

**YOUTH** the journal of  
critical analysis  
**AND POLICY**

**NO. 24 SPRING 1988**

# **YOUTH** the journal of **critical analysis** **AND POLICY**

Youth and Policy  
ISSN 0262-9798

5 Dene Terrace,  
Seaham,  
County Durham,  
SR7 7BB.

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

**Editorial Group:**

Isabel Atkinson	Ross Cowan	Moyra Riseborough
Maura Banim	Malcolm Jackson	Keith Shaw
John Carr	Sarah Marshall	Jean Spence
Judith Cocker	Chris Parkin	John Teasdale

*Barry Troyna has left the editorial group as he has taken a new post in Coventry.*

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

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

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

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

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

Typeset and Printed by: F. & A. Tolson Limited  
Bede Industrial Estate, Jarrow, Tyne & Wear, NE32 3EG.  
Tel. (091) 489 7681/483 9605

© Youth & Policy 1988

## **contents**

ISSN 0262.9798

NO. 24 SPRING 1988

PETER KENT-BAGULEY one too many	1
PHIL COHEN popular racism, unpopular education	8
DAVID M. SMITH & FRANCES COHEN crime and delinquency in the inner city: a research note on attitudes	13
PAUL STUBBS relationships with the police: intermediate treatment and 'the multi-agency approach'	16
LYNDA BURCHELL & BRENDAN BURCHELL the effects of unemployment on youth training scheme leavers	20
STEPHEN BOYLE, MIKE DANSON & GRAHAM SENIOR the recruitment of young people: the effect of one year yts	25
R. M. BALL student vacation workers and the labour market	30
working space — youngmothers group nottingham youngvolunteers	36
the cedarwood centre project - edna allen	39
MIKE STEIN feature review	41
reviews in this issue	43
analysis	47
monitor	48
contributors	Inside Back Cover

# one too many

PETER KENT-BAGULEY

'May I quote some examples of the behaviour of Labour party-controlled local authorities? I do not suggest that all or most Labour party-controlled councils engage in such activity, but some do and even one such council is one too many.' Michael Howard, Hansard, col 1209, Standing Committee A, 8.12.87.

*Clause 28 is designed to halt and reverse the development of assertive lesbian and gay groups, networks and communities. The relatively rare examples of small scale local authority funding of such groups will be illegal; the hire of local authority owned property by such groups will be proscribed; Gay Sweatshop, the London based, internationally acclaimed lesbian and gay theatre group will be denied access to local authority buildings for their national tours; even non lesbian and gay theatre groups would be proscribed if their productions portrayed a lesbian or gay character positively.*

*Libraries will be challenged if they stock books containing positive references of lesbians and gays; lesbian and gay youth groups will face no entry signs in the local authority youth service; the position of lesbian and gay youth and community workers is a potential nightmare. Those who are known to be lesbian or gay might well be subjected to unprecedented surveillance by antilebian, anti-gay managers as well as by members of the local community waiting to initiate Mccarthy-like witch hunts. Closet lesbian and gay workers will surely fear whispering campaigns and feel even more frightened about being positive about their sexuality.*

**CLAUSE 28** — some possible implications for youth work projects that the mass media have not mentioned:

*When recruiting new staff a newspaper advertisement mentioning equal opportunities for homosexuals could be interpreted as 'promoting' homosexuality. It may be unlawful for a local authority to fund an organisation which has an equal opportunities policy that mentions lesbians and gay men.*

*Resources such as books, leaflets, posters and videos depicting any relationship other than a heterosexual one could contravene the law.*

*Young people whose parents are lesbian or gay, or who know lesbian or gay couples, may be increasingly alienated by the illegality of suggesting that such relationships can be 'normal'.*

*Young lesbians and gays will be increasingly liable to prejudice and possibly to physical violence.*

*Young heterosexual people stand to lose by living in a society which promotes intolerance and the unacceptability of homosexuality, and which renders open and honest sex education illegal.*

*However, heterosexuals do not escape the draconian clause: anyone saying or doing anything which might be construed as a positive approach for lesbians and gays could be subject to legal harassment.*

*Here, Peter Kent-Baguley examines the development of the concerted anti-lesbian, antigay backlash within the Tory Party, the ambivalence of the parliamentary labour party's response and the theoretical and practical differences which divide lesbian and gay equality campaigns from the lesbian and gay liberation movement.*

## Clause 28

27.—(1) The following section shall be inserted after section 2 of the Local Government Act 1986 (prohibition of political publicity).

*Prohibition on promoting homosexuality by teaching or by publishing material*

2A.—(1) A local authority shall not—

- (a) promote homosexuality or publish material for the promotion of homosexuality;
- (b) promote the teaching in any maintained school of the acceptability of homosexuality as a pretended family relationship by the publication of such material or otherwise;
- (c) give financial or other assistance to any person for either of the purposes referred to in paragraphs (a) and (b) above.

(2) Nothing in subsection (1) above shall be taken to prohibit the doing of anything for the purpose of treating or preventing the spread of disease.

The last time I wrote in this journal about lesbian and gay issues I concluded:

Perhaps it is worth noting that lesbian and gay relationships are about love; about the right and naturalness of people of the same sex to love each other. Unfortunately a great deal of nonsense, it would seem, has to be waded through in order to convince people of this simple social fact. Lesbian and gay campaigners are frequently accused of flaunting their sexuality and of over politicising the issue. No apology is necessary because it is the homophobes who have flaunted and hegemonised with their heterosexism. It is their own nonsense that they must be forced to confront and concede if we are ever going to be able to say that being lesbian or gay is okay.<sup>(1)</sup>

That was autumn 1985 which, in retrospect, was a major water-shed for the advancement of lesbian and gay liberation. The GLC launched its free 50 page pamphlet **Changing The World** which set out briefly but clearly 142 recommendations



aimed at dispelling ignorance and fear of lesbian and gay issues and to foster positive attitudes and practices.

In his report to the council in 1984 Ken Livingstone said: there has been a failure of local authorities to appreciate the needs and accede to the rightful demands of gay men and lesbians ... the council is in a unique position to pursue policies that counteract discrimination and enable the gay community to develop its own range of services.<sup>(2)</sup>

In his preface to **Changing The World**, Ken Livingstone concluded:

We have changed attitudes here in County Hall. Now we must do the same in Parliament, Councils and private and public institutions throughout Britain.

A year later peers were brandishing copies of the Charter during the Lords' debate on the Earl of Halsbury's bill - prototype of clause 28 - designed to 'restrain local authorities from promoting homosexuality'.

In the winter '85 edition of **Lesbian and Gay Socialist**, the quarterly magazine of the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights, I said in my review of the Charter: 'This is **potentially** the most important lesbian and gay publication of 1985...a ready-made campaigners kit for us all in our own communities.' I then said: 'It must be impossible for anyone except the staunchest bigot, who has read this booklet to continue to maintain that lesbian and gay issues are marginal; it is the most succinct and clear document I have seen illustrating the centrality of lesbian and gay issues in the lives of everyone.'<sup>(3)</sup>

A comprehensive lesbian and gay rights policy was adopted at the Labour party's national conference in the autumn of 85 too, the culmination of four years of broad-based campaigning with the labour movement. Despite that success however, lesbian and gay rights were seen as an embarrassing and marginal issue by vast sections of the Labour party, particularly the leadership. Not so for the Tory right. AIDS had for some time been the vehicle for renewed attacks on lesbians and gays with politicians and tabloids competing to dream up the most outrageously bizarre libel against the lesbian and gay communities and their few allies. For example, the Labour party was accused of financing death: 'Labour's cash aids the new black death' was the headline for the News of the World's column 'Voice of Reason' (sic!). 'The start of AIDS was homosexual love-making' it said and that 'some Labour councils encourage AIDS with grants to homosexual centres. So do Labour education authorities telling children that homosexuals living together are as stable as married couples. They also encourage children to experiment with sex. This is murder.'<sup>(4)</sup>

The former MP for Leicester East, Peter Bruinvels, forced the government to adopt a last minute amendment to its Education Bill (No 2) 1986. Carried by 300 to 138 it meant that sex education can only be taught in schools if school governors agree; they also have the right to control content. Section 46 of the Act 'requires LEAs, governing bodies and head teachers to take such steps as are reasonably practicable to secure that any sex education which is offered encourages pupils to have due regard to moral considerations and the **value of family life**.'<sup>(5)</sup> At about the same time The Diary of Anne Frank had been banned from all state schools in Tennessee: the implicit stirring of Anne's sexuality were too much for the right wing moral entrepreneurs. In many of the states lesbian and gay issues are still taboo and criminal.

The accelerating and increasingly co-ordinated anti lesbian, and gay backlash received its first public approval from the Tory leadership in early 1986 when Norman Tebbit, then chairperson of the party declared at St. James Church, Piccadilly, that in the 1960s 'tolerance of sexual deviation generated demands for deviance itself to be treated as the norm'<sup>(6)</sup> He pressed home the attack at the 1986 Tory party national conference: 'morality - what morality in the Labour ILEA distributing explicit books no decent parents would wish their children to see?'<sup>(7)</sup>

Not to be outdone, on the same day Kenneth Baker said: 'last month I intervened to ask ILEA to take out of its libraries a book purporting to be on sex education which showed two semi-naked men in bed with a girl of seven. I was advised by my officials that this book was propaganda for homosexuality, not education'<sup>(8)</sup> **Jenny lives with Eric and Martin** had been first published in Britain in 1983. It was not, therefore an instantly controversial book. Jenny by the way is five, not seven, Martin is her Dad and Eric his lover. Two photographs out of fifty pages of photographs show Jenny, in a dress, sitting on the edge of Eric and Martin tucked up having a lie in. As Ken Livingstone rightly pointed out:

nowhere have the hysteria and bigotry been whipped up more than on the issue of the book **Jenny lives with Eric and Martin**. It filled acres of newsprint. What was the reality? One copy of one book in one teachers' centre that one teacher had taken out to read became the centre of a wave of hysteria that has turned it into a best seller... Should such nonsense be the basis of legislation?<sup>(9)</sup>

**Jenny** ... became the symbol of depravity, corruption of innocence, child molestation. Never mind that over 90% of paedophilia takes place **within** the family, committed by **heterosexual** male adults on young females. The ugliness of heterosexist gender structures categorically defines lesbians and gays as unnatural, and a danger to all that is natural. The tabloid macho response to the Cleveland child sex abuse cases was designed to minimise the threat to the male parents, partly via a disproportionate and critical attention given to the **female** doctor. Ideologically the family has been structured as the haven of safety which, therefore can only be threatened by 'outsiders'. The most extreme form of these, of course, are lesbians and gays, 'deviants' of the gender structure.

By the winter of 1986 the increasingly orchestrated lesbian and gay backlash served two principal purposes. As in the case of the notorious Bermondsey by-election in February 1983, the anti-Peter Tatchell media campaign served to discredit his socialist policies via the denigration of his homosexuality. It became dangerously McCarthy-like where homosexuality and socialism together are mutually unacceptable, a danger seen to be too great for democracy to accommodate.

However, Tatchell argued that: 'what Fleet Street really objected to was my socialism rather than my homosexuality. They **merely** played on my gayness to discredit my left-wing politics.'<sup>(9)</sup> Opponents rarely **merely** react. Socialism and homosexuality are anathema to capitalists and heterosexists, not because of some incidental, casual link that the right have forged between left councils and lesbian and gay issues but because of more fundamental, unavoidable consequences of specific ideological structures.

**Anyone that colludes with the notion that Haringey,**



## **Ealing and Ilea have gone too far with their positive images policy for lesbians and gays fails to understand the challenge to civil rights presented by the crisis in capitalism.**

Crudely put, bolstering profits means shifting costs. Thatcherism has meant increasing unemployment (the result of the fiction of greater productivity) and decreasing public expenditure (a book-keeping fiction to hide debt by privatising it).

Given the level of deprivation which will result from Government policies they will be totally unacceptable unless there is an atmosphere of conformity and authoritarianism ... the election of such a right-wing government has given encouragement to all kinds of groups to come out into the open and move the terms of reference of public debate in a rightward direction. The gay community is one group which must be affected by such a drift.<sup>(10)</sup>

How right Bob Cant's analysis made in 1980 has proved to be.

Unprecedentedly massive cuts in public expenditure have increasingly, directly and indirectly, privatised caring for the young, the old, the disabled and the ill. The resurrection of 'Victorian family values' is not merely a personal whim of the prime minister but a logical and necessary outcome of the ideological policies being pursued. Family values invoke the entire straitjacket of heterosexism. Rigid gender roles mean women displaced from the work-force to be compulsory, unpaid domestic workers. Lesbians and gays are derided as unproductive abnormalities. There is a reassertion of patriarchal values sustaining domestic violence against wives and daughters. The list goes on.

The populist manipulation of the family makes it the yardstick by which all other relationships are measured in degrees of deviation. The ideological appeals batter the experienced reality of vast numbers of people who are degraded daily by the indoctrinating myths. These myths individualise their abuse forcing the structural bases for that abuse beyond the grasp of the immediate understanding of most people. Victims of child sexual abuse blame **themselves**; women, raped within or outside of the home commonly blame **themselves**; lesbians and gays often blame **themselves** for being different.

The centralisation of the family in the ideological structure necessarily disposes lesbian and gay issues to the furthest margins of society. Jenny living with Eric and Martin must not become common knowledge, particularly amongst young people lest their commitment to heterosexual coupledom is lessened. It is not surprising therefore that an arm of the Murdoch media machine researched the state of thought amongst the nations' teachers, who, it should be remembered act in loco parentis. In November 1986 The **Times Education Supplement's** survey revealed that 34% of a representative sample of teachers thought that homosexuality should be presented in schools as an acceptable way of life; 24% thought it should be shown as unacceptable and 31% expressed no opinion. Nor was it a surprise to read in the following week's **TES** that Angela Rumbold, then a junior education minister, revealed that she believed that 'to teach homosexuality as being an acceptable way of life is not correct'. She was 'concerned' that 34% of teachers thought that it was acceptable.

However ministers invested their faith in the Education (no

2) Act 1986 which as we have seen, transferred the control of sex education from the teachers to the school governors. The Act also strengthened parent representation on governing bodies. The new balance for a school with 600+ pupils is: 5 parents, 5 LEA representatives, head teacher, 2 teachers and 6 co-options. But, even with this much vaunted ploy of parent power coupled with parental choice - designed to hide, of course, the diminution of resources for state education - it would be exceedingly unlikely that parents could gain control of a governing body.

It was this weakness that some of the leaders of the right-wing backlash perceived and exploited to prosecute their draconian attack on lesbians and gays. In December 1986 the Earl of Halsbury introduced his private member's bill into the Lords. Its aim was to 'restrain local authorities from promoting homosexuality' and it was designed as an amendment to the Local Government Act 1986. The essence of it was that:

a local authority shall not give financial or other assistance to any person for the purpose of publishing or promoting homosexuality as an acceptable family relationship; or for the purpose of teaching such acceptability in any maintained school.

Halsbury views homosexuality as a 'disability' and believes irresponsible homosexuals 'who make the worst of their situation are the sick ones who suffer from a psychological syndrome whose symptoms are ... exhibitionism ... promiscuity ... proselytising ... boasting ... and lastly they act as reservoirs of venereal diseases...'<sup>(11)</sup>

He went on to refer to the GLC Charter, **Changing the World** as the coffee table glossy which 'does not bear quotation in your Lordships House!' Lord Campbell of Alloway who drafted the Bill claimed that 'this is an emotive subject, but the case for the Bill rests solely upon reason'<sup>(12)</sup> He then went on to present a partial and distorted reference to the supporters of the positive images campaign in Haringey, making no reference to the abuse and violence organised against them by the Parents Rights Group, composed of a small number of right wing individuals. Baroness Cox put the point of the Bill perfectly: 'the balance has swung to the active promotion of positive images of homosexuality and outright attacks on the concept of the normality of heterosexuality'.<sup>(13)</sup>

Lord Kilbracken, though a Labour peer, felt no disloyalty speaking against the policies of the extremists in his party **'when they are by no means official Labour policies and when I totally condemn them.'** And like Lord Denning and the rest of the noble lords in the debate, he disapproved of homosexuality being regarded as equal to heterosexuality. Denning hoped the Bill would pass speedily into law to deal with 'the present evil that has been brought about into our society'. **'We must not allow this cult of homosexuality making it equal with heterosexuality, to develop in our land'** was Denning's central message echoed by the Bill's drafter, Lord Campbell of Alloway: 'it is the promotion of the positive images as a matter of policy' that the Bill is aimed to stop.

Concluding the debate for the government Lord Skelmersdale provided a foretaste of the kind of double-speak that marked the debates in both the Lords and the Commons a year later over clause 28, when he said: 'the Government's policy is that schools should be prepared to address the issue

of homosexuality ... in a balanced and factual manner, appropriate to the maturity and age of the pupils...' to be undermined several seconds later with: 'the Government had made quite clear that any teaching about homosexuality must never, in any sense, advocate or encourage it as a normal form of relationship. To do so would be educationally and morally indefensible'.<sup>(14)</sup> So much for the **balanced and factual manner!**

Significantly, Lord Skelmersdale also said, the government did not disagree with the aims of the Bill but solely with the means. Distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable images of homosexuality he said: 'cannot be drawn sufficiently clearly in legislation to avoid harmful misinterpretation. **That is a risk we cannot take**'.<sup>(15)</sup> Furthermore: '**educationally, we have already taken steps to put the responsibility where it belongs in the hands of the parents**' via the Education (No 2) Act 1986 the provisions of which 'must be given a chance to prove their effectiveness'.<sup>(16)</sup>

Jill Knight's failure to introduce the Halsbury Bill into the Commons in May '87 did not signal a retreat of the right-wing backlash. On the contrary, the June general election witnessed a sustained and well orchestrated anti-lesbian and gay campaign on the Tory hustings. Street hoardings asked: 'IS THIS LABOUR'S IDEA OF A COMPREHENSIVE EDUCATION?', with illustrations of three book titles; **Young, Gay & Proud; Police: Out of School**, and **The Playbook for Kids about Sex**. The bottom line made the spurious request: 'TAKE THE POLITICS OUT OF EDUCATION, VOTE CONSERVATIVE.'

Additionally souther editions of **The sun** and **The London Evening Standard** carried full page advertisements with the message purportedly relaying the worries of a Haringey mother: 'if you vote Labour they'll go on teaching my kids about Gays and Lesbians instead of giving them proper lessons.' The false dichotomy which runs throughout the anti-lesbian and gay ideology nevertheless has a ring of simple plausibility; either ... or, instead of lesbian and gay issues being **integral** to **proper** lessons. But then lesbians and gays are not allowed to be integral to the family. Heterosexism determines that it is **either** the family **or** lesbianism and gayness!

Patricia Hewitt's leaked letter from the Labour leadership shortly after the third successive general election defeat for Labour revealed the leaderships eagerness to find a scapegoat for their disastrous defeat. Lesbians and gays were the excuse. Thus Thatcher was assured of a mute opposition to legislation against lesbians and gays.

Only twelve months after the government argued that Halsbury's bill was unnecessary, its essence as tabled by a newly elected Tory, David Wilshire, as a new clause to the Local Government Bill in Standing Committee last December.

In response, not only did Labour's front bench avoid reference to their party policy, but worse still, they invented their own with shadow environment spokesperson, John Cunningham, declaring: 'I speak on behalf of the Labour Party when I say that it is not, and never has been, the duty or responsibility of either local or education authority to promote homosexuality'.<sup>(17)</sup> Ironically it was left to the Government minister, Michael Howard, to quote Labour party policy which calls upon Labour local authorities 'to support

financially and otherwise special lesbian and gay 'phone lines, centres and youth groups.' These are the very 'practices that caused so much public concern' he added.<sup>(18)</sup>

With the exception of Tony Banks who declared the clause to be 'unalloyed fascism' and 'a bigot's charter', most back benchers were disastrously defensive. Allan Roberts, for example, argued:

I am totally opposed to any education authority, any school or any teacher promoting homosexuality or to any public money being spent on promoting homosexuality, but I am not against portraying homosexuality in a positive way and promoting positive images of the fact that homosexuality exists.<sup>(19)</sup>

Such facile double-speak diverts debate on the draconian attack on lesbians and gays into the cul de sac of dictionary definitions, fetishising forms of words within a parliamentary pretension far removed from the harsh realities of the vast majority of lesbians and gays outside the privileged palace.

Pretending **promotion** presented problems of definition was an unforgiveable ploy to avoid party policy. Furthermore it was disingenuous because the proposer of the clause had made it abundantly clear what he meant by **promote**, instancing the job description for the Ealing lesbian and gay officer who was to deal with 'positive images of lesbians and gays in the community.' He said: 'I contend that that is the promotion of homosexuality'.<sup>(19)</sup> Both the tone and content of those supporting the clause left little to the imagination; what they meant by **promote** was crystal clear: **that lesbians and gays be silenced, rendered invisible and totally stripped of civil rights.**

Labour's indictment is further compounded by the fact that not even snap decisions about the meaning of **promote** were necessary; they had only to refer to the Halsbury Bill debate. Lord Campbell of Alloway had affirmed then that 'it is the promotion of positive images as a matter of policy that the bill is designed to stop'.<sup>(21)</sup> However, as Ken Livingstone pointed out, it was totally irrelevant what MPs thought 'promote' meant because it will be 'what the judges think that matters'.<sup>(22)</sup>

Labour's dreary and weary denials of any desire to 'promote homosexuality' were reminiscent of the Wolfenden debates of the '50s. Heterosexism, (then unnamed) locked into the search for **causes** and **cures**, perpetuating oppressive myths like sexuality being concretely pre-set during conception (or soon afterwards), is the ideology of genetic determinism. It was as though the gay liberation movement of the early '70s had never happened; as though ideas about the **social**, rather than the **biological** construction of sexuality had never been discussed; as though the notion **and reality** of choice had never been recognised.

Heterosexism denies choice and crucially attempts a denial of reality, the reality of widespread same-sex relationships covertly negotiated in tiny spaces and times where briefly the pervasive tide of heterosexism ebbs a little. It was therefore, incredibly disappointing that the only out-gay M.P., Chris Smith, should maintain:

the originators of the clause say that they want only to prohibit the act, as they put it, of encouraging people to be homosexual. It is an absurd notion in any case. We are what we are. It is impossible to force or to encourage someone into a different sexuality from that which pertains to them.



Caught as it were in a Wolfenden time-warp, pleading a paltry place in the tardy tolerance of toryism, it perpetuates the archaic theory of innate, genetically determined sexuality. Chris Smith continued: 'what is important is to enable people to understand the sexuality that they have, and that cannot be changed'<sup>(23)</sup>

Labour's failure to organise an effective opposition allowed the arts lobby to dominate the media. Heterosexism has always allowed Chelsea's chic ceramicist's **homosexuality** to flourish **for the sake of art**, whereas Cannock's coal miner's **queerness** is ridiculed **for the sake of the family**. Chronic concern for the continued depiction of the homosexual **in art** all but obliterated news of campaigns to defend the limited, hard won rights of lesbians and gays **in real life**. Ad hoc coalitions of apparently common interests are no match for the classic divide and rulers. As we shall see later, a deeper and more wide ranging analysis is necessary to ascertain the bases for genuine alliances of common interests.

Rather than play the double-speak game or perpetuate causal myths, several Labour back benchers posed questioned which amply exposed the double-speak on the Tory side and strongly reinforced Ken Livingstone's point about the importance of judicial decisions once the clause is statute law. Joan Lestor, for example, asked the Minister: 'if a teacher who is lesbian or homosexual tells the children in the class that he or she is thus, will that in the mind of the minister be regarded as promoting homosexuality?' You might have thought that it was a straight-forward enough question which would have received a straight-forward answer of 'no', but Michael Howard, rather sinisterly insisted: 'the answer would depend on the circumstances and the context in which that was said.'<sup>(24)</sup>

The Government's double-speak continued to be well illustrated during the Committee stage of the clause in the Lords, where since the general election, the Earl of Caithness has replaced Lord Skelmersdale as the environment spokesperson. The Earl of Caithness assured the Lords that: local authorities have a duty to provide a comprehensive library service: provided that this, and this only, is what they intend to do, there can be no question of the clause inhibiting them from stocking any book that they think necessary for that purpose.

Note well, I suggest, the words: 'this, and this only'. Lord Preston asked the minister:

is he saying ... no book will have to be withdrawn from a library? Secondly, may we be assured that no teacher, librarian or other local authority employee who is explicitly homosexual will ipso facto be in danger of being fired from his or her post as a result of the clause being passed into law? Is the minister able to give those assurances?

'No' said the minister.

the book and the teacher to which the noble lord referred may promote, by various means, the homosexuality which the clause is designed to ban. If the book in question is part of a range of other books on the shelves of a library in a school or of a local library, those are facts to be considered by an appropriate authority at the time.'<sup>(25)</sup>

Quite a few noble lords, such as Lord Annan attempted to argue that the clause was unnecessary:

The government remind me of a pompous headmaster who keeps the whole school in after lessons because some

'oiks' have flicked bread pellets at him during assembly. **The oiks in this case are the militants in the so-called gay liberation movement**, What they want is a first class row. They then want to parade their self-righteousness. Why oblige them?

So, for the sake of the majority, self-effacing, and no doubt self-oppressed homosexuals the minister is asked to think again. After all, continued Lord Annan, 'I believe that the number is six authorities out of 1,500' (which have promoted positive images)<sup>(26)</sup>. He had forgotten that the minister in the **other place** said that 'even one such council is one too many'.<sup>(27)</sup>

Without a strong socialist labour party there is not the remotest possibility of parliamentary change which recognises lesbian and gay liberation. Across the board, ad hoc single issue campaigns are fine for demos and rhetoric and though they may enhance our **feeling of sexual solidarity** they do little to develop the **reality of socialist strategy**. The commonalities of oppression through class, ethnicity, sex and sexuality need to be stressed. We should avoid unproductive **coalitions** with liberal privilege and develop socialist **alliances** for a transformation of society where choice is a reality for everyone.

The frustrations of parliamentary double-speak, hopefully, speaks for itself. During the committee stage of clause 28 in the Lords, The Earl of Caithness for the government said:

Some members of the Committee have said that the Government have changed their minds on the matter. I wish to make it absolutely clear that we have not changed our minds. If members of the Committee will read what was said at an earlier stage, they will see that our view has been entirely consistent throughout. My noble friend made it clear that the Government entirely support the **purpose** of the Bill proposed by the noble Earl, Lord Halsbury. That purpose is the same as that of the clause which we are now debating.<sup>(28)</sup>ie during the Halston Bill debate, December, 1986.

Of course what he clearly omitted was that the Government, twelve months ago, disagreed with the **means** of Halsbury's Bill, which they argued, presented 'a risk we cannot take'.

What then has changed during the past twelve months to make the government reconsider the means and adopt lock, stock and barrel Halsbury's nasty illiberal little bill? Michael Howard in the commons was as elusive as Caithness in the Lords. He said: 'those matters have given rise to widespread public concern'.<sup>(29)</sup> In other words, the Murdoch media machine has done its job.

Halsbury's bill was approved by the lords without a single division. Why the arts lobby therefore expended so much time and energy lobbying the lords during the passage of clause 28 is beyond belief. That the lobbying should, with but one exception, have been centred on pathetic, but dangerous amendments, is incomprehensible. Lord Ted Willis' amendment to delete clause 29 in its entirety should have been the only one worthy of support.

Thousands of lesbians and gays and their supporters who have been roused to political protest over clause 29 deserve more than the liberal ad hocery of the arts lobby and the Gay Life magazines's editorial in February:

if the amendment with the most chance of success in the Lords is one which defines promoting homosexuality in a clearer way enabling us to defend the status quo in the



courts then we have to unite behind that given that making any changes in the Lords still looks unlikely.

What a curious concept of logic! A concept I suspect that is the product of years of oppression which fosters a self-oppression that **pleads** for grudgingly-given tolerance rather than a determination to develop a strategy, demanding liberation. It is yet another example of the extent to which the whole social agenda has been jerked to the right by nearly ten years of Thatcherism, that increasingly the gay press is espousing the superficial but oppressive liberal analysis, peddled by the likes of Polly Toynbee who, without any foundation in fact asserted that: 'gay rights as a cause was dead once it had been **purloined** by the left from the liberal establishment'.<sup>(30)</sup> However ignorant of the facts Toynbee may be, writers for the gay press ought to have an awareness and understanding of the emergence and development of the modern lesbian and gay rights movement. The Labour left did not '**colonise**' the lesbian and gay movement as Paul Davies in *Capital Gay* claimed. On the contrary the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights (LCLGR) initiated and supported a number of strategies within the labour movement, during the early '80s, designed to increase awareness of the commonalities of the struggle facing different oppressed groups.

During the NUM's '84/'85 strike the Lesbians and Gays Support the Miners group, for example, as well as raising much needed cash for strikers, importantly raised awareness of each other's struggles and it was significant that the NUM actively supported the resolution on lesbian and gay rights at the 1985 Labour party national conference. It is incomprehensible why Paul Davies asserted in *Capital Gay*, that

many activists were too busy elsewhere chasing **rainbow coalitions** and rushing to support the struggles of straight white men against Mr. MacGregor and Mr. Murdoch during the early '80s when they should have been building a strong, non-sectarian gay and lesbian movement ... of conservative, socialist, liberal or non-party political people.

'The Livingstone vision of the oppressed' is dismissed without analysis as 'a Somewhere Over The Rainbow Coalition which offers little to the friends of Dorothy'. On the contrary it is his fantasy of a non-sectarian movement which lies at the end of a rainbow. A gay or lesbian socialist has nothing politically in common with a gay or lesbian Tory. There is neither the pragmatic nor logical basis for coalition. Perhaps Paul Davies needs to be reminded of which party is bolstering the backlash; which party is inflicting massive cuts in public expenditure forcing local authorities to withdraw services **including those for lesbians and gays**; which party moralises about AIDS while perversely underfunding medical research; which party operates racist immigration controls which affect lesbian and gays as much as anyone else, and so on.

In moments of crisis it is all too easy for theoretical analysis to be abandoned in favour of simplistic conclusions derived from superficial appearances. At a meeting of lesbian and gay education groups in January, the day after twelve thousand people demonstrated in London against the clause, ten people convened to discuss the way forward. From the start, voices were raised against political banners on lesbian and gay marches; suggestions made that our campaign distance itself from the Labour party to avoid **it** further embarrassment! And, if that were not enough, a Haringey equal opportunities officer thought it time we dropped the 'positive images' tag because it was becoming a bit of a liability!

Clause 29 is testimony to the success of the socialist strategy for lesbian and gay liberation. The anarchistic and localised influences of the gay liberation front of the early '70s gave rise to the modern lesbian and gay socialist movement which is working for a transformation of society not an accommodation with it. Lesbian and gay liberation is theoretically and practically a totally different and separate enterprise from the bourgeois civil rights campaign for equality. In a society which is typified by massive inequalities structured by class, ethnicity and sexuality such a campaign is indeed a rainbow coalition!

Gay liberation is not, therefore, 'purloined' or 'colonised' by the left **it is integral to it**. Our involvement with municipal socialism is open to analysis and debate **within the marxist tradition** but it would never produce the bourgeois conclusion that Davies offered when he wrote that 'in a sense, we are caught in the cross-fire of the battle between an authoritarian government and rebellious local authorities'.<sup>(32)</sup> There is no cross-fire; the right are firing directly to halt our campaigning advances. The right may preach a great deal about the **naturalness** of the family, the **British** way of life, but they know only too well that it is not **natural enough** to survive without a persistent and pervasive indoctrination programme aimed at the family and school. **Once we began to penetrate the family via the school** an organised backlash was **inevitable** and **unavoidable**.

The backlash has to be seen within the context of the pervasiveness of classism, racism and heterosexism, **not** as a grotesque blot in an otherwise egalitarian society. Our strategy remains unchanged; our immediate task must be to win widespread support throughout the labour movement, attacking the clause rather than letting it attack us. Recriminalisation of homosexuality may well be the next move; we should be making sure that we are strong enough to deter the attempt even being made.

### Labour Party Conference Composite 26 1985

*This conference opposes all discrimination against lesbians and gay men and recognises that this discrimination is institutionalised in society. Conference notes that existing Labour Party policy with regard to homosexuality fails to meet the legitimate demands of lesbians and gay men and that a consistent and principled campaign conducted over a number of years is necessary to reverse that failure.*

*Conference therefore:*

1) *Instructs the NEC to draft a Lesbian and Gay Rights Policy which would specifically:*

a. *declare that lesbian and gay relationships and acts are not contrary to the public policy of the law and that judges must not use their discretion under Common Law to invent new and discriminatory offences:*

b. *repeal all criminal laws which discriminate against lesbians and gay men, and clarify and codify those sections of Common Law which deal with 'Public Morality'.*

c. *in this clarification they should be guided by the maxim that 'there should be no crimes without victims'.*

d. *prohibit discrimination against lesbians and gay men in child custody cases.*

e. *prohibit discrimination and unfair dismissal on grounds in any way connected with lesbian and gay sexuality or life-style,*

f. *prevent police harassment of lesbians and gay men.*

2) *calls upon all Labour local authorities to adopt practices and policy to prevent discrimination against lesbians and gay*

men, and in particular:

- a. adopt and enforce equal opportunities in relation to lesbians and gay men along the same lines as Islington, Hackney, GLC, Manchester, Brent, and Nottingham;
- b. end discrimination against single people and lesbians and gay men in housing policies;
- c. support financially and otherwise special lesbian and gay phone lines, centres and youth groups;
- d. publicise these anti-discrimination policies.

3) instructs the NEC to:

- a. organise a campaign of education among Labour Party/trade union membership on lesbian and gay oppression in conjunction with the Labour Campaign for Lesbian and Gay Rights;
- b. produce a leaflet for public campaign using the slogan 'the Labour Party supports lesbians and gay rights — join the Labour Party'.

4) Instructs the NEC to set up a sub-committee to organise the implementation of this policy.

### **Composite 57 1986**

This conference notes that the 1985 Annual Party Conference adopted a policy:

- a) Instructing the National Executive Committee to draft a lesbian and gay rights policy on the basis specified in the resolution;
- b) Calling on all Labour local authorities and Labour groups to adopt and implement the policy to prevent discrimination against lesbians and gay men and to support campaigns launched to further and defend the rights of lesbians and gay men;
- c) Instructing the National Executive Committee to campaign publicly and among Labour Party and trade union members to increase awareness of the oppression of lesbians and gay men, and of Labour Party policy on this question.

Conference reaffirms this policy and calls for a clear commitment to legislation on the lines of the policy to be part of the Labour Party manifesto for the next election.

Conference regrets that, in spite of the policy adopted at the 1985 Annual Party Conference, some Labour-controlled local authorities have actively rejected inclusion of lesbians and gay men in their equal opportunities policies, while others have taken no action.

Conference therefore instructs the National Executive to mount a public campaign to:

- i) further and defend the rights of lesbians and gay men;
- ii) take vigorous steps to make clear to the public the policy of the Labour Party on lesbian and gay rights;
- iii) campaign to educate Labour Party and trade union members on this policy;
- iv) survey Labour controlled authorities to find out which have and which have not adopted policy and taken action on lesbian and gay rights;
- v) publicise policies adopted and action taken by those authorities who have acted upon this policy, and urge Labour groups on other authorities to take action on similar lines.

### **REFERENCES AND NOTES**

- 1 Kent-Baguley, P. 'Is Being Gay Okay?' **Youth & Policy**, No. 14, Autumn 1985
- 2 Livingstone, K. **Changing the world: A London charter for gay & lesbian rights** G.L.C., 1985.
- 3 Kent-Baguley, P. **Lesbian & Gay Socialist Magazine**, Winter 1985.
- 4 Wyatt, W. **News of the World** 9/11/86
- 5 D.E.S. Briefing 288/86, 7.11.86.
- 6 Tebbit, N. St James Church, Piccadilly, London, 9.4.86 (Cons. Central Office ref 199/86)
- 7 Tebbit, N. 1986 Conservative Party Conference, 7/10/86 (Cons. Central Office Ref 544/86)
- 8 Baker, K. 1986 Conservative Party Conference 7/10/86 (Cons. Central Office Ref. 545/86)
- 9 Livingstone, K. **Hansard** 15.12.87 col: 1010
- 10 Cant, B. **Outcome**, 1980
- 11 Harlsbury, The Earl Of **Hansard (Lords)** 18.12.86, col: 310
- 12 Campbell, Lord of Alloway **Hansard (Lords)** 18.12.86, col 313
- 13 Cox, Baroness **Hansard (Lords)** 18.12.86, col: 320
- 14 Skelmersdale, Lord **Hansard (Lords)** 18.12.86; col: 336
- 15 Ibid
- 16 Ibid
- 17 Cunningham, J. **Hansard** Commons Standing Committee 'A' 8.12.87, col: 1211. (CSC'A')
- 18 Howard, M. **Hansard**, 15.12.87, col:1020
- 19 Roberts A. **Hansard**, CSC'A' 8.12.87, col: 1206
- 20 Campbell of Alloway, Lord. **Hansard (Lords)** 18.12.86, col:327.
- 21 Livingstone, K. **Hansard**, 15.12.87, col 1010.
- 22 Smith, C. **Hansard**, 15.12.87, col 1007
- 23 Smith, C. Ibid
- 24 Howard, M. **Hansard** 15.12.87, col 1023
- 25 Preston, Lord and Caithness, Earl of **Hansard, (Lords)** 1.2.88, cols:891/2
- 26 Annan, Lord **Hansard (Lords)** 1.2.88, col 894
- 27 Howard, M. **Hansard**, (CSC'A') 8.12.87 col 1209
- 28 Caithness, Earl of **Hansard (Lords)** 1.2.88, col: 893
- 29 Howard, M. **Hansard**, 15.12.87, col 1021
- 30 Toynbee, P. **The Guardian**, 14/1/88
- 31 Davies, P. **Capital Gay** No 328 12.2.88
- 32 Ibid.

# popular racism, unpopular education

PHIL COHEN

## Multi-culturalism and the Enlightenment model

The most popularly held theory about racism amongst teachers and youth workers is that it is caused by ignorance or irrational fear reinforced by various stereotypes of prejudice.<sup>(1)</sup> Thus it is widely believed that immigrants or ethnic minorities are made the scapegoats for material and social problems because the real causes are not seen or understood by the more culturally and socially deprived sections of the white working class. The answer then appears to lie in more and better education. In one version the learning of the real historical facts about colonialism and the application of reasoned arguments to understand the true causes of unemployment, is designed to lead students to recognise that black and white people face many of the same problems. The second main approach stresses the importance of direct experiential learning about 'other' (ie non-european) cultures to break down stereotypes and promote greater tolerance of diversity in society. Although the two methods are different they are complimentary strategies of 'enlightenment' and in many schools and youth projects both are being used in various combinations.

The appeal of this model is obvious. Education is placed in the front line of the battle against racist ideas. Unfortunately that does not in itself guarantee success. Objections to this strategy have been increasingly voiced and many of them have proven well founded. For example the left/rationalist position assumes that racism is primarily a doctrine or belief system which is falsely premised, and can be punctured by the application of a superior logic. However popular racism does not work in this way. Its appeal is precisely that it makes 'imaginative sense' of common predicaments. It is a practical, behavioural ideology, rooted in everyday cultural practices and does not require theoretical legitimation or institutional support to become popular. It has a logic of its own. Moreover rationalist pedagogies imply academic methods of instruction, which many working class students already resist. Social studies lessons on race relations spell instant boredom for this group. The liberal/experiential version of multi-culturalism is designed to overcome this problem but runs into similar difficulties. It assumes that ideology, - defined as a set of imaginary constructs or stereotypes, can be separated from and dissolved by 'real experience' which is the direct imprint of sense impressions on conscious attitudes. However ideologies work precisely by constructing experience in particular, largely unconscious ways. It is by organising certain structures of feeling and language that racism becomes 'common sense'. As a result visits to the local Sikh Gurdwara or a twin school in the West Indies may be enjoyable experiences for any number of reasons, but they may still provide grist to the mill of the racist imagination

unless these structures are also confronted 'en route'.

One conclusion, or rather starting point from this is that popular racism cannot be tackled by simply giving young people access to alternative sources of experience, or new means of intellectual understanding. Rather it is a question of articulating their lived cultures to **new practices of representation**, which makes it possible to sustain an imaginative sense of social identity and difference without recourse to racist construction.

## The Hidden Agenda of Middle Class Racism

Teachers who define racism as the effect of ignorance or stupidity also tend to apply a deficit model to working class cultures as a whole. Their general view is that 'these kids' don't know any better than to be racist because their parents and peers have not equipped them with the intellectual or experiential resources to think differently about difference. White middle class culture in contrast is often held to embody all the virtues of tolerance, understanding and appreciation for diversity, lacking elsewhere. Teaching against racism is thus conceived as part of a wider civilising mission to the working classes.

It is in and through this very construction that a specifically middle class form of racism is being mobilised - that is, a racism centred on an ideology of innate intelligence and natural aptitude, and the congenital lack of these qualities on the part of those 'less fortunately' endowed.<sup>(2)</sup> In adopting what they take to be an anti-racist position, these teachers are in fact simply redirecting their middle class racism from black to white working class students. This in turn tends to produce a curious double standard in teachers perceptions of racism in the classroom. They are highly sensitised to the possibility of racist innuendo in the behaviour of those working class pupils especially boys who are regarded as 'trouble' in other contexts, whilst they are far more permissive of no less racist attitudes of middle class pupils and girls, who are viewed in any case as 'sensible'.

The hidden agenda of middle class racism is institutionalised within many aspects of educational policy and practice. It tends to underwrite the view that racism is merely a residue of Britain's Imperial past, and will slowly 'wither away' in time. This conveniently glosses over the fact that new forms of racism have emerged in the post war period, that they have played a central role in organising state policies, and that they are supported actively or passively, by wide sections of British white society<sup>(3)</sup>. Not only is the extent of the problem minimised, but it leads to 'solutions' which merely perpetuate it.



Thus for example it has produced social studies courses based on a kind of whig interpretation of history in which Britain is held to have progressed from the barbarity of slavery to the civilised state of contemporary race relations, largely through the efforts of enlightened colonial administrators and far-seeing white politicians! Such courses may be largely a thing of the past, but there is still a widespread view amongst the older generation of teachers that it is enough to purge school text-books of their racist residues, to remove the traces of the colonial mentality and cut out the negative stereotypes in order to produce a multi-cultural curriculum.

This hidden agenda possibly surfaces most dangerously in the way it constructs 'ethnicity' as a property associated with subordinate and non-European cultures. 'Ethnicity' is what has increasingly come to define the distinctiveness of that 'other England' which is **not** part of the white professional and managerial class. Multi-culturalism celebrates this ethnicity as an educational resource, precisely by fixing the history of Asian or Afro-Caribbean communities in a chronic mould without questioning the structures which confine them to separate and subordinate positions within the British class structure, or recognising the struggles which are taking place to change it.

Our conclusion therefore is that it is necessary to adopt a quite different approach and one which takes as one of its central aims the need to challenge the educational forms in which middle class racism is currently enshrined.

### **Positive Action And Normative Images**

The critique of multi-culturalism, particularly by black teachers and researchers has led increasingly to the adoption of an explicitly anti-racist perspective centred on a programme of positive action. Through recruitment and promotion of more black teachers, a change in language and other curricular policies, the outlawing of all expressions of racial prejudice it is hoped to tackle the whole apparatus of racial discrimination in school and ensure equality of opportunity for all students<sup>4)</sup> Undoubtedly this policy represents an important advance in the official thinking. Yet it is not without its problematic aspects which mainly stem from the fact that the policy is trying to kill two very different birds with the same stone. The same set of measures is being used to tackle the dominant form of racism institutionalised at the level of the hidden curriculum, as it is being deployed against the subordinate forms which operate through pupil cultures. Clearly these are two very different levels of intervention. Mother tongue teaching and the employment of black teachers in senior positions, may have a positive effect on the educational performance of black pupils, but a quite separate initiative is needed to get white pupils to see these developments in a positive light, let alone identify with black teachers as role models. If it is hard for education authorities to recognise this issue, it is because it points towards a politically unacceptable solution, namely the construction of separate provision for black and white pupils. Yet if the problem is not recognised, and dealt with in some way, the effectiveness of anti-racist education is undermined.

The issue is highlighted by the type of teaching strategies which have evolved in the context of positive action. These are largely normative/prescriptive in approach, and seek to promote a positive image of ethnic minorities as well as prohibiting negative images. The success of the normative model depends not only on the moral authority of the teacher, but on a high degree of consensus being obtained in the school as a whole.

Unfortunately there is a considerable divergence of opinion as to what constitutes a positive or negative image, even within the black community itself. Perhaps not surprisingly educationalists tend to prefer images of black achievement which can be correlated with academic success - lawyers, doctors, scientists, artists, entrepreneurs and the like. If the aim of positive action is to sponsor increased social mobility and create an enlarged black middle class, then clearly this is a highly appropriate choice of normative imagery. The critics of this line argue that it ignores the limits on mobility imposed by the class structure, refers only to a minority within the ethnic minority - those who make it - and endorses values of competitive individualism which belong to western capitalist society, but are no part of black culture. Instead they privilege images of grass roots struggle, especially those generated by the cultures of resistance to racism in which young men - and increasingly women - have played a leading role. The aim here is to counteract the negative connotations of deviance and criminality which the mass media have associated with black young people, and promote a more positive reading focussing on their vanguard position in the struggle for social justice in particular their front line defence of the community against both state and street racism. The educationalists argue in turn that the roots radicals tend to romanticise marginality and alienation and to reinforce the negative stereotype of black people as an 'under class'.

The view taken here is that it is not enough to replace negative stereotypes with positive ones, whether of individual achievement or collective militancy. Rather there is a need to widen the space of representation for a **plurality** of ideals and aspirations to be affirmed, whilst at the same time recognising the possible contradictions between them, and the reality principles which set the limits and conditions of actual struggles. It should be feasible to acknowledge the presence of divisions within and between ethnic communities, whether based on religion, class, gender or generation, without reinforcing them and whilst also pinpointing the sources of unity or alliance which do or could exist.

From an educational standpoint, it is important here to compare the experiences of Asian and Afro-Caribbean communities in post-war Britain with that of the Irish and Jewish communities in earlier periods, to draw out both the similarities and the differences. This in turn means avoiding an over narrow definition of racism which restricts it to colour prejudice and excludes anti-semitism or anti-Irish feeling from the remit of concern.<sup>5)</sup>

For of course, many white young people who are hostile towards their black peers are themselves of Irish, Jewish or other European ethnic minority origin. Such contradictions will not be dissolved by abstract appeals to unity. In so far as the prescriptive approach fails to engage with these more complex realities in favour of a one-dimensional insistence on normative ideals, it actively inhibits the development of a genuinely anti-racist perspective.

### **Racism as Resistance to schooling**

The starting point of anti-racist education is that the main problem facing ethnic minorities is racism in its various forms. Black students do not need any more lessons about racism whereas white students most definitely do. It is increasingly argued that if purely educational (i.e. multi-cultural) means fail, and students persist in racist practices then they must be taught a lesson in a purely disciplinary sense. For a school to adopt an anti-racist policy is to explicitly

signal that no display of racist sentiment of whatever kind from jokes to graffiti, to verbal and physical attack, will be tolerated, and the offenders will be punished according to the gravity of the incident. In that way the school communicates to the black community its commitment to the fight against racism.

However at the level of everyday practice, racism remains essentially a matter of classroom discipline, albeit one which now takes on a new political saliency. Unfortunately, in so far as it does so, it tends to mobilise existing strategies of resistance to authority which are organised through a school counter culture in which white working class pupils are already over represented. As a result the various kinds of 'guerilla warfare' which are waged against classroom discipline get connected up to racist practices. In its most benign form the teacher may be subject to racist 'windups' with pupils exaggerating their own feelings and beliefs simply in order to provoke a response. If the teacher treats it seriously as a disciplinary matter, then s/he is shown up as someone who can't take a joke. If s/he ignores it then the pupil has 'got away with it'. Far worse, the idioms of popular racism, which are already in circulation within white working class communities may become the primary medium of expression of an anti-school position, which is then actively re-inforced by certain types of youth culture, and on occasion, by racist youth organisation. These may only be minority reactions, but they do a disproportionate amount of damage to race relations in the school and they seem likely to intensify at least in the short run, in the context of programmes of positive action.<sup>(6)</sup>

The more usual response however is simply to 'play it cool'. Pupils give an outward display of conformity, refraining from making racist remarks in the classrooms whilst inwardly maintaining the same racist position, which is then openly expressed as soon as the teacher's back is turned. In our research<sup>(7)</sup> we found many examples of this response, which we came to call 'Jekyll and Hyde' racism. This is distinct from though related to a more traditional pattern of split perception whereby personal or cultural exceptions are made to racist rules, according to the formula 'some of my best friends are blacks' or 'black music is great but Pakis stink'. Some white pupils, usually those with a middle class orientation, tend to adopt a 'laissez faire' attitude, proclaiming their tolerance of the black presence, in so far as it is not perceived to threaten their own privileges and will therefore appear much more supportive of anti-racist initiatives. Finally, in schools where, for whatever reason, relations between black and white pupils have been relatively 'cooled out', there may be a secondary displacement effect in which racist banter comes to dominate interactions between different ethnic minority groups - for example between Asian and Afro-Caribbean, or between Cypriot and Vietnamese. This may not link to structural racism in the same way, but it seems to be an increasing problem of classroom management in many multi-ethnic schools in the inner city.

The attempt to censor the expression of popular racism through normative and disciplinary means thus encounters a series of resistances which produce a number of unintended counter effects. Racism may be silenced in one context only to reappear in an even more virulent form in another; various strategies of racist disavowal may be mobilised and silent racism may continue to rule OK. Multi-racial friendships within the school counter culture may be actually inhibited whereas 'normally' black and white young people may share similar attitudes and practices of resistance to school

authority. This 'return of the repressed' is a much more serious problem in the long term for the anti-racist initiative, than any immediate white backlash against positive action programmes. The situation is further complicated by the fact that the spectrum of pupil response, from overt resistance to more subtle forms of dissociation, can be correlated with class differences and thus associated with levels of educational attainment in a way which endorses the double standard of teacher perception, and the class racism on which it rests.

The answer is not to abandon the initiative, but to strengthen it by developing an approach to popular racism which minimises these secondary effects. It is necessary to construct educational settings in which it is possible for pupils to recognise and work through their feelings and beliefs about various ethnic groups, without being censored and punished, whilst at the same time, outside this special environment in the school at large, racist practices remain a disciplinary offence.

### **Race, Class and Gender - Towards an Alternative Model**

Behind many recent initiatives aimed at achieving greater equality of opportunity lies the assumption that racism, patriarchy and class divisions operate in similar ways and reinforce one another.<sup>(7)</sup> To weaken one form of inequality, it is argued, is also to undermine the others; educational methods developed in one context (e.g. anti-sexism) can thus be applied to parallel initiatives elsewhere (e.g. anti-racism). Against this I would argue that important though it is to fight on all three fronts these are separate ideological battles, which have to be waged according to different strategies and in the knowledge that advances in one sector do not necessarily have a 'knock-on' effect, and indeed may make a reverse impact. The relationship between race, class and gender is not a fixed, external, correspondence between homologous structures of difference and domination, mutually reinforcing one another. Rather it is one of shifting internal articulation between specific discourses and technologies of power, producing uneven and indeed contradictory effects.

For example, on one social content sexist imagery adds further injuries to the repertoire of racist insults; yet in another setting the same terms may unite white and black boys in a 'multi-cultural' celebration of mach norms, and in common resistance to anti-sexist initiatives. More positively the shared experience of boys' sexism may bring black and white girls closer together, and this alliance may shift the latter's attitude on race. Finally the sexual double standard may get translated into a racial one, in which Afro-Caribbean cultures are positively associated with masculine and proletarian values, whereas Asian cultures are despised as 'effeminate' and 'petty bourgeois'.

Just as the meaning of a given practice of racist representation varies according to the class and gender constructs which it articulates, so the reception of the anti-racist message is 'over-determined' by the same variables in its contexts of transmission. For example, if a black teacher disciplines a white pupil for a racist remark, that action implicitly relays a message from outside the classroom itself - to the effect that the black community, which the teacher represents, will not passively stand by and tolerate racial abuse, but will use whatever power it can command to defend itself and prevent further attacks. However if the teacher happens to be a woman and the pupil is male, here disciplinary intervention is likely to be read in quite a



different way - as that of a mother telling off a naughty child - and it may be resisted in terms of a patriarchal rather than a racist positioning. If however the teacher is also white, the intervention is much more likely to be decoded by the pupil in class terms, as the expression of an arbitrary state power, which is 'siding with the blacks' against 'us'.

Such complex, lived dialectics of race, class and gender are part of the everyday experience of teaching in multi-ethnic, inner city, co-educational schools, but they are no less present, though more submerged, in the culture of white schools serving rural areas. To deal with them adequately requires a more finely tuned set of practices, which can be adapted sensitively to a wide range of contexts and groups. Yet in turn it demands a more sophisticated model of racism, and its different inflections. In particular we need to be able to define its specificity more clearly (i.e. what distinguishes racism from sexism, or ethnocentrism or nationalism) and to locate its principles of articulation to these other discourses in terms of its mode of insertion within the wider ideological formation of British society.

Recent theoretical developments have made this task somewhat less daunting<sup>(8)</sup>

The corner stone of the new theory is that the emergence of racism as a distinct ideology type is linked historically and structurally with the problematic inheritance in the transition from feudalism to capitalism. 'Race' replaces generation, as an imaginary biological principle of cultural patrimony at the point where real relations of inheritance begin to lose their political and economic purchase on the social structure. Feudal genealogies, whether biblical or dynastic, are no longer able to fix the link between social origins and destinies within the more fluid and dynamic system of class relations. Racism constitutes a new image of the body politic, polarised between positions of moral and physical degeneration, associated with excluded 'subject races' and positions of perfect regeneration from which the 'master race' reproduces its exclusive claim to rule. The ideology thus actively adapts feudal and capitalist forms of representation to one another, while playing out their contradictions in relation to non-European peoples.

This view reverses the conventional line of argument about the origins and functions of racism. It is no longer something first invented by slave traders or plantation owners to justify their actions in the colonies, and only subsequently 'brought home' and applied to ethnic minorities in Britain. Rather its essential idioms are first generated from certain strategic discourses within English class society and are then applied to external sites of colonial domination. In other words, anglo-saxon racism is not something tacked on to the ideological formation of this society by virtue of imperial adventures; it is **constitutive** of the English way of life and from the outset is applied as much to the indigenous 'lower orders', as to 'natives' from the colonies or ethnic minority immigrants.

Recent historical research has focussed on uncovering the strategic forms of this 'internal' class racism.<sup>(9)</sup> Three main codes have been distinguished:

- a) the aristocratic code of breeding, which emerged in the late 17th century and which linked notions of social pedigree and ancestral blood to a hierarchy of 'human sensibilities'
- b) a bourgeois/democratic variant, which gave the code of breeding a pseudo scientific reading, emphasising

hierarchies of individual achievement, based on inherited differences in intelligence and natural aptitude

- c) a proletarian code centered on an inheritance of labour powers mediated through rules and rituals of territoriality.

In so far as racist ideologies have a history, and are not just 'the same old story' it is a history of negotiations between these rival codes. The different ways in which different ethnic minority groups are misrepresented in different times and places is thus primarily a function of their changing position within this ideological field and has **nothing** to do with their own real circumstances. Where these three codes do converge to establish a class consensus, it is in articulating a popular, romantic nationalism, hinged on a historical image of the free-born Englishman.

The code of breeding by definition, connects racism to normative images of sexuality and reproduction. Those who imagine themselves to possess 'breeding' precisely differentiate themselves from those who 'breed like rabbits' in these terms. In the 19th century this took an active political form. The eugenics movement was part of a wider strategy of population control aimed at the more effective policing of the working class city, regarded as a 'breeding ground' of vice and crime. Immigration policies directed against Jewish, Irish and black settlement followed the same pattern. Equally it was the popular appeal of patriarchal ideals of family and community life, which decisively restricted notions of 'kith and kin' to a 'nationalism of the neighbourhood' in a way which gave an overtly racist inflection to the sense of being working class 'born and bred'. Thus the 'freeborn Englishman' was also a family and a working man and this chain of associations was central to making racism common sense.

The contradiction of popular racism is that it invites working class young people to assume an imaginary position of mastery through the very discourse which simultaneously constructs their subjection, as lacking all the positive properties of 'breeding' (taste, intelligence, self-control). In doing so it places them in the same position as ethnic minorities, whilst simultaneously blocking any recognition of shared predicament. This contradiction is enacted through a variety of youth-cultural practices, especially stylistic ones. Yet these street practices necessarily have to engage with an alternative 'body politics' which has been produced by black youth as a culture of resistance to state racism, and in so doing opening up a space for anti-racist interventions.

This analysis not only provides a means of locating the popular culture of racism historically, but indicates some possible lines of attack against its 'weak links'. This in turn can help provide a set of organising principles for an anti-racist pedagogy which operates closer in to the problem.

### Re-thinking Cultural Studies

The strength of cultural studies is the way it promotes a 'bottom up' rather than 'top down' model of educational processes and social change. In principle it offers an important resource for girls and ethnic minority students as a means of cultural affirmation, one which strengthens their resistance to sexism and racism in school. Yet that same methodology applied to white working class boys may have precisely the opposite effect in so far as it simply offers them space for the cultural expression of popular prejudice.

Until very recently this problem had not been tackled; cultural studies remained profoundly ethnocentric in its



conceptions and concerns. This was mainly due to the legacy of the 'Eng. Lit.' tradition out of which it evolved in the 1960s. The introduction of Marxist or structuralist methods at first did little to change the picture. For example Raymond Williams' work is as ethnocentric as Richard Hoggart's. It is historical research focussed on the complex class negotiations which have constituted a national popular culture, but takes little account of the fact that since at least the 18th century Britain has been a multi-ethnic society.

Much of this is now changing, historians are uncovering the roots of Anglo-Saxon racism and recovering the past of the black community in Britain. Black critics have appropriated the new methods of textual analysis and used them to scrutinise the traditional 'humanities' models which have dominated British intellectual life, and in particular the educational system. At a more practical level the cultural policies of the GLC supported an explosion of ethnic community arts programmes whilst the advent of Rock Against Racism and the Anti-Nazi League opened up a new style of youth culture, politics whose influence continues to be felt. As a result of these and other influences cultural studies is being reshaped and given a new context and content. It is now necessary to consolidate that process by developing a cultural studies curriculum which is appropriate for anti-racist education and youth work.

In fact, cultural studies already possesses a set of methods which can contribute significantly to the development of anti-racist work. These methods centre on procedures of critical reading and textual interpretation applied to a wide range of cultural forms and practices, including, most importantly those generated by students themselves in the course of project work. Cultural studies teachers have devised a number of ways of getting students to 'read between the lines', to recognise the hidden messages, not only in the mass media but in their own productions without having to rely on academic methods of instruction.<sup>(10)</sup>

There is no question here of simply 'deconstructing' the dominant culture whilst uncritically celebrating cultures of resistance. The 'hidden persuaders' to be found in the discourses of class and ethnic militancy should be no less scrutinised than the propaganda for consumer capitalism offered by advertising or T.V. The aim must be to sensitise young people and indeed make them allergic to any form of stereotyping which reduces the felt complexities of their lives to a one dimensional representation. This is not however to fall back to some 'liberal' position of Olympian 'value-free' detachment from the ideological fray. For the aim is precisely to elicit and give expression to cultural materials which resist or are repressed by racist discourses, to restore these missing dimensions of meaning to their rightful place in the hierarchy of really useful knowledge. This aim applies to both black and white youth, although it will need to be realised in different ways with each group. It surely is as important for black students to be able to recognise the points where racist discourses have succeeded in penetrating and distorting their own frames of self-reference, as it is for white children to glimpse what is suppressed or displaced in their culture by its racist articulation.

Thus in contrast to the normative/prescriptive model, cultural studies sets out to open up and bring to the surface the more hidden dimensions of popular racism, to take apart its 'common sense' in and through an educational framework which simultaneously releases and strengthens alternative practices of representation. And, in contrast to both

rationalist and empiricist pedagogies, it seeks to devise new ways of engaging with the unconscious logics which preside over the 'deep structure' of racist feeling and beliefs.

In insisting that cultural studies is not so much a curriculum area, as a teaching method, I am arguing for its inclusion as a central element of whole school policies. Here I believe its special contribution lies in the way this approach can help build bridges between multi-cultural and anti-racist perspectives.<sup>(11)</sup> There is indeed a growing recognition from all sides in the current debate, that neither of these initiatives in themselves has proved adequate to the scale and complexity of the problem. Nor is some simple or passive synthesis between them possible. Instead we need to implement a policy commitment to the educational advancement of black and working class communities in a way which gives greater recognition to the complex forms of cultural negotiations which exist between them for these have their own role to play in attacking the roots of popular prejudice. No one is pretending that under prevailing conditions carry such a project is likely to prove easy to range through but as I have found there is no shortage of teachers and youth workers who, given the encouragement, will take up the challenges.

#### FOOTNOTES

- 1) From a survey of 250 teachers and youth workers carried out in 1985.
- 2) See R Lewontin et al 'Bourgeois Ideology and the origins of the biological determinism' in **Race and Class** 24 1982. Also N Bissert **Education, Class, Language and Ideology** London 1979
- 3) See the contributions to **The Empire Strikes Back** CCCS 1982
- 4) For a succinct summary of anti-racist policy as it has developed within education see G. Brandt, **The realisation of anti-racist teachers**. Falmer 1986.
- 5) On English antisemitism see S Cohen **That's funny you don't look antisemitic** 1986 on anti-Irish racism see L Curtis **Nothing but the same old story**, on the history of popular colour prejudice see P Fryer **Staying Power** 1984. On the danger of ethnocentric accounts of racism see N Rodinson **Cult, Ghetto, State**
- 6) For a case of racist prejudice amongst white working class boys see Phil Cohen **On the wrong side of the tracks** In **Contemporary Issues in Geography Education** 1987.
- 7) A good example of this kind of conflation is to be found in Brittan & Maynard **Sexism, Racism and Oppression** 1984 and ILEA **Guidelines on Race, Sex and Class** 1983
- 8) The major theoretical advance in defining racial prejudice as a distinctive type of ideology, is to be found in the work of Daniel Sibony. See 'Quelques Remarques sur L'affet Racial' in Macchiocchi (ed) **Elements Pour une Analyse de Facisme** Paris 1981.
- 9) An internal analysis of the history of Anglo-Saxon racism can be found in the work of M Hechter **Internal Colonialism in the British Isles** in Berkley 1975, and D Lorimer **Colour, Class and the Victorians** 1978. It is developed further in Phil Cohen **The Perversions of Inheritance** in Cohen and Bains **Multi-Racist Britain** (In Press).
- 10) The development of cultural studies as an academic discipline is best followed in the work of the Centre for contemporary Cultural Studies. See the account by Stuart Hall in **Culture Media Language** 1980. For its development as a teaching method with working class children see **Cultural studies in Schools** Cockpit 1985. For an attempt to construct an alternative model of cultural studies work see the material produced by the 'No Kidding' project at the Post 16 Centre Institute of education London.
- 11) This approach is currently being developed in a series of pilot projects with Primary Schools and the youth service. This work is currently funded by the Hilden, Sir John Cass, Baring and Gulbenkian Foundations.

# crime and delinquency in the inner city: a research note on attitudes

DAVID M. SMITH & FRANCES COHEN

The 1980s have seen a convergence of political and academic concern upon the issue of 'Law and Order'. The 1987 election campaign has seen the control of crime come to the forefront of the political debate. Whilst crime control has usually featured in Conservative manifestos (as in 1979 and 1983) the parties are now vying with one another for the title of party of 'Law and Order'. However, concern about crime is not just an 'election' issue. The debate relates to an underlying genuine concern about the worsening crime figures overall, and especially about crime and disorder in the inner city, and is mirrored in the academic debates within criminology.

On the Right, politicians, supported by some academics, see the problem arising from what Kerridge (1987) calls rebellion as orthodoxy, from permissiveness and from failure to respect authority either in the form of the state or the family (Riley and Shaw, 1985, Mayhew et al, 1976). When Mrs. Thatcher speaks of 'Victorian Values' she appears to mean acquiescence to the authority of the State and of the family. On the Left, supported by their academics, the problem is seen more as a manifestation of responses to anti-democratic tendencies in the context of despair, despair about unemployment, the police and community controls (Young and Matthews, 1986, Lea and Young, 1984).

The legacy of both academic debate and political band-waggoning has been to locate the 'problem' of 'inner city' youth in the context of 'inner city' crime. The pressure to extend YTS in breadth and length is as much to do with social control as it is to do with massaging employment statistics (Youthaid 1985, Ross, 1987). There is a real fear of crime on the part of politicians, which some victimology studies say reflects the real fears of some residents (Hough and Mayhew, 1983, Kinsey 1984, Jones et al 1986, Jones et al 1987). We are, by all accounts, in the middle of a moral panic about crime which colours policy and to some extent practice for inner city youth.

Victimology studies have performed a valuable service in demonstrating the 'hidden figure' of crime, but in doing so, they may have contributed to the moral panic. As Young (1988) argues, crime is a subjective phenomenon. It depends on a social definition. So objective evidence from self-report studies in an area does not mean that its residents see it as a high crime area nor does it mean, necessarily, that they have a high fear of crime - at least not until or unless they read the latest victim survey.

## Is crime a problem?

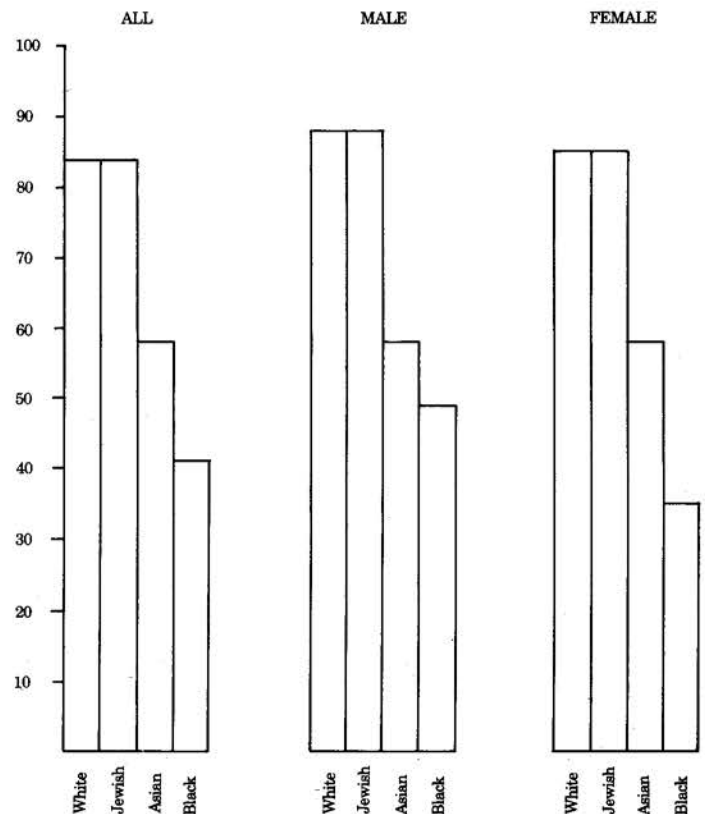
In this article we report some of the findings of a recent survey about attitudes to crime of adults living in an inner city area of North London. The results are based on a quota sample of

192 adults and were completed in the first half of 1987. The sample quotas were based on age, gender and ethnicity and respondents were asked about both their conception of crime as a problem in their local area and who they perceived as being responsible. The ethnic categories used are self-evident and are those used by the local authority for its own purposes. In every case ethnically compatible interviewers were used.

Respondents were first asked whether or not they regarded crime and delinquency as a problem in their local area. The area in question is a relatively stable area of North London with a reputation for a certain amount of crime. Not surprisingly, therefore, the majority did see crime and delinquency as a problem. However, when respondents were distinguished according to their ethnic groupings we find some interesting differences in their attitudes to crime. Whilst 85.42% of both the white and Jewish communities saw crime as a problem, this figure fell to 58.33% for the Asian community and to as little as 41.67% for the Black adult population (Histogram 1).

### HISTOGRAM 1

Crime and delinquency is a problem around here



Much of the recent discussion on crime has centred on the danger to women. Interestingly, our findings show that, consistently across all ethnic groups, women express themselves as being less likely to see crime and delinquency as a problem than are men (Histogram 1). Although we asked about crime and delinquency, the vast majority of all respondents saw the local 'crime' problem as a problem of youthful deviance. It may well be, therefore, that these respondents do not see themselves as being especially at threat from the particular crimes which typify their area.

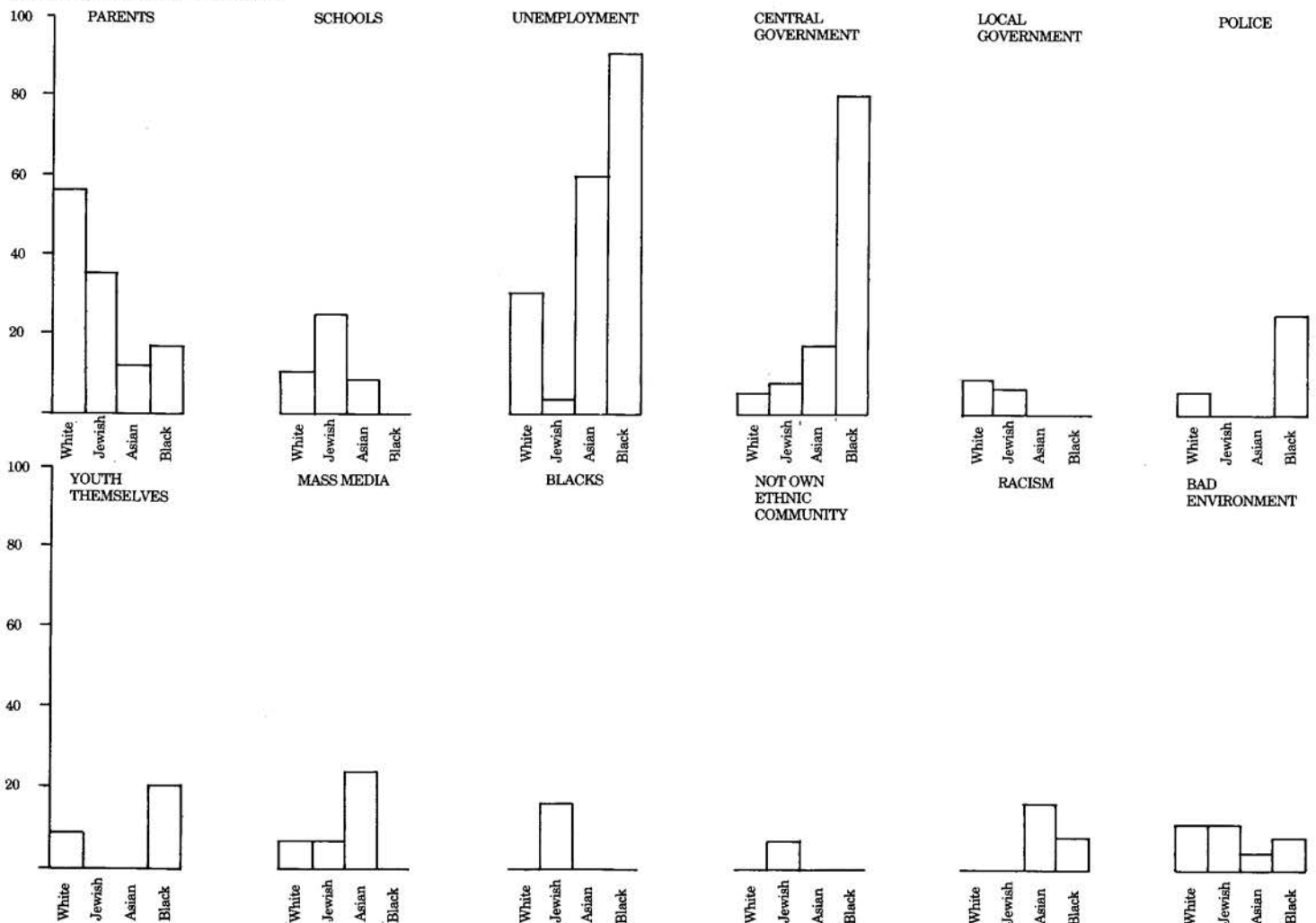
**Who is to blame?**

We asked our respondents who they felt were to blame for the problem of crime and delinquency in their neighbourhood. Once again, there were dramatic differences by ethnic group. White and Jewish respondents, for the most part, blamed the failure of values and discipline, either by the parents or/ and by the schools (Histogram 2). 65.85% of white adults blamed either parents or schools, along with 51.22% of Jewish adults, compared with a mere 17.86% of Asian adults and only 15.00% of black adults. All communities placed more blame at the hands of the parents than at the hands of the schools. These attitudes, predominantly white, underpin the popularity of a return to 'Victorian Values'. Black adults were overwhelmingly likely to blame unemployment (90%) and/ as well as central government (75.00%). In the latter case, some of the replies were most vehement: I blame the government - the bastards! The Conservative Government; Maggie Thatcher makes it bad for them; They take everything from the poor. Asian (57.14%) and White (26.83%) respondents also saw unemployment as an important cause of crime, but

not Jewish (2.4%). This may well be because in Jewish communities, there is a tendency to send young people away for further study, a tendency exacerbated by high levels of unemployment. Apart from black people none of the other groups blamed the government to anything like the same extent, though the Asian community (14.29%) was next most likely to do so (Histogram 2). Hardly anyone blamed local government, despite numerous press attacks upon the local council in this borough. Where it was mentioned, it was so only by members of the white or Jewish communities. There is some suggestion of a black/white divide in the responses so far, with the white groups more likely to blame lack of parental and school discipline and the coloured groups more likely to blame the government and its policies, especially unemployment. However, there is no simple black/white divide. Although black respondents were much more likely to blame hostile policing (25.00%) with statements like the police cause trouble, and the police pick on youths, this is also given as a reason by some whites (4.88%). Only one respondent - who was white - referred to local government 'Lefties' stirring up anti-police feelings. It was also only the blacks (25.00%) and the white (7.32%) who blamed young people themselves. We know that it is predominantly black and white working class youth, rather than the other ethnic groups, who appears in the criminal statistics. It may well be that despite their different views of the seriousness of crime and its major causes, black and white inner city communities share a common problem of controlling their young people and the response of the police to their young people's behaviour.

**HISTOGRAM 2**

Who is to blame for Crime and Delinquency?





Two other responses are particularly worth noting. Although the mass media are often cited as a cause, frequently by the media themselves, there is little evidence here that anyone believes them, except for the Asian community of whom 21.43% cited the media as a cause—largely because of what they saw as excessive amounts of violence and sex (Histogram 2). This is not simply a reflection of amount of media-use in different communities, since in our wider study we found that half the Jewish respondents (the more orthodox) did not have a television and hardly ever read a newspaper. The other unusual response refers to racial explanations of crime and delinquency. Only Jewish respondents cited black people as the cause of crime (14.63%) and only Jewish respondents specifically excluded members of their own ethnic community from responsibility for crime (4.88%) (Histogram 2). It is somewhat ironic that it is Jews (or at least a small section of that community), not other whites, who see the problem in racial terms. Also, rather more Asians (14.29%) blamed racism by others than did black respondents (5.00%) as a cause of crime.

### Conclusions

The findings reported in this paper suggest that the attitudes expressed by political parties and their academic supporters are reflected to a degree in the attitudes expressed in inner city communities. However, they are so, selectively. The Conservative government has been arguing that crime is perhaps **the** inner city problem, with some of its extreme elements implying that the problem derives from the black population. Yet our observations suggest that the centrality of crime as **the** problem is least strongly held in the black community itself. It may be that the moral panic about inner city crime has produced an expectation of high crime levels which reality cannot sustain. Their (i.e. the black population's) explanation of crime is overwhelmingly expressed in terms of unemployment and central government policy, both major planks of the explanations of the Left.

We have concentrated here upon adult attitudes. (Our work with youth will be reported separately). If our findings are to

be believed, it is black adults who least see crime as a problem and white and Jewish adults who are most concerned. Yet we know from victimology studies that black people are more likely, objectively, to be victims. The explanation probably lies in the definition of crime with black adults seeing youthful exuberance where white and Jewish adults see juvenile delinquency. The significance for attitudes towards policing, however, must be considerable, as indeed is suggested in Histogram 2.

What is very clear is that each ethnic community responds in a distinctive way to the problem of crime. There is a danger, expressed by both the Left and Right, in seeing the Inner City as an entity in itself. It may be, of course, the case that an inner city area does represent a genuine 'community', but it is certainly clear that each ethnic community has its own unique perspective within it.

### Bibliography

- HOUGH, M. and MAYHEW, P. **The British Crime Survey**, London H.M.S.O. 1983  
 JONES, T. MACLEAN, B. and YOUNG, J., **The Islington Crime Survey**, Aldershot, Gower, 1986  
 JONES, T., LEA, J. and YOUNG, J. **Saving the Inner City: The First report of the Broadwater Farm Survey**, London, Middlesex Polytechnic, Centre for Criminology, 1987  
 KERRIDGE, Roy. 'Order in an Age of Rebellion,' in D. Marsland (Ed.), **Education and Youth**, London, The Falmer Press, 1987  
 KINSEY, R. **First Report of the Merseyside Crime Survey**, Liverpool, Merseyside county Council, 1987.  
 LEA, J. and YOUNG, J. **What's to be done about Law and Order**, Harmondsworth, Penguin, 1984.  
 MATTHEWS, R. and YOUNG, J. (Eds.) **Confronting Crime**, London, SAGE, 1986.  
 MAYHEW, P., CLARKE, R.V.G., STURMAN, A. and HOUGH, J. M. **Crime as Opportunity**, H.M.R.S. No. 34, London, HMSO 1976.  
 RILEY, D. and SHAW, M. **Parental Supervision and Juvenile Delinquency**, H.O.R.S. No. 83, London HMSO, 1985.  
 ROSS, K. **Trying YTS**, London, Tooting Youth Project, 1987  
 YOUNG, J. 'Risk of Crime and Fear of Crime,' in M. Maguire and J. Pointing (Eds.), **Victims of Crime: a New Deal**, Milton Keynes, The Open University, 1988.  
 YOUTH AID, **Nothing like a Job**, London, Youthaid, 1985.

## YOUTH & POLICY

### OCCASIONAL PAPERS SERIES

#### TITLES AVAILABLE:

**Steve Brown**

Critical Theory and Practice in a Black Youth Club

**Phil Cohen**

Rethinking the Youth Question

**Neil S. Kendra**

The Demythologisation of Part Time Youth Work Training

**Denise Wilson**

The Impact of the M.S.C. on a Further Education College

**NEW**

**Mark Smith**

**Political Education**

Developing approaches in the Community

Available now from

Jean Spence Department of Social Science Douro House Douro Terrace  
 Sunderland Polytechnic Sunderland SR2 7DX £3.50 including p & p  
 Cheques made payable to Youth and Policy.

# relationships with the police: intermediate treatment and 'the Multi-Agency Approach'.

PAUL STUBBS

In this article, I attempt to raise a number of critical questions about relationships between the police and workers within the juvenile justice system, particularly Intermediate Treatment<sup>(1)</sup>. Whilst based in part on original research carried out as a member of a research team examining 'Crime, community, and the Inter-Agency Dimension'<sup>(2)</sup>, the article should not be seen as a fully worked out theoretical statement. Rather, adopting a fairly polemical style, I wish to sound a note of caution in the face of the apparent direction of current debates in which the possible problematic consequences of closer links with the police are not addressed. During the course of our research we have noted an increasing tendency for academics and practitioners, police officers, social workers, and so on to find common ground with recent government circulars in advocating a 'multi-agency approach' as a solution, a panacea even, to a wide range of social problems<sup>(3)</sup>.

Our research has sought to question this consensus through looking at what actually occurs and equally importantly, what does not occur in relationships between different agencies. We have concentrated on three agencies, the police, social services and probation, in two localities, a northern city and parts of London. However we have also given consideration to other statutory and voluntary agencies. Within this we have focussed on a range of themes such as local crime prevention schemes, linked to inter-agency working on so called 'problem estates', juvenile liaison, juvenile justice and juvenile panels, child abuse and child sexual abuse, violence against women in the home, and racial or racist attacks.

This gives us an overview which has allowed us to question the 'multi-agency approach' in terms of its consequences, to see in its historical context and to speculate about the future in ways which question the heady optimism of some commentators. I will discuss services for young people more specifically and the kinds of relationships with the police which are being developed. Within this, I want to emphasise sexism and racism in relation to policing, IT and multi-agency approaches, and I do this for three main reasons. Firstly, sexism and racism highlight some of our contentions about the dangers of too cosy a relationship with the police. Secondly, as issues they often do not get explicitly addressed in debates about IT or juvenile justice. Thirdly, sexism and racism have to be central to a 'new radical IT' and, hence, it is only on this basis that I can make, by way of conclusion, certain proposals for practice which might counter the generally gloomy picture which I'm going to paint for most of this article.

## The new orthodoxy; a critique

Initially, I want to criticise the heady optimism of two academics who are having an increasing influence in this area. Interestingly, one, Simon Holdaway, whose recent article in the 'British Journal of Social Work'<sup>(4)</sup> represents the clearest statement of the new orthodoxy, is an ex-police officer, and the other, Terry Thomas, author of a book 'The Police and Social Workers'<sup>(5)</sup>, is an ex-social worker. Both appear to believe that there is great potential for a closer working relationship between the police and social workers both in terms of managerial planning, apparently non problematic, according to Holdaway, and at the ground level. In terms of this ground level, the argument is that police officers and social workers have numerous points of daily interaction, work with the same people, and hence, in a curious phrase of Holdaway's, face the same 'shared uncertainties'. On this basis, the argument runs that with proper planning the hostility, based on different occupational cultures and leading to stereotyped views of each other can, and should, be broken down.

To illustrate how dangerously simplistic this is, I want to quote, at some length, from a recent 'Community care' article by Terry Thomas, 'Let The Force Be With You'<sup>(6)</sup>:

The apocryphal story told by police officers is of the social worker who complains to them that this boy wouldn't have half as bad a record if they didn't keep arresting him.

Social Workers may equally berate the Fascist authoritarian police for their 'constant' brutality towards young offenders in the cells, and unimaginative and sexist non intervention in cases of domestic violence.

Of course it's all based on mythologies and prejudice. ... Social workers are quite capable of being punitive and police officers of being understanding.<sup>(7)</sup>

It is hard to know where to start in criticising this. In terms of his examples I think it is possible to see police discretion, differential arrest rates for different groups, and 'crimes' which in a sense are only committed as a result of the police presence, as highly relevant to particular careers in the juvenile justice system. For some young people their problems arise precisely out of the fact that the police keep arresting them.

Secondly, whilst the police may not 'constantly' brutalise young offenders in the cells, we need to be aware that it does happen. Indeed, recently a police woman was telling me that, in her force, there are certain officers whom they dare not let out of the station. The difficult point, as we have found talking to social workers and IT officers in the research, is what do



you do about it. Some workers have felt that they would not be supported by management if they were seen to be overtly critical, on the grounds that they might jeopardise close working relationships with the police.

Thirdly, our research, on the back of a lot of much more detailed analyses, does reveal what we have termed a 'structured indifference' within the police force to violence against women in the home because it is labelled a 'domestic incident'. Indeed, in various ways, this 'indifference' might actually be reproduced within social services departments.<sup>(8)</sup>

Hence and this relates to his point that some workers are punitive, and some police officers caring, my main criticism of Thomas' argument is that it is simply is not individual attitudes, or the prejudices of occupational cultures which is at issue. To blame stereotypes for the problems and to argue that by breaking them down closer relationships can be produced from which everyone will benefit, is dangerously simplistic. It neglects the very different roles, or structural positions, occupied by the police and social workers and, crucially, the whole question of differential power relations.

A key question for us then becomes 'In whose interests is multi-agency liaison?'. This is not an easy one to answer, not least because interests vary within agencies as much as between them. Nevertheless, on the whole, we believe that our research bears out a tendency for 'the police interest', priorities and definitions, to dominate inter-agency relationships. The effects of this on certain sections of the community, those labelled 'undeserving' or 'criminal', living in particular localities, especially black groups, simply have not been addressed by those workers who see liaison as 'a good thing' per se. So often we have heard a multi-agency approach justified because it 'brings agencies closer together', allows for 'face to face contact' and 'improves communication'.

Sometimes the process is more subtle and, in some ways, even more worrying. The dominance of 'the police interest' might well be achieved by alliances with sections of other agencies, often those in some kind of marginal position and eager for some professional credibility, I.T. being, perhaps, a particular representation of this. Some misrecognition of the processes can occur so that, when inter-agency liaison is arranged, these sections can actually think that it was their idea and that they have won major concessions from the police.

In terms of our understandings of current trends, one of the things we are most concerned about is the drift towards what we have called a 'criminalisation of the discourses of social policy'<sup>(9)</sup>. By this we mean that crime and crime related problems increasingly dominate discussions about, and the implementation of social policy. For example issues such as poverty, unemployment and homelessness, increasingly only get discussed in terms of their relationship to 'crime' and 'disorder'. This is particularly manifested in the massive interest in 'crime prevention', not least as played out at the local level. Increasingly, to be against 'crime prevention' is a heresy and to try to warn of the dangers, of the very different meanings it holds for different localities and groups, is to risk being accused of failing to take seriously the 'real fears' of crime of 'ordinary people'.

Alice Sampson and I have looked at joint agency working on a number of so-called 'problem estates'. In one in a northern city, there is now in existence a 'Housing and Joint Agency Base' in which the police have a room. Similar schemes operate in parts of London and lead us to express concerns

about the dangerous consequences of close links between the police, housing and other welfare agencies involved in these schemes. Most importantly, informal and unaccountable networks can develop through which confidential information and dangerous rumours might be passed from one agency to another, eg. about so-called 'problem families', when there is a 'cosy' relationship between personnel from different agencies. Any blurring of roles might lead to collusion. Indeed, we have found examples of housing personnel allowing the police to use flats for surveillance and giving the police plans of flats they wish to raid. All of this is, of course, done in the interests of the vast majority of law abiding citizens of 'the community'.

Above all we are concerned that certain issues tend to be prioritised at the expense of others, racist attacks and violence against women are the two most obviously neglected areas, and that 'solutions' tend to be highly punitive and controlling. For example, following close liaison with the police and consultation with 'the community', i.e. a questionnaire completed by adult, predominantly male, heads of households, the Co-ordinator of the 'Housing and Joint Agency Base' decided to warn residents, by letter, of a crackdown on juvenile nuisance and vandalism, threatening prosecution.

Incidentally, a humorous anecdote from the London end of the research indicates how 'crime prevention' can actually have unintended consequences both for those it is meant to benefit, and for young people brought into the system as a result. On one estate, an electronically operated card entry system had been installed to reduce the 'fear of crime' of elderly residents of sheltered accommodation. However, many of the people who live there are not strong enough to open the reinforced doors so that their mobility and ability to partake in community activities has been reduced, and elderly neighbours have been deterred from visiting them in their fortress like accommodation. In addition, young people who previously merely skateboarded past now see a challenge and are occupied trying to open the doors with hacksaws or vandalise the electronic system with super glue, hence attracting the attention of the police.

### **Sexism, Racism and the Multi-Agency Approach**

I now want to discuss more specifically sexism in relation to policing, IT and the multi-agency approach. In general terms, I want to argue that multi-agency approaches tend to reflect and amplify existing power relations within the social structure, including sexism. This is fundamental to our understanding and encompasses many different elements, only some of which I can touch on here. Firstly, as I have already argued, multi-agency approaches tend to neglect issues such as violence against women or, at best, respond to pressure from women's groups about such issues in ways which exclude these groups and any feminist analysis.

Secondly, we need to be aware of the gender structuring of relationships between personnel in the different agencies. This is crucial insofar as the police is a predominantly male organisation whereas social services, at least at fieldworker level, has a majority of women workers. Based on our research, and other research<sup>(10)</sup>, we want to stress the pervasiveness of sexism within a male police culture expressed in a dominant stereotype of social workers as 'young girls'. Often, this is played out in specific incidences of sexual harassment ranging from verbal abuse through to a case we know of where a woman social worker was left locked up in a cell with her client. The ambiguous position of women

police officers must also be recognised. Women in the police force have spoken to us about their own experiences of sexual harassment and the contempt of male colleagues towards their abilities. As one woman officer told me, if you are promoted, or in a job you enjoy and receive praise for your work it is assumed that you must be having an affair with a senior male officer. All of this makes alliances possible, as in a scheme for joint interviewing in cases of child sexual abuse in the northern city by women police officers and social workers where a common bond was forged in terms of their shared experiences of sexist workplace and managerial relationships, an issue barely discussed by Holdaway and Thomas<sup>(11)</sup>.

Thirdly, we need to address the specifics of sexism in IT which Annie Hudson, in a recent paper<sup>(12)</sup> has outlined with considerable clarity. She has pointed out male dominance in IT, the emphasis on 'management', 'efficiency' and, I would add, computer technology which are exactly the issues male police managers want to discuss with me as a male researcher. More complexly, there are issues about IT's support for what I want to call a 'masculined view of normalised crime' expressed in terms of phrases like 'boys will be boys', 'it's just a phase' and 'he'll grow out of it' presumably when, in Norman Ginsberg's words, male adolescent behaviour is channelled into the more hidden violence of marriage and 'settling down'<sup>(13)</sup>. There is a danger, then, of IT in its non interventionist, diversionary guise, colluding in male violence and upholding, for women of all ages, routinised policing by 'everyman'. Young women, of course, face formal policing and state welfare if they breach sexist assumptions of 'normal social behaviour' and are punished much more heavily in terms of care and custody<sup>(14)</sup>. It is precisely a recognition of this which has led to anti-sexist initiatives in IT in terms of work with young women and boys which I cannot address here. The main point is, in fact, that this activity is a response to the current situation in which IT, and multi-agency approaches in general, tend to be, 'by boys for boys'.<sup>(15)</sup>

Indeed, this conveniently leads into a discussion of racism since multi-agency approaches, actually, tend to be 'by white boys for white boys'. The fact that such approaches tend to involve white men getting together is only one of the ways in which racism is absolutely central to the issues I am discussing here. One element of this is the well-documented, systematic and all-pervasive racism within the police force<sup>(16)</sup>. I would go further and suggest that the police do not have a monopoly on racist practices, and that we need to explore some of the subtle, and not so subtle, processes through which racism may be reproduced in a multi agency approach. In many cases, agreement to such an approach might be reached which, implicitly or explicitly, leaves the issue of services for black groups off the agenda. Even workers aware of the issues might consider that to raise questions is not permissible and might 'blow sky high all the good work' which has been done to achieve a working relationship with the police and other agencies.

Liaison in juvenile justice and, particularly, the development of multi-agency juvenile panels, is a clear example of this. The denial of the racial dimension, yet alone racism, in the work of these panels might be crucial in the perpetuation of racist outcomes in the juvenile justice system where, as research is beginning to show, black young people are less likely to receive cautions and, at the other end, more likely to receive custody, than their white counterparts<sup>(17)</sup>. The point is that apparently progressive measures, spaces in an ever more

coercive system, as multi-agency panels are believed to be - although even this is in doubt - might actually produce less oppressive outcomes for white young people at the expense of more oppressive outcomes for black young people.

In general terms, the history of the police's involvement in multi agency approaches, beginning in the post war period with juvenile liaison and forays into schools, youth clubs and 'outdoor pursuits', shows that it has always been closely linked to concern about young people in general, and inner city and black young people in particular<sup>(18)</sup>. In the contemporary period, this is reflected in the utterances of retiring Metropolitan Police Commissioner Sir Kenneth Newman who is principally concerned with 'symbolic locations' where: ... 'Black communities, especially the young, come to view a particular location with something of a proprietorial attachment resenting intrusion, especially by the police to enforce the law.'<sup>(19)</sup>

Decoded, Newman appears to be opposed to black young people acting as if they belong. He has found it difficult to refer to any of the issues about policing in London without advocating a multi-agency approach. In terms of black youth his report for, perhaps appropriately, 1984, makes something of the reasoning behind this clear: Many agencies are equally responsible for the communal good and find themselves similarly locked in conflict with black adolescents. I am sure that solutions lie in the sharing of perceptions not only with these agencies but, more vitally, with those who have managed to gain the trust of the black teenager.<sup>(20)</sup>

In a speech in 1983, 'Policing and Social Policy in Multi-Ethnic Areas in Europe', the very title of which provides further evidence of a 'criminalisation of the discourses of social policy', Newman suggests:

Policing is merely a sub-system of the total system of social control. ... Perhaps we should use the expression 'social control' in a benign sense, to provide a unifying concept within which the activities of the police and other agencies can be co-ordinated. Each component of the social control system should examine its policies and operations and order its priorities towards a unified strategy for addressing the worst aspects of social disorganisation, particularly those associated with crime and the fear of crime.<sup>(21)</sup>

I am not suggesting that Newman's 'vision', if that is what it can be called, has been universally accepted, yet alone implemented, in the Metropolitan Police or in other forces. Nevertheless, in slightly different forms, in terms of the idea that 'all agencies are in the same boat', it can be found amongst diverse supporters of multi-agency approaches who explicitly or implicitly, have a view that the combined resources of agencies such as the police, probation, and social services must not be defeated by a group of 'hard core' young offenders.

### Conclusion; Principles and Practice

Where does all of this leave IT workers in terms of their relationships with the police and their participation in joint agency working? My view is that, perhaps, some principle, if that is not too strong a word, needs to be at the front of people's minds. It seems to me that Intermediate Treatment seeks to maximise services and resources for young people, delivered in appropriate forms, whilst minimising stigmatisation, controlling and punitive processes and outcomes. Within this, some challenge to oppressive relationships based on gender, race, class, sexual orientation



and disability has to be central. I realise this is a tall order but it is relevant, not least because it is hard to see the police embracing such a principle. Also, it provides a framework for a truly professional form of I.T. not tempted to secure short term advantage at the expense of some groups of young people. It also provides a basis for properly addressing some of the essentially second order debates and issues which the Intermediate Treatment and related literature, professing to a 'progressive' orientation, seems to be preoccupied with such as: welfare versus justice, systems management, efficiency, gatekeeping, diversion, panels, reparation and mediation<sup>(22)</sup>.

In terms of concrete action, I think that the role of IT in actually monitoring what happens to young people within 'the system', especially when gender and 'race' are made central components, is an important one. Specifically IT should consider monitoring police practices, both in general terms and in terms of particular incidents, in a systematic fashion and try to ensure that issues are taken up by management. Beyond this, conscious that 'information is power', and that simply presenting 'facts' might not lead to progressive changes in 'the system', links need to be made with groups in the community and, in some areas in the local authority, such as Police Monitoring groups, who have a critical interest in policing. What I am suggesting is that IT officers, because of the nature of the work they do, come across so much information on a daily basis which makes it imperative that they become involved in informed debates about policing strategies, priorities and practices.

Clearly, this is relevant in terms of discussions of policing with young people either individually or in groups. I am certainly not wanting to suggest political indoctrination; indeed, many young people have too sophisticated an understanding of the issues to tolerate this. Rather, I am suggesting that some idea of empowering young people in their relationships with the police must be central to face to face work. This does not only, or necessarily, involve direct work with the police bringing in videos, horses, motorbikes or whatever, to the IT centre, or taking young people to the Lake District, so that 'stereotypes can be broken down'.

Finally, I recognise that a commitment to any of this involves walking a tightrope within one's agency and in terms of relationships with other agencies. The real world is much more messy and difficult than I have painted it. At times, for instance, in order to work ON the police to change their practices, it might be necessary to work WITH the police to change young people or their situation. There is nothing wrong with compromise providing it is a considered compromise, entered into with one's eyes open and without

abandoning broader principles entirely. At the present time, what I am worried about, and what needs challenging, is an uncritical acceptance of closer links with the police, and a faith in a multi-agency approach as 'a good thing'. Crucially, I think we need forums where workers can discuss these issues and learn lessons from each other, about failures and successes, in the interests of groups of young people whose experiences of policing, and of other parts of 'the system', seem to be getting worse day by day.

#### REFERENCES

- 1 A version of this paper was originally presented at the North West Intermediate Treatment Association Conference in July 1987. I wish to thank participants for their comments and acknowledge, particularly, the encouragement of Margaret Corey, Graham Fletcher, Martin Kavanagh, Nancy Plowes, and Irene Pryce.
- 2 Other members of the research team, Harry Blagg, John Friend, Geoffrey Pearson, David Smith and, particularly, Alice Sampson, have provided insights which have been incorporated in this article.
- 3 c.f. Home Office. **Crime Prevention**. Circular 8/84 1984.
- 4 Holdaway S. **Police and Social Work Relations** - problems and possibilities, in *British Journal of Social Work* 16 (2), 1986.
- 5 Thomas T. **The Police and Social Workers**. Gower, 1986.
- 6 Thomas T 'Let the Force Be With you'. in **Community Care** 19 March, 1987.
- 7 *ibid.* p.17.
- 8 c.f. Maynard M. 'The Response of Social Workers to Violence' and Faragher T. (1985) 'The Police Response to Domestic Violence,' both in Pahl J. (ed) **Private Violence and Public Policy**. RKP, 1985.
- 9 c.f. Blagg H. et al (forthcoming) 'Inter-Agency Co-Operation; rhetoric and reality' in Shaw M. (ed) **Communities and Crime Reduction**. HMSO.
- 10 c.f. Policy Studies Institute. **Police and People in London**, 4 vols. PSI and Reiner R. 1983. **The Politics of the Police**. Harvester, 1985.
- 11 c.f. Blagg H. and Stubbs P. **A Child Centred Practice? Multi-agency approaches to child sexual abuse**. University of Lancaster, mimeo, 1987.
- 12 Hudson A. "Boys Will Be Boys": masculinism and the juvenile justice system. in **Critical Social Policy** 21, 1988.
- 13 Ginsburg N. 'Striking back for the Empire,' in **Critical Social Policy**, 12. p. 128, 1985.
- 14 Hudson A. 'The Welfare State and Adolescent Femininity,' in **Youth and Policy** 2 (1). and Hudson B. (1983) 'Sugar and Spice and All Things Nice?' in **Community Care** 5 March, 1983.
- 15 I am grateful to Alice Sampson for suggesting this phrase.
- 16 c.f. Policy Studies Institute op. cit, and Humphrey D. **Police Power and Black People**. Panther, 1972.
- 17 Pitts J. 'Black Young People and Juvenile Crime,' in Matthews R. and Young J. (eds) **Confronting Crime**. Sage, 1986.
- 18 Gordon P. 'Community Policing: towards the local police state?' in **Critical Social Policy** 10, 1984.
- 19 Quoted in Gifford Lord **The Broadwater farm Inquiry Report**. p52. London Borough of Haringey, 1986.
- 20 Quoted in Gilroy P. **There Ain't No Black in the Union jack**. p108. Hutchinson, 1987.
- 21 *ibid.* p107-8.
- 22 c.f. Thorpe D. et al **Out of Care**. Allen and Unwin. A broader critique of the 'justice' model can be found in Davies B., 1980 **Threatening Youth**. Ch 4. Open Univ Press. 1986.

## TRAINING FOR YOUTH AND COMMUNITY WORK

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

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

**YMCA NATIONAL COLLEGE**

**For further information write to:**

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

**- Working for young people.**



# the effects of unemployment on youth training scheme leavers

LYNDA BURCHELL AND BRENDAN BURCHELL

This research is concerned with young unemployment in the context of a West Midlands city. It focuses particularly on unemployment in Youth Training Scheme leavers and aims to contribute to the existing literature in two ways. Firstly it sets out to examine the affects of unemployment on psychological well-being in relation to psychological development, self esteem and purpose in life. Secondly it hopes to explore the role of economic factors in youth unemployment, an area that has received little attention in the research literature.

Recent years have shown that the burden of high unemployment is unequally distributed over the labour force with young people being particularly vulnerable (OECD, 1980). In Britain youth unemployment is growing at three times the national rate, leading to the drastic conclusion by Youth Aid (1983) that half the country's under 18's are out of work.

Within these figures there are vast regional differences: in some northern regions unemployment rates for school leavers are as high as 90%; conversley in some areas of the South youth unemployment may reach only 10%.

This research took place in Coventry in October 1983. At this time there were an estimated 5,421 school leavers of which only 631 found employment. The vast majority of this group either returned to school or went on Youth Training Schemes.

It could be stated that the young and unemployed represent a 'political time bomb' (Forester, 1981), which the government had endeavoured to contain through the provision of various training schemes. The new YTS came into operation in October 1983 when 300,000 school leavers entered the scheme. Whilst the MSC has described the scheme as a bridge from school to work, for many young people it leads directly to the dole queue. Regardless of its success rate, however, it has become institutionalised as a major part of the transitional period from school to the labour market and has recently been extended from one to two years.

Social psychologists have by and large concentrated on the psychological deprivation that accompanies the loss of employment. Jahoda has argued this view most forcibly when she stated 'there is abundant evidence that beyond financial problems unemployment of more than a very short period of time is psychologically destructive because of the absence of the latent consequences of work' (Jahoda and Rush, 1980, p.13). These are described as time structure on the day, regular shared experiences, the exercise of status and skill, mutual goals and the definition of status and identity.

In this model the social psychological effects are caused by the deprivation of the latent functions of employment as outlined above, rather than economic deprivation itself. This view of psychological deprivation is the nearest we come to a theory of the psychology of unemployment, although it is not so much explicitly stated as implicit in the literature (see Fryer 1986 and Jahoda 1986 for a comprehensive debate on the deprivation model).

Others have followed the deprivation theme; Wedderburn (1965) concluded that unemployment involved not only loss of dignity for the individual but their whole life lost meaning and purpose. Similarly Frankl (1967) uses the term 'unemployment neurosis' (p.119) to define a state without meaning and purpose where the unemployed fail to perceive an integrated pattern of goals in life.

In Erikson's view deprivation of a work role particularly in young people would lead to identity confusion. Erikson described identity confusion 'as a syndrome of disturbances in young people who can neither make use of the careers provided in their society, or create for themselves a unique moratorium of their own' (Erikson, 1968, pp.165-166). Adolescence is the time at which the attainment of the work role becomes crucial if identity is to be resolved successfully.

Gurney (1980), using an inventory based on Erikson's psychosocial theory, carried out a four month longitudinal study of 400 school leavers in Australia in order to test Erikson's view that a work role is crucial in identity formation. He found that employed females improved but not males. However, the unemployed of both sexes did not show greater identity confusion which, he concluded, may be due to the relatively short period of unemployment that had been experienced.

In relation to self-esteem, he found that employed females showed a rapid rise over a four month period, whilst the males only showed a marginal though non-significant increase. Again the unemployed of both sexes did not show any decrease in their level of self-esteem. The explanation Gurney offered for these findings was that the lack of a job for a school leaver would be different from losing a job for someone who had experienced employment. He also concluded that unemployment may have the effect of inhibiting development in school leavers rather than actually inflicting trauma.

In a cross sectional study Donovan and Oddy (1982) found that unemployed school leavers had significantly lower self-esteem and poorer subjective well-being than their employed

peers. The authors of this study put forward the view that even a short period of employment such as provided by the YTS may afford some protection against the worst effects of unemployment and therefore protect self-esteem. Breakwell (1982) and Stafford (1982) provide some support for this view in terms of well-being, self-esteem and life-satisfaction being higher for those on YTS than the unemployed. However, these findings must be interpreted with caution for, as Breakwell states, 'the effects are short lived, the depression seems even greater with the return to the dole' (p.8).

### **The Survey**

This paper focuses primarily on a longitudinal study of the social psychological effects of unemployment on YTS trainees. The rationale for using a longitudinal study is firstly that cross sectional studies do not clarify issues of causation. Many studies have reported finding differences between employed and unemployed individuals but it is difficult to determine to what extent those differences were due to the unemployed being 'self-selected' to some extent as opposed to the differences resulting from the psychologically damaging effects of unemployment. By following the same individual over time as they undergo different experiences in the labour market, it will be possible to monitor directly the differential effects of employment and unemployment on individuals leaving a YTS scheme.

Sixty school leavers who had all been on a YTS between September 1982 and August 1983 took part in the study. On completion of training only half of the group became employed. The two groups completed questionnaires just as they were leaving the scheme (Time 1) and again six months later (Time 2). The sample was subject to attrition over the six month period due to non-response, leaving the area or a change in employment status leaving 42 subjects in all.

Checks on the groups at the time of the first questionnaire revealed that there were no systematic differences between the group who obtained paid work and the group who became unemployed. The majority of subjects fell into social classes 4 and 5, with only four subjects in social class 1, 2 and 3 (as derived from their father's job title). None of the subjects had more than 2 GCE 'O' levels, the vast majority had CSEs. These figures are fairly typical for people on YTS schemes.

Following Donovan and Oddy's (1982) view of the beneficial effects of Youth Training an additional comparison was made at the end of the six month period (Time 2) with an additional group of 16 unemployed individuals who had left school at the same time as the other group but had not been on a YTS and had been unemployed for 18 months.

### **Psychological Factors**

Social psychological well-being was measured in terms of Erikson's psychological inventory (EPSI) developed by Rosenthal et al, 1981, Self-esteem (Coopersmith, 1967) and Purpose in Life (Crumbaugh, 1968). The most general hypothesis being tested is that the unemployed group will change differently over time relative to the employed group. The deprivation model would lead us to predict a decrement in social psychological well-being in the unemployed YTS group and an increase in well-being in the YTS group who became employed. Since the long-term unemployed group had been without work for 18 months it was also predicated that they would be considerably worse off than both the employed and unemployed YTS groups.

### **Economic Factors**

Fraser (1980, p.18) has put forward the view that 'in the study of unemployment an initial emphasis on money matters would be a healthy corrective for social psychology which has by and large totally ignored the economic realities relevant to so much of our behaviour and experience' (p.183). To date economic factors have played only a minimal part in the total analysis of unemployment by social psychologists, whether analyzing youth or adult experience. Youth unemployment is still a particularly working class phenomenon (although it is increasingly permeating all social classes). For working class young people the wage is still the main route to economic independence; it buys access to a well defined future in line with expectations. The concept of expectations is crucial and likely to be a limitation on explanation of the social psychological effects of unemployment in terms of a pure economic determinism. As Willis (1984) states 'it is for the working class that getting a job has been the main liberation at the age of 16' (p.4).

As most of the school leavers in this research originate from social classes 4 and 5 they are likely to be from among the least affluent groups in our society. Since economic factors seem crucial in the experience of this particular group of young unemployed, two measures relating to economic factors were used in the questionnaire. Firstly the respondents had to indicate whether they thought that the money they got was enough as rated on a four point scale from 'Too Much' to 'Nowhere Near Enough'. Secondly, respondents had to rank four 'problems that worry people most' according to how much they troubled them. The four items were 'Money matters', 'Getting on with other people', 'the state of the world' and 'Sorting myself out' (both from Gurney, 1979).

### **The Results**

#### **Psychological Factors**

The results of this study indicate that there were no differential changes over time in terms of either decrement or increment in social psychological well being in the employed YTS group compared to the unemployed YTS group. There was, however, one large difference between the two groups of YTS leavers, at Time 1 as they left YTS schemes. The unemployed YTS group achieved considerably lower scores on the 'purpose in life' scale than the employed YTS group.

Three of the psychological variables showed significant changes over time regardless of employment status. The post-YTS sample as a whole showed an increase in self esteem and improved on the Erikson 'intimacy' and 'identity' subscales over the six month period.

With regard to the comparisons made with the long term unemployed sample the results indicate that the YTS employed group had higher self esteem and higher purpose in life than both the YTS unemployed and the long term unemployed. The long term unemployed group were significantly less trusting and had lower self esteem than the YTS unemployed group.

#### **Economic Factors**

As predicted, the unemployed YTS group reported far greater dissatisfaction with their income, and rated money matters as their number one problem 63% of the time as opposed to 23% for the employed YTS group. Not surprisingly the long term unemployed group reported even less satisfaction with their income than the unemployed YTS group and similarly to the one unemployed YTS group reported it as their number one problem 62% of the time. There was also an interesting



sex effect with females reporting money matters as their number one problem only 31% of the time as opposed to 61% for males.

## Discussion

The purpose of this research was to ascertain whether changes occur in social psychological well-being over a six month period as a result of becoming either employed or unemployed on completion of a YTS. The results indicate that there was no significant deterioration over time for the unemployed YTS group relative to the employed YTS group but there were differences between the unemployed and employed YTS groups which are of interest in themselves.

The unemployed YTS group showed significantly less purpose in life. This effect was evident at Time 1 even though the group had little or no actual experience of unemployment at this point in time. It would be realistic to argue that YTS leavers would have been aware for some time of their chances of becoming either employed or unemployed. Accordingly it may be the expectation of unemployment by itself that causes lower purpose in life rather than any loss of the latent categories of employment which Jahoda (1979, 1982) describes.

In Frankl's (1967) conceptualisation lower purpose in life may lead to a state in which the young unemployed are unable to perceive an integrated pattern of goals in life. The inability to perceive and plan a future in line with one's expectations may be all important in the conceptualisation of the experience of the young unemployed. As Parkes (1984) states 'a sense of meaning and purpose in life can only arise out of a reasonable expectation that plans will be fulfilled ... we need a sense of being on course, a trajectory on the basis of which we can anticipate, plan and hope'. Since purpose in life has not shown a decrement over time it may be that unemployment of this length of time inhibits planning and development but does not inflict major trauma due to the loss of employment itself.

The results show that there are no significant differences between the employed and unemployed YTS groups in terms of self esteem and psycho-social development. The YTS sample as a whole improved in self esteem and improved on the Erikson intimacy and identity scales regardless of employment status. This type of result supports the view that adolescence is a potentially fertile period for changes of all kinds which are likely to confound the effects of unemployment in a way that is not so pronounced in adult populations. Self-esteem in young people may be closely tied to peer group membership and leisure interests which also contribute to the ongoing formation of social identity. Adolescence is a period for testing out interpersonal relationships of all kinds, which may account for a move towards intimacy resolution in this sample.

The failure to find a decrement in social psychological well-being in the unemployed YTS group permits several possible competing explanations. It may be that a year's Youth Training does provide some protective effect as postulated by Donovan and Oddy, (1982), at least in the short term. However, a period of six months is a fairly short period of unemployment which many school leavers come to expect at the end of Youth Training. These results may change dramatically after long periods of unemployment. Moreover the deprivation model may be ill-suited to explain the experience of those who have not experienced employment rather than temporary training or part time jobs.

The employed YTS group did not improve in social psychological well being over the six month period, although as stated earlier they did show higher purpose in life. In relation to Jahoda's deprivation model they would be expected to show gains since they were attending both the manifest and latent consequences of employment. However it is not clear that all employment provides the support that Jahoda outlines (see Fryer 1985). Employment itself may hold its own kind of threat, particularly in a situation of high unemployment. For school leavers the competition for jobs may be fierce both inside and outside of employment. Often employment for poorly qualified school leavers is of an insecure nature. Failure to meet the demands of employment are compounded by the threat of the dole queue.

The long term unemployed group showed significantly lower self esteem than the YTS unemployed group. Since the long term unemployed responded at only one point in time the interpretation of data is limited by the cross sectional design. It may be that low self esteem was causal in bringing about the long term unemployment of this group. However accumulating evidence (Banks and Jackson 1982; Warr and Jackson 1983) indicates that self esteem is sensitive to changes in employment status in the predicted direction such that gaining employment causes a rise in self esteem and vice versa. Thus a more plausible interpretation is that self esteem has diminished over time due to the length of unemployment in the long term unemployed group. Since the YTS unemployed group show higher self esteem it may again show support for the initially protective effect of YTS.

The long term unemployed group were also significantly less trusting than the YTS unemployed group. In Erikson's view 'every tired human being may regress temporarily to partial mistrust whenever the world of his/her expectations is rocked to the core' (1968, p.83). Long periods of unemployment may lead to a mistrust in a system that has failed to fulfill one's expectations.

As stated earlier the ability to plan a future in line with one's expectations may be crucial to social psychological well being. This research shows the long term unemployed group to be a massive 25 points (approximately 1.5 standard deviations) lower in purpose in life than the employed YTS group, though the long term unemployed group does not differ significantly from the YTS unemployed even though the former group have been unemployed for 15 months longer. This again points to the possibility that the actual experience of unemployment itself may not be as devastating as the inability to plan for the future.

## Economic Factors

Both the wholly unemployed and the unemployed YTS group reported far greater dissatisfaction with their income and rated money matters as their number one problem 62% and 63% of the time as opposed to 23% in the employed YTS group. The dissatisfaction with money matters can easily be attributed to the low level of supplementary benefit allowance that both unemployed groups receive.

Warr et al (1985) also found evidence of financial deprivation in the young unemployed. In addition he found that responses to questions about the likely causes of symptoms revealed by the General Health Questionnaire were specifically associated with unemployment, for example lacking money or having difficulties with official agencies were explicitly rated as the cause of symptoms on 53% of occasions.



In the same study Warr et al comment on the absence of a relationship between psychological health and length of unemployment among teenagers. This finding they state may be attributed to the relatively low financial pressures on them in comparison with middle aged people, in part because many are living with their parents or in the home of adult relatives. They may carry forward from school a network of friends and leisure activities; the social stigma of unemployment may not be particularly great; and the income differential between having a job and being unemployed may be relatively small, especially in the case of teenagers with few educational qualifications (p.86).

Warr et al's failure to find a relationship between psychological health and length of current unemployment is compatible with the findings in this study but for the YTS group only. Whilst the role of peer group and leisure interests may mediate the impact of unemployment, can this failure to find a relationship between psychological health and length of unemployment be attributed to less financial burden on the young unemployed with any certainty? One factor that Warr (1985) has failed to acknowledge is that many of the parents may also be unemployed thus the financial pressure both on parents and the young person may be severe. Even if financial pressures are not great at any particular moment in time, such a finding is only a minor part of the total analysis of the role of economic factors, in relation to the role they play in the transition into adult life.

The findings in this study give support to the notion that economic factors are crucial in the experience of the young unemployed. In this research the long term unemployed group having been unemployed for 21 months expressed even greater dissatisfaction with their financial state than the YTS unemployed group even though the actual amount of state benefit the two groups receive would be similar. This points to a worsening perception of their financial plight over time.

As Willis (1984, p3) states properly to understand unemployment we need to understand what is missing, the wage. The wage is not simply an amount of money. It is certainly the only naked reward for labour under capitalism, but for that it is the only connection with other social possibilities, processes and desirable things. As such it operates as the crucial pivot for several other processes, social and cultural transitions quite unlike itself.

This view lends itself to interpretation of the data in this study.

Thus in order to understand the implications of the loss of the wage and its relationship to social psychological well being we need to analyse the significance of the wage within this particular background. First and foremost the wage is still the golden key to economic independence which provides access to certain freedoms and choices. It provides freedom to plan leisure activities tied up with peer group interests, and provides access to valued material goods. The major personal independence the wage buys is a household separate from parents and separate from employment. Freedom and choices are directly threatened by unemployment and dependence on the family (for a more detailed presentation of this argument see Willis, 1984).

The possibility of acquiring a separate household lends itself to an ongoing process of planning the future. For many young people this means the formation of the nuclear family. An

interesting finding by Turtle (1978) points to the possibility of disruption in this transition. In areas of high unemployment in Australia over one third of both sexes did not want to marry as opposed to one tenth of the employed.

Within this context the wage may have different meanings for males and females. This research indicates that 61% of males report money matters as their number one problem as compared to 31% of females. A possible explanation of this result is the differing expectations of males and females within this context where males are traditionally viewed as the permanent breadwinner reinforced by their ability to earn far more than females in the labour market.

### Conclusions and some policy implications

A six month period of unemployment may not be long enough to detect social psychological changes in unemployed YTS leavers. The authors agree with Gurney (1980) that unemployment of this length may inhibit development rather than inflict trauma in the young unemployed. The inability to plan for the future in line with one's expectations may be implicated as a cause of reduced purpose in life in the young unemployed rather than the deprivation of employment itself (see Fryer 1986, Jahoda 1986).

Both unemployed groups in this study reported financial matters as their number one problem significantly more often than the employed group. Financial considerations must be central in the analysis of the experience of youth unemployment. Financial deprivation is likely to produce the frustration of plans and expectations which in turn yield social psychological effects.

A recent report by Youthaid (1986) shows that only 50% of young people outside the south east gain employment after YTS; a figure that has not changed since 1983. We have to ask what are the consequences of large numbers of young people being denied access to the labour market on completion of YTS schemes. The experience of youth unemployment could more accurately be described in terms of broken transitions into adult life. This has implications for the use of long term research strategies if we are to understand the meaning of youth unemployment set in the context of the whole life span. As Banks and Ullah (1986, p210) state

the proper significance of unemployment at this age may only become apparent when the normal progression into and adjustment to adulthood and family formation are seriously halted by the continued absence of status, income, structure and purpose that eventually result from being jobless.

### BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Banks M. and Jackson P. 'Unemployment and the risk of minor psychiatric disorder in young people: cross-sectional and longitudinal evidence.' *Psychological Medicine*, 12, 1982, p 789-798.
- Banks M. and Ullah P. 'Unemployment and less qualified Urban Youth' *Employment Gazette*, June 1986 p. 205-210.
- Brakwell G. *Aspects of Young People in and Out of Work*. Paper presented at the 1982 Social Psychology Conference, Edinburgh.
- Coopersmith S. *The Antecedents of Self Esteem*, San Francisco: Freeman, 1967.
- Brakwell G. 'Purpose in Life Test.' *Journal of Individual Psychology*, 24, 1968, p 74-81.
- Donovan A. and Oddy M. 'Psychological aspects of Unemployment in School Leavers: An investigation into the emotional and social adjustment of school leavers.' *Journal of Adolescence*, 5, 1982, p 15-30.
- Erikson E. *Identity, Youth and Crisis*, New York: Norton 1968
- Forester T. 'Young and out of work: A Political Time Bomb,' *New Society*, 16.7.81 p. 95.

Frankl V.E. **Man's Search for Meaning**, London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1962.

Frankl V.E. **Psychotherapy and Existentialism**. Bucks: Watson & Viney, 1967.

Fraser C. 'The Social Psychology of Unemployment,' in Jeeves M. (ed). **Psychology Survey** No. 3. London: Allan and Unwin, 1980.

Fryer D. 'Employment Deprivation and Personal Agency during unemployment.' **Memo No. 723**, Sheffield Applied Psychology Unit, 1985.

Fryer D. 'Employment Deprivation and Personal Agency during Unemployment.' **Journal of Social Behaviour**, Vol. 1. 1986, p 3-23.

Gurney R.M. **The Social psychological Effects of Unemployment on School Leavers**. PhD Thesis. University of Melbourne: Australia, 1979.

Gurney R.M. 'Does unemployment affect the self-esteem of school leavers?' **Australian Journal of Psychology**, 32, 1980 p. 175-182.

Gurney R.M. 'The effects of unemployment on the psycho-social development of school leavers,' **Journal of Occupational Psychology**, 53, 1980 p205-213.

Jahoda, M. and Lazarsfeld P. **Marienthal: The Sociography of an Unemployed Community**. London: Tavistock Publications, 1972.

Jahoda M. 'The impact of unemployment in the 1930's and 1970's.' **Bulletin of the British Psychological Society**, 32, 1979, p. 309-314.

Jahoda M. and Rush H. 'Work, Employment and Unemployment.' **Occasional Paper No. 12**, Science Policy Research Unit, Sussex University, 1980.

Jahoda M. **Employment and unemployment, a social psychological analysis**. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982.

Jahoda M. 'In defence of a Non-reductionist Social Psychology.' **Journal of Social Behaviour**, Vol. 1, 1986, p. 25-29.

Kelvin P. and Jarrett J. **The Social Psychological Effect of**

**Unemployment**. London: Academic Press, 1984.

OECD. **Youth Unemployment, The Causes and Consequences**, Paris, OECD Publications, Paris, 1980.

Parkes C.M. Forward in Fagin L. and Little M. (eds), **The Forsaken Families**. Penguin: Handsworth, 1984.

Rosenthal D.A., Gurney R. and Moore S. 'From Trust to Intimacy: A New Inventory for Examining Erikson's Stages of Psychosocial Development.' **Journal of Youth and Adolescence**, 10, 1981, p. 525-535.

Stafford E., Jackson P. and Banks M. 'Employment, work involvement and mental health in less qualified young people.' **Journal of Occupational Psychology**, 53, 1980, p 291-304.

Stafford E. 'The impact of the Youth Opportunities programme on young people's employment prospects and psychological well-being.' **British Journal of Guidance and Counselling**, 10, 1982 p 12-21.

Stokes G. and Cochraine R. 'A Study of the psychological effects of redundancy and unemployment.' **Journal of Occupational Psychology**, 57, 1984, p 309-327.

Turtle A. 'Life - Not In It; A psychological comparison of employed and unemployed Sydney Youth.' **Vocational Guidance Research Bulletin (N.S.W., Australia)**, 4 1978.

Warr P.B. and Jackson P.R. 'Men without jobs: some correlates of age and length of unemployment.' **Journal of Occupational Psychology**, 57, 1984, p 77-85.

Warr P.B., Jackson P.R., and Banks M.H. 'Duration of unemployment and psychological well-being in young men and women.' **Current Psychological Research**, 2, 1982, p 207-214.

Warr P., Banks, M. and Ullah P. 'The experience of unemployment among black and white urban teenagers.' **British Journal of Psychology**, 76, 1985 p 75-87.

Willis P. Unemployment: **Thinking the Unthinkable**. **Bulletin, Youthaid**. London, July 1984.

*New from*

**MACMILLAN EDUCATION**  
*in the Practical Social Work Series in March:*  
**Youth Work**  
*Edited by Tony Jeffs and Mark Smith*

Youth Work is the first text which tries to put the broad range of work which comes under this general heading into a positive theoretical framework. It offers descriptions of each type of Youth Work, from Social Worker, Community Worker, and educator to redcoat and character builder. Throughout the book there is an air of optimism and a sense of excitement at

the potential of youth work to make a positive contribution to welfare and educational practice and thinking. This book is a much needed attempt to rationalise this work into a positive and practical body of knowledge.

0 333 40983 3 £15.00

0 333 40984 1 £5.95

**Youth Questions Series**  
*Edited by Phil Cohen and Angela McRobbie*

**Training without Jobs**  
**New deals & broken promises**  
*Dan Finn*

Training without a Job provides the first authoritative account of the changing character of both the institutions and politics behind the transition from school to work during a time which has seen the advent of mass unemployment and the Manpower Service Commission. It provides the first systematic critique of the two year Youth Training Scheme, and gives a detailed assessment of the policy of the first Thatcher government towards the Manpower Services Commission.

May 0 333 36508 9 £20.00

0 333 36509 7 £6.95

**Two Track Training:**  
**Sex Inequalities and the YTS**  
*Cynthia Cockburn*

In this controversial text Cynthia Cockburn brings together new empirical research to propose that the overwhelming majority of young people on the government's Youth Training Scheme are training for sex-stereotyped work. She argues that 'equal opportunity' is not only not enough but is wrong; what is needed is action for similar achievement by the sexes.

June 0 333 43288 6 £20.00

0 333 43289 4 £6.95

*All these books are available on publication from good bookshops. In case of difficulty, please write to Macmillan Education, Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hants RG21 2XS.*





# the recruitment of young people: the effect of one year YTS<sup>[1]</sup>

STEPHEN BOYLE, MIKE DANSON and GRAHAM SENIOR

The proposal announced in the Chancellor of the Exchequer's 1985 Budget speech to introduce a revamped and much improved two year Youth Training Scheme (YTS) prompted one YTS workshop in Edinburgh to consider that some understanding of both local labour market trends and some knowledge of how employers make their decisions on whether or not to recruit young people would be of immense practical value in designing and determining the content of their training schemes.

The exploratory research described in this article intended to investigate the secondary data available on the destinations of school leavers in the Edinburgh district and the jobs open to such young people, with a view to analysing the trends in employment opportunities facing trainees from establishments similar to this particular workshop. The aim was to follow up those young people who had left the Workshop in the last few years and investigate through questionnaires and interviews how employers of those graduates make their decisions about the recruitment of young people. It was hoped that the research would contribute towards clarifying some of the methodological problems in analysing local labour market trends, with a view to conducting research in greater depth, in addition to gaining some understanding of how employers make their decisions on whether or not to recruit young people and how they decide between candidates.

This paper is divided into 4 sections. In the first section we briefly introduce the labour market and political economy of Edinburgh, focusing in particular on the occupational and industrial pattern of employment for young people. Secondly we offer a brief review of relevant theories which give an insight into different aspects of employer screening. Part three is based on the survey of employers in Edinburgh and is concerned with identifying the recruitment practices of firms in the Edinburgh labour market and how these practices affect the employment chances of the Workshop's trainees. Finally we suggest some tentative proposals for improving the training provision at the Workshop given the analysis of the employers' survey.

## **The Labour Market and Political Economy of Edinburgh**

The Edinburgh labour market lies mainly within the local government areas of Edinburgh District and Lothian Region. Scotland's capital has long been the country's administration and financial centre. In political terms the region and city are mixed in character, and in contrast to other parts of the central belt of Scotland, particularly the Glasgow conurbation, lack the tradition of regularly returning socialist

administrations.

It is important to set the overall labour-market activity within the context of the changing structure of the local population. Using a variety of data sources, the Census of Population and Lothian region council's structure Plan in particular, we seek to outline the major recent and expected trends. There has been a steady decline in the population of Edinburgh over the period since 1971, mainly through migration to the rapidly expanding Livingston New Town. Population projections indicate that the direction of changes in the future will be the same although the magnitude will lessen; the city's population is thus expected to be 12% lower in 1996 than in 1971, with Lothian Region's population virtually unchanged. Clearly the age structure of the population is important to the operation of the labour market. Using Census data and the Structure Plan we would expect the population of working age people to continue to rise and even taking into account changes in activity rate, we see both the male and female labour supplies increasing.

In occupational terms, male employment is relatively high in clerical jobs while, as elsewhere, females are heavily concentrated in services and clerical employment. Since our concern is with the youth labour market we concentrate on the non-professional and management occupations. In 1981 clerical and personal service jobs employed 80% of women in Edinburgh, with 76% of men in clerical, transport and processing jobs. In industry terms, 86% of women and 63% of men were employed in the service sector. These degrees of concentration in occupational and industrial employment are likely to intensify to 1991 (see Rajan & Pearson 1986) which suggests that the job opportunities facing the Workshop's graduates will likewise be highly concentrated.

Although unemployment in the District and Region has not been as severe as in other parts of Scotland it is still unacceptably high and worsening. Most worrying perhaps is the growing extent of long term unemployment. The area's position relative to many other areas in Scotland had deteriorated since 1982. There is a general paucity of current statistics on youth unemployment and vacancies, though the biennial survey of Scottish school leavers conducted by the Centre for Educational Sociology (CES) at Edinburgh University does fill in some of the details<sup>(2)</sup>. Labour force estimates were constructed for 16 and 17 year olds based on the 1981 Census, the CES survey and subsequent changes suggest that over 60% of Edinburgh's young people (ie the under-18s) were without a permanent job in June 1985, with 35% unemployed and 26% on YTS<sup>(3)</sup>. Further details of this age group were obtained from a survey of 1983 minimum



aged school leavers, undertaken by Lothian Regional Council. Half of this sample had experienced over 3 months of unemployment by April 1985 with over 30% experiencing over six months unemployment. Two years after entering the labour market some 30% were still unemployed. From other surveys (eg MSC's YTS Follow-Up Survey) it is believed that the overall employment rate post-YTS is similar to the national figure of 60%.

### **Theoretical Considerations**

The growth in youth unemployment levels which have been observed since the early 1970s has been accompanied by a growing interest in the recruitment practices and in particular screening mechanisms operated by employers. This has resulted in a debate about the level of job entry requirements stipulated by employers and the quality of young job seekers. The higher levels of youth unemployment has led employers to increase the level of qualifications needed to enter a given job. It is suggested that many of these minimum qualifications are too high for the level of job on offer (the qualification inflation argument) and this further disadvantages YTS workshop trainees who tend to be the least qualified YTS entrants. In contrast it is argued that the standard of young people in literacy, numeracy, attitude and personal appearance terms has declined in recent years. Different models of the labour market based on human capital theory, queue theory, and labour market segmentation theory offer some interesting insights into different aspects of employer screening.

Human capital endowment is usually defined in terms of both educational and vocation qualifications, skills and experience. It is argued that the enhancement of this human capital endowment will improve the individual's position in the labour market. However human capital theory has been the subject of considerable debate. Berg (1970) has argued that a mismatch between job requirements and skills developed in the USA and that many workers were performing jobs for which they were over qualified. Hirsh (1977) argues that the general rising of educational levels where this adds to the length of quality of education needed by individuals to obtain access to higher jobs, is likely to lead to a further intensification of job screening further lengthening the educational 'obstacle course', which the Workshop's trainees would need to overcome. Higher unemployment levels (and therefore increased competition for vacancies) means that employers can be more selective in their recruitment, but this does not necessarily imply that this will be based on formal qualifications, but possibly on observations and more subjective aspects of an individual's characteristics, implying that human capital theory may be too restrictive a concept. Thus human capital theory needs to be supplemented with the broader concept of the 'labour queue'. Labour is seen as a queue headed by those seen as the most 'attractive' and the employer will recruit as far down the line as the level of demand and the number of vacancies allow. The determinants of 'attractiveness' will include factors associated with human capital theory but the position in the queue is likely to be influenced by other factors such as personal qualities and characteristics.

Dual or segmented theories of the labour market suggest that rather than a single labour market or queue there may be two or more separate labour markets which differ in terms of the jobs on offer and the characteristics of the workers considered suitable for the jobs. The primary jobs offer high wages, stability and promotional prospects whereas the secondary jobs are often temporary and less skilled, providing less job

security and fringe benefits. Not only are the jobs structured in this way but different groups of workers are seen as possessing characteristics which make them suitable for jobs in only one of the two sectors. This theory suggests that different recruitment and screening criteria and methods may be based not only or even primarily, upon educational experience and qualifications but upon particular personal and social characteristics. Young people will have expectations about the kind of jobs they are seeking based upon social background, where a range of different 'actors' (parents, teachers, peer groups) help socialise the young person into work and define 'appropriate points of entry' (Williamson 1974, Branner 1975).

Dual labour market theory can be applied to the operation of YTS schemes. The Mode A schemes, which are employer based, can be seen as analogous to the primary jobs and the Mode B schemes, which are not employer based, as being analogous to the secondary jobs. In the same way that the disadvantaged young workers used to find themselves in the secondary, unskilled, dead end jobs so now the disadvantaged school leavers find themselves in the 'secondary' YTS schemes - the Mode B schemes - while their more advantaged contemporaries enter the primary YTS schemes - the Mode A schemes.

### **The Employers View**

One of the main purposes of the research was to ascertain the views, perceptions and demands of Edinburgh employers with regard to the youth labour market and, where appropriate, to the trainees of the Workshop in particular. To address these issues a survey by interview of those firms which according to the management of the Workshop employed ex-workshop trainees was undertaken. Although there was thought to be up to 100 such companies, a careful check of the records held on trainees' destinations disclosed that there were only 30 such firms. Given the problem of achieving a respectable response rate from the kind of small construction and service sector firms represented in this survey the sample was extended to include companies in manufacturing, retailing and finance - all important in the Edinburgh economy - and some of the major public corporations. Even with this enlarged sample of 45 firms, the original preponderance and nature of the small firms contacted and the onset of the holiday period only produced 22 completed questionnaires though the firms surveyed were employers of large numbers of young people.

#### *i. Background Characteristics*

Most of the firms (16) were multipart with the single plant enterprises (6) being mainly small and local. The firms tended to be part of national (9) or international (5) groups, with all but one being British owned. Small local establishments apart, the firms were mostly branch plants (13), with only three being the headquarters of multiplant companies. A variety of functions were reported across organisational types and the size distribution of the establishments was biased in favour of large or very large plants, with 10 companies each employing over 500 people. This was partly the result of the inclusion of public corporations, finance companies and large retailers. In the labour force of the sample, six were predominantly female, seven male and the remaining nine employed the sexes equally. Unfortunately there was a poor response to the question on the numbers of young people employed, largely due to lack of data and statistics to hand during the interview and in many cases their general unavailability. Nevertheless nearly all employers (21) felt able to gauge the changing fortunes of young people in their

labour force over the last five years, with only four believing there had been a fall, while almost half(10) thought there had been an increase. Despite a subjective bias in these responses, there was undoubtedly a general feeling that young people had fared well over this term. Table One presents details of the sample's expectations of future recruitment of young people.

TABLE ONE: FUTURE RECRUITMENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE

	SCHOOL LEAVER	OTHER 16-18	19-25
Increase	6	8	8
Stable	7	7	7
Decrease	1	1	1
Don't Know	8	8	6

### ii Recruitment and Young People

As expected we found nationalised industries and public corporations to have established career structures with regular recruitment. Most other plants recruited as required, with several operating a waiting list. The general collapse of the apprenticeship system during the recession was also apparent. In order of importance companies tended to use the Careers Service, advertisements and direct approaches to them as the main channels for recruitment. There were however certain sectoral variations, with public corporations relying on formal methods, with complementary waiting lists. It was generally recognised that YTS had had an impact on recruitment, making it more systematic in most organisations within a context of little change and few new employees being taken on.

On the actual mechanism of recruiting young people, most firms followed a similar format. All firms always interviewed, with a minority conducting second interviews. Large firms tended to leave interviewing to the personnel department and appropriate managers, whereas small establishments relied more on the general manager/managing director or equivalent. The number of people called for interview varied little, being between four and seven candidates for each job. The median interview lasted 20 minutes, though the quickest could last five minutes, where prescreening had been minimal, with up to 50 minutes maximum. Interviews usually opened with a broad introduction to the company, with further questions and points to elicit responses. Most, though not all firms sought academic qualifications (ie at least 'O' Grades) for all positions. Again a large majority of the sample were agreed on the personal characteristics sought Appearance, ambition, reliability, attitude, articulation, confidence and enthusiasm featured in most instances, and 5-10% were rejected at the early stage on this basis.

Firms were fairly evenly split in their use of practical and/or written tests with typing being the most checked occupation. Large firms, the retail and public sectors usually used such screening methods, small establishments did not. Up to 50% of candidates could be rejected at this hurdle. Almost half of the firms regarded some jobs as being especially suitable for young people: a 'young person's job'. These tended to be for the under-19s and were usually described as trainee's positions. Apart from legal restrictions, the reasons given for this segmentation were, from a check list: 'should give young people a chance' (six mentions) and, unprompted, 'training'(11). The latter was largely explained as principally to train new recruits in the company's own methods. The former was superficially reflecting altruism, though undoubtedly some underestimated or undisclosed factors

were also involved. There was notably no mention of wages, types of work, and so forth which we might have expected.

There was a general tendency to require 'O' and/or Higher Grades for admittance to apprenticeships and some clerical positions. For managerial, professional and technical occupations, as anticipated, qualifications requested were more exacting: with City and Guilds, SCOTVEC and their equivalent mentioned for technicians, and degrees/diplomas for higher positions. In a few, mostly large firms, there was encouragement after recruitment to continue training.

From Table Two the importance attached to personal characteristics when recruiting young people is analysed. This reinforces the findings above whilst introducing other factors in the recruitment process. The most prominent factors, which came over very strongly in the interview, were literacy and numeracy, followed by attitudes to work and supervisors: each of these being mentioned by 85-90% of the sample. Enthusiasm and appearance, and speech and willingness to train were identified by half to three-quarters of respondents, and less than one-third of employers were looking for a sense of ambition in potential recruits. Other factors suggested, unprompted, were versatility, cleanliness and appearance. A number of respondents pointed out that YTS aimed to alter personal characteristics of trainees and implied that they used or would take this into account when appointing. However, for the majority of the sample, the Workshop's trainees and their equivalent - before or after their period of training, would have been rejected before this stage of the firms' recruitment process, so nullifying the reported positive aspects of personal development current in YTS programmes.

TABLE TWO: IMPORTANCE ATTACHED TO PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS WHEN RECRUITING YOUNG PEOPLE

	ESSENTIAL	DESIRABLE	NOT DESIRABLE
Literacy	17	2	2
Numeracy	17	2	2
Degree of Enthusiasm	14	7	1
Sense of Ambition	8	10	3
Willingness to Study and Train	11	8	2
Appearance	14	6	—
Speech	12	7	2
Attitudes to Work	16	5	—
Attitude to Supervisor	15	6	—

A substantial proportion (nine out of 22) admitted to having 'dead-end jobs' where previous experience, personal qualities and qualifications are not particularly important. The majority of these are labouring jobs in a variety of organisations, with some specific to sectors: hotels (seasonal) and warehousing being two examples cited. There was thought to have been little change in the number of such jobs in recent years. There was some evidence that these jobs have higher rates of turnover than average, though in many cases the low costs of job separation and recruitment in such positions means that statistics are not kept on such matters. Most firms claimed, in contrast, that there was a general freedom for all recruits to progress within the career structure of the company, though again there was little evidence of this in practice.

### iii. Training Schemes and Programmes

A good proportion of companies had used YOP and/or other



forms of work experience in the past, with the majority providing at least Work Experience under YTS presently. However, those actively using YTS on their own premises to train staff were a lower proportion, with a bias towards its use in large establishments and multiplant enterprises. Although several plants had been relatively unaffected by these schemes, even where they used them, there was a widespread feeling that they allowed cost effective screening of recruits and an opportunity to improve training overall. Most(15) employers thought the measures were useful and worthwhile, with only two or three negative responses. Generally, it could be said that there was felt to be a need both to improve the wages/allowances paid to trainees and to tighten policy on YTS to prevent abuse of young people.

From Table Three, a majority of establishments used the Careers Service to a considerable extent with most, especially the larger companies, satisfied with their contacts. In the main they were considered to know the requirements of both firms and school leavers. The Jobcentre had the same degree of penetration of the market, though this was tempered by a lower level of contacts. There was also a poorer opinion of them, with seven out of 17 client firms less than satisfied with their performance. The nature and effectiveness of their screening procedures was most often blamed for this, though other, contradictory replies were given. While nine firms had contact with local schools, a majority had no direct link with potential recruits before the end of their formal, full-time education, confirming the reliance on the possession of formal qualifications and further education to screen recruits.

TABLE THREE: DEGREE OF CONTACT AND OPINION OF AGENCIES

	CAREERS OFFICE	JOB CENTRE	SCHOOLS
A lot of contact	8	4	5
Some contact	5	9	4
Very little contact	4	4	—
No contact/n.a.	5	5	13
Satisfied	13	10	—
Not Very Satisfied	2	2	—
Dissatisfied	1	5	—
No opinion/n.a.	6	5	22
			(not asked)

The results of the research illustrate the importance of meritocracy in excluding the Workshop trainees from the firms interviewed. As recruitment is undertaken at the school leaver, or more correctly at the qualified school leaver level, and for higher grades after further formal education, a failure to gain access to these career structures at the early entry points effectively bars the Workshop trainees from entering such companies at any stage.

#### iv. The Workshop

Turning to the awareness of the Workshop, the expectation was that at least 10 companies would be able to respond to this section of the questionnaire, having recruited trainees from the Workshop in the past. However only three could recall so doing, severely restricting a direct evaluation of the effectiveness of the Workshop in preparing their trainees for employment from the perspective of the firm. Of those establishments who had heard of the Workshop(11) some had heard of them through their own trainees but most through the Workshop's own publicity. The official agencies were not therefore marketing the Workshop. Across the three firms who had recruited from the Workshop and recognised this, 10

ex-trainees had been given jobs over a period of four years. To date none of these had moved on to other firms. The companies involved were pleased with their recruits, the training they had received and their relations with the Workshop.

#### v. Firms Comments

In the final section of the questionnaire the interviewees were given the opportunity to make further comments and the majority(15) responded. Only two firms fell into the category of blaming the victims for the problems of youth unemployment, mentioning eg. apathy, poor education and illiteracy. Many others identified problems with the organisation and structure of YTS, a lack of investment and demand. They saw the need to place YTS within a wider context, though there was little recognition of the actual nature and form of these wider labour market parameters. There was general belief that there was a need to positively equip young people for the labour market, but also some feeling that schools, Careers Service and other agencies were letting young people down by insufficient provision of jobs and training. Finally, a minority of employers expressed concern that apprenticeships were too expensive and youth wages too high.

#### Implications for the Workshop

The main objective of this piece of research was to suggest changes, developments and improvements with the aim of raising the job finding probabilities of workshop trainees. In this Section we intend to draw tentative conclusions from the Employers' Survey, with supporting evidence from interviews with official agencies in the Edinburgh district.

From the interviews with the employers in our sample we can identify a number of impediments which may reduce the employment opportunities of the Workshop's graduates. In circumstances of overwhelmingly high levels of unemployment the position of those assigned to YTS workshops who are typically low achievers, is particularly blighted. However, given that, we deal only with only those obstacles which may be open to influence and removal. The two main obstacles are lack of qualifications and a lack of the personal characteristics which impress employers.

Employers are still firmly attached to traditional qualifications such as 'O' and 'Higher' Grades and apprenticeships. It is clearly beyond the capacity of YTS workshops to bring trainees up to an educational standard which they failed to attain in eleven years of formal schooling, but it should be possible for the problem to be addressed indirectly. The qualifications obstacle has two elements; first, employers still restrict themselves to using traditional measures of merit to screen job applicants, and second, employers are unaware of the possibilities of qualifications from establishments such as a workshop. A number of employers, although unaware of the workshops, were interested in their function and operations when these were explained to them. Further, as the main potential for recruitment for trainees is still likely to be in the small construction and service sector firms, which are themselves least able to make use of formal information channels, pressure should be mounted on official agencies to improve the access of these establishments to the labour market and to inform employers about the activities, training and graduates of workshops.

Even in situations where qualifications are not crucial, the workshop graduates will be at a disadvantage if they cannot develop the personal characteristics which appeal to



employers. Key among these are self-confidence and personal presentation. At present the Workshop in question tries to develop these attributes by means of 'learning through experience'. Trainees are encouraged to develop the habits and attitudes which apply in a work situation and training is made to conform as closely as possible to a real job situation. By all accounts, from staff, our own observations and the Careers Service, the Workshop is successful in this, improving the discipline and responsibility of trainees. However employers do not see prospective employees in a work situation, but in an interview situation. No matter how well a trainee works the inability to be interviewed well will lessen the chances of recruitment.

Comments by employers make it quite clear that many young people have little understanding of how to actually approach the business of getting a job. The consensus was that they have little comprehension of what an employer expects in an interview and that as a result they sell themselves short. The more professional personnel staff put this down to a fear of failure, where people have experienced failure and unemployment and are afraid that they might say something which will destroy their chances. Unfortunately, these professionals are still better at making these observations than at making allowances, and of course less well qualified interviewers or screeners will not progress even this far, having rejected such candidates at an early stage.

At present there is a limit to how much time workshop staff can spend on teaching the mechanics of job hunting since the YTS ethos of bringing trainees up to a certain level of 'competence' in their trades still dominates. The result of this is that, the amount of time spent on counselling and social skills has actually declined as staff have introduced more 'skills' courses. Moreover, apart from the problem of complying with the YTS definition of 'training', a change of emphasis might have the effect of discouraging people from going to workshops in the first place. Young people are still attached to the idea that learning a traditional trade is the way to improve their employment chances, which is probably one of the attractions of workshops. If they were to change their emphasis and become some kind of job search college young people would be less likely to turn up. Further, as Stafford (1981) has shown, attempts to instill 'positive' ideas in trainees tends to take the form of first pointing out the areas in which they are deficient and such attempts run the risk of undermining what self confidence they had initially.

Therefore it is important to find a means by which the attractions of vocational training can be tied in with the learning of basic job-hunting skills. One way of achieving this might be to copy the Jobclub idea by running programmes in job-hunting skills which would last for a number of days. During this time trainees would be given tutoring in how to handle application forms, CVs, phone calls to employers and expected to make a number of jobs contacts each day. In this way they would be made aware of what is actually involved in looking for a job, and encouraged to develop appropriate skills. Job schools could be a compulsory, but not full-time, requirement of workshop courses. Thus they would be offering young people what they want, training in specific skills, yet also include what they might not want, but also need. Such an approach should have the effect of making workshop trainees better equipped for competing for that work which is available without detracting from the skills they are learning at the workshop.

To a certain extent events within the development of YTS

have overtaken our views on a possible solution to one of the problems facing young people leaving YTS workshops. Two year YTS, introduced in April 1986, gives all trainees, whether on workshop or industry led schemes, the opportunity of work experience, thus giving employers the opportunity to assess workshop trainees in a work situation. However industry led schemes will undoubtedly offer longer work placements, giving their trainees an advantage over workshop trainees; they will have a longer period over which they can be assessed. Guidance in job seeking techniques can also be pursued under the mandatory Personal Effectiveness criteria of two year YTS, though this will only form one part of this aspect of the scheme, whereas a Jobclub type programme will be much more intensive and therefore much more effective.

Part of the Edinburgh Workshop's philosophy over many years has included self help and a number of ex-trainees have been supported in setting up their own business through making contact with local and national organisations who wish to foster self-employment among the young. However young people generally tend not to consider self-employment as an option and they tend to get little or no encouragement to do so from adults. If they do express an interest it is difficult for young people to get the appropriate training. Although there is a wealth of good material and courses on starting up businesses it tends to assume knowledge these young people do not have. Moreover courses tend to take place in institutions young people shun. Few of the business counselling services see it as their role to provide the kind of continuous hand-holding that young people need when they attempt to set up their own business. Therefore this option is unlikely to be of benefit to the vast majority of workshop trainees.

From the above analysis and after discussion with the Workshop and official agencies, we believe there are certain areas of particular interest that warrant more extensive study. We would draw special attention to the arenas, obstructions and possible outcomes of interactions between minimum aged school leavers with few or no qualifications and their likely employers. This suggests itself as an under researched yet critical stage in the process of the transition from school to work. It would seem that, as graduates from YTS workshops are almost by definition constrained to the secondary labour market, there appears to be a need to place special emphasis on the importance attached by both individuals and employers to the acquisition of formal qualifications and certificates and also to the operation of formal and informal information channels in this sector of the market in determining the eventual distribution of interview and job offers.

#### NOTES

1 This research was financed through the ESRC's Open Door Scheme (award ref. number F09250043) and undertaken whilst we were members of the Department of Social and Economic Research, University of Glasgow. We are grateful to Stephen Effingham for research assistance, and Ann Adamson and Ann Mulholland for secretarial assistance. The views expressed in this paper are our own and do not necessarily reflect those of our present employers.

2 We are grateful to Brian Main of CES for providing us with data from the School Leavers' Surveys pertaining to the Edinburgh labour market.

3 A proportion, though at the time unquantifiable, of YTS trainees are in fact in full time employment; YTS is open to unemployed and employed youngsters.

#### REFERENCES

Berg I., *Education and Jobs : The Great Training Robbery*,

*Continued on page 56*

# student vacation workers and the labour market

R. M. BALL

## The Importance of the Student Vacation Labour Market

Although largely unexplored and certainly peripheral to mainstream research activity on employment issues, the student vacation labour market is a rather important entity. It is extensive in scale, probably quite widespread and may even be expanding. Having said that, it is not surprising that it remains virtually uncharted: compared to other labour market issues it is not, given the absence of data, a politically sensitive area. Yet aside from its scale, it remains a significant segment of the labour market for a series of reasons that themselves have never been gathered together and explicitly stated. First, student vacation workers represent flexible labour and flexibility of available labour resources for employers is at a premium in a modern high cost labour market (Meagher, 1986). Second, for the individual student, vacation employment experience prior to entry into the 'continuous' labour market may condition success in that sphere (Bain & Fottler, 1977; Stephenson, 1981). Third, although there is probably a core of potential student vacation job opportunities in most local economies, there is likely to be a more extensive array in certain local labour markets. For example, it is well known that some coastal resort economies make substantial use of students to meet peak season labour needs. Finally, from a policy perspective, student vacation workers may be quite significant. Such workers clearly compete for work in the peripheral labour market. Just as students may outcompete low income families for housing (McDowell, 1978), so they may exert the same kind of influence on intermittent job opportunities in the local labour market.

This paper considers the role of student vacation workers within the context of the aggregate labour market, in particular, the relationship with other groups of casual or intermittent workers. It also reports on and assesses the findings from a locally based survey of almost 600 student vacation workers in a study area spread across north Wales and the north and south west Midlands undertaken in 1980.

## Students as an Intermittent Labour Supply

In discussing the expansion of temporary work in the contemporary labour market, researchers at the Institute of Manpower Studies, Sussex have noted the relaxation of one of the major constraints on that development - the availability of an adequate supply of labour willing to work on such a basis (see Atkinson, 1984; Meagher, 1986). Indeed, factors such as the growth of unemployment and the relative weakening of trade union influence in some industries have lessened constraints on the use of flexible labour forms that were in any case patchy at the outset (Michon, 1981). It seems almost

certain to the observer that the substantial expansion of students in higher education over the post-war period, evident in official statistics must be at least a part of that trend.

The number of university students trebled between the early 1950s and the late 1970s to about 250,000 (HMSO, 1977(b)). Those in full time higher education outside of the university sector numbered 71,000 in 1955 and 576,000 by 1983 (Des, 1984). Such an expansion in the student population clearly represents an equivalent expansion of potential vacation workers.

Evidence on the activity of groups such as students in the labour market is scant. Government sponsored surveys framed at a fairly high level of generality (Parker & Sirker, 1976), and studies of labour market adjustment in individual sectors (Foster, 1970, on the construction sector) provide indirect evidence, but direct information is rare. Parker & Sirker found that 4% of their 1975 sample of temporary workers were students, although they did not offer a definition of 'student' in the report of their survey. In addition, some 12% of previously held temporary jobs were found to have been completed when the respondents were students (Parker & Sirker, 1976). A survey by the Office for Population Censuses & Surveys in the mid 1970s found that 80% of 'second or later years' students secured summer vacation employment in 1974, whilst 34% of all students had a Christmas job and 13% had a job during the Easter 1975 vacation (Bush & Dight, 1979). However, only Perella, in a brief discussion on the somewhat different circumstances of the US student vacation labour market, provides any real depth of coverage (Perella, 1971). Yet student involvement in the labour market is certainly of significant dimensions and substantial importance. In France, for example, Puel reported evidence from an enquiry by the French 'Monde de l'education' in September 1977 which estimated that, of 895,000 students, some 580,000 worked during vacations (Puel, 1980).

## Components of the Student Vacation Labour Market

### a. The demand for Student Labour in Vacation Periods

It is difficult to link a specific demand for student vacation labour to any particular source of labour demand. Such demand cannot be ascribed to purely seasonal, generally temporary or any other requirements. Indeed, it is not possible to identify a demand specifically for student labour at all. Rather more likely, employers seek intermittent labour for a fixed period and students sometimes fit the need.

Evidence on the demand for intermittent labour that in practice



is met by student workers can be gleaned from a few specialised sources. Directories of vacation jobs aimed mainly at students provide a useful, if suspect, source of information (Griffith, 1980; Hills, 1981). Such publications tend to be orientated towards tourism related jobs and, in particular, focus on seasonal hotel job vacancies. However, from these it is clear that a great many jobs are available between May and October in a diversity of organisations, from holiday centres owned by large corporations to small family businesses. In all cases it can be inferred that students provide an important source of flexible labour to meet seasonal needs.

Other evidence on the demand for student labour in vacation periods can be gleaned from work on individual industries or specific manpower studies. For example, the Shetlands Manpower Study discussed the role of student labour in the Shetlands fish-processing industry (MSC, 1981). This is a case where the local labour market has not been able to support this industry with adequate labour resources in the past and has therefore built up traditional links with students, in particular with those in Scotland and Northern Ireland. Adams, in reviewing the role of tourism in the development of the Scottish Highlands and Islands economy, noted the variety of geographical backgrounds of hotel staff, and especially those who were students, in various institutions (Adams, 1977). Coppock, in the same conference proceedings, identified students as an important labour source (Coppock, 1977). In a survey of holiday centres conducted in north Wales, over 23% of seasonal workers in the centres were students in full-time higher education (Ball, 1986).

It seems reasonable to assume that students represent not only a flexible, but also an attractive and sizeable source of cheap labour. As 'captive' seasonal workers (available only for certain vacations or seasons), often with low income but substantial financial needs, students may be prepared to accept jobs, wages and conditions that other workers are less inclined to accept. Moreover, students are generally young and thus mobile, probably willing to take work in relatively inaccessible areas like the Highlands and Islands of Scotland which are limited in both their local population size and in their access to large urban areas that can supply intermittent labour from those on low income such as women at home with families and the retired.

In general, it can reasonably be assumed that there is little explicit demand for students but that there is demand for intermittent labour which happens to be met by students because they are often appropriate in terms of their availability, their education and youth, and in terms of wages and conditions that they will accept. Of course, important in this consideration is the supply of student vacation labour.

#### *b. The Supply of Student Labour in Vacation Periods*

Within relatively unimportant margins of time, students constitute a captive seasonal labour force in terms of the period of availability and working conditions deemed acceptable. In higher education, academic terms coincide fairly closely so that a very large potential seasonal labour force is released on to the labour market within a period of just a few weeks. Of course, early entry may ensure success, and late entry relative failure in the vacation labour market, at least in terms of conditions, wages, and preferred jobs.

Clearly, the supply of student labour in vacation periods is only a subset of the aggregate student population, excluding sandwich course students and those not seeking work on either academic or a variety of personal grounds.

Nevertheless, evidence indicates that at least 50% and probably over two-thirds of students in higher education (in other words between 150,000 and 200,000 individuals in Great Britain) seek vacation work at some time during the year (Perella, 1971; Parker & Sirker, 1976; Bush & Dight, 1979; Puel, 1980; Sorrentino, 1981), and this is supported by survey evidence reported in the following section.

### **Towards an Understanding of the Student vacation Labour Market**

As part of a wider and more comprehensive documentation and analysis of the seasonal labour market (Ball, 1986), a survey of the student vacation labour supply was completed in late 1980. A 10% sample of students in 13 local labour market areas within north Wales and the north and south west Midlands was drawn at random using either local authority lists or school records of leaver destinations in higher education. Postal survey techniques were used.

The survey provided data for some 594 student respondents (or just below 50% of the total sample). This compares favourably with that achieved in many postal surveys which have often been forced to accept much more modest responses. However, given such a level of response, it is important that care is taken in interpreting the results.

#### *a. Documenting the Character of the Student Vacation Labour Market*

##### *(i) The Vacation Activity Rate*

The survey results show that almost 90% of student

Local Labour Market Area	(a) Number of Respondents	(b) Job Seekers in Summer 1980		(c) Job Finders in Summer 1980		(d) Workplace in Local Labour Market	
		No.	% of (a)	No.	% of (b)	No.	% of (c)
Blaenau Ffestiniog	15	15	100.0	7	46.7	5	71.4
Denbigh	13	12	92.3	6	50.0	2	33.3
Llangollen	18	17	94.4	15	88.2	10	66.7
Llanrwst	10	10	100.0	8	80.0	5	62.5
Mold	26	23	88.5	11	47.8	8	72.7
Wrexham	76	63	82.9	34	54.0	18	52.9
Colwyn Bay	30	28	93.3	17	60.7	12	70.6
Rhyl	22	22	100.0	19	86.4	14	73.7
Bridgnorth	15	15	100.0	7	46.7	5	71.4
Leek	18	16	88.9	11	68.8	6	54.6
Whitchurch	32	27	84.4	25	92.6	17	68.0
Stafford	92	84	91.3	46	54.8	29	63.0
Stoke	191	166	86.9	87	52.4	59	67.8
Area not stated	17	12	70.6	4	33.3	—	—
Total	567	502	88.5	296	59.0	190	64.2

Note: main job in Summer 1980 only

Table 1 **DISTRIBUTION OF EMPLOYMENT IN THE SUMMER 1980 STUDENT VACATION LABOUR MARKET: JOB FINDERS BY RESIDENCE AND WORKPLACE**

Source: Student Labour Market Survey.

respondents had been active in the summer 1980 vacation labour market. Activity rates varied spatially between a low of 83% and a peak of 100% with no clear pattern and thus no hint of explanation (Table 1). Those who actually declared deliberate inactivity included some who were, to all intents, part of a parallel labour market (sandwich course students involved in vacation placement; others precluded by studies or involved in voluntary non-wage work). The addition of these individuals brings the activity rate for respondents up to 94%. Other non-participants were either mature students with outside commitments (in family or business), or simply true vacationists or genuinely full time students.

Given a response rate of around 50% in the survey, and a recorded activity rate of 94% for the summer 1980 vacation, it can be concluded that an aggregate minimum activity rate of about 46% must occur for the randomly generated subset of students surveyed. Of course, the activity rate is likely to be well above 46% in practice.

*(ii) The Character of Summer 1980 Vacation Employment*

There are clearly differences in the access to, or ability to secure vacation jobs on the part of students. From the usable survey responses (totalling 567 individuals) it was found that of the 502 who were available for work during the summer 1980 vacation, 206 did not manage to secure employment. Yet 12 individuals had three consecutive jobs each, 60 had two jobs and 224 had one period of employment. Interestingly, spatial variations occurred in the level of job finding (Table 1), with particularly high success rates in the more rural and least accessible areas (eg. Llangollen and Whitchurch).

The summer 1980 vacation activities of sample respondents can, subject to local variations as a result of the differing economic base areas, be used as an indicator of the situation of the student labour force in general. In the sample, 380 separate jobs, 70% of which were full time (35 or more hours per week), were recorded as being completed between June and September 1980. Clearly, students tended to secure jobs in occupational and industrial areas of the economy where seasonal events like holidays for continuous (regular) employees and acute fluctuations in product demand probably created shortages of labour for the activities concerned. Almost a third of all jobs were in catering, cleaning and personal services, with relatively large numbers in selling, clerical work and farming (Table 2). All broad occupational groups were represented, indicating an exceedingly wide spread of student involvement in the (summer) labour market. When compared to the occupational distribution of aggregate employment in the study area it was farming, with a vacation labour index of 500 (survey percentage as a proportion of the total area percentage for each group), followed by catering, cleaning and personal services (index value 266) and selling (index value 219) that showed the greatest relative involvement of students (Table 2, column (c).)

In terms of sectoral distribution an even greater level of concentration was apparent (Table 3). Almost two-thirds of all jobs were in the service sector and over one-third in distribution and hotels and catering alone. As with the occupational distribution, all major divisions of the Standard Industrial Classification were recorded as having some student vacation workers in summer 1980. Partly reflecting the occupational distribution, the involvement of students was high, relative to the aggregate study area employment level, not only in agriculture, forestry and fishing (index value 239), but also in distribution, hotels and catering (index value 187),

Occupational Group**	Number of Vacation Jobs Recorded in the Survey for Summer 1980					All Employment in Study Area 1981*		Vacation Labour Index	
	FT	PT	n.s.	Total		No.	(b) %	(c) (a) as % of (b)	
				No.	(a) %				
1-5 Professional; managerial	39	10	3	52	13.7	10712	26.3	52	
6 Clerical	31	5		36	9.5	5207	12.8	74	
7 Selling	32	17		49	12.9	2390	5.9	219	
9 Catering; cleaning etc.	58	49	2	109	28.7	4403	10.8	266	
10 Farming	20	13	3	36	9.5	774	1.9	500	
11- Processing 12 making etc.	21	3	1	25	6.6	8655	21.2	31	
13 Painting; repetitive assembly	17	4	1	22	5.8	2417	5.9	98	
14 Construction	10	2	1	13	3.4	1554	3.8	90	
15 Transport and storage	17	4		21	5.5	2687	6.6	83	
8; Miscellaneous 16	14	3		17	4.5	1946	4.8	94	
Total	No.	259	110	11	380	100.0	40745	100.0	100
	%	70.2	29.3						

\* For Calculation of study area employment base, see Bell, 1986

\*\* OPCS, Classification of Occupations, 1980 n.s. = not specified

Table 2 EMPLOYMENT IN THE SUMMER 1980 STUDENT VACATION LABOUR MARKET BY OCCUPATION AND FULL-TIME/PART-TIME STATUS

Source: Student Labour Market Survey

and other services (index value 105) (Table 3). Some vacation jobs for students were even found in industries such as banking, finance and insurance where employers took on students to complete seasonal tasks such as filing, record reviews or simply as holiday replacements.

Jobs were clearly differentiated by sex, with greater numbers of female students in occupations linked to catering, cleaning, personal services, selling and clerical work. Unsurprisingly, farming, processing, transport and construction were dominated by male student workers (Table 4). About 30% of jobs were of less than four weeks duration. However, in the catering trades that tended to take on staff for a holiday season job durations were noticeably longer.

*(iii) Previous Vacation Employment Experience*

As part of the survey, information was collected on vacation employment experiences over the previous three years. Some 907 previous vacation jobs were recorded in addition to those held during the summer 1980 vacation period; an average of 1.6 jobs per respondent. Whilst a sectoral and occupational pattern similar to that for summer 1980 emerged, there were also some interesting differences. Rather surprisingly, very few previous jobs were recorded in some areas of the economy that might have expected to be prominent. For example, the construction sector that one writer had found in the past to be an important user of student labour (Foster,



1970) produced only 28 recorded jobs. As argued later, spatial factors had an important bearing on the results and, in this sense, the sector may well have been particularly depressed in the study area. More than this however, it is likely that changes over the preceding period (1977 to 1980) had brought about a contraction in traditional intermittent employers such as construction. Although we are clearly analysing a period over which students would have been progressing, by experience, through the vacation labour market, the greater proportion of vacation jobs in the previous period than in summer 1980 in some of the basic service trades and fewer in manufacturing is perhaps testimony to that claim.

Sector **	Number of Vacation Jobs Recorded in the Survey for Summer 1980					All Employment in Study (10%) 1981*		Vacation Labour Index
	FT	PT	n.s.	Total No.	(a) %	Total No.	(b) %	
0 Agriculture forestry, fishing	19	12	4	35	9.3	1586	3.9	239
1 Energy and water supply	4	1	1	6	1.6	1680	4.1	39
2 Extraction of minerals	17	2		19	5.0	5346	13.1	38
3 Metal goods, engineering and vehicles	14	1	1	16	4.2	4087	10.0	42
4 Other manufacturing	23	4	1	28	7.4	4028	9.8	76
5 Construction	17	4		21	5.6	2655	6.5	86
6 Distribution, hotels and catering	74	56		130	34.4	7551	18.4	187
7 Transport and communications	7	1		8	2.1	1883	4.6	46
8 Banking, finance and insurance	14	2	1	17	4.5	1992	4.9	92
9 Other services	70	26	2	98	25.9	10125	24.7	105
Total specified by sector	259	109	10	378	100.0		100.0	100
Sector not specified		1	1	2				
Total (All respondents)	259	110	11	380		40933		

\* for calculation of study area employment base, see Ball, 1986

\*\* Industrial Divisions of the SIC see CSO, Standard Industrial Classification Revised 1980, 1979.

n.s. = not specified

Table 3 EMPLOYMENT IN THE SUMMER 1980 STUDENT VACATION LABOUR MARKET BY SECTOR AND FULL-TIME/PART-TIME STATUS

Source: Student Labour Market Survey

Finally, previous vacation employment experience showed the summer period to be the dominant source. Over 80% of previous jobs were linked to the summer vacation and only about 12% to the Easter and 7% to the Christmas vacations.

Having documented the broad dimensions of part of the student vacation labour market we can now turn to a consideration of the factors that explain its occurrence.

Occupational Group*	Number of Vacation Jobs Recorded in the Survey for Summer 1980				Total		
	Male		Female		n.s.	No.	%
	No.	%	No.	%			
1-5 Professional; managerial	16	47.1	18	52.9		34	11.6
6 Clerical	10	37.0	17	63.0	1	28	9.6
7 Selling	16	36.4	28	63.6	1	45	15.4
9 Catering, cleaning and personal services	27	34.2	52	65.8		79	27.0
10 Farming	19	79.2	5	20.8	1	25	8.5
11-Processing, making 12 etc.	17	77.3	5	22.7		22	7.5
13 Painting; repetitive assembly	9	45.0	11	55.0		20	6.8
14 Construction	9	90.0	1	10.0		10	3.4
15 Transport and storage	15	83.3	3	16.7		18	6.1
8; Miscellaneous 16	13	86.7	2	13.3		15	5.1
Total specified by occupation	151	51.5	142	48.5		293	100.0 **
Not specified					3	3	
Total (All respondents)	151		142		3	296	100.0

\* OPCS, Classification of Occupations, 1980

\*\* Error due to rounding

n.s. = not specified by sex

Table 4 EMPLOYMENT IN THE SUMMER 1980 STUDENT VACATION LABOUR MARKET BY OCCUPATION OF MAIN JOB AND SEX

Source: Student Labour Market Survey

#### b. Success in the Student Vacation Labour Market: Towards an Explanation

Seasonal factors are vitally important in explaining the sources of student vacation employment opportunities. The use of students as either holiday replacements or as a traditional response to seasonal variations in business is clear from the bias towards the hotel trade and to farming in the survey findings. As such, in reviewing the character and functioning of the vacation labour market we must look towards locational factors. However, given the supply orientation of the work reported in this paper, and the attempt to understand success rates in the vacation labour market, it is also important to consider the personal characteristics of students.

##### (i) Geographical Factors

Although student vacation workers appeared to be geographically mobile, the nature of the individual's home location, in terms of its indigenous economic structure and its access to seasonal or other intermittent job opportunities, was particularly important. Students residing in either rural or depressed urban labour market areas were more likely to secure non-local jobs having to look further afield for work.

The influence of the local economic structure in conditioning the type and level of vacation job opportunities was clearly evident. For example, students in coastal resort areas such as

Rhyl or in inland tourist locations such as Llangollen recorded both higher job finding success levels as well relatively high proportions of local success (Table 1). Aside from the question of success rates, the local economy clearly influenced the type of vacation job opportunities. In Stoke for example, some students were able to find jobs in the ceramic trades or in other traditional manufacturing areas. In areas like Rhyl or Llangollen, the tourism trades tended to predominate. More generally, areas of substantial tourism activity such as Rhyl have much greater demands for seasonal staff than the local economy can effectively provide. As a result, such areas act as a magnet for students seeking vacation work as well as for other groups of potential intermittent workers.

#### (ii) Personal Characteristics

Success in the 1980 student vacation labour market was also associated with a second set of conditions. These concerned the awareness of job opportunities and degree of contacts that students possessed. First, the success rate of vacation job seekers was higher amongst those with at least one parent in a professional/managerial occupation (65% in this group against an average success rate of 52%). Given the sizeable number of vacation jobs in this group and the fact that 75% of students with jobs in such groups also had parents in the same category, then a link between, say, parental guidance and contacts in the labour market and success may be strongly posited.

Second, aside from the potential advantages of parental contacts, the previous experience of students in the vacation labour market was also important. Past experience in vacation employment provides students with a greater ability to seek out opportunities and probably makes them more attractive to employers. In this latter respect, experience of particular jobs was associated with regular periods of work during vacations with the same employer. Some students for example, returned to Stoke-based pottery manufacturing firms regularly over four or five years. Even when cutbacks in the firms concerned took place, these jobs were preserved.

Third, from the survey it was evident that students in the first and second years of three year degree or other courses were more heavily involved in the vacation labour market. This probably reflects lower constraints in terms of time allocated for academic work outside of normal terms for those in the earlier stages of a course.

#### **The Student Vacation Labour Market: Some Issues and Implications**

Many students in higher education work for additional income in vacation periods. However, the role of such vacation work may be rather more diverse and important than as simply a form of 'topping-up' income for the individuals involved.

Undoubtedly, even at a time of economic recession (as summer 1980), students constituted an important addition to the aggregate labour market. If the results of the survey are scaled-up to national labour market dimensions, it seems reasonable to say that student vacation workers represent a sizeable addition to the labour force for up to four months between June and October each year and, rather less important, at other holiday periods. A summer activity rate of 65% would, in 1977 when there were about 305,000 full-time, non-sandwich course students in higher education (HMSO, 1977(a); 1977(b)), have brought almost 200,000 students on the labour market. This is equivalent to an addition of about 0.9% to the June 1977 recorded labour force in Great Britain of 22,126,000 (Employment Gazette, May 1980).

This raises a wider question concerning the extent to which student involvement in the labour market should be facilitated, perhaps even whether it might be discouraged, at a time of acute job shortages for those seeking continuous employment. Clearly, students can often outcompete other low income, perhaps less well-informed workers, just as McDowell has shown in the housing sector (McDowell, 1978). In the past it seems a sizeable proportion of students gaining vacation employment have filled a range of occupational tasks that, for one reason or another (income; conditions; brevity of job duration), have not been favoured by members of the core continuous labour force. The summer 1980 period, although a time of recession, proved no exception. Some other groups are, of course, deterred from seeking intermittent work because of DHSS rules as regards seasonal work (DHSS, 1982). Proven seasonal workers may well forfeit their right to unemployment benefit and as a result, some probably avoid such job opportunities. The somewhat ironic occurrence of seasonal labour shortages in some agricultural areas alongside sizeable levels of unemployment, is perhaps partial testimony to that fact. Nevertheless, in present labour market circumstances students are less likely to monopolise such job opportunities. This is important in a converse sense because these jobs provide important employment experience. In such terms, they may be part of a progression towards permanent involvement in the industry and occupation in which vacation employment was secured. They also provide work experience of a more general kind.

Whilst many vacation jobs are bound to have disappeared in the wake of the contraction of industrial activity in Great Britain, there is a strong likelihood that temporary jobs in general have been expanding as employers seek to trim their labour costs by switching to flexible labour sources (Meagher, 1986). As such, student vacation job opportunities are unlikely to have diminished in total. Unfortunately, direct comparison of the survey data reported in this paper with the results of earlier work is simply not possible and this claim is thus difficult to confirm. Closures, or substantial contraction of traditional student vacation employers such as British Steel at Shotton, and innumerable manufacturers in Stoke, meant that local vacation job opportunities suffered, particularly in the urban-industrial labour markets within the student labour market study area. However, opportunities in agriculture and some basic services seemed to have expanded over the three year period for which vacation job history was collected. This may, of course, have been partly related to the transition of students through the vacation labour market. Experiences accrued in previous spells of vacation work may have provided individuals with a stronger chance of successfully securing work. Nevertheless, in as much as students, whether in a school sixth form or in higher education, have equal potential access to vacation job opportunities on farms, in the retail trade, or in hotels and catering, then some expansion in these kinds of vacation job opportunities can be claimed.

In general, it appears that whilst some vacation job opportunities had been lost in a number of industries, there were few problems for students who actively sought such work. Indeed, many student respondents in coastal resort areas such as Rhyl (actually 31% of summer 1980 job finders), and even some in towns like Stafford (18% of such job finders) were able to select a vacation job from at least one alternative opportunity. Perhaps a major impact of economic recession, though, is its influence on the perceived availability of vacation job opportunities. Some students, many of whom had job experience, mentioned that they did not seek work because



they did not expect to be successful. However, evidence collected in the survey did not support such pessimism.

### Conclusion

The student vacation labour market appears to be an important entity. Although we have no benchmark against which to assess the survey findings, the results do concur with the general view that a large proportion of students in higher education involve themselves in the vacation labour market. The survey was confined to a particular geographical area (north Wales and the north and south west Midlands.). However, it did cover a range of area types, from rural and coastal to urban. Moreover, it encompassed no areas of economic stability or expansion (such as parts of the South East) where it is likely student vacation job opportunities are more prevalent. Given these facts, and the substantial mobility that typifies student vacation workers, it seems reasonable to presume that the pattern recorded in the survey can be extended to the aggregate student population and thus used to estimate minimum national levels of student vacation work. As such, in the survey, a minimum vacation activity rate of 45% was recorded (over 200,000 vacation workers if the figure is applied to the British student population.)

Although generally spread across a range of occupations, student vacation jobs were found to be particularly concentrated in a few activities. Seasonally sensitive industries and jobs such as those connected with personal services in tourist economies and jobs in particular local industries that have been traditionally filled by students were prominent. In total, the 567 respondents for which data was available could record experience of some 1287 vacation jobs between them in the three years up to and including the summer 1980 vacation.

In recent years we have witnessed an expanding interest in the occurrence of temporary work in the economy (Meagher, 1986). Yet, prior to the research reported in this paper, little attempt has been made to document and assess the contribution of individual supply groups. As such, the student vacation labour market represents an essentially unexplored area of employment activity. Of course, as with most initial studies of a research field, the work reported here raises as many questions as it provides answers. Consequently, fruitful extension of the research needs to attempt a more detailed evaluation of all or part of the student vacation labour supply; construct models of the functioning of the student vacation labour market that embody as well as supply considerations; collect information directly from employers of student vacation labour to investigate the factors involved in hiring; and, perhaps most useful, study the characteristics of other

comparable groups of intermittent workers. In the latter sense, both those voluntarily involved in intermittent work (eg. the retired) or those 'involuntarily' working intermittently (eg. the unemployed) could be reviewed. Without the comparative dimension that such an analysis would provide, the important issues of competition between students and other groups is difficult to broach.

### Bibliography

- Adams, J.G.L. **Tourism as a Means of Development in Remote Areas**, in Duffield, B.S. (Ed.), 1977, op.cit
- Alden, J. 'A Comparative Analysis of Moonlighting in Great Britain and the U.S.A.' **Industrial Relations Journal**, 13(2), 1981, pp.21-31
- Andrews, H. F. 'Journey to Work Considerations in the Labour Force Participation of Married Women', **Regional Studies**, 12(1), 1978, pp.11-20
- Atkinson J. **Manning for Uncertainty: Some Emerging U.K. Work Patterns**, Institute of Manpower Studies, University of Sussex, GN187, 1984
- Bain T. & Fottler M.D. **Sources of Occupational Information Among High School Seniors**, Industrial Relations Research Association Series, Proceedings of 30th Annual Meeting, December 1977, pp.28-46
- Ball R.M. **A Study of Seasonal Employment in the U.K. Labour Market with Particular Reference to Seasonally-Sensitive Industries and Seasonal Voluntary Labour Supplies in North Wales and the North and South West Midlands**, Unpublished PhD Thesis Submitted to the University of Birmingham, 1986
- Bush P. & Dight S. **Undergraduate Income and Expenditure**, Office for Population Censuses and Surveys, HMSO, London, 1979
- Coppock J.T. **Tourism as a Tool for Regional development**, in Duffield (ed.), 1977, op.cit.
- DES **Statistics of Education: 1983**, HMSO, 1984
- (DHSS) **Unemployment Benefit for Seasonal Workers**, NI55, October 1982
- Duffield B.S. **Tourism: a Tool for Regional Development**, Leisure Studies Association Conference, Edinburgh, 1977
- Foster H.G. 'Labour-Force Adjustments to Seasonal Fluctuations in Construction', **Industrial and Labour Relations Review**, 23(4), 1970, pp.528-540
- Griffith S. (ed.) **The Directory of Summer Jobs in Britain, Vacation-Work**, Oxford, 1980
- HMSO **Statistics of Education: Further Education**, 3, 1977(a)
- HMSO **Statistics of Education: Universities (U.K.)**, 6, 1977(b)
- Hills A. 'Toiling in the fields', **Guardian**, 13th June 1981, p.20
- McDowell L. 'Competition in the Private Rented Sector: Students and Low-Income Families in Brighton, Sussex' **Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers**, 3(1), 1978, pp.55-65
- MSC **The Shetland Manpower Study**, Manpower Intelligence and Planning, Edinburgh, 1981
- Meagher, N. 'Temporary Work in Britain', **Employment Gazette**, January 1986, pp.7-15
- Michon, F. **Dualism and the French Labour Market: Business Strategy, Non-Standard Job Forms and Secondary Jobs**, in Wilkinson, F. (ed.), 1981, op.cit.
- Parker, S.R. & Sirker, A. **Temporary Workers: a Report of an Enquiry Carried Out for the Employment Services Agency, Social Survey Division, Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, S1059**, 1976
- Perella, V.C. 'Students and Summer Jobs', **Monthly Labour Review**, 94(2), 1971, pp.55-62
- Puel, H. 'Il y a emploi', **Travail Emploi**, 4, 1980, pp.17-24
- Sorrentino, C. 'Youth Unemployment: an International Perspective', **Monthly Labour Review**, 104, 1981, pp3-15
- Stephenson, S.P. 'In-School Labour Force Status and Post-School Wage Rates of Young Men', **Applied Economics**, 13(3), 1981, pp.279-302
- Wilkinson, F. (ed.) **The Dynamics of Labour Market Segmentation**, Academic Press, London, 1981



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

## YOUNG MOTHERS' GROUP - NOTTINGHAM YOUNG VOLUNTEERS

### THE CEDARWOOD CENTRE PROJECT EDNA ALLEN

## YOUNG MOTHERS' GROUP - NOTTINGHAM YOUNG VOLUNTEERS

### BACKGROUND

Initially the idea was to work with pregnant schoolgirls, this came from the November 1982 'Women Working with Young People' Conference. At this conference a group of women who were concerned about the isolation and lack of support for pregnant students got together to look at what they might be able to do.

It was recognised that any proposals needed the support and co-operation of the Education Department. Discussions with the Local Education Department went on in fits and starts for some time and, because of NYV's persistence and concern, eventually some real progress was made, and in March 1985 approval was given by the education department to develop a group.

Originally, pregnant school students received individual home tuition, but by September 1985 the students were receiving tuition all together at Orston House.

In September 1985 the NYV worker went to Orston House and talked with the tutors there and met young women attending. The plan at this time was to see about NYV running a group with the pregnant students within the Orston House programme. At this meeting it was felt that the needs of the pregnant students were being to a large extent met by Orston House in coming together regularly with other young women. The tutors were now more concerned about the young women who had had their babies and had been used to the support of group tuition, but who were now at home on their own and missing the contact of girls in a similar situation.

### STRUCTURE

The group workers were all women, some of whom had had children of their own. The team changed in the process of the group but included a social worker, a student, a volunteer and the NYV workers. The workers met weekly with a consultant who helped them draw out practice achievement and problems and assist them plan the work.

### WORKERS' AIMS

The worker team met together a number of times before meeting the young women to discuss the aims of the group as they perceived them, and plan the start of the group.

They saw one of the major aims of the group was to provide a supportive space for the young women to look at issues which

were important to them and to act on them if they wanted to. This meant that the workers were committed to enabling the young women to focus on specific issues which they themselves identified (such as their relationships with their baby/parents/father or child/school friends/housing/their future/DHSS etc.), to explore these issues in the group moving from individual experience to common problems, and to recognise areas in which they could, collectively or individually, take power and act upon these problems and issues.

The workers were further committed to supporting the young women in planning and taking action should they choose to do so, and in evaluating any action taken.

It was hoped the problem of isolation, which the workers believed to be important amongst young women with children, would be somewhat relieved by the social contact afforded by the group, although the group was not seen by the workers as being just a place for the young women to meet and chat.

The other main aim of the group was to bring attention to the lack of provision for young women with children. The workers felt that the responsibility for this provision was inherently that of other agencies (e.g. Education, Youth Services, Health, Housing) and that the workers should encourage these agencies to take their responsibility seriously by using the group as an example of an effective response to a felt need. It was hoped that ultimately these agencies would take over the responsibility to follow up the issues for young women with children, including possibly running similar groups in ways consistent with this group's aims.

### WHAT HAPPENED IN THE GROUP

The group met one afternoon per week, initially at Orston House, from 29th November 1986 until mid February, then moved to 126 Mansfield Road where we negotiated the use of the basement room with North East Social Services. This group continued until June 1986 when a break was called to allow for 're-formation' of the group.

After a first meeting with six out of a potential 10 young women, 2 or 3 young women came again until mid January when the group began to vary between 2 and 5 until March. After that it was one person or nobody until the last meeting of that session. There were 3 regulars.

Intermittent letters were sent to young women to let them know that the group was still open to them, and where possible these letters were written with the young women who were there.



The decision to move from Orston House to 126 Mansfield Road was made after much weighing up of pros and cons, and discussion with the young women and with home tutors at Orston House. Orston House was a Social Services department residential home and only available to the Education Department on a limited basis.

The problems with staying were:

- a maximum of 6 young women was allowed
- it was 2 buses away for most young women
- we were not allowed to use the kitchen
- the pushchairs were not welcome
- no boyfriends were allowed
- home tutors had to be in the room with us which often made the group top-heavy with adults

The advantages were:

- regular contact with the Education Department, particularly home tutors
- regular face-to-face contact with pregnant students so that the workers and what they did were already known
- familiar and liked venue.

126 Mansfield Road, on the other hand, had none of the disadvantages which at that time were seen to outweigh the advantages of Orston House. It also represented some commitment to provision for school student mothers by Social Services which it felt should not be refused. Social Services also began to contribute financially to group meetings. This money was used for tea and coffee and bus fares to the group.

### **ISSUES IDENTIFIED BY THE YOUNG WOMEN**

The young women shared their experiences easily, and did much of the encouraging and questioning each other without the workers prompting. No formal structure or 'input' was introduced to identify issues or to record them for the group. The young women gave much prominence to talking about their babies and comparing babies at first, but less so in later sessions. They were asked if they thought they needed a creche at an early stage, but did not think so then. The discussion was around topics the young women brought up themselves. The workers tried to help them follow issues through to taking action, or make decisions where appropriate, or helped them to look at why certain situations had arisen or why things happened.

The issues the young women talked about were wide ranging. Obviously the babies and their births and development and the subsequent effect on the young women's lives was very important to them. We also discussed how their bodies had changed and how they felt about this - some said they would never wear a bikini again.

In the early meetings, when it was a recent event, the police visit was talked about a lot. Many young women were visited by the police investigating the under age sex, without exception the young women found the persistent questioning and the nature of the questions very upsetting. Many didn't realise that in fact they had committed no offence at all.

Relationships within the family were also important. The baby had clearly changed things; some young women were very upset about their mother taking over the baby and interfering in its care, whilst other mothers were very supportive and others disinterested.

Associated with their relationship with their parents was many young women's desire to leave home as soon as possible. Many were anxiously awaiting their 16th birthdays so they could move. In the duration of the group a number of girls did move to the Homeless Families Unit, and then on to Council accommodation (if they were with an older boyfriend), or to other relatives or privately rented accommodation.

The Young Women were very supportive to each other, sharing information and experiences to help others make decisions. The pros and cons of moving from home were discussed. Young women who had left home gave a real picture of what it was like to be alone with a baby.

Money was another issue much discussed, until they were 16 they were not able to claim social security and so were dependent upon parents. Many found this very difficult and longed for the independence of managing their own finances. They would also help each other with what social security entitlement would be, and how to claim for extras when you did move.

Many of the young women were still having a relationship with the father of the child; in fact 2 got married and 2 moved in with the father during the period of the group. These relationships were discussed at length. In some cases parents were not keen on the relationship continuing and made life very difficult for the young women. In other cases, the boys played no role in the baby's life. Issues of access and maintenance also came up.

The young women found that friends' attitudes changed considerably. With the baby a lot of normal teenage pastimes (discos, youth clubs, parties) were not possible for them and many found that friends dropped them once the baby was born. Other people contradictorily started taking a superficial interest in them just because of the baby - this was not much appreciated.

The young women talked about how they rarely went out or had any social life; this was why the group was very important to the regular attenders, it provided social contact for them.

Another major area of conversation was the future - what now? All the young women were very upset that they were no longer able to attend Orston House; they were very keen to do so. At one point they were planning to write to the Director of Education telling him so.

The young women who had to return to school (those with more than 1 or 2 terms) would have liked to be able to negotiate a return that wasn't all or nothing. The young women were told they had to attend school full time; those who returned to school would also have liked to continue to come to the group.

The future more generally was discussed. What options are open to a 16 year old with a baby? The young women's ideas in this obviously changed and developed with time; they talked about jobs, college, marriage, other children. Some felt that the baby gave them something to do and was better than YTS, which many friends were on. All loved their babies deeply and none wished they hadn't had them when they had, but particularly as the babies grew up they were looking for what next in their lives.

## THE QUESTIONNAIRE

In May because attendance at the group was so spasmodic, the workers decided to design a questionnaire in an attempt to review the group with the young women. We wanted to find out what they wanted before we decided to continue, or how to continue. Four out of the eight young women who had frequently attended returned their questionnaire with full and positive responses. Following visits to home to see the young women was less successful and felt to be out of place. They appreciated meeting young women with similar experiences, having somewhere to go and sharing problems, but said that it might have been more useful to have things such as a problem corner to sort out rights generally - benefits especially - or include pregnant young women from Orston House. Others wanted to do more things (a trip was mentioned) and one young woman thought a creche a good idea. There was a sense that young women who had stopped coming had moved on to other things, but that overall they had valued the group and thought it should continue.

## YOUNG MOTHERS' GROUP - 'PHASE TWO'

Because of the positive response to the questionnaires, and the fact that there were a number of young women who had recently had their babies, plus encouragement from the tutors at Orston House, the workers wrote to all potential members to re-start the group in early July 1986.

Since that time the group has been successfully running with a small core of members (some attending more regularly than others). The discussion topics are similar to those outlined in the earlier group, but with the difference that the group has now developed to the stage of taking action. For example they have negotiated for two student nursery nurses to look after children in group sessions as they feel this will leave them free to concentrate on things within the group. They are trying to find more suitable premises for themselves, and are actively recruiting new members. They have visited Orston House to talk to the pregnant students and have been to the University to talk with student teachers and social workers about the group and their experiences.

They have also negotiated time off from school for one young woman who wishes to carry on coming to the group.

## ISSUES

In the space between the groups the workers spent a lot of time looking at their practice, and policy issues arising from the work. As a result of this reflection, some changes have been made to the workers' attitudes and approach which they think have made a contribution to the more successful 'Phase Two'.

### Practise Issues

Though all the workers were experienced in groupwork with young people, working with young women with children was more different than we had originally anticipated. The level of fatigue, the degree of concentration, and the motivation and organisation needed to get out of the house (especially in bad weather), that the young women experienced, posed a new set of factors on the workers to take account of.

So expectations of the pace within the group, attendance and continuity of membership all needed to be re-thought. The fact that the young women are so isolated meant that more time was spent on apparently informal chat than perhaps we were used to. For the members this time to be able to talk with others in a similar situation was a major attraction of the group, and it is from this discussion that they have gone on to identify things they want to take further.

The workers spent a lot of time looking at how to let young women with children know about the group. Should this just be done through Orston House and the Education Department, or should the 'net' be widened to include possibly older mothers known to Social Services and Health Visitors, etc. We decided to limit our contact to through Orston House, but the young women are now looking wider.

We were concerned that we had bombarded the young women with letters about the group (though they say they enjoy receiving them). We are trying to complement the letters with personal contact, and in fact now the group members are taking on the major responsibility for contacting possible members and they think the letters they write are better than ours.

The workers reaffirmed that that the group was for the young women themselves and not their boyfriends as well, and in fact this has never been an issue.

Because of the different pressures on the group, we felt it was important to explore the workers' role, e.g. do the workers take on more because of the responsibilities of group members? If the young women are busy with hungry or tired babies and dirty nappies, whose job is it to remember what they wanted to do this week, and whose job is it to feed and change the babies? It is important to continually review the workers' role.

A continuing dilemma for the workers has been the issue of transport for the young women. The young women have found common difficulties in using public transport which is not geared to the needs of a woman carrying a baby, baby supplies and pushchairs. Especially in bad weather this presents a major obstacle to group members. The workers have discussed whether or not transport should be provided and how we would be in a position to do so. If it is, it removes a major obstacle to the group taking place, but puts us in the role of providers which is contradictory to our approach; if it isn't, the group may flounder. So far the workers have adopted the policy of not taking action on this issue themselves, but being prepared to support the young women if it becomes their issue. This approach risks there being no young women to take the issue of transport up on their own behalf because they can't get to the group! At the moment we do pay the bus fares through a grant from an area social services office.

### Policy Issues

Our work over the past few years seems to show that either young women with children are seen as a problem, or they are not seen at all.

The young women we have had contact with are all very able mothers doing a good job of bringing up their children in difficult circumstances. Our society does not make a priority of parent or youth and if you are both young and a mother there is very little provision for you at all.

Before we began the work we thought that the major agencies that the young women would have contact or problems with, would be Education, Youth Services and Social Services. In fact it is Housing, DHSS and City Transport. Education is quickly written off as having nothing to offer them. This doesn't mean that they weren't interested in further learning or qualifications but rather that full time schooling or college with no child care available weren't helpful to them at all. A number of young women were all keen to continue at Orston



House feeling that its more informal and personal approach had a lot more to offer them than traditional schooling.

As we have mentioned, difficulties with parents led a number of young women to want a house on their own, or with their boyfriend, but getting a tenancy was not always easy. Who has the responsibility for housing a 16 year old with a baby - Housing or Social Services? Also who actually provides the sort of accommodation they want?

DHSS was most noticeable for its apparent inconsistency. Family Allowances, could take months to appear. Initial grants for baby equipment (regulations have now changed) could vary by over £100 when the girls could not see differences in their circumstances.

The youth provision was not used by any of the young women, they felt it had little to offer them as girls, but as mothers it provided nothing for them.

---

**The Cedarwood Centre Project** was set up eight years ago. It was a joint venture by the local authority and the Diocese of Newcastle. The former felt that such a centre could help ease the stress many families experience who live amidst a multiplicity of deprivations caused through unemployment which is currently running at over 80%. Because of the 24 hour manning of the centre it was felt that the resident staff could respond at times of crisis around the clock. The centre was not expected to replace the Social Services Dept. but to complement it.

The church looked upon the project as a way it could exercise its pastoral responsibilities in a practical rather than the traditional ecclesiastical fashion (forerunner to the 'faith in the city' publication?).

Since its opening the centre has undergone many changes. The most recent and exciting being the involvement of nine local residents who run a 'Coffee House'. Another resident is now on the Board of Trustees. It is hoped eventually to have several residents on the board thereby enabling them to have a more direct say in who is employed on the project.

The staff consists of a project leader who has overall leadership and direction of the centre; a community worker whose task is to work to develop community awareness in the area and a Social Worker whose task is to develop the area of work particularly relating to young children and women.

My role from the onset of employment was to develop the women and pre-school childrens work. The most important part of this has been the traditional listening ear. I learned long ago that the majority of people have the solution to their own problems but do need the opportunity to talk them through with someone. Many of the womens feelings revolve around feelings of inadequacy in a male dominated world. While I enjoy being in mixed groups I am very aware of the traditional role of women in society. The lower down the social register a family is listed; so the womens role becomes more difficult.

I was mindful of these affairs but it was not until I came to work at the Cedarwood that I was confronted so forcibly with it. I work from a three Cs philosophy: caring, constancy and encouragement. I am also involved with the family action groups and other agencies in the area. I have been involved in organising days out, holidays and discussion groups, all of which have been enjoyed by the participants. Because people

## CONCLUSION

The work NYV has undertaken over the past four years shows there is a need for informal support for young women with children and that no other agency is seeing this as their responsibility.

Our work has shown that young women with children are an invisible minority who tend to be ignored by the major statutory agencies unless they present themselves as 'a problem'.

We feel it is vital that agencies review their policy and practice as regards young mothers within the context of what these women feel they need.

Nottingham Young Volunteers

---

on the estate make the most of each moment activities are often shortlived. For example, a three month discussion course on the difficulties of being a parent on the estate failed to reach the seventh week. The first six weeks were full of lively, forceful discussion which came to a natural end.

However, the writers workshop has proved the exception to the rule. The growing enthusiasm for this activity ensures its future if adequate funds, encouragement and support can be found.

Kitty Fitzgerald, a writer who works at Amber Films Newcastle, has been working with the womens writers for over a year now and will continue to do so for the foreseeable future.

Edna Allen

*I first started the womens writing group after Edna who started it off told me about it and asked me if I would like to come along and just listen to see if I wanted to join in. After listening and seeing what went on I enjoyed it. We write poems and short stories, and just listen to each others experiences which is good. It is completely different to writing at school because at school you were told what to write about and how to write it, you were skitted when it wasn't very good or when your spelling was appalling, when you're with the writing group you feel relaxed and at ease, and no-one is better than anyone else. So you don't feel stupid. At school you were pushed into things that you didn't enjoy doing such as reading Shakespeare which just didn't appeal to me. In the writing group you just write about how you feel, if you're angry or happy or depressed or whatever, you talk about it to the whole group and you usually find that someone has been through the same things as yourself and it makes you feel much better knowing you're not alone. Another advantage of the writing group is they have creche workers to play with the children so it gives you time for yourself and gives you a break from the children. Afterwards when you leave the group and go home you feel as if your problems have been lifted off your shoulders a little bit, so you see things in a different light. We have also seen videos about debt and other problems you could get into which help prevent you getting into too much debt. We are now working on getting a book published which we are hoping will be passed around to other groups in other areas like ours.*

Wendy

## **LAUGHTER**

*You'd have to drag it out of me  
it's a hard thing to do  
when you've got problems  
but you've got to laugh  
or else you cry  
at people's misfortunes,  
it would break your heart.*

*We see others laughing  
out shopping  
spending money  
they look happy  
when you're skint  
laughter has to be forced out  
like old nails from a wall.*

*We're all in the same boat here  
so we can share laughter  
but let a stranger come  
and it can turn to anger  
when they're preaching  
what they can't understand.*

*Kids can bring it out  
they're the funniest of people  
but we've grown up  
and know the world  
as a cruel place.*

## **ANGER**

*Violence:  
a thing we can't control  
you try but  
you have to let go  
smash; throw; shout and bawl.*

*No-one understands  
the way we feel  
stamping our feet  
slamming doors.*

*Who suffers?  
we do - the women-  
cleaning up after the blast  
pieces of frustration  
all over the floor.*

*Anger: a piece of the past  
a piece of the future  
it just continues  
we hope that one day  
the peace will last.*

*Poems by Wendy, Anne, Deborah & Liz.*

## **POLICY PAPERS IN ETHNIC RELATIONS**

The Centre for Research in Ethnic Relations at the University of Warwick publishes a series of papers on policy and political questions within the area of race and ethnic relations. Nine papers have been published so far:

1. Barry Troyna and Wendy Ball **Views from the Chalk Face: School Responses to an LEA's policy on Multicultural Education** £3.50
2. Selina Gouldbourne **Minority Entry to the Legal Profession: A Discussion Paper** £2.50
3. John Benyon **A Tale of Failure: Race and Policing** £4.00
4. Wendy Ball **Policy Innovation on Multicultural Education in 'Eastshire' Local Education Authority** £3.50
5. John Wrench **Unequal Comrades: Trade Unions, Equal Opportunity and Racism** £3.50
6. John Wrench **YTS, Racial Equality and the Trade Unions** £3.50
7. John Solomos **Riots, Urban Protest and Social Policy: The Interplay of Reform and Social Control** £3.50
8. Wendy Ball **Post-Sixteen Education and the Promotion of Equal Opportunities: A Case Study of Policies and Provision in One Local Authority** £3.50
9. Malcolm Cross **A Cause for Concern: Ethnic Minority Youth and Vocational Training Policy** £3.50

Order to: Administrative Officer, CRER, University of Warwick, Coventry,  
CV4 7AL. (Cheques payable to University of Warwick).



# feature review

MIKE STEIN

## **KIDS MOVING ON Information Pack (£2.90)**

**HOME FROM HOME**  
VHS Video, Kids Moving On Group,  
NE1 Theatre Group (£10.00 plus return postage)

Both available from:  
The Bridges Project  
3rd Floor, Maranar House  
28-30 Mosley Street  
Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE1 1DF

**MOVING OUT**  
Christian Wolmer, JTV Publishing Services  
(no price)

**HOMELESS YOUNG PEOPLE IN BRITAIN**  
Barbara Saunders, Bedford Square Press  
(£6.95 or £7.82 by post)

Lest we forget it in the ensuing discussion - leaving home is a common journey. It should be an enjoyable and exciting experience as well as being a challenging and at times difficult one. Sadly for an increasing number of young people in our society it is proving a highly problematic time. Many young people, particularly working class and unemployed young people, are being denied the opportunity to move on from their parents because of a lack of appropriate and affordable housing choice in both the public and private sector. The resultant extended and enforced dependency often into the young person's mid-twenties or later causes considerable frustration and family tension. The opportunities for black young people to leave the family home may further be restricted by discrimination, and for young women wishing to set up on their own by sexist attitudes and fears of sexual harassment. In contrast other young people may find themselves forced to move on at a far younger age than they would wish and a lot younger than their peers because of family problems or as a consequence of having been in care and lacking family support. It is in the main the plight of this latter group that concerns these three publications and the **HOME FROM HOME** video.

I reviewed the first edition of the **KIDS MOVING ON** resource pack for the Autumn 1985 edition of Youth and Policy and suggested that it was a valuable publication for three main reasons. First it provided essential information for workers with young people leaving care, leaving home or who were in housing difficulties. Second it was important because

the **KIDS MOVING ON** group who produced the pack brought together grassroots workers from a wide range of local voluntary and statutory agencies and the booklet represented 'the fruits of nine months collective work by the group.' And third it was important in that financial support for the publication by Newcastle Council acknowledged their responsibility in this key area. It is still a vital publication for the same reasons. Indeed the available evidence suggests a pattern of increase in homelessness and housing difficulties experienced by young people during the 1980s, particularly following family breakdown. Few of those working with young people today would question the need for up-to-date information and this latest edition of the resource pack is surely a model for others to follow. It contains 24 sections spread over 70 colour-coded pages and is in A4 paperback format. To quote again from my earlier review, 'The material is easy to read, well presented and skillfully combines legal and practical advice with local resource information.' The new edition includes information on housing benefits, employment rights, health, rights in care, police and the courts, household management, responsibilities of statutory departments, single people and homelessness and many more areas.

The **KIDS MOVING ON** group which produced the resource pack is now in its seventh year and its collective work is very impressive. In addition to the pack it has co-operated with the Newcastle-based NE1 Theatre Group in the production of **HOME FROM HOME**, a play and workshop illustrating the problems faced by young people leaving care or home for the first time.

During 1984/5 the play was performed in over forty venues including children's homes, youth centres, YTS schemes and at conferences. The play and workshop have now been made into the **HOME FROM HOME** video which should prove a very valuable training resource in working with young people. It is evident that a lot of thought (and indeed experience from the performance of the play and the workshop) has gone into its preparation - and this is reflected in the structure and content of the material. The issues are presented in three stages. Firstly, through a workshop which shows scenes between Barry, a young man who has just moved into a council flat from care, his next door neighbour and a friend. The three characters are questioned about their attitudes to each other. This is followed by switch off and a discussion with the group of the issues raised, assisted by very comprehensive notes provided for group leaders. Finally there is a return to the video for a forty minute play which looks in depth at the problems faced by two young people

setting out on their own and some of the solutions to their difficulties. Overall the play is well performed and it highlights with both humour and sensitivity the main problems faced by young people leaving home or care. In terms of the 'solutions' offered the balance between short-term 'practical' advice and long-term 'political' insight is about right and should lead to some lively discussions.

Perhaps the two main characters in the play would have been a little wiser if they had read **MOVING OUT**. This is a 12-page pamphlet about leaving home for the first time, written for young people. Its an easy to read, attractively illustrated jargon-free publication which contains factual information and advice about leaving home and the different housing options. As a 'national' publication its of limited value to young people who find themselves in difficulties in locality X or Y, or those who work with them - but it could provide a valuable resource to schools or youth groups as part of a broader discussion pack.

It would seem to me that schools should have an important part to play in exploring many of the issues raised in these publications, including **HOMELESS YOUNG PEOPLE IN BRITAIN**. This book is based upon a three-month pilot study initiated by European Research into Consumer Affairs (ERICA) and the Disabilities Study Unit (DSU). Its main task is to examine the way a sample of 47 voluntary organisations responded to the needs of homeless young people. Two early chapters attempt to define the problem - What is the extent of homelessness among young people in Britain? And who are they? As regards the first question there is very little hard data kept by the Department of the Environment or the DHSS so the author has to fall back upon evidence from the nightshelters and helping agencies in the large cities, all of which suggests an increase in demand for their services. An accurate profile of the homeless young is also hindered by inadequate official data. Information available from the helping agencies suggests the main needs they are responding to include: 16-20 year olds (and some under 16 runaways), young people experiencing family breakdown, young people with care histories, black young people, young

men and young women (although there is less provision for young women). The substantive part of the book is a descriptive overview of the way the voluntary agencies respond to the housing, health, education, training and employment and social needs of the young homeless. It is an informative report but beyond that it is a superficial mixture of description and prescription which is neither a rigorous survey of the voluntary response to homeless youth nor a critical exploration of the key issues. And there was no attempt by the author to build into the survey the views of the consumer - the homeless young people themselves. Most of the young people I have interviewed who have been homeless simply want decent housing near to or with their family, friends or partners - It is through lack of choice they find themselves in nightshelters, hostels or increasingly impersonal bed and breakfast hotels. If ERICA are serious about seeking 'solutions' to homelessness among young people they will not find the answer by researching homelessness. They would be far better using their money to fund a serious examination of the determinants and restrictions upon housing choice among young people generally and the impact of successive government policies upon housing supply.

Finally a framework of diversity should be a cornerstone of any progressive youth work policy, practice or publication. And yet in most of these accounts there is an uncomfortableness about diversity, a failure to subtly weave the implications of class, gender, ethnic background and disability differences into the substance of the publications. A strength of the **KIDS MOVING ON** resource pack and video is that it is rooted within a specific locality and the **HOME FROM HOME** video is particularly skillful in highlighting class and gender issues - but it is very much a 'white' production. An implicit assumption of **MOVING OUT** is of youth as a homogeneous group, that is apart from a tokenistic paragraph entitled 'Its harder for some'. In similar vein in **HOMELESS YOUNG PEOPLE IN BRITAIN** there are fleeting references to young women and 'minority groups' but this is a far cry from wrestling with the implications of diversity as a developing and integral theme.

## warwick critical studies

action · research · theory  
in welfare policy and practice

### No.1. SEXUALITY, WELFARE AND POLITICAL PRACTICE

by Alan Inglis

This study is focussed upon the functions of social policy and therapeutic practice in legitimating male sexuality and maintaining heterosexual supremacy. It suggests that the contemporary form of this supremacy is rooted in the concept of "sexual orientation" and argues for a political strategy aimed at its dissolution at both an individual and a societal level.

### No.2. SURVIVING AGAINST THE ODDS: Women's Depression and their work

by Pat Whitehead

"...if we go out to work we feel guilty - we ought to be at home. If we are at home, we feel guilty because we want to be out at work." (An outworker). This study explores the reasons women take outwork (homework) as a form of paid employment, and the relationship between outwork, the socially constructed female role and the incidence of depression among such women.

### No.3. CRITICAL SOCIAL WORK FOR HEALTHY DYING

by Michael Key

In western capitalist societies, ideological, material and cultural practices typically produce an experience of "sick dying". Ideas from liberational theory and feminism are used to construct orthodox and radical models of "healthy dying", towards which critical social work practitioners should work. Practice implications are illustrated from a geriatric hospital setting.

### No.4. CHILD ABUSE, SOCIAL WORK AND THE PRESS: Towards the History of a Moral Panic

by Philip Hartley

Using a moral panic framework, this study outlines how increased media reaction to cases of child abuse in the 1970s formed a critical part in the process through which the problem was defined. Empirical material is used to identify the themes of press coverage of child abuse, thereby adding to our understanding of how social problems emerge as well as our knowledge of public images of child abuse and social work.

### No.5. OLDER WOMEN AND FEMINIST SOCIAL WORK PRACTICE

by Linda Warren

This study seeks to give older women a voice. It examines experiences of ageing for women and the importance of biographies in feminist social work practice. The position of older women in society and their experiences of dependence are critically studied. The aim of the study is to enable readers to reappraise their social work with older women and approach it with renewed enthusiasm.

Department of Applied Social Studies, University of Warwick, COVENTRY CV4 7AL

£2.95 each



# reviews in this issue

**Peter Aggleton**  
**REBELS WITHOUT A CAUSE:**  
**Middle Class youth and the**  
**transition from school to work**  
**The Falmer Press 1987**

**Ronno Griffiths and Brian Pearson**  
**WORKING WITH DRUG USERS**  
**Windwood House (Gower) 1988**

**Michael White**  
**THE SOCIAL WORLD OF THE**  
**YOUNG UNEMPLOYED**  
**PSI., London**

**Susan McCrae**  
**YOUNG AND JOBLESS;**  
**THE SOCIAL AND PERSONAL**  
**CONSEQUENCES OF LONG**  
**TERM YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT**  
**PSI., London**

**Kevin Ball, Mandy Davill,**  
**Stephen Eastwood, John Holt**  
**WORTH THE RISK!?! CREATIVE**  
**GROUPWORK WITH YOUNG**  
**OFFENDERS**  
**West Yorkshire Probation Service**  
**and Hilltop Practice Development**  
**and Publications Unit (SCF), 1987**

**G Stewart & N. Tutt**  
**CHILDREN IN CUSTODY**  
**Avebury/Gower 1987**

**Geoffrey Pearson**  
**THE NEW HEROIN USERS**  
**Basil Blackwell 1987**

**June Rose**  
**FOR THE SAKE OF THE**  
**CHILDREN**  
**Hodder & Stoughton 1987**

**Peter Aggleton**  
**REBELS WITHOUT A CAUSE:**  
**Middle class youth and the transition from**  
**school to work**  
**The Falmer Press, 1987**  
**ISBN 1 85000 225 8**  
**£7.95 (paperback)**  
**pp.159**

Mapping the new middle class has become a densely theoretical exercise of late, an uncertain terminological wrangling over 'boundary problems', 'contradictory class locations', 'degrees of indetermination' and the like. Certainly this class now has an extremely varied, even fragmented, occupational profile. But, viewed historically, it is also far more culturally homogeneous than ever before. As Raphael Samuel once pointed out this 'claim to culture rests on the conspicuous display of good taste, whether in the form of kitchenware, "continental" food, or weekend sailing and cottages'. Masochistic middle class addicts of the Biff cartoons and Posy Simmonds stand in eloquent witness to this, invoking a moment of self-recognition that is at once discomfiting and confirming.

Peter Aggleton's book explores the same territory but is concerned with the underside of cultural capital. It seeks to explain why a group of twenty seven middle class students at a local FE college in 'Spatown' performed poorly in their GCE A level exams, in an apparent negation of their clear cultural advantages. Aggleton's answer leans heavily upon Basil Bernstein's account of the ostensibly relaxed, personalised mode of social control typically found amongst new middle class families and its impact upon education. In his 1973 essay 'Class and pedagogies: visible and invisible' Bernstein suggested that, despite the dexterity in interpersonal communication promoted by these families, the high value they place upon self-expression could fail to prepare their children adequately for the impersonal rigours of the more formal public examination system and thereby interrupt the process of class reproduction. That, in a nutshell, is what seems to have happened here.

Educated in free or progressive primary schools, many of the students in Aggleton's sample reacted strongly against what they felt to be the illiberal, examination-ridden secondary schools they subsequently attended and looked forward to college life as an opportunity to realise their true potential unhindered by the unnecessary imposition of hidebound rules and regulations. Out of this experience they developed a disastrous ideology of 'effortless achievement', supported by a mild strain of cultural rebellion - most vividly displayed in the story of a drunken walk-out from Christmas Mass at Spatown Abbey loudly condemning the hypocrisy of the assembled congregation. What's remarkable is that these students were there at all.

The book's careful ethnography reflects Aggleton's other main influence: Paul Willis. However, its subtitle is slightly misleading - it isn't really about how middle class kids get middle class jobs, although they do. The details of their employment six years later is consigned to a cursory paragraph (p.135) which contrasts markedly with the painstaking appendices unpacking the rest of these data. And given the study's general sensitivity to gender issues, it's striking that we receive no breakdown of male/female work patterns. Aggleton may be correct to claim that these vaguely arty jobs satisfy a class-

specific desire for personal authenticity but phrases like 'theatre staff' and 'personal assistants to those in the worlds of fine and media arts' could hide a variety of gendered status differentials.

The real strength of this book lies in its solid portrait of the lifestyle of the southern non-commercial middle class, from their open-plan kitchens to their community self-help groups. Julian and Nigel, Belinda and Jocasta may not be the high academic achievers their parents were, but they are very much their parents' children, hanging out in such culturally okay places as the local Arts Centre, their behaviour secretly monitored by the omnipresent eyes of family friends. Gender ideologies are noticeably framed in the language of class with contemporaries on secretarial and engineering courses confidently slated in sexually stereotypical terms, while in their own circles the gap between a male public persona of 'tough leader' and the private face of a 'really nice, quiet, sort of gentle person' is puzzled over uncomprehendingly (p.103) - though again this left me wanting to know a lot more. Bernstein predicted that the effects of new middle class ideology would be confined chiefly to what he called 'the areas of condensed communication', that is 'sex, art, style', and Aggleton's study bears this out while showing just how close parental surveillance in this middle class milieu tends to be. And, in dialogue with Willis, he argues forcefully that what youthful rebellion there is in Spatown - arriving by taxi to collect your supplementary benefit, for instance (p.94) - is best described as a 'contestation' aimed at 'no more than the winning of degrees of personal autonomy within existing social relations' rather than fully-fledged 'resistance', an important theoretical distinction (pp. 125-6).

No news to lovers of Posy Simmonds then, but often a compulsive read for many of the same reasons. Yet the Thatcherite assault on the non-commercial middle classes in recent years makes it hard not to wonder whether the denizens of Aggleton's study have quite the secure self-assurance today that they had in 1980. Whatever happened to Mrs. Burton and the weekly 'academic soirees' she used to hold at home for her Polytechnic students? (p.46) Probably she took early retirement.

Dave Glover

**Ronno Griffiths and Brian Pearson**  
**WORKING WITH DRUG USERS**  
**Windwood House (Gower) 1988**  
**ISBN 0 0745 0582 7**  
**£4.95 (pbk)**  
**pp 108**

The concern that social workers in generic settings may increasingly have clients with drug-related problems on their case-loads is the spur to this attempt to produce a comprehensive, but concise, introduction to working with drug - users. Unfortunately, despite a chapter on 'Drug - Takers as Parents' and isolated references to 'cultural factors' various levels of gender and 'race' are not made central to the argument. This detracts from some sound messages which surface throughout the book.

A brief sketch of the current situation and official responses is followed by a look at the genesis of our own negative stereotypes of 'inadequate', 'self-destructive' drug users. The authors offer a passing mention of repressive styles of policing; a

convincing critique of our attitudes to socially-accepted drugs, and a worthy commitment to the notion that working with users should involve the generic skills of social workers and not empires of isolated specialisms. The latter two projects could have been emphasized by including alcohol amongst the examples with which to explain the key concepts of physical and psychological dependence, of tolerance and withdrawal. This would reinforce the notion that the personal and social damage caused by misuse of alcohol is popularly ignored, and provide a bridge to the experience of fieldworkers who may be more familiar with the reality of working with a problem drinker. The chapter on the effects of drugs covers much ground precisely and succinctly, but the feelings of some workers that 'cannabis psychosis' may be a racist diagnosis should have been mentioned. The sensational reality that 'faulty injection practices (sometimes) require subsequent amputation of a limb' is a tension-raising rarity in a book generally so sensible in its reassuring low-key approach. It could have been offset by adding that advice on correct procedures for injection could form part of a risk-reduction strategy. Harm-minimization can be broader than the current vital advice about the HIV virus. In their desire not to give all the bouquets to sociological theories of drug misuse - rather than to physical, pharmacological, behaviourist or psychodynamic ones - the authors comment that the role of 'personal pathology' must not be discounted. I wonder whether this remark is inspired by the fear of needing to justify the whole notion of casework against the criticism that it individualizes wider social problems. In describing services for drug users there is sensitive recognition of the regional variability in level, type and philosophy of services. But this does not acknowledge that nearly all services are tailored to the white, childless male. Few services have creche workers for children, few rehabilitation centres have extensive mother and child provision, and which part of the judicial system is sympathetic to lesbian and other women who do not fit a traditional wife-mother role? Few agencies have recruited black workers and still fewer have taken other active measures to combat their institutionalized racism. In comparison the decision to omit addresses for nationally relevant organizations such as Release and the Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence, though surprising, is a minor detail. This decision illuminates the difficulties of the second half of the book which covers the practicalities of face-to-face work. What workers presumably need is an ongoing resource that is immediately accessible and can be added to or amended in the light of experience. Checklists for problem management, initial/ongoing assessment, and possible formats for keeping drugs diaries have been produced more clearly when not integrated into the main text, though the authors also incorporate snippets of case-studies to illustrate their rationale for the points they make. More importantly, I cannot conceive how the procedures offered address the role of racism and sexism in producing particular patterns of problem drug use; nor the extent to which such problems remain hidden; nor the effect that the white male bias of services will have. If the authors believe they do, they need to make explicit their case.

The mistake would be to believe that 'race' and gender are not relevant to working with all users, including white males. The authors themselves acknowledge the importance of our own and of others attitudes. The white racism which blames 'black pushers' and 'Asian couriers' needs to be challenged with a knowledge of styles of policing

in the inner cities and the history, geography and political economy of legal and illegal drugs. Working with drug users cannot be reduced to the management of technical problems.

Simon Dyson

**Michael White**  
**The Social World of the Young Unemployed**  
**PS1, 100 Park Village East**  
**London NW1 3SR**  
**ISBN 083574 4165**  
**£4.95 (pbk)**  
**pp.92**

Although this book is short in length its contents are precise, succinct and insightful. Michael White's introduction provides the reader with a teasing overview of the Book's Contents. On the other hand Clare Wallace's piece on; 'Between the family and the state; Young People in Transition', offers us an innovative approach to the issue of unemployment. The findings of her research are exciting and profoundly radical by nature. Again, Susan Hutson and Richard Jenkins piece on 'Family Relationships and Unemployment of Young People in Swansea', is well documented. This piece of research, apart from being unique, is well supported by the quantitative data provided; worth reading. The section on 'Social and Political Perspectives found among Young Unemployed Men and Women' highlights the political awareness, yet apathy found amongst the young unemployed. This piece of research must be read by those interested in the politics of being unemployed.

Issues such as 'Racism, Ethnic Minorities, Ill Health and In Trouble, In Prison' were well documented. In fact there were many correlations to be drawn from these issues. Perhaps the best section was the one entitled 'Living in Society'. The issues of; 'feeling cheated, feeling angry; political perspectives, the future' were realistic accounts of how long term unemployed young people feel. Such feelings are akin to all young unemployed, wherever they live. The section on 'Conclusions' was particularly significant in that it offered, illuminative yet concise recommendations for those working with the long-term unemployed. The section on 'Policy Implications' was excellently documented. Its recommendations have universal implications. In general this book is well documented. It is a concise yet illuminative account of long term unemployment. This book is an essential text for anyone interested in Youth Unemployment. Worth reading in depth.

Wendy Garner

**Susan McCrae**  
**Young and Jobless;**  
**The Social and Personal Consequences of**  
**long term Youth Unemployment**  
**PS1, 100 Park Village East**  
**London NW1 3SR**  
**ISBN 0853743932**  
**£4.95 (pbk)**  
**PP. 154**

In this book Susan McCrae provides us with a more detailed study of the consequences of long term Youth Unemployment. The introduction is very succinct and illuminative. Following on from this the chapter on 'Being Young and Jobless' provides us with a historical view of youth unemployment. This historical overview is an indispensable tool in setting the scene for the

remaining chapters. In the 'labour market' it is particularly informative and concise. The section on 'Jobs are Important' was very enlightening and informative. Likewise, the sections on 'avoiding unemployment' and 'schemes' reiterated the bleakness of unemployment. The section of 'Qualifications and Training' was extremely coherent and challenging. 'Staying on', 'Training' and 'Middle Class Kids' were enjoyable sections to read. 'Living on the Dole', was a particularly insightful chapter. The sections on 'Having Friends', 'Money Makes the Differences', 'Leaving Home' are useful documentations for those working with the unemployed. Such sections could be implemented in a practical programme with the unemployed as discussion topics.

Generally speaking all of the research chapters are excellent, both in qualitative and quantitative terms. The discussion papers following each of the chapters are useful, but inappropriate to the text. All pieces of research are indispensable pieces of reading for those interested in the world of the unemployed.

Wendy Garner

**Kevin Ball, Mandy Davill,**  
**Stephen Eastwood, John Holt**  
**WORTH THE RISK? CREATIVE**  
**GROUPWORK WITH YOUNG**  
**OFFENDERS**  
**West Yorkshire Probation Service and**  
**Hilltop Practice Development and**  
**Publications Unit (SCF), 1987**  
**ISBN 187 032 2037**  
**£3.50 & 50p p & p 60 pp (pbk)**  
**Available from Hilltop Practice**  
**Development and Publications Unit,**  
**Westwood Drive, Ilkley, West Yorkshire**

Work with young offenders, a field now dominated by the new realists of juvenile justice and often dismissed by structuralists as a manifestation of overt social control, has in recent years, seen a steady reassertion of radical values by grassroots practitioners. 'Worth the Risk?' is just such a publication, which seeks to establish a new balance between the empowerment of young people and the constraints of the juvenile justice system. While theorists might argue that this position is achieved at some cost to purity, practitioners will be queuing up to buy this book - and deservedly so. It is an unusual mixture of philosophy and practice manual, based on the authors' solid and extensive experience of groupwork with young people.

Any publication which seeks to establish a new praxis in the juvenile justice field must, for me clarify the following questions: Which young people and on whose terms? What are the workers assumptions and approach? and, who controls the programme content? This book addresses all three questions to some degree, although it is perhaps the most successful in its treatment of the second.

Which young people and on whose terms? - The authors choose to side-step both the justice/welfare debate and the structural inequalities facing young people, by adopting a personal consciousness-raising approach to their work with young people, which they compare to personal politicisation in the women's movement. They argue that practitioners must openly acknowledge their role in the juvenile justice system to the young people they work with, and be honest about the constraints and expectations that their agencies place upon them. The authors



of 'Worth the Risk?' start pragmatically from the assumption that the majority of workers in the juvenile justice system cannot choose the young people with whom they work, but can and should try to work with them in as empowering a way as possible. They espouse the value of 'mutual respect' - not viewing delinquents as disordered, inadequate or morally reprehensible, but as rational young people with skills and potential.

What are the workers assumptions and approach? - This is in many ways the core of the book, representing the art of the possible in creative work with young offenders. 'Worth the Risk?' is strongest in its attempts to translate radical values and macro assumptions to actual practice in a way that many workers fail to sustain. The book contains much informative discussion of the authors' style and approach, their efforts to reduce the power imbalance between themselves and young people, to be non-judgemental and non-moralistic while ensuring that they stay in the real world, and negotiating their own cultural expectations with those of the young people. Their objectives are helping young people to mature by treating them as adults, and helping them to learn survival skills in an oppressive world. The viewpoint of the agency is also recognised and legitimated, and exercises are included to assess - and by implication try to change - the agency's objectives in work with young people.

Who controls the programme content? - Just over half the space in this book is dedicated to programming material and how it can be used. While undoubtedly valuable, and based on considerable experience, it is essentially a worker-structured programme (rather than negotiated with young people) although this may be necessary in agencies which deal primarily with juvenile offenders. While the exercises and topics chosen are not particularly innovative, care is taken to identify the political dimension, e.g. in discussing how to approach job interviews, young people are also encouraged to explore why they are unemployed. However, the primary method adopted is that of group discussion and interaction, and wider possibilities such as community involvement or collective action by the young people are not discussed.

A welcome addition to the literature on groupwork with young offenders, and of particular interest to practitioners working in juvenile justice settings.

Kevin Gill

**G Stewart & N Tutt**  
**CHILDREN IN CUSTODY**  
Avebury / Gower 1987  
ISBN 0 566 05075 7  
£19.50 (hbk)  
pp 237

There are some books which start off strongly, suggesting the potential of discovery and learning, only to develop disappointingly and leave the reader frustrated at promises not kept. Stewart & Tutt's offering is quite the reverse. Whilst the title and cover notes seemed irresistible, and even the early pages of the introduction rekindled interest in the historical antecedents of our current systems of child custody, (with reference to the establishment in 1838 of Parkhurst Prison for Boys as the first formal attempt to remove children from the adult penal systems), it very quickly became evident that there are initial difficulties with both the

design and execution of the book. However the situation is retrieved by about half way through, and thereafter the authors achieve a vitality and level of readability which should have existed throughout the text. For this is a most important topic, and it is regrettable that the background to the informative and sometimes shocking conclusions which emerge is presented in such a way that the reader might strongly be tempted to put the book down unfinished.

The overall aim was to write-up the work of a study group, funded by the Carnegie and Rowntree Trusts and chaired by Norman Tutt, on a comparative study of all children aged 7 to 16 who had entered custody via state intervention in the four jurisdictions of England and Wales, Scotland, Northern Ireland, and the Republic of Ireland. Gill Stewart was seconded from Lancaster University as secretary/research officer to the study group. This was an enormous undertaking, and the first four chapters represent an attempt to set out a contextual perspective for the second substantive part of the book, which is an analysis of a survey of children in custody which was undertaken by the study group. There were problems in arriving at satisfactory definitions and boundaries for the study. The four jurisdictions have differing legal definitions of children, and the development of a coherent notion of precisely what was meant by the term 'in custody' proved to be problematic. Examples such as the use of cells, and the deprivation of liberty seem self-evident; yet the use of what the courts deemed to be reasonable parental actions ruled out some possibilities, and the use of drugs as a means of restricting liberty was not examined since the evidence was not available.

These problems of the study parameters are reflected in the early chapters, which take on issues that are far too complicated to be dealt with satisfactorily in the very limited space which is devoted to them. Attempts to untangle and examine the four discrete legal frameworks, and to differentiate between the varying and overlapping juvenile justice and welfare systems, do uncover the inherent contradictions and confusions of both legal and service-delivery provision; but in doing so both the fluency and the comprehensibility of the text become the victims of those very complexities. The mass of technical detail, abundance of quoted material, and agility demanded of the reader in moving rapidly and often within notice from one jurisdiction to another, all conspire to make this chapter extremely difficult to follow. Similarly, a chapter on 'Children, staff, regimes, and routines' sets out to examine the philosophy and principles underlying provision in the four jurisdictions. Such an undertaking, addressed within the span of a mere 27 pages, verges on the pretentious, if not inviting outright incredulity. In reality, only a very broad and generalised position can be sketched out. Furthermore the utility of comparing such widely differing systems, the Irish Republic has a written constitution with childcare law little changed since 1908 and Northern Ireland faces the unique problem of juvenile terrorists, must be open to question. Nevertheless in its broad sweep some telling points are made: such as the fact that England has one of the highest rates in Europe of juveniles sent to penal establishments; and that following the introduction of the Criminal Justice Act of 1982 in England, there was a 21% increase in the number of juveniles sent to penal establishments in the first months of 1984 compared to the second half of 1983.

However the book develops a more clear sense of

direction in the second half when the authors present their analysis of the snapshot census taken one day during September 1984 of children in custody in the four jurisdictions. And it is at this point, Chapter 5, that the reader might profitably begin. Here the writing is more fluent and focussed, and the writers are clearly more coherent and comfortable in their task. Firstly the census methods and returns are discussed. Secondly, there are chapters which develop the data returns in terms of three categories of custody. These are penal institutions, which derive from the criminal justice systems, secure units, deriving from the welfare systems, and a final category which is described as 'hidden custody'. Both of the first two categories will be familiar to many readers; however the writers make the assumption that whilst many people will have some concept of what a prison is like, few will have an understanding of, or had any contact with, the non-penal secure unit. The final category presents a sobering picture; hidden custody is defined as an unofficially secure setting from which a child is prevented leaving; here ambiguous issues are raised of covert, and on occasions overt, illegality. There are well-written, informative, and challenging chapters on each of these three categories; and graphic use is made of vivid and often disturbing case material quoted from the census returns. This is where the book is at its best, lifting the lid from the institutions which incarcerate children, and posing unanswerable questions which nonetheless demand to be satisfied. It is astounding to learn that no information existed prior to the census (which was precisely why it was undertaken), not even basic figures of those children in custody. Although as the authors point out, this is hardly surprising since there is no legal definition of custody.

One particularly interesting insight emerges from the analysis; on the survey date one third of the secure units listed as being approved by the DHSS were closed, thus disabusing us of the myth that the provision of secure facilities inevitably leads to their use. Conversely however, evidence is cited that the under-provision of custodial facilities (as in the case of the Irish Republic) does not necessarily lead to the development of more humane ways of handling difficult children. This book ends with a powerful challenge to our recourse to custodial policies. Overall, here is yet more evidence that government should urgently introduce changes to our childcare legislation, and that those changes should radically go beyond the proposals which are currently awaiting the allocation of Parliamentary time.

David Stanley

**Geoffrey Pearson**  
**THE NEW HEROIN USERS**  
Basil Blackwell 1987  
ISBN 0631 15621 6 Pbk  
pp194

The overwhelming feeling one gets from Pearson's 'The New Heroin Users' is that of a dull and boring vision of life in eighties Britain. From the front piece, borrowed from John Cooper Clarke's 'Chicken Town' we get a 'bloody brown' image of Northern England. The book tackles the realities of a 'new' heroin problem which manifested itself in the late seventies and early eighties particularly in the run-down inner city areas and the poorer parts of town. New sources of relatively cheap smokeable heroin from the 'golden crescent' of the north-western borders of Pakistan and Afghanistan began to find new markets amongst the young working classes. Pearson, quite rightly,

does not see heroin use as just a working class problem yet points out that the new heroin problem bit hardest in areas of serious poverty and high unemployment. It is from these areas where he has listened to heroin users. The book is a collection of voices from the inner-city areas of Merseyside and South Yorkshire. A serious attempt has been made to allow heroin users to speak for themselves and despite the occasional lapses into being slightly patronising Pearson succeeds quite well in this aim. The book is admirable in that it challenges many of the common notions of what the new heroin problem is about. Depictions of pushers at the school gates are contested by the real life experiences of first encounters with heroin. It is friends who make the initial offer, not strangers. The role of friendship networks is of vital importance for the spread of heroin in a neighbourhood. Heroin is not pushed, indeed at street level heroin must be actively sought out. The myths of instant and inevitable addiction are also dispelled.

Pearson identifies a 'grey area' where involvement with heroin becomes gradually habitual. This slippery slope is often misinterpreted by the users themselves, who may believe they are hooked when they are not or conversely become dependent on heroin without realising it is happening. As heroin use becomes habitual the users' lifestyles become far from attractive and exciting. Friendships begin to fall apart, family relations are put under strain, interests outside drug taking are lost as are jobs and savings for those who had them in the first place. Many of those heroin users interviewed had similar stories of the way heroin insidiously took over their lives. Pearson describes it in military terms:

Heroin's advance is not like some sudden cavalry charge: more like the slow trudge of a foot army. p63.

It is when the first withdrawal symptoms appear that physical dependence on the drug is confirmed for those who use it. The actual severity of withdrawal is the subject of debate for both users and those who study them. Accounts of 'turkeying', that is to say withdrawal, vary from horrifying descriptions of unbearable physical and mental pain to low-key reports of mild flu like symptoms. 'Turkey' does represent for many the transition into addiction. Heroin now needs to be habitually used in order for the user to feel normal and to avoid the onset of withdrawal.

The transition into addiction is not inevitable. Pearson shows how alternative routes and choices are available at different stages of a heroin using career which determine continued use of the drug and the pattern of that use. Whilst many users see themselves as passive actors caught up in a downward spiral to addiction there are decisions to be made and different routes to take in which the user has an active role. In the early stages the initial nausea that many users report may deter some from continued use. Other factors, including availability of the drug and changing friendship patterns may influence whether heroin use continues. Any drug use must be seen in a social and economic context and Pearson through the accounts of the new heroin users illustrates this well.

The decision to inject involves another set of choices for the user. Much heroin in Britain today is smoked. 'Chasing the dragon' - that is the practice of heating heroin, normally on aluminium foil, and inhaling the fumes - caught on in Britain in the late seventies and early eighties. Pearson sees the arrival of relatively cheap smokeable 'brown' heroin as crucial to the

rapid spread of the drug. Smoking is now seen as the dominant method of use, not because numbers of injecting users have decreased but because the new heroin users are more likely to be smoking the drug. Injecting does continue in many areas and, because smoking is an inefficient way of using the drug, some users choose to switch to injecting to reduce the cost of the habit. Not all users cross the injection barrier, but those who do are more at risk of various infections, such as hepatitis and HIV, and other health risks.

Pearson considers the economics of heroin use, particularly at street level. The heroin user far from taking a passive role is engaged actively in economic exchanges. A 'typical' user-dealer will generate an annual cash flow of £25,000 simply to sustain their personal habit. This economic activity takes a variety of forms including small scale dealing, shop lifting and prostitution. Various hustles and scams are described by the users interviewed, many of which become popular modern myths. There is little glamour though in the hand to mouth subsistence existence of most heroin users. The massive profits to be made from the heroin trade are at the level of international trafficking and the multi-kilo transaction, not at street level.

Pearson's final chapter looks at the various strategies employed in coming off and more importantly staying off heroin. The decision to come off can be motivated by a variety of reasons. Self motivation is often influenced by pressure from family and friends. Financial pressures and the fear of going to prison may also play its part. Methods of coming off also vary. Some turn to professional help, many do it on their own or with the help of family and friends. As at other stages of a heroin users career there are different choices and decisions to be made. These are not free choices however, the user is at the mercy of the availability of the right kind of local services and policies. The process of coming off heroin can be a long, hard battle, staying off is even harder.

Martin C. Donoghoe

**June Rose**  
**For The Sake Of The Children**  
**Hodder & Stoughton 1987**  
**0 340 37319 9 hbk**  
**£14.95**  
**PP 335**

One of the problems of charting the changes and developments in an organisation like Barnardos is that whatever picture is contained in the collective public consciousness is either erroneous or out of date. If the idea is that Barnardos helps orphans and boys who sleep rough on the streets it must have been doing a fantastic job as most of our streets are free from sleeping boys orphans or otherwise. Just what Barnardos the man or barnardos the organisation were doing at any one time is not always clear. The book tries to present an objective picture both of the man and the organisation although, as both were, and are, guilty of any number of misrepresentations, it is difficult to know which bits of information we are given contain any truth.

As an evangelical with something to sell Barnardos (the man) is probably the prototype of every successful American fundamentalist preacher. Apart from his journal 'Night and Day' which listed and chronicled every project and activity he instigated, he also used photography in a creatively corrupt way to gain funding for his good works. At a time when charity organisations aimed at clearing the streets of unwanted human debris Barnardos and his organisation were

amongst the first rankers. Reading through the transactions of that peculiarly Victorian society the 'National Association for the Promotion of Social Science' it is interesting to note how often Barnardos name is quoted with any number of spellings, which not only says something about Victorian views of worthwhile charitable endeavour, but also that even in the 1860's and 1870's Barnardos had begun to place his flag on the map of the public psyche by the passing of verbal information. Just how Barnardos created his remarkable dynasty shows just what an opportunist he was, although it is difficult from June Rose's account to gauge what sort of Machiavellian decisions he made. The book makes a sleight of hand as it moves from Barnardos (the man) to the organisation. The organisation was a practical outpouring of the man, and in effect still is, and its the nature of this outpouring which makes Barnardos of special interest to historians of youth provision. While most Victorian charitable endeavour was highly specific in the nature, type or class of client it aimed to assist, Barnardos could look to the many varieties of the child and adolescent population to offer amelioration. By having a 'no-child turned away' policy meant that whilst other noble endeavours that were class or subject specific went to the wall once the supply of the particular type had ceased, Barnardos could change, perhaps not setting the trends, but certainly as much as possible creating or falling in with particular perceptions of 'child' need. The book is at its most interesting when it shares user perceptions of particular Barnardos projects. Along with 'no child turned away' must go 'you can't please all of the people all of the time' and although Barnardos operates the 'Barnardos Guild' for their old charges which by its nature attracts those who feel their childhood experiences with Barnardos were more positive, June Rose is able to present some critical ex-members of the one big happy family who did not have such a wonderful time.

As I suggested above the gap between what Barnardos is thought to be about and what it is doing grows greater all the time. Today Barnardos has taken onboard I.T. provision, which is government funded, psychosexual counselling for children and adults who have suffered from abuse as well as offering residential provision for severely physically and mentally handicapped people. The promotion of its image is now looked after by American marketing men, as is its finances. The problem for the organisation is what to do with its wealth without spending it. The need now as always is to get the public to contribute, some companies run a scheme whereby staff pay a small weekly or monthly contribution to the organisation and Barnardos run charity shops where unwanted gifts and materials can be sold. Another clever marketing ploy they have adopted is having Diana Windsor as a promotional object, Royal patronage is always good for the coffers. The last section of the book which deals with the future is the most unsatisfactory. Some time ago Gillian Wagner sent Barnardos staff a confidential internal memo requesting ideas for future projects. This act is indicative of the sort of fluctuating state that the organisation has found itself for the past twenty years. Barnardos is going to try television promotion and is sending its staff on courses in order that they should have some idea of what the organisation is trying to do. June Rose's book misses all this information vital though it is for a complete understanding of the organisation. Like all good fairy stories June Rose's book has a happy ending, I hope this fantasy is nearer to reality that I would perceive.

Stuart Murray



# 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.

## law

Law is a regular feature compiled by Gateshead Law Centre, Swinburne House, Swinburne Street, Gateshead.

The column for this issue has been prepared by Tessa Green.

### ILLEGITIMACY - A THING OF THE PAST ..... (soon)

#### INTRODUCTION

At present any young person who happens to be born of parents who are not married suffers a wide variety of legal discrimination. This is the case whether s/he was born after a chance liaison or within a long-term relationship. In fact the term illegitimate itself means 'outside the law'. Yet a Law Commission report on illegitimacy as long ago as 1982 acknowledged that such discrimination was unjustified and that the law needed changing. The present Government has introduced the **Family Law Reform Act** which remedies some of the anomalies. However whilst this was enacted in 1987 it has not yet been brought into force although official sources say some of the provisions will be implemented early in 1988!

This article attempts to explain the present situation and describe the proposed changes which will be significant for young people both as children and parents.

#### STATISTICS

Non-marital births have been increasing for a number of years and it is envisaged that they will outnumber marital births in 30 years time. There are no accurate figures but some estimates suggest that there are between 3 & 5 million people living in Britain who were born outside marriage.

In many other countries there is no great distinction made between marital and non-marital children and there have been major reforms over the last 20 years to abolish discrimination in West Germany, France, Ireland and Scotland.

#### THE PRESENT SITUATION

In this country millions of people suffer disadvantage and prejudice because of their parents' situation and this is perpetuated and reinforced by the law.

Unless the parents subsequently marry, a child will be illegitimate for the rest of his or her life. This affects the child in a number of ways.

- Inheritance** - non-marital child will find it difficult to inherit from a father who has not been acknowledged in law (eg on the birth certificate) and cannot inherit from grandparents, uncles & aunts and brothers and sisters who die without making a will.
- Citizenship** - a non-marital child can only acquire rights of citizenship through the mother eg a non-marital child born in Britain with a British father and non-British mother does not have British citizenship.
- Financial Support** - A mother can obtain an affiliation order and thereafter financial support against a child's father but this is much more difficult in non-marital situations:-

- Proceedings can only be brought in the Magistrates Court.
- Magistrates Court orders are generally lower than County Court orders for marital children.
- There is a maximum sum for a lump sum order in the Magistrates but not in the County Court.
- The mother also has a limit of three years in which to apply for an order.
- The mother's evidence alone is not sufficient to prove paternity - there must be independent evidence.
- Only a single woman can apply for an affiliation order. This is a bar to a married woman who cannot prove an intention to live apart.
- The mother of a non-marital child cannot obtain maintenance for herself.
- The mother of a non-marital child has formidable difficulties in establishing property rights against a former cohabitant and the Court cannot order a father to transfer property for the benefit of a child.

Anyway, as the Law Commission noted, 'for many mothers the prospect of being involved in perhaps unpleasant proceedings outweighs any advantage which may be derived from obtaining an Affiliation Order'.

Some other problems encountered by non-marital children are:-

#### Identity

- Name and parentage can be important in psychological as well as legal terms; confusion or embarrassment can cause crisis in later life.

#### Access with father

- Access is said to be the child's right, yet it may be difficult for the father of non-marital children to get an access order and may take years. If a child wants to have his or her father identified there is no legal machinery for obtaining a declaration.

#### Stigma

- Although the stigma such children and parents suffer is diminishing, it is still seen as a major social problem and confused as a cause of poverty and other social ills. Even if the attitude to parents remain punitive there is no justification for punishing the children of such unions.

#### THE NEW LAW

As we stated the Statute that puts non-marital children in roughly the same position as marital children became law last year. The provisions relating to the children's rights should be coming into force very shortly however no indication has been given concerning the provisions relating to parents' rights and duties. The government estimates that the cost of implementing the latter will be about £3 - 4 million and they will only do so when 'resources are available'.

The New Act is divided into six parts.

**Part I** (which is due to be implemented sooner rather than later) creates the general principle that in any future legislation, the marital status of someone's parents will have no effect on their relationships.

**Part II** deals with parents rights and duties and provides a child's father with the right to apply to the Court to share parental status and rights with the mother and thus achieve essentially the same position as a married father. It also gives some young people over 18 (primarily those in full-time education) the right to apply to the Court for maintenance orders to be made against either parent where no previous order has been made. Unfortunately, it may be years before this part of the Act is brought into force so all the information above in relation to applications for maintenance etc will still be applicable.

**Part III** deals with property rights and basically puts a non marital child in the same position as a marital one when it comes to inheritance where no will has been made.

**Part IV** makes provision for anyone to apply to the Court to seek a Declaration concerning their parentage and governs the use of blood tests to this end.

**Parts V and VI** cover various miscellaneous areas such as the requirements concerning the registration of a child's birth and the situation where a child has been born as a result of artificial insemination. In this case should the mother be married to someone who is not the biological father, the husband will be treated as the father of the child unless it is proved that he did not consent to the insemination.

Other relevant Acts are amended and a full amended text of The Guardianship of Minors Act 1971 is contained in a schedule. The Act is not retrospective but there is a provision for the Lord Chancellor to order by Statutory Instrument that the general principle applies to other Acts.

One omission is that non marital children will still be disadvantaged in terms of acquiring British Nationality, as they can still only inherit British Nationality from their mother.

On the whole, however, the Act is progressive and has been welcomed by such organisations as The National Council for One Parent Families. It is certainly long overdue and it is only a shame that so much of it will not be implemented immediately.

## 'Monitor for' this issue:

Sunderland Community Resource Centre

Elsie Palmer

Pearl Johnson

Liza Biddlestone

Oscar Topel

Denise Sides

Sharon Taylor

## Code

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings are as published

The following code describes the reference used.

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

## CONTINUED FROM JOURNAL 23

Mr. Prescott: That may be, but the country paid the price for those 13 years, in balance of payments, reduction in skills and investment, and in our industrial base. It is history, but the Labour party has always had to pick up the mess.

The Government inherited surpluses on the balance of trade and the balance of payments, and a manufacturing industry considerably stronger than it is now. After seven years, what is the result of the Government's policies? We have the highest recorded level of unemployment in the history of the country. It is among the highest in Europe. We have the highest rate of bankruptcies—up 170 per cent. since 1979. We have the largest number of people living beneath the poverty line in the European Community. We have a low level of investment in our economy and in manufacturing—17 per cent. below what it was in 1979. We have the lowest proportion of resources invested in training of any developed economy. We have a massive deficit in manufacturing. The Government inherited a £4 billion surplus in manufacturing, but we are now heading for a £7½ billion deficit, much of it being with European countries. We are heading towards a growing deficit in the balance of payments, which the Chancellor has told us he believes will be £1.5 billion in 1987. However, the OECD figure, which I am much more likely to trust, is that it will be a £3.2 billion deficit, despite the help of all the oil money. We still have a crisis in the balance of payments, the balance of manufacturing and the balance of trade.

Let us put all this on the record because our candidates will be reading this sort of stuff to make use of it in the election. [Interruption.] I notice that the Members who are not laughing are those in the marginal seats.

We also have the lowest level of average growth of the developed economies since 1979. Even the record on inflation, the success symbol of the Government, is dubious when compared to what it was in 1979. The argument about inflation is not an absolute one. In 1979 inflation in Britain was at 8 per cent. while in Europe it was 7.1 per cent. In 1986, our inflation was 3 per cent. and that in the seven OECD countries was 1.8 per cent. The Government inflation record is even worse on a comparative analysis, although they fail to make that comparison.

I hope that the Paymaster General can understand the simplicity of the arithmetic, because that is the reality of the problem.

Mr. Richard Hold (Lanbanough): Will the hon. Gentleman give way?

Mr. Prescott: I am not prepared to give way because the hon. Gentleman intervened in the speech of my right hon. Friend the Shadow Chancellor and suggested such a preposterous level of employment that he clearly does not understand the facts in his constituency.

The Government's policies have provided a greatly divided nation and the divide is not between north and south—that is far too simple. There is the divide caused by the inner cities, with some London areas with unemployment levels of 50 per cent. The west Midlands has been reduced to the beggins bowl of the regional economies, with low income areas. Increasingly, the country is becoming bitterly divided. Our labour force is the worst paid, the worst trained and enjoys the worst employment rights of any in the developed economies.

The Government want to impose this "successful" United Kingdom model on the rest of Europe. It is like a car salesman selling a Sinclair C5 to someone who has a Rolls-Royce. They are offering a lousy bankrupt model. What has been produced after seven years of this economy? It is no coincidence that the other European countries agree with the rhetoric of the European programme and say "Yes, let's have it, but do not impose the same model on our economy." They are happy for Britain to do that because they have more investment, more training, and more research and development, with the result that all their manufactured products are coming here and taking our markets, while we believe in this silly nonsense.

Mr. John Maples (Lewisham, West): I represent an inner city marginal seat. The hon. Gentleman has said that we have the worst trained labour force in Europe, and he has proposed a 1 per cent. training levy on gross turnover, which I understand would amount to £6 billion, the equivalent of raising corporation tax from 35 to 50 per cent. Has he made an exact calculation of the consequence of such taxes on manufacturing industry costs and competitiveness?

Mr. Prescott: The hon. Gentleman has raised a valid point. It is absolutely critical, and I shall certainly address it, but I should like to deploy my speech first.

We readily accept that the improvement of our economy, compared with other European economies, certainly leaves a great deal to be desired. It is amazing how the Government—with a history of fiddling more statistics than any other government—make claims as the Paymaster General claimed, about activity rates, comparing Britain with Europe as part of the evidence of success. I am reminded that this is the first time that I have been in the same room with the Secretary of State since we appeared on a television programme. I wish I could face him at another time. It is amazing how statistics are used by the Government. They are beginning to believe their own propaganda.

The motion specifically relates to employment and training. I shall quote figures produced by the Library of the House of Commons. On the last occasion, the Paymaster General rejected the work of the Library. I have had the matter updated and I shall give him the figures. Most people accept that the Library is a good research facility. Hon. Members generally accept the information that it provides, the figures that I shall use have come not out of the fiddle department of Labour's statistics but out of the House of Commons Library.

I presume that most of the figures that the Paymaster General referred to relate largely to 1983. I do not know who was in power between 1979 and 1983 because all the references relate to improvements in 1983. The unemployment figures, even on the Government's fiddle figures—I shall stick with them for the moment—are 1.9 million more than in 1979, despite whatever improvements the right hon. and learned Gentleman talked about. That is a 164 per cent. increase. The Minister talked about an improvement in the unemployment figures in the past six months. During the other 90-odd months that the Government have been in power, the figures went up every month. They have found a few months in which the figure is going down—a lot to do with employment schemes.

Even the Department's employment figures have been changed to make them more favourable. I shall keep with the figures as they are. The number of employees in employment has fallen by 1.5 million that is 7 per cent. If we take into account the great increase in part-time labour and measure that as full-time equivalents, the Library informed me that the fall is equivalent to 8 per cent., or 1.7 million. That is 1.7 million fewer full-time jobs than in 1979, whatever we do with the figures. In reality, we are clearly talking, even on the fiddle figures, of 1.8 million fewer in work than in 1979. Even on the full-time equivalents, 250,000 more people were in work in 1979, when Labour left office, than there were when we came to power in 1974. That is the reality of the record.

Even the vacancy figures produced by the Department show that a considerable number are dependent upon the community programme schemes. The reduction in unemployment is largely due to the schemes. Even the vacancy figures are brought about by including the CP schemes because nobody wants them. They are advertised in shops, and are regularly put together for the vacancy schemes.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: If the hon. Gentleman gets a brief from the Library, he must use it properly. He continues to assert the figures that he has described—the reduction in the number of those in work—when he uses figures for those in employment. He leaves out the self-employed and the growth in self-employment. It is no good the Labour party continuing to assert that self-employment does not count when more than one in 10 working people are in self-employment. The hon. Gentleman said that vacancies are accounted for by schemes. They are not advertised in that way. The community programme has been expanded. The hon. Gentleman said that nobody wants community programme jobs, but 250,000 people are in those jobs. It is not true to say that those jobs are untaken. The programme is being expanded. The hon. Gentleman gets hold of a perfectly good brief and, as usual, totally misuses it to try to denigrate the improving position.

Mr. Prescott: The Paymaster General again shows his ignorance of the facts. I repeat for him—because he has difficulty in understanding—that I talked about employees in employment. I carefully used the figures from the Library. Of course, the self-employed figures were vamped up and were not included in this form in 1979. Who put them in? The Government put them in. The revamping of the self-employed figure, as the right hon. and learned Gentleman knows, was considerably increased because the Government came to view that, on an estimate of the market, more people were to be considered self-employed, so they further inflated the figures of the employed labour force. [HON. MEMBERS: "Rubbish."] It is not

rubbish. The Minister made statements in the House to that effect. The Library makes those figures clear. I have the data. I shall pass it to the Minister if he wishes to see it. I suggest that the Paymaster General should visit the Library. It might be useful for him. He will get more honesty there than he gets out of his Department's figures.

A point is often made when comparing the levels of unemployment in Europe. If we look at the unemployment level in Europe and the OECD developed countries and the average for the 1970s and the average under both Tory and Labour Governments, we shall see that the average rose from 3 per cent. to 5 per cent., and Britain had the average level.

From 1979, something happened to make the British figures depart from the average. The average was 8 per cent. for the countries that I have mentioned. We went to 11.6 per cent. I asked the Library what the level of unemployment would have been if we had kept the OECD level. The answer was that there would have been more than 1 million fewer unemployed than there are now. The OECD has worked it out for us. Let us look at what happened to the British economy. There has been less investment in transport, schools, health—all the public services. None of the other European countries took that point of view. They did not adopt cuts in public expenditure. That is why unemployment in this country rose considerably. Perhaps if we adopt the European model instead of trying to sell the British model, based on that information alone 1 million more of our people would be in work.

We often hear from the Paymaster General and his boss about European activity rates. It is said that work activity rates in Britain are far higher. That is true—under past Labour and Tory Governments. Between 1964 and 1969 our activity rate average was 5 per cent. higher, but it collapsed at a faster rate than it did in Europe. Of course, higher unemployment in Europe reduced work activity rates, but the reality was always a 5 per cent. difference. Between 1979 and 1986, it was only a 2 per cent. difference. There was a reduction in the activity rate from 65 per cent. to 63 per cent. Even that shows that the collapse in the activity rate has been greater because something significant happened in the British economy, and that was the election of the Tory Government.

Mr. Thurnham: The hon. Gentleman continues to speak about Europe, but he goes back only as far as 1979. Will he tell the House why, in 1978, a Labour Government submitted a paper to the European Government saying that the situation in the north of England was disastrous because of the general state of the British economy?

Mr. Prescott: The figures that I gave related to the periods from 1964 to 1979 and from 1979 to 1986. History teaches me that there were both Tory and Labour Governments during those periods.

For one reason or another, something significant happened in the British economy. One difference for which the Government make a great claim was the expansion in special employment measures. They rose from 250,000 to 750,000. That increase had a considerable effect in holding down the registered employed figures. The measures are primarily designed to do that.

Indeed, today's figures reveal the Government's panic about unemployment. They claim that, over the past five or six months, unemployment has been reducing. Much of the figures is due to employment schemes and, indeed, the restart programme. I have good evidence for that. A statement dated 18 December was released by the Employment Secretary, Lord Young. Referring to the last figures, he said:

"Restart is undoubtedly one of the major reasons for today's improvement in figures."

I do not suppose that any hon. Member would doubt that evidence, even if he had quibbles about the Library. The Paymaster General had better not quibble because he is under observation.

The figures show that unemployment has increased month after month, but now the Government claim that changes over two or three months are largely due to their policy of special employment measures. Panic has set in in the Government. They have set a target for getting unemployment below 3 million. They have carried out a lot of fiddles and now they are creating a job training scheme which they claim will create 250,000 jobs in 12 months. That will have a clear effect in the jobcentres, but it has nothing to do with training or with providing jobs. However, it is to do with reducing the unemployment figures.

We have heard from the Paymaster General about flexibility in business. The European unions have totally rejected that principle. They have seen what flexibility means in Britain where it has reduced health and safety standards. It has removed rights about unfair dismissal and legislation about wages and hours of work, and denies pregnant women the right to go back to employment. None of those things was asked for by business because the surveys carried out and published in "Barriers to Business" show that the main concerns of business men were the rate of interest and value added tax. The Government have done precisely nothing about those things that have contributed to the massive number of bankruptcies in the economy.

Government policy has nothing to do with improving conditions because deregulation is about increasing a part-time, low-paid market. That is what the abolition of the wages councils and the truck Acts was about. Britain is the only country in the world, never mind Europe, which has begun to abolish ILO obligations contained in the wages Acts and the truck Acts. No other European country has done that. The Government have done it because they want to reduce the wages levels that they are becoming increasingly worried about. They are concerned about people in low-paid poverty work. The CP schemes are designed towards the end.

We have heard about the number of people who have got jobs. I shall be in Norwich on Friday and I shall be interested to see jobs that the Government claim for the people there. The figures for the restart scheme have been given in various parliamentary answers. People have gone through the restart scheme with about 336 interviews, and about 3 per cent. of them went into CP schemes, 10 per cent. went to restart courses, 1.6 per cent. went into training and less than 1 per cent. went to real jobs. The real jobs figure is 2,547. Time and again we have attacked the Government about that and they are conscious of how many people get real jobs.

I have just been given a letter sent by the Manpower Services Commission to employees. It tells them that when they fill out the new form about whether they have gone to a new job they have to say not only whether they got a job when they left the scheme, but guess about a job by putting a positive reply on the assumption that they might have got a job. The letter says:

"I should point out that the information given in the final column should relate to what will happen to the participant where a 'positive' outcome is known. Even if this is not likely to take place for some time this is the information which should be recorded, rather than the immediate destination which may be to return to unemployment." The person who fills out the form might not have a job to go to, but in 12 months he might have one, and he will record that as if he were going into a job immediately. That is the kind of fiddle perpetrated by the Government to try to show that people are getting jobs. I shall hand the letter to the Paymaster General so that he can read it. On the CP scheme and the job training schemes, that is precisely the kind of fiddle that is going on.

The Government have made great claims about local authorities using taxpayers' money for propaganda. Is the Paymaster General aware of how much taxpayers' money is being used to pay for propaganda for these schemes? In 1983 some £5 million was paid for advertising, so called, and public relations. The figure has now gone up because between 1986 and 1987 some £30 million of taxpayers' money was used in this way.

I am reminded of one of the adverts on television which said, "Come with me for the job, Joe, we get the going rate." The going rate? He said in a speech yesterday that people should not expect the going rate for the job. However, we have heard on television and everywhere else about the going rate. At least the community programme going rate related to some kind of wage. It averaged £55, but the job training scheme is tied to benefits. People on YTS schemes could be paid less if they went to a job training scheme. That is the first step towards the workforce that the Government have always wanted. It is the first step to a sort of poor law where people will be told to work for their benefits and that they will lose benefit if they do not take a job.

As the Paymaster General's gaffer has left the Gallery, I shall ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman about an article in the press. I do not believe everything I read in the press, but I should like to ask the right hon. and learned Gentleman where he stands. The Independent on Monday said:

"Lord Young faces battle over plans to cut dole."



Having cut people to working for their benefit, the Government now propose further cuts. The Independent says: "Further cuts in unemployment benefit are being sought by Lord Young, the Secretary of State for Employment, despite strong resistance from senior ministers and back bench Tory MPs.

But Kenneth Clarke, his deputy, is less enthusiastic".  
Where does the Paymaster General stand? Is he in favour of giving people less than the benefit that they would receive under the job training scheme? I should be delighted to hear what he has to say.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** That report is total nonsense. I am happy to assert that. The Times produced a long and tortuous explanation from the hon. Gentleman for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) which makes me think that we shall hear more in due course from the hon. Member for (Mr. Gould). The hon. Gentleman has just finished an extremely long harangue which, as far as I can tell, attacked every measure by the Manpower Services Commission and the Department of Employment for assisting the long-term unemployed and for promoting training. Which scheme will the hon. Gentleman abolish? Will he abolish the youth training scheme?

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order. I am sure that the Minister will seek to catch my eye when he wants to reply to the debate. The points that he is raising now could well be dealt with then. A large number of hon. Members want to take part in the debate.

**Mr. Prescott:** I shall come shortly to the right hon. and learned Gentleman's point about training. He had a great deal to say about the rates for the job. I have here a copy of a speech that he made yesterday and I shall read from it. It says: "It has always seemed strange to me that everyone doing apparently the same job should receive the same level of pay."

Is the Paymaster General listening to the point that he made to the nation yesterday? He said: "It has always seemed strange to me that everyone doing apparently the same job should receive the same level of pay." Does that mean the system will change for solicitors and barristers in relation to the automatic fees that are charged in their closed shop? The right hon. and learned Gentleman's suggestion raises a number of interesting points. Should the Paymaster General be paid the same rate as the Secretary of State for Employment who is in another place, is not elected and presumably does not have the same obligations as an elected Member? One also thinks of the Secretary of State for the Environment because we all know that he is fairly casual and comes in later than most hon. Members. Should he be paid as a hard-working member of the Cabinet?

The most offensive point in the Paymaster General's speech was that because the cost of living in the north is lower than in the south there should be paid less than people in the south. A family in the north earns about £70 a week than a family in the south. That reflects the arrogance of some people in the south who say that people in the north should live on less. It fits in with many of the lectures given to us about activity rates, that people should begin to earn less, live on benefits and the pay in job training schemes.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** Will the hon. Gentleman give way?

**Mr. Prescott:** No. I have given way once. The right hon. and learned Gentleman can sit down.  
Government policy reminds me of Victorian values. It takes us back to the board of guardians, workfare, making do without training, low pay and exploited labour. That is what it is all about. It is sheer arrogance for Conservative Members to believe, having let the City free so that the wealthy will work harder to get wealthier, that low-paid people should be paid less because that will make them work harder. That is the Government's ethic and thinking.

The problem in this country is not high wages; it is low investment. There is low investment in machinery and in training. When the Tory party came to power the right hon. Member for Chingford (Mr. Tebbit) made it clear that the Government would dismantle the training structure. In November 1981, he said that the training requirement of the sectors concerned could be met effectively on a voluntary basis at less cost and with less bureaucracy. We have seen the evidence. Sixteen of the 23 industrial training boards were abolished. Thirty skillcentres were abolished. It is fair to ask, after six years of this Government, what has happened to training?

I shall not quote the tremendous amount of information that is available on the collapse of training of all kinds. I shall quote the one body from which the Government get their evidence, the NEDC. Two weeks ago the NEDC paper made it absolutely clear that the training skills of our people and the shortages of all kinds of skills have increased quite considerably. The NEDC mentions every kind of technology through the traditional industries. I shall not quote the paper as there is insufficient time. (HON. MEMBERS: "Read it.") I will read it if that is what hon. Members wish. It states:

"Currently shortages include some which industry should have predicted and some which were identified and unsuccessfully addressed. The shortages, for example, of professional engineers, computer and IT skills, multiskilled craftsmen, and people with managerial and accountancy skills all fall into these categories. Beyond that there are also surprising and recurrent shortages in the traditional skills eg construction where industry is not bringing on enough skilled apprentices, nor allowing access and progression to operatives or adult entrants. . . there is a low level of awareness and urgency in many firms and organisations of the need to develop these massive resources. . . A low skills base affects the quality of the UK's goods and services and of our ability to compete in technically demanding markets."

The decline in apprenticeships and in all forms of training has been pointed out by the NEDC.  
Perhaps we should consider the resources expended on training. A report produced by the Manpower Services Commission led the chairman of the MSC to suggest that the British labour force was a load of thicks. That is not the word I would choose, but I agree that it is the worst trained labour force of any developed economy.

It has been like that for decades. It did not start in 1979, but it was the Tory Government in the 1960s who introduced training boards to improve training skills. The belief that if we removed the bureaucracy, the levies, and the delivery mechanisms it would lead to more training, has not come true. Those training boards have now been supplanted with YTS.

Even the much reduced apprenticeship programmes run by employers are financed by YTS money. They are no longer additional to it. Industry is spending one-fifth of 1 per cent. of turnover on training—about £500 million. Most of our competitors spend about 1 per cent. of their turnover, which is the equivalent of £3.5 billion. Some spend as much as 2 or 3 per cent. of their turnover, according to the NEDC report.

In reality, we do not spend anywhere near enough on training. Since controls have been removed, we do not even spend as much as we did in 1979, when we spent about 50 per cent. more. Even though there are training boards and levies, 95 per cent. of companies are exempt from paying the levy. As a result, training has collapsed. In the construction industry about 50 per cent. of companies are exempt from paying the levy. If our companies spent as much time and energy training our people as they do in finding ways to get round the levy and invested in training our people properly, we would be able to do something more about growth in our economy to deal with those problems. It is a searing indictment of British industry that it does not invest in our people. The evidence is clear to all. The NEDC, the Manpower Services Commission and other bodies make it clear that we do not invest enough money in training our people.

All companies have the responsibility to contribute towards training because training is an investment, not a cost. The problem is that British industry treats training as a cost. Companies, big and small, have been avoiding their obligations. One company that the Government claim is a success is Jaguar. But how much does the Jaguar company spend on training? It spends only 1 per cent. of its turnover. The same is true of Rolls-Royce. That is the reason for their success, of course.

I warn industry that it cannot afford to allow the Government to do that, because they have washed their hands of the skills of the people in this country. The Government have a responsibility to find a financial framework to deal with the problem. The Government should ensure that people have enough skills. The Government have relied upon the Manpower Services Commission and the job training scheme.

The Paymaster General was quite wrong to inform the House that the TUC fully endorsed the new job training scheme. Most of the commission members made it clear that they thought that the upper limit would be 55,000, but the Government suggested that there would be 110,000 places. I quote from a letter that I received from the TUC yesterday in which it says: "TUC commissioners should make it clear at the next Commission meeting the TUC's absolute insistence that the training offered must be of good quality and a target/upper limit of 100,000 places is entirely unrealistic."

The TUC believed that the limit should be 58,000; that was generally agreed by the commission. The TUC suggests a lower number because it believes that otherwise there is an insufficient quality of training. The TUC believes that we will be pushing too much under the system in that way.

We have evidence of that. The report by the Comptroller and Auditor General published yesterday made it absolutely clear that money is being wasted in our training programmes because we are trying to force too many places through the system in the manpower training. The MSC has not got enough money to do the planning. (Interruption.) The Government had an awful lot to say about the Audit Commission's report on local authorities, but they have not yet said a word on the report by the Comptroller and Auditor General which deals with the Manpower Services Commission and training.

The Government made statements before the Audit Commission's report was published. We have already heard Lord Young in the other place say that we must wait to study the report. But that did not stop Ministers commenting about the London authorities before the Audit Commission report was ever published.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** If the hon. Gentleman reads the report — he has not as yet read from any of these documents in a reasonable way when he cites the figures — he will discover that the report concedes that the adult training strategy introduced by the MSC is an improvement on the old TOPS scheme. It suggests ways in which better value for money might be obtained. It also refers to dates two years ago, and a great deal has been done since then. The chairman of the Manpower Services Commission will be giving evidence to the Public Accounts Committee about his reaction to the criticism. The report is, on the whole, favourable and in line with what we are doing. It is quite wrong of the hon. Gentleman to make such remarks.

**Mr. Prescott:** I ask the Paymaster General to read the report again. However, I shall give him one point that is relevant to the TUC's opposition to the programmes under the job training scheme. The qualifications that it gave for new resources was that they should be limited to about 58,000, that there should be a topping up amount to the allowance. These were not met by the statement. The right hon. and learned Gentleman must not persist in saying that the TUC totally endorses his programme. It has not, and the TUC made that clear in writing to me.

The Comptroller and Auditor General made it clear that most employers did not know how many skills there were or even what they wanted. That is deplorable. It is said that nobody knows what is needed in the market. The Manpower Services Commission wanted to bring in a computer to deal with that problem. However, the Comptroller and Auditor General pointed out that there was not enough money available, and the programme was cancelled. Yet the Paymaster General says that all his programmes can be financed with the same amount of money. But no new resources are available. That is one of the complaints made by the TUC and other bodies. It is nothing to do with quality training; it is skivvy training. It has more to do with reducing unemployment and the figures involved. It has nothing to do with training adult people.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke rose—**

**Mr. Prescott:** I am not giving way.

Let us face it: the Government through their programme are asking Europe to adopt the British model. Why should Europe adopt our collapsing economy, which has the lowest investment, the poorest trained labour force and a manufacturing industry that is declining faster than that of any other European country? We have a skill shortage. That is the state of the British economy after seven years of this Government.

But there is an alternative, and the Paymaster General is getting very worried about it. We know that we can return people to work. The Europeans have done it with more success than we have, and we may have a lot more to learn from them than

they have from us. In order to reduce unemployment, we need to invest in our economy and to train our people. That will mean Government intervention. The market will not do that. We will put the alternative to the electorate.

It is hypocrisy to assume that the Government's model is the one that Europe should adopt. If anything, the European strategy is more in line with the Labour party's proposal. The electorate will soon know that and will make the obvious choice. 6.1 pm

**Mr. Robert Rhodes James (Cambridge):** No doubt the House will be grateful for that thoughtful and sensitive intervention by the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott). I have been trying to think of something on which I can congratulate the hon. Gentleman. All that I can think of is that my wife was born in his constituency, and until an hour ago she was rather proud of it.

One of the first rules of this House is that no hon. Member should be involved or interested in another constituency. The second is that a repetition of an old speech is tedious. After all, who reads old speeches? I intend partially to disregard those perfectly reasonable and valid rules.

On 5 March 1980, when you Mr. Deputy Speaker, occupied a different position, I made a speech on employment and training opportunities in which I strongly supported the record of the Conservative Governments of 1951 to 1964, and the life, aspirations and work of Harold Macmillan. That speech greatly upset my Front Bench. It included remarks such as this: "there is a level of unemployment in this nation which is absolutely unacceptable in a decent society". — (Official Report, 5 March 1980; Vol. 980, c. 548.)

I concluded with other words critical of my Government and tried to make the point that, while my constituency may prosper, I represent my country.

That speech immediately followed a speech by the then Member for Truro, David Penhaligon. Others have paid their tributes to him. I shall simply say in public that he was the kind of colleague who makes one feel honoured to be a Member of Parliament. I feel the same about Guy Barnard.

**Ms. Clare Short (Birmingham, Ladywood):** Did the hon. Gentleman ever say that to him when he was alive?

**Mr. Rhodes James:** Yes, he was my friend, and Guy was joint chairman with me of the United Nations parliamentary group.

In 1980 the problem was grave enough, with 1.25 million unemployed, and it became more grave. I continued—I am afraid without much success in my own party—to try to explain and explore what was happening. I tried to draw the attention of my right hon. and hon. Friends to the problem.

There has now been a substantial change in attitude, but we still face the difficulty of trying to interest politicians in the long term. They are fascinated by tactics and immediacy, but they are uninterested in strategies. To look a week ahead is a quantum leap for many of them, although my hon. Friends the Secretaries of State for Employment and for Education and Science are different from the common run. We must stop thinking solely in terms of tactics and immediacy.

We are suffering from unnecessary unemployment and from the depression of our education standards. The words "standard" and "quality" have become like the word "elite". People criticise and deride them. Our children have the longest period of schooling in western Europe, yet we have produced too many people who are illiterate, illiterate and massively ill-equipped for the real world. The amount of money we spend on remedial teaching and training is an area where we have failed.—(Interruption.) All of us are involved in state education. I send my children to state schools and I had no formal education before the age of 12. Some would say that it shows.

We are dealing with the most appalling scandal and paying a high price for the years of the permissive society—the years that the locus built education and employment is close and strong. I have been banging this drum for many years and have usually been met by a sceptical silence from Opposition Members. The strategic part of employment policy is not to do with YTS, job clubs or restart. Important and admirable though such schemes are, they are temporary. The strategic part of employment policy lies in massive investment in schools and in teachers' career and salary structures. In higher education, it lies in student support, civil research and academics' salaries. We must look to the future.

I strongly support the recent proposals of the Government. My only criticism is that these welcome and important resources should be available within a shorter time scale—perhaps two years rather than three. The foundation for our long-term prosperity and success must be laid now.

Finally, I must apologise to the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East. I had no wish to offend him in my rather quick response to his speech. I am in no position to criticise or sneer at any hon. Member. It is just that I feel very strongly about this subject. I obviously got it wrong.

**Mr. Prescott:** I accept the hon. Gentleman's generous apology.

**Mr. Rhodes James:** I am most grateful.

I conclude by appealing to my right hon. and learned Friend to look hard again at resources for education at all levels, because education is the foundation of the future of our children and of our nation.

6.9 pm

**Mr. Malcolm Bruce (Gordon):** I shall first respond to the tribute paid to my colleague, Mr. Penhaligon, by the hon. Member for Cambridge (Mr. Rhodes James). In a sense, I stand in his shoes and feel very much overshadowed by that fact. I know that the House misses him, but it will understand that my party misses him much more and we appreciate the tributes from both sides of the House.

I looked at the document twice and I found that it rather resembled the Soviet constitution. It was a model of what appeared to be the right thing to do. However, I feel that it should be judged ultimately by its execution. My remarks will really be directed towards the areas in which I feel that the Government have fallen short or are likely to fall short in terms of their current initiatives. The document also falls short in a couple of areas.

What it says about the long-term unemployed is inadequate. The alliance partners have said that our objective is to give a guarantee to the long-term unemployed. We make it clear that that is an objective and we appreciate that converting it into reality cannot be achieved in 24 hours. Nevertheless, we have to make a special effort to give the long-term unemployed a real prospect of getting back to work. I do not intend to snipe at restart, but the proportion of people who have gone through the restart programme and then obtained a permanent job still seems very small. Job clubs have also been mentioned, but although they are good for individuals they do not create any new jobs.

The document signed by the Paymaster General talks of the need for employment protection. I wonder how that squares with the sweeping away of wages councils and the removal of protection from an area of the economy where it is absolutely essential—protection not just for the low paid but for employers who want to offer decent wages and do not want standards depressed to what can only be called sweatshop conditions.

We were all a little taken aback by the comments of Paymaster General yesterday following his Peat Marwick lecture. The press release that I read sounded reasonable in the sense of advocating greater flexibility, but the specific things that it was hoped to sweep away were radical in the extreme and I do not believe that the Paymaster General seriously thought that his stance was likely to provoke a widespread positive response from those who represent people in a negotiating situation. I do not have the exact words, but the Paymaster General should consider what he said in subsequent television interviews. He gave the impression—if he did not say it in so many words, the words that he used amounted to the same thing—that people in the regions of England and in Scotland were paying themselves too much and should pay themselves less so as to attract investment and thus create jobs.

I am surprised at the Paymaster General using such language because it is not in character. He knows that wages and employment do not correlate as simply as that. Investment decisions, why companies locate in certain areas and why some expand and some contract, are all affected by many circumstances of which pay is only one. The counter-argument is that costs in London are now so high that firms should be moving out and individuals seeking to leave London to go elsewhere where the cost of living is lower, but in fact people and firms are moving into London despite the substantial premiums and people are not moving out of London because there are no jobs to move to. Indeed, increasingly the best jobs are concentrated in London, thus draining talent and enterprise away from other regions of the United Kingdom.

**Mr. Andrew Rowe (Mid-Kent):** Did the hon. Gentleman see that arch-priest of the London weighting allowance, Mr. Clive Jenkins, castigating my right hon. and learned Friend the Paymaster General this morning for suggesting that it might be worth having differential wages in different parts of the country? Yet has not Clive Jenkins spent most of his trade union career negotiating substantial London weighting for his members?

**Mr. Bruce:** I shall not respond directly to that, but I will make an important point relating to my own constituency. The most recent surveys available show the cost of living in Aberdeen to be the same as the cost of living in London and the south-east of England. Yet our pressure to secure some sort of weighting allowance for Aberdeen has been thoroughly and firmly resisted by the Government in every area. There is a relevant and pertinent point behind the hon. Gentleman's intervention, but I suggest that it shows simply the complexity of the system and, in my view, the over-simplistic solution that the Paymaster General sought to offer yesterday.

Another area in which I support the remarks of the Paymaster General, as far as they go, and feel that the Labour party is boxing itself into a serious blind alley relates to the exchange that took place over the number of people in work and the relevance or irrelevance of the self-employed and small businesses. People in the Labour party have to face up to a certain reality—that the only job growth taking place in the United Kingdom economy, or for that matter in the economies of most of the developed countries, is among the self-employed and small businesses employing less than 20 people. If the Labour party does not recognise that fact and work to realise the potential of that enterprise, it will never achieve any of the targets that it claims for its programmes. In fact, the Labour party is interested in creating jobs only in areas under the control and manipulation of the public sector. Although some of those jobs are relevant, the Labour party must recognise that in a mixed economy it has to be flexible and recognise that free enterprise and small businesses are a crucial sector which must be backed.

**Mr. Rogers:** How does the hon. Gentleman reconcile his remarks about growth occurring only in the small business sector with the Government's constant claim that they are creating jobs in all sectors of the economy? I noticed the Ministers nodding when the hon. Gentleman said that because they were hoping to make a cheap point against us.

**Mr. Bruce:** I am not sure that it is my job to answer for Ministers. I am sure that the Minister who is to reply can answer for himself in due course. All I am saying is that we have to create new jobs in the manufacturing sector and that new jobs are indeed being created.

**Mrs. Peacock rose—**

**Mr. Bruce:** I am sorry, but I cannot give way too many times.

The net growth is coming from the small business sector, so I and my party are concerned to support measures that will expand that sector. We are not critical of what the Government are doing, as far as it goes, but we should be going much further down that road. The evidence that can be seen—which, as I said, is a criticism of the shortfall—shows that one of the problems is that the take-up of the small business schemes being supported by the Government varies regionally.

With regard to the problems affecting Scotland, I believe that if the Government have any pretensions about holding seats in Scotland they must start talking about unemployment in a way that shows that they understand the seriousness of the problem north of the border. The underlying unemployment trend in Scotland has been steadily upwards and my constituency

has the highest increase in the rate of unemployment in the United Kingdom. I am not a pessimist about that in the long run, but it is a real problem.

One of the problems in Scotland is that we have the smallest percentage of small businesses and self-employed of any sector of the United Kingdom economy. If we can turn that round, we shall have made a significant contribution to dealing with unemployment.

**The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Employment (Mr. David Trippier):** The hon. Gentleman is right to say that there is a regional variation in the Government schemes available for small businesses. In fact, there is discrimination in favour of Scotland, the north-east, the north-west and a small part of the east Midlands because of the business improvement services. I am sure that the hon. Gentleman welcomes that, as I do. There is no way in which we would be anxious to introduce such a scheme, with EEC support, in the south east. I am sure that the right hon. Gentleman agrees on that.

**Mr. Bruce:** My point is not that I disagree with what is being done, but that a great deal more needs to be done. I suspect that more could be done to help existing businesses to develop and expand rather than simply creating new businesses, many of which fail within the first year. I am sure that the Minister has had representations from many small businesses. He will therefore know, as I do, that people resent the fact that there is help available to get into business but it is not always available to help people stay in business and to grow and expand in employment. That is an area in which a great deal more could be done, and my party is addressing itself to finding new ways to stimulate employment.

The problem that should and could be addressed by the Conservative party is its attitude towards small businesses. I exempt the Minister from that as I believe he is committed to them. I refer to the Prime Minister's comment that Westland helicopters is just another small business. Her definition of a small business as one which employs 200 people shows a lack of understanding of what is really meant by the term "small business", which is one that would employ between one and 20 people. We need to do a great deal more to encourage further development in that area. I am not saying that the Government's schemes are not welcome, but simply that there are not enough of them and that they are not adventurous enough.

The main problem that we face right now and which the Government face, if they are at all honest with themselves, is that after seven and a half years of Conservative Government the unemployed figure is stuck at 3 million and when one allows for the 1 million people on schemes it is really a great deal higher than that. The Government have announced the expansion of the JTS scheme, which is clearly designed to take the unemployment figure to below 3 million, but the underlying trend is not downwards and there is no evidence that the Government have any solution that will lead to the creation of a sufficient number of long-term jobs.

The Paymaster General sneered at the Labour and alliance parties for putting forward a programme that would reduce unemployment, on a costed basis, by about 1 million. He can afford to do that because he is in Government, but the British people will judge the Conservatives not on what they say they will do in the future, but on their record over the past eight years. That record shows not only a massive increase in unemployment, but that unemployment is stuck at a level significantly higher than it has ever been and higher than virtually all our competitors. For the most part, unemployment has been kept at its current level by the expansion of schemes, some of which are useful to individuals and contain valuable training elements, but most of which do not lead to the creation of sufficient long-term jobs in any sector of the economy. The Government's failure to address that problem has lost them the confidence of people in many parts of the United Kingdom.

The Paymaster General criticised the alliance parties for putting forward an incomes strategy for controlling earnings, but it is folly for the Government to pretend that they do not have an incomes strategy when the Paymaster General advocated his own incomes strategy only yesterday when he suggested that people in the poorer areas should accept lower pay. If that is not a reference to an incomes strategy, I do not know what is.

The Secretary of State is trying to duck the fact that average earnings are rising by 7.5 per cent., which is twice the rate of inflation. Unit costs may be falling, but the basis for any future expansion is not encouraging because a significant increase in the number of jobs in this country cannot be achieved without an incomes policy or refuelling inflation. We are honest enough to identify that as a real problem that any responsible Government should take on board. We know the risk of expanding the economy by generating inflation. We believe that the Government know those risks and therefore will not expand the economy and create jobs. Worse than that, they are going for the obnoxious, in the current climate of considering a massive reduction in taxation rather than stimulating the creation of new jobs. My party accepts that to do both would be ideal, especially for a Government about to call an election, but a Government who chose between one or the other without having stimulated the economy would rightly be indicted if they made the wrong choice.

The Government are in severe danger of making the wrong choice, not just for themselves but for the country. If they wanted to carry the British people with them, they would recognise the need for positive and constructive measures to deal with unemployment and to improve services. That should be coupled with a policy designed to keep inflation under control so that we do not throw away the stability that we may have in other sectors. That is what the British people are looking for, but there is not the slightest sign that the Government have any such policy.

As I said at the beginning of my speech, the document reads well, although it contains one or two Thatcherite themes, which the Minister doubtless insisted on as his contribution to securing unanimity. But it is a long way short of what is actually happening and if its aims are not achieved there will be no significant reduction in unemployment and there will not be the return to work and prosperity for which people are looking. Training schemes are fine—in this country we are unskilled and inadequately trained—and I welcome those training elements that work within the Government's schemes, but it is pointless to throw money at training schemes unless we get beneficial results from them and proper jobs at the end of the day—and the Government have no strategy for achieving that.

6.25 pm

**Sir Philip Goodhart (Beckenham):** Unlike the hon. Member for Gordon (Mr. Bruce), the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) is a competent partisan politician. I am not entirely surprised that during his long speech he made no reference to the billions of pounds that the Paymaster General and the Secretary of State have obtained from the Treasury for our training programmes. I am not at all surprised that he could not find it within him to say a single good word about any of the training programmes that have been introduced by the Government.

However, I was slightly surprised that during the hon. Gentleman's long speech, most of which was devoted to training problems, he made no reference to the fact that the technological revolution, which we are in the middle of, is immensely destructive of skills. Any sensible training policy must recognise that we are in the middle of a period when the need for many traditional skills is fast disappearing. After all, the strikers who have just left the picket lines at Wapping thought that they were striking against Mr. Murdoch. However, we all know that they have been striking against the technological changes which have made their long-acquired skills totally redundant. That has happened elsewhere.

Twenty years ago it would have seemed unimaginable that a television repair man would ever be short of work. However, now, because of the increased reliability and complexity of television sets, there is no need for the television repair man in the way in which we imagined that there would be 20 years ago. In the aftermath of the great freeze, it might seem foolish to predict that there may soon be a surplus of plumbers. However, because of technological changes in the building industry, I suspect that that may well happen by the beginning of the 21st century.

When Opposition Members talk about long apprenticeships, they have got it wrong, and when the Government emphasise the importance of short, modular training schemes, they have got it exactly right. About 18 months ago my hon. Friends the Members for Banbury (Mr. Baldry) — I am delighted to see him in the Chamber — and for Broxtowe (Mr. Lester) and I put forward a proposal in a pamphlet suggesting that one way in which flexibility of training might be improved would be to introduce training vouchers. I am glad that the Government are moving some way in that direction.

We argued that an essential element in that was that no unemployed person who was willing to undertake training should lose benefit. I am glad that the Paymaster General has accepted that principle in the admirable new job training scheme. It is entirely right that no one should lose benefit when he is willing to undertake training. The Government's new scheme received scant thanks from the Opposition, but I welcome it.

However, the Government have not yet made sufficient use of our universities or polytechnics for training programmes. In the past few months the Secretary of State for Education and Science has eased the squeeze on our universities and polytechnics, but the extramural departments of our universities may well have to cut their work. Several of my constituents have written to me drawing attention to the financial problems faced by the extramural department of London University. We should not cut those departments; we should seek ways to harness their skill and capacity to assist our national training programmes.

We are supposed to consider European Community Document No. 10119/86 in this debate. The Wellcome laboratory in my constituency has recently made great strides in anaesthetics. When I read many EC documents, I find them as mind-numbing as some of the products from the Wellcome laboratory. Part of this document, too, was mind-numbing, but one paragraph riveted my attention.

It advocates:

"the provision of improved information and advice about employment opportunities throughout the Community, so as to remove obstacles to movement between Member States, using as appropriate the SEDOC system."

I note that one of the principal authors of the document is the Irish Minister for labour and that one problem at present is the rapid movement of the Irish unemployed to the United Kingdom.

For the past few years, Dublin has had a Lib-Lab Government who follow a policy of high Government spending buttressed by high taxation and a public sector borrowing requirement of 15 per cent. of gross national product—the share of things to come if we have a Lib-Lab Government. The result of those policies has been a national unemployment rate of 19.6 per cent., soaring inflation and the emigration of 100,000 young Irish people to the United Kingdom, many of whom have gone straight on to our unemployment rolls. If they had not been forced out by the Lib-Lab Government in Dublin, the fall in our own unemployment figures would have been sharper and we would be substantially better off. When the Minister deals with the continued implementation of the European employment initiative, I hope that he will ignore the instruction to him in the document because we do not wish to see a greater flow of unskilled, potentially unemployed workers coming to the United Kingdom.

It would be churlish of me to end on a note of discord. We should congratulate the Government on their record on training and job creation over the past year.

6.35 pm

**Mr. Ron Leighton (Newham, North East):** It is a great pleasure to follow the hon. Member for Beckenham (Sir P. Goodhart). His knowledge and interest in these matters are well recognised in the House and he makes a valuable contribution to the Select Committee. He also regularly writes pamphlets which we all read with great interest.

Today, we are debating unemployment and training — an area where the Government have failed. In my constituency, unemployment has risen by 300 per cent. since 1979, so the Government's failure is obvious and glaring. If Labour "was not working" when unemployment was 1.3 million and falling, what have we to say about this Government with unemployment at 3.3 million a year or, on other reckoning, about 5 million? It is an appalling waste of people's lives and economic resources. The dole queue costs about £20 billion a year and lost production costs about £30 billion. Such economics is crazy.

The tragedy is worse, deeper and longer lasting than in the 1930s, yet the Treasury Bench does not recognise that. The Government show no remorse and certainly no self-criticism. The Paymaster General is not good at self-criticism. He has not apologised to the millions of people whose lives have been blighted; instead, he portrays a dream world, a fantasy land, where everything is for the best in the best of all possible worlds. He even suggested that our policies were the envy of the world and that he is leading the rest of Europe.

We are told that an EC document is relevant and I, too, have looked at it. It appears that in November the Paymaster General wrote to his right hon. and learned Friend the Foreign Secretary. I am sure that the House is well able to contain its excitement at that news. We need not waste any time on the letter because it was just a series of clichés and platitudes. For the British Conservative Government to have the effrontery to talk about giving leadership on employment to other countries is mind boggling. Their only expertise is in the production of the biggest dole queue in Western Europe.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** No.

**Mr. Leighton:** I repeat, the Government have produced the biggest dole queue in Western Europe. If the Paymaster General can tell me of a country in Western Europe which has a smaller dole queue than we have, I shall readily give way. He does not appear to wish to leap to his feet.

**Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** I imagine that the hon. Gentleman is thinking in terms of absolute figures. In percentage terms, our unemployment is about average for the European Community and well below that of several other countries.

**Mr. Leighton:** I beg to differ. The Paymaster General is wrong on that, and I am frightened that he should be so misinformed. I shall write to him on this and also give him some figures later in my speech. Perhaps it is his attendance at those awful EEC meetings that causes him problems. I commiserate that he has to put with those meetings; perhaps they have affected his judgement.

If we are to find a solution to our maladies, it will be by our own efforts and not through the Common Market. The Common Market is a major cause of our employment problems. Cmnd. 9911, the White Paper issued in October 1986 entitled "Developments in the European Community January-June 1986", shows that in 1970 we had a healthy surplus on our balance of trade with Common Market countries — the equivalent in today's prices of £3.2 billion. At that time, for every £100 that we imported from the Common Market we exported £143. Currently, for every £100 that we import we export only £68. Instead of having a healthy surplus with the Common Market of £3.2 billion we now have, from January to June 1986, a deficit of £5.2 billion—an annual rate of £10.4 billion. That trade deficit, which has been inflicted on us, has cost us at least 1 million jobs.

**Mrs. Peacock:** Will the hon. Gentleman give way?

**Mr. Leighton:** I prefer to finish my argument, if I may.

From 1979 to 1985, the number of employees in manufacturing in the rest of the EEC fell by 11.4 per cent. In the United Kingdom it fell by 24 per cent. In other words, the number fell by twice as much in Britain. For the biggest economy in the EEC, West Germany, employment in manufacturing industry during that period fell by 763,000 jobs.

**Mrs. Peacock:** Currently, a massive investment in manufacturing is occurring in the north of England. I am pleased that the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) is present, because I understand he recently visited my area. Over £20 million is being invested in new factories in manufacturing in west Yorkshire. That should be put on the record, because that is good investment.

**Mr. Leighton:** I understand that the hon. Lady has a marginal seat in the north of England, and that she would have liked to intervene during the speech of my hon. Friend the Member for Kingston upon Hull, East. If I will do, as a surrogate, I am happy that she was able to get that point on the record.

I should like to get back to the main point of how employment has fallen in the EEC compared with Britain. In West Germany 763,000 jobs have been lost, in France 687,000 jobs and in Italy 614,000 jobs. In the United Kingdom the number has fallen by 1,741,000. In other words, over a million more manufacturing jobs have been lost in Britain than in any of those countries. The trade deficit that the Common Market is inflicting on us costs at least 1 million jobs, and all the figures prove it. The Paymaster General's going to Brussels or Strasbourg and taking part in these meetings will not solve the problem. The Common Market is not the solution; it is the problem.

The Government's monetarist policy—in particular, the high exchange rate which we suffered from for a number of years — is now changing. The Paymaster General mentioned in his speech that our labour costs are falling compared with those of Germany and Japan. That is quite right. That is the function of the movement of the exchange rate in Japan, Germany and Britain. It was the high exchange rate that the monetarists inflicted on us, plus membership of the Common Market, which wiped out a quarter of British manufacturing industry.

We still consume manufactured goods — financed, increasingly, by credit — but we import them. Those goods are produced in foreign factories, which provide employment abroad, while our industrial areas are turned into deserts. We shall never successfully tackle our unemployment problem until the EEC trade deficit is rectified. Until the tide of manufactured imports is stemmed and some balance is restored, we shall never satisfactorily tackle unemployment. We cannot stand back; we cannot leave it to the market. We must have a proper industrial policy in Britain.

The second way that the Government has caused unemployment is this. As industrial societies mature and manufacturing processes become more sophisticated and mechanised, the numbers employed in manufacturing gently declines as a percentage of the total. For example, in Denmark between 1979 and 1985 the number declined by 3.4 per cent. Simultaneously, the numbers in services—health, education and personal social services—float up. That is the accepted process in mature industrial countries. One process complements and compensates for the other, maintaining an equilibrium of full employment. That is what happened in Britain before 1979. From 1966 to 1974 employment in manufacturing fell by 8 per cent. Employment in personal services rose by 25 per cent. Between 1974 and 1979 employment in manufacturing fell by 8 per cent, and in personal services it rose by 8 per cent. One floats down gently, the other floats up gently leaving an equilibrium.

Between 1979 and 1985 the number employed in manufacturing declined by 25 per cent. The increase in services was only 1 per cent. That was not a gentle float down in manufacturing but a violent collapse. It was not the natural decline that we would normally expect; it was butchery. It was engineered by the monetarist policies of the Conservative Government.

During that period, there was no adequate compensatory increase in personal services. The United Kingdom is now the smallest spender on health, in percentage terms and in absolute terms, of the advance industrial countries. The Conservative party has reined back expenditure on education, as was mentioned by Conservative Back Benches, and cut expenditure on personal social services. That is a major cause of unemployment being higher in Britain than in other countries.

Reversing manufacturing industry takes time. It will take time before that revival will turn into jobs, although it must be done. Expanding our services can be done fairly quickly. That is a major way that a new Government can fairly quickly reduce unemployment. I congratulate my hon. Friend the Member for Kingston upon Hull, East — he has come in for a bit of criticism today — who wants to make good the ravages on our services in health, education and personal social services. He can do it quickly, and those jobs can be provided quickly. Those jobs are financed through the public sector, which is one of the reasons why they are being cut back. I applaud my hon. Friend's initiative.

Another area is construction. There is a backlog of maintenance on council housing of some £20 billion. The Audit Commission, to which my hon. Friend referred, in its report on local government, explained that in 1979 central Government expenditure in London on housing was £1.5 billion. It is now only £500 million, one third of what it was. That is why we have homelessness, why housing is in such a terrible state and why 500,000 fewer construction workers are at work than a decade ago. That has to be rectified and reversed. I should like my hon. Friend the Member for Kingston upon Hull, East to make provision for the employment of a further 500,000 people in the building industry. Of course that can be done. Indeed, it must be done if we want to live in a civilised country with proper housing. When he does that, he will save a lot of money which we are wasting on bed and breakfast accommodation. Nor will he suck in imports in so doing. Britain has the raw materials. Bricks are made out of mud. We do not have to import mud from Japan; we have plenty of British mud to make bricks.

Why do we not pay the private employer for the additional workers he takes on a subsidy which is roughly equal to unemployment benefit? That would make a lot of sense. People are demanding action. They are not complacent like the Paymaster General. He always looks cheerful, no matter how high the unemployment figures. Whatever disaster happens, the right hon. and learned Gentleman comes along, puts his hands in his pockets, pulls up his trousers, smiles at us and tells us that everything is all right.

On 3 May, there will be a human chain from Liverpool to London of ordinary people demonstrating and demanding that action should be taken.

**Mr. Greg Knight:** Will the hon. Gentleman give way?

**Mr. Leighton:** I am not anxious to give way because I have taken too long already. If the hon. Gentleman will forgive me —

**Mr. Greg Knight:** Will the hon. Gentleman give way?

**Mr. Leighton:** If the hon. Gentleman insists.

**Mr. Greg Knight:** I am grateful to the hon. Gentleman for giving way. He has told us some of his ideas for creating 500,000 jobs. What effect would the Labour party's policy of introducing a national minimum wage have on employment? Would not the introduction of such a policy destroy 500,000 jobs?

**Mr. Leighton:** There is absolutely no evidence for that. With great respect to the hon. Gentleman, that is pure claptrap. That is untrue. If he would like to present me with any credible argument to support the idea, I should look at it.

Employment is not achieved by forcing down wages. If forcing down wages were the way to get employment, Britain would be the country with the highest employment because our wages are the lowest in Europe. Obviously, we cannot take that idea seriously.

The Select Committee on Employment spent a lot of time undertaking careful research and it produced a job guarantee programme. The Paymaster General made light of other calculations by people who are working on plans. But we worked on our plans and did the research and had it double checked with the London Business School. Professor Alan Budd worked through all the figures. We offered the Paymaster General a way of giving a job guarantee to the long-term unemployed, but we did not hear a positive response. Instead, we got the restart programme.

It is right that we should keep in contact with the long-term unemployed. My criticism is that it was wrong to stop having contact with the long-term unemployed in 1982. There used to be regular contact with the long-term unemployed, but in 1982 the Government stopped that because the numbers being thrown on the dole queues were so high in one year—almost 1 million—that they could do nothing with them. The Government therefore stopped talking to those people. In 1983, the Government tried to slash the jobcentre service. They wanted 10 per cent. fewer people to be employed in it. At that time, the jobcentre in my constituency in Heigham road, East Ham was to be shut down and the Government were talking about putting counters in Woodworth, building societies and banks.

It is right that there should be contact with the long-term unemployed, even if it is a deathbed repentance. We should have elections more often because we would see more reversals of Government policies. The Government have started to consider the problems of the long-term unemployed. They must forgive us if we suspect their motives and think that this is not an onslaught on unemployment but merely an onslaught on the statistics. Having brought the statistics down, perhaps the Government will think about getting unemployment down as the next step.



I criticise the restart programme because of Ministers' ludicrous presentation of it. They do the programme a disservice in the way that they try to explain it. Their wildly exaggerated, inaccurate and partisan claims, which border on the mendacious, cannot be remotely justified. We need a factual and dispassionate assessment so that we can have a rational debate, not the lurid propaganda of the Government's claims.

Ministers present the restart scheme in three ways. They talk about a "positive offer" being made to roughly 90 per cent of people. If one says that quickly, it sounds as though 90 per cent of the unemployed get jobs. The Government use a new language or jargon. Normally we talk about people "placed" in jobs but the Government talk here about people "submitted" to jobs. That is meaningless because we do not know whether the offer has led to anything.

Secondly, Ministers talk about people "placed". They do this only rarely and get very bad tempered when they talk about it. I can understand why, because few people are actually placed. Thirdly, to add to the confusion, the Government talk about the number ceasing to claim benefit—18 per cent. But there is always a flow of names off the register. During the previous five quarters, before the restart scheme 18 per cent of people came off the register.

The Paymaster General said that the restart interview would last one hour, but it is now on average 25 minutes. Applicants receive a letter, and I hope that I am not trespassing on the time of the House—[HON. MEMBERS: "The hon. Gentleman is."] In that case, I shall not continue. I shall seek a later occasion to talk about this.

6.57 pm  
**Mr. Kenneth Carlisle** (Lincoln): I am glad to take part in this debate because unemployment, rightly, is the issue of profound concern in the United Kingdom. The concern of Conservative Members is shared equally with the hon. Member for Newham, North-East (Mr. Leighton), the Chairman of the Select Committee on Employment. The fact that virtually all Western countries are suffering from unemployment in no way reduces the agony of the problem in Britain. There are no starchy or magical solutions, but if we are to have hope we must meet two vital conditions. First, we must nurture a society which encourages enterprise and the creation of wealth. Secondly, through education and training, we must force feed at every age and level the necessary skills and a sense of excellence.

One of the finest achievements of the Government has been to rekindle a spirit of enterprise. At last we had that essential background of economic stability, steady growth and an economic outlook which looks good. Here I part company with the hon. Member for Newham, North-East who had nothing but unbridled gloom to offer on the subject of the economy. Like so many of his colleagues, he is determined to see no hope.

With inflation low, demand buoyant and output and productivity significantly better, the climate is right for businesses to invest and risk new ventures. We can all welcome the fact that there are almost a million more self-employed people than in 1980—a sharp contrast with the decline in numbers during the depressing decade of the 1970s. That reversal of the depressing trend under the Labour Government is the result not of luck but of a specific and co-ordinated policy to promote enterprise. For instance, we have removed the excessive taxation which is toxic to energy and smothered enterprise and we have eased the worst restrictions in planning and employment law.

We have pursued a steadfast and continuing programme to lift the burden from small businesses. What will the imposition of a £6 billion training levy, as promised by the Opposition, do for enterprise in small businesses? We have launched the successful enterprise allowance scheme to give positive help to small businesses and enterprises, and it has won valid praise from all sides. It is responsible for launching 2,000 new enterprises a week and they are supported by a network of enterprise agencies which provide help and advice. We all know of people in our constituencies who have faced redundancy after years with a major employer, but who have found new purpose in the excitement of establishing their own businesses. As the election approaches, those people should rightly question how Labour policy will help them and encourage the spirit of enterprise. How would high inflation, which will result from the promised vast expenditure of a Labour Government, leave us with anyone with the confidence to invest in business? How would higher taxation fire people with a desire to work harder and take on risks? How would the inevitable burden of costs and the deluge of restrictions spawn any enterprises? Clearly, they would not. Those policies failed in the 1970s and they will fail again.

Our policies are the policies for enterprise, but there are four specific problems in relation to that programme for enterprise. First, it is almost impossible for someone out of work in the north to move to a job in the south. The housing market simply does not allow that because the cost of housing is so much greater in the south. To assist the unemployed we must seek policies that will loosen the housing market.

Secondly, it is difficult for new businesses to raise venture capital. My right hon. and learned Friend the Paymaster General mentioned the loan guarantee scheme, but that scheme has done little to encourage extra venture capital because the banks use the same criteria to lend under that scheme as they do for a normal loan.

The goal that we are successfully pursuing is to create a country of enterprise, but that is only one arm of our policy. We must also have a fully trained work force in the necessary skills. If that training is to be effective it must start at an early age in our schools and must continue for a lifetime. The Government are the first to admit that what we have already achieved is not enough. No one can be complacent, but the Government's training initiatives are on the right road. At last, we have a structure to sustain training throughout life. We have a programme to introduce technical education that is relevant to work and that training is carried out in our secondary schools. YTS has been extended so that no school-leaver under 18 need be unemployed. The new JTS, to which my hon. Friend the Member for Beckenham (Sir P. Goodhart) referred, will give six months training to anyone under 25 who has been out of work for six months. Our adult training programme has been expanded and training is a central part of the community programme.

Nevertheless, we must do even better in both quality and quantity. In my constituency matters could be improved, and I am aware that my practical examples may be mirrored elsewhere. My hon. Friend the member for Cambridge (Mr. Rhodes James) said that we must improve general standards and I agree that the basic disciplines are of central importance, but in an engineering city such as Lincoln we also need more technical education at secondary school level. I want a city technology college established in Lincoln so that young people have a choice of high quality technical education. Such a school would also benefit from the involvement of local business enterprise and investment. The existing college of technology in Lincoln has a major and growing role to play in training of school leavers and older people. That college needs better buildings and a greater range of facilities. I support our policy for local training because skill centres are often too far away and remote. I also wish for greater funding of our local colleges.

That college is just one centre in Lincoln for the training of those on the community programme, which raises a third problem. Building work is often the best work for a community programme but few worthwhile building projects are being approved for the community programme. I appreciate that a scheme must not compete with commercial builders, but the work that is currently being turned down for the programme would not otherwise go ahead at all. We face a shortage of building workers and it must be right to increase that training wherever possible.

The fourth problem concerns the unemployed who join courses at colleges. If a course is termed "full time" people lose benefit even if they are available for work. I know that the new JTS will address that problem, but my hon. Friend the Member for Beckenham was right on the mark when he said that we should adopt the principle that anyone out of work who wishes to seek training should be given that opportunity.

We shall continue to make progress as we have a clear policy for enterprise and training and a commitment to improve our efforts in both those areas, but we do not share the Labour party delusion that central control and central Government can solve all problems. In relation to training, there must be a partnership with industry because industry knows best what skills are necessary for the market place. In Lincoln some progress has been made and many firms have links with the schools. Large businesses such as Marconi and Ruston Gas Turbines have developed courses in partnership with the college of technology. The Government must seek ways to stimulate greater investment in training by businesses both large and small. Such commitment exists in Germany and we must achieve it here.

The Labour party has never learned that the way for a Government to be charitable is not to turn Government into a charity. To ensure success the Government must establish a structure within which enterprise and training can flourish. The British people want skills, but relevant skills, and in the end it is only a partnership of Government and industry that will deliver those skills.

7.7 pm  
**Mr. A. E. P. Duffy** (Sheffield, Attercliffe): In the terms of the motion we are invited to commend the Government for the employment measures described by the Paymaster General. Those employment measures are scarcely making any impression in the Yorkshire and Humberside region despite the optimistic intervention by the hon. Member for Batley and Spen (Mrs. Peacock).

The economy of the Yorkshire and Humberside region has deteriorated alarmingly under this Government and continues to do so. The relief for that position does not lie with Department of Employment micro-economic measures but with macro-economic measures. Contrary to my hon. Friend the Member for Newham, North East (Mr. Leighton) I believe that, at long last, our membership of the European Community offers us the possibility of considerable gain. Before I discuss that, I wish to reveal to the House what has happened in the Yorkshire and Humberside region.

**Mr. Leighton:** My hon. Friend said "at long last". We have been a member of the Community for 15 years and it has inflicted great damage upon us. Just how long do we have to wait to receive its beneficial effects?

**Mr. Duffy:** Yorkshire and Humberside people do not ask for handouts. That is not their style. They believe that they can give the nation a fair return for the investment that it makes in them. Traditionally they do not believe in "gift for now." However, they are very concerned that the long decline in the basic industries upon which the north of England built its prosperity is dividing Britain—the north declining and under-privileged, the south enjoying the lion's share of investment and growth.

The House is familiar with that scenario, but it needs to be reminded that that gap is widening. In 1983, the Yorkshire and Humberside County Councils Association published the "New Deal" regional strategy—the last Yorkshire and Humberside regional strategy that is available to us—and it tried to address this disparity. It concluded that: "The region must make the most of its potential: action must be taken to help the Region's problem areas and industries; the Region must receive a fairer share of national resources."

Since then, despite the most strenuous efforts of the Yorkshire and Humberside Development Association and of all the local authorities in the region, to promote it, the necessary change of direction has not been achieved. Indeed, in some ways the region is now worse off. Unemployment has risen higher above the national average; personal incomes continue to decline, relative to the national average; poor housing and infrastructure, especially in the inner cities, has suffered further deterioration, perhaps reflecting the region's continued below average share of public spending.

The Government and the European Commission give some help to deal with these problems and the county and district councils are also working hard on them, notably my own city of Sheffield. However, the abolition of the metropolitan county councils that represented nearly 70 per cent of the region's population has involved a loss of resources and has weakened the region's voice at a time when major problems must be faced.

Nearly 500,000 jobs have been lost in metal manufacture, textiles and engineering since 1979 and, contrary to the claim of the Paymaster General, more jobs are going every week. Last week, 300 railway jobs were lost in Doncaster. This week, 600 steel jobs in Stocksbridge have been lost. I want the Treasury Bench to know that in south Yorkshire there is widespread fear that during the next two, three or four weeks a further 1,000 steel jobs will be lost. Meanwhile, there are allegations in

the current Metal Bulletin of continuing state aid to German steel, although such subsidies are banned under EEC rules.

Traumatic job losses and the combined effects of earlier slum clearance and plant closure have resulted in dwindling employment opportunities in south Yorkshire and in vast tracts of redundant land buildings. Anyone who drives up the M1 and comes abreast of Sheffield has only to look to his left in the direction of the centre of Sheffield to see that although 20 years ago, it was one of the most industrialised cities in western Europe, it is now devastated and almost wholly derelict.

There is no new industry in Sheffield. I do not expect all the steel works and engineering works that have been lost to be recovered, but I repeat that there is no new growth at all, apart from a few small units, for which we are grateful and which the city council is very anxious to encourage. However, they are making no impression at all upon an unemployment figure in my constituency that is concealed by the travel-to-work scheme, about which I shall say more in a moment.

But it does not end there. Poverty in Britain is more widespread now than it was when the urban programme began in Sheffield 20 years ago. Then unemployment, nationally, was 500,000—2.2 per cent of the economically active population. Now, on a narrower definition, it is over 3 million—six times what it was then. That is now the primary cause of poverty. Sickness, child care, low pay, and particularly retirement, all contribute, but it is unemployment that has pushed up the number of people who are claiming supplementary benefit from 2.6 million in 1968 to nearly 5 million by the mid-1980s. In Sheffield alone, the number of people claiming supplementary benefit increased from 39,000 in November 1979 to 75,000 by the mid-1980s, so the dramatic increase has been among those unemployed people who have been claiming the unemployment allowance. It has increased by nearly five times, more than reflecting the increase in unemployment from 5 per cent of the working population to more than 16 per cent.

There is little prospect of relief. A detailed breakdown of the unpublished Government report, about which we heard much in the House towards the end of last year, entitled "United Kingdom Regional Development Programme 1986-1990" reveals that south Yorkshire will face further employment cuts and worsening environmental and industrial dereliction, with little likelihood of recovery. The report says:

"Dereliction, lack of good services, industrial sites and poor internal communications tend to discourage development, in particular to the north-east of Sheffield in the River Don and River Deane valleys, and environmental problems will grow as dereliction follows closures in basic industries."

That describes the part of south Yorkshire that lies between my constituency to the east of Sheffield and the constituency of my hon. Friend the Member for Don Valley (Mr. Redmond). I know that my hon. Friend is most anxious to say a word about this, if he catches your eye, Mr. Deputy Speaker. He represents the Don Valley, and I am thinking of the Don Valley. [Interruption.] I do not know whether Conservative Members are laughing at my reference to the condition of the Don Valley. I invite them to go and look at it. Those who represent southern constituencies cannot appreciate just how serious is the neglect of the north and the widening gap between the north and the south, unless they keep in touch with the north of England.

The report also says that future employment prospects within the coal industry remain "bleak". Although productivity has improved, the increased use of new technology will further reduce manpower demands in 1990. The report adds that what is certain is that south Yorkshire needs more financial resources.

Many areas suffering from industrial decline receive aid from the European Regional development fund, but these grants are not as effective as they should be, because most national Governments, as we all know, in the Community, including our own, cut other spending by an equivalent amount so that the net benefit to the local area is small. The European regional development fund should be used to provide a truly additional source of funds for the qualifying areas that I am now describing in Yorkshire and Humberside.

As for the United Kingdom regional aid programme, the November 1984 review made substantial economies by cutting grants to those highly capital-intensive developments that provide few additional jobs. However, these savings are being retained by the Exchequer instead of being channelled back to the assisted areas in more effective forms of aid. The steep rises in unemployment in some parts of our economy—notably again in Yorkshire and Humberside—mean that regional aid needs to be maintained at 1984 levels, in real terms.

In the 1984 review some parts of Yorkshire and Humberside had their assisted area status reduced; others had their status taken away and consequently lost both United Kingdom and European community aid. However, these decisions were made in the light of unemployment levels prevailing at that time, and since then more huge job losses have been announced in the region. In addition, some settlements with increasingly severe problems in the coalfield receive little or no aid because they are grouped in "travel-to-work" areas with more prosperous, larger towns. This also applies to my own east of Sheffield. It applies to parts of Humberside and to north Yorkshire. The Government should give higher assisted area status where this is justified by changing circumstances, without waiting for a full national review. Yorkshire and Humberside have much to offer and many localational and environmental advantages.

**Mr. Rowe:** On a point of order, Mr. Deputy Speaker. This is a very interesting dissertation on regional aid, but is it in order?

**Mr. Deputy Speaker** (Mr. Ernest Armstrong): The House would be well advised to leave these matters to the Chair. I will decide what is in order.

**Mr. Duffy:** Yorkshire and Humberside have much to offer and many localational and environmental advantages. The problem—and if the hon. Gentleman had just been a little more patient as well as more courteous he would have allowed me the help to come to this point—is how to unlock the potential. On all sides one encounters the view that it is reasonable to seek more help for the region. It needs extra incentives, for example, to benefit fully from measures such as support for innovation. It also needs sense for a whole coalfield, not just part of it, to have assisted area status and to benefit from European Community aid. There is a growing feeling, and it must not be minimised, that it is inequitable for the region to receive only about one twelfth of the aid that goes to Scotland when the two are of the same size and experience the same level of social and economic deprivation. My own city of Sheffield and its council have a plan, the Sheffield employment plan for regeneration, that over the next two years would create 25,000 jobs and training places in the city. Did the hon. Gentleman not want to hear about that? It regards public sector enterprise as essential to meet the city's growing needs and also to improve the quality of life. It would deploy it as a tool of economic regeneration but with the council itself planning and executing the first stage of the job creation plan. Nevertheless, it looks to the Government to open the way through a programme of economic growth, to switch national expenditure away from maintaining unemployment to creating jobs in the public service if they are not available to us in manufacturing. I have argued that there is no evidence at all of recovery in Sheffield's manufacturing district which is largely my constituency. How is the city to avoid being accused of neglect if it does not seek job creation wherever it can? The city believes, however, that that can come only if the Government remove the battery of legal and financial restrictions on local authorities.

The key to a revival of employment in Yorkshire and Humberside, as in some other regions, may lie in a pregnant sentence in that unpublished report:

"South Yorkshire is likely to remain fairly depressed because the area is very much dependent upon a general upturn in the U.K. and overseas."

In short, the European Community and, in particular the United Kingdom and West Germany, need to devise and implement more expansionary policies. It is in that direction that relief for Yorkshire and Humberside probably lies for it would reduce unemployment at a time of low inflation. It would offset the depressing effect on America's trading partners of the current cuts in both the budget deficit and the trade deficit of the United States. It would defuse protectionist pressure in the United States, aimed at Europe as well as Japan. The view that the correction of United States deficits will act as a drag on world growth, requiring the adoption of less restrictive policies by Japan and West Germany, has been endorsed by the International Monetary Fund, yet European Governments, especially those of Britain and West Germany remain unimpressed. They simply do not believe that it is possible to contrive a sustained, non-inflationary expansion at the rate required to bring down unemployment, yet one country has recently done just that.

The United States spent its way out of unemployment in the traditional way without an increase in inflation because it managed to combine expansionary policies with a strong exchange rate. It did so by keeping interest rates high. It was an act which any European country expanding alone would find difficult to follow, but it demonstrates that a modern industrial economy can expand out of unemployment without unleashing a wave of inflation, provided the exchange rate does not fall. For the members of the European community, trading so closely with each other, the most effective way to do this, if the political problems could be overcome, would be to expand together. Then, the additional imports sucked into any one country as growth picked up could be matched by exports to its trading partners, with little change in the pattern of exchange rates.

A British initiative to foster expansion would not only benefit depressed regions such as Yorkshire and Humberside but would respond positively to the appeal by Mr. James Baker, Treasury Secretary, in Washington two days ago when he looked to the Group of Five—but he was obviously looking to the member nations of the European Community principally—for a co-ordinated economic expansion. I hope that the Chancellor will not only listen to him but will initiate a meeting of the Finance ministers of the Group of Five with a view to such a policy, for not only would that serve to improve economic relations with the United States and head off protectionism, Britain's image in Europe would be transformed and the European Community itself would be back on the rails at last, addressing a problem that really matters.

7.26 pm  
**Mr. Richard Holt** (Langbaurgh): I am very grateful for the fact that the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) has returned to his seat because he would not give way earlier this afternoon when he made a remark in respect of an intervention which I had made during an earlier debate when his right hon. Friend the Member for Birmingham, Sparkbrook (Mr. Hattersley) had been courteous enough to write to me and tell me that he was going to mention me during a debate—which was why I intervened. I am grateful, because it now gives me the opportunity to remind the hon. Gentleman of what his right hon. Friend said. He said that the unemployment figures were falling in my constituency probably because of the characteristic excellence and industry of its Member of Parliament. So perhaps the hon. Gentleman would have a further look at that before he seeks to snarl and sneer in future across the Despatch Box at an hon. Member who wants to make an intervention.

**Mr. Prescott:** He said that you got the figures wrong.  
**Mr. Holt:** I did not have the figures wrong. The figures were actually correct. The hon. Member for Stockton, South (Mr. Wigglesworth) sought to intervene in what the right hon. Gentleman was saying, which he did because the right hon. Gentleman, despite saying twice that he would give way to me and refusing to do so, did give way to the hon. Gentleman, who then misled the House with the figures that he gave. He knows now, because I have told him personally, and they have been corrected in the House; but I am magnanimous enough to accept that it was not his fault. He went for his figures to Cleveland county council. The council has written to me and has admitted that the basis of the figures which it used to give the information to the hon. Member for Stockton, South was incorrect. It made them up.

We have just heard a very good speech which I thought was intended for next week when we will discuss the economy. Today we are supposed to be discussing training. I say that with great respect to the hon. Gentleman. He does make a good contribution but it was totally out of order.

**Mr. Deputy Speaker:** Order. The hon. Gentleman should not make that kind of allegation. It is a wide debate today.

Mr. Holt: With respect, Mr. Deputy Speaker, you were not present earlier when my right hon. Friend the Paymaster General was stopped by the Chair when he was seeking to make a point. At that stage the range of the debate was very wide.

Mr. Robert Atkins (South Ruislip): The intervention was not allowed.

Mr. Holt: The intervention was not allowed. Unlike most of the hon. Members opposite, I have had some experience in dealing with apprentices and running apprenticeship schemes. I have employed and trained many young people.

Mr. Prescott: In what trade?

Mr. Holt: Furniture. I was chairman of training for London region and a member of the Furniture Industry Training Board. The fundamental failures in apprenticeships have their roots in a number of causes including the raising of the school leaving age without any consultation with industry about their needs at that time. I believe that was done by my hon. Friend the Prime Minister. Further, the age of majority has been eroded from 21 to 18, and the truncated apprenticeship period has been reduced to 18 months or two years.

I blame all sides of industry and the trade unions—especially the one I had personal dealings with—for not being realistic enough to take the same sort of approach as the EEPFU, which has set a model for how apprenticeships ought to take place. I commend my hon. Friend and all those responsible for the training of young people to look very closely at the whole question of apprenticeships and to forget the old time-honoured schemes whereby if one lived long enough one was given signed indentures. I was guilty of signing many indentures without any verification of job capability, which was alleged to be part of the training. That is one of the reasons why we continue to have skills shortages in many areas.

We want a flexible training scheme for young people which has standards. I welcome the Government's initiative to offer YTS to all people up to 18 years of age, but the Government must have closer links and integration with the education world. In my part of the north-east of England—and I believe I speak as the most northerly so far of all the hon. Members who have spoken in this debate—there are apprenticeships in skills, but the trade unions have not sought to train people in a modular way by providing specialist training and core training, so that as they embark upon a career there is an integration of education even before they reach their training. Perhaps we should recognise and realise this by paying young people who stay at school beyond the age of 16. There is little difference between paying youngsters to stay at school to the statutory leaving age and giving them an allowance to be trained by an employer subsequently.

Mr. Ken Eastham (Manchester, Blackley): The hon. Gentleman makes reference to the trade unions and changing the ways of training by modules. I remind and advise the hon. Gentleman that module training has been quite the norm for the past ten years.

Mr. Holt: I accept that, but I was saying to my hon. Friend on the Front Bench and to other hon. Members that this modular expansion has not yet been integrated into the educational system. For that reason I hope that the CTCs which have been announced will recognise the needs of industry and that there will be a through-put of training for young people from the earliest days so that they can not only choose and diversify but also more easily re-train into other skills at a later stage in life. I find, like the argument by my hon. Friend, that many of the young people I helped to train and was responsible for were given skills that are no longer necessary. They were not given a groundwork enabling them to move into other areas.

This was one of the fundamental failures of the training boards and why it was right that the training boards were discontinued. I cannot speak with great personal knowledge of all the training boards, but I did have an in-depth knowledge of the furniture industry training board and some knowledge of the catering industry. I probably have had more free lunches via the training board than I have had as a Member of Parliament, and that says a great deal, because they were always seeking what to do and how to do it. They were profligate, bureaucratic and, in the end, meaningless. My company, for which I was responsible was one of only two companies in the whole of the furniture industry that had total exemption from having to fill in the iniquitous forms for grant and levy. Many other people had to fill in those forms to pay the levy.

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

Mr. Holt: If the hon. Gentleman has an intelligent contribution to make to this debate—because so far he has not—I am quite willing to give way. He would not give way to me but I am much more courteous to him. If he cannot shut up then I am afraid I shall have to be very rude to him indeed.

Mr. Prescott: I say to the hon. Gentleman that those statutory training boards that he is talking about produced twice as many apprentices as we have today.

Mr. Holt: Many of them trained in the wrong skills, and that is what it is all about—[Interruption.]

Mr. Deputy Speaker: Order.

Mr. Holt: They were decided by the members of the board and the officials. The vast majority of the people who did the training in the furniture industry in High Wycombe were former senior officers in the RAF because it was a nice, easy security for them after they came out of their service, and they were appointed by the director who was himself in the same role.

Mr. Prescott: And you want to do something about it? You sat on the Board.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: I must remind the House that a great deal of Members are wishing to address. Exchanges of this kind only delay the debate unnecessarily. Mr. Richard Holt.

Mr. Holt: I am grateful, Mr. Deputy Speaker. I am sure that all people, both inside and outside this House, will draw their own conclusions from the antics and the attitude of the hon. Gentleman the Member for Kingston upon Hull, east (Mr. Prescott) in the way he has sought very rudely to intervene on every one who has spoken so far.

I wish to move on to another topic which has been mentioned by hon. Members opposite and on this side of the House. I wish to talk about re-start in the field of training. In my constituency there is one job centre. I checked this morning with that job club. So far 60 people have been to that job club. Of that 60, 21 are still there. Nine have left for reasons which are not known. One has gone into a training scheme. Six have gone on to community programmes and 23 have gone into what I believe the hon. Gentleman opposite would call real jobs—including one audio-visual aids technician, two PSV drivers, two security guards, one galvanising foreman, one radio repair man, two general workers. One person has gone to Wales to work as a cook, one has gone to the south east of England to work as a nanny, one has gone to France to work as a general labourer, and two have gone into colleges to be lecturers. Those are all real jobs. They cover 23 of the 39 people who have so far gone through the job club. If the same rate of success applies to other job clubs, there will be an even greater dent in the unemployment figures than we have had so far.

I hope that my hon. Friend noted that three of those jobs were away from the north-east. Unless greater help is given to people who wish to take up employment elsewhere in this country and also in Europe, the unemployment figures in the north-east will continue to be high.

Last Saturday I had at my surgery a young couple who had had the misfortune to be out of work for some time. The man had found a job in Southampton. Because of the comparable value of houses, his house in my constituency was worth only £12,000 compared with £30,000 for a more modest house in Southampton. Therefore, he had to give up the unequal battle of trying to keep two homes and had had to return to the dole queue in the north-east, although he had successfully filled the job in Southampton for a time.

That experience has been repeated over and over again as a consequence of an initiative which I took 18 months ago to try to link the High Wycombe and Thames valley area with the north-east in conjunction with local newspapers. The Government do not seem to have the will to take the policy. There is a reluctance to recognise that Rachman is dead and that it is time to open up the rental market so that more people can have the facility to be lodgers.

Mr. Martin Redmond (Don Valley): Would it not make sense to have sufficient council houses to rent in the south to enable those in the north who wanted to move to go into a public sector house for a bridging period until they had sufficient money to move back to the private sector?

Mr. Holt: I take the hon. Gentleman's point. I put forward a slightly more novel scheme because I believe in home ownership. I have already suggested to my Front Bench that rather than building masses of council houses they should consider seriously giving substantial grants of £5,000, £8,000 or £10,000 to people who want to move. The Government might make the grant equivalent to the amount that a person would receive from the dole or from social security for one or two years and let him use that money as a deposit on a house in the private sector. The equity could be held by the Government until such time as the person had moved along the mortgage scale. If someone defaulted, obviously he would be in trouble, but this would give people a stake in the area to which they were moving, and it would not cost the Government any more than it is costing them now to keep someone on the dole for a year and a half.

Mr. Christopher Hawkins (High Peak): My hon. Friend cannot expect people to move from the north to the south by giving them grants unless more houses are built in the south. That would involve opening up the green belt.

Mr. Holt: My hon. Friend can take that up with other people.

There has been much criticism by Opposition Members of the lack of training. I can give the number of professionals working in training. Professionals in training in industry and commerce are helping to train for the future. The Institute of Training and Development was established only in 1964 and in its first 15 years its membership grew to under 5,000. It is now 6,500 so it has grown by 1,500 over the last few years. The much more representative and larger Institute of Personnel Management, which is responsible for training, has grown from just under 22,000 to just over 27,000 in the past five years. So, we can see that large numbers are involved in professional training.

While the Government must continue the initiatives which they have introduced, some of them need modification. It is not right to say that once a person has undertaken a period of training that gives him a qualification. We need established standards from proper technical, professional and vocational bodies who are capable of providing and organising examinations.

7.46 pm

Mr. Ken Eastham (Manchester, Blackley): The case made by the hon. Member for Langbaugh (Mr. Holt) destroys the famous remark about getting on one's bike to find a job. Is the realisation dawning even on the Government Benches that getting on one's bike to get a job down south is not a sensible, practicable proposition for people who desperately need jobs? The debate is not about housing but about employment and training. Every time I listen to Government Front Bench spokesmen on the subject I become more depressed because we keep on hearing the same old record—nothing new. We hear the same old excuses.

The Paymaster General often refers to packages, as he did today. When he appears before the Select Committee on Employment to talk about various schemes he uses the word "packages" as if men and women were packets of tea. That indicates how much he is out of touch with the human side of the problem. Of course, he makes his usual broadsides and raises the usual bogies about how wicked the Labour party is. He condemns the policies we believe in, such as a minimum rate of pay. We make no apology for believing in a minimum rate of pay because we are against starvation wages.

The right hon. and learned Gentleman also referred to wage rises being withdrawn and pointed out that we would give protection to workers. We make no apology for that either. That does not affect the issue of employment and jobs. If conditions are right, workers will respond. That has always been the case. Usually, it is bad management that creates disputes and strikes, as I shall illustrate shortly.

There is now less talk about employment and more statements about the Manpower Services Commission and so-called training. There is a training scheme for this, a training scheme for that and a training scheme for the other. We have got training schemes coming out of our ears, but what we need are jobs.

When I read the motion tabled by the Government, which once again refers to training, I thought that it would be useful to

remind the House of the scale of the various training schemes. The purpose is to help to massage the unemployment figures. When the Minister replies he may dispute that. However, to remind the House how many training schemes there are, I shall recite from the following list. There is the YTS, the TVEI, adult training job training programme, national priority skills, job training scheme, local grants to employers, other local skills action, training for enterprise, special groups, management development, wider opportunities training programme, other occupational and adult training support, the Open Tech open learning.

In 1986-87 717,105 people will be engaged in those training schemes. In 1986-87 the cost to the taxpayer for the MSC and other bodies will be £1,337 million. The Government have expended a massive sum of money on so-called training and that does not go without much criticism.

I am sure that the Minister will have taken the opportunity to read the recent report entitled "Department of Employment and Manpower Services Commission: Adult Training Strategy". It resulted from an investigation by the National Audit Office of the MSC's development and implementation of an adult training strategy. The NAO makes many reservations in the report about expenditure and training.

Paragraph 7.6 on page 23 states:

"MSC has no national or local database recording the skills possessed by the working population and, since the introduction of voluntary registration for employment in 1982, it had kept no inventory of the skills of the unemployed. Although some data from national surveys are available, NAO concluded that MSC does not have the information which would enable it to be certain that training is not being provided in skills already in good supply or in surplus and available for use. While the classification of skills and qualifications might well pose difficult problems, and the collection and analysis of the relevant personal details would clearly be a costly task, it is difficult to see how the real requirement for MSC support for training can be determined accurately without a better balance sheet than exists at present of the supply of and demand for skills." There is considerable criticism of the massive expenditure that is now being made by the Government on some of those so-called training schemes. Obviously, skill shortages exist in some parts of the country but it is also recognised that there is a serious mismatch for making provision for the skill deficiencies. Yet we provide all sorts of training for skills that are surplus to requirements.

I spoke to an officer in Manchester—not a MSC officer—and I asked him about training facilities in the city that I represent. He said that some people on YTS are training for jobs that do not even exist. I asked him to give me some examples. He said that there were courses in Manchester for beauticians but that there was virtually no chance at the end of the day of them getting jobs. Another YTS is on the welfare of animals. There will be virtually no jobs in Manchester for the people on that scheme.

Mr. Trippier: I should like and would welcome evidence of those schemes. There is no way that the Department of Employment or its Ministers would encourage that sort of thing. We have tried desperately to detect those managing agents who run courses for which there are no jobs. That is unnecessary training. If the hon. Gentleman will send me details, I will look into the matter.

Mr. Eastham: It is not my responsibility to feed the Minister that information. He has enough civil servants supporting him who could check that.

I obtained that information from the Low Pay Unit and from an officer who receives considerable feedback from people involved in some of the youth training schemes. It is up to the Minister to ask the civil servants to do their homework. He may be embarrassed to make that request. I wonder whether there are other training schemes, perhaps for ferret catchers or budgie keepers. All sorts of strange things come up when the Government decide that they want to create some sort of training scheme to keep people occupied. The purpose of the training scheme is to massage down the unemployment figures.

There are many training schemes for hairdressers, yet there is no overwhelming need for so many hairdressers. The Minister may say, "Oh, well, some of them keep on their hairdressing after the scheme." That is true, but it is also true that, with the low rates of pay on the YTS, some employers say, "We will keep you on, but we are not going to pay you any more than the YTS rate." That is sheer exploitation and is another matter that perhaps the Minister would take time to investigate.

There is also the other aggravation concerning the wages councils for which the Minister was responsible. Now there is no protection for anyone under the age of 21. There is no such thing as a minimum rate of pay. There are no workers' rights, even for holiday entitlement, for anyone under the age of 21. That causes all sorts of aggravation. It is all entwined with the YTS. [Interruption.]

A Conservative Member is murmuring. I am always courteous and I always give Conservative Members a chance to reply. Does the hon. Gentleman wish to intervene?

Mr. Geoff Lawter (Bradford, North): The hon. Gentleman said that wages councils had been abolished for people under 21. Does he accept that there is possibly some correlation between that fact and the fact that we now have lower than the EEC average of unemployment for people aged under 25, and that school leaver unemployment is coming down rapidly?

Mr. Eastham: That is a doubtful argument. I doubt whether it can be verified. We have challenged the Minister on this issue on numerous occasions in Committee and he has never provided any proof of that, nor did any other Conservative Member. I say to the Government, please do not go along the road of thinking that unemployment has been resolved by having people working on starvation pay, because that does not work.

A great suspicion is now developing that the training schemes in Britain have been borrowed from American ideas. There is suspicion about schemes such as the compulsory labour schemes, which are supported by the Tories, such as "Pay for your job pay" and "Work for your dole pay". They consider that they are the way out. They are called training schemes to make them look respectable.

Another area of MSC activities which gives rise to concern is the private management agents. Because the Government privatise everything, they privatise management agents. Those gentlemen are in the business for profit. In some cases they make more than £50 per student to comply with the YTS, for which the taxpayers pay. There are other ways in which the taxpayer could spend money than by putting money into private training agents' pockets.

The MSC managers are causing great concern in our area. A dispute is taking place in Sale, just outside Manchester. My right hon. Friend the Member for Salford, East (Mr. Orme) has written to the Paymaster General about a firm called Senior Coleman Ltd., which is in dispute with 112 workers who have had deplorable conditions. In addition, it has decided to intimidate four handicapped workers who are deaf and dumb by saying that unless they go back to work they will lose their jobs and never get another one. Unfortunately, the MSC manager locally is co-operating in recruiting scab labour to take on some of this work. My right hon. Friend said in his letter:

"Further, I have since been informed by the Trade Union that the Regional Manager of the Manpower Services Commission based in Manchester, namely Mr. Yendley has been actively assisting the company in recruiting workers whilst an official dispute is taking place."

The Minister said that he would like some information, and this information is freely and readily available.

Mr. Litherland: My hon. Friend highlights a deplorable case. The employers to whom he has referred are already suffering in that they are deaf and now unscrupulous and uncaring employees are added to that. Has not the Government's policy had the fertile ground for inciting the greediness and nastiness of such employers?

Mr. Eastham: My hon. Friend is right to say that the Government encourage such activity by employers, and I am sure that public opinion will condemn the Government for using the MSC and its agencies to undermine people who have legitimate grievances. I hope that the Minister will take this on board.

I remind the Minister about the responsibilities of the employers. The trend nowadays is for employers no longer to pay for training, and instead the Government are spending the taxpayers' money on it. On 5 February, the Chancellor made an interesting statement about this. A newspaper report says:

"The Chancellor, Nigel Lawson, yesterday urged industry to invest more in training after seeing new evidence of shortages of skilled labour in some industries and regions. Industry was now making enough profit to invest more in its future, he told the National Economic Development Council."

The employers, through the CBI, gave their reply in the same article, which said:

"David Nickson, president of the CBI, said that seven million, or one in eight, Britons were illiterate. Industry needed young people who could read, speak, add up and apply their knowledge in a practical way." That is an appalling indictment of the Government. There are continuous cuts in education, and as a result illiteracy is increasing. This should be a matter of great concern, and money should be expanded on training in further education colleges. I am told by educationists that for about £20 million we could embark on an adult literacy task force which would considerably improve the abilities of some of our workers.

Those are some of the matters that I should like the Minister to consider. I could go on for another 20 minutes, but others would like to speak. As I keep saying in the Select Committee on Employment, we want jobs. We do not want any of this artificial training—we want real job opportunities. Only then will we make progress.

8.5 pm

Mr. Michael Colvin (Romsey and Waterside): I will not pick up any of the detailed points made by the hon. Member for Manchester, Blackley (Mr. Eastham), although I enjoy serving on the Select Committee on Employment with him. This may be an appropriate moment to pay tribute to the previous Chairman of the Select Committee, the former hon. Member for Newcastle-under-Lyme, Mr. Goding, who has now gone off to fish in more turbulent waters, but who did a good job, and is ably followed in the Chair by the hon. Member for Newham, North-East (Mr. Leighton). The hon. Member for Blackley spoke about mismatch in training. When we were discussing reform of the industrial training boards, one of the points that came through clearly was that the ITBs, in spite of the best intentions, had been responsible for a great deal of the mismatch.

We have heard a great deal of ritual noises from the official Opposition, but I confess that if I ever had the misfortune of being in Opposition, which we hope will never occur, we would probably also be making ritual noises. However, there is one fundamental and important difference between us. There has never been, in my recollection, a Conservative manifesto that has promised to cut unemployment. Even if we were to manage to get everything right, the United Kingdom cannot operate in isolation. We are part of the world economy and are subject to world economic factors. Someone, somewhere, be it in the middle east or elsewhere, is bound to shove a spanner in the works, as happened in 1973, which will knock us off course.

On the other hand, there has never been a Labour party manifesto that has not promised to cut dole queues, and voters will need to look carefully at the difference between Labour's promises and performance.

Mr. John Evans (St. Helens, North): The hon. Gentleman has claimed that there has never been a Conservative manifesto that has promised to cut unemployment. Can he comment on what the Prime Minister said a couple of weeks ago when she promised the nation a return to full employment? Was that being economical with the truth or does the hon. Gentleman anticipate that that promise will not figure in the next Conservative manifesto?

Mr. Colvin: There has never been an undertaking to cut unemployment in the short term, and that is the trap into which Labour Members always fall. They believe that by throwing Government money at the problem, they can create jobs quickly. That may be the case, but in the long run they create unemployment rather than solve the problem. They have never succeeded in creating jobs in the long term. In spite of what the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) said, all Labour Governments have left dole queues that were longer than when they came into office.



There is a problem with the credibility of the Labour party's alternative policies. I condemn it because it will never learn from its mistakes. One has only to look at its current promise to reduce unemployment by 1 million over a two-year period at a cost of £6.8 billion. It is hardly surprising that the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East is recorded in the *Ministerial Journal* of 7 February 1986 as saying:

"How did we get this promise of one million jobs? Who worked on the programme? Promises such as these simply label us with targets that we cannot achieve and expose our credibility."

It is nice for Conservative Members to be able to agree with at least something that the Opposition spokesman has said. The so-called alliance is no better. It is a pity that alliance Members are not here. They are thin on the ground in Parliament. After some of the statements that have been made by alliance Members today, they should be here to hear our comments on some of their pronouncements. They have also said that they will cut unemployment by 1 million. They give themselves an extra year—they say three years at a cost of £4 billion. The hon. Member for Gordon (Mr. Bruce) made a Freudian slip. He nearly referred to the increase in employment that has occurred under the Government. He corrected himself at the last moment.

I was interested to see that, since March 1983, it is estimated that 985,000 new jobs have been created. Admittedly, a lot of them are for women working part-time, but nevertheless they are new jobs. Again, since March 1983, 457,000 more people are estimated to have become self-employed. That is good. It is a pity that alliance Members are not here to congratulate the Government on that achievement. The hon. Gentleman referred also to the fall-off in investment. We can put him right. In 1984, total fixed investment, both public and private, was at an all-time record in real terms. It is expected to have risen a further 4 per cent. In 1985 to £60 billion at current prices. It is, therefore, growing at a faster rate than the overall growth rate. This is the reverse of what occurred during the period 1974-79.

Many people ask why there was not more investment in the past and why there is so much more now. It is interesting to note that the return on capital from new investment in manufacturing industry in the period of the last Labour Government was 2 per cent. It is hardly surprising that investors were reluctant to put their money into manufacturing. The average return on new investment in manufacturing industry today is 17 per cent. Again, it is hardly surprising that investors are putting money into manufacturing, contrary to what Opposition Members would lead us to believe.

The Opposition's policy—whether alliance or Labour—would lead to some short-term jobs. We all know that. But the fact of the matter is that, in buying these jobs, which they would do with public money, they will weaken the economy and that will lead to ever higher borrowing. In turn, that would lead to higher interest rates, and that will lead to runaway inflation. As the right hon. Members for Cardiff, South and Penarth (Mr. Callaghan) and for Blaenau Gwent (Mr. Foot) admitted when they were Leaders of the Opposition, inflation is the mother of unemployment.

Conservative Members welcome the Government's motion. I even welcome some of the points made in the Opposition's amendment. I welcome the way in which they drew attention to the importance of training.

I endorse what is set out in the European Community document which was produced during our period of presidency. The Government motion takes note of that document. I wish that they had been a little more robust in what they had to say. It shows that the United Kingdom is leading the way in employment and training, although West Germany could be said to have set the style with its dual system of education and training, from which the United Kingdom has learnt a great deal.

Pages 8 and 9 of the EEC document, in the section dealing with training, called for measures to: "promote amongst both employers and employees a greater awareness of the importance of training both in encouraging economic growth and in meeting the aspirations of individuals, . . . encourage employees to invest more in training in industry, . . . aid the development of more responsive training systems, including the use of new technologies and distance learning for the provision of education and training."

I digress to mention an experience that I had while working for my right hon. Friend the Member for Waveney (Mr. Prior). During our period in Opposition, he set up a manpower working group to study the problems that we knew we would have to face up to when we gained office at the general election in 1979. That was back in 1977-78. At that time, we seriously considered the possibility of having to face up to unemployment levels of around 4 million. We jolly well knew then that there would be no short-term solution. While studying the plans for the Open Tech programme we realised that many training resources in schools, colleges and universities were not being fully used. We considered that the doors should be opened to those who needed that training.

I can well understand the EEC document. It asks for Community action to examine ways of: "overcoming restrictions on access to training."

It also calls for ways of:

"identifying the developing training needs of enterprises at local level."

That leads me to a specific and welcome development on the training front in the United Kingdom. Those whose job it is to train often complain that employers do not tell them what is wanted. What could be more logical than for employees to link in with educators and trainers, to let those at the sharp end of the job market know which skills are most in demand? The new Local Employer Networks are designed to involve employers more effectively in our system of vocational education and training.

On 3 February, this new training and education initiative was nationally launched. I welcomed the remarks by my right hon. and learned Friend the Paymaster General in his opening speech about that new scheme. There was a reception in the House last week, sponsored by my hon. Friend the Member for Bedfordshire, North (Sir T. Skeet). It is perhaps a pity that more hon. Members did not go to the reception to hear what the scheme was about. The Local Employer Network scheme is a joint initiative by the Association of British Chambers of Commerce, the Confederation of British Industry and the Manpower Services Commission. It aims to make a substantial contribution to national economic performance by improving vocational education and training. It will intend to have a network in every local education authority area. Each network will feed information on present and future employment needs to local planners of vocational education and training. It will represent employers in that planning process and provide a wide range of services related to education and training. It will provide a continuous dialogue between all who are involved.

Back in November 1985, a report was published for the Manpower Services Commission and the National Economic Development Office under the title 'A Challenge to Complacency'. Among other things, the following was suggested:

"We think that what is needed is a network of locally-based arrangements. The roles of such network of local bodies could include monitoring firms, training activity, collating information about small firms' needs, distributing some MSC grants, gathering local labour market information and organising local skill testing." Several of these aspects have already become central to the role of Local Employer Networks. What do we want these networks to achieve? First, they should consult employers about their needs and problems. Secondly, they should collect and interpret data on the local labour market and, thirdly, they should pass on what they have learnt to education and training providers. Those are just three of the main aims in an exciting concept. Local Employer Networks have the potential to wipe out our skill shortages by tackling the causes at local level.

The chairman of the Manpower Services Commission, Mr. Bryan Nicholson, said on the day of the launch of the Local Employer Networks:

"They offer an unparalleled opportunity for companies to ensure they get the right skills and qualifications in their workforce to help them compete in world markets."

A key feature of the scheme is joint action. The chairman of the CBI education and training committee, Mr. John Peake, said at the launch of the network project:

"For a number of years the CBI . . . has taken the view that a local employer network should be established to ensure that industry's voice is heard in vocational and educational training at local level. Industry is well represented on these issues at national, regional and sectional levels, but until now, for a variety of reasons, this has not always been the case at local level." Now the CBI has got what it wants. I think it welcomes the plugging of that gap and its only reservation is that we do not try to re-invent the wheel and duplicate work that has already been done. The second of the three partners is the chamber of commerce. Mr. R. G. Taylor, the director-general of the Association of British Chambers of Commerce said at the launch:

"It is ironic that even at a time of high unemployment in the UK, we have persistent shortages of particular skills which are inhibiting the growth of many companies. One of the great advantages of Networks is that they will be able to spot skill shortages before they become damaging and ensure that remedial action is taken in good time."

It is encouraging to know that over 100 networks throughout Britain will soon be responding to training and re-training needs at all levels and for all ages. They will do that for high-tech jobs, such as computer programmers, and low-tech jobs such as skilled jobs in the construction industry. Employers of every size and type will be invited to join their local network. The plan is to commission one in every local education area within a year. The first member networks already set up are in the cities and towns of Middlesbrough, Manchester, Redruth, Slough, Aberdeen, Luton, Sheffield, Norwich, Hull, Birmingham, Solihull, Enfield and Portsmouth which is in my county, Hampshire. I am sure that hon. Members who represent constituencies in those towns and cities will welcome the existence of those network members and will play their part in the work that they do.

There is a network in Portsmouth and that is good, but it raises a question in my mind. To make a constituency and parochial point, I wonder why there are none in Southampton? I made some enquiries of Southampton chamber of commerce and was told by Mr. Peter Beebe, its director-general, that the Southampton chamber, which I think is the largest chamber in Hampshire with direct membership in the city of about 1,600 firms and businesses and about a further 3,000 associated members throughout the country, found it essential wholeheartedly to support the concept. The chamber has already got a nucleus of employers who have agreed to join the network and is working hard to expand the employer base.

I think that Mr. Beebe plans to call the members of the network together and will invite the organisers of the network to help his chamber to the next stage. He made the point that he did not want to see the network become a talking shop. There is a wide disparity between chambers of commerce and I have seen good and bad ones. The Southampton chamber of commerce is extremely good and is active in promoting business and employment. However, in some parts of Britain chambers of commerce are little more than talking shops.

All hon. Members will wish to congratulate the local enterprise networks on their initiative and will want to wish Mr. David Stanley, the project director, all the best in this initiative. I shall end my speech with the words that he used on the day of the launch. He said:

"The aim of networks by working closely with Vocational Education and Training, and planning for employment needs well into the 21st century, is to improve levels of skills and to better utilise Britain's workforce which, we hope, will in turn be reflected in enhanced economic performance for Great Britain Limited."

I wholeheartedly welcome this scheme and the Government's support for it.

Mr. Deputy Speaker: The debate has been in progress for four hours and only 11 hon. Members have had the opportunity to address the House. I hesitate to ask for brevity now, especially from those hon. Members who have sat through the debate, but it is necessary to do so. The first Front-Bench speaker hopes to catch my eye at 9.20. 8.26 pm

Mr. Martin Redmond (Don Valley): In moving the Government motion the Paymaster General spent five minutes talking to it and then subjected the House to a load of garbage and bile, the like of which I have never heard. He winced when the

auditor's report was mentioned, and it is worthwhile looking at that report. It makes the accusation that perhaps the Manpower Services Commission and the Government are not cost efficient because there is no way of checking. One could infer from that that the Government have a lot to answer for in the way that the MSC is run. It is rather strange that the MSC is not cost efficient, because the Government have spent the last seven years browbeating the public sector into becoming cost effective. It does the Government no good to preach that to the public sector and practise something totally different by seeking to manipulate employment and training.

On a number of occasions the Paymaster General refused to give way to my hon. Friend the Member for Kingston upon Hull. Then he took the hump when my hon. Friend gave him similar treatment. Perhaps he will learn a lesson from that.

One of the reasons for the country being in such a mess is the lack of Government forward planning. I have listened to the Prime Minister a number of times and I listened to her today at Prime Minister's Question Time. I have also listened to Government Ministers, and to hear them one would think that there are no problems about unemployment or the Health Service or education. They are not living in the same real world as I am.

There are many problems in my constituency and I suggest that the Paymaster General and the Prime Minister should come down from their ivory tower into the world of reality that the people of Britain have to endure: Perhaps they should stop behaving like the little Dutch boy who put his finger in a hole in the dyke to stop the water from coming out. We would make better progress if the Paymaster General pulled his finger out and got on with the job that he is paid to do.

In the Yorkshire and Humberside region there are old industries that have been the backbone and wealth of the country for many years. They have certainly seen us through two world wars and helped industry to recover from the effects of the wars. Of course, they have been exploited and, having been exploited, they are now left to rot.

The high unemployment in Yorkshire and Humberside creates many problems which I do not have time to go into. Part of the Don Valley area in my constituency has one of the highest unemployment levels in the Doncaster area with the exception of Thorne on the east. The people of my constituency are good and proud people and they want the opportunity to work. The steel industry, the pits and the fishing industry, from Sheffield to the east coast, are now being left on the scrap heap. As the old industries die out, there is nothing to replace them. That is as a direct result of Government policies and a lack of forward planning.

I am sick to death of hearing Ministers bashing past Governments for today's faults. I have never heard owf so daff in my life. The Ministers blame the previous Labour Government, the MacMillan Government and future Labour politics, but not today's policies. It is the Government's policies that can help solve today's problems. I hope that for the good of the country the Government will step aside and let a Labour Government in with the sort of policies that my hon. Friend the Member for Kingston upon Hull, east (Mr. Prescott) was talking about. They are good, sound policies.

The apprenticeship scheme has been referred to. The Coal Board had an excellent apprenticeship scheme. It had to train over 50 per cent. more than it required because the private sector did not want to spend any money on apprenticeships. Of course, the private sector offered higher wages, hence the need for the Coal Board to train more apprentices. Unfortunately, with the Government's policies and the run down of the industry, such apprenticeships, even though they have been scaled down in years, are not coming through. Because the Coal Board is not taking the youngsters on, we have problems with those youngsters.

It is daff to say, as one Minister did, that we should have lower pay for the north and keep high pay in the south. The Daily Mirror contained an article attributed to the Paymaster General. It says, "Ban comparability payments." I heard the Paymaster General make a remark earlier in reply to a question saying that Lord Young gets now. Perhaps he is frightened of getting some comparability with Lord Young.

The CBI should be concerned, as the Government should be concerned, because the number of jobs available down south and the lack of jobs up north is forcing wages up in the south. If jobs were forced up north, there would be a better balance in wages. If the Paymaster General wants me to go into detail I will be pleased to see him later over a cup of tea.

We talk about wages being the cause of the lack of job opportunities. I do not hear the people who advocate that sort of policy talk about the high wages and salaries of the directors and captains of industry. That is in order according to the opponents of wages for the workers. Of course, we must have profits to reinvest in industry. Well, when the exchange controls were lifted, all the profits went abroad to build factories to bring goods back to Britain. The philosophy of the Government is that the lowering of income tax will create jobs because of the spin-off effects. I do not see any jobs coming from the big fat profits that the directors have been making under this conservative Government.

I shall now come back to forward planning. We have to keep coming back to it because we have to forward plan if we are to meet the challenges of the 21st century. The Government's motion talks about the MSC, YTS, ATS and Uncle Tom Cobbleigh and all. I ask you. They fiddle the figures. I looked at Prime Minister's Question Time and I thought, Christ, Groucho Marx and his team. I can just imagine them running around. I apologise, Mr. Deputy Speaker, if I swore, but the Government's policies are enough to make a person swear. We do not have forward planning. For example, there has been great publicity by the Prime Minister about the Channel tunnel. It is said to be a massive project which will enhance Europe and so on but she has left it to the private sector to raise the funds. I have no argument about that but, at the same time, we must have decisions in relation to infrastructure. All the jobs that the Channel tunnel will create must not be down south but must be brought up north either to the west or east or both. The Government must make those decisions now to enable local authorities, such as Doncaster to come up with suitable schemes to complement that decision.

It took a large amount of Government money to try to lift Corby out of the mire that Government policies had put it in. When one is dead weight, it costs much more. Help in my constituency and in Yorkshire and Humberside is needed now.

An application for development status was turned down. The letter said:

"The AA map has to have some stability."

The initials "AA" do not stand for Automobile Association but for assisted areas. While we are talking about stability, may I ask why cannot local government have stability? In seven years there have been about 13 schemes in relation to rate support grant that have caused all sorts of problems for forward planning. We need help now, not two years on, because that suggests that Nero fiddle while Rome burns.

I ask the Prime Minister to bring about a co-ordinated team that will embrace all Government Departments within a region so that they can start planning for the future. Government Departments do a little bit here and a little bit there. The British Enterprise Board and British Rail are all doing separate things and there is duplication. We need forward planning so that we can work as a team, but not as the Minister for Agriculture, Fisheries and Food and the Secretary of State for the Environment did earlier this week. There is the Secretary of State for Education and Science's grand design for education. The Government should get their heads together with the Department of Education and Science to see how we can co-ordinate, not when the lads are reaching maturity but early on, so that we can have the sort of core training that will equip pupils to meet the challenges and changes that will be required in the future.

I should like to comment briefly on the MSC which has a training and retraining scheme for the private nursing home sector. Local authorities employ a hell of a lot of people in that area and they should have the same facilities. There is a high turnover of staff in that area of social service work and the local authorities should have that facility.

Unless we take positive steps, we shall see a breakdown of law and order in this country. It will get worse and riots will bring the troops onto the streets. That will happen if the Minister does not listen to the advice of Labour Members and bring about some sensible forward planning.

8.41 pm

Mr. Michael Marshall (Arundel): In following the hon. Member for Don Valley (Mr. Redmond), I should like to say that he has been present for most of the debate, as I have. He has shown some restraint in saving his remarks until he was called to speak, unlike his hon. Friend the Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott), who gave an unfortunate exhibition on the important occasion of this debate. Although I do not agree with the views of the hon. Member for Don Valley he expressed them in a good humoured and balanced manner. I should like to respond briefly to just one of the points that he made and which, I think, it is important that we debate among ourselves. He said that, if elected, a Labour Government would seek to freeze all opportunities for overseas investment. In saying that he is running into a classic trap. British industry, which has been built up over many generations and which operates throughout the world, provides not only a stream of dividends but an essential underpinning for much of the invisible earnings of the city, to the tune of about £7 billion a year. I shall be happy to debate the point with him on another occasion.

In meeting the spirit of what you said earlier, Mr. Deputy Speaker, I should like to concentrate my remarks on training and retraining, especially in relation to skills shortages. I wish to do that because throughout the debate—I have heard it all—one of the key aspects has been the changes that have been caused by technology. That was touched on by my hon. Friend the Member for Beckenham (Sir P. Goodhart). The hon. Member for Don Valley criticised Governments for blaming their predecessors. It is true that all governments do that and all governments can be criticised for not doing as much as is humanly possible. That is the nature of the beast. However, the Government are facing problems of technological change on an unparalleled scale. I should have thought that there would be common ground across the Floor of the House as we try to look at the ways in which we could resolve some of those grave issues.

There is no doubt that the shortage of skills is the pre-eminent problem that we face in relation to training. A year ago the CBI said that three in every five companies would take on people in the skilled areas, if they could overcome the problem of training. Companies were facing difficulties in filling jobs that required skills, qualifications and experience.

I should like to comment especially on information technology because that area is not only the fastest growing but is the key to future growth and prosperity and to matching our competitors. If we do not manage to achieve that build up of skills, we shall see our international trading position and thus our domestic economy badly eroded.

I differ from many hon. Members in feeling that during the debate there has been a concentration on what could be termed public activity, in terms of what Governments, the Manpower Services Commission and, to a degree, the universities and polytechnics are doing, and the public funding that is used.

I do not have any difficulty in supporting the motion because important initiatives have been taken. However, if we do not recognise what industry is doing about training we shall neglect an important area of debate. My hon. Friend the Member for Romsey and Waterside (Mr. Colvin) partly answered the criticism that was made earlier by the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East by discussing the limited amount of training that is done by some companies. However, in the period which my hon. Friend describes, the return on manufacturing industry averaged 2 per cent., and there was a great problem in putting aside resources for training because of the limited funding that was available to meet that task. As my hon. Friend rightly pointed out, there are now more profitable opportunities for British industry, up and down the country. This is an opportunity to move ahead once more in relation to industrial training.

The hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East was certainly a bit off when he refused to recognise the substantial areas in which training is successfully carried on by industry. Within the Palace of Westminster, many hon. Members consider that issue with blinkers on.

The Select Committee on Science and Technology in the House of Lords recently issued a useful report on education and training for new technologies. However, it tended to concentrate on the idea of public funding, whether in Government schemes, or by universities and polytechnics. In my view, the Committee did not achieve the right balance because when one considers the figures, there is no question that industry still does far more training than any other part of Government or the

educational system.

The central training provisions of Britain are far larger than the entire electrical engineering resources of all our universities and polytechnics. As another example, ICL and IBM also provide far more training individually than the entire computer science training units at all our universities and polytechnics. Such companies underpin and, in many cases, underwrite much of the work done by universities and polytechnics, and I welcome that. We must look at training for new technologies if we are to build on what is successfully happening in some companies, and if we are to open up the way for others.

In a sedentary intervention earlier today, the hon. Member for Stockton, South (Mr. Wrigglesworth) asked how companies could be encouraged to do that. I should like to suggest to my hon. Friend the Minister some thoughts about that especially in the light of the Budget that we shall consider on 17 March. To re-iterate the problem once more, the National Computing Centre's latest estimate showed that 60 per cent. of all companies involved in information technology do not take on trainees. Therefore, there is a danger that they will look to others to do the training and then poach those who have been trained. The Minister may recall that the Under-Secretary of State for Trade and Industry, my hon. Friend the member for Coventry, South-West, (Mr. Butler), warned, in a 1980 pamphlet entitled "The Big Steal", of that increasing problem. However, that problem is far greater today.

What can be done? Two years ago I was a member of a working party that argued that 3 million new jobs could be created by the end of the century if certain legislative restraints were removed and if the Government provided the opportunities that would open the way for the information technology industry to develop and expand. If we moved in that direction, we could see that number of jobs created. I shall be happy on another occasion to debate those figures. We have seen some movement in that direction, as is reflected in the creation of about 900,000 new jobs.

I should like to outline one or two suggestions which could give added encouragement to training. I strongly disagree with suggestions made by Opposition Members that a further levy on industry for training would be the way ahead. Opposition Members have been plain about their views, and the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East admitted today that the Labour party would tax small businesses. That would hit at companies in the growth sector which are least able to meet the kind of impost. That sort of taxation is the wrong way to go. It is true that the alliance parties have argued along the same lines. Therefore, the arguments at the election will be fairly poised. However, we could consider encouraging companies to use their own money and in that respect we should look carefully at training costs and taxation.

Perhaps the Government could be persuaded to consider this proposal within taxation policy, training costs, including pay, could be treated as a loan and that loan could be subsequently repaid, if there was a premature departure of the person who was trained. Otherwise, it would be a tax write-off. That would begin to help build apprenticeship training. Many hon. Members on both sides of the House recognise that there is a problem caused by the decline in our apprenticeship system. In Germany there is a form of indenture apprenticeship which is successful. Perhaps we should move in that direction, but allowing companies a tax incentive.

Similarly, I would extend the same principle to individuals seeking training. Those who have deep knowledge of information technology reckon that someone with no knowledge of it can acquire the digital skills and basic needs in 18 months. It is important that we should recognise that. Moreover, the underpinning of industry requires constant up-dating. Over the coming years we shall see the need for people to train and to be re-trained. Individuals, whether in work, about to start a job or unemployed, should be given an incentive to undertake training. I should like to see such training allowable as a deduction against personal taxation.

It is possible to give generous tax relief to individuals or companies, perhaps in the American style, for making donations to education and research. I would take that process one step further and say that in recognising companies' activities in training, it would be reasonable to set up a Queen's award for training for companies of all sizes.

The idea of a repayable and tax-free loan recognises the collapse of the apprenticeship system as we have known it. In future we can find ways to prevent poaching and to provide a greater sense of stability and continuity in this area. On individual training for future employment and a tax-free allowance, information technology skills can be acquired in a relatively short period. The incentive of that should appeal increasingly to a society which will have more and more people working from home in small information technology businesses. I see that almost as a reversion to the growth in craft industries where many people, working at a keyboard, can relate to a centre and will need to meet for social rather than industrial or technical reasons. That is the background in which such individual training should be encouraged.

Tax-free donations for those who support education and training would be in keeping with the Government's consistent line in so far as they have already changed taxation policy to assist the arts. That would be a sound development. It would provide opportunities for many people to show that they believe in the importance of that area, particularly those in industry who have perhaps been involved in building their business and who can provide a seed corn for other opportunities.

It may be said that a Queen's award is a gimmick, but I do not believe so. The Queen's award for export is regarded with great pride. My right hon. and learned Friend the Paymaster-General and my hon. Friends must have seen, as I have, the Queen's award for export flag flying over companies which have achieved it. We under estimate what people will do, not for monetary award but for pride.

A few years ago many hon. Members were impressed when we saw the great response to the campaign, "I am backing Britain". It reflected the deep patriotism of many of our people. We should encourage them to say, "I am training for Britain", and let us help them to do that.

8.54 pm

Mr. Stan Thorne (Preston): The background to my speech is a travel-to-work area in Preston where 17,722 people are unemployed. Today we are talking about job creation and the motion refers to employment and training initiatives.

First, we must recognise certain priorities in overcoming this problem. I am convinced that it will be difficult, even for a Labour Government, radically to improve employment opportunities. I am certain that we must concentrate on labour-intensive industries, particularly the building industry. The shortage of houses, the problem of school repairs, the question of health centres, nurseries and so on would be met by major investment in the building industry. Moreover, that would create many jobs in the short term. In turn, that would have a multiplier effect on manufacturing industry.

I am aware that technology is changing. The Government have cut skillcentres and I hope that a Labour Government will give urgent priority to re-establishing a wide range of skills. But, despite those skillcentres, fewer jobs will be available and that is a fact that we must face.

We should already be planning for a much shorter working week, for example, three or four days' work. That raises the question of planning for leisure. There is no justification for asking workers in Britain today to work 50 or 60 hours a week, considering our unemployment figures. I am thinking, not of leisure on the poverty line but leisure that can be creative. For that we must invest in public services. A Labour Government will give tremendous priority to meeting people's needs if they wish to be re-elected after a five year term and to put Socialist measures into effect. Only Socialist measures can ultimately solve our economic problems. Anybody who believes that private enterprise can meet the needs of the British people over a long period and in real terms is living in cloud-cuckoo-land. We must control our resources, plan our economy and the way in which we meet the needs of people in terms of buses, railways, street lighting, old people's homes and care centres. We are not meeting those needs; the Government do not have that sort of priority. Private profit is still the Government's main consideration.

My son-in-law has been unemployed in Liverpool for six years. He would like to be an ambulance driver. He inquired about the prospects, but there were no vacancies; yet the local ambulance services are crucially short of resources. People are suffering as a consequence.

We need investment in a large number of areas to achieve growth in the economy to meet the need for new jobs. Using the country's wealth to create jobs and relieve poverty is a human and moral consideration that must be uppermost in the mind of the next Labour Government.

Training is mentioned in the motion. Millions of people will have to be trained, and that will need considerable planning. Hundreds of thousands of adults in Britain could do extremely valuable work by going back to school as mature students and obtaining qualifications. That demands resources. Will there be the necessary investment in education to provide retraining, re-education and the application to new technology that is so vital? Those are some of the problems that the next Labour Government will face. I am confident that they will solve them.

I do not propose to emulate other speakers who have taken 20 minutes to make a few valuable points, but I must mention the problem of Leyland Trucks. Leyland Trucks is still facing a considerable problem with regard to job losses. It is suggested that Paccar or Daf could take over Leyland Trucks. Research shows that both companies would demolish Leyland Trucks, and thus there is a major concern that 5,000 jobs could be lost in direct terms, but many more indirectly. Paccar and Daf spell doom for job prospects in the area. This is at a time when programmes at Leyland's assembly plant are increasing. Leyland are again producing fire engines. What, one might ask the Government, is the Ministry of Defence doing to ensure that military vehicles are manufactured at Leyland Trucks? That is a clear possibility, but the Government do not care.

Employment is a major priority for the next Labour Government; they will ignore it at their peril. I am confident that the Labour party will make a realistic appraisal of needs and resources, and will take control of those resources which are vital to establish jobs, and will not hesitate to maintain that as a powerful priority.

9.3 pm

Mr. Geoff Lawler (Bradford, North): I shall follow the themes of the hon. Members for Kingston upon Hull, (Mr. Prescott) and for Manchester Blackley (Mr. Eastham) on the question of the training programmes that the Government are providing.

Both hon. Gentlemen slated the Government's training programmes. They did not put forward any constructive alternatives, say what they would do when they came to power, or what was wrong and what could be done.

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

Mr. Lawler: Perhaps the hon. Gentleman will allow me one minute. They did not say how they would seek to improve training constructively. I am sure that my hon. Friend the Minister would welcome constructive criticism and that he would not be ashamed to say that if there were better ways of training people, the Government would not be slow to listen to them.

Mr. Eastham: I am sorry if the hon. Gentleman did not pick up one of the points that I deliberately tried to make. I was referring to illiteracy and some of the shortcomings in education. I was suggesting that it would be a good idea if the Government were to redirect some of the money away from bogus training schemes to further education colleges to improve literacy.

Mr. Lawler: Resources to further education colleges are increasing in real terms. The hon. Gentleman confirmed what I have just said by referring to bogus training schemes. I shall pick one example, the youth training scheme.

The Labour party, especially its spokesmen, the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East must make up its mind about the youth training scheme. Does the Labour party welcome it? Is it a scheme that is doing good and achieving results — which is why the majority of trade unions and certainly the sensible trade union leaders are supporting it — or does the Labour party think that it is a skivvy scheme and a bogus scheme? If so, the Labour party should say so so that everyone knows precisely where it stands.

If the Labour party thinks that the YTS is a skivvy scheme and a bogus scheme, what would it introduce to replace it? How

would the Labour party increase the training of young people? All we know from what we have heard is that a levy would be imposed, yet the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East went on to say how terrible it was that so many companies managed to be exempted from the levy in respect of training boards. Surely the problem would be even greater if a levy of 1 per cent. were imposed on all companies, let alone if it sustained the bureaucracy to which my hon. Friend the Member for Langbaurgh (Mr. Holt) referred.

The only other definite proposal which we have heard from the Labour party is that a greater allowance should be paid to YTS trainees. That is very nice, but will an increased allowance mean that there will be less money to spend on the training of young people, or will it mean that companies will have to pay the top-up allowance? If companies have to pay that allowance, they will be able to afford to recruit fewer young people. Youth unemployment has been a serious problem and the number of apprentices has fallen because, over the past 20 years, the price of youth labour has been constantly bid up by the action of unions and weak management. Consequently, many young people have been priced out of jobs and training.

Although I welcome the change of heart by many trade unions, old attitudes persist. Only the other day I was at a construction company office and was told of a young man over 21 who was a labourer but who wanted to train as a bricklayer. The company was happy for him to do so and the labourer was happy to take a wage cut so that he could go on to the Construction Industry Training Board scheme and be paid at the appropriate rate. He recognised the investment in training that would be made by the company. But he was not allowed to undertake that training because his union would not let him. The union put a block on it. So long as such union attitudes persist — as they would if the Labour party came to power — there will not be the numbers of people in training that we so desperately need.

Mr. Eric S. Heffer (Liverpool, Walton): Will the hon. Gentleman give way?

Mr. Lawler: If the hon. Gentleman will forgive me, I want to continue because there is not much time.

It is right that those who have suffered most from unemployment — the youth — should be benefiting most from the Government's steps to increase training and put more people in work. The pledge that no school leaver under 18 will need to be unemployed is a major one which any Government would have loved to give. It means that there is now an effective vaccine for everyone under 18 against the disease of unemployment. There can be nothing more wasteful than for our youth to leave school with no hope and no training to undertake.

Unemployment for those under 18 is an option only for those who have been misguided enough to listen to the likes of some hon. Members, to organisations such as Youthaid, to those who, unfortunately, have been misinformed or to those who choose, for their own reasons, to be deliberately idle. The time has come for that to occur at the taxpayers' expense.

The youth training scheme has been successful because it has changed the attitudes of employers who now voluntarily subject themselves to rigorous inspection to ensure that the training which they provide meets the quality demanded by the MSC. Employers do so that they can obtain sponsorship from the MSC. Employers now have a commitment to train, which means that the numbers trained have increased and the financial commitment has increased. An ideological commitment is returning to industry, which recognises the importance of training for all the reasons that we have heard in the debate.

There are positive sides to the changes — an increasing number of companies and an increasing number of employer associations which are incorporating YTS in their training arrangements and reforming the old apprenticeship systems — for example, in the electrical contracting and construction industries.

More significantly, and moving away from traditional training and craft areas, people are being trained who would never have had the opportunity even two or three years ago. Shop assistants are receiving proper training in core skills to enable them to diversify during their working lives so that they are not left stocking shelves. Workers in warehouses are learning how to use computers so that they have opportunities to diversify and advance their careers. Those basic core skills mean that everybody leaves the YTS with a qualification to take to future employers. They have the knowledge that their qualifications are worth something and they are what their employer wants. That is a major change of attitudes.

It is no coincidence that about 29 per cent. of school leavers go into unskilled jobs but that of those leaving the YTS the figure is only 15 per cent. We are making training available to all. That means that companies are extending their skill base; that a work force can adapt and retrain as the changing economy demands; that the country has fewer unskilled people chasing a declining number of jobs in that category; that young people have something that they can sell and that they have a start in life.

The most satisfying aspect of my discussions with young trainees was to discover that young people who had been written off at school as academically hopeless and given no hope of a future by their careers teachers were now, because of the YTS, able to do something as valuable to themselves and society as can those who are more academically gifted.

There has been a change of attitude among many people who now have a widespread acceptance of the YTS, especially those on it. That is where the Labour party is dangerously out of touch with the youth of today. Who can blame young people being cynical about politicians when they hear Opposition Members, including the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East continually carping about the YTS? Yet 90 per cent. of participants find the scheme extremely worthwhile, and one reason for that is that it creates jobs.

My constituency in Bradford has above average unemployment. The latest figures — I checked them today — show that 75 per cent. of people leaving the YTS go into work. Overall, 82 per cent do something and only 18 per cent. go back on to the unemployment register. It is no coincidence that school-leaver unemployment in Bradford is going down and that more and more young people go into skilled jobs.

We have heard a great deal about shortages and undoubtedly they exist — for example, in the construction industry, as was mentioned by the hon. Member for Liverpool, Walton (Mr. Heffer). In the Yorkshire and Humberside area there were 1,192 entrants to CITB courses in 1979, while in 1986 there were 1,904 entrants — 800 more than in 1979. The vacancy cannot have it both ways. They cannot say, on the one hand, that we need training in all those skill shortages to fill vacancies and on the other, condemn all that the Government are doing to expand training by claiming that that does not create jobs. They have to make up their minds.

Training creates jobs to fill the skill shortages that so much hamper the expansion of production. It allows new products and new methods of production to be developed, and also equips our young people with the skills that they need to set up in business on their own. Enterprise is alive and kicking with young people. Some 26 per cent. of those receiving the enterprise allowance are under 25. I am pleased to say that the attitude of many young people has changed. They no longer leave school with the attitude, "Who will give me a job?", that the world owes them a living. Instead, they ask, "How can I create a job for myself and also for others?"

The lesson to be learnt is that 16-year olds, taken on as permanent employees at possibly twice the YTS allowance but receiving little or no training, are not doing themselves a favour by sacrificing their long-term potential for short-term gain. The Government's target should be not 66 per cent. of school leavers looking for employment going on to YTS but nearer 100 per cent., which would mean the transfer of about 140,000 young people aged 16 from employment into YTS, though not at additional cost to the Government, because employers would realise a saving of about £1,500 per employee by paying allowance and training costs rather than a wage.

Consequently, we should eliminate almost completely unskilled jobs. We should remove once and for all the stigma that YTS is second best. Also we should remove any distinction between employee and trainee. All would have a legally guaranteed contract. There would be no longer be two classes of youth labour. We should also catch up that much sooner with the number of under-18-year-olds who are in vocational training and education in advanced competitor countries. Eventually, the proportion of the work force with a vocational qualification would begin to match the proportion in, for example, Germany.

Many of today's young people still perceive that the going for them is tougher than it was for their parents. So it is, if the easy option is preferred, and if the level of their expectations is no higher than £60 a week and the first job that comes along, with no training and no career prospects. If, instead, a school leaver wants the opportunity to achieve a level of skill competency that will enable him or her to go for a high wage job, with good prospects, the prospects for young people now are much brighter than they have ever been.

9.16 pm

Mr. George Park (Coventry, North-East): During the 1980s the recession bit deeply into manufacturing industry in Coventry and the west Midlands. Internationally known companies such as Alfred Herberts disappeared, and others — such as British Leyland, Avis, Talbot, GEC and Rolls-Royce — drastically slimmed down their labour force. But what has become clear in the past 12 months is that the recession is still very much with us. Even, the suspect, official figures show that last month in Coventry there were 25,000 unemployed, plus 844 school leavers.

In parts of my constituency of Coventry, North-East, unemployment levels are as high as 40 per cent. Business organisations that are not prone to criticise the Government have issued outright condemnation of the Government's inactivity. The West Midlands Engineering Employers Association says:

"We are sick and tired of the Chancellor telling us we need to keep wage settlements low. That now seems to be the whole answer to our problems. But in a recent survey 46 per cent. of wage settlements in the West Midlands were below 4 per cent. and more than 80 per cent. below 5 per cent."

The Chancellor's argument is that as labour is cheaper, firms will take on more workers, but reduced real wages lead to reduced demand and higher unemployment.

The Chancellor has now apparently passed the parcel to the Paymaster General, judging by his speech to the City University Business School yesterday. That speech gains credence of its source, but Ministers are just as capable of coming out with daft ideas as anyone else.

The Paymaster General conjures up an "Alice in Wonderland" picture of employers distributing largesse to their employees in totally unjustified amounts, unrelated to their performance or to the position of the company — a situation I never came across in a lifetime of working on the shop floor. Companies are urged to pay lower rates of wages, as it is said that this will produce more jobs in the regions. The ultimate logic of that argument is that if we worked for nothing we should get all the jobs.

National pay bargaining is condemned, but the Paymaster General and his advisers seem unaware that in many sectors, such as engineering, national bargaining seeks to establish basic minima, with regional and company variations negotiated in hard-won agreements at local level. Job evaluation seeks to establish the value of a job to the employee and the employer; it has to be related to the ability of a company to pay and its future prospects.

Instead of indulging in these flights of fancy, if the Government wanted to be constructive they could do something about the rates of interest which push up the costs of borrowing for research and development to enable companies to continue to be prosperous. They could do something about cheap, subsidised imports of castings, for example, from Spain and Brazil which have already cost us 700 jobs in Nuneaton. They could do something about the dumping of cement by Greece. They could stimulate demand by spending money on the infrastructure. For example, we have in Coventry 944 unit dwellings, 4,935 of which lack basic amenities and 4,182 of which need renovation. If we started to rectify that situation nationwide the problem of the labourer wanting to be a bricklayer would be solved because there would be jobs for all the people in the building industry.

The Government could do something about the open access to the United Kingdom market, which does not apply in the reverse direction. I have not got time to develop that argument, but people know all about the tariff barriers that our goods



have to jump in other countries which exporters from those countries do not meet when their goods enter this country.

Despite the huge totals of the unemployed, which have trebled since this Government came into office, employers still say that there are skill shortages. This brings us to the question of training. The Government repeatedly stress that training must be market-led and that in the long term responsibility must lie with the employers; but it is well known that in a recession one of the first costs to be cut is that of training.

In engineering the intake of apprentices has dropped from 27,000 in the mid-70's to around 8,000 in 1985 — although I realise that here are other approaches to training. The Government have channelled resources through the Manpower Services Commission, but there is a need for real liaison to see that the money is used effectively. Too much reliance is placed on local labour market intelligence to inform the planning of training provision, but this cannot be relied on to give a firm prediction of future training needs. This may partly explain why, in the three White Papers on training, no mention was made of the needs of women or of black people nor of the reasons for the closure of the industrial training boards and skill centres.

Instead of trying to break the backs of the trade unions through punitive legislation, the Government will be well advised to look to coherent and well-reasoned policies towards British industry, based on reality and not on fancy, and not drive further wedges between north and south by advocating reductions in wages to go with the reductions in jobs which we have already had—and I include in the north anything above Watford. The Paymaster General has said that expectations must change. Let him make a start by creating the expectation of a job and a decent home for millions of our fellow citizens.

Mr. Don Dixon (Jarrow) On a point of order, Mr. Speaker. Many hon. Members on the Opposition and Government Benches have been waiting to take part in the debate. Unfortunately, because of the length of some of the speeches, some hon. Members have been squeezed out, including me because I gave my name to you, Mr. Speaker, this morning.

Could I make a point of order which I hope is constructive? Some two years ago I suggested to one of the members of the Select Committee on Administration that next to that digital clock in this Chamber there should be another digital clock, the same as on the Announcer, showing when an hon. Member gets up. When Members rise to speak they do not realise the length of time they are speaking. It is all right to have a clock on the desk so that the Clerk can see how long an hon. Member has been speaking, but sitting on this side of the House we cannot see and do not realise the length of time an hon. Member has been speaking. Can that be taken up with the Leader of the House to see whether something can be done about it, so that instead of appeals being made from the Chair for short speeches, hon. Members who rise to speak will be conscious of the time?

Mr. Speaker: I fully share the frustration expressed by the hon. Gentleman and I say to the other hon. Members who have been unable to be called tonight that they only need to look at the list at the end of the Chamber to see the length of the speeches. One solution would be for the House to pass the ten-minute limit on speeches, which would have enabled everybody who wished to speak to do so.

9.26 pm

Mr. John Evans (St. Helens, North): My hon. Friend the Member for Jarrow (Mr. Dixon) put forward a suggestion which will be supported throughout the House with a great deal of sympathy. I add my commiserations to those hon. Members on the Government Benches who have not been able to participate tonight, but I suggest that they should level some of that criticism at the Paymaster General, who spoke at inordinate length at the beginning of this debate. Having said that, this has been one of the most cynical resolutions that the House of Commons has ever had before it. We have had a resolution which "commends the Government . . . welcomes the national lunch . . . congratulates the Government".

We have not heard one word tonight from the Paymaster General or any of his hon. Friends about the fact that there are 3¼ million people who are registered as unemployed in this country. In actual fact about 4½ million people are out of work who are available to work if there were any jobs for them.

The fact that the wording of the Government resolution comes entirely from the EEC document entitled, "Action Programme for Employment Growth", which is itself something of a joke, only adds to my cynicism of almost everything that this Government have done in employment and unemployment over the past eight years. There was a very strange omission in the Paymaster General's speech this afternoon, and indeed from the speeches of all his hon. Friends. Only two weeks ago, at the action for jobs breakfast, about which we heard such a great deal, the Prime Minister told the country that she was aiming for full employment. It is significant that the Paymaster General and the Secretary of State have said not one word about that remarkable promise that the Prime Minister made to the nation only a fortnight ago.

I have followed employment and unemployment issues ever since I came into the House of Commons. I have worked with or against every Secretary of State who has ever held that office, but I am bound to say that the present twin incumbents of the office in my view have reduced the Government's credibility on statistics in general and unemployment statistics in particular to the lowest ever level. The truth is that no one in this country now believes the Government's unemployment statistics. The Paymaster General and the Secretary of State are not in the least concerned with the plight of the unemployed. We never hear anything from them about the problems of unemployed people with families, particularly those who have suffered long-term unemployment.

The Paymaster General is not even concerned with the actual numbers of unemployed because he constantly diverts the totals to mask the amount of unemployment that exists in our society. He is certainly not concerned with the growing divide that exists in our country between north and south, although I accept that the "south" has to be very carefully measured. Certain figures were released recently which I found fascinating and saddening and which indicate the depths of the north-south divide. Let us take three constituencies in the north-west and three constituencies in the home counties. I appreciate very much the problems of women, but nevertheless male unemployment is a very solid indicator of the depth of the problem. The unemployment rate in Liverpool, Liverpool is 38.4 per cent., in Chesham and Amersham 3.9 per cent., in Manchester, Central 36.3 per cent., in Esher 4 per cent., in Knowsley, North 32.2 per cent., and in Beaconsfield 4.2 per cent. That is a clear indication of the depth of male unemployment that exists in the north and south of this country.

Mr. Litherland rose—

Mr. Evans: I am sorry; I cannot give way to my hon. Friend although I have referred to his constituency. Time is extremely short.

The Government are not remotely concerned with the decline in manufacturing industry. My hon. Friend the Member for Newham, North-East (Mr. Leighton), in a devastating critique of the Government's statistics, pointed out that there has been a drop in employment in manufacturing of 1,750,000. My hon. Friends the Members for Sheffield, Attercliffe (Mr. Duffy) and for Don Valley (Mr. Redmond) outlined the devastation in their areas where once-great industries have been reduced to virtual rubble. Certainly the Government are not concerned about the decline in skills although we have heard a great deal about skill training from the Government Benches.

Some interesting figures were released recently by the engineering industry training board. They give a clear indication of the size and scale of the problem. On page 7 of the document issued on 22 January the EITB said:

"Between 1980 and 1984 the recruitment of craft and technician trainees into the industry fell by 50 per cent. In the 1986-87 training year total recruitment is provisionally estimated at 8,125, against over 20,000 in 1980-81. This will include 2.175 YTS trainees."

Later the EITB said:

"CBI surveys in 1985 began to show increasing evidence of shortages of traditional craft skills."

It takes four years to train a traditional craft apprentice, so in 1985 we were beginning to see the results of the Government's folly in 1981-2.

The one and only concern of the Government and their Employment Ministers is statistics. I would not dream of accusing Ministers of the Crown of lying to the House. I would not even dream of accusing them of subverting the truth. They may conceal it at times and certainly they are often economical with the truth, which appears to be an ongoing issue for them. None the less, if we compare the Government's position on unemployment and employment measures with reality, we find that the two have little in common.

As the public are aware, the unemployment figures provide the classic example of the Government's handwork. There have been some 19 changes in the way the figures are compiled or presented. All the changes have had the same effect—to reduce the gross total of those eligible for benefit. I shall not go over the precise figures. Suffice it to say that if the Labour Administration of 1979 had used the same basis of counting the unemployed as the present Administration, there would have been fewer than 1 million officially registered as unemployed when the 1979 election took place. I remind the Conservative Members that they won that election on the lying slogan that Labour was not working. How many of them are now ashamed of the filthy campaign which they ran on that occasion against the Labour party?

The Government will tell us that there have been only six changes in the presentation of statistics. I have written to the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Employment the hon. Member for Pendle (Mr. Lee) giving him evidence of the 19 changes. So far I have not heard from him. No doubt we shall learn from the Department of Employment that two plus two equals three.

Another example of the black propaganda employed by the Department of Employment is the title given to its latest wheeze to get the unemployed off the register in time for a general election—the job training scheme. The first point about that scheme is that there are no wages. The people who will be dragged into the scheme, who will be mainly young people, will get only their previous rate of benefit, but it will not be called benefit. To get round the nightmare of bureaucracy and regulation which passes for a welfare system, conscripts to the scheme will receive payments slightly lower than their previous rate of benefit, topped up to exactly that level by a training allowance. The Government have still not decided what they want to call the new payment. I suggest that they ask some of the people who have been involved in the pilot areas and they will probably receive some interesting suggestions.

Secondly, all the information that is available on the so-called training that is involved in the scheme and which the young people would receive shows that it will be negligible — perhaps five or six hours a week. That total is equivalent to about three or four weeks' training in six months. At the end of that six months we are told that they will obtain a qualification. In fact, they will get a useless piece of paper which will guarantee them nothing. There will certainly be no work for them.

When the Minister replies will he tell us what those young people have been trained for and where the jobs are that they will receive when they have finished their six months training? The job training scheme will not improve Britain's training record, which has been well documented in a whole range of reports.

In a report submitted to the MSC in 1985 entitled "Adult Training in Britain" it was noted that:

"for the workforce as a whole, off-the-job training occupied on average 1.9 days per year. This represents perhaps 14 hours compared with the 30-40 which is thought to be good practice in West Germany—and the 9.5 days per year which, it has been calculated British managers spend on business lunches, above a normal lunch break."

This new scheme will not improve on that. Indeed, to dignify this concoction with the title of a scheme is beyond a joke. However, the Government are not joking. They are deadly serious in their endeavours to get this scheme off the ground, so much so that within weeks of it being offered to young people in pilot areas around the country, and without waiting for an appraisal of its effectiveness, the Government have decided to increase its availability nationwide and to increase the number of places to 110,000 before September.

Now we hear of proposals to increase the scope of the scheme still further, to the 220,000 under-25s who have been

unemployed for more than six months and to the whole of the age-group without a job. That would probably involve about 500,000 people.

Time grows short and, unfortunately, much of what I have prepared must be left on the cutting-room floor. However, it must be said that this rather cynical resolution talked of more help for the long-term unemployed. If Ministers really want to help the long-term unemployed you do not give the higher rate of supplementary benefit to the over-55s, who would truly benefit from it? The truth is that in vast areas anyone who is over 55 and is unemployed is on the scrap heap. He will not get a job in the future. It is cynical of the Government to suggest anything otherwise.

On the matter of cynicism, the speech that the Paymaster General made yesterday is possibly one of the most cynical speeches that he has ever made in his political career. He talked about offering a five-point action plan designed to remove barriers to flexibility in pay bargaining. He said that an annual pay round should be banned. However, I remind the Paymaster General that we are still a democracy and it is for the employers and trade unions to decide whether they wish to abandon the annual pay round.

The Paymaster General talked about abandoning the going rate. As my hon. Friend the member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) said, the MSC advertisements on television talked about paying the rate for the job. Presumably that will be dropped from the advertisements.

The Paymaster General talked about abandoning comparability and job evaluation. Surely, those are tools that are necessary in industrial relations and which are used by all managements.

Finally, the Paymaster General talked about ending national pay bargaining. Certainly, in the private sector, pay bargaining has always been about minimum rates. Considerable plant bargaining follows national pay bargaining and that gives wide variations across different parts of the country.

The Paymaster General said that all these practices

"restrict labour market flexibility, encourage excessive pay increases and destroy jobs."

He did not offer a single shred of evidence in the speech, in the press release or in his speech today to the House. He gave the game away when he said:

"In the public sector, virtually all employees are covered by national agreements. Where the government is the employer we will seek to gain acceptance of a wider geographic variation in pay rates. . . Greater variation in pay rates will help reduce differences in regional unemployment rates. Lower wage costs in the regions may encourage firms to move there." Why are the firms not flocking there now? Why are they not flocking to the north-east, where the wages are lower? Why are they flocking instead to the M4 belt and other areas where wages are higher, and retreating from the regions?

The Government have served notice that they intend to attack workers in the public sector, the Civil Service trade unions and workers in local government. Notice has been served that the government intend to ensure that those who live and work in the outlying regions had better expect wage cuts from the Tory Government soon.

There is a deep cynicism at the heart of the Tory party. On Monday, I read in *The Independent* about the plight of a dozen former Ministers in the Tory Cabinet, who have picked up a remarkable batch of directorships and consultancies over the past years. They include a former Secretary of State for the Environment, the right hon. and learned Member for Hexham (Mr. Ripon) who has increased his directorships from 33 to 47. Presumably he cannot manage on his £18,000 a year.

On page 1 of *The Independent* on the same day, there was an article saying that the Secretary of State for Employment is seeking further cuts in the unemployment benefit. The article said:

"Lord Young, who carries the support of the Prime Minister, is convinced that more limitations on social security benefits are needed to persuade more people, particularly school leavers, to take up the Government's jobs and training schemes."

It is all very well for well-heeled former Secretaries of State and City-slicker Members of Parliament to earn fat salaries, but the unemployed and the poor have to suffer at the hands of the Tory Government. There is much talk about an early general election. The sooner the better. We can put the Government's policies in front of the country, get the Government out of office and get in a Labour Government. I commend our amendment to the House.

9.42 pm

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Employment (Mr. Trippier): Throughout this long debate, I have been fascinated to hear which Government schemes the official Opposition have chosen to attack, and which they have chosen to leave well alone, with the exception of the hon. Member for Sheffield, Attercliffe (Mr. Duffy), they have chosen to avoid talking about small firms and entrepreneurship. I suspect for two reasons. First, they wish to concede that the Government have taken the high ground on the subject, with record figures in self-employment and the net growth in small firms reflecting our success, as was made clear by my hon. Friend the Member for Lincoln (Mr. Carlisle). Secondly, they do not believe that they could convince the electorate that they understand enterprise or small firms. They admitted as much by not mentioning them once in either of their manifestos for 1979 or 1983.

On the other hand, the Opposition talked a lot about what should be done that could destroy this sector, such as the significant increase in local authority rates, which would finance their half-baked ideas on council expenditure, and increases in taxes which would kill off the entrepreneurs and risk-takers and nullify the projected increase in the jobs about which they fantasise. If, after all that, the firms in the sector are dead but will not lie down, the Opposition will hit them with a statutory training levy. That proposal was as eloquently rejected by my hon. Friend the Member for Arundel (Mr. Marshall) as it is by me. How can the Opposition say that they are in touch with the electorate when they want to hand them the poisoned chalice entitled "Real needs, local jobs"?

The Opposition are fond of quoting my Department's statistical data but choose to ignore the more than 1 million extra jobs that were created between 1982 and 1984 in firms employing fewer than 20 people. The hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East (Mr. Prescott) worships at the altar of the regional enterprise boards, but even they recognise the vital importance of new and emerging companies. It is a slow process, but they are beginning to recognise that new jobs will come from small firms—a fact that they have been trying to hammer home for the past few years. Conservative Members want to know what restrains the Labour Front Bench from declaring wholehearted support for small businesses. Is it that, by increased support given through local authorities, they can benefit only a mere fraction of the total population of small firms, whereas by increased rates and taxes they will damage them all? I point out to the hon. Member for Attercliffe that Sheffield is a good example of an area with high rates.

These days, we are talking about 1.6 million small businesses and 2.7 million self-employed people. They are record figures. Unless local authorities are to subsidise, invest in or lend to every small business, which is a ludicrous proposition any help given to the chosen few will be a drop in the bucket alongside the increased charges that they will have to face, according to the recent Labour party policy document.

Mr. Malcolm Bruce (Gordon) rose—

Mr. Trippier: I have no intention of giving way. We face a shortage of time.

How many small firms meeting have been attended by the hon. Members for Kingston upon Hull, East for Huddersfield (Mr. Sheerman), for St. Helens, North (Mr. Evans) and for Birmingham, Ladywood (Ms. Short)? Not a lot, I should think. How many of those who have attended such meetings have found that their audiences have asked for substantial increases in rates and taxes, or did the Shadow spokesmen not mention that point? The Opposition have not mentioned it in the debate.

One of the most successful schemes introduced by the Government is the enterprise allowance scheme. Most people would find it difficult to attack the scheme. It is like motherhood—one could not knock it—but that does not stop the Member for Kingston upon Hull, East from having a go. Shortly, we shall launch the 200,000 business set up under that scheme. Opposition Members should tell the people who run such businesses and employ people that they are not in real jobs and hear what they have to say. They should tell people employed in tourism that they are in candyfloss or Mickey Mouse jobs and hear what they have to say.

There are conflicting claims between the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East and the right hon. Member for Birmingham, Sparkbrook (Mr. Hattersley) about whether a statutory levy is to be introduced for all businesses, which would have the effect of increasing corporation tax by at least 15 percentage points. The hon. Member for Gordon (Mr. Bruce) accurately referred to the European Community document, the action programme on employment growth, which stands as part of the motion. Frankly, the Opposition should be prepared to listen to what the hon. Gentleman said about it. We could learn a great deal from the European Community social affairs council. Over the past 18 months, not just from December, the action programme adopted by the Council—adopted unanimously, as my right hon. Friend said—sets four priorities for action. First on the list is more help for small businesses and the self-employed. There was not a dissenting voice in Europe, only from the British Labour party. The council suggested better training for young people and adults, more help to get the long-term unemployed back to work and steps to loosen up the labour market by, for example, the encouragement of more part-time and temporary employment.

The real lesson to be drawn is how far the countries of the Community, whatever their political colour, have moved away from the 1960s-style economic policy that is still so loved by the Opposition. Only the official Opposition and the alliance are left still believing that one can somehow spend one's way out of unemployment. The message is very clear. Everyone, except the Opposition is out of step. They have learned absolutely nothing from the past.

What about the policies of the alliance? There is disarray in the alliance. I listened carefully to the speech by the hon. Member for Gordon (Mr. Bruce). He will remember that in January 1986 the Liberals announced officially:

"We aim at creating one million jobs in three years at a cost of £4 billion per annum."

By the spring of 1986 the equation had been changed again. Officially the SDP-Liberal alliance, they were together then, said that their Budget policies would reduce unemployment by at least 750,000 over three years.

At the Liberal party conference in September 1986—what a wonderful conference that was, especially when I discussed defence policies—the Liberals committed themselves to a policy of reducing unemployment to 2 million over the lifetime of a Parliament, which in the previous week the SDP proposed to cut unemployment to under 2 million within two years. That was an even more ambitious target than that of the Labour party. This morning it was changed again, according to the article that we all read in the *Guardian* written by the hon. Member for Stockton, South (Mr. Wrigglesworth). He says the target will be achieved within three years, so he is moderating the policy somewhat.

Mr. Bruce: You will not achieve any reduction.

Mr. Trippier: Did you have a word with him before you came into the Chamber?

Mr. Speaker: Hon. Members must not keep bringing me into the debate.

Mr. Trippier: At least we all know that, despite its past conflicting claims, the Labour party says that it can reduce unemployment by 1 million. But how and at what cost will it do that? That is the question the *Guardian* asked last weekend. How many jobs must be created in order to knock 1 million off the register? Is it 1.3 million, 1.5 million, or 1.7 million? No account is taken of the jobs that will be shed by companies crippled by the increased rates and taxes that are proposed.

Why should the Labour party be any more credible now than it has been in the past? Every previous Labour Administration promised to reduce unemployment and every one has presided over substantially increased unemployment. [Interruption.] It did not work in the past so why is it more likely to work in the future? [Interruption.] The Leader of the Opposition has said that under a Labour Government local authorities will be the engines of growth in our economy. [Interruption.]

Mr. Speaker: Order. We often hear things in this Chamber with which we disagree but we listen to each other.

Mr. Trippier: Labour models its policy on a plan drawn up by Southwark council. Southwark's proposals call for the creation of 6,000 new jobs within two years and these would include a pool of 400 council employees to cover for absences and nearly 1,000 trainee positions in council departments. About three quarters of the jobs created would be people working for the council. On the basis of Southwark's own figures the total cost of that plan, if applied nationally, would be £20 billion.

However, it is not just the cost and the nature of the employment envisaged that make these proposals demonstrably daft. The weakness of the scheme is compounded by the fact that nearly a quarter of Southwark council's existing white-collar jobs are currently vacant. The hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East hailed the Southwark blueprint as "the best thing that happened on the employment front for a long time." That is a clear indication of his failure to understand how real and lasting jobs are created.

Mr. Allan Rogers (Rhondda): Will the hon. Gentleman give way?

Mr. Trippier: No. Miraculously, the Opposition urge us to spend more on training, but when we introduce a scheme to help that process, like the job training scheme, they say that it is rubbish. The Opposition cannot have it both ways. In recommending an expansion of the scheme, the Manpower Services Commission stresses the absolute priority that must be given to quality. That point was made by some of my hon. Friends.

I shall now respond to the point made by the hon. Member for Manchester, Blackley (Mr. Eastham). No one would seek to deny that in geographical terms there is a skill shortage in certain sectors. However, there is no need to get carried away about that because the figures show that fewer than 15 per cent. of firms currently expect output to be constrained by a shortage of skilled labour. That percentage contrasts with the figure of 50 per cent. that applied when the Labour party was last in Government. We did not hear much about that from the hon. Member for St. Helens, North (Mr. Evans).

The hon. Member for Newham, North-East (Mr. Leighton) tried to rubbish restart. The aim of restart is to provide people who have been out of work for a long time with opportunities to help them back into the labour market. How can one attack that? In fact, 4 per cent. of interviewees are placed immediately into work as a direct result of the interview. Many others go from restart into opportunities such as the enterprise allowance scheme, the community programme, training and jobclubs which, in turn, lead to a job. I know that it was news to the hon. Member for Kingston upon Hull, East, but 60 per cent. of those leaving jobclubs go into a job. I bet the people who have found those jobs do not think that that Government initiative is tea and sympathy. I bet they do not think that in Langbaurgh, as my hon. Friend the member for Langbaurgh (Mr. Holt) was quick to point out.

The hon. Member for Manchester, Blackley (Mr. Eastham) and my hon. Friend the Member for Bradford, North (Mr. Lawler), in his excellent contribution, spoke about YTS. The hon. Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Sheerman) made a point of assuring the House just last week that he and his hon. Friends have never voted against the youth training scheme. He is right. I am glad that he said that and I welcome it. However, it does not stop his hon. Friend the member for Kingston upon Hull, East from denigrating the young people on the scheme. Time without number — we hear it again today — he has referred to YTS as a "skivvy scheme". That is an insult to those on it and an insult to the trade union members who are commissioners on the MSC.

In spite of all the rhetoric about the need for more spending on training, it is shameful that the previous Labour Government vetoed an embryonic form of the youth training scheme on the grounds that it would be too expensive. The House will be interested to hear that the Department of Employment is today spending some five times as much on training as the Labour Government did in their last year of office.

We are used to the Labour party accusing us of fiddling the figures but I am surprised to hear it trying to roast this old chestnut again today. The measures we have introduced to help young people and the unemployed are popular with the people they are designed for, even if they are not popular with the Labour party, and they work. That does not suit the Opposition so every time we introduce something new they say we are interested only in numbers and not in people. What did the previous Labour Government do?

Mr. Litherland rose—

Mr. Trippier: Listen to this. I bet Opposition Members did not know this. Did the Labour Government add on to the unemployment count everyone on Government training schemes or receiving subsidies, everyone on STEP, the youth opportunities programme or those kept in work through temporary subsidies? Of course not. They knew then, as they know now, that people working on schemes such as the community programme or those receiving full-time training are not unemployed. If the Labour party employment spokesman was able to set about reducing the unemployment count by 1 million as he claims he can, will that be before or after he has added on all the people on special employment and training measures and all the young people who are being trained on the youth training scheme?

When he is put on the spot, as he was on "Weekend World" on Sunday by Mathew Parris, he was blown out of the water as was his party and his policies. The reply he gave to the question about what his party would do if it was to come into power was pathetic. He said that he believed the Labour party could reduce unemployment by creating more jobs. He went on to say:

"we will spell out where they come from and you keep dragging me down to three hundred thousand."

The hon. Gentleman cannot be specific. He kept referring to the "Bryan Gould Committee". There is a new application coming from him for the plain English award for 1987. Because he now has to refer everything to the Committee of his "comrade", as he calls him, the hon. Member for Dagenham (Mr. Gould), he will probably become more balanced because now he has a chip on both his shoulders.

The truth is the Opposition policy is wholly shredded, which is probably what has happened to the document that was supposed to be released at the weekend. Their efforts in the debate have been abominable. They are in disarray. Never have their policies been so absurd. They must be rejected.

Question put, That the amendment be made:

The House divided: Ayes 160, Noes 221.

Division No. 91

[10 pm

THE BENEFITS COLUMN IN THE LAST ISSUE WAS WRONGLY ATTRIBUTED TO ROD CRAWFORD. IT WAS PREPARED BY MICHAEL COXON OF HOUGHTON AND DISTRICT ADVICE AND SUPPORT CENTRE AND WE APOLOGISE FOR ANY MISUNDERSTANDINGS RESULTING FROM THIS ERROR. WE ALSO WISH TO APOLOGISE FOR SOME

INNACCURACIES IN THE DETAIL OF THE TEXT WHICH ARE DUE TO SUBSEQUENT AMMENDMENTS OF THE LEGISLATION. THE MAIN CHANGES RELATE TO HOUSING BENEFITS AND WILL BE INCLUDED IN THE NEXT ISSUE.

# letters

## LEICESTER CELEBRATES

Staff of the Youth and Community Development Course at Leicester Polytechnic are inviting all ex staff, students and external examiners to Leicester for a Celebration on the 1st and 2nd July 1988 to mark the retirements of Peter Duke and Terry Willits.

The Leicester Course has seen many transitions from the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders, Humberston Drive, to the Certificate in Youth and Community Work, Scraftoft Campus, Leicester College of Education, to the current Certificate in Youth and Community Development and the Graduate Diploma in Community Education within Leicester Polytechnic. These retirement will mark the conclusion of this present transition which began last September with the appointment of David Batchelor as course leader of the Certificate in Youth and Community Development and Paul Taylor as course leader of the Graduate Diploma in Community Education.

These changes, however will have a much wider significance within youth and community work in Britain, and indeed internationally, drawing to a conclusion a unique continuous thread with full-time youth work training which began with the establishment of NCTYL in 1960 and the appointment of Peter Duke as vice-principal. This thread had its origins in Peter's membership of Worthing Boys Club in 1937. In 1943 after two months as a very mature 15 year old trainee (!) Peter was bombed out of the Highway Club in Stepney. Later his job as secretary of the London Federation of Boys Clubs senate was cut short by National Service. Via Sandhurst, Italy, Palestine and Egypt he was to be found, three years later working as youth leader, Radley College Mission, Wapping. After two years at the London School of Economics as a probation trainee Peter began 10 years at Oxford House, Bethnal Green, initially as Director of Youth Activities and later as Head. Close friends from these early days are asked to contact us.

In 1965 Peter was appointed principal of NCTYL. Subsequently, he became Course Leader of the two year course, initially within the College of Education and since 1976 within Leicester Polytechnic. This represents over 43 years full-time involvement in youth work practice and training.

*Continued from page 29*

Harmondsworth; Penguin 1970.

Brannen P. (ed) **Entering the World of Work** London, HMSO, 1975.

Hirsch F, **Social Limits to Growth**, 1977.

MSC, **Labour Market Quarterly Report : Scotland** Edinburgh, MSC, Various dates.

Having trained as a teacher in Sheffield and taught in Croydon and Crawley, Terry moved to Derby in 1960 as warden of Allestree County Youth Centre. Over the five years from 1962, Terry was Area Youth Officer in Airedale and Wharfedale and then Youth Service Training Officer in Leicester. In 1967 he joined the staff of NCTYL and with Peter played a central role in the subsequent developments in the Leicester Course. In 1975 he obtained his MA in Mass Communication Research at Leicester University and in 1979(?) became course leader of the Graduate Diploma in Community Education. Terry is well known for both his professional and arts-media interests. Among the former he was chair of the Training Agencies Group from 1982-85, but the latter is a particular tour de force, where he is accurately represented as a man of the media, in his role as producer and presenter of BBC Radio Leicester 'World of Jazz' a two hour weekly live broadcast. Terry has featured on a number of LPs and played many gigs including the BBC Local Radio Big Band, Inner Ear and Milestones. His retirement (early!) is an opportunity to develop these interests. We will hear more of Terry....and all that jazz!

### Friday 1st July

Scraftoft is host to two days of celebrations. Friday night is music night, Terry's night, and an opportunity to give recognition to 21 years of full-time youth and community work training, with a buffet meal and who knows - perhaps a little music and entertainment!

### Saturday 2nd July

In the morning there will be a Thanksgiving Service at Houghton-on-the-Hill parish church followed by an "At Home" at Scraftoft, an opportunity for lunch, and friends to meet together. The celebrations will culminate in a presentation dinner for Peter on Saturday evening.

For further details write now to Joan Matthews, 1, Lobbs Wood Close, Humberstone, Leicester LE5 1DH (enclosing a s.a.e.)

Places may be limited by demand. Please pass this information on to any ex Leicester person you know.

**David Batchelor.**  
**Course Leader.**

*This item first appeared in NYB's publications 'Youth in Society' and 'Youth Scene', on 15th March, 1988.*

Rajan A. and Pearson R. (eds) **UK Occupational and Employment Trends to 1990** London, Butterworth, 1986.

Stafford A., - 'Learning not to Labour' **Capital and Class** No. 15 pp. 55-57, 1981.

Williams W. (ed) - **Occupational Choice** London, Allen and Unwin 1974.



# contributors

**Rick Ball** is Senior Lecturer in Geography at North Staffordshire Polytechnic.

**Peter Kent-Baguley** teaches Youth & Community Work at Crewe & Alsagar College of H.E.

**Stephen Boyle** is the TSB Research Fellow at Strathclyde University's Fraser of Allander Institute. He is Editor of the Scottish Chambers Business Survey and Chairman of the Business Forecasting Service.

**Brendan Burchell** is a Research Officer at Cambridge University.

**Lynda Burchell** is a post-graduate student at the department of psychology University of Warwick.

**Frances Cohen** is undertaking research of Middlesex Polytechnic.

**Phil Cohen** works at the London University Institute of Education Post Sixteen Education Centre.

**Mike Danson** has worked extensively and published books and articles on inner city problems, regional economies and local labour markets. He has directed projects funded by the MSC, the Gatsby Foundation, NEDO and ESRC.

**Martin Donoghoe** is a Research & Social Statistician with the Monitoring Research Group, University of London.

**Simon Dyson** is a Health Education Officer for Leicestershire Health Authority.

**Wendy Garner** is a Community Worker in Belfast.

**Kevin Gill** is the Director of the Scottish IT Resource Centre.

**Dave Glover** teaches Sociology at Sunderland Polytechnic.

**Stuart Murray** is a lecturer at Waltham Forest College in North East London

**Dave Stanley** is a Senior lecturer in Social Work at Sunderland Polytechnic.

**Graham J. Senior**, a former miner, has published articles and a book on the youth labour market and local labour market information. He has worked as a Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow and is currently Senior Research Officer with MSC in Scotland.

**Mike Stein** is a lecturer and Research Fellow in Applied Social Studies.

**Dave Smith** is Deputy Head of the School of Sociology at Middlesex Polytechnic.

**Paul Stubbs** works at the Department of Social Administration University of Lancaster.

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

# YOUTH AND POLICY

the journal of  
critical analysis

## SUBMISSION

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

## ARTICLES

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

## SUBSCRIPTIONS

Youth and Policy, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Low Fell, Gateshead NE9 6LA.  
Annual Subscription (4 issues): £14.00  
Students and unwaged £11.00  
Individual copies: £4.00  
Back issues (if available) At cover price  
Overseas Rate: Price on application.  
(includes postage at 'printed paper' rate)  
Special terms for orders of ten or more, on request.  
There is no special rate for institutions.

# contents

ISSN 0262.9798

NO. 24 SPRING 1988

PETER KENT-BAGULEY one too many	1
PHIL COHEN popular racism, unpopular education	8
DAVID M. SMITH & FRANCES COHEN crime and delinquency in the inner city: a research note on attitudes	13
PAUL STUBBS relationships with the police: intermediate treatment and 'the multi-agency approach'	16
LYNDA BURCHELL & BRENDAN BURCHELL the effects of unemployment on youth training scheme leavers	20
STEPHEN BOYLE, MIKE DANSON & GRAHAM SENIOR the recruitment of young people: the effect of one year yts	25
R. M. BALL student vacation workers and the labour market	30
working space – young mothers group nottingham young volunteers	36
the cedarwood centre project - edna allen	39
MIKE STEIN feature review	41
reviews in this issue	43
analysis	47
monitor	48
contributors	Inside Back Cover

**YOUTH** the journal of  
critical analysis  
**AND POLICY**