentless hedonism has its costs for others: drink leads to fights, sex leads to unwanted pregnancy and further violence ('Dave got a woman into trouble who had turned out to be the worst kind of tart, a thin, vicious, rat-faced whore who tried to skin him for every penny he'd got - until he threatened to chuck her over Trent Bridge one dark night'). Indeed Arthur sees himself as a natural 'rebel', 'fighting with mothers and wives, landlords and gaffers, coppers, army, government.' It is an instructive list, reminiscent of Smith's 'cops, governors, posh whores, penpushers, army officers, Members of Parliament', and makes clear that women too are 'booby-traps', domestically as much a threat as politics and class. Arthur's drift towards marriage is even justified as a safeguard against complacency, for without 'changes . . . you would have nothing to fight against'. Violence, sexuality and power are always being brought together here. 'I'm a bloody billy-goat trying to screw the world', Arthur tells himself, 'and no wonder I am, because it's trying to do the same to me'.

As in **The Loneliness of the Long Distance Runner** there is a tension between a voice which evokes the common experience of a class and a rebelliousness which is presented in a basically individual-centred way. Arthur is an identifiable type: young, a steady job, newly affluent, living at home, a hard drinker and smart dresser. But although he wears the 'draped jacket and narrow-bottomed trousers' of the teddy boy and is 'allus making trouble', he resists any such label because 'he was nothing at all when people tried to tell him what he was'. Arthur's is an unfocused gut level resistance, often perversely directed against the community in which he lives.⁽¹⁷⁾ Certainly there is none of the closeness, the comfortable feeling of settled respectability which forms the backdrop to Stan Barstow's **A Kind of Loving** (1960). Vic Brown, its central character, is a 20 year old ex-grammar school lad employed as a draughtsman in an engineering works, a first generation white collar worker from a Yorkshire mining family. This is a socially accepted way to better oneself, indicative of 'a golden age for young fowk'. Vic's weekend socialising is well removed from Arthur Seaton's roistering, positively sedate by comparison, although he does have an old schoolfriend 'in a ropy street off Gilderdale Road' whose brothers 'are a crowd of roughs and always on the booze', clearly Arthur Seaton to a man. (In fact, however, even the figure closest to being an Arthur Seaton hell raiser turns out to have a deep and informed appreciation of classical music and Russian literature).

We see Vic at the local dance hall 'the Gala Rooms', out drinking with friends or his father, and sometimes just 'standing with my hands shoved deep into my overcoat pockets looking in at the suits on the dummies in Montague Burton's window . . . wondering how I'm going to pass the evening on'. But the bulk of the novel traces his relationship with Ingrid Rothwell and their hasty marriage after she becomes pregnant. Beneath the carefully cherished class respectability there are confusions and double standards about

sexuality, never far away from male camaraderie, whether at work or down the pub. Vic carries a book of 'pin-ups and nudes' with him to the Gala Rooms. 'Your guts melt when you look at some of these bints in there' he says, and 'when I'm looking at these tarts I wonder for the three-thousandth time what it must be like'. Importantly, 'the funniest thing . . . is I don't think about Ingrid this way at all'; rather, she is 'sort of clean and pure and soft'. In fact, this is the story of how she is relegated to the category of 'bint' or 'tart', although this is disguised by the sympathetic first person narration; we never get outside Vic's own point of view, never see Ingrid's side of things, nor are we ever really told why he becomes tired of her, other than the suggestion that she is empty headed and small minded. The result is, as Stuart Laing has rightly stressed, an exercise in 'special pleading'.⁽¹⁸⁾ One of the fascinating aspects of the book is the way in which male heterosexual attractions and antagonisms are translated into the language of social class. Ingrid is said to have 'this lovely smell of a high-class chemist's shop', and Vic is at first 'impressed by the furnishings' of her house; nevertheless, once the marriage becomes inevitable he defensively derides her mother for thinking 'she's got class', and re christens her 'Ma Rothwell'. Vic's growing self awareness never extends into these areas, making spurious his claim to have 'got a lot of things weighed up . . . about life and everything', especially the difference between what is 'real and not a dream'.

Unlike Sillitoe and Barstow, Sid Chaplin's novels about urban working class youth are much less well known, partly because they do not conform as neatly to the generic pattern of working class realism. In **The Day of the Sardine** (1961) and **The Watchers and the Watched** (1962) the major conflicts are between youth and older generations; between a search for a sense of individual self, and loyalty to peers and community; and between the working class dream of affluence and the suburban social conformity that seems so often to be its price. In the first novel that conformity is symbolised by the image of the sardine, always part of the shoal and without individual identity (a similar metaphor occurs in **Saturday Night and Sunday Morning**). In the effort to 'navigate himself', Arthur Haggstorm is condemned to be a loner: he sticks by both family and friends, despite competing pressures on his loyalty, but finds in the end that he has only himself to rely on in his struggle to plumb the meaning of his own experience and class position. Likewise, in **The Watchers and the Watched**, also set in the north east, another working class male figure strains to discover a new post marital sense of identity, one more viable than his previous one as self assured leader of a bunch of jack the lads, and different from the usual normative models of working class husband/father/worker. There is a tension in both books between an awareness of the customary strengths of working class community culture and family life, on the one hand, and on the other, the stultifications and restrictions that accompany those strengths. This is heightened by the break up of the established community patterns as a result of post war slum clearance, and by empty prospects of consumerism and life in the new council estates and high rise blocks. Youthful rebellion, in spite of its sometimes 'frightening ugliness', represented for Chaplin one of the few signs of real challenge to these changes, expressing anger and frustration at alienating work and the prospect of its continuance through a lifetime. However, in **The Day of the Sardine**, teddy boy gang rivalry is portrayed in the familiar terms of macho male pride and the territorial imperative: the pathos involved in the defence of waste lots and, on Arthur's part, the chilly sense of fear and the wish

to avoid the use of weapons only barely rescue these accounts of violence from the usual stereotypes. Elsewhere, Chaplin recognises the contradictoriness of a violence that can stem both from justifiable resistance to external pressures and injustices, yet also from racism and intolerance - as in the riot scenes towards the end of **The Watchers and the Watched**.

The tradition of documentary realism associated with writers like Sillitoe and Barstow in the early sixties was continued in slightly different ways in the second half of the decade by Barry Hines and Nell Dunn. Hines' novels deal with the strains and cross pressures faced by working class adolescents in their last years at school. In his first novel **The Blinder** (1966), Lennie Hawk finds himself torn between a career in football (supported by his father, a miner), an interest in girls, and school and A levels, and loses a crucial Cup game as a result. **A Kestrel for a Knave** (1968), his best known book, presents a bleak view of a Yorkshire council estate, relieved only by Billy Casper's pride in the bird he captures and trains. Before Kes all he did was:

Just roam about t'estate muckin' about, fed up to t'teeth an' frozen. I reckon that's why I wa' allus in trouble, we used to break into places an' nick things an' that just for a bit o' excitement. It wa' summat to do, that's all.

From the school's point of view Billy is the typical recalcitrant pupil, unmanageable and unmotivated. He is ready to leave school but is determined to avoid going down the pit like his hated brother Jud at any cost. School, home, the estate, the careers service all have nothing to offer him and he knows it; 'Still, I'll get paid for not liking' work, he tells one of his teachers. Jud kills the kestrel when Billy fails to place a bet for him, and Billy loses the one thing in his life that he can call his own. Throughout, the contrast between Jud, hard drinking, wage earning 'cock o t'estate' and Billy's almost total powerlessness is repeatedly underscored, yet, despite their differences, both are trapped.

Nell Dunn's **Up the Junction** (1965) and **Poor Cow** (1967) stand out as the only books in the post war period to really explore the relationship of young working class women to contemporary youth culture. Both centre on the opposition between youthful aspirations and the sordid reality of poverty in Fulham, offering a brutal expose of routine factory work, slum landlords, bad housing, and useless education. Yet, this is presented as a time for a good time, one which will disappear with marriage, despite the romantic hopes which these women ambiguously attach to it: women's horizons are ultimately banded by male power. Nevertheless, in **Up the Junction** the women, bonded together by their common shopfloor experiences, evince a tough collective resistance towards men and male control. As one character says dismissively of her current partner: 'Terry doesn't reckon I should go out with anyone but him, but I tell him straight, "I ain't got no rings on my fingers 'cept me own!"' 'However, **Poor Cow** shows the destruction of any last trace of romantic ideals. Its heroine, Joy, finds only unsatisfactory relationships with men, petty criminals who invariably end up in prison, leaving her to support her child on her own. Joy is always looking forward to a brighter future that never comes: she fantasises about security, good living, a good man, a comfortable home - everything she hasn't got - using verses from sixties pop songs as a frame for her daydreams, a glimpse of how things might be. Against these hopes men are shown as selfish, possessive, hypocritical, uncaring, likely 'to clamp down on every little whim that might come my way'. By the end of the novel Joy is repelled by her clear vision of marriage:

I can't bear the thought of all these women in the flats around me - all doing the same things - mopping down the lino, washing their husband's shirts, changing their babies, doing the shopping, it's all gone bent on me ... the sight of a shopping basket almost turns my guts.

There seems no way out of this trap. The novel closes with Joy's own hopeless, disillusioned words: 'Oh gawd, what a state I'm in ... To think when I was a kid I planned to conquer the world and if anyone saw me now they'd say "She's had a rough night, poor cow." ' It is a voice undreamt of by the truculent Arthur Seaton or the self pitying Vic Brown: the voice of woman as victim.

Soho Bohemia

For those for whom the provincial working class community was too narrow, too confining, London was the natural horizon of escape, a site of freedom, adventure and excess (rather than the trap it is for Joy). In *Billy Liar* it is symbolised by Liz (Woodbine Lizzy) with her 'soul-deep need to get away', 'to disappear from time to time', hating 'becoming a part of things', yet comfortable 'wearing the same old things, the green suede jacket and the crumpled black skirt'. Billy is especially 'proud of her bohemianism', but, while he is 'fascinated by London', she is the one who is unafraid to go there. To be sure, London is sometimes seen as horribly alien by outsiders: Margaret, the daughter of a Yorkshire miner in David Storey's *Flight into Camden* (1960) experiencing it for the first time when she runs away to London with her married lover finds only 'row after row of sordid houses, filthier than anything I had seen at home ... infected with a parasitic disease that fed on the buildings, the brick and the stone.' But, more typically, it is invested with a kind of seedy romanticism, whose centre of gravity is low life Soho, site of the Golden Peach Club where Charles Lumley works as a 'chucker-out' in *Hurry on Down* and which brings him into the tacky world of showbiz.

This is precisely the world to which Billy Liar aspires. If he had caught the train to London he might well have found himself in the bedsitterland depicted in Lynne Reid Banks' *The L-Shaped Room* (1960). Jane Graham, a twenty seven year old woman who is pregnant and unmarried, rents this room in a scruffy, smelly, bug ridden tenement house in Fulham after being more or less forced to leave her comfortable middle class home by her respectable and outwardly strait laced civil servant father. The novel covers a year in her life there, but there are also regular flashbacks to her earlier youth, as a single child (her mother died in childbirth), in her early twenties as an actress in rep, and as a waitress and cook in a provincial town cafe. The L-shaped attic room is the context for Jane's inner journey through pregnancy and memory, and is the centre for her main social encounters and personal relationships. The household is pure bohemia: prostitutes in the basement (as in *Absolute Beginners*); a black homosexual jazz musician in the next room; a gossipy, kind hearted ex theatrical spinster in a room full of knick knacks; and, most significantly, a young Jewish man called Toby struggling to become a novelist, with whom Jane falls in love. They all become close friends, although their relationships are not without their difficulties when Jane wonders 'dreadfully why it was that you couldn't crawl away anywhere and hide, why there were always people wherever you went, new people to get involved with and to create new meshes of unhappiness and responsibility'. But Jane is spared from having to repair her life in solitude, and gains support in negotiating the social stigma of being an unmarried, single, female parent: 'It was borne in upon me that I would be *that* sort of girl in most men's eyes from now on'. There is even a

reconciliation with her father towards the book's close. The crossing of class, age and gender boundaries through personal relationships is a central theme of the novel, and, as elsewhere in the bohemian fictional world, there is a spirited optimism that hampering social divisions can eventually be dissolved, at least by individuals.

Even in the post holocaust future of Polly Toynbee's *Leftovers* (1966) it is still axiomatic that Soho represented 'the best of London, ... full of people'. A world of clubs and coffee bars, debutantes and drug addicts, part of its attraction is its social mix, its absence of barriers. In MacInnes' *Absolute Beginners* the appeal of 'the jazz world' is precisely that 'you meet all kinds of cats, on absolutely equal terms, who can clue you up in all kinds of directions - social directions, in culture directions, in sexual directions, and in racial directions.' Its black music is played by whites, but Africans and Afro-Caribbeans are found there too. In MacInnes' *City of Spades* (1957) the young white civil servant's infatuation with black culture takes him to the Moonbeam club, 'a long low room like the hold of a ship, no windows and only walls ... where couples jived gently, turning continually like water-beetles making changing patterns on a pond'. Despite their experiences of racial prejudice and racist policing, MacInnes could still depict black people as hopefully believing that 'that race crap's changing fast', true to Soho's egalitarian promise, a view which is modified considerably two years later in *Absolute Beginners*. But black people like Johnny Fortune are reduced to a harsh life of hustling, gambling and drugs, and the novel closes with Johnny taking a boat back to Nigeria.

Hustling and drugs are also at the centre of Terry Taylor's *Baron's Court All Change* (1961) which, again as in *Absolute Beginners*, has a young unnamed male hero.⁽¹⁹⁾ Baron's Court tube station is the frontier between the 'stagnated cesspool they call the suburbs', with its 'unreal life of television and peeping behind the curtains', and 'a new and exciting land where things happen and people are individuals, not just a tribe like you are in prison', a land which turns out to be Soho and Bayswater. Not that Soho is the mythological egalitarian paradise dreamt of by others for at the jazz club 'there's a war on' between 'the cats' who 'go there to listen to the music' and the rest who 'congregate at the Kradle just to show each other how sharp they dress'. In this version Soho is sharply divided between the authentic and the inauthentic, whether pseudo jazz fans with college boy haircuts 'that must have cost ... at least half a note' or pseudo artists like the women with their 'uniform of dirty jeans, overgrown sweater, I'm-from-Soho sandals and ballet make-up to prove it' or the men with their cossack boots, duffle coats and unwashed shirts. To this sixteen year old hero they are no better than the conformist suburban youth culture 'of "the boys" talking about football and work and the current pop singers and their imaginary sex life'.

As he becomes more and more a part of the in-clique at the Kat's Kradle he starts to make a living selling marijuana,⁽²⁰⁾ enabling him to leave home and quit his job at 'a poxy suburban branch of a hat company'. To do this he and his partner Dusty Miller (he of the Dave Brubeck glasses) exploit Miss Roach, another member of their group, by secretly hiding their drug cache in her flat. The hero, who is already casually involved with her, gets in deeper as an excuse to gain ready access to the drugs. When Miss Roach's flat is busted, she has to take the rap since it turns out that she has a previous drug conviction. Our hero assumes that both he and Dusty will do the decent thing and confess, but finally he goes

to the police station alone and backs down at the last moment. Like so many novels about youth this is another loss of innocence story, and like so many explorations of male experience there is a female victim. In his enthusiasm for 'the Life we've seen while you were calling us Teddy Boys and Beatniks and Juvenile Delinquents', the narrator seems quite unable to see people as they truly are: he is genuinely surprised to discover his sister's abortion, shocked by Dusty's plan to start marketing heroin instead of 'charge', and unprepared for his own inability to stick up for Miss Roach. The knowledge that he is now 'a man, regardless of age' is very sour indeed.

Something of the same disillusion with Soho bohemia pervades Laura Del-Rivo's **The Furnished Room** (1961), but here the mood owes more to existentialist angst than to beat inspired idealism. Joe Beckett, a young invoice clerk in Holborn, has also come to central London to escape 'the subtopia of semi-detached houses with net curtains' and is at first attracted to Soho's 'basement dives' because 'he had thought that the people were more honest'. Instead:

he had found another sort of dishonesty ... He had found writers who did not write, painters who did not paint, petty thieves who were so unsuccessful that they were always scrounging the price of a cup of tea, and pretty girls who turned out to be art-school tarts with dirty faces.

These 'misfits' are a generation apart from 'the smartly dressed teenage set who frequented the coffee bars', but no more satisfactory. Joe moves listlessly through a land of seedy bedsitters, all night cafes and parties, hardly able to 'believe in the millions of respectable people who worked in factories, offices, or shops for fifty weeks of the year, and then dutifully entrained for the seaside for the remaining two'. Yet he is a failed rebel, too incompetent even to be the murderer he desperately dreams of being. Outside his pretentious pseudo philosophical musings we catch glimpses of the harsher side of life: of teddy boys 'their postures male and suggestive, with their fists in their trouser pockets', 'the usual gang of snot-nosed, cosmopolitan children ... rioting in the streets', or a fascist meeting in which Joe 'had shared in the mob hatred at the cool effrontery of the West Indians'. Joe is quickly ashamed of this last reaction, but soon glibly puts it down to 'human nature'. While Laura Del-Rivo's subject here is the moral and spiritual bankruptcy of Joe Beckett's kind of bohemian posturing, the lack of any critical distance from his thoughts, most crucially during the racist rally, betrays racism in her own writing. In a sense, this novel signals an exhaustion of the bohemian tradition, now turned in on itself, self absorbed and weary.

The Delinquent Teenager

Again and again throughout the fifties and sixties, novels which were read as statements about the young deal with people in their early twenties, constructing them as a 'problem' by setting them on the edge of domesticity - hence the frequent focus on the state of tension between the discovery of sexuality and the demands of the family. Despite the fact that the word 'teenager' had been in use in England since at least the late 1940s, there are relatively few fictional treatments of adolescent youth culture other than brief snapshots on the streets or in the dance halls. By the 1950s, however, the term had crystallised around a new set of meanings as material changes in post war Britain made new teenage markets possible, something whose significance was hotly debated 'by teachers and politicians, newspapers and moralists, bohemians and manufacturers.'⁽²¹⁾ The early fifties saw the beginnings of moral panics centred around adolescents (the first being the campaign against horror comics⁽²²⁾), and by the end of the

decade it was possible to identify a distinct type of British 'social problem' film which dealt with such topics as juvenile delinquency.⁽²³⁾ This concern with teenage culture seems to have been much less marked in fiction, but three novels - Bernard Kops' **Awake for Mourning** (1958), Colin MacInnes' **Absolute Beginners** (1959) and Gillian Freeman's **The Leather Boys** (1961) - stand out as exceptions.

Awake for Mourning is a particularly unconvincing novel, but it is probably the first to see teenagers as a potential political group, and to dramatise this. A kind of Svengali story, it tells how 22 year old ex thief Mike Lewis is turned into 'a teenage pop idol' by Derek Bishop, companion/secretary to millionaire Sir James West, using his employers money. Bishop is well heeled, bored and power mad: the sexual and emotional dominance he has over the millionaire are no longer enough for him, and he has grandiose plans to take over the whole country with youth as the springboard for a fascist putsch. Mike, re-styled as 'Mike Rebel', is to be the figurehead of Bishop's New Youth Party, but at the last minute he defects from a huge concert in Trafalgar Square and goes into hiding with his lover and their baby. The basis of Mike's appeal is never made clear and the assumption seems to be that expensive promotional hype can achieve anything. Bishop believes that 'the usual demarcations of class' have declined and that 'kids from all classes were suffering from the same disease', what he calls 'the espresso condition' - apathetic, childlike, and 'waiting to accept something different'. And the time is right. In these curiously unaffluent fifties 'the cost of living's spiralling up daily' and 'mass unemployment' is imminent, and 'Africans, West Indians pour into the country daily.' In a striking reversal of the classic moral panic Bishop vows that 'the older generation will be my scapegoat'. There's an odd ambivalence about the way in which youth is depicted though: on the one hand, when the Trafalgar Square concert erupts into a riot the crowd becomes 'one organic writhing mass', 'a mad monster', but on the other, when Mike surveys his audience he somehow knows that 'these kids are okay' and 'when they know what's what they'll change things', the implication being that Bishop cannot really win. But the book closes with an apocalyptic image of London burning and headlines screaming 'TEDDY BOYS REVOLT. A HUNDRED THOUSAND CONVERGE ON THE WEST END'.

Colin MacInnes' recently revived **Absolute Beginners** avoids Kops' crude simplicities by exploring teenage culture from within. His 18 year old narrator has a sharp eye for attempts to freeloading off youth: 'they buy us younger every year' he cries after hearing Laurie London's golden disc, and wonders 'who will those tax-payers try to kidnap next?' He is not above a spot of freeloading himself as he mingles with debutantes, artists, musicians, prostitutes, drug addicts, jazz fans, and TV personalities, fixing up deals and keeping abreast of what's new; and his motto seems to be 'you can hustle, and still be a man, not a beast'. There's a precarious balance, however, between the feeling that 'youth has power, a kind of divine power straight from mother nature' and a sense that 'the whole teenage epic was tottering to doom', with the need to go 'for kicks and fantasy' while there's still a chance. The final section describes episodes from the 1958 Notting Hill race riots, events which are signposted quite early in the book ('there's trouble coming for the coloureds') and which stand as the antithesis of teenage cosmopolitanism. MacInnes firmly identifies the riots with the teddy boy who is trying 'to be a man without being a teenager' and dismissing the latter as mere 'kid's stuff'. In fact, as the narrator of **Absolute Beginners** uses the term 'teenager' it is less a positive term

and more a refusal of a series of identities - national, class, sexual - and he is constantly either distancing himself from available social conventions or finding that he is set apart from the people around him. Thus 'when the teenage thing began to seem to me to fall into the hands of exhibitionists and moneylenders, I cut out gradually from the kiddo water-holes, and made it for the bars, and clubs, and concerts where the older members of the jazz world gathered'. As Simon Frith has pointed out, while MacInnes faithfully captures the surface detail of the time, the book's narrator is pure literary fifties, 'an existential hero, lone voyager through a picaresque landscape ... essentially lonely, cut off from his best friends by race or age or sexuality'.⁽²⁴⁾ Because of this, most of the issues which these raise are evaded, a point that is most brutally brought home when his friend the Wiz sides with the fascists without us ever learning why.

The Leather Boys (originally published under the pseudonym 'Eliot George') tries to tackle male juvenile delinquency head on, but again only partially succeeds. Set in South London, it is about a motor bike gang who meet nightly at Nick's cafe, and the growth of a homosexual relationship between two of its teenage members, Reggie and Dick. The gang's law breaking follows a rising curve of seriousness, advancing from vandalism and smashing up a youth club dance to petty theft and, ultimately, murder, when Dick and Reggie attempt to break into a cinema ahead of the agreed time, are ambushed by the rest of the gang, and Reggie is killed by its leader. To make sense of this delinquent subculture, the book counterposes to it dead end lives, boredom, and the uncaring pieties of respectable working class family morality. But in the end, though the boys' private anxieties and guilt are sensitively aired, the motivations implied are shallow and mystifying. For example, at the close of the book Dick, who has inherited Reggie's motor cycle by default, rides away from the court, planning to sell the bike and go off to sea; pulling up at some traffic lights beside another young motor cyclist there is an unspoken challenge to race their machines and they roar off into the distance as if charged by some knee-jerk desire for excitement that overrides all else.

The theme of youth as a social threat was also central to one of the most famous literary dystopias, Anthony Burgess's **A Clockwork Orange** (1962), which appeared a year later. Through the voice of a teenager of the future called Alex, Burgess depicts a life of mostly petty (though extremely violent) crime - street attacks, robberies, gang fights, rape, car theft and break ins which result in the deaths of two of Alex's victims. Alex is quick, crafty, and tough, easily dominates the older and bigger members of his gang or 'team', and is the terror of his parents, but he still manages to fall foul of the law. In prison he is treated with a powerful new kind of aversion therapy called 'Ludovico's Technique', making it impossible for him even to think of 'a malenky bit of ultra-violence' without being physically sick. Released from prison, he is singled out by some of the government's opponents as a particularly shocking example of its inhumanity, shrilled in the newspaper headline 'BOY VICTIM OF CRIMINAL REFORM SCHEME'. To dramatise his case they try to manipulate Alex into committing suicide, but he survives and is deconditioned and restored to his former self at the government's insistence in order to head off political unrest. Alex is now free to terrorise the streets once again, but in a final chapter he grows weary of gang life, and, meeting up with one of his old 'droogs' who has since married, he realises that he is ready to settle down too.⁽²⁵⁾

Burgess's version of delinquency does effectively eternalise it,

as is plain from Alex's closing speech:

Youth must go, ah yes. But youth is only being in a way like it might be an animal. No, it is not just like being an animal so much as being like one of these malenky toys you viddy being sold in the streets, like chellovecks made out of tin and with a spring inside and then a winding handle on the outside and you wind it up grrr grrr grrr and off it itties, like walking, O my brothers. But it itties in a straight line and bangs straight into things bang bang and it cannot help what it is doing. Being young is like being like one of these malenky machines.

Alex thinks of explaining this to his future son, but then realises that 'he would not understand or would not want to understand at all and would do all the vesches I had done ... And nor would he be able to stop his own son, brothers. And so it would itty on to like the end of the world, round and round and round ...' In sum, youth is used here as a device, a peg on which to hang a moral tract against social engineering, represented by the brutality of conditioning and the creeping totalitarianism of government. The citizens of Burgess's dystopia have largely been pacified by consumer affluence ('more space-trips and bigger stereo TV screens'), a welfare state, and the dull compulsion of routine work. At night public space is abandoned to the depredations of those like Alex and his 'droogs', forever in a running battle with the police, while 'the starry bourgeois lurked indoors drinking in the gloopy worldcasts'. Against this drab conformity 'nadsats' like Alex at least offer vitality and energy, even if pushed to extremes. At a time when books and libraries are falling into disuse, their lively slang is perhaps the last innovative form of language, and it is they who irreverently deface the State murals in the entrance to the municipal flats which show the dignity of labour. For Alex being a real individual is a kind of revolt:

... badness is of the self, the one, the you or me on our oddy knockies, and that self is made by old Bog or God and is his great pride and radosty. But the not-self cannot have the bad, meaning they of the government and the judges and the schools cannot allow the bad because they cannot allow the self. And is not our modern history, my brothers, the story of brave malenky selves fighting these big machines? I am serious with you, brothers, over this. But what I do I do because I like to do.

This perverse freedom is pitted against a state machine motivated by pure power seeking. In Burgess's eyes its brutality is far worse than that of Alex and his friends for theirs is at least a brutality of ignorance, whereas the technocratic barbarities of the state as embodied in Ludovico's Technique are rational and calculated, and aim to destroy freedom itself. And at a practical daily level it is just as squalid and violent, employing thugs and former delinquents as its jailors and policemen. Burgess's false alternatives preclude any understanding of the problems historically faced by youth or the possibilities for social reform, but they constitute a powerful philosophical statement and a stylistic tour de force.

This was not the only kind of sixties pessimism, however. In Polly Toynbee's **Leftovers** (1966), for example, a clutch of party going student survivors of germ warfare desperately cling to the cracker barrel wisdom of modern advertising slogans as a means of maintaining their grip on life, thoughtlessly conformist to the very last and unable to bear much reality. C.P. Snow's **The Sleep of Reason** (1968) also shared Burgess's suspicion of the modern age (here sixties affluence), but was a vehicle for a more direct ideological thesis. Its title probably derives from a drawing by Goya - 'The sleep of reason brings forth monsters' - the monsters in this text being construed by Snow as student revolt, sadistic

murder, and sexual deviance. The penultimate novel in Snow's well known 'Strangers and Brothers' series, this book occupies an important place in that sequence, but one which has been neglected - it was omitted from the recent TV dramatisation of Snow's novels, for example. It offers the most serious check to the rationalist optimism and meliorist social engineering of the earlier novels as the hero Lewis Eliot's faith in progress is slowly undermined. Snow dramatises these themes by concentrating them in what he constructs as pathological family, the Patemans. Although the parents are depicted as weak, vain, unrealistic and self-indulgent people, it is the Pateman children who are the true 'monsters' of the story. Lewis Eliot first encounters the student son, Dick Pateman, at a disciplinary hearing involving 'a couple of young men ... found bedding a girl each in a room in one of the hostels'. Dick insists upon his right to reinstatement at the university, rejecting the compromise that Eliot sedulously persuades the disciplinary committee to adopt. He is portrayed as the trouble making student leader **par excellence** - not bright, but arrogant and argumentative, still stubbornly organising 'placard-carrying processions' a year after the other offending students have been transferred to other universities. Because of Dick, Eliot visits the Pateman household meeting not only the parents but also the daughter Kitty Pateman, who shares the front room with her friend Cora Ross. This is subsequently revealed to be a lesbian relationship when the two young women are arrested for the murder of an 8 year old boy who has been tortured to death - a murder which seems to parallel the Moors murders of the same period.

Throughout the novel Snow offensively manipulates the theme of sexuality in an attempt to arouse a deep sense of moral horror at the irrational forces which society has failed to bring under control, and which contrasts starkly with the self discipline and self denial of an earlier era. This is particularly true of his treatment of lesbianism, his association of this with extreme forms of sadism, and his use of crude stereotypes to build up reader expectations as to who is the stronger partner, bearing primary responsibility for the crime. But, notwithstanding the device of the single pathological Pateman family as a crucible for these events, it is clear that their general trigger is societal affluence. Significantly, the room occupied by Kitty and Cora is furnished with the latest model of record player, a tape recorder, a couple of transistor radios, and they also run a car on their joint salaries as secretaries. And there are many references in the course of the novel to the effects of full employment, affluence, permissiveness, and changes in student life and mores. In the account of the trial Snow even seems to be suggesting that an environment of pop music, television and film are somehow linked to the murder in a kind of Mary Whitehouse argument: 'Music, the screen. She had been drenched and saturated with sound. No printed words at all: or as little as one could manage with in a literate society.' Snow never lost this lurid and baffled view of generational change, returning to it again eleven years later in his last book **A Coat of Varnish** (1979).

Concluding remarks

While critics like David Craig have argued that working class realism in the late fifties and early sixties was 'more concerned than any other in literary history with the experience of youth', our work suggests that this concern was shared by a number of fictional genres during this period.⁽²⁶⁾ As postwar images of youth came into clearer definition, the threat of youth, specifically male violence in public space, became a central topic of books like **A Clockwork Orange** or **The Leather**

Boys. This underscores the massive preoccupation with male experience here. There is an image of male display which appears in book after book:

Jud slipped his suit jacket on and flexed his shoulders, smiling at himself in profile through the mirror.

It seems to me I'm spending altogether too much time these days either looking in mirrors at home or catching sight of myself in mirrors outside.

The lavatory was principally occupied by six youths combing their hair in front of six full-length mirrors.

Linked to this are sets of terms which relentlessly divide up the world of women: 'plains'/pretties'; 'tart'/bint/'the right girl'; 'plain bint'/'nice girl'.⁽²⁷⁾ Variants of these recur regardless of the social background of the chief male character, and the adult male self knowledge ostensibly gained in growing up is often presented as a renegotiation of this terminology, albeit one which leaves the essential ideas still in place. Back home in Cardiff, Ben Birt in **My Friend Judas** writes of his desultory post Cambridge activities; sometimes, he confesses, he will:

take out girls from Woolworth's, who I don't even try to make. For they're people, too. They love. And not the same as Judy. Me, I'm turning moral in my youth. They've spoilt me in the Fens for easy lays and any-old-hows.

Against this kind of condescension, the irreverence and bitterness of the women in Nell Dunn's books register a jarring note of dissent.

A second point worth stressing is the instability of youth as a category itself, making it a virtually elastic term which covers a variety of different age groups. As a random glance at almost any dust jacket reveals, 'youth' could be used to sell books without having to be at all precise as to its application. 'Set amongst the beats and angries of London's bedsitter-land - a devastating novel of a young man who stops at nothing'; 'a savage, brilliantly told novel of these aimless young men and women'; 'the brutal novel of a young ex-jailbird who swayed a generation': all these are classic blurbs in which the all purpose adjective 'young' contributes to the sensational and titillating effect of the terse phrases ('Mike Lewis ... is young, virile, cool'). Nevertheless, it is noticeable that as we move into the sixties it is the teenager or adolescent who increasingly represents the 'problem of youth', **A Clockwork Orange** again serving as a model text here, pointing the way to subsequent developments in the 1970s and 1980s. These will be the subject of the second part of this article, in which we turn to images of youth in more recent fiction.

We would like to thank Cherrie Stubbs for making helpful, detailed criticisms of an earlier draft of this article.

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 (14) See Laing, S. **Room at the Top: The Morality of Affluence** in Pawling, C. (ed.) **Popular Fiction and Social Change**, Macmillan: London 1984.
 (15) Cf. the earlier novel by Philip Larkin, *Jill* (1946), in which the protagonist, a young working class man from Lancashire starting a scholarship at Oxford, finds it impossible to bridge the gap between his own class and that of his student peers.
 (16) Rock, P. and Cohen, S. 'The Teddy Boy' in Bogdanor, V. and Skidelsky, R. (eds.) **The Age of Affluence 1951-1964**, Macmillan: London 1970.
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boys involved in prostitution

Richie J. McMullen

Despite the coverage that 'boy prostitution' receives from time to time in the press, (eg Sunday Telegraph 2/11/86) very little is actually known about this elusive and complex phenomenon. Most people will be aware of the term 'rent-boy' and most people will be aware of the existence of such boys, but by the same token, the general public, when asked to describe a 'prostitute', will invariably describe a female! Furthermore, they are likely to think of prostitution as being a commercial activity. Seldom will prostitution be perceived as a link in a chain of sexual abuse, not least because the boys involved tend to be elusive to scrutiny. That is, they tend to have restricted contact with their families, schools or social care agencies, of the kind which might facilitate a referral taking place, once the prostitutional activity begins. Even when professional help is asked for the boy in question is unlikely to admit his sexual activities. Self referral is rare with most cases coming to the attention of caring workers via some form of discovery. Indeed, boys do fear disclosure and possible court cases and for that reason alone are unlikely to self refer to statutory agencies. Not until now has a voluntary agency emerged in the United Kingdom which allows a youngster involved in prostitution to self refer in a manner which allows that youngster to explore the nature of his involvement without fear of arrest. Streetwise Youth Project is a Registered Charity and was founded in May 1985 to both meet the needs and research the nature of young people involved in prostitution. The uniqueness of this Project does not end there. As the founder and current Co-ordinator I speak as more than a senior youth and community worker or professional counsellor. I speak as someone who knows personally about the issues. I myself was a sexually abused child and as such was consequently involved in prostitution. Years of therapy and counselling have helped me and it is my aim now to help those young people suffering in silence. The young people Streetwise Youth Project sets out to serve must be one of the most neglected 'at risk' groups of young people in the country today and nowhere is this risk more obviously visible than in central London.

A major social misconception is that these boys are simply immoral victimisers. I will address this issue in some detail. I also aim to show that they are consequential victims on a cycle of abuse to which they are at risk of becoming sexually and psychologically dependant. I shall question the legal definitions of rape and sexual assault and offer an alternative perception of consent which may be used therapeutically with boy victims. I shall discuss the nature of sexual abuse and offer explanations as to why rape is not always recognised or reported by boys involved in prostitution.

Graduates of previous prostitutional activities

It is a mistaken, though socially and morally convenient notion that boys arrive in London only to be ensnared and converted into the life of prostitution by preying pimps waiting at every main line railway and bus station. Yes, of course it happens, but not to the extent one is seduced into believing. Furthermore, when this does occur, the pimp tends to be preaching to the converted. While I intend to address myself in this paper to the London area it is my experience that the boys concerned are already graduates of previous prostitutional activities in their home towns long before they head for the capital city. The issues and problems of boy prostitution belong not only to London but to most towns and cities throughout the United Kingdom. However, the real extent of their involvement and the numbers of boys who are involved is largely unknown.

The lack of government backed research

The need for government backed research in this major area of social concern is long overdue. It is no longer good enough for politicians to state and re-state their concerns, no matter how genuine those concerns are. Action is needed! What Streetwise Youth Project needs is government funding to develop its research programme intent more fully and accurately. Further to that funds are required to meet the needs of this otherwise tragically ignored group of young people: needs which the now tried and tested experience of Streetwise tells us cannot and are not being met by existing statutory or voluntary provision.

On 30th October 1984 Mr. Greenway M.P. asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he was satisfied with the effectiveness of the law relating to child prostitution; what surveys or other evidence were available to him on this subject; and if he would make a statement. Mr. David Mellor M.P., in his reply, said, 'We have not set up any special study of child prostitution...' It seems likely, that in preparing his answer, Mr. Mellor would have referred to the Statistical Section of The House Of Commons Library. If he did, he would have discovered that statistics on the numbers of offences by prostitutes are not recorded as they are not notifiable offences. In fact, prostitution itself is not an offence, but loitering or soliciting for the purpose of prostitution are, under Section 1 of the Street Offences Act 1959. He would also have discovered that all the people listed between the years 1980 to 1985, under the age of seventeen, who were found guilty or cautioned for prostitution offences in England and Wales, were girls. This non-recognition of boys involved in prostitution at this level in our society, should be viewed as no less than negligent acquiescence. The likelihood is that there

are just as many boys involved as there are girls. Even The Criminal Law Revision Committee (CLRC) tend to view prostitution as a female activity. This is more remarkable when one considers that the CLRC is reported by Mr. Mellor as having taken advice from the medical, teaching and social work professions.

The Run-Away or Pushed-Away?

Because no accurate government records are kept no one knows for sure just how many young people run away each year. What we do know is that some of these young people are never seen alive again. How many? We simply don't know. My experience and that of others working in this field tells us that the 'run-away' is more accurately understood as being the 'pushed-away'. Of the fifteen teenage boys murdered by Denis Neilson the majority were never even reported 'missing' from home. As a caring society we have much to answer for. If we compare ourselves to the US, where over \$20million was put into agencies addressing themselves to the 'run-away' issues in 1983, we don't even come out as being second best. (US. DHSS 1982) The amount of funds made available for this issue in the UK could be calculated by an infant on the fingers of one hand.

Government Double Talk

On page 200 of the House of Commons 'Written Answers' of 19th February 1986 is the following question and answer:

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

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

The question is quite specific and asked about 'the provision for the rehabilitation of children involved in prostitution'. The answer, however, is far more general and could lead one to believe that not only is the issue of child prostitution well catered for by existing statutory and voluntary provision but that nothing further need be done. Mr. Whitney talks of '... a variety of services...', but does not list even one! To the best of my knowledge Streetwise Youth Project is not only the first but is also the only project in the UK to address itself solely to researching the nature and meeting the needs of young people involved in prostitution; and, as this Project could not have come to the attention of Mr. Whitney on the date of his answer what exactly are these other rehabilitation services? As a worker in the front line of this work I should dearly like to know, not least in order to facilitate the right and proper referral. Generalised listings of the existing statutory and voluntary agencies who obviously are 'concerned' about the issues of child prostitution will not, however, be good enough. I am fully aware already that agencies are concerned but must challenge the Secretary of State for Social Services to list just **one** programme of rehabilitation other than Streetwise Youth Project.

On Friday 6th March 1987 in the House of Commons 'Written Answers' the following question and answer about child homelessness and prostitution is listed:

Q. (Mrs. Gwynneth Dunwoody) To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services, how many voluntary organisations receive grants from his Department for dealing with child homelessness

and child prostitution; and if he will list the organisations by name as well as the amount of funding they receive.

A. (Mrs. Edwina Currie) Local Authorities have certain responsibilities and a range of statutory powers to meet the needs of children who may be homeless or otherwise in need of care and protection. In addition a number of voluntary organisations provide facilities and guidance. The Department made grants in 1986/87 as listed to organisations providing services to homeless people, some of whom would be children and young people:

	£
<i>Campaign for Single Homeless</i>	<i>32,000</i>
<i>Homes for Homeless People</i>	<i>44,000</i>
<i>National Association for Voluntary Hostels</i>	<i>5,000</i>
<i>North Lambeth Project</i>	<i>13,000</i>
<i>Central London Teenage Project</i>	<i>20,000</i>

The Department made no grants to voluntary organisations specifically to deal with child prostitution. The criminal law relevant to child prostitution is a matter for my right hon Friend, the Home Secretary. (Emphasis added).

It is clear, therefore, that apart from the Streetwise Youth Project, no other statutory or voluntary agency is actually providing a programme of rehabilitation for young people involved in prostitution. In other words, the national issues of youth prostitution have been and are being greatly neglected by this and previous UK governments. The time is long overdue for government to address this issue of prostitution head on and to stop disguising it with other important issues such as 'homelessness'!

Any Government's serious attempt to deal with youth prostitution must involve accurate record keeping by the police and those agencies who become involved. Currently, no accurate records are kept. On Tuesday, 3rd March 1987 in the House of Commons 'Written Answers' the following questions and answer is listed:

Written Nos. 97, 98 & 99 (24.2.87)

Q. Mrs. Gwynneth Dunwoody: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, what evidence is available to him of a link between child prostitution and runaways; and if he will make a statement.

To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, if he will set up and fund a research project endeavouring to establish the number of runaway children reported missing throughout the United Kingdom, and to investigate the number of homeless children involved in child prostitution in the Metropolitan Area.

To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department, if he will convene an urgent meeting of chief constables throughout the United Kingdom with a view to establishing what information they have about runaway children; and if he will make a statement.

A. Mr. Douglas Hogg: The police are aware of the dangers to runaway children, including the risk that they become involved in crime, and endeavour to assist them within the limits laid down by the law. Police forces keep records for operational purposes of persons reported missing. Chief Officers do not consider that collecting further statistical information would offer them any practical assistance and research to establish reliable estimates of the numbers of homeless children involved

in prostitution would be difficult, given the illegal and covert nature of the activity.

Once again, the Government answer is to do **nothing!** What does it matter how difficult it would be for our police to keep records? How dare that difficulty be allowed to be a problem which cannot be dealt with! The police know full well how many youngsters are picked up on prostitution related charges and they will know how many of these youngsters are runaways. In the age of the computer the keeping of accurate records should not be a problem. Chief Officers may indeed feel that collecting statistical information offers them no practical assistance. That information, however, would enable both government and the statutory and voluntary services to know the size of the problem and offer major indications as to what services need be provided. If Chief Officers refuse to keep records then Government must make it law!

How Many Must Be Killed?

I will go into the motivations and reasons boys become involved in prostitution a little later. When they do become involved these boys face enormous risks, everything from murder to rape. Fourteen year old Jason Swift was a recent example of a boy known to be involved in prostitution who was sexually abused and murdered. His killer is still at large and boys just like Jason Swift continue to become involved in prostitution. Streetwise Youth Project emerged too late to help Jason Swift but with the help of funding and proper government support and action others like him may be helped.

Boy Prostitutes: Image and Reality

You may have noticed that at no stage have I addressed these boys as prostitutes and I'll tell you why. Firstly the term 'prostitute' is too simplistic and not always accurate. Secondly, it carries with it an inherent moral judgement. People tend to view 'prostitutes' as being either good or bad, mostly bad. Thirdly, to project our own socially and morally constructed identification onto these boys may lead them to more fully accepting and performing in that role. (McMullen 1986) Does a boy become a 'prostitute' after accepting a meal, a gift or cash which intends to facilitate a sexual encounter? Surely not. How many of us have both wine and dine in order to achieve a sexual closeness with someone we care for? How would we respond if our partner were to be labelled a 'prostitute'? As a feminist supporter I can accept in part the perspective of the English Collective of Prostitutes that female prostitution is a reflection of the perceived economic role of the woman in a male dominated society. Nevertheless however persuasive that argument is, it fails to recognise that males too become involved in the life of prostitution and the question we should be addressing is one of the adult male use and abuse of power. 'Prostitutes' are nearly always thought of as being female. No one knows for sure just how many boys there are in comparison to girls engaged in prostitution but my experience leads me to believe that the percentages may be more evenly balanced than previously imagined. Furthermore, to see prostitution in purely economic terms on the basis of a political perception rather than on the hard evidence of research findings tends to leave the subject in the hands of the unthinking.

Some might argue that a boy becomes a prostitute when he knowingly accepts money for sexual favours. On the surface of things that seems simple enough to understand. However, as will be shown, when we scratch the surface even just a little it becomes questionable and the main question hinges on the term 'knowingly'. Inherent in this term is a sense of freedom and objective choice which may not always be present. I feel

confident in assuming that there may be a number of boys who think this through in an objective manner, reckon on a good financial return, then acting on this, set themselves up with an agency and enter the life of prostitution. However, experience tells me that if such boys do exist they are in the minority. It is far more likely that the boy is reacting subjectively rather than objectively. That is, his entry into prostitution is consequential on some other previous experience and that previous experience is likely to be one of sexual abuse.

The evidence for this is strong with many of the boys who come into contact with Streetwise Youth Project reporting such experiences. Indeed, the link may even be stronger for the reporting of such experiences is difficult and often clouded with guilt and shame. Silbert and Pines (1981), carried out a research programme with 200 female prostitutes in San Francisco. Of that 200, 60% were abused as juveniles. Sexual abuse was defined in terms of some force being used. The average age at the time of the first abuse was ten years. 67% were abused by 'father figures', 33% by their natural fathers. Only 10% were by strangers. In 82% of the cases 'force' was used. 99% of the victims 'felt terrible' about the abuse and 90% attribute that abuse to their entry into prostitution. '...My brother could do it, why not everybody else? Might as well make them pay for it...' Or, in another case, '...My father bought me, so who cares who else does?...' 96% were runaways as a result of being abused.

If we leave out for the moment the contentious issue of 'homosexuality' it is generally agreed that the entrance into prostitution for boys is much the same as for girls. Boys involved in prostitution are reported to be of low economic status (MacNamara, 1965), to come from deprived and neglectful homes (Cory and LeRoy, 1963; Deisher et al., 1969, Ginsberg, 1967) have low self esteem with concerns about masculinity (Coombs, 1974; Gandy and Deisher, 1970; Cory and LeRoy, 1963; Hoffman, 1972). Coombs (1974), Ginsberg (1967), McMullen (1986), and MacNamara (1965) relate the issue of 'power' as a form of manipulation to those boys who otherwise are, or view themselves as, powerless. Whilst MacNamara and Karmen (1983) cast doubt on the 'lower class' label it is my experience that in the main, boys involved in prostitution in central London do indeed come from such backgrounds.

The notion of homosexual seduction is propounded by Coombs (1974). He reports that some 64% of the boys he interviewed had experiences of homosexual seduction at an average age of 9.6 years. His theory is that if a boy is seduced homosexually and is then offered some form of reward at the time of the seduction, this acts as a precursor to prostitution. Whilst I can accept and indeed agree with the main thrust of this argument, it should be made clear that there is a world of difference between 'homosexual seduction', 'child sexual abuse' and 'paedophilia'. To suggest, as Coombs does, that the sexual contact between a man and a boy of 9 is 'homosexual seduction' is misleading. The vast majority of male homosexuals have no sexual interest in children whatsoever and such incidents should be better thought of as the work of the paedophile or pederast, and thus the child sexual abuser.

In a recent study, (MacNamara and Karmen, 1983), 46 boys involved in prostitution were interviewed and it was shown that their families were riddled with conflict and instability as well as with physical, psychological and sexual abuse. The average age of first sexual involvement was 10 years, with the average age of first prostitutional activity being 14 years. 25% felt 'coerced' at their first sexual involvement with a male and

some **42% per cent reported having been raped**. 25% reported sexual assaults from which they had managed to escape. 25% had their first sexual experience with a relative and 55% reported physical abuse in the home. It was further reported that some 63% had experienced sexual exploitation with this figure rising to 83% if attempted assaults are included. Whilst I've yet to write up my own study of forty males involved in prostitution, I expect to reveal similar findings.

So, if we call these boys 'prostitutes' we are likely to see an immoral victimiser of the kind who is deserving of what he gets. However, when we scratch the surface just a little we see a consequential victim. Our view of the 'victim' is likely to be clouded though if he has already adopted the morally and socially projected identification of 'prostitute' or 'rent boy' more particularly for as is now well documented in works on child sexual abuse, the victim of sexual and other abuse is in danger of becoming an abuser. Indeed, most adult abusers have been abused themselves in their childhood. However that must never be allowed to become a legal or moral defence.

What we have then is an adult abuse of power. This is more fully explored in a previous paper of mine (McMullen, 1986) so I won't go into it here other than to say that when we talk about an adult's abuse of power we should be careful of using the media's emotional shorthand term of 'child-abuse'.

What Is Known About The Boys Who Are Involved?

There is no typical boy who becomes involved in prostitution. There are major differences among them. However, the following similarities may offer a clearer picture. When I look back to my own childhood involvement in prostitution I can more than identify with the following list. By far the greatest number of boys involved in prostitution who come into the day centre facility of the Streetwise Youth project:

Are homeless and often rootless; Are lacking in social skills; Have little or no previous work experience; Are likely to have been sexually abused in earlier childhood; Have a poor self image; Are likely to have a criminal record; Have little money or clothing; Often do not know of or how to claim state benefits; Often set themselves up for further and continuing abuse; Are often victims of sexual abuse via their involvement in prostitution; Are daily exposed to deviant sub-cultures via the street; Are unlikely to have any educational qualifications; Are likely to be emotionally disturbed; Have identity problems; Have no real understanding of why they became involved in prostitution in the first place; Claim money as the motive for continued involvement; Are unlikely to have any money saved or know how to handle it; Are unlikely to admit their prostitution behaviour to caring workers in other agencies; Are likely to present more acceptable problems to other agencies; Are unlikely to trust a male adult easily; Are likely to be defensively aggressive; Are likely to be out of touch with their personal power and potential; Are likely to use sexual charm as a way of getting what they want; Are likely to be highly moral about cross generational sex; Like to be seen as very sexually sophisticated; Are likely to overstate the material gains of prostitution; Are likely to understate the risks involved; Like to be seen as being sexually active; Are likely to be sexually passive; Become frustrated quickly when faced with a difficult situation; Are likely to have had a series of sexual partners from among others who are involved in male prostitution; Are unlikely to keep the same partner for very long despite deep claims of love; Are likely

to present punters as being young and handsome; Sometimes likely to tell other such boys that they are bisexual; Are likely to have stayed in youth homelessness projects; Usually do not fit easily into existing youth-social-work provision.

This list which is based upon observations through informal groupwork and counselling boys involved in prostitution, should not be thought of as being complete in any way. We have much to learn still about the incidence and nature of boy prostitution in the United Kingdom. Nonetheless, it may serve to improve perception and point to ways of creating a viable youth work response.

Sexual Assault Or Rape?

In British law the crime of rape can only be committed 'per vaginam' and not 'per anum'. Further to that, for 'rape' to occur the erect penis must penetrate the vagina of the non-consenting victim. In law, therefore, a boy or man cannot be raped. If the forced penetration is not by the penis but by a hand or other object then the offence is not one of rape but the lesser charge of indecent assault, just as it is for anal penetration and forced genital-mouth contact. (Howard League 1985)

It is self evident both in law and otherwise that rape is a form of sexual abuse. Less self evident, both in law and otherwise, is that the sexual abuse of females **and** males is a form of rape. In focussing on the genital nature of the act of rape the law fails to take fully into account the conditions of consent and non-consent as being central to the essential definition of rape. It is both a nonsense and a charter for the rapists of males for the law to claim that a male cannot be raped. Of course males can be raped. The time is long overdue for a change in the law to make the non-consensual anal penetration of males an act of rape. Indeed, whatever the gender of the victim this should be recognised as an act of rape in law.

As the law presently stands the maximum sentence for female rape is life imprisonment whilst the maximum sentence for the indecent assault on a male is ten years imprisonment. It would be a mistaken notion to assume that the charge of buggery, which carries a maximum sentence of life imprisonment, adequately protects the male victim or makes sense in law. It does not. Of the 209 convicted of buggery in 1983 it is not clear how many of those offences involved females nor how many of those which involved males were consenting partners. A male under the age of twenty one cannot, as the law stands, give his consent. He may vote at eighteen but at the same age he is deemed too young to decide with whom he has a homosexual relationship, regardless of the type of sexual contact.

The Problems Of Reporting The Assault Or Rape

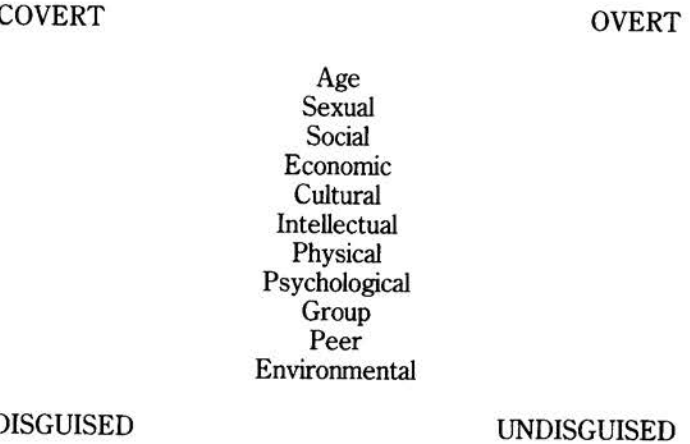
Despite the efforts of womens movements in getting the subject of rape more readily seen, heard and dealt with, it is generally accepted that many rapes go unreported. If it is difficult for girls and women in London to report being raped, and it is, imagine how difficult it is for a boy or man. The male victim who is not homosexual is assumed to be that way inclined and the victim who is a homosexual is thought to have 'asked for it'. When the victim, of whatever gender, is known to be involved in prostitution they tend to face a police reaction of, '...well, what did you expect?...' It should, of course, be noted that the majority of police officers are male. No person deserves to be raped whatever the circumstances and the law should be such as to overcome the subjective judgemental

attitudes of the police, attitudes which in London, do not reflect effectiveness in clearing up the cases which are reported. The increase in rape cases in London is higher than the national increase and the London police (The Met) has the lowest clear-up rate ie, a 56% London clear-up rate from 1979 to 1984, as compared with 69% clear-up in England and Wales over the same period. (New Society 31/1/86) The term, 'clear-up' does not mean 'conviction', however. In 1983 some 1,334 males over the age of fourteen were charged with rape and of those only 402 were convicted. A boy under the age of fourteen cannot be charged with rape.

The Nature Of Force In Boy Rape And Sexual Abuse
Not every boy who is sexually assaulted or raped is aware that he has been abused or raped because the crime of rape is too often thought of and understood as always involving violent physical force, and these are the cases which tend to be reported in the media. Force, however, is always used to rape but it may not always be undisguised. (See diagram one.)

DIAGRAM ONE:

THE FACTORS OF FORCE



Force is used when the victim is tricked, drugged, bribed, coerced or when the victim 'goes along' with the victimiser out of fear of violence, even though there may be no obvious threat. It is possible, also, during a rape, for disguised force to change into undisguised force and back again a number of times. Rape victims and victims of other sexual assaults may believe that as no undisguised force was apparent that rape did not happen. One result of this is that the victims are likely to view themselves as being somehow deserving. However, such victims can be assured that the commonest use of force is not overt physical violence but is verbal, ie, threats, persuasion and blackmail. Ageton (1983), in her study of sexual assault amongst adolescents, was able to show that the kind of force used ranged from the main 'verbal persuasion', followed by 'verbal threats of blackmail', to 'verbal threats of injury'. Actual physical attack was rare. The degree of intimidation, the size of the victimiser, the number of victimisers, the isolation, the location, the environment generally, the nature of the relationship between victim and victimiser prior to the rape, these all play a part and may need explaining to a confused victim of any sexual assault. It should also be made as clear as possible, and repetitively if need be, that the victim is not to blame regardless of the circumstances. This freeing of blame is central to the victim's recovery.

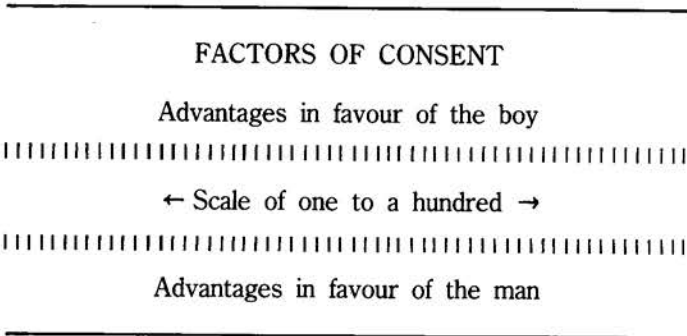
Rape is a male problem. More than that, it is predominantly a young male problem which is linked to his abuse of force and

power. Though hard evidence is difficult to come by, I suspect that the rapist, as with child-abusers, has a previous history of being abused, even though he may not be aware of it, and even if he is aware of it, may never have reported it nor thought of the abuse as such.

Adults who sexually abuse children rarely use undisguised overt violence. The more 'successful' child abuser 'wins' the 'consent' of the child in order to achieve his aims, thereby leaving the child defenceless. Gifts or money may be part of the seduction process. As will be shown later, this is the process often adopted by some of the men who use boys involved in prostitution. For children to cope psychologically with the experience/s of sexual abuse they may have to convince themselves that not only did they give their consent but that they actually enjoyed and wanted the experience to take place. They thereby legitimise their involvement to themselves and facilitate the development of a power-full though negative self concept and image. This situation is made worse when the victim of abuse actually becomes sexually aroused during the events of abuse. The boy may come to believe and the abuser will most certainly make full use of the arousal as being consent. 'Sexual arousal' for the boy may then become associated with being 'abused' and the boy may have to place himself in 'abusive' situations in future in order to become aroused. It should be explained to boy victims of any form of sexual abuse that 'arousal' does not always mean 'consent' and, that 'consent' does not always mean 'arousal'. It should also be made clear to the boy that given the high degree of tactile sensitivity a boy experiences it would be difficult indeed for him not to become aroused by overt or covert sexual touch.

When a boy believes that not only did he give his consent but that he has the right to consent it may be wise to point to the degree of consent he is actually able to give as compared with the man in question. As was shown in diagram one, the factors of consent should be pointed out and compared ie. age, sexual, social, economic, cultural, intellectual, physical, psychological, group, peer and environmental and others. While no two people can be evenly balanced in the consent they are able to give, the boy may be helped to examine the degree of each factor in that consent, (see diagram two)

DIAGRAM TWO



NOTE: Each of the following should be individually rated and then the boy's score compared to the man's score: age, sexual, social, economic, cultural, intellectual, physical, psychological, group, peer, environmental, other factors.

Just as 'arousal' does not always mean 'consent', so it is that 'willing' does not always mean 'consent'. A sexually aroused boy may indeed, when sexually stimulated by an adult, be 'willing' for the activity to proceed further because he has been

aroused. But, proceed to what? And, from what differential points? What can a boychild know of the procedure or to where it is to climax? How, therefore, can such an unknowing boy consent? Clearly he cannot and his 'willingness' may more accurately be thought of as child curiosity. His uninformed willingness is nothing more than uninformed consent and as such is not consent at all. The intent of the adult in these situations is arrived at via adult knowledge and previously experienced information about the full sexual content of that which he seeks with the boy. The boy, on the other hand, can only have partial knowledge and partially experienced information. What then of the sexually sophisticated boy? The boy with considerable sexual experience? Is it then right for such a boy to legitimately become sexually involved with a man? This situation, if legitimate at all, is legitimate only in explaining the boy's involvement. How can such a boy be so experienced in adult sex if not through previous abusive situations? The man can have no legitimate rights here whatsoever whilst the boy is below the age of consent. We may, perhaps, argue the case for the lowering of the age of consent to 16 in order to bring it in line with heterosexuality but that argument must remain quite separate.

Crisis Point

When child victims of sexual abuse are discovered and the victimiser is arrested or otherwise dealt with, the child often feels dirty, guilty and deeply ashamed because his self legitimating defence mechanism backfires on him as he is confronted with the 'offence'. Even when these cases go undiscovered, and this is the case with the greatest number I know who are involved in prostitution, it is likely, through the course of time and exposure to other influences, that the developing youth will become more consciously confronted with the inner debate of the rights and wrongs of that which occurred. A crisis point may be arrived at and the young male may resolve this in a number of ways. He may refer himself for help, though this is highly unlikely. More likely he may commit himself to the previously and reliable known quantity of the self legitimating process which tells him that he enjoyed, wanted and is responsible for that which took place in his earlier years. This tried and tested psychological survival system now acts as a viable motivating agent which allows him to abuse others and/or set himself up for further abuse. If, in those early experiences of abuse, he has been given gifts or money at the time of the abuse it is not too difficult to see how he may experience the logical progress into prostitution. Once there, he must then explain his involvement to himself. This he does by claiming that money is the reason for him doing what he does. In my experience of working with boys involved in prostitution this paradigm holds true more often than it doesn't. When a boy is exposed to sexual abuse and then, for whatever reason, becomes involved in street-life he may further legitimate his involvement in prostitution as being no more than streetwise survival. (Kemp & Kemp 1984)

Why 'Rent-Boys' Don't Report Being Sexually Abused And Raped

In my experience of working with boys involved in prostitution in central London it is rare for them to report being sexually assaulted or raped. This 'not reporting' is often explained to others as being out of fear of the police reaction, as well as the fear of disclosure through press coverage to family and friends, who tend not to be aware of either the lifestyle of the boys or of their manifest sexual orientation. I will refer to press coverage shortly. Within the sub-culture of boy prostitution this explanation of 'not reporting' is both understood and acceptable. Perkins and Bennett (1985) report that violence directed at prostitutes is similar for females and

males. They point out that the men who rape prostitutes are aware that the victims are unlikely to report attacks on them because the police and the courts usually take the attitude that 'they got what they deserved'.

Less obvious or acceptable to a 'rent-boy' who has been raped is that he is at risk of being seen by other 'rent-boys' as a loser of the 'game'. If seen in such a light he will lose face and status. Being 'on the game' involves these boys with power-play with adults in a way unique to those involved, (McMullen 1986). From the boy's point of view he must get as much as he can for doing as little as he can. The man's point of view is similar but not as clear. On the surface of things the man too must get as much as he can for as little as he can. This applies more to the casual punter. However, the regular punter, may be more devious. That is, he may 'feed' a series of boys with drinks, food and even small amounts of pocket money in much the same way that a fisherman 'feeds' a particular bank of the river. The purpose of this, in both cases, is to keep the prey available. When the fisherman punter does this he does not demand sex in return and thus deludes the boys into thinking of him as a nice guy or even a friend. Sooner or later, however, he will make his sexual move. This type of punter is more often than not a man mature in years and is not the kind to sexually assault or rape boys. He is likely to mix his genuine concern for these boys with his own sexual and other needs. When such men come before the courts they are often presented as evil by the prosecution and the press. The boys nearly always have more compassion and sympathy for these men as well as anger at the press coverage.

Sexual Limitations Of 'Rent Boys'

The men who do rape and sexually assault 'rent-boys' are much more likely to be young themselves and not regular punters. The 'rent-boy' may be viewed as being fair game and as being sexually athletic in all aspects of sexual perversion and deviance or as being a viable object on which such perversions may legitimately be carried out. However the sexual reality for many such boys, is that far from being sexually sophisticated, they are often sexually limited. These limits may be as a result of lack of experience or be self imposed. It is common practice within this sub-culture for these boys to frown upon certain sexual practices, the most obvious of which is passive anal sex. So strong is this sub-culture pressure that even a boy who actually enjoys passive anal sex may be forced to deny that he actually likes it or does it. 'Doing it' for the pleasure is not approved of and anal sex carries with it the implicit implication of homosexual enjoyment. 'Doing it' for the money is seen as legitimate. There is a tendency for 'rent-boys' to declare only an active sex role. Others take this further and claim to be bi-sexual and even heterosexual. It is my experience that most of the boys are indeed homosexual. Some boys claim only to give 'hand jobs', masturbation of the punter. When such a claim has been made by boys I know, in the company of other 'rent-boys' this has proved to be the cause of much amusement with the boy usually owning up to much more when he discovers that the others are not going to ridicule him.

Paying Off 'Rent-Boy' Victims Of Rape

It is a mistaken notion that a 'rent-boy' cannot be raped. The notion is that because a boy is involved in prostitution he is freely available for any form of sexual exploitation, providing a fee is paid. A similar notion exists about rape within marriage. It is my experience that when these boys are raped, the rapist pays them off afterwards. This 'paying-off' not only allows the rapist to disown his actions but also it allows him to leave all blame, guilt and shame with the victim.

I could give you many examples of this but I'll give you just a couple. The first is an example of a violent attack and the second is an example of the more subtle intimidation method:

EXAMPLE ONE: A 'rent-boy' was picked up by a charming young American tourist and was taken back to a flat where he was drugged and then submitted to a savage and sadistic attack which ended in anal rape, after which money was thrust into the victims pocket and, still under the influence of drugs, he was then thrown out onto the streets at 3.30 in the morning. The boy required hospital treatment and remained black and blue with bruising for quite some time afterwards.

EXAMPLE TWO: A 'rent-boy' was picked up by an attractive young Englishman and taken back to a house in the East End of London. At the time of the pick up, when it is normal for prices to be negotiated and sexual limitations made clear, the boy had made it clear that he had never been a passive partner in anal sex and that if that's what the young man wanted he could introduce him to another boy. The young man agreed that he didn't like anal sex either. At the house, however, all that changed. When the boy was naked in the bedroom, waiting for the young man to return from the bathroom, the bedroom door opened and in walked not one but three men. The boy realized instantly what was about to happen to him and he tried pleading with the men. This failed and the boy said not another word as he was repeatedly raped, anally, by all three men. Afterwards he was given money and shown to the door. The boy remained in a deep state of shock for some days afterwards.

In both these cases non-consensual anal sex was involved and it is clear that abuse and rape had taken place. Why then did neither boy report these rapes to the police? To aid your understanding I have to tell you that just prior to these rapes a national newspaper carried the story of a 17 year old 'rent boy' who had been subjected to the most horrible torture at the hands of two men. In that short article the victim was referred to as '...the homosexual...' and was named no less than six times. Not only that, his home town and his London address were also named. Is it any wonder that these boys prefer to remain silent! (Daily Telegraph 26/7/86)

Conclusion

Boys are sexually abused and some of them will graduate from that abuse into a lifestyle of prostitution. Once there, they are likely to be raped at least once. Despite the evidence available there still exists a public misconception that boys do not become involved in prostitution in large numbers. How many boys there are who are involved in prostitution in the UK is anyone's guess. However, the percentages are likely to be much higher than previously realized. The incidences and the nature of boy prostitution in the UK are not yet fully understood and there can be no doubt that a government backed research programme is long overdue. Such a programme could be based initially at the only project yet in existence, which sets out to research the nature and meet the needs of this otherwise tragically ignored group of what must surely be one of the most neglected, 'at risk' groups of young people in the country today. That project is Streetwise Youth Project and is a place where these boys already self refer.

The UK government must also put money into meeting the needs of these young people and not leave the funding of this Project to charity alone.

When children and young people cannot, for whatever reason, speak for themselves those who know their condition must speak for them. This paper and my work for Streetwise Youth Project are such attempts!

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feature review

Paul Stubbs

Five Policy Papers in Ethnic Relations. University of Warwick, Centre for research in Ethnic Relations.

Benyon J. (1986) A Tale of Failure: race and policing. (n3;pp106;£4).

Wrench J. (1986) Unequal Comrades: trade unions, equal opportunities and racism. (n5;pp30;£3.50).

Solomos J. (1986) Riots, Urban Protest and Social Policy: the interplay of reform and social control. (n7;pp44;£3.50).

Ball W. (1987) Post-Sixteen Education and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities: a case study of policies and provision in one local authority. (n8;pp46;£3.50).

Cross M. (1987) A Cause for Concern: ethnic minority youth and vocational training policy. (n9;pp31;£3.50).

In the last few years, there has been a considerable amount of criticism of much of what has passed for orthodox research in the area of 'race' or 'ethnic relations'. Many commentators, including a number of black writers, have powerfully argued that research has tended to define its object of study too narrowly; at best, to conceive of 'ethnic relations' in a political vacuum and, at worst, to actually study black communities and groups in ways which distort and dehumanise their experiences. In other words, research has tended to stress the problems or 'pathologies' of black cultures rather than to seek to understand structures of racism.

These five policy papers from the major national designated research centre for 'ethnic relations' which, in the past, has borne a great deal of these criticisms, allow for some re-evaluation of the current state of research. Four of the five are written by researchers based at CRER; the fifth is by John Benyon who has close links with it. Taken together they reveal how far such criticisms have been addressed and how far still has to be travelled in developing a research agenda which focusses on structures of racism and, then, actually develops informed political and policy-oriented debates about the development of anti-racism.

In their different ways, all five papers address issues likely to be of concern to 'Youth and Policy' readers, although they tend to be either dry, academic overviews only of value to those with a direct interest in the topic area, or to be so narrowly focussed within a policy framework that, whilst having some relevance for practitioners, this is hardly made central. Of course, it would be wrong to take these papers as necessarily representative of CRER's ongoing research nor to look, conspiratorially, for a Centre 'line' in them. Nevertheless, with one notable exception in John Solomos' paper, there seems to be a reluctance to develop a critical approach adequate to understand racist processes, much less to contribute to our

understandings of anti-racist change. On the whole, the papers do not take risks, merely pulling together what we already know from disparate sources into a coherent whole. When explanations of racist processes are offered, these tend to remain within the parameters of 'acceptable' policy debates as defined by major funders of research, i.e. governmental and related agencies. Crudely stated, the papers reflect structural imbalances in the politics of research funding in this area so that they fail, on the whole, to be responsive to the demands of, much less directly accountable to, black communities.

John Wrench's paper does not say anything new, although his faith in the possibility of trade unions developing anti-racist change does open up new funding and research possibilities. However, I am surprised that his optimism is not tempered by his own overview of the history of trade unions' relationship to black labour, which he terms an 'unfortunate' one. This seems to me to be a singularly 'unfortunate' phrase suggesting a reluctance, symptomatic of the policy papers as a whole, to pose the important critical questions about why things are the way they are. The history of trade unions' complicity in attempts at racial exclusion within the workplace, combined with support for exclusionary immigration policies in the national arena, is more than an unfortunate accident.

Wrench does not include enough detail about more recent developments including black community organisation, militancy, and the growth of pressure groups. His discussion of the problems of 'separatism' seems particularly trite, failing to adequately confront complex political debates about autonomy and alliances. In charting the response of trade union hierarchies to pressure he is right to suggest that what movement has occurred has often been based on a view that the problems are those of black members, in terms of language and lack of knowledge about trade unions. In contrast, Wrench stresses that trade unions need to develop equal opportunity measures and active strategies in opposition to racism. Some concrete examples would have been valuable here, perhaps borrowing from the experiences of the GLC Anti-Racist Trade Union Working Group, which Wrench only mentions in passing.

Malcolm Cross' paper on vocational training policy provides an overview of the role of the MSC and the contradictory nature of their conversion to 'equal opportunities' which, he suggests, on the basis of evidence from the West Midlands, appears to lead to an exacerbating of labour market inequalities and a worsening of the position of black young people. Central to this is the racist construction of black pathology embedded in notions of 'special needs' and 'disadvantage' through which black youth are constructed as suitable for 'pre-training interventions designed to enhance employability' (p11). Hence, and he has small-scale research evidence to back this

up, black young people are actually over-represented in schemes which deny direct access to the labour market. In addition, it is good to see that he actually names the major industrial employers who appear to have a poor record in taking black trainees.

The paper stops short, however, of discussing anti-racist strategies and this limits its value in an area where, because of formal equal opportunities statements and monitoring policies, some pressures can be exerted to induce change within powerful organisations. More useful, in this regard, is Anna Pollert's report 'Unequal Opportunities: racial discrimination and the YTS' (West Midlands YTS Research project 1985), indicating, perhaps, the contrast between a detached policy report from a well-funded academic centre, and an explicitly campaigning anti-racist report.

Wendy Ball's paper faces similar problems, although it needs to be seen as part of CREER's ongoing work on educational policy, valuably extending it into the under-researched area of post-16 education. In adopting a framework which looks at 'equal opportunities' for both black people and women, Ball is well placed to address the connections between oppressions so often neglected within research on 'race' or 'ethnic relations'. However, she fails, on the whole, to provide us with any new insights into the complex relationships involved.

Instead, we are given a well written, if straightforward, account of the range of policies and practices within post-16 educational establishments in one West Midlands local authority which she calls 'Westleigh'. I am unsure of the reasons for preserving confidentiality since it does not lead to the posing of critical questions, urgently needed, about attitudes, values and practices mitigating against the development of racial and sexual equality in further and higher education. At times, the paper reads like an internal research report, of little value outside 'Westleigh'.

I suspect that there is a very different report to be written exploring the politics of the research, the reception of participant groups to it, and, vitally, containing some hints about how the researcher could be actively involved in promoting anti-racist change. Ball could then go further in discussing key tensions in the development of equal opportunities, about the balance between top down and bottom up approaches, about professional and trade union roles, about the meaning of 'progressive' management, and about the importance of pressure from students and community groups. To do this properly, I suspect her research would need to be more ethnographic and participatory based than it appears to be. Without this, her conclusion, which I agree with, about the necessary connection between struggles for racial and sexual equality with moves away from professional control of educational decision-making towards a genuine partnership with community groups, is unlikely to be taken up.

By far the longest of the Policy Papers is John Benyon's which will be a useful starting point for students, and others with time to read it, wishing to pursue issues about the policing of black communities. Whilst thorough, it is not definitive as a coherent, theoretically informed, historically based, academic document. Rather, in style and content, it reminds me more of two other discourses, either a series of concerned articles in a current affairs weekly or one of the weightier Sunday papers, or a background accompaniment to Lord Scarman's report on the 1981 Brixton disorders from where, incidentally, Benyon borrows the phrase 'A Tale of Failure'.

On the whole, the content is unproblematic, although I would have liked less discussion of 'riots' and rather more about racial attacks, particularly as this is an under-researched area. Generally, Benyon is reluctant to reveal his own position regarding the policing of black communities although when he does so, in a section on 'Race, Policing and Crime', he appears to accept most of the highly contentious thesis about the 'reality' of rising black crime rates presented by Lea and Young in their book 'What Is To Be Done About Law and Order'. Readers wanting a different account would do well to look at Paul Gilroy's chapter 'Lesser Breeds Without The Law' in his newly published book 'There Ain't No Black in the Union Jack'. In addition, Benyon's writing does not fare well in comparison with work which gives a more central prominence to black people's experiences, as in 'A Different Reality', the report of the review panel into the Handsworth rebellions of September 1985. In short, Benyon is limited by his concern to remain on the terrain of policy makers in what, I suspect, is a vain hope that he will be listened to.

John Solomos' paper covers some of the same ground as Benyon's yet it is, by far, the best paper of the five, and forms part of a larger body of work central to the study of racism and black youth in contemporary Britain. Similar to his article in this journal last year, Solomos traces the core ideologies, images, and policy processes through which the protests of 1980-1 and 1985 have been funnelled. Importantly, he argues that the growing popular and official association between 'race', youth and urban violence indicates a dangerous racialisation of British politics. The importance of a mapping of discrete events into a general ideological picture, as symptomatic of a decline in 'national greatness', of a 'law abiding and peaceful country' struck down by an 'alien disease', lies in its creation of support for particular actions to deal with the problems.

Some discussion of the way in which currently fashionable academic analyses often share with popular and official constructions of the origins of riotous protests a stress on the cultural backgrounds of black people and the problems of urban environments, rather than on racism, inequality and the like, would have been useful. This might, however, have detracted from his main task of examining the different dimensions of policy formulations regarding black youth. His conclusion, that riotous protests have been used to underpin support for the police and the reassertion of 'discipline' and 'authority', thereby relegating unemployment, poverty and repressive policing to the status of minor issues, is a salutary one and the contemporary backdrop for all the topics discussed in these Policy Papers.

Solomos' work does, at least, indicate that not all of the key advances in our understandings of racism are coming from outside the major designated research centre. Yet, the Policy Papers as a whole suggest that the posing of critical questions about racism and, particularly, about anti-racist strategies, are not easy in a national centre in the current climate which judges anti-racism to be one unacceptable face of 'the loony left'. Perhaps this indicates the need for different kinds of writings; for example, some of the Policy papers could be used for radical practitioners in welfare agencies, and black community groups, to reflect on their struggles in ways which draw out wider implications. Only by explicitly connecting research with anti-racist practices will we be able to go beyond the pessimistic picture presented in these Policy Papers.

reviews in this issue

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Vol. 2. Penguin 1987

Cynthia Cockburn
TWO-TRACK TRAINING
Sex Inequalities and the YTS
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For a large number of school leavers the reality of life after compulsory education is YTS. Cynthia Cockburn's book *Two Track Training*, which is part of the Youth Questions Series, looks at the attempts of the MSC to break down the traditional Sex Stereotyping that occurs within YTS, and the methods that can be utilised to support these developments.

Early on in the book Cockburn makes it clear what her own view of YTS is. 'So clearly is the Youth Training Scheme deficient, so clearly is it an instrument of a capitalist, racist and patriarchal state, that there are frequent calls to boycott it altogether.'

However the author does not support a boycott in practice. She claims 'the important thing is to know how we want that scheme to work' From this book we get a deep understanding of the way in which YTS operates and in particular a detailed analysis of a number of individuals and schemes who have tried to break down traditional sex stereotyping.

The case studies give a number of examples where young people have chosen non-traditional routes. Unfortunately most of them did not last the course. Generally YTS supervisors did not stand in the way of these people but they did not really actively support and help them in what can be a lonely and solitary process.

Even in the areas of new technology gender differences still apply. New skills and new employment areas should provide an ideal opportunity to break away from the traditional models but the situation is not as clear cut as this. In one particular ITeC Cockburn visited, all the women with one exception were found in Office Technology. The men were congregated in Electronics, Computer applications and Computer Programming. The staff in the respective areas were female in office technology and male in the rest. This obviously re-inforces traditional sex stereotypes but there are additional reasons for this stereotyping. As Cockburn points out not least is the fact that many females take the view that its easier to get work if they learn to type and remain within traditional boundaries.

However Cockburn does offer an example of what can be achieved with a more positive policy. Another ITeC in the north established a 'quota' system with 50% of staff and trainees being female. It also offered specific womens courses in particular areas. Despite this enlightened approach problems still arose especially when women looked outside for employment. 'Yes, but if, I go there I'll be the only woman. It is one thing doing it here, but not outside'. These were typical comments recorded by Cockburn.

Another interesting aspect of this book is that the author devotes a chapter to the problems experienced by young men as they attempt to undertake YTS schemes in 'caring work'. Occupational Training Family IO, community and health work, has the worst record of sex imbalance with 86% female and 14% male trainees. The author sums up some of the basic issues in this area with one statement 'young men entering womens jobs are expected to climb out of them. Young women entering men's jobs are expected to drop out of them'.

Two Track Training is an excellent addition to the extensive work already in existence on this subject. So in some ways it is not telling us anything new, but Cockburn argues that something can be done. She does not accept the commonly

held view that at 16 its too late because a young persons gender mould is already fixed. She puts forward a number of proposals to reduce traditional sex stereotypes. However she goes on to concede that 'these suggestions are made in a positive some would say too optimistic spirit' She emphasises the need for a return to full employment and a 'redefinition of work'. It seems unlikely that the present government are going to undertake a fundamental change of attitude and policy, so it will be left to individuals and separate schemes to swim against the tide.

Ian Abbot.

Denis Lawton & Peter Gordon
HMI
Routledge 1987
ISBN 0-7102-0604-6
£14.95
pp 180

For almost five years as editor of Youth and Policy I attempted, with no success whatsoever, to persuade someone to contribute an article on the role/impact of Her Majesty's Inspectors upon the Youth Service and youth policy. I may well have been asking the wrong people or the right people at the wrong time, who knows? I may also have been asking in an inappropriate way. Again who knows? However, what was interesting was the number of the potential contributors who declined the invitation on the grounds that they would be nervous of writing anything that might be construed as being critical, it being argued that to do so could well have damaging repercussions either for themselves or the organisations that employed them. Now that may have been an excuse to get out of the task of producing an article for a Journal with limited circulation and no means to pay, yet I never felt that to be the case either at the time or subsequently. Were those fears grounded? Are the Inspectorate really as intrusive, oppressive, dangerous, or even as influential as many colleagues clearly feel them to be? Those and many other questions flashed through my mind as with a rare degree of expectation I awaited the opportunity to read and review this book.

Perhaps I was hoping for too much from this test, both on the basis of the subject matter and the credentials of the authors. Maybe quite unfairly I assumed that besides putting the Inspectorate in an historical context, the authors would be anxious to discuss at some depth a number of key issues surrounding the contemporary role and function of the Service. Although the book brings 'the story' up-to-date by, for example, devoting a number of pages to the favourable Rayner Report (1983) on the Inspectorate, it barely mentions the controversy surrounding their investigation of North London Polytechnic and other aspects of their work which have generated public criticism.

What this book does is offer a solid, detailed, readable and extensive history of the Inspectorate from the beginnings in 1839 to the present day. These characteristics will ensure that it will serve as a reference book for many years to come. In meticulous fashion it tells the reader the administrative structure of the Inspectorate, the manner and basis upon which responsibilities are allocated amongst them, the hierarchy they operate within, their legal powers and duties. It outlines some of the key documents they have produced and contributed to. It even offers a potted biography of the men and woman who have served as Senior Chief Inspectors since 1890. The book is clearly the end product of a great deal of research and, as a consequence, is never less than informative. Unfortunately the overwhelmingly incritical and pedestrian tenor of the text eventually ensures that it reads too often like one of those histories written by railway buffs in praise of some long redundant steam-engine or one of those books produced by an established company to celebrate 150 years of 'service to the public'. At times the tone is positively gushing. Except for an HMI who was safely dead before the turn of the

century those who fall under the spotlight tend to be painted in a complimentary hue. As a consequence the unwary should be warned that reading this text might encourage a predisposition towards sycophancy. A potentially dangerous bout of this could easily be triggered off by a future meeting with one of these great and illustrious beings from the Department.

Oh how lucky we are to have been served by so many who have been or are well-qualified, hard-working, dedicated, far-sighted and so on! Now many of this exalted breed once inducted into what a former Inspector described as the 'Brotherhood of the nicest body of people in the world' may well exude those and other highly laudable qualities. However as the authors, not least Peter Gordon who was himself an HMI for eight years, must know, it is not that simple. Nice they may be but they also tend to possess other characteristics. For example, the recruitment policy shows a predilection for gathering into the fold the safe, the loyal, the products of Oxbridge and the public schools, the offspring of the upper classes and those who have occupied managerial posts within education without making waves, academics who never or rarely published and headteachers who never seriously innovated; in other words individuals without a skeleton in their social or educational cupboards. This is hardly surprising. Indeed it would be astounding if such a senior branch of the Civil Service recruited according to any other criteria. However what should be cause for reflection is the extent to which such a group should be entrusted with so much influence over educational policy. This influence will inevitably grow as the countervailing power of the elected local authorities is dismantled by a Government determined to brook no opposition in its drive to impose the ideology of the market place on a recalcitrant educational service.

The writers quote with obvious approval the comments of a Miss Oakden, an HMI, who recalls the debates surrounding educational reconstruction during the early 1940s. These she notes, turned on the dangers of the substance of educational learning falling under the control of central and political government. This was daily driven home to us by current happenings in Europe. We rejoiced in every instance of independent challenge to the political dominance which turned education into propaganda. We had perhaps never been so consciously proud of the independence of teaching and learning in our own universities and to a unique degree in our schools. The resolution to preserve this independence and with it, as we thought, the integrity of education was strong.

At that particular juncture those words and sentiments not only came easy but neatly dovetailed with the rhetoric abroad and the spirit of the times. After all when many were dying for freedom, HMIs were hardly likely to advocate greater oppression within education. Times have changed and it will be interesting to see how determined the inheritors of Miss Oakden's mantle will behave now that so many of the cherished traditions that she espoused are under threat. Will they act like good bureaucrats going abroad counting, measuring, closing down and re-designing at the behest of their employer, or will they act as educators and citizens to preserve those traditions so lauded by Miss Oakden? The fear, and to an extent the distrust, felt at the moment by many in education towards the Inspectorate is testimony to a belief that the Inspectorate increasingly represents the bureaucratic enemy rather than the educational friend. That impression may be totally misplaced and certainly it is not one that it would be fair to deduce from the behaviour of many members of the Inspectorate. Nor is it one which I would wish to endorse without substantive reservations. However in the current climate it would be simplistic to dismiss as unwarranted the belief of many of those occupying the lower echelons of education who automatically view the impending visit of an HMI as a threat, who categorise the

Inspector as no more than an MSC functionary with breeding or a DHSS Fraud Officer with an enlarged vocabulary, who assume when the Inspector calls or visits that it is probably a scouting mission for a DES anxious to determine where the next course can be cut, the next grant reduced or removed, the next service privatised. If that impression is wrong then the HMI and only the HMI can dispel it. However for them to imagine that they are not now viewed in that light by many would be a reflection on their part of an uncharacteristic combination of naivety and ignorance. After a less than glowing report was published on one school, the headteacher remarked to me, 'don't trust them and certainly don't be too open with them. I certainly felt I was too trusting and paid the price'. That comment might be misplaced, unfair or merely sour grapes on the part of a deserving victim but if it ever becomes the norm then faced with widespread hostility and/or fear the Inspectorate can look forward to no higher role than educational turnkey and snout. It is not a future that either they or we should relish. For as Lawton and Gordon clearly show the Inspectorate have played a valued and creative role within education and have the potential to continue doing so. Certainly if they cease to do so in the future we will all be the poorer for it.

Given the subject matter of the book and the competence of the writers this is a text that will repay a careful reading. However as indicated at the onset of the review, many readers will, I believe, judge it to be deficient in a number of respects. It certainly fails to offer in sufficient depth an assessment of the current role of the Inspectorate. It also fails to undertake the urgent task of assessing the value and quality of their contemporary output which even the most supportive reader of the genre would have to accept varies from the excellent to the lamentable, the well researched and argued to the prejudiced and predictable. Having said that, it is perhaps worth concluding on a note of optimism. For Lawton and Gordon assure us that within the Inspectorate the 'spirit of independence is very much alive' (p. 149). I am sure every reader of this Journal hopes that this assessment is a correct one. Unfortunately the book offers too little in the way of contemporary evidence to sustain that assertion and therefore many within education will, when the HMI knocks on the door, continue to reach for the rabbit's foot and garlic necklace.

Tony Jeffs

R. Means, L. Harrison, L. Hoyes, R. Smith
EDUCATING ABOUT ALCOHOL
University of Bristol. Saus.
ISBN 0-862 92-2135

Educating about Alcohol is the product of work completed by a research team from the School for Advanced Urban Studies funded by the Health Education Council, whose remit was to help in the evaluation of an Alcohol Education Programme in the South West of England. The region covered is geographically diverse, and to reflect this the team chose four different localities, a market town, a group of isolated villages, a market town with a nearby tourist/fishing village and a large inter-war council estate. Within these areas 173 respondents were asked to comment on six questions which addressed different themes from alcohol education to drinking patterns.

Similar groups of people were contacted in each study area. These included councils on alcohol, NHS staff, counselling services (both statutory and voluntary), schools, youth service and police. Each locality case study is presented as a separate chapter, with the final chapter considering how the findings may be interpreted to enhance the quality and correctly aim alcohol education to consumers in the South West.

As a practitioner in the area of alcohol education, it seems appropriate to review the book in terms of what benefit it may offer to workers in the field. In

this case it must be said it makes a valuable contribution not only in the information that is produced, but also because of the constructive critical analysis of the authors. The continuity of each locality report enables quick and easy comparisons to be made. Tables are clearly presented. Information is easily accessible. The main value in this book to practitioners in other areas may not be in what is factually given, but in allowing important issues to be revealed, and opening up areas for discussion.

The research exposes many of the difficulties faced by those already engaged in alcohol education, the most serious of these being the limited number of people on the ground engaged in it. Each locality reveals a small dedicated core of people, under resourced and trying to divide a very small piece of cake into individual crumbs. This reflects very much the present climate in which government departments loudly express their concern at growing levels of alcohol abuse but are not willing to fund comprehensive alcohol education and helping services. As demonstrated in our own area, much of the provision is made by voluntary Councils on Alcohol who have to spend as much time fund raising as they do in client contact. There are still areas in Britain where people find it difficult to contact any kind of alcohol helping agency. By allowing participants in the study to express their own personal perceptions, researchers have allowed these issues to come to the surface.

A most positive aspect to come out of the report is the encouraging way in which 'Drinking Choices' alcohol education pack is being used in the South West. There appears to be a definite commitment now by Health Education workers to engage in the experimental and participative model of alcohol education. Only shortage of staff appears to be holding up enthusiasm to do more. The schools approached are also beginning to change although in a much slower, and in no way uniform manner. It is encouraging to observe that more are beginning to see alcohol as part of a total Personal and Social Education syllabus rather than as an isolated topic. In our own area of South Tyneside the introduction of a positive policy for health is very high on the agenda, with the aim of enabling young people to make healthy informed decisions about choices they will be faced with. There appears to be resistance in some areas of the South West to anything that is not simply subject based with a view to achieving a certificate of education. This view contradicts the many who believe that within schools pupils may be given the guidance and confidence needed to survive in our modern drug taking society. At a time when alcohol is more available than ever before, education of our young people must be looked at in wider terms. They will need fairly sophisticated life-skills in order to fulfill themselves as people. It is very encouraging for those of us in the North East to know this is an issue which our colleagues in the South West are willing to take on board. In terms of communicating these issues amongst us all, this document is a valuable resource.

The difficulties and conflicts that often exist between different groups who may be in daily contact with alcohol related issues is very clearly exposed. There are different areas where conflicts can arise. Occasionally there exists a lack of communication between statutory and voluntary agencies mainly due to the styles in which they work, voluntary agencies having more freedom to change and implement new policies which the more restrained statutory sector does not. Another area concerns differing models of alcoholism, councils on alcoholism very rarely subscribing to the illness model propounded by organisations such as AA. The report on the South West emphasises the need for local networks to exist in order that workers might support each other and perhaps be able together to exert some influence on the policy makers. This is a very positive attitude and has been shown to work very well in South Tyneside. Here a strong network exists including Health Promotion, Education, Health Authority and specialist Voluntary objects all working towards a joint aim. The report itself looks to cooperation as

an important factor in the success of any integrated alcohol education programme, emphasising that workers must negotiate around issues on which they differ. This is a key issue in the report because in the present climate of funding shortages, as professionals we cannot afford not to come together when we contend that we are committed to the concept of alcohol education. The weaknesses of this type of report are acknowledged by the research team themselves. They admit it is still very limited in the number and type of people who were consulted. This led to the team showing concern about the general slant of perspectives it reflected. They see a danger in it representing only 'a picture of male middle class fantasies about the behaviour of women, elderly people and working class families.' It may do this but it has to be admitted that many of the people in the South West in positions of power and influence in the alcohol field are white, male and middle class. As long as the reader is aware of this then it does not devalue the research. It is overall a very useful document. It would be excellent if more books like this could be produced to cover other areas of the country. Recommended reading.

Pam Reid

Alyson Evans, BA, and Christine Senior
THINKING OF DRINKING
 UK. Band of Hope Union
 ISBN. 0946507015
 Pages 12

Thinking of Drinking is a smart twelve page booklet in which the authors set themselves the task of addressing a wide range of issues related to alcohol consumption. The booklet begins by offering a definition of alcohol and then moves through physical effects, reasons for drinking, financial and social costs, alternatives, concluding in a list of short exercises for the reader to complete.

One of the first questions that has to be answered when faced with a new resource is, 'can it effectively be used?'. All alcohol educators are faced with the similar problem; that of turning information into relevant education. Facts are not enough. The method of presentation is of prime importance. Practitioners need good resources and there is already an excellent core of materials available from the Health Education Council, Tacade and ISDD. New literature produced must be able to contribute something different and innovative. Its aim must be more than simply presenting facts to the reader. The criteria for any review of 'Thinking of Drinking', must be to examine whether it can meet these requirements. Can this booklet satisfy on both a visual and content level? The immediate visual impact of the outer cover which is glossy and interesting unfortunately emphasises and reinforces the disappointment felt by the reader on examining the inner lay out. The designers have used grey as the predominant colour, each page being edged in grey, with grey sketched illustrations throughout. It may at first appear odd to take exception to the appearance of the booklet but workers actively involved in alcohol education know it is a very relevant area. Alcohol promotion, from television to magazines is one of the most inventive areas of advertising confronting the public. Through the medium of television we receive daily re-inforcers in our own homes of the supposed benefits drinking certain brands of alcohol will bring us. The cleverest minds in advertising are retained to perpetuate this image, and the commitment which brewers have in maintaining this status quo is demonstrated by a recent well known lager campaign for which they were willing to invest £1,000,000. Linking sensible drinking with the colour grey is psychologically not a good idea.

Looking at the written content of the booklet, it is difficult to decide who it is aimed at. Alcohol educators now tend to agree that different groups need different types of materials. The title 'Thinking of Drinking' suggests that it is aimed at young people who may soon be facing alcohol

choices in their lives, yet the content is very general. In trying to cover several issues in a very short space, it ends up not covering any of them very satisfactorily at all. The language used in the booklet assumes a fairly high level of academic ability, and although alcohol abuse is mentioned throughout, the reader may finish with the impression that the booklet is anti-alcohol altogether, although this is never quite explicit.

There is no mention of coping strategies for living in an alcohol using society such as sensible drinking levels, or what is affectionately known as the 'unit' system among school educators. The 'unit' system offers basic knowledge concerning the rate at which the body can cope with different alcoholic drinks. Our own client group find this information most useful. If this booklet intended seriously to address the problem of young people and alcohol, then there is a serious omission, that of the vulnerability of young women and alcohol. Although some social consequences of alcohol abuse are listed, unwanted pregnancies are not discussed, neither is the fact that women's metabolism is different from men and that they are therefore more susceptible to the effects of alcohol. Latest figures suggest young women can become alcohol dependent after only three years of regular heavy drinking. Many workers in the field find this one of the most worrying statistics to come out of recent research, and feel this still has not been emphasised enough by organisations producing information.

The most interesting and useful part of the booklet comes on the last page where subject for discussion and suggested activities are listed. These are very good. The discussion subjects are stimulating, and the activities are interesting and would be excellent learning experiences for the participants. If the booklet had concentrated on this approach then it would have made a much better resource.

The emphasis today is on experimental and integrated alcohol education. One of the most successful courses that is run throughout the country is 'Drinking Choices' devised by Ina Simmet, Linda Wright and Martin Evans for the Health Education Council and Tacade. The success of this course lies in the fact that participants educate themselves by taking part in group work, research and individual exercises, under the guidance of a course facilitator. For younger people alcohol education is being increasingly addressed in schools. Ideally it is becoming part of a wider Health Education remit which is included across a wide range of subjects. Many schools are now turning towards helping their pupils acquire life skills in which positive attitudes towards health are prioritised, of which choices surrounding alcohol will be only a part. In a way, by de-specialising alcohol, its mystique can be removed and real dialogue about the issues involved are then able to take place. Unfortunately it is difficult to see where the booklet 'Thinking of Drinking' can effectively fit in with new attitudes towards alcohol education.

Pam Reid

Trevor Jones, Brian Maclean, Jock Young.
THE ISLINGTON CRIME SURVEY - Crime,
Victimisation and Policing in Inner-City
London.
 Gower 1986.
 ISBN 0566 052644
 Price £25 (hbk) Pp 265.

This is the book of the film! It reveals in great details the findings of the Islington Crime Survey which generated so much media publicity last year.

After the media hype comes the full inside story. Gerald Kaufman's dust jacket quote, 'The facts in this book are about Islington. The lessons are for Britain', only served to heighten my sense of anticipation. Disappointingly the book emerges as a research unit pot-boiler. This is primarily because the vast bulk of the 265 pages comprise line upon

line of statistical data ranging from very interesting facts relating crime to race and gender to somewhat trite observations that you are more likely to be assaulted if you go out at night rather than stay in!

There are no less than 182 separate tables listed and whilst some are admittedly short, the style and content of the book is rather irritating. This may be unfair, as the book provides the breakdown of the survey research commissioned by Islington Council. However, it would be a shame if the book's laboured style obscures some of the survey's very important findings. It's a bit like searching for grains of relevance through the chaff of statistics.

The book itself is divided into 6 chapters plus 2 appendices on research methodology.

Chapter 1 concentrates on what Islington residents think about the level and nature of crime in their area. Unsurprisingly they see crime as a 'problem' - who doesn't? Whilst this might appear obvious, part of the task of research is to investigate which 'obvious' beliefs have a base in reality. More interestingly Islington residents saw crime as second only to unemployment as a major local concern. A remarkable 31% of households in Islington had had a serious crime (burglary, vandalism, theft from the person, assault, sexual assault) committed against them in the past year.

As the authors point out this dramatically affects the residents' quality of life. A quarter of all people (1/3 of all women) in Islington said they always avoid going out after dark because of fear of crime. The I.C.S. found that this fear was not just media induced hysteria but was based on actual experience.

Chapter 2 on the Frequency and Distribution of Crime in Islington provides great detail about both recorded and unrecorded crime. Like the British Crime Survey and most other research, the I.C.S. found that most crimes were not reported to the police. The authors conclude that the data demonstrates an alarming lack of confidence in the local police. Indeed the sheer inefficiency of the metropolitan Police in dealing with crime ('the clear up rate per officer per year in the Met. is 4 crimes at the staggering cost of \$6,076 each crime') has become a theme developed publicly in many forums by the authors. In Islington the 'clear up' rate for burglaries was 9% which doesn't include those burglaries unreported to the police.

An interesting finding relevant to crime prevention initiatives was that burglary 'contrary to public opinion is neither professional nor opportunistic. Rather these amateur burglars tend to break into the same places over and over again because they ... were not caught there before, or the household by experience was an easy target.' Similarly vandalism was constantly directed at the same targets, usually on public housing estates and public property.

The survey found that victims of crime are the most vulnerable members of society. The most important predictor of burglary was found to be race followed by gender by age. Depressingly the predatory nature of crime and criminals comes across clearly. Robbery and theft against the person was based on chances of getting away with it rather than financial reward.

Chapter 3 examines Islington residents' views of their police and response to crime. Robbery with violence in the streets, sexual assaults on women, use of hard drugs and burglaries of houses were regarded as most serious and shoplifting as least serious. This was the opinion of all age groups and races. Young blacks were as concerned about street robbery as any other age group.

An interesting theme pursued in this chapter is the role of the police as crime fighters vis a vis their social service role. Previous research has indicated that most public calls to the police do not involve 'crimes' as such but are more of a social service

nature, e.g. neighbour disputes, accident reports, nuisances etc. In America this has led to a greater promotion of the police's role in social crime prevention, i.e. the police as the 'secret social service'. Whereas the public view of the police is as 'crime fighters', the public's actual demands on the police are more for their social service role. These ideas have been taken up enthusiastically by the British police, e.g. Newman, who are keen to promote this aspect of their work through neighbourhood watch and inter-agency co-operation etc. Emphasis on this service role places the police in a much less 'repressive' light. The police argue that consequently their effectiveness should not be measured by the clear up rate of crimes alone but should also take account of their social service role which is not easily quantified.

The authors of the I.C.S. are critical of this view of the police. They argue that their research shows that the police categorise many incidents as non-crimes ('rubbish' crimes) which are in fact 'real' crimes, thereby under-estimating their crime fighters role. However, even so the split between 'crime' calls to the police and 'social service' incidents is 50/50.

Islington residents' perception of the 'fairness' of the police was related to age and race - 90% of over 45's thought the police were 'fair' whereas a majority of the under 30's thought they were 'unfair'. Whites and Asians saw the police as 'fair', whereas 2/3 of blacks thought they were 'unfair'. Much of this was related to actual contact with the police and experience of 'unfairness'. The authors criticise the stop and search policy of the police, arguing that whilst 11% of such searches yielded arrests, most of the arrests were for petty crimes (drunkenness, possession of cannabis etc.). Interestingly they include possession of offensive weapons in this 'petty' category - a view which 12 months later has been challenged by serious public concern and the present campaign against use and possession of knives amongst young people.

As regards Islington residents' view as to who should control the police, there appeared to be a clear mandate to change the present control of the Met. by the Home Office. However, sole control by the council was **not** popular. Unfortunately the authors didn't expand their investigation to dig deeper into residents' views about police control, although they suggest that a 'mix' of community/council/police in a police authority might be preferred.

Chapter 4 is specifically concerned with 'Women, Crime and Policing'. The I.C.S. particularly looked at women's perception of the impact of crime and policing. Hopefully this may encourage future research to consider this perspective. The survey indicated that women operate a self-imposed curfew to avoid crime - 37% of all women don't go out after dark because of fear of crime. There is a substantial race factor in this - 18% of white, 34% black and 44% of Asian women avoid specific situations as a precaution against crime. The survey also raised the issue of police response to domestic violence and emphasised how much non criminal harassment women are subject to in their daily lives.

Chapter 5 looks at the impact of crime on victims and highlights the fact that the poorest residents in Islington are the ones hardest hit by crime. This could focus attention on the need for crime prevention programmes to be targeted at the most vulnerable sections of society - the ones who are most often victimised and least able to defend themselves.

This then moves us on to 'Conclusions and Policy Recommendations' which is the shortest chapter in the book! The authors are at pains to emphasise that they agree with the police view that crime control requires a multi-agency approach. They emphasise they are not anti-police, but the book does focus primarily on police failure to control crime. Whilst the authors rightly call attention to the public's serious concern over crime and the lack of confidence of many Islington residents in

their local police, the research can be criticised for failing to look at the wider factors influencing crime. For example, the authors' comment that they found that people with high satisfaction with their neighbourhood have extremely high confidence in the police, whereas those with a low satisfaction do not. Unfortunately the research does not go into any great detail about what causes 'high' or 'low' satisfaction with residents' neighbourhood - findings which may have been of considerable interest to local authorities and other public agencies and over which the police may have little control.

The authors recommend that police work harder to restore public confidence in their role, that they become more sensitive to the alienating effect of targeting certain groups (e.g. black youth), that police control be through a police authority, that social workers take on the 24 hour public service role (have they heard of the crisis in social work recruitment?) and that the police concentrate on their main role as 'crime fighters' dealing with crimes that the **public** are most concerned with. The research performs a service in highlighting police inefficiency in the London Metropolitan Area (at 17% the lowest clear up rate for crimes in the country) which despite police protests is difficult to explain away. The authors' also recommend that the police severely curtail stop and search policies (1/3 of white youth and 1/2 of black youth in Islington were stopped in a 12 month period) and respond more actively to public initiatives on crime control. The authors criticise the police led nature of neighbourhood watch schemes and advocate that they should be linked to decentralisation plans for neighbourhood forums. They encourage the local authority to extend council insurance schemes for all tenants to assist those hardest hit by burglaries and thefts. Various other recommendations including strengthening council flats against burglaries, and developing multi agency co-operation in tackling high crime areas identified by residents are listed, as well as a call for Central Government to fund local authorities' crime prevention measures.

Finally, the authors believe that Police Consultative Committees can be used as a start in community involvement in crime prevention, but should be supplemented by local neighbourhood schemes linked to Islington's decentralisation structures.

None of the recommendations are particularly novel or revolutionary. Unfortunately one of the features of recommendations for multi-agency co-operation is that few agencies put crime prevention near the top of their priority scale and as a result progress can be painstakingly slow. The Islington Crime Survey emphatically states that the public views crime as a top priority. The quality of life of the poorest members of society is severely and disproportionately affected by crime. It is encouraging that councils like Islington (and also now Hammersmith) are using such surveys to assist them in analysing their local problem and it is hoped that the police will respond constructively to the part they have to play.

This book contains interesting findings which deserve wide and thoughtful discussion. Unfortunately its rather ponderous style is likely to limit its readership. A 20 page pamphlet summarising findings and recommendations would be more effective in communicating the book's message.

John Blackmore
Principal Officer (Intermediate Treatment)
Hounslow Social Services Dept.

Michel Foucault
THE USE OF PLEASURE:
THE HISTORY OF SEXUALITY,
Vol. 2. Penguin 1987
ISBN: 0 14 055213 8
£7.95.
pp 293.

What would you expect of a history of sexuality?

Possibly consideration of sexuality in all its forms: as construction of personal social identity as a man or as a woman, as masculine or feminine, or the construction of personal sexual identity as heterosexual or homosexual. The history might consider oral fixation, anal retention, genital sexuality or Freud's other categories and the theories of other psychologists. It might look at the history of social attitudes to sex down the ages.

This is not quite what Michael Foucault began to sketch out in Volume I of the History of Sexuality. Whilst he planned to write a history of 'discourses concerning sexuality' from the 17th century onward, the introductory volume was also concerned with the 'nexus of power/knowledge/pleasure' that sustains these discourses. Volume I was more about power than sex. Foucault criticised the conception of power as sovereign domination - in the sense that we might conceive a king ruling over his subjects, the superego repressing the id, or the ruling class oppressing the working class. He instead posited 'the analysis of a multiple and mobile field of force relations, wherein far-reaching, but never completely stable, effects of domination are produced' - a 'strategical' rather than 'legal' model of power.

Foucault was concerned with discourses around eugenics, birth control and demography as well as medical and psychological ones. He promised future volumes of the History in which the 'deployment of sexuality' would be traced from its formation out of the Christian notion of the 'flesh' via the development of four specific strategies:

- * The discovery (and prohibition) of sexual desires in children;
- * The 'hysterisation' of women's bodies in medicine, the family and the figure of the 'hysterical' woman;
- * The development of clinical practices to 'correct' pathological sexuality;
- * The regulation of population.

In 'The Use of Pleasure', this schedule has been abandoned entirely. Foucault has taken a step backwards to look at 'desire' itself and the nature of the 'desiring subject'. He asks 'What were the games of truth by which human beings came to see themselves as desiring individuals?' An associated question is 'Why is sexual conduct, why are the activities and pleasures that attach to it, an object of moral solicitude?'

The aim of the History of Sexuality is now to write a 'history of ethical problematizations based on practices of the self.' Foucault's claim is that the desiring subject first appears in discourse in ancient Greece in the 3rd and 4th centuries BC. The figure so important for later moralities developed in discourses that were not themselves moral discourses. Foucault re-examines the writings of Hippocrates, Plato, Aristotle and Xenophon on the 'use' of pleasure in three broad areas: dietetics, economics, erotics. (All these texts were written by free men, not women or slaves, for other free men.)

Dietetics

By dietetics is meant a 'regimen aimed at regulating an activity recognised as being important for health' - principally eating, exercise and sex. Hippocrates and others offered detailed programmes to this end, advising men, for instance, to vomit only twice a month in the spring and have sex less often in the summer.

Whilst sex was considered a pleasure not morally different to eating and exercise, the dietetics nevertheless display anxieties about sex and health. Pythagoras, when asked the best time to make love, replied 'When you want to lose what strength you have.' The Greeks also worried that the violence of the sexual act would undermine the 'self-mastery' that enabled a free man to maintain moderation, which was highly valued. These anxieties did not, Foucault says, 'aim at a codification of acts, nor' (by comparison with the Chinese 'bedroom' books) 'at the creation of an erotic art; rather its objective was to develop a technique of existence.' In other words, 'the

physical regimen of pleasures and the economy it required were part of a whole art of the self.'

Economics

This section concerns household management, including the management of a man's estate and of his wife, and examines classical Greek attitudes to marital fidelity. Whilst adultery was a breach of the marriage contract only if committed by a woman and men were free to keep concubines or attend prostitutes as they wished, marital fidelity on the part of the man did come to be valued. In some texts, this was elaborated via the exercise of the man's self-mastery. For the wife, having sexual relations only with her husband was a consequence of the fact that she was under his control. For the husband, having sexual relations only with his wife was the most elegant way of exercising his control.'

Erotics

Under 'erotics', Foucault examines the use of pleasures in the relations between mature men and adolescent boys. In ancient Greece, 'To love boys was a "free" practice in the sense that it was not only permitted by the laws ... it was accepted by opinion.' A 'free choice' was allowed between the two sexes. Nevertheless, there were elaborate 'courtship' rituals governing the relations between men and boys. In order to protect his honour, a boy should not yield his favours too easily, nor accept too many love tokens, nor act out of self-interest or show ingratitude. There were certain acts and gestures that 'honour would compel one to refuse.'

Erotic relations implied not only 'self-mastery on the part of the lover; it also implied an ability on the part of the beloved to establish a relation of dominion over himself.' Thus was constituted an 'erotics of the loved object' - 'Or, at least, of the loved object insofar as he had to form himself as a subject of ethical behaviour.' To this extent, it was the 'object of pleasure' than concerned the Greeks, rather than the 'subject of desire'.

In Socratic-Platonic erotics, a shift occurred. In Plato's Symposium, the question is asked for the first time 'What is the essential nature of Love, what are his characteristics and then what are his works?' According to Foucault, 'to state the question in this way implies ... a displacement of the very object of discourse.' Whereas previous writers had sought the characteristic truth of love in the 'charm, beauty and perfection' of the beloved boy, Platonic erotics shifted its interest from the beloved to the lover himself and his condition.

Answering the question 'What is true love?' by finding love in a 'relation to truth', it became possible that one person might be more advanced on the road of love than another. 'A new figure makes its appearance: that of the master.' Socrates appears as such in the Symposium, re-situating seduction by Alcibiades, and exemplifying thereby the 'ideal of a renunciation.' Now Greek erotics had reached the point where the 'stylization' of the love of boys could take the form of an 'asceticism' in which 'total abstinence was posited as a standard.' This asceticism did not fit easily with the 'use of pleasure.'

Foucault is not saying that the move from 'use of pleasure' to self-denial was sudden, decisive or absolute. What he says is that 'the tradition of thought that stems from Plato was to play an important part when, much later, the problematization of sexual behaviour would be reworked in terms of the concupiscent soul and its arcana.'

The 'use of pleasures' was not a moral code. It was not a set of universally binding decrees directed at ethical subjects each equally obliged to act morally. It was a recipe for good living: how to enjoy pleasures with dignity. The 'use of pleasure' was a stylization of the art of living. Unlike later Christian ethics, the 'use of pleasure' was not sustained or imposed by an institutional system. No one was obliged to look after his body, to be faithful to his wife, to be wary about relations with boys or to seek wisdom. Nevertheless a 'quadri-thematics of sexual austerity' formed around these four areas of anxiety and it is in this complex that Foucault locates the origin of the 'desiring subject.'

By comparison with Foucault's previous works, 'The Use of Pleasure' is more systematic and less lyrical. The intellectual artistry is less dazzling; the perspective less vertiginous. Two more books follow in this History: 'The Care of the Self' and 'The Confessions of the Flesh', the latter published posthumously for Foucault has since died.

Pedro Conner

TWO-DAY RESIDENTIAL ON GENDER ISSUES

will be held at Edale, Derbyshire, on March 23 and 24th 1988. Full and part-time youth and community workers are welcome and although there are several 'overview' talks available the emphasis will be on participants sharing experiences, ideas and feelings on girls' work, working with boys and positive work with and positive images of lesbians and gays.

A principal aim is to develop an atmosphere of mutual support so that participants feel more supported and sustained as a result of the residential and thus stronger and more effectively equipped for these difficult areas of work.

Early responses are sought so that through maximum pre-residential correspondence the widest possible needs are included in the residential. For more information contact Peter Kent-Baguley, The Old Vicarage, Newchapel, Stoke on Trent, tel 07816 5270.

analysis

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

benefit

'Benefit' is a regular feature on current levels of benefit and prospective changes in rate or procedure. It is compiled by Rod Crawford, Welfare Rights Worker at the East End Citizens Rights Centre, Moor Terrace, Sunderland, Tyne & Wear, to whom suggestions should be made.

INTRODUCTION

In this edition of the Benefits column a brief overview of the system of Means-Tested benefits is given as it will exist after April 1988 once the 1986 Social Security Act is fully implemented. We examine the new Income Support Scheme, Family Credit and Housing Benefit. The Social Fund is not included as this, it is felt, merits a complete column of its own.

INCOME SUPPORT

Income Support will replace weekly Supplementary Benefits (S.B.) and, although the amount payable will be arrived at by use of the familiar Requirements minus Resources formula there are significant changes; the most notable being the following:

1. The capital cut-off will increase from £3,000 to £6,000 with a notional income, £1 for every £250, in excess of £3,000 being taken into account.
2. The definition of full-time work will change from 30 to 24 hours weekly.
3. Only half of mortgage interest payments will be met for the first 16 weeks on benefit in the case of claimants under 60. After 16 weeks the whole amount will be payable, plus any arrears of interest that have accrued. (This change was introduced in January 1987)
4. There will be two flat rate earnings disregards (£5 and £15).
 - a. The £15 disregard will apply to recipients of lone parent or disability premium, firemen, lifeboatmen, coastguards, members of the forces and, as a concession to the long-term unemployed, couples in receipt of Income Support for two years. The combined disregard for a couple can never exceed £15.
 - b. The £5 disregard will apply to everyone else although both a claimant and his/her partner are entitled to claim.
5. Claimants will no longer be eligible for assistance towards water rates and residual housing cost (eg. house owners' repairs and insurance costs).
6. Single Payments will no longer be available. They will be replaced usually by loans, from the cash limited Social Fund.

However it is the changes to Requirements that are most radical. Gone are the additional requirements payable for such as heating, special diets, laundry costs and attendance needs; gone also are the ordinary/long term scale rate distinction and householder/non-householder distinction.

These are to be replaced by Personal Allowances, the amount payable being dependent upon the age of the claimant and whether he/she is one of a couple; and claimant Premiums payable in addition to the Personal Allowances in virtue of the status of a claimant. The newly announced rates are as listed below:

Personal Allowances

Single claimant aged	
(a) less than 18	£18.20
(b) 18 -24	£26.05
(c) 25 plus	£33.40

Lone parent aged	
(a) less than 18	£18.20
(b) 18 plus	£33.40

Couple	
(a) both partners under 18	£36.40
(b) at least one partner 18 plus	£52.10

Additions for dependent children will be in line with current S.B. rates.

Amount of Premiums

Family Premium	£ 6.15
Lone Parent Premium	£ 3.45
Pensioner Premium (Single)	£10.65
Pensioner Premium (Couple)	£16.25
Disability Premium (Single)	£13.05

Disability Premium (Couple)	£17.25
Severe Disability Premium (Single)	£23.25
Severe Disability Premium (Couple)	£46.50
Disabled Child Premium	£ 6.15

The conditions of entitlement for payments of premiums are as detailed. Generally if a claimant is entitled to more than one premium she/he will only be awarded the higher/est; though there are exceptions,

1. The family premium is unaffected by, and payable with, all other premiums.
2. The severe disability premium is payable with the higher pensioner premium and the disability premium.
3. The disabled child premium is payable with any other premium.

Family Premium

Payable to a family where at least one member is a child (including one parent family).

Lone Parent Premium

Payable to a one parent family, and payable as soon as the claimant becomes a single parent. Both family premium and lone parent premium are only paid once regardless of the number of children.

Pensioner Premium

Payable to claimant or partner aged 60-79 years old. Higher rate for couples. Only one premium payable per couple.

Higher Pensioner Premium

Payable if claimant or partner is:-

1. aged 80 or over, or
2. (a) aged 60-79 and in receipt of attendance allowance, mobility allowance, mobility supplement, invalidity pension or severe disablement allowance or receives an Invalid Carriage or registered blind, or
(b) aged between 60-80 and within 8 weeks of claimant's 60th birthday was in receipt of Income Support and disability premium and continued to be in receipt of Income Support since that time. This entitlement (b) ceases if the claimant stops receiving Income Support for 8 weeks or more.

Disability Premium

Payable where a person is single or a lone parent and receives one of the benefits as specified in Higher Pensioner Premium 2(a) above or has been unable to work for 28 weeks because of ill health. If the claimant has a partner, the claimant must satisfy the conditions as required for a single person or lone parent or the partner must receive one of the benefits as specified in Higher Pensioner Premium 2(a) above. However, if the partner has been incapable of work for 28 weeks this in itself is not enough to benefit.

Severe Disability Premium

Payable if the claimant receives Attendance Allowance, lives alone and no-one receives Invalid Care Allowance in respect of the claimant. Living alone is taken to mean no non-dependents over 18 living in the household. However there are limited exceptions; i.e. other people receiving Attendance Allowance, boarders and those who join the household to care for the claimant as long as the claimant was already being treated as severely disabled. This last exception applies only for 12 weeks after joining the household.

For couples, both must receive Attendance Allowance and they would then get a premium each. Someone receiving Invalid Care Allowance for one partner would debar only that partner from the premium. The same rules for those living alone apply as for single claimants.

Disabled Child Premium

Payable for a child, who is a member of the household, who receives Attendance Allowance or Mobility Allowance or both, or is blind and has capital

of less than £3,000. This is different to the general capital rule of £6,000.

An expected omission is the long-term unemployed whose increased needs are ignored in the list of premiums and sadly there is no recognition either of the role played by carers who could, under the S.B. scales, have become entitled to the long-term rate of benefit.

Effects upon under 25 year olds

It is mainly the under 25 year olds living independently; an estimated 100,000 single childless young people, who now receive the householder rate of Supplementary Benefits who will lose out significantly. The replacement of this by a low personal allowance will mean a loss of at least £6 at current benefit levels on top of which they will be required to pay water rates and 20% of their domestic rates (see section - Housing Benefit below). This will lead, inevitably to increased homelessness and dependence upon families and in short, to an enforced delay in adulthood for the poorest young people in our society.

Family Credit

Family credit will replace family Income Supplement as the major means of financial support for families on low income where the claimant works at least 24 hours per week; so beginning where Income Support ends. Unlike Family Income Supplement it will be calculable on nett rather than gross wages, the same capital rules will apply as do to Income Support and it will be awarded for 26 rather than 52 weeks. The method of calculation will follow that of Income Support. There will be an adult credit plus age-related credits for each child. The maximum credit will be payable where nett income (excluding child benefit and one parent benefit) is at or below a level equal to the Personal Allowance for a couple on Income Support. If nett income is above that level then credit will be withdrawn at the rate of 70%.

The announced credit rates for Family Credit are;

Adult Credit	£32.10
Child Credit under 11	£ 6.05
Child Credit 11-16	£11.40

There seems no reason to believe the Government's claim that Family Credit will have a 60% take-up rate and it is noted with regret that the Government ignores both the poverty lobby and its own back benchers in their pleas to raise the status of Child Benefit to the major benefit paid to families, so freeing them from the destructive ignominy and bureaucracy of means-testing.

HOUSING BENEFIT

1. Housing Benefit for Income Support Recipients

As for S.B. claimants now, Income Support recipients will receive the maximum level of assistance with their housing costs. This will be 100% of rent but, in the name of 'local accountability' 80% of rates, Income Support recipients will receive, however, an addition to their benefit of

20% of the national average although it is unlikely that this will continue beyond the early years of the scheme.

2. Housing Benefit for Householders not in receipt of Income Support

The main differences from the present scheme are as follows:

1. The new scheme will be integrated with Income Support. (The term 'standard' will no longer be used)
2. Assessment will be on the basis of nett rather than gross income.
3. Housing Benefit Supplement and the High Rent scheme will become obsolete.
4. Capital will be taken into account as for Income Support.

The calculation of Requirements for those not on Income Support will follow the Income Support Rules by adding together the Personal Allowance, Premium, and Child Addition due and subtracting from this the nett income of the claimant. Briefly for those claimants whose income is at or below this 'Applicable Amount' - (Income Support level) - they will have all of their eligible rent and rates paid (i.e. 100% of rent and 80% of rates). For those whose incomes are above their applicable amount then for rent they will lose 60% of the difference from their rent rebate, and 20% from their rate rebate.

Other Changes

1. Fuel Charges - These will no longer be rebateable so special help with high fixed charges will no longer be available. Withdrawal is to take place over a 5 year period.
2. Local Schemes - to be abolished except for war pensioners.
3. Non-Dependent Deductions Under the new scheme the main distinction will be whether a non-dependent is in work or not (an alternative being whether their joint income is above or below £50 per week) rather than whether or not they claim Income Support. The deductions are:

	Rent	Rates
higher	£8.20	£3.20
lower	£3.45	£1.45

Effects upon under 25's

Again it is those living independently in rented accommodation who will lose out, primarily because their low Personal Allowance will be used to calculate the level of Need requirements under the new scheme.

CONCLUSION

So, very briefly, that's what we'll be working with at least until John Moore overhauls the system again!

Looked at broadly, and on Mr. Moore's own admission, of all claimants 3,190,000 will find themselves better off, 1,700,000 will see no change and 3,650,000 will be worse off and it is among this last group where we will find the under 25's!

NOTE

Youth & Policy apologises for the small print size of the Law Column in issue 22.

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Code

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings are as published

The following code describes the reference used.

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

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Restart Scheme

Mr. Marlow asked the Paymaster General what are the latest figures, expressed as numbers and percentages by region, for (a) the numbers of Restart letters sent out, (b) the number of second letters sent out, (c) the numbers who have been sent letters out but have not yet attended interviews and (d) the numbers who have left the register (i) without any response to the

programme and (ii) subsequent to interview and counselling.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke (pursuant to his reply, 14 January 1987, c. 52): The latest figures are for the period up to 11 December 1986. They are contained in the table. The numbers of those who have ceased to claim benefit include those who cease to do so for reasons unconnected with Restart. We do not know how many people who cease to claim benefit do so because they have found work or training or how many of those did so as a result of Restart.

MSC Regions

	South East	London	South West	West Midlands	East Midlands	Yorks and Humberside	North West	Northern	Wales	Scotland	Great Britain
											Total
1. Numbers of first Restart letters sent out	83,675	129,815	43,291	110,999	75,778	84,170	161,646	74,104	51,461	97,551	912,490
2. Numbers of second letters sent out	16,511	43,292	9,075	18,190	12,756	12,747	29,428	9,437	9,663	17,822	178,921
3. Second letters as percentage of first letters	20	33	21	16	17	15	18	13	19	18	20
4. Numbers of failures to attend following two invitations	4,962	15,404	2,305	3,156	3,159	3,353	7,530	2,273	2,454	4,391	48,987
5. Failures to attend as percentage of first letters	6	12	5	3	4	4	5	3	5	5	5
6. Numbers ceasing to claim benefit being contacted but before interview and counselling	9,335	10,315	4,184	6,179	7,595	7,442	13,148	4,694	4,667	6,843	74,402
7. Numbers ceasing to claim benefit after being contacted but before interview and counselling as percentage of first letters sent out	11	8	10	6	10	9	8	6	9	7	8
8. Numbers ceasing to claim benefit after interview and counselling	6,943	7,453	3,698	5,736	5,860	7,592	12,902	8,105	5,657	8,293	72,239
9. Numbers ceasing to claim benefit after interview and counselling as percentage of first letters sent out.	8	6	9	5	8	9	8	11	11	9	8

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EMPLOYMENT

Labour Statistics

Mr. Ralph Howell asked the Paymaster General what is his latest estimate of the number of people actively seeking work who are classified as unemployed; and what percentage of the total unemployed this represents.

Mr. Lee: The following information is in the Library. According to the results of the labour force survey, in Great Britain in the spring of 1985, there were 2.81 million people without a job who had sought work in the week prior to the survey compared with 3.13 million claiming benefits as unemployed people. Further details are contained in an article published in the

October 1986 issue of *Employment Gazette* entitled "Unemployment figures: the claimant count and the Labour Force Survey".

Mr. Gordon Brown asked the Paymaster General if he will publish a table for each region, Scotland and Wales, showing the net loss or gain in numbers, and by percentages in (a) employees, (b) manufacturing employment, (c) the service sector and (d) construction for the years June 1979 to June 1983 to June 1986.

Mr. Lee: The information is given in the following table. The comparisons with June 1986 are based on the slightly revised estimates of employees in employment for that date which were released earlier today. Therefore they do not correspond in all respects to figures given to the hon. Member previously.

Net Change in Employment June 1979 to June 1983

June 1979 to June 1983	All	Manufacturing	Services	Construction	Self Employed ¹
Employees in Employment:					
South East thousands	-391	-338	10	-49	79
per cent.	-5	-10	0	-13	12
East Anglia thousands	-14	-28	26	-5	-15
per cent.	-2	-14	6	-12	19
South West thousands	-83	-73	6	-13	67
per cent.	-5	-17	1	-15	46
West Midlands thousands	-299	-272	-10	-12	36
per cent.	-13	-28	-1	-12	26
East Midlands thousands	-129	-121	11	-9	41
per cent.	-8	-20	1	-13	35
June 1983 to June 1986					
Employees in Employment:					
South East thousands	260	-138	435	-25	224
per cent.	4	-9	9	-8	31
East Anglia thousands	74	23	53	1	26
per cent.	11	13	12	4	28
South West thousands	54	8	59	-8	45
per cent.	4	2	6	-11	21
West Midlands thousands	78	-10	97	2	12
per cent.	4	-1	9	0	7
East Midlands thousands	91	12	93	-1	3
per cent.	6	2	12	-1	2

¹ Regional estimates of self employment are not available for separate industries.

² Less than 1,000

Net Change In Employment June 1979 to June 1983

June 1979 to June 1983 Employees in Employment:	All	Manufacturing	Services	Construction	Self Employed ¹
Yorkshire and Humberside thousands	-239	-208	-2	-19	35
per cent.	-12	-29	0	-17	26
North West thousands	-374	-277	-66	-20	10
per cent.	-14	-29	-4	-15	5
North thousands	-191	-119	-35	-22	14
per cent.	-15	-29	-5	-27	18
Wales thousands	-145	-102	-20	-14	2
per cent.	-14	-32	-3	-23	2
Scotland thousands	-203	-160	-8	-20	19
per cent.	-10	-26	-1	-13	12
June 1983 to June 1986 Employees in Employment:					
Yorkshire and Humberside thousands	5	-40	79	-3	69
per cent.	0	-8	8	-3	41
North West thousands	-41	-60	33	-4	56
per cent.	-2	-9	2	-3	25
North thousands	20	-21	55	-5	19
per cent.	2	-7	9	-8	21
Wales thousands	-30	-11	2	-5	28
per cent.	-3	-5	0	-10	22
Scotland thousands	-12	-32	42	-1	24
per cent.	-1	-7	3	0	13

¹ Regional estimates of self employment are not available for separate industries.

Vol 108 No. 33 Oral Answers

Labour Statistics

6. Mr. Barry Jones asked the Secretary of State for Wales what were the unemployment totals and percentages for (a) Wales and (b) Clwyd at the latest date for which such figures are available and for May 1979; and if he will give the percentage increase.

Mr. Nicholas Edwards: On 11 December 1986 the total numbers of unemployed claimants in Wales and Clwyd were 173,546 and 23,729 respectively. The number of unemployed claimants in Wales, seasonally adjusted, was 165,900, or 13.4 per cent. of the working population. In May 1979, it was 73,100, an increase over the period of 127 per cent.

Mr. Jones: Those are deeply disturbing figures, especially when seen against the background of the recently revealed loss of some 113,000 manufacturing jobs since 1979. One calculation is that, at the current rate of decrease, it will take until 1994 simply to reduce the figure to 100,000. Has the right hon. Gentleman realised the serious consequences that there would be for north-east Wales if the predatory and greedy BTR takeover bid for Pilkington is successful? I remind the right hon. Gentleman that my constituents at Queensferry have sent a petition against the takeover. Will he urge his Cabinet colleagues to reconsider the weak decision taken by the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry not to refer the bid to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission? Does the right hon. Gentleman agree that the public interest demands an about-turn, especially as junior Ministers do not support their Secretary of State? To us in Wales, it appears that the City is increasingly corrupt. We want action on Pilkington.

Mr. Edwards: On the grounds of competition policy, bearing in mind consistent application of that policy, and with the recommendation of the Director General of Fair Trading in front of him, my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry made the absolutely correct decision. I am equally sure that investors in the company will want to take very careful account of Pilkington's impressive record in research and development and on maintaining regional operations in terms of headquarters and research and development. I am sure that they will also want to consider the company's successful record. I hope that investors will bear all of those factors carefully in mind when they decide the long-term future of the company.

Mr. Terlezki: I think that we ought to welcome the reduction in unemployment in Wales, although it is marginal. My right hon. Friend travels far and wide to introduce industries to Wales and we have an excellent labour force, but if the Opposition continue with their scaremongering, industries from all over the world which intend to come to Wales, and which we need, will not come.

Mr. Speaker: What is the question?

Mr. Edwards: There is no doubt that hon. Members on all sides of the House should welcome the steady fall in unemployment that has taken place over the past nine months in Wales, and which has continued to be evident in the figures for the most recent available month. I repeat that the policies that are being advanced by the Opposition represent a serious threat. The hon. Member for Alyn and Deeside (Mr. Jones) has introduced his own policy or, apparently, a whole range of competing development agencies in almost every hamlet of the Principality. That policy was promptly ridiculed and dismissed by almost all his colleagues, including a former Secretary of State for Wales.

Mr. Foot: Since the right hon. Gentleman is so proud of his regional policy will he tell us precisely how much the Treasury has saved on that policy since 1979? All those millions could have been better spent in the worst-hit areas of Wales.

Mr. Edwards: As I have already pointed out to the right hon. Gentleman the policies that we are pursuing have produced a rising number of new jobs, created as a result of that assistance. There has been a record amount of factory allocations and, as the right hon. Gentleman is aware, we have allocated substantial new resources to the valleys initiative and the proposed garden festival that will be held in his own constituency.

Sir Anthony Meyer: Is my right hon. Friend aware that there will be a general welcome for the clear lead that he gave just now in his answer about the Government's belief that the independence of Pilkington is absolutely vital, not only for the retention of existing jobs but for the provision of future jobs in north Wales?

Mr. Edwards: There are two quite separate matters involved. There is the question of competition policy and the decision to send the matter to the Monopolies and Mergers Commission. Indeed, my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, when making his announcement, pointed out that would not necessarily have led to any different decision.

The other question concerned the merits of the bid that now has to be considered by the investors. I believe that Pilkington has an outstanding record based on research and development and that the long-term record and the company's prospects should be high in the minds of those who have to take the decision.

Mr. Geraint Howells: I am sure that the Secretary of State is aware that the unemployment percentage in the Cardigan area is one of the highest in Wales and stands at 26 per cent., as it has done for the past 10 years. I wonder what plans the Secretary of State has in mind to try to resolve this problem?

Mr. Edwards: I very much welcome the active initiatives that are being taken particularly in the Teifi valley by the enterprise agencies. I believe that the activities of those organisations will make an increasingly valuable contribution in some of the more difficult rural areas where it is not easy, as the hon. Gentleman well knows, to create new jobs. Indeed, the hon. Gentleman pointed out that this situation of high unemployment has continued in the area for a long time, including during the period of the Lib/Lab alliance.

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Social Services

Mentally Handicapped People

Sir Fergus Montgomery asked the Sec of State for Soc Services what progress has been made so far with regard to the care-in-the-community policy insofar as it concerns the mentally handicapped; and if he will make a statement on the short and long term financial implications of this policy.

Mrs. Currie: Substantially progress has been made. The majority of mentally handicapped people continue to live with their families or independently, usually supported by local authority, health and voluntary services. The number of mentally handicapped people living in hospitals has been falling steadily for many years while numbers living elsewhere, including local authority and local authority sponsored accommodation, and small NHS units in the community, have risen. The provision of local authority day services has increased. Relevant figures are available in my Dep's various publications on health and personal social services statistics, copies of which are available in the Library.

Estimated gross current expenditure on mental handicap in-patient services amounted to £461 m in 1984-85, an increase in real terms of around 13 per cent. over 1978-79, reflecting an increase in staff-patient ratio. Personal Social Services gross current expenditure (including joint finance) on residential and day care services for mentally handicapped people has also increased steadily in real terms and stood at some £241 m in 1984-85, an increase in real terms of around 54 per cent. over 1978-79. 1984-85 figures are provisional.

Com Care is not a cheap option and is not intended to be. These figures illustrate both the improvements which have been achieved and the money invested in making them happen. Health authorities' strategic plans envisage continued growth in overall expenditure on mentally handicapped people. Social security costs will inevitably rise as normal benefits replace the personal allowances paid in hospital.

The provisional figure for personal social services provision in the rate support grant settlement for 1987-88 includes an extra £27 m for the development of com care generally. Decisions on priorities for local government spending are the responsibility of individual local authorities.

Sir Fergus Montgomery asked the Sec of State for Social Services what is his policy with regard to the degree of local authority involvement in care-in-the-community developments in so far as they affect the mentally handicapped; what financial provision he expects local authorities to make in the realisation of this project; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs. Currie: Social services dep have been encouraged to play an increasingly important role with regard to care in the community developments. The long-standing policy is to develop a comprehensive range of co-ordinated health and social services for mentally handicapped people and their families, including assessment, day services and long-term and respite residential care in each locality, and to achieve a major shift from institutional care for mentally handicapped people to a range of com care provided by the statutory, voluntary and private sectors according to individual needs, with a corresponding shift of resources.

At the same time the continued run-down of large mental handicap hospitals will proceed, but specialised residential health provisions, which may be in small units in the community, will continue to be needed for people with special medical or nursing needs, as well as specialist health support for those in other settings.

The business of recognising the changing needs of mentally handicapped people is a multi-disciplinary and multi-authority one. The balance between authorities may shift, from time to time and from individual to individual, but the basic point of contingent responsibilities remains. Authorities should listen to mentally handicapped people and their families and, as far as possible, offer them choices which are genuine and explicit.

The priority for mental handicap services has been emphasised in successive policy documents and regional review letters to Chairmen of Regional Health Authorities, available in the Library, and is explained with fuller comment on policies in the Gov response to the report of the H of C Social Services Committee on Community Care (Cmd. 9674).

Under the care in the community arrangements health authorities can transfer funds for as long as necessary to pay local authorities or, with the agreement of local authorities, voluntary organisations, for community care for people moving out of hospital. In addition, NHS joint finance enables health authorities and local authorities to launch jointly planned schemes for mentally handicapped people.

Priorities for increased spending by local authorities are for local decision but we would hope the additional provision for care in the community developments included in the 1987-88 Rate Support Grant Settlement and the potential availability of resources from NHS authorities will enable local authorities to continue to give priority to the development of community services for mentally handicapped people.

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Drug Trafficking

117. Mr. Dickens asked the Sec of State for the Home Dep if he will make a statement on progress made during Britain's presidency of the European Community in combating drug trafficking.

118. Dr. Blackburn asked the Sec of State for the Home Dep if he will make a statement on progress made during Britain's presidency of the European Com in combating drug trafficking.

119. Mr. Leigh asked the Sec of State for the Home Dep if he will make a statement on progress made during Britain's presidency of the European Com in combating drug trafficking.

120. Mr. Richard Page asked the Sec of State for the Home Dep if he will make a statement on progress made during Britain's presidency of the European Com in combating drug trafficking.

Mr. Hurd: On 20 October I chaired a meeting of Com Ministers in London at which it was agreed that the Community and its member states have a major role to play in stepping up the fight against drug abuse.

Agreement was reached upon a seven-point plan which would be pursued in conjunction with the Council of Europe's Pompidou Group, covering:

- Measures to reduce demand for drugs especially among young people;
- Measures to improve the treatment of addicts and rehabilitation services;
- ensuring that bilateral and Community aid supports as appropriate a recipient country's efforts to combat drug abuse;
- steps to ensure that legislation takes account of the need to maintain effective control over illicit drug trafficking, particularly at the Community's external frontiers;
- mutual enforcement of confiscation orders relating to drug trafficker's assets;
- enhanced co-operation between law enforcement agencies involving exchange of drug liaison officers between member states, the posting of drug liaison officers to other countries and the establishment of a worldwide directory of those involved in the fight against drug abuse; this would be achieved by inviting the Trevi Working Group Three to examine the scope for creating a co-ordinated network of drug liaison officers to monitor developments in producer countries;
- preparation of joint assessments by Community ambassadors in drug-producing countries in order to ensure a steady flow of recommendations for action by the Twelve.

At the European Council, in December, Heads of State and Government endorsed this plan, action on which will be carried forward in ad hoc meetings of officials under the Belgian presidency. A copy of the Council's conclusions has been placed in the Library.

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Employment and Training

4.23 pm

Mr. Speaker: We come now to the debate on employment—

Mr. Jerry Hayes (Harlow): On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. I understand that there is a custom and practice whereby Opposition and Government Spokesmen depose any important documents that have been published in the Library of the House of Commons, so that hon. Members can be aware of the documents that will be used in a debate.

For the past two days I have been to the Library trying to obtain a copy of the published Labour party document—which has been trained in the newspapers and which will be used by the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) today, called—[Interruption]

Mr. Speaker: Order. I can help the hon. Gentleman and the whole House. There is no requirement for Opposition Front

Bench spokesman to lay documents, and the hon. Gentleman is surely aware of that rule. The custom relates to Government papers—not Opposition papers—that are relevant to the debate. Indeed, many hon. Members write pamphlets and often refer to them.

Mr. Hayes: Further to that point of order, Mr. Speaker. It is much more serious than that. I went to the Library and asked that someone ring Walworth Road to request a copy of the document. The Library is full of Labour party pamphlets and other party-political literature. The spokesman at Walworth Road said that the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East—

Mr. Speaker: Order. I am afraid that I must stop the hon. Gentleman. That is patently not a matter for me.

Mr. Peter Thurnham (Bolton, North-East): Further to that point of order Mr. Speaker. In this imminent debate, would it be in order for the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) to make his contribution from a sedentary position in view of the report in yesterday's—

Mr. Speaker: Order. Let us get off to a good start.

4.25 pm

The Paymaster General and Minister for Employment (Mr. Kenneth Clarke): I beg to move.

That this House commends the Government on the wide range of practical help it provides through its training and employment measures and the Restart programme; welcomes the national launch of the new Job Training Scheme, endorses the policies of promoting enterprise and small business, more flexible labour markets, better training for young people and adults, and more help for the long-term unemployed; and takes note of European Community Document No. 10119/86 and congratulates the Government on achieving the adoption by the European Community during the British presidency of an Action Programme on Employment Growth in line with the Government's policies.

Mr. Speaker: I wish to inform the House that I have selected the amendment in the name of the Leader of the Opposition. **Mr. Clarke:** We are about to start a serious debate on a serious subject during which, no doubt, we may discover what strings the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) holds in his hierarchy on this subject.

The background to our debate on this important and serious matter was given a few moments ago by my right hon. Friend the Prime Minister, when she reminded us that for the past six months the trend in unemployment has been steadily downwards. Each month there have been good and improved employment and unemployment figures, and each month they have been a bitter blow to the Labour Party. It is especially gratifying—I hope to the whole House—that the level of unemployment has been falling fastest in the north, the north-west, Wales and the west Midlands—again, a setback for the Opposition.

Mr. John Prescott (Kingston upon Hull, East): What about this month?

Mr. Clarke: I accept that this month has not been as good as the past five months, but the hon. Gentleman will be aware that January is always the worst month of the year. Unemployment figures always go up in January because it is the worst month of the winter. Even so, it is the smallest rise in any January for eight years. It means that the trend over the past six months is the best since 1973 — [Interruption.] The Government's training measures must be looked at against that extremely encouraging background—

Mr. Norman Hogg (Cumbernauld and Kilsyth): The position in Scotland is very different from the gloss that the right hon. and learned Gentleman has tried to put on the figures for England and Wales. The underlying trend in Scotland shows unemployment to be worsening and there has been a collapse in employment in the manufacturing sector. From figures given by the Minister responsible for Scottish industry yesterday, it is obvious that manufacturing jobs in the new towns are down—by 3,500 in East Kilbride and 2,200 in Cumbernauld—since this Government came to office. How can the right hon. and learned Gentleman present such glossy figures in view of the position in Scotland?

Mr. Clarke: Scotland is not doing as well as the other regions that I have mentioned because of the difficulties of the offshore oil industry. That industry gave rise to great prosperity in Scotland until the last change in oil prices, with the resulting change in the outlook for oil companies. There are some job losses in Scotland, but many more new jobs are being created.

The picture over the past six months has been best in the regions that I have mentioned — the north, the north-west, Wales and the west Midlands. The picture is not so good in Scotland, for obvious reasons — which the hon. Gentleman, who holds a Scottish seat, knows even better than I. He also knows that the best hope for Scotland and elsewhere is for the good overall national news of the past six months to be maintained, as it is likely to be.

We must best judge those measures against a favourable economic climate and an economy that is performing well. Unemployment and employment figures look much more encouraging when we consider the broad difference of approach that we take, deciding where we are going and comparing what the rival political parties are using to guide their own employment policies.

We know that apart from the argument—sometimes noisy — that takes place between myself, the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East and his colleagues, and apart from the difference about the detail of measures, there is a broad difference of approach both towards the kind of economy that we see emerging and the labour market in which we believe we have to create jobs. That broad division is best described in shorthand as the difference between this party and this Government, who are seeking to develop an enterprise economy, and those in the Labour party who still — [Interruption.] It is noticeable that the new guide and mentor of the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East, the hon. Member for Dagenham (Mr. Gould) is not yet in the Chamber. If the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East, went to the other place occasionally and heard debates there, by listening to debates in both Houses of Parliament he might be better informed on all the matters upon which he tries to address this House.

To return to the sharp division between policies that are based upon the development of an enterprise economy and policies that are still based on an inclination towards a public sector-led economy and a publicly planned labour market, that division is traditional between the two great parties. However, it has been made quite clear in recent debates on unemployment that it has never been more sharp than it is now. That is the choice that face our country when it judges our economic measures.

Quite apart from our macro-economic policies that are designed to produce sustained growth in the economy, we have based all the employment and training policies that we have produced to reinforce our economic policies on the need to change and modernise our labour market so that it comes nearer to the kind of labour market that provides good employment prospects in all the most advanced capitalist countries that have succeeded in overcoming this problem. For instance—this theme runs through all our policies—we encourage and welcome a wide spread of employment in the service industries as well as in manufacturing industries, although I believe that the broad brush division that is made between the two is often artificial. We need jobs in both sectors.

In particular, we have encouraged new business start-ups; we have supported the growth of small and medium-sized enterprises, because that sector of the economy produces the fastest growth in new jobs; we have introduced the business expansion scheme and the loan guarantee scheme and we have developed the local enterprise agency network. In particular, we have encouraged self-employment, which was in the most unfortunate decline in the 1970s. It is now growing again strongly. We have also introduced such measures as the enterprise allowance scheme to support unemployed people who enter into self-employment and we have reduced the national insurance charges that the self-employed pay. We have tried to achieve what could broadly be described as a more flexible labour market. The *Wages Bill* contained many measures of that kind.

Our economy is becoming much more like those of other developed countries, in which a higher proportion of people are in part-time work, while more people are engaged on short-term contracts. There is a greater development of job-sharing, with more people having more than one job. Sometimes that involves more realistic pay for inexperienced school leavers who are going into their first job. However, it also involves more pay that is based on merit and performance for those who have the skills and whose performance is the best.

We have also improved the preparation of our children for today's world of work. During the last seven years we have developed much better links between schools and industry, and we must continue to do so. We are developing a more relevant curriculum for pupils through the technical and vocational education initiative. Our proposed city technological colleges will reinforce that development. We are beginning to sort out the system of vocational qualifications so that pupils can seek to attain a set pattern of qualifications, of which employers will be able to make the best use. We are seeking to improve training levels and to raise the skills of our work force. Probably our biggest single success has been the development of the two-year youth training scheme. However, the new job training scheme is the latest and the most exciting example of what we have in mind.

Mr. Roger King (Birmingham, Northfield): Has my right hon. and learned Friend yet received a letter from the TUC in response to the letter from the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Sheerman)—some kind of unemployment spokesman on the Opposition Front Bench—who wrote to the TUC complaining bitterly that it had approved the £206 million job training scheme and asking it to complain to the Government about the fact that it was illegal? Has he yet received that letter, or does he think that it is a figment of the Opposition's imagination?

Mr. Clarke: I have seen the letter relating to the alleged illegality point that was raised by the hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Sheerman) who, astonishingly, is not here, although—but we are never quite sure—he is also a Front Bench Opposition spokesman. The hon. Member for Huddersfield will be receiving a letter from the chairman of the Manpower Services Commission this afternoon, refuting his rather silly legal point and explaining that he is making a complaint about perfectly reasonable preparations, on a contingency basis, for the scheme.

Mr. Prescott: Does the Paymaster General acknowledge that he has received a letter from the TUC dated 10 February making clear its position about the job training scheme and pointing out that most of it is not in line with the guidelines set out by the Manpower Services Commission and that therefore it cannot support the scheme?

Mr. Clarke: Far be it from me to intrude into any of the discussions that are taking place between the Labour party and the TUC. My right hon. and noble Friend and I have responded to the work and the proposals of the Manpower Services Commission, based on the unanimous report of its sub-committee. We have an agreement with the MSC, upon which there are TUC commissioners, about how to proceed with the new scheme, on the basis of expanding it as rapidly as we can, consistent with quality. I do not believe that it is misleading. As for the Government and the Manpower Services Commission, there has been an exchange of letters between Ministers and the MSC that makes it clear that we are proceeding on the basis of the last MSC discussions.

Mr. Prescott: What about the job training scheme?

Mr. Clarke: I shall return to the job training scheme in a moment.

I am describing the way in which the totality of our employment and training measures is changing the patterns of work. We need a work force and a labour market that will serve a modern enterprise economy. The theme that runs through the complex package that we have put together is modernisation and an enterprise economy in which the private sector will produce the majority of the jobs and a more skilled, versatile and more appropriately rewarded labour force will be provided to serve it.

Mr. Dennis Skinner (Bolsover) rose—

Mr. Martin Flannery (Sheffield, Hillsborough) rose—

Mr. Deputy Speaker (Mr. Harold Walker): Mr. Martin Flannery.

Mr. Dennis Skinner rose—

Mr. Flannery: You called me, Mr. Deputy Speaker.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I misunderstood. Mr. Dennis Skinner.

Mr. Skinner: On the question of letters and training, will the right hon. and learned Gentleman refer to the letter that he has received from Mr. Sutton of Pinxton in his constituency who is complaining about the training scheme? He is 58-years-old and is just recovering from several operations for cancer. Having worked for 41 years underground and having been made redundant under the Government's miners' redundancy scheme, he was told to report to the local jobscentre with a view to taking part in the restart programme. Is it not a scandal? Does the right hon. and learned Gentleman not acknowledge that my constituent, Mr. Sutton, has told me to tell Parliament that

"To receive a letter like this I believe an absolute insult, there can be no depths this Government of lies, deceit and hypocrisy will sink. This letter ought to be read out in Parliament to those Tory cretins, even then I don't think it would shame them."

That is the way in which this Government are reducing joblessness, they are doing it by sending insulting letters to 58-year-old redundant miners, this one having had several cancer operations during the last few years.

Mr. Clarke: I notice from the tone of his letter that Mr. Sutton of Pinxton is, like his Member of Parliament, a shy and sensitive chap who is upset by the letters that he receives. I shall of course, consider the letter of Mr. Sutton of Pinxton. However, if he studied carefully the invitation that he received under the restart programme, he would find that he was being approached as a person who had been unemployed for more than 12 months to participate in an individual interview about circumstances that might enable him to return to work. If he is unable to take a job, that will be thrown up during the interview. The idea that, when we write to people like Mr. Sutton who have been unemployed for more than 12 months, it is justifiable for them to take offence is ridiculous. If he came to an interview and it was found that he had particular difficulties, he would be treated with sensitivity; and if it were found that, because of his cancer, he was entitled to other benefits that he is not at the moment receiving, no doubt advice he would be given as to how to claim them.

Mr. Flannery: Earlier in his speech, the Paymaster General referred to modernisation, modern industry and so on. Last week at this time I was waiting to speak under Standing Order No. 20 because I had just learnt that the Stockbridge steel works in Sheffield had just been notified that 600 of the 2,400 jobs in the factory were to go. It had slumped down, cut down, done everything that the Government wanted it to do, and now another 600 jobs were to go. 25 per cent. of the labour force. Will the right hon. and learned Gentleman kindly explain to me how that can possibly help us in a very modern factory?

Mr. Clarke: The hon. Member will be aware that over the years there have always been jobs going in some places and jobs being gained elsewhere, lost in one industry and created in another. Of course, I shall look at the case of the Stockbridge steel works but I also look at the way in which people in Yorkshire and Humberside, for example, are taking advantage of all the employment and training measures that I have been describing and I see how that part of the country has the fastest growth in the number of self-employed of any region. When we are talking about the number of jobs in the country, we are all the time comparing the jobs lost as a result of competition or technological change, on the one hand, with jobs gained elsewhere in a growing and more dynamic economy. The balance at the moment is favourable and what I have described is a package of measures to train our work force into the new jobs that are emerging at an ever-accelerating rate.

Perhaps I may be allowed now to give way for a few moments because, having described the package of measures and the philosophy underlying our approach to this problem, I was going to move on to the approach of the alliance parties. [HON. MEMBERS: "Where are they?"] What has happened is that while I have been giving way to these interventions the alliance representation in the House has actually halved. While I was having this interesting exchange about Mr. Sutton of Pinxton, we have been reduced to one solitary hon. Member from the alliance parties.

Trying to draw out some broad themes before I get involved any more in these individual arguments about constituents, factories and measures, I have tried to study the alliance parties' proposals which were brought up to date only this morning in the *Guardian* by the hon. Member for Stockton, South (Mr. Wigglesworth) who tried to describe the distinctive contribution of the alliance parties to the whole question of employment.

At the moment the hon. Member for Stockton, South is somewhat stuck in a groove, trying out everything that he suggests with various computer models—he has a slight obsession with computer models—and the particular proposals that he puts through computer models have a familiar air about them. Sometimes there is a touch of infrastructure spending about them—that seems to be out of favour at the moment, compared with the Select committee's interest in job guarantees. But the distinctive feature of alliance policies, so far as I can tell from *The Guardian* today, and the only distinctive feature, is that they are the only people still urging a statutory incomes policy as the key part of their measures. What they urge is the failed method of getting more market-based pay, which was the policy of the 1970s. If one read the article in *The Guardian*, one sees that the approach of the alliance parties is to be a new payroll tax exacted on those firms which exceed a pay norm. Quite apart from the practicality of that, it is plain that the alliance parties are going back to the policing of individual pay settlements, company by company, across the country, with the only flexibility being those schemes given favourable financial treatment by the Treasury—an approach to pay and employment which failed quite sadly in the 1970s and which seems to me quite ludicrous to bring back—

Mr. Donald Stewart (Western Isles) rose—

Mr. Clarke: At a time when our unit labour costs in this country are rising more slowly than those of our competitors. So, again, in the improving climate, the alliance contribution to equality is becoming particularly irrelevant.

What I will leave to the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East to deal with in due course are those parts of the alliance policy which are plainly lifted from a somewhat watered-down version of Labour party policy. I see that the hon. Member for Stockton, South has revised the alliance commitment yet again on the figures. What he has now come up with is that the alliance parties will aim to cut unemployment by one million in three years at a cost of £4 billion. That is plainly cribbed from the Labour party's plan to cut one million in two years at a cost of \$6 billion. It is a curious measure of moderation by those who recently left the Labour party that, when asked to make a contribution, they look at what the Labour party is saying, tone it down a bit and present it with slightly modified figures.

Mr. Malcolm Bruce (Gordon) rose—

Mr. Clarke: I will give way in a moment. There still seems to be a little doubt in the alliance parties about who their employment spokesman is. They only have one in the Chamber at the moment so I will give way to him.

Mr. Bruce: I should inform the House that I am the alliance spokesman.

What is the Government's alternative in circumstances where average earnings are rising at double the rate of inflation and unemployment has stuck at three million? It is all very well to attack the Opposition parties. What will the Government do to ensure that the unemployed get jobs, if it is not by having an incomes policy to ensure that money is shared round fairly and evenly?

Mr. Clarke: What is happening at the moment is that pay is rising faster than inflation and we are also getting rapidly improving productivity and better performance, compared with the 1970s, for example, when these alliance policies were born. At the moment — and we must maintain this — unit labour costs in this country are rising more slowly than those of our major competitors. So at this stage still to be advocating what the hon. Member for Stockton, South was advocating, the use of a new tax

"as a means of influencing the climate of pay bargaining . . . which would not be the short-term centralised draconian policy of the past but a tax levied on firms with over 100 employees who reached pay settlement above the agreed norm" would involve bringing back the whole machinery of vetting each and every pay increase at a time when it not only was unnecessary, but would be an inhibition of more flexible patterns of pay bargaining.

Mr. Donald Stewart rose—

Mr. Clarke: I will give way for the last time as we have yet another party seeking to intervene, but I must be allowed then to continue my speech.

Mr. Donald Stewart: I am grateful to the Paymaster General, because he has given way a good deal.

Since he has been reading *The Guardian* so assiduously, would he answer the poser set in one of its editorials a week or two back, dealing with wage levels? Why is it necessary for the Government to contend, in an effort to increase production, that the people at the top positions must get exorbitant salaries and the people at the other end must have their wages cut?

Mr. Clarke: I have no recollection of ever advocating what the right hon. Gentleman has said nor can I recollect any of my right hon. and hon. Friends doing so. If any did, I will agree that it was a rather simplistic and undesirable approach to pay.

Let us have a look at what the Labour Party is proposing. When we look at the direction in which the Labour party is going we can see the very stark choice that faces this country and the very clear difference in the vision that we both have of the kind of economy that we are trying to create and the kind of labour market that we want. If the alliance parties have little if anything new to offer, the Labour party always seems to me to be looking very firmly backwards to the economy and the labour market of former times. In everything that it has said, even when it does not put its documents in the Library, it emphasises the need above all for more public sector jobs, particularly in local government and sometimes in nationalised industries as well. It wants state-directed investment in industry and it continually hankers after various forms of planning agreements which it disguises in various ways. It wants a much more regulated labour market and much more legal control of everything, from minimum pay to statutory arrangements for leave of absence for family reasons. It wants to make it easier to strike again without legal requirements for pre-strike ballots and it wants all the old, legal immunities given back to the trade union movement. In short, what it wants and what it is planning for is an economy in which the state and the biggest trade unions are dominant again, with growing numbers on the public payroll being supported by the taxes of private citizens and private industry.

That same range of political views which is to be found now in the three different political groupings in the country found an echo in the European Community during our presidency, as we developed, as a British initiative, the Anglo-Italian-Italian proposal for an action programme for employment.

This debate is intended to take note of that action programme at the request of the Select Committee on European legislation. The debate that we had in Europe between Governments, employers and trade unions was about more restricted areas of policy where European-wide action might be relevant in individual countries. The choice offered by this British initiative to Governments, employers and trade unions for discussion was about where Europe sees itself going as a society in work and whether our labour market is to be nearer to the pattern of the United States and Japan or to that of eastern Europe.

In the European Community, with all 12 Governments of the EEC, the decisions and the choice went in our favour. Last June we launched this action programme on our own but with the collaboration of the Italian and Irish Governments. As I pointed out at the time, the Italian and Irish Ministers with whom I found myself arguing were both on the Left of the coalition Governments in those countries—a member of the Irish Labour party and an Italian Socialist. By the time we reached the informal meeting in Edinburgh, we had agreed on the principles of where we were going. Those Edinburgh principles were all agreed and incorporated in the action programme by the time we reached the end of the British presidency.

First, we agreed on the need to develop a more flexible labour market. Our aim was to increase the efficiency of the labour market so that it could respond more dynamically to the needs of employers and the market. We also agreed that there was less need for regulation of such matters as worker directors or leave entitlements of the kind that the Labour party continually

Mr. Ray Powell (Ogmore): On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker. I seek your advice because I am not informed about what can happen in the Chamber. I listened to your ruling about not referring to or pointing to people who are not actually

commerce. They are real jobs and we are performing better than other countries in the EEC. Since March 1983, total employment in the United Kingdom has risen every quarter and in every region in England, and it has now increased by well over 1 million. That is the longest period of continuous growth in the number of people working since 1959, when the figures were first published. We must speed it up, and we shall do so by continuing the policies that created the climate to produce that level of employment growth, based on continuous economic growth. The motion created new employment and training measures, which are part of this progress, and I commend it to the House.

Mr. John Prescott (Kingston upon Hull, East): I beg to move, to leave out from "House" to the end of the Question and to add instead thereof:

'condemns the Government's policies which have increased unemployment by over two million to the highest recorded level in this country's history; further condemns the Government for drastically reducing people's rights at work and pressurising the unemployed into part-time, low paid, low skilled, special employment schemes; deplores the dismantling of the country's training infrastructure with the abolition of 16 of the 23 statutory Industrial Training Boards and the closure of thirty skillcentres, contributing to the de-skilling of what is already the worst trained labour force of any developed economy; and calls for a reversal of these policies to produce a positive programme of high quality training and the creation of real jobs to meet the ever growing needs of an increasingly divided nation.'

In their motion, the Government congratulate themselves on selling to Europe an

"Action Programme on Employment Growth",

in line with their policies. In other words, they are telling Europe to adopt the British model because it has won them they believe some success and will be good for Europe. Not much has been said about that success.

I welcome the fact that the debate is on our ground because it is about creating real jobs. We will not be pushed into the Government's timeframe for the agenda. We have said that those jobs will be spelt out in the most detailed work ever done by an Opposition party, which will be produced on 12 March. The debate today is not about Opposition policies but about the programme described by the Government in their motion as an

"Action Programme on Employment Growth",

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EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

Student Grants

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will make a statement on student grants.

Mr. Walden: I refer the hon. Member to the reply given today by my right hon. Friend to the hon. member for Cambridge (Mr. Rhodes James).

Mr. Rhodes James asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will make a statement about levels of students' grants and parental contributions for 1987-88.

Mr. Kenneth Baker: Subject to Parliament's approval of the necessary regulations the main rates of student grant will be increased by 3.75 per cent., in line with the forecast rise in the retail price index. The new rates for England and Wales will be as follows (rates for 1986-87 are shown in brackets):

	Undergraduate £	Postgraduate £
Hall or lodgings		
(i) London	2,330(2,246)	3,492(3,366)
(ii) Elsewhere	1,972(1,901)	2,859(2,756)
Parental home	1,567(1,510)	2,075(2,000)

The threshold for parental contribution, and the transitional scale points, will be raised on average by about 6.75 per cent. Parents earning a residual income of less than £9,300 will no longer be assessed for a contribution. The minimum parental contribution will be raised from £20 to £40, and the maximum for parents with more than one child in receipt of grant, from £4,300 to £4,600. The full scale is as follows:

Parental contribution scale 1987-88

Residual income £	Contribution £
9,300	40
9,400	54
9,500	68
10,000	140
11,000	282
11,800	397
11,900	417
12,000	437
13,000	637
14,000	837
15,000	1,037
16,000	1,237
17,000	1,437
17,300	1,497
17,400	1,522
17,500	1,547
18,000	1,672
19,000	1,922
20,000	2,172
21,000	2,422
22,000	2,672
23,000	2,922
24,000	3,172
25,000	3,422
26,000	3,672
27,000	3,922
28,000	4,172
29,000	4,422
29,712	4,600

¹ Maximum.

Notes:

1. For 1987-88 the rate of contribution is assessed at £1 in £7 for residual incomes from £9,300 to £11,800; then £1 in £5 to £17,300; then £1 in £4 thereafter. (In 1986-87 the rate of contribution was assessed at £1 in £7 from £8,700 to £11,100; then £1 in £5 to £16,200; then £1 in £4 thereafter.

2. The contribution payable may be less than the amounts shown on the scale, particularly at its top end. This will depend on the amount of grant against which the contribution has to be set and whether any of the assessed contribution is offset by allowance for other dependent children.

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YTS

Mr. Ashley asked the Paymaster General what proportion of disabled young people leaving the YTS find full-time employment (i) six months after completion, (ii) one year after completion and (iii) 18 months after completion.

Mr. Lee: Information is not available in the form requested. The Manpower Services Commission's regular follow-up of YTS leavers shows that of those young people identified as disabled who left YTS schemes between April 1985 and March 1986, 26 per cent. were in full-time work, and 45 per cent. were either in work or further education/training, some three months after leaving.

Mr. Ashley asked the Paymaster General what proportion of able-bodied young people leaving the YTS find full-time employment (i) six months after completion, (ii) one year after completion and (iii) 18 months after completion.

Mr. Trippier: The information is not available in the form requested. The Manpower Services Commission's regular follow-up survey of YTS leavers shows that between April 1985 and March 1986, nationally 53 per cent. of able-bodied leavers were in full-time work, and 67 per cent. were in either work or further education/training, three months after leaving. Longer term research has also shown that of those able-bodied young people on YTS in September 1984, 67 per cent. were in full-time work 18 months later.

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YTS

26. Mr. Wallace asked the Paymaster General what special provision is made by the Manpower Services Commission to enable trainees in remote areas of the United Kingdom to participate fully in YTS off-the-job training courses.

Mr. Trippier: YTS is intended to be mainly a locally based scheme. Where trainees necessarily incur travel or lodging costs. There is provision for managing agents to make the appropriate payments to trainees and claim reimbursement from

about which the papers have been deposited in the Vote Office for hon. Members to see.

The Paymaster General assumes that the Government's policies of monetarism, the market enterprise, deregulation, privatisation and a reduction in taxes are the ones that have produced the successful model that they are trying to get our European partners to adopt. Presumably that is the Government's claim to success, although, as the Minister knows, the programme does not recommend any action that is binding on us or the European Community.

Socialist Ministers in the European Community tried to get the British Government to agree to financial measures that would have allowed money to go into investment and use public money to get people back to work. However, that proposal was not accepted by the British Government, although it is what we would have advised Socialist Governments to do. It has been done in Europe by both Socialist and Christian Democrat Governments, which is why their levels of unemployment are lower than they are in Great Britain.

There have been seven years of waste under the Government. Some £20 billion has been spent keeping our people idle on the dole, and £50 billion of oil money has been wasted rather than being put into investment and training or into industry and our manufacturing base. It has flooded abroad so that the City can make millions. They know how to make money, but they do not know how to earn it.

Mr. Hayes: Will the hon. Gentleman give way?

Mr. Prescott: NO: I want to make my initial points.

The indictment of this Government—seven years of waste—reminds me of the 13 years of waste when the Conservative party was last in government for a long time.

Mr. Roger King: "You've never had it so good."

This debate to be continued in Journal No. 24

the Manpower Services Commission.

39. Mr. Nellist asked the Paymaster General when the level of allowance for participants of youth training schemes will next be increased.

Mr. Trippier: The YTS allowance for first year trainees will increase from £27.30 to £28.50 per week from 6 April 1987. There are no plans at present for further increases in the YTS allowance.

47. Sir Peter Blaker asked the Paymaster General whether he will estimate how many places in hotels, travel, and catering the Manpower Services Commission youth training scheme provided in 1986.

Mr. Trippier: I regret that the information requested is not available as the Manpower Services Commission's management information system is not currently collecting YTS statistics by occupation.

YTS does however, make a significant contribution to training in tourism related industries, and at the end of 1985 was providing around 11,000 places in hotel and catering and the travel trade.

62. Mr. Simon Hughes asked the Paymaster General what training has been given to Manpower Services Commission staff employed as programme managers and programme assessors at the area offices to enable them to carry out the monitoring role required by the two year YTS.

Mr. Trippier: Staff of the Manpower Services Commission receive a comprehensive range of training designed to equip them with the necessary knowledge and skills to operate effectively.

Staff involved in monitoring YTS undertake a six month training programme linked to individual training needs.

Mr. Sean Hughes asked the Paymaster General how many people are presently engaged in the YTS in Britain.

Mr. Trippier: On 31 December 1986 there were around 340,000 young people in training on YTS schemes throughout Great Britain.

Sir Fergus Montgomery asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on the progress of the YTS in the Altrincham and Sale area with regard to the one-year and two-year schemes.

Mr. Trippier: I am very pleased with the progress on YTS. Nationally over 1 million young people have joined the youth training scheme since it was introduced in April 1983 and in Altrincham and Sale the position is equally encouraging. Nearly 1,200 joined the one-year youth training scheme in 1985-86 and already over 1,300 have joined YTS since April 1986.

Further, of those who left YTS schemes between April 1985 and March 1986 in Trafford local authority district, which contains Altrincham and Sale, 57 per cent. were in work and 69 per cent. were in either work or further education/training, three months after leaving.

In addition, over 3,000 organisations nationally have applied for approved training organisations status including all 16 organisations currently delivering YTS in the Altrincham and Sale area.

All this demonstrates not only the success of the two-year programme, building on the achievements of the one-year youth training scheme, but also the willingness of employers to play their part, and the benefits to young people of YTS.

Mr. Favell asked the Paymaster General how many people are currently working (a) in his Department, (b) in the Manpower Services Commission and (c) in his Department's other associated public bodies and agencies under the aegis of the YTS programme.

Mr. Trippier: There are none at present in the Department of Employment Group. However, the Department of Employment and the Manpower Services Commission propose to introduce a YTS scheme this Easter in which initially there will be places for 120 clerical trainees in four different parts of the country.

Mr. Favell asked the Paymaster General how many people are currently working for British Rail under the YTS programme.

Mr. Trippier: At 28 January 1987, the latest date for which figures are available, there were 1,387 young people in training on YTS with British Rail.

Mr. Favell asked the Paymaster General how many people are currently working in the water industry under the YTS programme.

Mr. Trippier: I regret that the information requested is not available as the Manpower Services Commission's management information system is not currently collecting YTS statistics by industry classification.

Mr. Favell asked the Paymaster General how many people are currently working in (a) the coal industry and (b) the electrical supply industry under the YTS programme.

Mr. Trippier: I regret that information is not available in precisely the form requested because the Manpower Services Commission management information system is not currently collecting YTS statistics by industry classification.

However, at 31 December 1986, the latest date for which figures are available, there were 89 young people in training on YTS with British Coal.

At 14 January 1987, the latest date for which figures are available, there were 1,324 young people in training on YTS with Central Electricity Generating Board.

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Young People (Training)

37. Mr. Lawler asked the Paymaster General what is the proportion of young people receiving training (a) now and (b) at a comparable date in 1983.

Mr. Trippier: At the end of January 1986 the latest date for which such an analysis is available a total of 265,000 16 and 17-year-olds had entered YTS which is 15.3 per cent. of those young people in the population. The comparable figure entering YOP and YTS in spring 1983 was 122,523 which is 6.7 per cent. of those 16 and 17-year-olds in the population.

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Community Programme

Mr. Craigen asked the Paymaster General what is the number of 18 to 25-year olds in each of the employment regions of the United Kingdom presently on the community programme; and what percentage of places relate to each of those regions.

Mr. Lee: It is not possible to give a breakdown of places in the form requested. However, during the 12 months ending the 12 December 1986, the latest date for which statistics are available, the total number of entrants to the community programme, together with the number and percentage of those aged 18 to 24 years in each of the Manpower Services Commission's regions are as shown in the table below.

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Education Expenditure

Mr. Chapman asked the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland what proposals he has for capital expenditure programmes in the education budget of his Department in 1987-88.

Dr. Mahon: A total of £46 million will be available for capital expenditure next year. This will provide for increased expenditure on minor works and equipment, especially in schools, and for the commencement of 28 major new capital projects with a total estimated cost of £26 million.

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YTS

20. Mr. Jones asked the Secretary of State for Wales how many young people at the latest available date have obtained places on the YTS; and what is the latest available percentage rate for those who succeed in subsequently obtaining jobs.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: At the end of December 1986, 21,735 young people were undergoing YTS training in Wales. Fifty five per cent. of YTS leavers between April and July 1986 went into jobs, the highest proportion since the current surveys began in July 1985.

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Youth Organisations

Mr. Wainwright asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what is the total amount he expects to be spent in the current year in grants to national voluntary youth organisations; and what is expected to be the comparable amount in 1987-88.

Mr. Dunn: In the current financial year it is expected that grants to national voluntary youth organisations will total £2,546,180. Overall expenditure for 1987-88 has not yet been agreed.

contributors

Dave Glover teaches in the Faculty of Humanities at Sunderland Polytechnic.

Mike Pickering teaches in the Faculty of Humanities at Sunderland Polytechnic.

John Holmes is Senior Lecturer in Youth & Community Work at North East Wales Institute of Higher Education.

Mike Heathfield is a Seconded Youth Worker for Lancashire County Council Youth Service leased at the Bottle Shop Youth Arts Centre, Lancashire.

Howard Parker is a Senior Lecturer at Liverpool University.

Graham Jarvis is a Research Officer at Liverpool University.

Maggie Sumner is a Research Officer at the National Childrens Bureau.

Hilary Homans, Peter Aggleton & Ian Warwick are involved in the "Learning about AIDS Project" funded by AVERT in collaboration with the Health Education Council and based at Bristol Polytechnic Faculty of Education and Community Studies.

Richie J. McMullen is Founder and Co-Ordinator of Streetwise Youth Project in central London.

Ian Abbott is a Senior Lecturer in Teaching Studies at Sunderland Polytechnic.

Tony Jeffs teaches at Newcastle Polytechnic.

Pam Reid is Development Officer for the North East Council on Addictions.

Pedro Conner is Information & Resource Worker for Sheffield Youth Service.

John Blackmore is a Principal I.T. Officer, Hounslow

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YOUTH AND POLICY

the journal of critical analysis

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

ARTICLES

Jean Spence, Department of Social Science, Douro House, Douro Terrace, Sunderland Polytechnic, Sunderland, SR2 7DX.

REVIEWS

Editor: Maura Banim, Dept. of Social Science, Douro House, Douro Terrace, Sunderland, SR2 7DX. Suggestions for future review material and names of possible contributors are invited from the readership.

WORKING SPACE

Editor: Malcolm Jackson, Gateshead Community Education Team, Civic Centre, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear.

INSERTS & ADVERTISEMENTS

Details available from Barry Troyna, Hammerton Hall, Gray Road, Sunderland Polytechnic, Sunderland. Tel. Wearside 5676231

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