YOUTH the journal of critical analysis
AND POLICY

YOUTH AND POLICY
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contents

restart and youth unemployment: a chance to begin again?

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This paper aims to offer a critique of the latest Manpower Services Commission (MSC) initiative RESTART and it is possible to accomplish this on two levels: as a theoretical critique concerning the aims and assumptions apparent in the Restart rationale and, on a more pragmatic level, the application of the programme and how it was received by the long term unemployed.

The Restart programme was introduced in 1986 mainly as a response to high long term unemployment. It consists of an umbrella of options to be made available to claimants, initially those registering as unemployed for over one year and later extended to cover those claiming unemployment benefit for more than six months. The claimant is offered an interview with specialist Jobcentre counsellors with the aim of helping towards a job. The Jobcentre staff will discuss job vacancies, training courses or other schemes that might be suitable and everyone interviewed will be offered one or more of the following options from the Restart *menu* as a way towards obtaining work (i.e., paid employment):-

A permanent or temporary job, full or part time, with or without Jobstart.[1]

The opportunity to start up own business with the aid of the Enterprise Allowance Scheme.

A Community Programme place.

A place on a training scheme.

A place in a jobclub.

Other relevant opportunities e.g., educational, voluntary work. [2]

A place on a Restart course. [3]

Whilst some of my initial criticisms will be directed towards the programme as a whole my eventual focus will concern the Restart course, the final option on the Restart menu. A lot of confusion has arisen over Restart primarily because the programme and the course share the same name. Criticism directed at the course has reflected on the programme and that directed at the programme has reflected on the course. This has had an often detrimental effect on the eventual performance of the course.

The evidence presented here refers to approximately 35 Restart courses which took place in an accredited training organisation in the north of England during 1986-87.

An Invitation

Your letter will say where and when to go for your interview. It is important that you go, because that is the only way you can get the help on offer... If you do not go and do not have a good reason, your benefit or credits of National Insurance contributions can be stopped. (MSC PP/43/5567/787/323)

My initial criticism stems from the anomaly between the use of terms such as 'offered an interview', 'invited to attend' and the validity of the choice that the recipients of the letters had. If they did not comply with the 'invitation' on first asking then they received a second 'invitation' openly stating that failure to attend the interview would result in loss of benefit. This threat was actually carried out. Claimants who approached the unemployment benefit office to complain about not receiving their 'giro' were told that their claim was suspended until they attended a Restart interview. On Merseyside alone over 25 people every day have their benefit suspended through Restart and in the first year of the scheme 2,450 Merseyside people had their benefit stopped for not attending Restart interviews. (Guardian 27/2/87)

The rationale that this is based on can be readily observed on two levels. Firstly, it assumes that the longterm unemployed are so feckless, lazy and unwilling to work, so lacking in motivation, that they have to be forced 'for their own good' to stare opportunity in the face. Secondly, it presents an opportunity to reduce the unemployment figures by policing the unemployed. 'An additional, more private purpose has been to seek out the workshy who could be referred from the Jobcentre to the benefit office where their availability for work would be tested...There is a clear Restart effect.' (Guardian 5/6/87)

The implications of the compulsory invitation are many, but the most obvious one involves the credibility of the programme. The compulsory nature of the interview invokes suspicion both in individuals and in organisations. If this service is set up to help or benefit the long term unemployed, 'why is it compulsory?' is the cry. If the programme has validity and is able to help the long term unemployed, why is forced compliance necessary?

It could be argued that such compliance is necessary because the 'new' programme is new in name only. Apart from the Restart course (and the compulsory counselling interview) it is simply a formalising of previously available opportunities. In many areas of the country such options are utopian and unrealistic. Indeed some of the options are merely panaceas and not solutions. The Community Programme for example is a short term and often part time introduction or return to the world of work. For many of the long term unemployed it would seem that the options available are not valid options as they are not able, in the present circumstances, to lead to a real job. It is not surprising therefore that they have to be forced to attend.

Such compliance may also be necessary as a result of the fear claimants have about the MSC and the Department of Employment. This fear would seem to be justified by recent evidence. For example, in four London boroughs long term unemployed who refuse to accept jobs after visiting Jobclubs will have their benefit witheld. (Guardian 2/2/88) In addition, a recent statement from Mr. Lewis, the head of the Department of Employment's claimant services branch, suggests that those refusing a place on a scheme should be referred to claimant advisors who would test their availability to work, and their entitlement to benefit. 'It should be possible for claimant advisors to play a major role in our efforts to fill empty Jobclub places' (Guardian 14/2/87)

The power that can be wielded or invoked by the Department of Employment, and, indirectly, through the MSC is indeed formidable and the average claimant is wise to treat both with respect if not fear.

One of the implications of this compulsory interview is that a large majority of interviewees arrive highly suspicious of the motives of the staff. Many feel aggression and resentment that is then directed towards the counsellors, and later the Restart course tutor. The use of an in depth counselling interview that begins on these terms is highly questionable. Is it possible to salvage anything from such inauspicious beginnings? Is it possible to embark on such a programme with anything other than 'Big Brother' tactics or is the fear and suspicion too ingrained? And, what actually happened at the interviews?

The last question was one of the first asked of each new Restart course group. Some members replied that they had indeed been referred to the menu of options available but most were unsuitable at that time. They were then asked if they would attend a Restart course as it would help them, that the course lasts for one week, starts Monday, sign here please. A few actually requested to attend the course (a very few), but the majority felt that they had no option. Their interviews went something like; 'Hello, who are you? What have you done before? Right, got this course starting on Monday 9.00 a.m. at ...... BE THERE.' When the claimant asked if they had to attend, or would they lose their benefit they were told 'You've read the letter aren't you?'[4]. These interviews lasted about 5 minutes. Hence the hostility referred to earlier that presented itself to the course tutor on Monday morning. This was corroborated on every course by the reports of many individuals which is really not surprising when you consider that each Restart office had a number of places to fill on each course each week. It simply became a mechanical exercise operating under pressure. The counsellors were under pressure from the management to fill the courses and they were also under pressure from the course providers who were paid on a quota basis. Working under those kinds of restrictions is it not surprising that whatever good intentions there may have been at the outset, Restart was ill equipped to fulfill them.

Jobs, Jobs and More Jobs?
A further implication concerns the philosophy underlying the Restart programme. It implies that the problem is 'your problem', that you are not trying hard enough, that perhaps you don't want to work, that you are lazy, that you are feckless or perhaps you aren't skilled enough or are not highly enough trained or trained in the wrong skills. You are unemployed because you are inadequate in some way. If you tried harder, learned to read and write better, or changed your skills, or brushed up on your interview techniques, then all would be well. A job would be yours. Underpinning this philosophy is the notion that there are jobs to be had. If this is so why did so many under 25's filter through to the Restart course who had experienced either the Youth Opportnity Programme (YOP) or the Youth Training Scheme (YTS)? The brief of both YOP and YTS was to provide work experience and training to young people who were unemployed after leaving school. Why were these people then turning up a couple of years later as long term unemployed?

Out of the 56 under 25's who attended the Restart course over a 9 month period 34 had either been on the YOP or a YTS. Most had been unemployed since finishing the scheme. Why should Restart be any more successful? If these earlier programmes had fulfilled their brief why were these people being offered further training for both employment and social skills?

The Course
The Restart tutor's guide sets out the underlying philosophy, the explicit and implicit objectives and the suggested outcome of the course. It is a detailed guide, almost a minute by minute account of what is seen as the optimum programme. It is the first hurdle the tutor must overcome if anything is to be salvaged from the initiative. The following is a summary of the problem, the overall objective, the subordinate objectives and the expected outcome as detailed in the course guide. [5]

The problem
Unemployment usually has negative consequences for most people and they include; lack of resources, isolation, lack of purpose, difficulty in structuring time and a loss of confidence. There is evidence to suggest that if people adopt a reactive stance to their unemployment, ie, waiting for something to happen, then this is more psychologically damaging than adopting a pro-active stance, ie, believing that people have some control over what happens. [6,7,8]

Overall objective
The minimum overall objective is to help the course member to move from a reactive stance towards a more pro-active approach. It acknowledges that it is not possible to change from reactive to pro-active in a week long course, but that effort must be made to move the participants even slightly along the continuum, to give them the belief that they have some control over what happens to them.

Subordinate objectives
Tutors are to lead the participants towards the setting of long term goals and short term action plans. These include building up confidence and self-esteem, re-assessing strengths and skills, improving job search skills, producing a C.V., improving awareness of the local facilities that are available for the unemployed in order that they can make more effective use of their time, and improving their ability to manage limited resources.

Outcome
This course is to be seen as the first step in becoming competitive in the labour market. It is designed to engender feelings of confidence that will then allow participants to believe that they are capable of venturing further.

It is hoped that the outcome of the Restart course will include action related to at least one item from the MENU. However, we must not hide from the fact that some course members will remain unemployed, possibly for a substantial time and the extent to which this course can help them cope better with unemployment will in itself be a valuable

outcome. (Restart Tutors Guide MSC 1986).

Back To Reality

Again it is possible to observe the ideology underpinning these aims and objectives, because the idea at the heart of the Restart Programme is the inadequacy of the individual. Thus Restart appears as a paternalistic response to the problem, a problem that has been defined by the state. Is it realistic to expect the long term unemployed and the young, disillusioned long term unemployed in particular, to hold a pro-active attitude towards their situation given their previous experiences of all things MSC? Long term unemployment among the under 25's is not an individual problem, it is a social political and economic problem. Spoon feeding such an ideology to the long term unemployed does not guarantee its acceptance. The participants on the course did not see the problem of long term unemployment as their problem but as a problem caused by much wider issues of economic, social and political interaction. In an area of high unemployment and given their experiences of YOP, YTS and CP, their expectations were justifiably low. Was it morally right then, in the space of a week to attempt to raise those expectations only for them to be dashed once again on completion of some other option?

Practicalities

The course guide has been referred to as the first hurdle that the tutor must overcome if the course is to be successful. This minute by minute guide contains many gems, most of which would result in a mass evacuation of the course room. The suggested opening statement to describe the course to the participants is as follows:

> Unemployment is something which more and more people are experiencing, or will experience. It hits some people harder than others. Some of you will be managing well; others may be experiencing great difficulty. This short course acknowledges the negative and damaging effects of unemployment and the aim of coming together as a group is to see if we can learn from each other and for ourselves about how some of the difficulties can be overcome....We may not be able to choose whether or not we have a job but we can choose how we deal with that situation now it has arrived. (Restart Tutor's Guide MSC 1986)

This pompous statement is also rather patronising, as is most of the material in the guide. The course was not directed at a group of middle-class executives with a wide grasp of English (or if it was they got it wrong again). In reality the groups were almost exclusively working class, with the majority being either under 25 or over 45, with men outnumbering women around 10:1. Beginning the course is usually quite traumatic for these people. When asked 'Why are you here?' the response was generally 'Because they'll stop my benefit if I don't come'. When staring a hostile group in the face the MSC's suggested introductory statement does not seem applicable somehow. The first part of the morning was therefore usually spent attempting to relieve that hostility by first of all making it plain that no-one was forced to stay, that their benefit would not be stopped if they didn't complete the course and that they were free to leave at any time. Secondly, it was stated that the course was, in any case, only going to advantage them if they wanted it to. If they were there under threat then the course was unlikely to be successful. The next step was to find out what exactly had occurred during their initial Restart interview. This was also essential as they had had widely differing experiences of the interview as was mentioned earlier. Once this was dealt with, usually by the tutor going over the various options on the menu in some detail, the atmosphere visibly lightened (although not all believed the assertion that they would not lose benefit if they refused the course. Old suspicions die hard.)

Exercises

Fortunately the course guide also contains the acknowledgement that some of the exercises may not be suitable and, that as long as the overall objective is met then alternative material can be used. The tutor's role is to act as facilitator. It is also suggested that the exercises are best carried out in groups of 14-16. This is the quota referred to earlier. However, it was readily observed after the first few weeks that usually only between 7 and 8 would turn up on a Monday morning. Only on very rare occasions did more than 50% of the proposed participants actually attend. This made some of the exercises very heavy going indeed.

The exercises themselves, even after screening, were often viewed with suspicion and disbelief. Telling someone who has been unemployed for more than a year how to manage their money better was not a task for the faint hearted. Repeated attempts to persuade outside agencies to contribute failed, for example, getting the local welfare rights organisation to give a talk on benefit entitlement or the local education advisory service to give a talk on further educational opportunities. Restart was bad news.

Notwithstanding this, by mid-week the group was very strong. The hostile and aggressive individuals had turned into a cohesive group who supported each other on many occasions. And they still did not believe that their unemployment was their fault.

Changes

The course schedule was almost completely rewritten with the major focus being self-evaluation and self-help. Many were disillusioned by their experience and none more so than the under 25's. Surely 'young, long term unemployed' should be a contradiction in terms. The stereotype of the long term unemployed is often the older man either from a declining industry, for example, mining or shipbuilding, or the unskilled labourer. Whilst they were in the majority on this particular set of courses, about 5:1, that still left 56 under 25's who had got as far as the course. This age group appeared particularly vulnerable in terms of entry into the labour market. For most, their only experience of work had been simply that, work experience. Some had been on further education courses, for example, social skills courses, numeracy and literacy courses. Others had only experience of YOP or YTS where they found that the skills they learned, if any, were not enough to make them competitive in the market place. Most did not know what they were capable of, did not know what their skills were.

They did not know how to 'sell' themselves (given that the opportunity arose). But more importantly they had low self-esteem, not because they did not have a job, but because they did not have the things a job could provide. The income that a job could provide was quite important but most important was the filling in of time, having something to do, lessening the isolation. However, for some, they knew no other way of life and apart from it being a little boring from time to time their expectations were no higher. These conflicting attitudes can be illustrated by quotes from two course members:

> Unemployment is a major shock when it happens to you. It changes your whole life, your friends, your family, your

standard of living, what you do, what you would like to do. Initially it is a very big shock, it often makes you feel unwanted, outcast and very depressed. Being unemployed, I sign on at the dole every fortnight in order to qualify for a payment from the welfare state. This makes some people look at you and think that you are no good, you don't want to work or that you expect to be kept. The major difference you find when you become unemployed is the amount of time you have free. It is very important not to let yourself become lazy, uninterested or depressed. You must keep yourself busy, find things to do with your time and remain optimistic about the future.
(male, aged 20, unemployed 2 years)

I am 19 years of age, left school at 16 and went on a YTS. After YTS went on social security. Been out of work since. Never had lots of money so know what to do with the little I get. Social life is OK because I grew up with friends who have hardly worked. It means lots of time to myself, time to kill. Life on the dole starts to get boring and repetitive.
(male, aged 19, unemployed 2 years)

At the end of the week many of the participants commented that the course had let them see that they were not alone in what they experienced, or indeed, in what they thought about their experiences. Some did go on to training courses, a couple enrolled for college courses and one or two had interviews for community programme jobs. But the majority still lived with the reality of attempting to compete in a declining job market, with little attempt by employers or job agencies to view the young long term unemployed as viable employees. Perhaps the change does not need to take place within the individual as much as it needs to take place within the world of work, and that was not the brief of Restart.

Putting old liquid into new bottles is not a particularly effective way of promoting merchandise to a consumer. It is first necessary to change the attitudes of the consumers towards those goods. Attempts to change the attitudes of the young, long term unemployed towards their plight can only be effectively accomplished if the reality of the future suggests any hope. In an area still suffering the effects of massive industrial and economic decline how feasible is this? Participants did begin to view the future more optimistically, but not so much in terms of future employment, more because they had made friends with others in a similar position to themselves, had discovered similar views, shared similar problems and experiences. Most said 'Well it was better than sitting around the house for another week with nothing to do'. But is this the best we can do?

Second Chances?
Restart is an initiative aimed at the long term unemployed (although the definition changed from one year to six months). My concern has been primarily with the young, long term unemployed and the failure of previous MSC measures to secure a footing in the labour market for these people. The MSC has also been openly concerned with the long term unemployed as can be observed by its Manpower Paper (1982)[9]. It states that although young people face better prospects of leaving the register than older people the size of their advantage over older people dwindles substantially the longer they have been unemployed. (p.36) This is alright as far as it goes, but, unemployment is more prevalent in younger age groups, therefore whilst the proportion of young people who have never been on the register for more than a year may be smaller for this age group than older workers, the actual numbers are greater. Many young people have had no

experience of a 'real' job, only threats and promises. The MSC acknowledges the consequences of this:

> The longer term psychological effects of unemployment on young people are likely to be more serious than those in middle life. Young people, denied their normal expectations of moving on from school to work, may at least in the short term have their emotional maturity retarded and they may not develop the habits of employment and normal self-identity which come from having a job, and in time become almost unemployable. [10]

As a consequence of this the Manpower Paper suggests that steps taken to ameliorate the problem of long term unemployment should operate with the philosophy that there are individual and social differences in reactions to long term unemployment. Therefore any scheme designed to counter the effects should not assume that needs and reactions are uniform. [11]

Should it also assume that the participants will be unwilling? Benn and Fairley (1986) describe the role of the MSC in free market ideology. Where everything is left to the market it is inevitable that coercive methods will be required. The more the ideology fails, by the reality failing to provide more jobs, the greater the temptation to rely on the iron hand of the MSC. [12]

However the market also makes the actual provision. No longer is MSC confined to the public sector. Unemployment is big business. There is a 'cashing in' on the unemployed. Accredited Training Organisations abound offering YTS places to the mass of unemployed school leavers. Is it coincidence that these organisations are also providers of Restart courses, and, more recently, of the Job Training Scheme (JTS) which again has been set up to 'help' the long term unemployed, and those under 25 in particular?

Restart has been successful for a minority but at a huge economic cost. For a course of 15 participants, including coffee and the weekly 'drop-in' facility the fee was around £1,000 per week. Although there are some who would argue that this has been recouped through non payment of benefits from those not attending the interview, or mysteriously 'signing-off' without reason. Politically it has in some small way (or perhaps not so small if Merseyside is anything to go by) further manipulated the unemployment figures to the benefit of the present government.

Is Restart really a chance to begin again or is it just another stop on the MSC merry-go-round?

NOTES

(1) Jobstart is an MSC Allowance payable for six months to those unemployed for more than a year if they take a job paying less than £80 per week. It pays £20 per week.
(2) Voluntary work has recently been removed from the list of options.
(3) This to be offered as a last resort if none of the other options are suitable at this time.
(4) This was referring to the 'failure to attend may result in loss of benefit' statement that concludes the letter of invitation. Many of the participants were led therefore to believe that this also referred to the Restart course. If they did not attend, then they would lose benefit. Which was not true.
(5) **Restart Tutor's Guide.** MSC 1986
(6) Fryer, D. M. and Payne, R. L. **Pro-Activity as a route into Understanding Psychological Effects of Unemployment.** University of Sheffield, Social and Applied Psychology Unit, Memo No. 540.
(7) Evans, S. 'Out of the trap.' **New Society,** 10 January 1986.
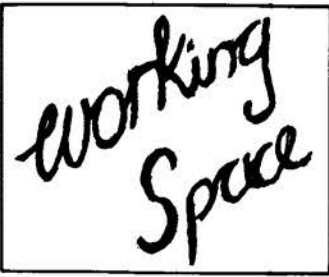
Working Space is a section of the journal aimed at those who may not normally consider contributing an article. Contributions may be written in whatever style the individual feels comfortable with eg. Poem, Short Story, Short Article, Open Letter, Working Notes, Diary, Research and reflections on practice.

THE MAKING OF IN THE NICK OF TIME

'In the Nick of Time' is the most recent videotape released by Swingbridge Video. It was made in collaboration with the Criminal Justice sub-group of the North-Eastern Legal Action Group (NELAG) and the Manchester Police Monitoring Unit. It consists of a videotape, a booklet entitled 'Police Powers and Young People' and cross-referenced workshop notes. The video is a drama following the fortunes of four young musicians drawn into conflict with the police and who consequently seek legal advice. The whole video package is an interesting example of inter-agency collaboration in the production of issue based resources for young people.

Between 1983 and 1984 a number of youth workers, community workers, law centre workers and solicitors in the North East, some of whom were members of NELAG, began to be perturbed by reports of police behaviour towards young people particularly with the impending implementation of the Police and Criminal Evidence Act 1984 which was seen as a legitimisation of current police behaviour and possible malpractices.

The Criminal Justice sub-group was formed, and in 1985 published a report, 'A Fair Cop,' based on a survey of young peoples' experiences with the police. The report made for disturbing reading. It was realised that neither young people nor many professionals knew very much about the rights of detained persons, rules on stop and search or house searches and the importance of a solicitor at the police station.

The NELAG sub-group decided to organise a series of training days in the five regions of Tyne and Wear to inform professional workers of the facts and issues around the new legislation. A local theatre company was employed to illustrate the issues in a play, and to structure the training workshops using drama. A play and workshop, 'Caught in the Act,' was devised and the booklet, 'Police Powers and Young People,' produced. 'Caught in the Act' also toured 50 youth clubs as well as contributing to the training days. The Manchester Police Monitoring Unit heard of this initiative and suggested a video should be made as a permanent record.

Initially it was assumed that the project would simply be a video version of the play but it was soon realised that the script, acting and scenic conventions of the theatre were inappropriate to video so Swingbridge Video was invited to research and develop a new script which fulfilled the same criteria as the play and workshop: ie aimed at young people of 14-20 years; examined Stop and Search, arrest, house searches, detention and solicitors; could be used for training; had entertainment value and would have a Northern 'flavour'.

The Manchester Monitoring Unit added two further criteria: that black peoples' experiences be covered and that Manchester accents and/or landscapes appeared in the tape.

By November 1987 the video, 'In the Nick of Time,' was completed and early this year the whole package became available for use in schools, youth clubs and at training sessions. At no point was it ever envisaged that the video tape be used in isolation. It was always seen as imperative that the whole package be used so that professional workers could feel confident and well prepared to answer specific legal questions or run discussions with young people.

The response to 'Caught in the Act' and 'In The Nick of Time' reveals a real need for coherent, issue based resources, particularly ones produced in the North of England. All resources, but particularly video resources, are expensive to produce. However, collaborations such as the one described as above can quickly and relatively easily raise money because the funding net can be spread much more widely. At a time when financial restraints can be crippling and time-consuming such collaborations can ensure that progressive work is still undertaken.

GEV PRINGLE

'In the Nick of Time' is available from Swingbridge Video, Suite 3, Narden House, 41 Stowell St, NEWCASTLE NE1 4YB (tel 091 232 3762). It costs £35 to purchase or £10 to hire.

SWINGBRIDGE VIDEO is a co-operative community video company in Newcastle upon Tyne. It specialises in the production of issue based videotpes for community groups, trade unions and campaign groups. Recent works include;
1 In the Nick of Time
2 White Lies (an anti-racist video for young people)
3 Learning Ourselves (achievements of women in adult learning projects)
4 Past Crimes (state control and architecture)

The company is currently completing 'Happy Families' about the latest social security legislation.

the social condition of young people and youth work: reconstructing theory, policy and practice

LIAM KEALY

The Social Condition of Young People and Youth Work

Introduction

This article is concerned with the incidence and nature of the effects of poverty on different groups of young people in British society. My contention is that if youth work is to make an effective contribution to the development of young people then we must take these issues on board and reorganise the ways in which we think about young people and deliver our services.

The following article concentrates on exploring the disproportionate effects of unemployment and low pay on young people and describes a move towards a new model of youth work theory and practice which attempts to address these concerns.

The Cycle of Poverty

In 1972, when he was Secretary of State for Social Services, Keith Joseph explained that although there had been full employment since the second world war, some people still experienced poverty due to some personal disability. They had little money, lived in bad housing and were dependent upon the state for their welfare. These people transmitted their inadequacies to their children, who in turn became problem families, despite all that was done to help them escape from this cycle. Thus Joseph believed that poverty is an inherited attribute perpetuated through the generations.

This concept owes much to the idea of a culture of poverty. A subculture of the poor which produces particular attitudes and personality types. A quote from La Vida by Oscar Lewis has significantly influenced my thinking about that culture. It is he says...

> Both an adaptation and reaction of the poor, to their marginal position in a class stratified, highly individualistic, capitalistic society. It represents an effort to cope with feelings of hopelessness and despair, which develops from the realisation of the improbability of achieving success in terms of the values and goals of the larger society...It is able to perpetuate itself from generation to generation because of its effects on the children. By the time slum children are aged six or seven they have usually absorbed the basic attitudes and values of their subculture and are not psychologically geared to take full advantage of the changing conditions or increased opportunities which may occur in their lifetime.

I still hold a great deal of empathy with this view which suggests that poverty, rather than being a genetic factor, can be attributed to the structure of society and the culture of poverty is a reaction to peoples position in that structure.

Measures aimed at alleviating poverty, or improving living conditions, would have little effect unless they also increased peoples awareness of the reality of their situation and enable them to develop strategies to transform that situation. These are some of the central tenets that I carry around with me today.

I considered that the two basic assumptions of Joseph's ideas - that there was social equality and equality of opportunity and that everyone had equal access to those resources which allow for material comfort and a decent standard of living - were inaccurate. The very nature of capitalist society denies equal access to those resources and creates social inequality. Poverty (and wealth) were the consequences of the unequal distribution of the resources, generated by society, between it's members.

> Poverty is relative in that it's reality changes according to the prevailing conditions of the historical period or place. People experience poverty when they lack the resources to support themselves in what would be considered a decent manner and when they are unable to participate in a conventional way in the social world. (Hagenbuch 1965).

For instance inhabitants of the third world experience poverty in relation to those in the west as they are not afforded the comparable physical and financial resources to lead a healthy life. People in the west who are unable to participate in the cultural patterns of our time, perhaps due to unemployment or low pay also experience poverty. People unable to entertain friends, consume alcohol or tobacco or purchase consumer items suffer a form of deprivation if everyone else is able to do these things.

This social definition of poverty was first offered by Adam Smith in *The Wealth of Nations:*

> By necessities I understand not only those commodities which are indispensably necessary for the support of life, but whatever the custom of the country renders it indecent for creditable people, even of the lowest order, to be without. (Quoted in Hagenbuch 1965)

The irony is that Smith would have supported the ideals of the present government who perceive poverty in narrow, restricted, economic terms rather than by reference to general living standards.

People experience poverty when the lack of resources accorded them deprives them of the kind of lifestyle which the majority take for granted. I am aware of other means of defining poverty, especially economic ones, but I do not consider that they account for the total misery to which people are subjected.

The incidence of poverty in British society is increasing. Media publicity has highlighted the increasing polarisation between the wealthy and the poor. Government statistics indicate that the lot of the poor has worsened since 1979. This unequal distribution of wealth, which differs according to class, gender and race is further complicated by differences between regions as well as between different groups of people. (Guardian 29.1.87, 2.7.87). The reality of the situation is supported by the **Faith in the City** report (Christian Action, 1985) and by the work of the Child Poverty Action Group (1987). Other sources indicate that young people are presently particularly susceptible to experiencing poverty due to high levels of youth unemployment, low pay and welfare policy changes which discriminate against them (Davies 1986, Willis 1985).

If, as I believe, youth work involves understanding the social conditions of young people, then it is important to understand the nature of poverty in relation to them. The first part of this article will be about this.

An Idea of Needs

A great deal of youth work is based upon the idea of responding to young people's needs. The needs based response troubles me, both because needs are often determined by others (eg. social scientists, youth workers) and also because needs are individualised. The concept of need refers to what young people are thought to require in order to develop physically and emotionally. This ranges from basic living requirements such as food and shelter, to complex ideas about discipline, affection and recognition.

Smith (1983) cites Mia Kellmer Pringle in his discussion of the developmental needs of young people. Pringle proposes four significant developmental needs which will have to be met if young people are to achieve their full emotional, social and intellectual potential. These are the need for security, for new experiences, for praise and recognition and for responsibility. Smith contends that during adolescence a number of significant things happen to young women and men, eg. new physical experiences, exploring sexual identity, which may prevent them from fulfilling these needs.

What concerns me about this analysis is that firstly it assumes that young people are a homogenous group. Secondly, it does not encourage youth workers to consider how the developmental needs of individual young people are connected to the collective concerns of and interests of groups of young people. Smith contends that youth workers must place their work in its social context and refers to Mills' (1959) dichotomy of personal troubles and public issues of the social structure. Troubles refer to the particular life situation of individuals and may hinder their development. Public issues transcend the life situations of individuals and are concerned with the organisation of many such milieux into the institutions of society. An individual's troubles may be connected to public issues if they are a result of their position in the organisation of society.

There is no such thing as a typical young person. Race, class and gender always place individuals, separate them into groups, profoundly affect their general life chances and their understanding of a response to crises. (Willis 1985). A developmental needs concept can only really be useful when placed in the context of an individual's life experience as they will regard their needs differently with reference to the collective concerns of their group and culture.

By focusing its concern and curriculum almost exclusively upon the individual and personal development of young people, the youth service has failed to enable young people to achieve full social and intellectual development. (Kealy 1987). Because young peoples' concerns are all connected to the experience of the groups to which they belong, youth work must enable young people to make this link and support them in working towards the solution of their concerns. Youth work must move from an individualised service base to actions addressed to resolving the collective concerns and interests of groups.

The second part of this paper will be concerned with this: an analysis of theory and practice which attempts to move from an individual model of youth work to one which addresses the central life problems of young people. I do not deny that young people have individual developmental needs. Rather, I am proposing that by enabling young people to resolve their collective concern then youth work will go some way towards resolving their individual development needs. By acting together to resolve collective concerns, people develop their capacities as human beings. Social action goes hand in hand with individual development (Edginton 1979, Lovett 1975)

A model of Growing Up: The Process of Transition

It is important that we attempt to develop ideas which enable us to conceptualize the structures within which individual young people grow up, ie to construct a model of adolescence that allows for the link between personal troubles and public issues of the social structure to be made.

Coffield et al (1986) offer an integrated model of adolescence which attempt to draw together what they consider to be the central life factors of the young people they knew. The task of growing up is best understood as steering a successful course through the interplay of all those factors that simultaneously affect the lives of young people. The model differs from earlier attempts to describe the process of growing up (eg. Erikson's in 'Identity: Youth & Crisis' or John Coleman's in 'The Nature of Adolescence'.) which suggest that young people tackle one issue at a time during that process. The proposal is that all of the main factors in this model interact vigorously, creating different patterns of problems and opportunities for individuals.

This is the crucial point about this model. It explains how individual young people are presented with different problems or opportunities even though they may share similar backgrounds The model evades folklore explanations concerning reasons for peoples' actions or predicaments, for example, that some young people are unemployable because

of their 'poor family background' Their model is represented thus:-

Figure 1
After Coffield et al 1986.
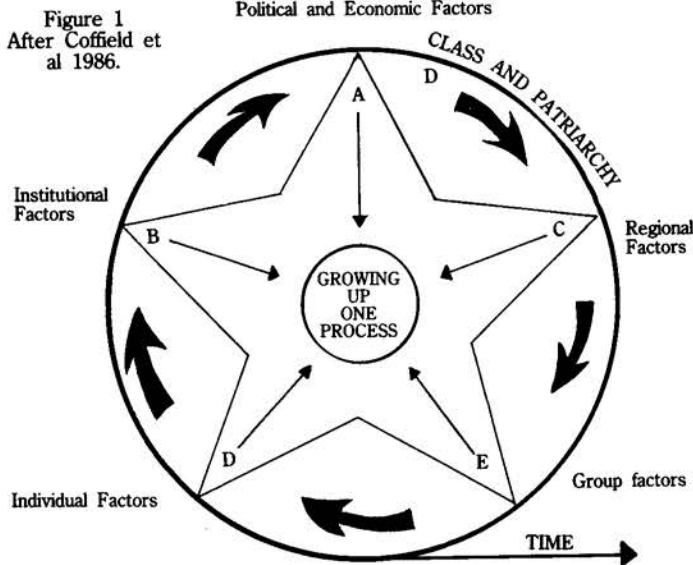
Class and patriarchy are means whereby some people gain advantage over others. They are relationships between people which accord power, wealth and status to some and deny it to others. Political and economic factors do not directly control the lives of young people. Rather national and international factors impose constraints on the range of choices and opportunities available to young people. This range of choices is becoming increasingly limited for some young people.

This model is particularly useful in understanding factors which combine to affect the transition to adulthood. I would add race to class and patriarchy as another system, in British society, which combines to subordinate the interests of particular groups to those of others.

The arrows and circles are not closed systems in which people are pushed around like billiard balls. Rather, the circle represents the pervading influence of race, class and patriarchy as they impact on young people's lives. Coffield et al provide an example with reference to patriarchy.

At the level of individual factors (D) young women were aware of the convention standards of physical attractiveness used in job selection. (e.g. receptionists or secretaries.) At other points in their lives (C & E) they encountered the sexism of their region, of the magazines designed for girls and the pressures to get a man amongst their own peer group. (Griffin 1985) In the institution of the family (B) they experienced greater control by their fathers, over their activities than their brothers did. If they managed to secure employment they were faced with the sex stereotypes of employers and sexual harassment from male colleagues. (Griffin 1985) At the level of national policy (A) women are still at the receiving end of institutionalised sexism, occupying low paid jobs with little chance of promotion.

This model draws together both sociological and psychological explanations of the problematic nature of adolescence into one account. It makes the connection between personal troubles and public issues in a way which enables us to gain an understanding of how structural factors combine to effect the psychology and well being of individual young people.

The Social Condition of Young People

It is apparent from both my own experience and recent literature that young people are adversely affected by the decline in employment opportunities. They are subject to unemployment or low pay; a direct result of the abolition of wages councils for young people in an attempt to price them into the labour market and emerging alternative forms of employment. The result is that young people experience poverty as I understand it.

Unemployed young people, due to the lack of a wage are denied access to the traditional means of making the transition to adulthood and all that entails. Young people, who are in work but receive low pay are restricted in the pace at which they can travel along that same avenue, as they are forced to depend upon parents for an extended period of time or the state for their housing needs.

Young people who accept emerging alternative forms of work such as YTS suffer the ignominy of an allowance, rather than pay and a change of status from employee to trainee. Currently one can only speculate how this will affect the transition to adulthood in the long term. My own experience provides conflicting evidence. Some young people welcome schemes because they provide access to the labour market. Others consider YTS with obvious disregard because of the exploitation they feel it embodies. Young people experience this condition differently according to race, class and gender which has consequences for their development and interests.

The concerns explored in this section are the importance of work and the wage for the transition to adulthood; the implications of poverty for male and female, black and working class young people and whether their lifestyle is further complicated by where they live.

Broken Transitions

The experience of unemployment in the late teens and early twenties differs from unemployment or redundancy later in life as it blocks the traditional route to independent adulthood. The status of unemployed young people is uncertain and they are also culturally unformed as people, as women, as men, as fathers, mothers and so on. (Willis 1984, James et al 1983.) For low paid young people the process may be slightly earlier as they have some identifiable status and also some of the resources to make the first step towards adulthood.

By resources I mean the wage. Rather than simply providing the economic resource for living, the wage also operates as a 'crucial pivot' for several other social and cultural processes. The wage is the golden key to a lifestyle independent from ones parents. A separate household, the ability to exercise choice in the market place and the opportunity to buy new experiences (e.g. travel) and develop hobbies and interests.

Without a wage young people are unable to plan for a future as we have traditionally known it. The process of leaving the parents' home, to live as either a single person or a couple, investing in your own home and developing your own lifestyle are facets that have been accepted as normal cultural patterns for a long time now. But these processes hinge upon the ability of young people to afford them.

The lack of a wage disrupts this and forces young people into a situation of dependence upon the state or their parents. In turn this excludes young people from the kind of experience which contributes towards adult status during the period of that transition.

The state of worklessness also prevents young people from experiencing the cultural traditions associated with the workplace itself. These include the personal involvement in production and the social relations of the workplace, which contribute to a personal view of the world; social contact with ones workmates; and the development and gain of really useful knowledge. These are the kind of attributes which bring a sense of self and which are achieved through experience rather than the mere acquisition of years. This is not to say that I share and empathise with some or all of these acquired attitudes or understandings. Rather I am saying that the traditional way of coming to understand the world has been taken away from young people.

Emerging alternative forms of work recognise the importance of these cultural apprenticeships. As well as providing young people with basic training in job specific skills YTS also serves to maintain the rhythm of old cultural patterns.

Trainees are inducted into the logic of the workplace either through negotiations with supervisors or via occassional disciplinary tactics. The allowance enables trainees to participate in some of the customs of adult life. For example they are encouraged to open bank accounts, use cashcards and have cheque books, which young people perceive as symbols of adulthood. (Davies 1979 & 1981, Willis 1984a.)

The Experience of Unemployment and Low Pay
Whereas the general effect of unemployment is to disrupt the cultural transition to adulthood in a number of significant ways, young people experience its effects qualitively according to race, gender and class.

Young women's experience of unemployment is that it increases their domesticity and further restricts their participation in public life. Their lives are constricted by a system of patriarchy which subordinates their interests to those of men. Women's activities and roles are determined by men's perceptions and influence over them, to the extent that their very visibility and presence is threatened. (Coffield et al 1986, Borril & Marshall 1984, Griffin 1985, Lees 1986) Patriarchy and class interact to exercise a kind of double oppression over young women.

Traditional cultural patterns for working class young women have been to progress from undertaking some domestic responsibilities in the parental home to shouldering the full burden of domestic responsibility in a separate household with a male partner and perhaps their children. The importance of being able to acquire a man and keep him is emphasized by family, peers and media pressures. It is upon this ability that a woman's reputation and standing are rendered safe. (Griffin 1985, Lees 1986.)

Worklessness changes this and often causes women to shoulder an increasing domestic burden in the parental home. In a sense then, cultural traditions are strengthened. Young women spend very long periods in the house and experience the collapse of outside activity. For many young women the home becomes an alternative to the workplace in which they seek an alternative transition. Coupled with the lack of a decent income this has obvious implications for relationships with young men. Such a strategy is not necessarily adopted out of choice or even conciously. For many young women it is their only option.

CPAG (1987) note that women are adversely affected by low income, an erosion of employment rights and that they have restricted access to welfare benefits. Furthermore whether they live alone or with a partner, on low incomes or benefits, it is usually women who are responsible for making ends meet and for managing the debts which result when they don't.

There is developing folklore that young women are opting to become pregnant and rear children in order to qualify for increased state assistance with housing and welfare benefits. Part of this folklore is that motherhood provides an identifiable role and status and aids the transition to adulthood. I am concerned that this should not be perceived as a conscious strategy, as this kind of transition brings its own peculiar problems which further removes young women from public life, as well as increasing economic poverty.

The situation is further complicated by race, as Willis (1985) for example notes for asian women, work may be the only possibility of achieving a structured and acceptable form of independence from their cultural traditions, which restrict their lives in different ways to those of young white women.

For white working class young men the experience of unemployment is significantly different. The traditional means of progressing to adulthood, work, has been broken which has profound consequences for the concept of masculinity. This is tied up with doing and being able to do work and to provide for one's female partner and children. The lack or loss of work can seriously effect the self worth of young men, in the terms that they have grown up with. I am not advocating that the traditional concept of masculinity is something to which I adhere. Rather I mean that we need to understand it in order to firstly acknowledge the effect of unemployment and secondly to ascertain how we can move on to explore a new form which is more equitable and less damaging for both men and women.

Young unemployed men are likely to spend more time at home than their employed peers, but they are not as restricted in their activities as young women. Having little domestic responsibility, even if they live with a partner, they are able to develop hobbies and interests and participate in public life to a greater extent. Young men are more likely to spend time away from the home and have routines more public and visible, but not necessarily as purposeful as women's.

Unemployment is undoubtedly higher amongst black groups, with the pakistani and bangladeshi communities being disproportionately affected. For black women and 16 - 24 year olds the prospects of gaining employment are even bleaker.

These kind of phenomena are intensified for black people living in inner city areas. On top of all this black people are likely to be unemployed for longer than white people. (CPAG 1987, Willis 1985)

Black people's experience of unemployment is also qualitatively different. Men face a crisis in losing their central role as the breadwinner whilst for asian men unemployment affects their standing in the modified arranged marriage system. As noted previously, young women also experience conflict with their cultural traditions.

Emerging alternative forms of work are equally discriminatory with low participation rates for black people in the YTS. In London in 1984 only 45% of afro-carribean trainees were on Mode A schemes, with their better long term prospects

compared with 70% of white trainees. (Guardian 6.4.84) In Manchester the following year, out of a total of 279 schemes, 100 of the employer schemes had no ethnic minority trainees and 44% of black trainees were to be found in just 6 schemes. (New Society 16.5.86)

A report in Scene (Feb.87) of a recent NYB study of the YTS (Black Youth Futures ethnic minorities and the youth training scheme) claims three reasons for the differences in opportunities for black young people regarding YTS. Firstly, racism and the assumption of racial inferiority exist in the labour market regarding the basic employability of black people which is fuelled by a stereotype of a poorly motivated and shiftless attitude towards work. In addition the assumption about the nature of disadvantage and that people should be sheltered from its effects leads to a channeling of black young people, away from the very opportunities that may give them the chance to fight more effectively for an equal place in our society. This is a kind of benign discrimination.

Thus racism combines with patriarchy and class as systems of power which collectively work against the interests of black young people with regard to their employment opportunities which prevent them from making the transition to adulthood in their own cultural terms.

The Question of Regional Differences? The Notion of a Divided Britain
The social condition of young people is further complicated by the divided Britain idea. Articles carried by the Guardian (29.1.87 & 2.7.87) and supported by television news items, convey a picture of Britain divided by a line running across the country from the South Wales border to the Wash. Broad brush statistics show Scotland, Northern Ireland, the North, Northwest, Yorkshire, Humberside and Wales as losing out in most of the categories of social well being. But what is the validity of this sort of picture when the statistical analysis used disguises discrepancies within districts. In the South West an area of relative prosperity, Cornwall has one of the highest unemployment rates in the country.

The Labour Research Department (1987) an independent Trade Union based organisation explain that whereas a North/South divide is a general trend it is little consolation for the unemployed in Brixton or the old and cold in Brighton. Winyard (CPAG 1987) contends that within each region, city and town the gap between the poor and prosperous is becoming a gulf. This fact is confirmed by the **Faith in the City** report which pointed to increasing polarization as the division between the privileged and the deprived grew larger.

Winyard employs three measures to explain his case: population change, the unequal distribution of levels of unemployment between and within regions and the widening of pay inequalities between and within regions. He notes that whereas these point to the impoverishment of the North, there were discrepancies within regions which had hid the reality of the hardships faced by poor people in the South of England. At the start of 1987, Kendal had an unemployment rate of 8.3% compared to Newquay, a town dependent upon tourism, with a rate of 28.1%. Wales, Scotland and Ireland however experienced less variation within regions with generally high levels of unemployment.

Other significant points are that long term unemployment is unequivocally higher in the North and was less of a problem amongst women. But approximately 60% of women received low incomes, compared with their male colleagues. Low pay

was another factor which differed within regions as well as between them.

Winyard concludes that although poverty may be more prevalent north of the dividing line, it is concentrated in unemployed communities where more than a fifth of the workforce is out of a job. It must be remembered that even in the prosperous South East, South West and East Anglia there are large numbers of people living in poverty due to low wages and the inadequacies of the social security system.

The notion of an unequal distribution of Britain's resources along the lines of a North/South divide seems a little simple in the light of the kind of evidence indicated here. Coffield et al's (1986) vital point about the reality of the area in which a person lives, having consequences for their experience and lifestyle has apparent validity. But it does need to be considered with other factors which have a significant effect upon the reality of their long term life opportunities. These are race, class and patriarchy.

We must not think purely in terms of a North/South divide. It must be remembered that young people living with unemployment or low pay are disadvantaged regardless of where they live. To ignore this would be to disregard their daily experience and visit an increased deprivation upon them, that of the forgotten poor.

The Central Life Concerns of Young People and Youth Work
So far we have discussed the daily facts of young people's lives and how these inhibit their development. These are confirmed by the Review Group of the Youth Service in England (1982) who presented what they termed 'A remarkably consistent picture of the concerns of young people.'

Their main concerns were unemployment, racism and homelessness. Other concerns were their poor experience of schooling, the conflicting patterns of age - threshold systems operated in this country, discrimination by the police, the inaccessibility of leisure provision, the decline of public transport, the appropriate roles of women and men (many young women felt that society did not care about their personal development,) and finally the growth of extremist political organisations which set out to capture their allegiance. Some of these concerns are consistent with the issues already discussed. The other factors are no less significant in their impact upon the lives of young people. Homelessness is an issue increasingly being taken up by youth workers in response to the plight of young people. (Youth in Society series starting July 1985).

The scenario portrayed here provides youth work with some important lessons regarding the nature of its organisation and provision. Many young people experience a relatively unproblematic transition to adulthood (Coffield et al 1986, Review Group 1982). But patterns of problems and opportunities combine to restrict the choices open to some young people who do experience some form of stress and concern as a result. The Review Group point the way forward for youth work:
> The negative factors are important and cannot be brushed aside. For those young people who are affected by them it is important that the youth service should address the question of how to help them to react positively and constructively. This may be done partly by relieving the incidence of the factors involved and partly by developing in the young people concerned the capacity to play an active part in altering their condition. For those young people this

is going to be a crucial part of their personal development. But the fact that a significant proportion of their peers suffer multiple disadvantages is also an important fact for **all** young people and one which should inform the **general** experience of transition from dependency to adulthood. (Review Group of the Youth Service in England 1982. My emphases.)

By this the review group meant that youth work should:
(a) Address the central life concerns of young people.
(b) That young peoples interests and energies should be engaged in resolving those concerns.
(c) That youth work should endeavour to raise peoples awareness of how some young people are adversely affected by the negative features of our society. In other words, enable young people to make the connection between the way that public issues of the social structure can impede personal development and become manifest in personal troubles.

In spite of its promise the Review Group's report re-emphasized social education of the individual as being the vehicle for this. The apparent contradiction of this resolution is the context in which the second part of this paper is set.

Reconstructing Theory, Policy and Practice
In this part of the article I intend to demonstrate that youth work has provided for the personal development of individuals as if their lives were unrelated to the reality of their social conditions. This model, as with Keith Joseph's cycle of poverty ideas, assumes that there is some social equality in our society and that everyone has equal access to those material resources that benefit their personal development. This is an assumption which the evidence we have considered proves to be grossly inaccurate.

Following this I consider a developing model of youth work which accounts for those factors which separate and organise young people; which actively encourages them to define their concerns and interests and gives them the support and resources to develop strategies to resolve them. This is the structural model of youth work.

This section is followed by an account of how alternative youth work practise has contributed to the development of this model and how it is beginning to manifest itself in youth work policy. Subsequently I am concerned with how youth work can organise itself around this model and address the central life problems of young people in current practice. My feeling is that this will require different forms of emphasis as well as practice.

In drawing the model together, its principles, implicit value, and implications for the training and support of youth work personnel need to be considered.

A Critique of the Development of Youth Work
The development of youth work has been characterised by a tradition of rescue (of young people from the clutches of poverty) and rehabilitation - the integration of young people into the logic and value system of contemporary society. Crucial to this has been the adoption of a conceptual model the central importance of which has been the physical, social, emotional, intellectual and spiritual development of the individual.

Nowhere has the essence of this model been captured with as much eloquence than by Lord Radcliffe-Maud, then permanent secretary of state at the Ministry of Education, at a Ditchley conference in 1951:-
> to offer individual young people in their leisure time opportunities of various kinds, complementary to those of home, work and formal education, to discover and develop their personal resources of body, mind and spirit and thus the better equip themselves to live the life of mature, creative and responsible members of a free society.

The Review Group of the Youth Service in England (1982) confirmed this emphasis on the individual and advocated particular methodology.
> the fundamental purpose of the youth service is to provide programmes of personal development comprising, in shorthand terms, social and political education...

> The twin aims of this process are affirmation and involvement - affirming an individual in his or her proper identity and involving an individual in relationships with other individuals and institutions...

> We see social education as essentially an experimental process...the trying out of modes of behaviour and styles of action in a way calculated to help young individuals to know themselves and be able to cope with (though not necessarily to accept all the implicit values of) the society of which they find themselves a part...political education...means the process whereby the young individual learns how to claim the right of a member of a democratic society to influence that society and to have a say in how it affects him or her.

HMI (Wales) claimed similar purposes for the youth service contending that it was concerned with social education and that this was expressed in terms of the qualities and attributes that the service would attempt to encourage in young people.

The individual model of youth work has its roots in the history of the youth work movement. Youth work evolved out of a desire by the Victorian middle classes, the Church and other philanthropic associations, to reinforce the existing social order and attempt to improve the conditions of the poor by influencing their attitudes and behaviour. (Hunt & Gargrave 1980, Davies & Gibson 1967, Davies 1986.) This form of social action, through organisations for young people, was motivated partly by conscience and compassion and partly by self-preservation. It is unclear whether the motivation for this was intentional, or whether early youth workers held an unerrring belief in the virtue of their own moral system and were driven by altruistic forces. I feel some sympathy with the latter.

Youth workers have subsequently developed practices which are concerned with engendering certain attributes in young people under the auspices of furthering their personal development. To this extent youth work has operated at the level of personal troubles with few attempts made to show young people how to understand challenge and reform the forces which impede that development, despite the rhetoric of offficial reports.

There is in this individual model an implicit acceptance of the inequitable nature of British society. It's more than acceptance really. The model functions in a way which does not recognise that inequity. Social equality is assumed and youth work is portrayed as some kind of neutralizing agent, an ideological free terrain.

Furthermore, underlying this strategy is the notion that you can change the values and lifestyles of adolescents without

either altering their social situation or life chances. (Murdoch, G. quoted in John G 1983)

It is nothing new to suggest that education and youth work are not ideological free terrain. Rather they are wrapped up in an ideology which reinforces and perpetuates the social order. The emphasis of youth work purpose, on the development of the individual, neatly side steps any potential attention that may be focused on the social conditions which affect the life of the individual.

The Review Group's (1982) emphasis on experience and participation moves away from this model to some extent. The group's acknowledgement of the effects of negative factors on young people has led to a concern with involving young people in determining the direction of their own youth clubs at least. Smith (1987) notes that the meaning of participation is shifting towards the notions of young people and their communities having a greater hand in the operation and control of the service.

But does this change represent a change in youth work curriculum or merely its organisational form? Smith's 1987 research tends to confirm the latter. The organisation framework of the service is seen as the starting point for a change which enables it to be more responsive, consultative and participatory. Concerns and interests and possible responses are then determined on a continuing basis. Provision and the delivery of services follow. John (1983) contends:-

> The real problem is rooted in the very structure of the statutory agencies themselves. If the needs of black young people are to be met and solutions found to their problems then the options are clear. Either statutory agencies must be reformed or alternative structures must be set up which are free from the kind of constraints already mentioned.

I feel that both John and Smith neglect a very important point. The reform of youth work's organisational forms will have negligible effects unless the content of the youth work curriculum, and the model upon which it is based, is simultaneously reformed to draw attention to the central life problems of young people.

A Move Towards the Public Issues: A Structural Model of Youth Work
The growth of alternative forms of youth work have raised questions regarding the nature and effect of traditional styles of youth work. They have developed understandings which have informed the development of a structural model similar to that proposed earlier. (See Fig 1). This model combines both sociological and psychological explanations into one account. It provides us with an understanding of how structural factors coalesce to effect the psychology and life chances of individual young people. Thus the resolution of negative factors lie not in the personal biographies of young people but in social change.

The model calls for changes not only in the essential purposes of youth work, but also in its content, quality and implementation; for a change in emphasis from the resolution of individuals to supporting them in resolving the structural factors which affect their lives. The development of this model within the youth work sphere is gradual and its impact upon the conciousness of young people may initially be slow, but it is nevertheless apparent. (Smith 1987.)

The Contribution of New and Alternative Forms of Youth Work
The crucial point about new and alternative forms of youth work is not that they imply mere criticism of traditional styles of youth work. More importantly they have developed our understanding of the role of youth work in reinforcing dominant ideological ideas, via its organisation and curriculum, regarding the position and character of women, men and black people forced us to take these issues on board and incorporate them in developing youth work practice. The major contributors to the development of new understandings regarding the nature of youth work have been detached youth work, anti-sexist youth work and the challenge to youth work from black young people and youth workers.

Detached youth work offers a style of practice which takes as its starting point the concerns and aspirations of young people who determine the context and pace of their relationship with the worker. The worker's role is to facilitate a developmental process which is concerned not only with the integration of young people, but with enabling their personal beliefs and interests to gain full expression and to contribute to the work. Workers would be concerned to support young people in confronting attitudes which may impede either their own personal development, or that of others. For example racist or sexist jokes which contribute to the subordination of black people and women, but which also serve to trap the jokers within the confines of their own understanding of the world.

Detached work embodies a participatory approach. Workers have to start with the material offered by young people and support them in devising strategies to develop their understanding of how such materials impact upon their lives. The nature of the relationship demands complete equity in decision making and the worker does not impose particular forms of action or views of the world.

This raises questions about the content and context of the traditional style of youth work. To what extent does their structure and rationale militate against the development of a similar process and understanding? My contention is that these kind of understandings can be developed within the four walls of a building provided that workers and their organisational structures develop the perspective practice and political will to do so. (Kealy 1987)

The primary thrust of anti-sexist youth work has been the implementation of feminist practice and work with young women. This has gone beyond the question of more provision and a broader curriculum to a scrutiny of the nature, content and quality of that provision curricula. Again, it is nothing new to claim that young women are under represented in and marginalised by youth work but it is important to reiterate the point to locate the following analysis.

There are various types of work with young women, some of which demand the exclusion of young men. Although differences between practices are not clear cut it is possible to distinguish three broad categories of provision between which considerable overlap exists. Individual feminists may well support aspects of each type. (Nava 1984)

Firstly there is the type of work which focuses upon access and interaction. The priority is to compensate young women for their marginalisation in youth work to single them out, establish contact and value their interests. What counts is to attract girls to youth work and provide them with resources and a context in which to develop confidence, become independent of the approval and control of men and enhance their solidarity with other girls.

The second type goes beyond access and interaction and is concerned with providing a context for young women to explore, and develop expertise in activities which are normally monopolised by young men. As this constitutes entrance into the male domain it challenges assumptions regarding the nature of femininity and masculinity and our understandings of gender as a social construct. As such it provides a challenge to patriarchy. However, it is still possible to envisage a situation in which women play football or ride motorbikes and for youth work to still fail to address these questions. Conversely this approach, coupled with the next, provides the context for new work with young men.

The third type of work has as its principal objective a systematic exploration of gender relations. It is likely to consist of a series of politically educative sessions focusing upon specific subjects. It involves young women in discussion as well as more informal workshops and activity.

This focus upon content, knowledge and conciousness raising does not depend upon the exclusion of young men in order to be feminist. Unlike the other types of work the characteristic which informs this work is its understanding and challenge to social inequality based on gender.

This kind of analysis has led to an understanding that femininity and masculinity as social constructs present problems for young men as well as young women. This has informed developing work with young men which is concerned with exploring the concept of masculinity and how it restricts mens behaviour and activity. Youth workers have been anxious to enable young men to begin to question their understanding of masculinity and construct a new form. In turn this influences their perceptions of femininity and their relationships with young women. (See Lloyd. T 1984a, 1984b, 1985. Taylor. T 1984.)

These understandings have resulted in a proliferation of interest in developing anti-sexist youth work and challenging patriarchy. It is evident from current youth work literature that practitioners are attempting to tackle these issues in their daily contact and practice with young people. Anti-racist work has constructed similar understandings of the ways that racism manifests itself and how youth work can collude with this. Yet this challenge is not so readily taken up by youth work.

Even though the Review Group (1982) recomended that youth work should become fully multi-cultural in its outlook and curriculum, exploit its capacity to campaign for equal opportunity and appropriate community development and introduce positive action into its management practices, there is little evidence to suggest these have been widely accepted. In any case I wonder whether equal opportunity is what is needed or whether youth work should be promoting programmes of positive discrimination designed to support black young people to express their concerns and interests, and act together to resolve them. It should be also working to enable white young people to develop an understanding of how folklore reifies itself and serves to oppress their interests as well as black people. Youth work has some distance to travel along this road yet.

A recent conference of black youth and community workers (Scene June 1987) stated that it is time that youth work took the issue of racism seriously and responded positively to the needs of black young people. An earlier conference (Scene March 1987) claimed that youth work was not doing its best

for black young people and that it needs to grasp the nettle of anti-racism. The youth service should be proactive in promoting encouraging attitudes towards black people who should be able to share its power base and be seen to do so. If the youth service is not to be part of the cure, then it is part of the problem.

This is the analysis offered by John (1983) who contends that youth clubs are part of a series of local settings within which black young people attempt to respond to their social conditions. Proportionately more black young people use youth service facilities than their white peers. (As Willis 1985 confirms.) They see youth clubs much less as clubs in the traditional sense and more as territory within which to give expression to cultural preferences and political opinions and to establish an identity collectively as young blacks. They have established the principle that youth clubs are what the people who use them want them to be, not what providers, or those they employ determine. They find amongst themselves the skills to manage their own affairs. They pursue their own interests without regard to social education objectives, although they often experience the exercise of control from the local authority or youth workers.

This offers youth work a completely different understanding of the idea of participation. It is not just about involving young people in deciding what they want to do and letting them get on with it. It is about youth work organising itself to provide a context which allows young people to manage their own affairs, give expression to their own concerns and interests, and resource them adequately to be able to do so. The question of how youth work can organise itself and its curriculum to address the concerns of young people raises its head once more. To what extent is youth work part of the problem?

Youth work will remain part of the problem if it does not confront the racism of white people, which is the real problem. It is the combination of a culturally learned belief which holds that one's own race is superior and has the right to rule others, together with the power to enforce that asserted right. Only white people, collectively, have this kind of power. From an early age white people are bombarded by confusing, inaccurate and biased information which distorts their perception of their society. It makes them insensitive and unaware of the extent to which their underlying assumptions affect their relationships with people whose ethnicity, colour, religion or race is different to their own. (See Youth Club November 1984). Youth work colludes with racism when it does not attempt to move away from it to an understanding and practice which addresses the issue. Youth work could therefore also be concerned with a systematic examination of the virtue and validity of British society and its morality. As work with young women has raised questions concerning the social construction of gender and its implications for young men, then similarly racism has unavoidable implications for youth work practice with white young people.

John (1983) criticised the operational styles of the youth service and other statutory providers. Their emphasis on accepted orthodox moulds of professional work practice are not always capable of providing the right sort of input to meet the needs of black young people. The same criticism is equally applicable to the way that youth work fails to address either its own racism or the racism of white young people.

The contributions that detached, anti sexist and anti racist youth work have to make to the developing structural model of

youth work should not be seen as separate. There are inextricably linked through the questions they raise regarding the context of the individual model, and the understandings they develop concerning the devisive nature of British society and youth work's relationship to it.

From Understanding to Policy

There is some evidence that an understanding of the social conditions of young people and the structural model they invoke, are finding their way into youth work policy. In an NYB analysis of developments in the youth service since the Review Group's report (1982), Smith (1987) notes that whilst the primary aims of the youth service are conceived in individualistic terms, two further strands were emeging.

Firstly, there is increasing recognition in the youth service of the social and political context in which young people live. This recognition explicitly acknowledges some of the major structural divisions in British society, especially class, gender and race, which help determine young people's concerns and materially affect their general life chances. This indicates a move towards the structural model and encompasses a concern with the collective interests of youth and organises the service in relation to those interests.

From this follows an attempt on the part of youth workers to act as advocates with and for young people, leading to the service adopting a campaigning role.

In the same analysis it is noted that youth work is attempting to organise itself around the concerns of the older teenager (15-19 year olds.), unemployment, race and gender. There is however considerable diversity with regard to the kind of provision made and the understanding on which it is based. Two examples of local authority policy illustrate the move that youth work is attempting to make.
'The Social Condition Of Young People In Wolverhampton 1985' (Youth Review Team) called for sweeping changes in the way that crucial services responded to young people. This involved a switch from the narrow leisure and personal development style to one coordinating the efforts of all departments from housing to social services and education and welfare. It recommended that young people should have a say in a youth sub committee which would be an umbrella body for all departments with some responsibility for young people. The principles underpinning this policy were that youth services needed to address the collective concerns and interests of groups; that the local authority needed to develop a planned, integrated and coordinated response to the central life problems of young people; that young people should be seen as part of the solution and be given the space and resources to define their own concerns and interests, and organise for their own view of the future. Wolverhampton is thus committing itself to a reorganisation of both the form in which it delivers its service and an examination of the content and nature of its youth work curriculum. The authority responded by appointing a deputy Chief Executive responsible for coordinating the role of the different departments. This has resulted in the discovery of more finances for young people, the resourcing of a youth arts group to the tune of £18,000 and the appropriate training and support to be able to handle that, and an increasing cooperation with other organisations from Gateway clubs to Muslim Asian groups. The importance of having someone as in the structure, to advocate and coordinate is highlighted by the kind of success that has been achieved in little over a year. (T.E.S.10.7.87.) A report in Scene (March 87) reveals that other authorities lack the political will or understanding to make such a move.

My own employers, the Cheshire Youth Service, at least attempt to capture the spirit of this. A recently committee-adopted strategy (Cheshire Youth Service 1986) for the development of the youth service, states that one of its purposes is to equip young people with the knowledge, skills and awareness to effect change in their lives and their community. It claims the traditional view of the service, as a leisure provision confined to evenings, weekends and holidays, is changing in response to the changing needs of young people. This requires a change in the orientation of the service which must pay proper attention to enabling the maximum participation of young people in the management of the service; to tackle sexism and sexual discrimination within the service; to develop a coherent strategy for heplping disabled young people and to build on existing good practice in support of the unemployed and develop rural youth work.

Whilst the strategy document failed to attract extra resources this time round, it represents an attempt to move towards a structural model of youth work which organises itself around the concerns and interests of young people. It is not yet clear what effect this understanding will have on practice. It does raise questions regarding the type of training and support that will be required to enable youth work personnel to develop their own understanding of this model and resulting practice.

My concern is that workers are being encouraged to examine their style of practice in line with the strategy document, without the necessary examination of the way the youth service is organised taking place as well. For example workers are being cajoled into developing participatory styles of practice and attempt to incorporate young people in determining the content and implementation of provision. With the local authorities current commitment to ensure that youth centres operate on a cost effective basis, there seems little future in that. Workers are encouraged to pack them in, as cost centre policy allocates resource according to attendance figures and the type of use a building is put to. (eg. Education groups accrue points for a centre, which contributes towards target figures). How can the youth service really get to grips with the central life problems of young people, when its very life and breath are organised around its cost effectiveness. Detached workers, who receive the cast offs from the cost centre budget are better placed to effect a style of work which addresses those central life problems because they are not constrained by that bureaucracy. Surely there is a lesson to be learnt from this.

A Matter of Practice

Practice which attempts to incorporate the structural model of youth work demands that practitioners address the central life problems at personal, pragmatic organisational and ideological levels.

At the personal level, in spite of the apparent contradiction, the old adage of setting an example has its place. (Cousins 1987, Taylor 1984). In all their relations, indeed in the whole course of their life, practitioners must attempt to recognise their own prejudices and strive to overcome them and young people must see this. Workers must be sure not to defer to the habitual behaviour instilled by patriarchy and racism.

For example, in practical terms this means that male workers should attempt to confront their own masculine images, should attempt to avoid conveying traditional ideas regarding men and women through their actions, and attempt to provide alternative ideas of what men are about to young people.

I am not suggesting that youth workers set themselves up as paragons of virtue, I mean that they must attempt to portray alternative images and enter into dialogue with young people about the validity of those alternatives. The starting point for this must be our own attitudes and ideas, which we can present to young people. We must be prepared to acknowledge any inconsistencies between ideas and behaviour and also be prepared to recognise that we may have some distance to travel along this road yet.

At the pragmatic level I feel that practitioners are obliged to relieve the forms of oppression, felt by young people, through their practice. This means trying to improve the immediate circumstances of young people by alleviating any impediments to their personal development. The emphasis should not be on the worker being a sort of 'Jim'll Fix - it' person but as someone who can facilitate young people to act in partnership with them to resolve their immediate circumstances. For example activities and trips are important to young people who value them because they offer new opportunities and excitement. They offer the practitioner the opportunity to involve young people in planning and organising for their own interests. Smith (1983) provides an example of how youth workers enabled young people to organise an ice-skating trip. He describes how they supported young people through a process involving the acquisition of the appropriate knowledge and skills and split the complexity of this into usable pieces, so that the youngsters progressed from one stage to the next. The trip went off without any hitches. It would have been easier for either the workers to organise the trip themselves or to let the young people get on with it. My experience suggests that if the latter course of action is adopted then things usually fail. Especially if young people lack the requisite knowledge and skills.

Practitioners should also be concerned to improve the material well being of young people, through practices such as benefits/rights work and support groups for young women. This kind of practice creates the space to introduce ideas regarding the structural causes of young people's circumstances. Other forms of practice which may contribute to an improvement in the social conditions of young people and make that connection with its structural causes may be campaigning with and on behalf of young people, on issues such as housing, unemployment, racial and sexual discrimination at work and the impoverishment of services and facilities for young people.

At the organisational level policy makers and practitioners must recognise the need to take risks. (Willis 1985). Resources, eg finances and buildings should be made available to young people to pursue their own concerns and interests, with support from youth workers, but not necessarily any recourse to them. As John (1983) notes black young people have successfully established this principle. (My only reservation is that right wing movements like the National Front should not be allowed to develop their activity, but this has implications for other forms of political activity which may benefit the interests of young people.)

Still at the organisational level, I think that the role of youth buildings should be considered. The successes of detached work have questioned the usefulness of buildings in terms of attracting young people. When really, it is what goes on in those buildings, their essential purposes, that is important. Places for young people to develop a collective identity and pursue their interests are crucially important to the

development of the structural model. The role of youth buildings must be reconsidered in the light of this model.

Youth work must make links with the other statutory agencies in a systematic and coordinated way. It must attempt to effect the ways those agencies respond to the circumstances experienced by young people. Housing and social services departments have a tremendous contribution to make to young people, in terms of the ways in which they could organise their services, but this is not always recognised. The health service is beginning to recognise the contribution that it has to make to the well being of young people (HMSO 1986), however, their understanding is conceptualized in individual terms and mainly concerned with 'disturbed' adolescents. The health service does however have a role to play, in not only safeguarding the health of young people, but by also bringing people's attention to issues such as the link between unemployment and ill health and the effects of patriarchy on women's health. (See Lees.S 1986)

The other affiliations that youth could make are with those women's and black groups which are developing alternative perspectives to racism and patriarchy. They have a valuable contribution to make to the youth work curriculum. The informal support networks that exist within communities are another link with which youth work must connect, as they may be a greater part of young peoples lives than youth work could ever hope to be.

At the ideological level the whole youth work curriculum - activities, posters, buildings, attitudes and ideas must be concerned to allow young people to determine the context of youth work and also provide an introduction to alternative ideas regarding the inequitable nature of British society.

I don't feel as if I can provide any ideas or answers as to what constitutes good practice, which is based in the structural model. I'm still struggling with it and my practice probably contains aspects of both models. I don't find it so easy to make the connections in practice, that I can so easily talk about and it would be so easy to become estranged from young people by being too heavy in the first place. Although this is no excuse for not trying.

What I hope to do through my example, practice and dialogue is to make a small impact on the way young people understand the system in which they live and perhaps offer some ideas for change. By this I mean that things don't always have to remain the same and that to some small degree young people, through the choices they make, can alter their relationships with each other and the world.

This seems to contradict the whole theme of my argument thus for. Yet individuals do enter into alternative relationships with others, provided that they have the knowledge, skills and confidence to be able to do so. For example, some couples enter into non patriarchal relationships and strive to maintain them. They offer some hope for the future.

Bringing Together The Strands:- Structural and Individual Models and Their Implications For The Training and Support of Youth Work Personnel
The development of the structural model of youth work is crucially dependent upon the understanding of youth work personnel. By that I mean policy makers, full and part-time practitioners and the women and men in the streets who are part of a community's informal support networks. For it is they who, through their daily contact with young people, will either

reinforce the existing social order or attempt to introduce young people to new understandings.

Consider Figures 3 and 4. The Individual model (Fig.3.) is characterised by particular emphases and assumptions:-

1. The emphasis is on the development of the individual.

2. It is assumed that fully developed individuals are able to play an equal role in the workings of a democratic society. Youth work is therefore concerned to enable the individual to develop their capacities as human beings to the full in order that they may be able to act out that role.

3. The model assumes that Britain is an equitable and democratic society which provides equality and equality of opportunity and access for all its members to resources which provide for material comfort and social well being.

In contrast the Structural model assumes (Figure 4):-
1. Britain is an inequitable society, separated by race, class and gender. These inequalities are unjustifiable, psychologically and socially damaging to everyone but particularly those most affected by these systems of subordination.

2. These structural factors seriously impede the personal development of groups of young people as they reify themselves and become incorporated in the dominant value and belief system.

3. Youth work is concerned with a process of concientization, raising peoples awareness of the effects of that value and belief system and how it serves to inflict damaging consequences on groups of people and impede their personal development.
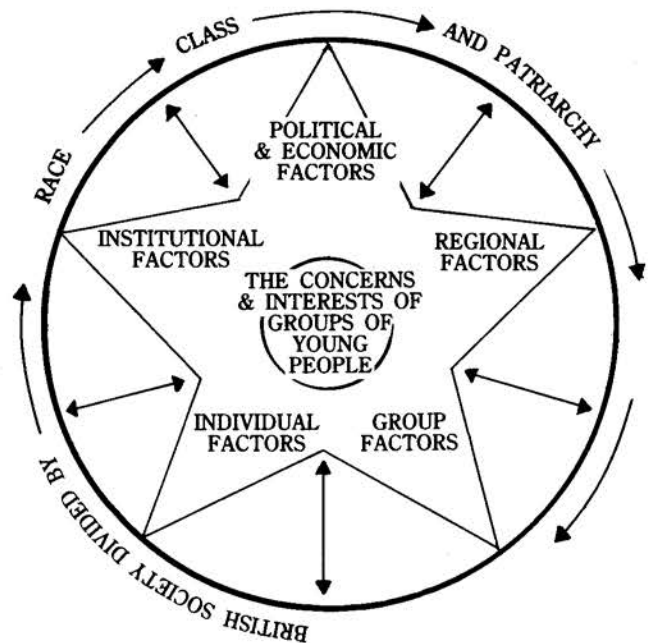
FIGURE 4: THE STRUCTURAL MODEL OF
YOUTH WORK (BASED ON COFFIELD ET AL (1986)

The star represents the inherent link between those structural factors which affect the lives of young people. These are determined by race, class and gender, systems of subordination which shape peoples conciousness and impede their personal development through their effect on an individual's general life chances.

The two way arrows represent the impact of those structural factors on young people and the contribution that such an understanding could make to the development of a more equitable society. In other words by starting from such understandings, youth work could operate to begin to dismantle the divisive nature of British society.

I want to emphasize that these models do not operate exclusively of each other. Practice is often a mixture of both. What is important about the models is that youth work personnel are able to identify where different aspects of their practice are located.

An understanding of each of these models has profound consequences for youth work training. To what extent are youth work personnel challenged on their understanding of the ways that the diverse nature of British society impacts upon the lives of young people? What insights are offered to youth work personnel which provide them with alternative ideas and how systematically are these ideas promoted?

From my experience, initial youth work training leading to either a Diploma in Youth and Community Work or an amalgamated qualification (eg.B.ed/B.A. in Youth and Community Studies.) introduces ideas to students regarding the nature of systems of subordination. The Alsager course has always dealt with the social construction of gender and sexuality, introduced students to conflict and class perspectives and now attempts to develop amongst students an understanding of how racism operates to subordinate the interests of black people. The Cartrefle course attempts to achieve similar understandings. (It may be appropriate to undertake a survey of the content of initial training courses.) So some students are taking into the field with them an understanding of the social conditions of young people. But how often are these subsumed in the hurly burly of their daily contact with young people?

In service training has tended to concentrate on the development of youth work techniques, rather than the actual
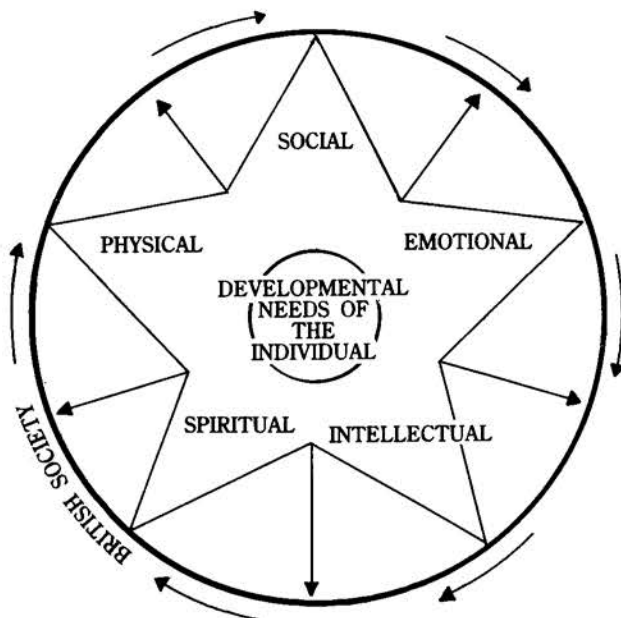
FIGURE 3: THE INDIVIDUAL MODEL
OF YOUTH WORK

The star represents the developmental needs of the individual which are linked to the development of British society, hence the circle. The outward arrows represent the influence of the individual on the shape and nature of society.

content of youth work. I think that GRIST may bring about some change to this. For instance within Cheshire, each district has been allocated a training budget and are responsible for determining how to use it. The opportunity is there for us to develop programmes of training addressing the concerns and interests of young people. For example my own district has organised welfare rights training. We are presently in the process of setting up a research and training project looking at the concerns and interests of young women and how we can best address them. (However, I am not sure how GRIST will affect the nature of part-time or full-time seconded training to courses such as this one. My own feeling is that their uniqueness should be preserved.)

GRIST is allowing us to develop systematic and imaginative training for all youth work personnel, not just full-time workers. It is the vast cohort of part-time and volunteer workers (who make the major contributions to youth work in terms of person power) who may need most support in developing their understanding of the structural model of youth work.

My experience of part-time and volunteer worker training is that it is firmly based in the individual model. The Clwyd programme is concerned with enabling workers to understand the peculiarities of adolescence and develop the techniques to respond to that state. It assumes that all young people live in the same social and political context and does not draw people's attention to the fact that this is not so.

The Starting From Strengths Reports (1984), published by NYB, which are concerned with the continuing development of training for part-time and voluntary youth and community workers, represents a move away from this. They represent an attempt to build on the personal histories of students and enable a connection with public issues to be made.

As for the people in the street, what kind of support and training do we offer them? It is essential that youth work makes links with the informal support networks that exist within communities. The kind of training that it could offer would be to explore and extend the ordinary person's understanding of the factors which impact upon young peoples lives. In C. Wright Mills (1959) words to develop their sociological imagination.

This is very much concerned with the personal aspects of practice and offering alternatives to the accepted way of life. Many people offer their own versions of the world and I think that youth work needs to take these personal accounts on board and attempt to extend these analyses. Not only in order that they are able to make an informed contribution to the development of young people but also so they may be able to effect some change in their own relationships with the world.

Conclusion
I do not consider that I have come to the end of this analysis. Rather than representing a definitive statement this piece of work raises issues for the continuing development of the structural model of youth work.

In this study I have portrayed the contemporary social conditions of young people and described a move in youth work theory and policy which attempts to address these conditions. This sets the agenda for further work, particularly concerning the development of practice and the training of youth work personnel.

As I stated earlier these models do not operate exclusively of each other. By its very nature (ie. it supports dominant ideological concepts yet engages with them in an attempt to encourage some change) youth work theory and practice is often a mixture of both. The purpose of developing conceptual models is to enable practitioners to identify where their practice is located and equip them with theory and concepts which may enable them to move on in their work.

I recognise that these models need further development in order to encapsulate all of the values and perspectives implicit in each of them. For example I have not addressed the oppression experienced by gay and lesbian young people and its effect upon their general life chances and lifestyle.

In the section on practice I illustrated how practitioners have developed work addressing the concerns and interests of young people. Whereas I don't feel that I can as yet offer any answers as to what constitutes good practice based in the structural model of youth work, I do feel that good practice should embody certain principles.

It is clear from the examples explored that youth work is most effective, in addressing the concerns of young people, when it embodies a participatory style of practice. By participation I do not mean the setting up of members committees or the consultation of young people in deciding the 'club programme'.

Youth work must attempt to organise itself to provide a context which allows young people to manage their own affairs, give expression to their concerns and interests and resource them adequately to do so. John (1983) claims that black young people have established the principle that youth clubs are what the people who use them want them to be, not what the providers, or those they employ, determine. They manage their own affairs and pursue their own interests without recourse to social education objectives.

The question of how youth work can organise itself and its curricula to address this is of paramount importance. This has wide implications for the ways in which we use and resource our buildings. If youth centres are ever to be anything more than a leisure/recreational provision set in an atmosphere of social education, then workers must be able to create the opportunities for young people to express their concerns and interests and support them in developing strategies to work towards resolving them.

At a basic level how many youth facilities provide creche services for young women and what are policy makers attitudes towards this singlarly neccessary kind of provision?

There are lessons to be learnt here from the ways in which detached and issue based work, have engaged young people's interests and energies in evolving forms of provision, which are most appropriate to those young people. Laydon (1984) describes how community involvement can engage young people in identifying the needs of their neighbourhood and support them through the process of gaining the resources to act upon and resolve them.

Finally, it is important for us to acknowledge the role of youth work in reinforcing dominant ideological concepts. Then to develop new styles of practice which move away from this, to a methodology which positively supports and encourages young people to seek their own solutions to the negative factors which they experience in their daily encounters with the world.

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'targeting' youth or how the state obstructs young people's independence

GILL STEWART & JOHN STEWART

Leaving the parental home is normal; most of us do it sooner or later, usually in adolescence or young adulthood. But it can be a protracted and difficult process. Leving home is not only a matter of finding somewhere else to live, although that can be hard enough. It also entails a loosening or severing of family relationships and the assumption of a more independent lifestyle.

The government's housing, social security and employment policies form the practical context for young people leaving home and are often the main sources of constraint upon them. The financial dependence of people on low rates of benefit - and on each other, can trap them in dependent relationships when they might prefer to be free. Structured dependency of young people on their parents is a complex phenomenon which the government has been cultivating as a matter of policy. We shall show how it operates in the interrelated areas of housing, money and work. To consider any one policy context in isoloation would be inadequate because social security and employment policies are now age related and predicated on young people living with their parents. This presents an automatic problem of how to pay for independent accommodation on leaving home. We shall argue that the cumulative effect of government policies during the 1980s has been to restrict young people's opportunities and to 'target' them for continued childhood-style dependency into their mid twenties. We will consider the practical consequences of this for young people themselves and some implications for youth work.

Housing

Surveys of young people's housing preferences have shown them to have conventional aspirations; most want to live independently and to own their own homes, but relatively few expect to do so while they are still young. A survey conducted for the Department of Education's Review Group on the Youth Service (1983, p.23) found that three quarters of those asked expected to have difficulty in obtaining accommodation on leaving home but nevertheless to have left before they were 25, half thought they would leave home in their teens. A local study in Bristol found predictable class and gender differences in young people's access to both owner occupation and council housing. Nine tenths of a cohort who had grown up on a council estate in a Bristol suburb were still living with their parents when they were 20, including nearly half of those who were soon to be married. (Ineichen, 1981)

Low wages and high unemployment among young people (which we discuss later) make it unlikely that more than a few can afford to buy their own homes. Meanwhile, council house allocation priorities discriminate indirectly against the young

unless they have children of their own. Even where there is no formal age barrier to single people registering on an 'active' waiting list, a young person will have to wait longer to accumulate enough points for rehousing than someone older who has already lived in the area for many years; points are usually attached to length of local residence as well as to housing need criteria. The historic concentration on building family sized housing, in all sectors, means that there are relatively few small, one-person dwellings and these go mainly to old people. Any local authority will give prioriity to a pensioner's application for a one-bedroomed flat in preference to a teenager who wants to leave home. Malpass (1985) gives a useful account of young people's prospects from the Thatcher government's housing policies.

Some city authorities - like Glasgow, Liverpool, Manchester and Newcastle - have developed schemes for allocating 'difficult to let' housing to single people, including the young. These tend to be flats in high rise blocks, which are not considered suitable for families, and on unpopular deck access 'slab' estates. Such estates often have structural defects and are difficult to live in as well as difficult to let. Common features are penetrating damp, condensation, mould growth and high heating bills; tenants can quickly accumulate fuel debts. A further problem for the young person who does manage to get a tenancy on such an estate is furnishing it. The most basic second hand furniture, furnishings, bedding and household equipment are expensive to someone living on benefit or low wages. (Walker, 1988 reviews the costs of setting up home). Before single payments of supplementary benefit for this purpose were abolished in April 1988, claimants who qualified could be entitled to around £1,000. But young people leaving their parents' home to set up on their own were the group least likely to receive a payment, even when they had a baby, and many were living in squalor in empty flats, sleeping on bare boards. (Stewart & Stewart, 1988). There is no provision for them at all under the Social Fund, which replaces single payments.

Young people who are allocated a council flat usually take it, despite the problems with furniture, because independent housing is so hard to obtain and it can be the only way out of a tense domestic situation. (ibid.) Others less fortunate have to rely on the rapidly diminishing private rented sector, traditionally the habitat of 'transient' youth. While only about 10% of the population nationally rent from private landlords, 40% of under 25 year old heads of household do so. (**Social Trends** 17, 1987, p.140) The varying supply of private lettings will influence what people do in different areas. Thus while only a few of the young people in Ineichen's (1981) Bristol study had gone into private renting, a similar local

study of school leavers on the isle of Sheppey in Kent found that more than 40% of those who had left home were renting from a private landlord. Altogether, nearly two thirds of this particular group of young people had left home by the time they were 21. (Wallace in White ed. 1987)

In the mid eighties, the majority of new private lettings in most areas are insecure, unprotected and expensive, particularly shared board and lodging arrangements. (Stewart et al., 1986) Board and lodging houses provide communal, semi-autonomous accommodation which serves as a transitional stage towards independent living. Landladies and young lodgers in Derbyshire dscribed their situation in those terms, as did their counterparts in an American study. British sociologists however seem to be unaware of the phenomenon of board and lodging being used as transitional accommodation, referring to it as a feature of the nineteenth century. (Derby, 1986; Goldscheider & Davanzo, 1986; Jones, 1987) Around 52,000 unemployed young people live in board and lodging accommodation. A survey by the Social Security Policy Inspectorate reported that 40% of them had moved in after a 'dispute' with parents or relatives, and another survey of HMO residents in Scotland found young people who had left their parents' home made up a fifth of boarders from all age groups. (DHSS, 1986, p. 9; Currie & Miller, 1987, pp. 40-1)

In the face of these difficulties in obtaining access to independent housing, it is not surprising that many young people who are unmarried stay at home, or soon return to their parents after a period away on their own. The Census (analysed by Venn, 1985, p. 9) shows that half of all single people of any age live with their parents or grandparents. In parts of east London, and no doubt elsewhere, one in four households are like this, containing another 'potential household' unable to leave and be independent. (Pawson & Tuckley, 1986) The National Child Development Study (discussed by Jones, 1987) confirmed that the general Census finding applied to young people but it did not represent a fixed state: two thirds of men and over four fifths of women had already left home at least once by the age of 23, and about half of them went back again.

Many youth workers spend much of their time advising young people who are trying to leave home about housing options and the limitations to what is available locally. The dilemma is to try to give constructive advice without encouraging false hope and a rash move. Tyler (1978, pp. 33-5) describes the early involvement of youth counselling services while Wiggans (1982) gives a detailed account of work with young people leaving home in north western industrial towns. He identifies the important supportive role which club workers can have with potentially homeless young people who live 'away from the bright lights' and are not in contact with any more formal agency.

Money
Discrimination against young people has been both explicit and systematic where social security benefits are concerned. Since the implementation of social security 'reforms' in April 1988, single childless under 25 year olds have been eligible only for a reduced scale rate of income support. Their age related benefit is set at 22% less than the personal allowance for someone over 25, irrespective of whether they have a separate household to maintain. As housing benefit entitlement is linked to income support, their rent allowance is correspondingly reduced. The government justified this policy on the grounds that under 25 year olds are, 'not fully independent... By (the age of 25) most people have become

settled, whereas most younger people are generally not yet established permanently in their own home and their earnings when in work are still likely to be increasing.' (DHSS, 1985A, para. 2.73; 1985B, para. 3.9) But the government's Social Security Advisory Committee challenged this assumption showing that in the early 1980s, a third of 18 to 24 year old claimants and half of 21 to 24 year olds were living and drawing benefit as separate householders, according to DHSS figures. (SSAC, 1985A, para. 3.8)

Being held on a reduced rate of benefit is a further handicap to young people seeking independence. Age-related benefits started in the 1970s with under 18 year olds being put on a reduced rate; they are now eligible for, at the most, only children's allowances (42% less money than for over 25 year olds). Then under 21 year olds were deprived of a rent addition when living in their parents' or someone else's household, so they could not pay their way. (Allbeson, 1985). The government anticipated the passage of their Social Security Act 1986, which was the basis of the 1988 'reforms', by extending loss of the 'non-householder housing addition' to under 25 year olds during that year. (Hansard, 1986A) A related policy of making standard deduction, at source, from parents' housing benefit against rent which is notionally collectible from working 'non-dependents' in the household, particularly penalises families with young wage earners. The presence of two 'non dependent' children can wipe out their parents' entitlement to housing benefit, irrespective of whether the can actually make up the shortfall in rent due to the landlord, or mortgage interest payments to the building society. Like the hated household means test in the 1930s, the 'non-dependent deduction' has caused a lot of tension within families, forcing many young people to choose between giving up their jobs or leaving home. (Cusack & Roll, 1985; Bond, 1987; Stevenson & Cook, 1977, p. 76)

Further direct discrimination was introduced in 1985 with the imposition of time-limits to claiming for young people living in board and lodging accommodation which we described above. Amidst allegations of abuse by unemployed youth living it up on the 'Costa del Dole', under 26 year old boarders had to move on after a few weeks in an area - even if they had grown up there - or take a drastic cut in benefit. They were expected to go back to their parents, who were assumed to be willing and waiting to receive them. (Stewart et al., 1986; Brynin, 1987) The board and lodging regulations are complex and punitive and likely to remain in force until April 1989; any youth worker who encounters them is advised to consult CHAR's **Benefits** guide. Subsequently boarders are to be absorbed into the income support and housing benefit schemes under arrangements which will mean that less benefit is available for everyone, but particularly for young people. (Stewart, ed., 1987)

The various measures described have the effect of raising the upper age limit of childhood dependency into the mid twenties. It seems that through its social security policies, the government is trying to force young people and their parents to continue living in nuclear families for longer than they might normally wish to do so. Young people's independence has to be earned through their own efforts, without help from the state. An alternative passage to adult status is having children of your own: 18-24 year olds with children receive the full rate of income support plus a family premium. The least difficult way of gaining exemption from the board and lodging time limits is being a parent. (DHSS, 1986)

Viewed in this way, social security policies apparently offer

young people an incentive to have babies, though the benefit rewards cannot be described as generous (and 16-17 year old mothers still get only a child's personal allowance for themselves). Similarly, housing policies give priority to families with children who are homeless or applying for a council tenancy which has led some commentators (for example, Ineichen, 1981 and 1986; Campbell, 1984; Willis, 1984) to suggest that young women deliberately get pregnant in order to obtain a council flat. There is no systematic evidence for this and it seems more likely to be a rational explanation for what happened, offered by some young mothers after the event. This interpretation is supported by Griffin's (1985) analysis of girls' attitudes to motherhood. Sharpe's (1987) account of interviews with teenage mothers who had ended up living in poverty and isolation in the worst housing their local authority could offer, would act as a deterrent to any girl seriously contemplating pregnancy as a passport to prosperity.

Work and Workfare
From September 1988, under 18 year olds are not entitled to claim income support at all in their own right except in prescribed circumstances where there would otherwise be 'severe hardship'. Nearly 100,000 16 and 17 year olds are being taken off benefit and required to do two years 'job training' on an MSC/TC scheme. (92,000 used to claim SB comprising 10% of all 16 year olds and 17% of 17 year olds: Hansard 1987A, cols. 666,721) The government's justification for this 'workfare' policy - working for 'welfare' - is based on a public opinion survey which they commissioned for the green paper on social security 'reform'. Respondents were invited to agree with the statement that 'young people would be better off on good training courses or in suitable further education rather than be unemployed, receiving benefit and doing nothing'. No alternative scenario was offered to this loaded question, but more than a third of respondents aged under 30 stilll disagreed. (DHSS, 1985C, 4.20 - 4.21)

In Parliamentary debate, the secretary of state for trade and industry had said that the government wanted to stop benefit claims from young people who 'choose to lie in bed'. Tory backbenchers referred to the 'workshy', and said:

> The message that has to go out to our young people must be absolutely clear: that they must find work, or stay at school, or retrain. We have to tell them that if they want to sit on their backsides, they will not do so at the expense of the taxpayer ... Our young people must be educated to realise that there is no soft option in this life.

According to the Secretary of State for social services:

> Unemployment for young people need not exist. They have every incentive, including financial incentives, to avoid it, and now they have every opportunity as well. That has raised the question in the public mind... is it right to draw young people into a benefit culture when the opportunity is there for the taking ... to be independent and self-reliant? (Hansard, 1987A, cols 655-6, 666-7, 729)

The government's intention of removing school leavers from the unemployment statistics altogether had been clear when they announced an earlier expansion of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) as constituting, 'a major step towards ensuring that unemployment among young people under 18 becomes a thing of the past.' (DHSS, 1985D, para. 9.27)

The terms of the Social Security Act 1988 are different from those which the Conservative Party put to the country during the 1987 general election campaign. The proposal then was to withdraw benefit entitlement from any school leaver who refused a training scheme place. The Act takes the whole under 18 age group off benefit, irrespective of whether a suitable training scheme place is actually available to each individual. When opposition members questioned this, they were asked to believe the government's unsupported guarantee of a training scheme place for all and to trust the Secretary of State's discretion in identifying and exempting cases of 'severe hardship'. (Hansard, 1987D)

Young people waiting for scarce training scheme vacancies are expected to live off their parents, who can continue to receive child benefit for them during a short, tide-over period (a maximum of eight weeks in a year after the post school leaving phase); they may not claim in their own right. Exemption from the claiming ban is effectively confined to the relatively few 16 and 17 year olds who do not have to sign on as available for work, mainly single parents and those who are chronically sick or disabled. Apart from these groups, young people will need the help of a social worker to apply for short-term exemption on 'severe hardship' grounds, subject to the Secretary of State's discretion and with no right of appeal. Young people under a supervision order, who have been in care or who cannot live at home because there is risk of physical or sexual abuse, need to have their circumstances verified by someone official if they are to be believed by the DHSS.

These 'prescribed groups' are reminiscent of the exemption categories from time limits under the board and lodging regulations. The experience there of social workers (including probation officers and youth workers) is that exemption is very hard to obtain and that both clients and their social workers are commonly disbelieved. Moreover, verifying client status can entail raking over old family problems and aggravating conflict between adolescents and their parents in a thoroughly unhelpful way. (Steart & Stewart, 1987) The evidence is that there are more than twice as many unemployed young people living alone and paying rent through housing benefit, as who live and claim as boarders. So the problems encountered with the board and lodging regulations will be greatly magnified when all under 18 year olds are taken off benefit. (Hansard, 1987B and 1987C) In addition, of course, 16 and 17 year old boarders lose their benefit entitlement along with other under 18 year old income suport claimants. The 'prescribed groups' who retain some entitlement to benefit are detailed in regulations, so you are advised to consult the **National Welfare Benefits Handbook** before engaging with the DHSS on behalf of a client.

Workfare policies for young people are not new to the late eighties but have been built up throughout the decade in schemes known by a variety of acronyms: YOP and YTS being the most familiar. (Morgan, 1981; Benn & Fairley, 1986) The novelty lies in the compulsion now applied to under 18 year olds through loss of the claiming alternative. Structural youth unemployment is the background context for the Thatcher government's policies towards the young. In the mid eighties youth unemployment was officially at 20% but only about 15% of school leavers actually went into jobs. Some 45% of the age group remained in eduction after 16 and most of the rest would be on temporary MSC schemes where they are not recorded as unemployed. More than a third of all registered unemployed claimants in mid 1986 were aged under 25. (**Social Trends** 17, 1987, p.81)

Makeham's (1980) analysis of long term trends in youth unemployment showed it to be a structural feature of the British economy in recession. But the present government's attitude is that unemployed young people have only

themselves to blame. During Parliamentary debate on the Wages Bill in 1986, the employment minister said that young people had 'priced themselves out of a job' by expecting wages that were 'artificially high': 'the school leaver who is starting from scratch in a trade ... at first can add no value to the business at all', and should be paid accordingly. This was the government's justification for removing under 21 year olds from the somewhat flimsy remaining protection of the wages councils which set minimum rates of pay and regulated hours. The rationale was that wages would fall so employers' costs would be reduced and they would take on more workers: an argument which contradicted the evidence of recent years when young workers' wages fell while youth unemployment rose. As an employment policy, it is based on 'free market' economic ideology rather than social responsibility. (Hansard, 1985 & 1986B; Lewis, 1986) The opposition front bench spokesperson argued during Parliamentary debate on the bill which took under 18 year olds off benefit that:

> This proposal follows previous Government measures ... creating a pool of labour which will be deskilled and casual and which will be looking for temporary jobs. (They) are effectively taking these young people one step further towards forcing them to provide cheap labour for any employer who is prepared to exploit the opportunity that the Government are creating for them. (Hansard, 1987A, col. 668)

Young people's labour is regarded as a commodity which they must sell for whatever they can get; those who remain unemployed must pay the price for failing to sell themselves (this follows consistently from the policy expounded in a 1985 Department of Employment white paper).

A coherent policy
We have presented current policy developments affecting young people in the areas of social security, employment and housing. There are others. In education, for example there have been moves to take students off benefit during the vacations and the issue of replacing student grants with recoverable loans is revived periodically. (DHSS, 1985D para. 9.27; Kedourie, 1988) The combination of these social policies amounts to systematic discriminatory treatment or targeting to use the government's favoured word. Targeted age groups of young people are being hidden from the unemployment statistics; kept on reduced benefit or low wages, or taken off benefit altogether; told to live with their parents; denied access to independent housing. Leaving home, which should be an ordinary development in adolescence, is being turned into a problem for many, if not most, young people.

What is the purpose of targeting youth? You might have thought that the state would nurture its younger generation to ensure that they turned into reliable citizens. Some would deny that there is any policy intention. Cooke (1986), for example, described the various sources of income support for young people as incoherent and fragmented. If this were the case, and the targeting of youth was an unintended consequence of policies which are really benevolent, an efficient government might be expected to rectify the situation when drawn to its attention by the Social Security Advisory Committee (for example, SSAC, 1985B) Opposition members of parliament saw the government's objectives in terms of political interests and economic policy: 'first, to massage the unemployment figures yet again and, secondly, to reduce Government expenditure on necessary income support'. (Hansard, 1987E, col. 317) The local authority associations with responsibility for social services have similarly argued that the policies are intended to extend the age of 'economic childhood' into the mid twenties and make young adults dependent on their parents, with consequent damaging effects on family life. (ACC, 1985, para. 3.4; AMA, 1985, para. 30)

Commentators outside party politics have taken a broader view. Wallace (in White ed., 197) locates policies on youth unemployment within the familial ideology of the new right. The basis is belief that nuclear, even extended, families must accept responsibility for all their members, so an unemployed teenager should be a charge on her or his parents before becoming a burden on the state. Another key Tory value, individual freedom, takes second place to family responsibility which is promoted with all the force of a moral imperative. Ministers have described unemployed young people as being 'enticed' away from the bosom of their family to live in board and lodging accommodation, dependent on a 'benefit culture'. (Stewart et al., 1986, p. 387; Hansard, 1987A cited above) Support for this familial ideology as applied to unemployed youth leaving home, has come from the academic head of the rightist Social Affairs Unit pressure group. (Marsland, 1986) Others see state reactions to young people's unemployment and leaving home reflecting long standing social attitudes towards youth as disorderly and a threat to public order. Mungham (1982) presents state intervention in youth unemployment as characteristic of a 'moral panic', while Davies (1986) sees penal, employment and education measures converging to form a coherent national policy for the control of 'threatening youth'.

Personal experiences
Social policies thus impose material and psychological pressures on young people, their family and personal relationships. Research provides some indications of how they experience such pressures. A third of a group of school leavers living in Kent had left home by the time they were 17; half of them because of tension in the family which was usually caused by their unemployment. (Wallace in White ed., 1987) Another local study of 18 to 25 year olds who were still living with their parents in Swansea and Port Talbot reported that three quarters of the families had experienced some inter-generational conflict of a more or less serious nature. About the same proportion of young people had either left home for a while or considered doing so, usually because of friction with their parents. Those who had left later returned, mainly because of financial difficulties in maintaining their independence. Unemployed young people who came from a run down council estate, with neglected and over-crowded housing, were twice as likely to have left home as their peers from another 'good' estate where conditions were better. (Hutson & Jenkins in White ed., 1987)

The National Child Development Study shows that 12% of young people from all backgrounds leave home - and stay away - for what the researchers regarded as negative reasons, associated with conflict. (Jones, 1987) But leaving a difficult dometic situation is not necessarily a negative move; it can be a responsible reaction by a young person seeking to contain conflict and preserve a relationship with her parents. Within national trends, there are wide local variations. In the north east, Coffield et al. (1986) found a general expectation that young people left their parents' home permanently, only to get married; so interim compromises were sought, with periods spent staying with friends or other relations to defuse a tense situation. Locally varied adaptations do not necessarily reflect fundamentally different attitudes. It might be thought that compromise and adaptation implied passive acceptance of young people's circumstances; but a further study also in the north east found a common sense of outrage at the unfairness

of what was happening to unemployed youth. (Allatt & Yeandle, 1986)

Research from the Policy Studies Institute on the attitudes of long-term unemployed youth in four cities found that they rarely politicised their reactions. Instead of blaming government policy, young people tended to project anger and resentment about their predicament onto individuals with whom they came into contact: friends, relatives and particularly state officials, who must include social workers. (McRae in White ed. 1987). Helping homeless and jobless young people - particularly young men - can be difficult and unrewarding. A community worker from east London has described the near impossibility of countering the racism and sexism expressed by under 26 year old residents of B & B hotels, whose benefit was being cut under the board and lodging regulations. (Wilson, 1986) This is consistent with Cashmore's (1984) sympathetic analysis of the hostility of unemployed youth for whom there seems to be 'no future'.

Workers from two different youth agencies in Greater Manchester have contributed particularly useful and sensitive accounts of the pressures involved in detached and club based work with young people who are leaving home. They demonstrate a need for what is effectively a specialist area of youth work, yet one which is in demand in most local agencies, to be better recognised by management and strengthened by mutual support networks among workers. (Masterton, 1982; Cox & Cox, 1977) In the late eighties, young people leaving home have become a pressure group cause and numerous resource packs and training manuals are available for local and national use. The best general manual has separate versions for England and Wales and for Scotland. (Clark & Dearling, 1986). A good local pack, which could fom a model for adaption in other areas, was prepared by a group of agencies in Newcastle. (Tyneside Housing & Aid Centre (THAC) 1985) Such publications can be an asset to the inexperienced worker and save duplication of effort. Yet as Masterson (1982) stresses, young people leaving home need to be accepted and listened to as much as they need practical advice, which they may not eventually pursue.

The particular needs of jobless, penniless and homeless young people are well known to many youth workers around the country, but others among their colleagues still do not 'see' and respond to these needs. Helping adolescents who are trying to leave home is not yet accepted as part of mainstream youthwork. Structural unemployment is arguably the single most important influence on the current generation of adolescents and young adults, as the ESRC's 16-19 initiative seems to be recognising (discussed by Bynner and Roberts in **Youth and Policy** no. 22, 1987, pp. 15-28). The Thatcher government has reacted to youth unemployment with a package of social security, housing and workfare policies which are designed to conceal and control. Social policies which 'target' a generation of young people for less-eligible citizenship are a cause for concern in their own right.

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between the family and the state:
young people in transition

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The years 16 to 21 are ones of transition: from education to employment, from household of origin to that of destination, from dependence to independence, from youth to adulthood[1]. Some have been concerned about 'premature' transitions amongst those who get pregnant before they are married, who marry young, who do not have a house before they embark upon children and so on. More recently, there has been a concern with they way in which family tension arising from unemployment may lead to young people being forced to leave home 'prematurely' before they are ready to cope with it (Department of Environment 1981, Ryan 1986, Mathews 1986). Others have indicated that present conditions may result in a 'blocked' or 'postponed' transition - from home, into the family, or into adulthood (Fagin and Little 1984, Cohen 1986, Willis 1984a and 1984b). A 'normal' model of transition is implied in these accounts. In the psychology of adolescence there has been a similar recourse to a 'universal' developmental model of 'normal' transition (Griffin 1987).

However, such transitions are **not** universal for they differ according to race, sex and class and I have indicated elsewhere that this is related to the patterns of entry into work for different groups (Wallace 1987a). For example, the middle class young persons' transition is protracted since they have an extended period of training or Higher Education before entering the labour market. At other levels of the labour market, the transition into work - and related to this, into the family - takes place at earlier ages depending upon patterns of training and employment. Thus, in 1986 those in semi and unskilled manual categories married an average of four years younger than those in professional and intermediate categories (Social Trends 16). For boys transitions are more protracted than for girls. Hence, the median age of marriage for boys was 24.2 as compared with 22.1 for girls (Social Trends 15). Increasingly such transitions are state managed: the YTS serves as an apprenticeship into working class adulthood and Higher Education as an apprenticeship into middle class life.

It is evident that this transition from childhood dependence to independence from parents takes place in different ways for different social groups and at different periods in time. What was considered 'normal' in the 50s and 60s has not always been so, and Jones (1987) has indicated that these should be seen historically. Before the beginning of this century young people left home younger (often for domestic or other residential services) but then had a longer interstitial period before beginning a home of their own[2].

This raises the question: what is transition? Here I argue that the transition to adulthood should be seen as part of a process of social and cultural reproduction which takes place on three different levels - through the **labour market** (the transition from school to work), through the **housing market** (the transition to an independent residential unit) and through the **family** (the transition from home of origin to that of destination). These three levels are interdependent as can be seen in Figure 1, although it is mostly the first which has received attention. The way in which young people come to be socially reproduced as gendered and classed adult members of the labour force is related to their reproduction on these different dimensions. Elsewhere, I have explored other aspects of this reproduction (Wallace 1986, 1987a, 1987b) but here I shall explore relations of dependence and independence from the parental home in more detail.

Figure 1
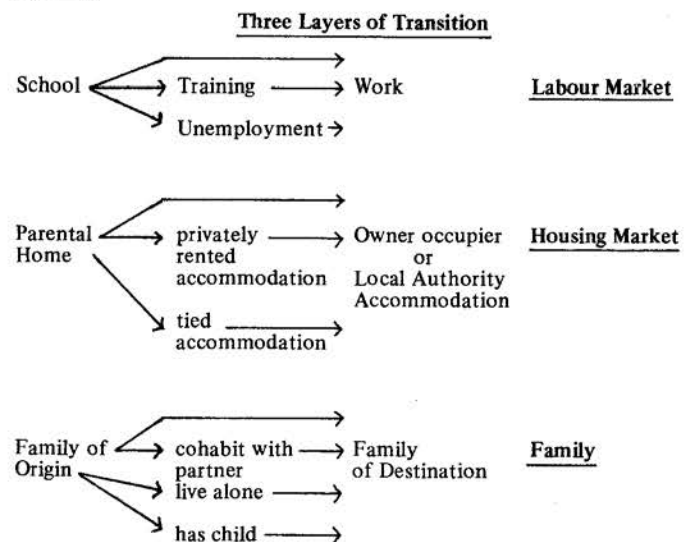
Given the social variability of 'transitions' I shall treat these as social constructs rather than as inevitable and natural processes. In this way we can see the 'normal transition' as an ideology and we can begin to ask how and why this ideology is created. In the first part of this paper, I shall consider how this is achieved through state legislation and in the second half, through young people's ideas and practices based upon my own empirical study.

The State, Social Policies and Transition

These transitions are embedded in a whole set of regulations and policies which serve to define youth in relation to their families. There is an apparent paradox insofar as it could be argued that regulations and policies are fragmented and

incoherent in the case of young people, being scattered through a range of different departments with no overall coordination - the DHSS, the Department of Employment, the Department of Education and Science, the Manpower Services Commission and the different Local Authority departments (Cooke 1986). Yet Davies (1986) has argued that taken together, an increasingly coherent and coercive youth policy has emerged from recent changes. Davies argues that coherence is provided by responses to the fear of 'threatening youth'. I argue that an additional coherence is provided by the ideology of the family and the concommitant reproduction of an idealised 'normal' set of transitions. Let us now consider each level in turn.

Firstly, changes in the **labour market** have affected the position of young people dramatically. Rising youth unemployment means that over 1 million of those under 25 are now unemployed (Youthaid Bulletin 26). Those who are not unemployed enter a variety of Government schemes - the Youth Training Scheme accounts for 300,000 and before that there was the Youth Opportunities Programme; the Community Programme; and different local schemes. Those who obtain jobs may find their wages lower than in previous generations on account of measures designed to 'allow' young people to 'price themselves back into jobs' in the current terminology[3]. This has meant that the earnings of 18-20 year olds have fallen from 74% to 69% of adult wages since 1979, and these statistics **exclude** those on wages below £35 per week - the situation of many young people on Young Worker's Schemes or Youth Training Schemes and the increasing numbers in part time jobs (Youthaid Bulletin 27). Taking the numbers dependent upon benefits and the drop in wages together, this means that many young people in the 1980s are no longer in the affluent group that they were claimed to be in the past (Abrams 1960) and many are living on relatively less income than even a few years ago.

Secondly, there are changes in the **housing market**. Young people occupy a particular place in the housing market. The emphasis in the housing market for many years has been towards encouraging owner occupation so that 57% of all householders are now owner occupiers. Young people are largely excluded from this market due to their low incomes and employment instability, but during the 1970s building societies were encouraged to extend mortgages to manual workers, to younger people, to single people and to cohabiting couples - all categories who may have found it difficult to enter the owner occupied sector of the market previously, so that this is an option for a minority of more affluent wage earning youth. Hence, 30% of owner occupiers are now under the age of 24 (Social Trends 16).

Young people under 18 are to a great extent excluded from Local Authority housing too, for similar reasons and because tenancies are not legally enforceable. Moreover, most Local Authorities have placed priority on housing families. The council housing sector has become increasingly 'residualised' according to some accounts but it nevertheless accounts for 32% of all tenures. According to Murphy and Sullivan (1986) there is a 'filtering' effect amongst young householders, whereby those who are unemployed increasingly find that Local Authority housing is their only possibility and they are joined by those who become unemployed and cannot maintain their homes. Young people under 24 account for 40% of those in Local Authority housing (Social Trends 16), because older age groups are better able to obtain mortgages. Jones (1987) has carried out a detailed secondary analysis of the General Household Survey and the National Child Development Study

with respect to young people in the housing and labour markets. She found that 35% of young people rented accommodation from the Local Authority and 18% were renting privately, whereas 46% of those under the age of 24 owned their own homes. Furthermore, she found that social class tended to make a difference in this respect, for middle class youth were most likely to live in what she terms 'transitional' accommodation (i.e. neither owner occupied nor publicly rented nor living with parents). This further indicates that there are different kinds of transitions for different social groups.

The privately rented sector is the main alternative accommodation to the parental home for most young people. Although a minority tenure, accounting for 11% overall it houses young people leaving home, those in Education and many of those starting households, so that 30% of people in this tenure are under 24 (Social Trends 16). State policies place certain restrictions upon young people in such accommodation if they are claiming supplementary benefits, for new Board and Lodgings regulations introduced in April 1985 mean that they are not able to stay there for more than two to eight weeks depending upon the area. This legislation assumes implicity that young people have parental homes to go to if they want to, and yet there is growing evidence that young people do not necessarily return home, causing hardship and misery (Mathews 1986). Moreover, the privately rented sector is notorious for high rents, poor quality property (often multi-occupied) and insecurity of tenure with the growing use of licences and short term lets outside of Rent controls. Ironically, the Board and Lodgings regulations were introduced partly in response to the growing numbers of single young people, often unemployed, who are seeking accommodation.

Finally, there is evidence of increasing homelessness, with many of the housing needs of young people being concealed by the fact that they are inadequately housed on other people's floors or in parental accommodation where they no longer wish to live (Roof 1982). Some argue that the situation is exacerbated by family tension following unemployment (Cusack and Roll 1985), the exit from rented accomodation under new Board and Lodgings regulations, and the inability of young people to compete for rented accommodation with wealthier adults.

Those 7,000 young people leaving care in 1984 had an additional problem of having no homes to go to when they cease to be the responsibility of the Local Authority at age 18 - or in some cases before then (Stein and Carey 1986). These comprise some one third of single homeless although they are only 1% of all young people (Department of Environment 1981).

Thirdly, there are changes in the **family**. There has been a steady fall in the age of family formation this century so that 1 in 3 brides marrying for the first time were teenagers in 1972. However, the age of marriage has risen again more recently, so that in 1984 only 1 in 5 brides were teenagers (Social Trends 16). A contributing factor may be the increased rates of cohabitation as an alternative to marriage, or as a prior arrangement to marriage observed in recent surveys (Dunnell 1976, Social Trends 16).

In terms of the relations between parents and teenage children, some have argued that it was increasing affluence during the 1960s which made independence from parents possible at a younger age (Leonard 1980). Now apparently,

poverty is having the same effect in some cases as young people are forced to leave home.

Recent legislation has gone against this trend by attempting to change the role of young people in the family by making them more dependent upon parents for longer periods of time. In the Social Security Act there was an attempt to replace the householder/non householder distinction with one based on age. In future those under 25 will recieve less benefit than those over that age, unless they are couples or have children.

Nevertheless, the underlying implication is that 25 is now the age of majority and one explanation is that there has been an effort - in the words of the leaked report - to consider '... what more could be done to encourage families - in the widest sense - to reassume responsibility taken on by the state. e.g. responsibility for the disabled, elderly, unemployed 16 year olds' (**Guardian** 17th February 1983).

Up until the age of 21 young people could find themselves relying upon a range of benefits. An increasing number are in full time education for which they could be receiving more or less parental subsidy along with a grant, an Educational Maintenance or other Award from a Local Education Authority - the availability of these being highly variable - or perhaps nothing at all (Burghes and Stagles 1983)[4]. Student grants in Higher Education have been eroded in recent years such that they are increasingly reliant upon parental support (NUS 1982). Altogether then, it is likely that if a young person decides to continue studying they will be wholly or partially dependent financially upon parents and there is some evidence that many may leave education for this reason (Burghes and Stagles 1983). If they are on a Youth Training or other scheme they recieve a fixed allowance. Furthermore, many thousands of young people are living on lower benefits than this, having been penalised for leaving or refusing to go onto YTS or into jobs and an additional unknown number are unregistered or not claiming benefits of any kind. This latter practice varies from area to area, but is thought to be as high as 40% in some inner cities (Roberts, Noble and Duggan 1982).

The depression of young people's wages too is likely to make them dependent upon parents and the board and lodgings regulations were also imposed on the implicit assumption that young people have homes to go to if they wanted them. It can be seen that entitlement to various benefits defines the situation of the young person and serves to define the degree of their dependence upon the family - for those who are able or willing to return to families. A growing number have no support of this kind. Yet large numbers of young people **choose** to leave home. According to Jones' (1987) study, the majority still left home in order to get married (52% of girls and 39% of boys under 24). However, others left for other reasons: to begin studies (21% boys and 18% of girls), to set up on their own (9% of boys and 8% of girls) and 11% of girls and 12% of boys left home for 'negative reasons' including being thrown out. Taken together, these changes mean that transitions taking place at 16 are less in terms of a transition from school to work and more in terms of tranference from dependency upon family to greater or lesser dependency on state benefits and some kind of interstitial status in education or training. It is evident from Table 1 that only a minority (16%) enter full time work on leaving school at 16.

Although there is no explicit 'family policy' or a 'youth policy' it can be seen that all these regulations and entitlements together assume implicity a model of the family - what we might term a 'familiar ideology' (Land 1978, Abbott and

Table 1	Educational and Economic Activities		1984/5
Percentage of the group who were:	16 year olds	17 year olds	18 year olds
In full time education	45%	34%	17%
In Employment	16%	48%	63%
YTS	27%	4%	–
Unemployed	11%	14%	20%
	100%	100%	100%

Source Social Trends 17 p.60

Sapsford 1988). The model of the family being implied is the one to be found in what Fitzgerald (1984) has described as 'neo liberal' ideology - one in which the family assumes responsibility for welfare independently of the State. It is clear from the writing of neo liberal right wing thinkers that such a model of the family is thought to be harmonious, 'natural' and supportive: quite separate from - and even opposed to - the state (Mount 1982). Furthermore, it is assumed that families will be willing and able to take care of young offspring and that young people would agree to being supported in this way: '...the more society can be policed by the family... and less by the state, the more likely it is that such a society will be both orderly and liberal' (Johnson 1982 quoted in Fitzgerald 1984:47).

In this way familial ideology performs a number of functions. First, that of financial support for its members - thus rolling back the frontiers of the state. Second, that of sexual and social control of young adults who might otherwise be fornicating, committing crimes or rioting - this mood is represented in the Gillick judgement which made it illegal for girls under 16 to obtain contraception without the parents' permission. Third, it helps to reinforce the myth of the conventional nuclear family and to discourage 'deviant' family forms such as single householders. Paradoxically, this 'liberation' of the family from state control is achieved through state legislation itself which continues to determine family responsibilities (Land 1983). Indeed, as Donzelot (1977) has argued, the state in its policy and practices serves to construct and police the family. This kind of familial ideology is predicated upon the assumption of a patriarchal, nuclear family as is clear in the Conservative Manifesto: 'Freedom and Responsibility go together. The Conservative party believes in encouraging people to take responsibility for their own decisions. We shall continue to return more choice to **individuals and their families.** That is the way to increase personal freedom.' (Conservative Manifesto, 1983, p.24 emphasis added).

The freedom of the individual young person **not** to live in a family or/and the lack of freedom for women and young people within the family is obscured. The fact that choices for individuals within the family may be different, or even in conflict, is thus ignored, as is the fact that the social and sexual control of daughters is very much more oppressive than that of sons. For these two groups the family is not necessarily a source of liberation in the way implied by neo liberal ideology and it is evident from research cited so far that many young people either choose not to be supported by their families or are unable to get any such support. Their freedom and choice is severely constrained.

Related to this point is the one that family control and authority is not always supportive and harmonious. A large proportion of violence and sexual abuse in society - by men against women, and by adult (usually male) relatives against children of both sexes - takes place **inside** the family. Strengthening the autonomy and responsibility of the family also strengthens the authority of the adults to physically or sexually abuse its more vulnerable members. A great deal of this violence is unreported and one reason why teenagers may leave home is to escape such pressures.

Finally, this model of the family is something of an anachronism. The increasing rates of divorce, single parenthood and single households have meant that more rather than less have had to turn towards the state for support.

There are therefore three important contradictions in this implicit family policy. First, there is the fact that the family is supposed to be the 'natural' alternative to state welfare in neo liberal ideology and yet it is underpinned and reinforced by considerable welfare legislation. Secondly, poverty, unemployment and other economic pressures may serve to tear families apart rather than strengthen them. Thirdly, the family itself is moving away from a nuclear two parent model at the very time when it is being asked to take on additional responsibilities[5]. Given these tensions, it is not surprising perhaps that increasing state intervention takes place in order to monitor and control the responsibilities of families and the movement of people from home of origin to that of destination.

The actual nature and extent of familial support for young people will be explored according to their position in the **labour market**, the **housing market** and the **family**.

The Study
The young people upon whom this study was based were interviewed when they were 16 in 1979 and then again in 1980 and finally when they were 21 in 1984. The sample included 44 young men and 40 young women. This was a representative sample taken from the registers of the local comprehensive school and so the people in it had pursued a variety of post school careers. Respondents were interviewed using both structured and unstructured techniques.

The Isle of Sheppey was chosen as the locus for the research because it had suffered high unemployment since 1959, when the naval dockyard had closed. At the time of the survey there was some employment in heavy industry for men, in the steel mill and the port. For women there was work in some of the small garment manufacturing or electrical assembly firms. Most school leavers, however, found jobs with small employers and in the service sector on the fringes of the formal labour market. This pattern of employment in the local labour market meant that the population of the Island was skewed towards the manual working class. Some of the parents of my sample commuted from London, attracted to the Island by the relatively cheap housing compared to the rest of Kent. In addition to this survey of young people, other research into the local labour market, the housing market and household work strategies had been undertaken over a period of five years[6].

The combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches used in the study allows us to consider in some detail the decisions made by young people in embarking upon their life course and the relations that they had with others in doing so.

In terms of transition, three important variables have been distinguished: that of **employment careers** (elsewhere I have termed these 'work trajectories'), **domestic careers** and **housing careers**. I have been able to consider the importance of 'careers' rather than status at one point in time on account of the longitudinal nature of the data. Furthermore, I have argued elsewhere (Wallace 1987a) that it is the long term cumulative nature of such experiences which is important.

It has been argued that social class is no longer the sole determinant of the career paths of school leavers: access to employment is now a crucial intervening variable (although this is clearly related to social class) (Roberts, 1985). Rather than differentiating the sample by occupation - since many did not have a conventionally defined occupation - I have differentiated it according to **employment career**: that is, the length of time in or out of work.

Among the 74 who had left education and entered the labour market at the time of the survey, there were three categories of employment career[7]. For the purposes of this paper, the sample have been polarised according to their experiences of unemployment during the first five years in the labour market. On the one hand there are the **regularly employed** (49%) with no experience of unemployment and on the other hand, there are the **irregularly employed** (51%), the majority of whom had been unemployed for at least a year since leaving school[8].

A further category is that of those nine who were still in full time education. Seven of these had not yet entered the labour market most being in higher education, whereas one had given up a clerical job to go to a polytechnic, one had gone to theological college after finishing his apprenticeship[9].

The study also considered **domestic careers** in a similar way to employment careers. Young adults lived in a variety of domestic situations. I have divided the domestic status' of young people into four main categories depending upon their position on two dimensions: the degree of dependence or independence from the natal home and whether they lived as couples or as single people.

The first category is that of the **dependent single person** - that is, young people who continued to live at home with their parents (32%). There were twice as many young men in this category as young women. Secondly, there were the **independent single** people or those living away from home (26%).

Thirdly, there were the **independent couples**, 34% altogether, or those who were either married or cohabiting but living away from home in a seperate unit. These could be said to have made the transition from the home of origin to that of destination. There were 12 young adults cohabiting and 17 who were married, so traditional marriage was certainly not the only way of establishing a household. Moreover, most of the married couples had cohabited before getting married, so that cohabitation was often a transitional stage between the family of origin and that of destination.

The fourth category were the **dependent couples**, 6% (or five households), a small but significant category, for many of the independent couples had begun as dependent couples. The dependent couples were those who were either married or were cohabiting but continued to be dependent upon families for accommodation. They tended to live at different relative's

houses at different points of the week as they could not afford a place of their own. This category also includes two young adults - a male and a female - who had children but continued to live with their own parents rather than with the other parent of their child.

Altogether, then, there was a variety of domestic states which involved various degrees of dependency upon the natal home, and various kinds of home of destination. Only 20% had got married by the time they were 21, although the majority had by that time left home. The model of the 'harmonious' and supportive family is not borne out in all cases for roughly one third of the young people interviewed in 1980 had left home by seventeen and roughly half of these moves were attributable to tensions within the family[6].

Domestic Careers and Employment Careers

Tables 2a and 2b indicate the intersection of domestic and employment careers. These are broken down according to couples and singles so that we can see the effects of unemployment upon **both** partners in the couple units. The first category of interest in these tables is that of the independent singles. These constituted 26% of the sample split three ways: eight in full time education, seven in tied accommodation such as the army or in nurse training, and the remaining seven living in flats and bedsits. Despite this title, the fact that young people were living away from home did not mean that they were necessarily entirely independent of parents, for those on grants would live at home for half the year and some others received help from parents when they lived away whilst some did not. Whilst some had left voluntarily, others had been thrown out, or left after arguments with parents. Some indeed, had deliberately taken jobs in the armed services in order to get away from home, since such jobs included board and lodging. It can be seen that the largest category of these had been regularly employed.

Domestic Careers by Employment

Careers for Single People

	Full Time Education	Irregularly Employed	Regularly Employed	
Single at Home	1	13	13	27
Single Not at Home	8	5	9	22
			Total	49

Note This excludes 1 who was in a Special Home

There were interesting contrasts between young men and young women in this respect. The young men had most often left home in order to join the army or the navy, or if they were unemployed, it was due to family arguments which appeared to be a direct result of their lack of employment. Young women, by contrast often sought their own flats or bedsits without becoming part of a couple and many of the dependent single young women expressed a desire to do this too. They appeared to be better equipped for taking care of themselves by their domestic socialisation. This is understandable if we take into consideration the role of male and female offspring within the home. Young men were not expected to contribute

Domestic Careers by Employment

Careers for Couples

	Both Partners Regularly Employed	Man Regularly Employed Woman Unemployed	Both Partners Unemployed	Woman Employed Man Unemployed	Non-Couples	
Married Couples	8	8	–	2	–	18
Cohabiting Couples	7	1	4	2	–	14
*'Non-couples'	–	–	–	–	2	2
TOTAL	15	9	4	4	2	34

* Note - 'Non-Couples' This means single people with children

towards domestic work but could come and go as they pleased whilst they lived at home. As many informed me, they would have to be mad to leave. Where else could they have their clothes washed and ironed and food provided for between £10 and £15 per week? Young women on the other hand experienced the natal home differently. Their behaviour was much more closely controlled by parents and they were also expected to contribute towards domestic work. For them there was some incentive to live independently as it was more fulfilling to be able to do domestic work in their own home rather than for their parents. However, on the whole they managed to have their own flats and bedsits whilst remaining on good terms with parents:

Anne: But if I could get enough money, a decent wage and that, I'd like to buy me own place, get a mortgage and buy a flat of me own, cos then you wouldn't have to rely on a bloke, would you? Cos I think these days people depend on men too much to give them things. See, you get into a routine, you depend on them and then when they leave you it all goes to them.

This is also reflected in Jones' (1987) study in which 19% of single men lived independently, but 27% of single women (from General Household Survey).

The ideal of a 'normal' transition (based upon familial ideology) was one held by young people as well as being embedded in social policy. The 'correct way' to do things was to get a job, save for a home, get engaged, get married and then move into one's own house. This 'normal' transition was thought to include a period of consumer spending on youth leisure activities - including motorbikes, music, discotheques and so on - before 'settling down' to family life. However, as we can see, both the freedom to pursue and the amount of time available for leisure are different for boys than for girls. As both Griffin (1985) and Griffiths (1986) have indicated domestic responsibilities might take up a considerable amount of some young women's time. Similarly, 'settling down' had different connotations for each sex in terms of what was being sacrificed. Whilst young men portrayed it as as being tied down and dragged away from their freedom, some young women saw it as an opportunity to at least do domestic labour for themselves rather than for someone else and yet they are ultimately more tied down.

Turning now to couples, it can be seen that those with regular jobs tended to get married, whilst those without jobs were more likely to cohabit. There were several reasons for this. Firstly, young adults did not like to get married unless they could do so properly, with a real wedding and the accoutrements of a real home - and perhaps even their own house. They could not acquire these things without a regular job and so they tended to postpone getting married until such things were available. This in turn meant that they were more tied to their employment and needed to drop out of youth leisure pursuits which involved spending money.

CW: Do you think that people should get married when they are unemployed?
Marie.... No, well it's silly. You start off on the wrong foot. You've got to have a good bank balance, I think, to get married, so you can get the things you want, your house together.

The second reason was that parents did not approve of their daughters marrying an unemployed man and discouraged them from doing so. This caused problems for the young couples in this position and one solution was to cohabit:

Sarah: You see, the way my mum saw it, was that she never had a bad life when she got married, but when she had visions of Martin like not ever being employed, and she didn't want to see her daughter in that situation where she's with someone who's not employed. And you see he's got no financial background. None at all. None. And in her eyes she could see us really struggling to bring up a child and have a place of our own like, and he'd be unemployed all the time. When I was pregnant that is when it looked like he wasn't ever going to get a job, didn't it? And then he got a job and she was over the moon and started talking to him again.

The third reason was that the young men themselves felt that in order to be heads of household they also had to be breadwinners, as Sarah's cohabiting partner, Martin, explains:

Martin: Well, as far as I'm concerned, marriage isn't just a question of popping down the registry office, get a piece of paper and that's it, sort of thing. Well, when you're on the dole that's all you can afford to do.

Cohabiting was also thought to provide a way of getting to know a potential partner without the kind of irrevocable commitment necessitated by marriage. In this way, it provided an ideal prelude to marriage or as one young man put it 'What's the point of getting married to someone if you haven't lived with them? You don't know what they're like do yer?'

In practice, cohabitation was usually a more or less permanent arrangement which often led to marriage. To the external observer it might appear to be very similar to marriage, being based upon many of the same terms: shared accommodation, shared income, and sexual fidelity. Indeed, from the point of view of Social Security regulations it is the same. Yet to the participants involved it involved an important element of flexibility and impermanence - a statement that the terms were subject to negotiation rather than to be taken for granted.

Finally, the all dependent couples had considerable experience of unemployment with four out of five having had long term experience of unemployment. The were young men and women who wished to lead joint l es, but due to lack of employment were forced to remain dependent upon different parents and relatives. This often caused considerable tension and hence those who were long term unemployed and cohabiting independently had begun like this but left after family disagreements:

Andy: We was living at her mum's house and it was getting on top of us. We decided to get a place. After we got engaged we decided to buy a place if I got a job. But I didn't get a job, so I just stayed at her mum's house and I just wanted to get out after Christmas.

The experience of another young couple was as follows:

Martin: You see, we were seeing each other every day anyway. Yeh, you see, we were staying round her mum's house, up her sister's, up her aunt's, we were just all over the place. So we thought we might as well live together. It was two day's there, two days up her mum's, two day's round her sister's. We were all planned out all week. Plus then of course we got Ruth (their daughter) so obviously we had to be together.

A survey of the housing situation of 533 teenage mothers carried out by Simms and Smith in 1979 also found that 6% had experienced at least three moves in the last 12 months and that this minority were heavily dependent upon the extended family for support in housing.

Hence, it can be seen that employment careers played a very important part in domestic careers.

However, movement from one domestic status to another did not only involve moving in with a partner, it often meant children too and children were always primarily the girls' responsibility although fathers were involved to a greater or lesser extent. Thirteen young adults had had children and the majority were living with the parent of their child. Altogether, there were two living with their parents, two cohabiting and nine married.

Unmarried motherhood - either with or without a partner - was pragmatically accepted as being a likelihood for many girls, although in practice young women who had children mostly got married even if they had cohabited until them. Children were thus a way of bringing forward a marriage which was planned in any case. Some waited until the child was born to see how they would manage with their new partners, arguing that pregnancy should not precipitate a 'shotgun' marriage.

For a woman without a regular job this was often the only way of having any independent status either outside or inside the natal home. This point is disputed. Campbell (1984) and Willis (1984a and b) found in their research that unemployed young women were likely to become pregnant, as this provided them with a source of status, and in some circumstances, a better chance of Local Authority housing. Griffin (1985), on the other hand, has argued that girls did not see motherhood as an alternative status to unemployment, but rather as a long term inevitability, one which was not necessarily welcomed. When we consider all the ideological pressures towards familial conformism this is perhaps not surprising. All of these studies (including my own) are based upon small samples and qualitative data. Burrage (1986) however, appears to have more quantitative evidence of a relationship between pregnancy and unemployment. It was evident from my respondents that this was not an actively planned alternative to unemployment, but rather that they turned to this domestic career when others appeared to be out of reach:

CW: Are you trying for a baby then?

Tracy: Well its not so much that we have actually been trying but I was on the pill before Christmas and I just stopped taking it. Well, after Christmas I suppose we started trying.

CW: Do you think if you found a job, you'd change your mind?

Tracy: Oh, I don't think so, No, there again, I suppose if I had a good career job you know that was leading me somewhere I probably would've changed my mind. I would've put that first. But I wouldn't change it if I had just an ordinary job. You know, the sort of thing that's not leading anywhere. Round in circles.

Like Griffin's young women, those on Sheppey did not necessarily have a glamourised view of motherhood. Indeed when they were 16, many were very critical of marriage, motherhood and 'domestic careers'. Some still felt this way at 21. Nevertheless, many of those who had been outspoken opponents of domestic careers for women in 1980 had children and husbands by the time they were 21. What had happened? One explanation is that the possibility of a good job and some independence of life style would have perhaps provided an alternative. However, this alternative was beginning to seem more and more unrealistic or remote as they grow older. In this respect, motherhood seemed to offer more status than a low status job or than unemployment, but less status than a 'good' job. It would appear that marriage and motherhood 'caught up' with girls, despite some initial resistance, rather than being an actively espoused status. This ambivalence perhaps reflects the kind of status which full time wives and mothers hold in our society - elevated as an 'ideal' pursuit on the one hand and seen as 'lower status' on the other. Moreover, many girls held examples of their own mothers - struggling on low incomes, divorced or downtrodden - as negative role models in their minds.

To speak of 'premature' pregnancy is not appropriate. It was more the case that in the absence of a good job there seemed little point in postponing family formation. Certainly, the Isle of Sheppey was no different from the rest of Britain with respect to unmarried parenting. The number of illegitimate children has tripled to 17% of all births between 1961 and 1984 (Social Trends 16) and children are more likely to be registered in the father's name as part of some kind of non-married stable relationship. The fact that these forms of familial transition were becoming accepted as normal rather than deviant or stigmatised was reflected in the views of my respondents.

When the sample as a whole were asked their attitudes to marriage, children and unemployment, slightly more (47%) said they would not marry if they were unemployed, than those who would (35%). However, a strong majority (72%) said they would have children as against the 16% who said they would not have children whilst they were unemployed. Hence, unemployment does not fit the 'ideal' model of transition. Nevertheless, of those who had had children by the time they were 21, nearly half (46%) had some experience of unemployment indicating a widening gap between what was held as ideal and what was in fact taking place.

This point is made more clearly when I asked respondents what they hoped to do in future. Regularly employed and regularly unemployed couples all hoped for a very 'conventional' future with a family, children, a regular job for the head of household and a home of their own. As two of the regularly unemployed expressed it:

CW: And what do you think you will be doing when you are fifty

Ian: (thinks).. Well I suppose I'd have my own house, car, couple of kids, sort of thing, not be unemployed I hope, not changing my car every year for a new model, nothing like that, just an ordinary, average Mr. Jones really.

CW: What do you think you will be doing in five year's time?

Andy: (pause) I reckon if I had a decent job I'd want a nice house and a decent job then I'd start saving up, something to look forward to. Otherwise you haven't got much to look forward to have you? Yeh, yeh, when you come back in five years time I'll have me house, I'll have a decent job, a little kid to cause me lots of trouble. I should think we'll be married by that time too.

Thus, the ideal transition was maintained in the hopes and aspirations of young adults. This ideal was one of a privatised, nuclear family independent of both home origin and state benefits - much like that of the 'new right'. Yet young people in practice had a range of alternative kinds of transition where this ideal was not attainable - this was the case for at least half the young adults in my sample in 1984. This leads me to question whether the 'ideal' transition was ever very typical at other periods of time. Nevertheless the ideal itself persists down the generations.

Housing, Domestic and Employment Careers.

One reason why the ideal family formation was postponed, was that the 'ideal' family was based upon access to owner occupation. Ineichin (1978 and 1981) has indicated that early pregnancy is associated with lack of access to owner occupied accommodation leading to the 'vortex of disadvantage' in the longer term. However this was before rising youth unemployment made access to owner occupation for some increasingly remote.

Tables 3a and 3b indicate the interaction of tenure and the employment status of the household. There is clear association between having a regular job and becoming an owner occupier. Those with regular jobs may begin in the privately rented sector before getting their own home, but most people saved for their own home by staying with their parents until they had found a house - much like in Leonard's study 15 years previously.

Table 3a   February 1987

Tenure by Employment Career: Singles

	Regularly Employed	Irregularly Employed	Full Time Education
Owner Occupied	–	–	--
Local Authority Rented	–	1	–
Privately Rented	3	3	8
Tied Accommodation	7	–	–
At Home*	13	13	1

TOTAL = 49

* ie the parental home

Note This excludes 1 in a Special Home

Tenure by Employment Career: Couples

	Both Partners Employed	Man Employed Woman Employed	Both Partners Unemployed	Woman Employed Man Employed	Non-couples
Owner Occupied	11	4	–	–	–
Local Authority Rented	–	1	1	1	–
Privately Rented	2	2	2	1	–
Tied Accommodation	2	2	–	–	–
At Home	–	–	1	2	2
TOTALS	15	9	4	4	2
					Total = 34

This link between owner occupation and employment status was well recognised by respondents themselves:

> Richard:....if you get married before you've got a job you're not going to have much of a wedding day are you? You're not even going to have much of a good life after that. Or if you're in a council house, for example, if you're in a council house and you've got food and that, you've got to find the money to support the marriage. There's food, there's electrical items, there's gas and there's rent. AND you have to save up for a house. And where would you get the money from? An' it might be a little while before you move into the house, so you've got to think of that. You've got to get your mortgage together. How would you do it if you were unemployed?

In general it was the man's job which was thought to determine the prospects of the household in this respect, since men were more likely to remain continually in work and they earned more. However, in practice, it is evident in Table 1b that those households who managed to purchase homes were ones with two regular earners, implying that the female partner's earnings were crucial too.

Indeed, those who were able to buy property were already considering their second home. Two were buying land to build their own houses. They tended to see their futures in terms of a progressional housing career involving a move every five years or so. They hoped to improve their life style by aiming for a better house, in a better area, with a bigger garden and other assets.

A small number lived in Local Authority rented accommodation and all of these had families. Apart from the 11 young adults in tied accommodation (including both couples and singles here), the most important housing sector was the privately rented sector accounting for a quarter of all tenures, and the majority of these were single people.

Not surprisingly, tenure was also associated with domestic career. Table 4 indicates that all of those who were owner occupiers were independent couples, whilst single young people were more likely to be found in the privately rented sector in tied accommodation or still at home. This was due to a great extent to the need for two incomes but it was also due

to the fact that a family of one's own was ideally associated with a home of one's own. In this way, familial ideology, 'ideal transitions' and developments in the private housing market all served to reinforce one another and render other forms deviant.

Table 4   February 1987

Domestic Career by Tenure

Domestic Career	Tenure				
	OO	LA	PR	Tied	At Home
Dependent Singles	–	–	–	–	27
Independent Singles	–	1	14	7	–
Independent Couples	15	3	7	4	–
Dependent Couples	–	–	–	–	5
TOTALS	15	4	21	11	32

Key
OO = Owner occupied
LA = Local Authority Rented
PR = Privately Rented
Tied = Accommodation tied to job
At Home = Living in parental home

This emphasis upon owner occupation as part of a life strategy was partly a consequence of the local housing market: there were more owner occupiers in this locality than in Great Britain as a whole. However, I would suggest that with present Government policy, this might be a pattern which other areas are moving towards.

Dependence on the Family

An 'ideal' model of transition implies moving away from the family of origin and going towards that of destination with a period of 'freedom' and hedonistic youthful comsumption in between. This 'normal' model likewise implied **normal** models of masculinity and femininity with young women being perceived as more tied to the home than young men. As we have seen, this involved some material accumulation although few severed links with their family completely. In this discussion of family and dependency, I have compared my own research in the South East with recent research by Hutson and Jenkins (1987) in South Wales and with that by Allatt and Yeandle (1986) in the North East.

Here we have to distinguish between the **material, social** and **symbolic** aspects of dependence (further discussed in Wallace 1986). Materially, young adults were dependent upon parents for their daily physical reproduction whilst at school, but moving to a position where they were partially responsible for their own costs of reproduction. Hence we can compare the situation of young people in families to that of households in developing countries or that of women workers, insofar as they are paid at below the cost of their own reproduction on the assumption that the household as a unit will make up the difference (Meillasoux 1975). Young people's wages and benefits are thus crucially tied to adult rates of pay and benefit. Socially, they were regarded as part of either one or the other unit depending upon their position between them. As far as state legislation was concerned they were paid as individuals from the time they left education and some, but not all, are paid whilst they are in education, whereas at school family

benefits are paid to parents. There is some recognition therefore, that they are socially self-determining persons with citizenship in their own right, but that this depends upon their precise age, and their position between families, the state and the labour market. Symbolically, dependence upon parents is associated with immaturity and independence from the natal home with mature adulthood. Those remaining at school thus offer an infantalisation in their status, from the point of view of those who have left.

From the time of leaving full time education, children had to pay 'keep' to their mother. This corresponds with the findings of a survey by the Policy Studies Institute which found that 93% of all young people had to pay their parents from the time they left school (Berthoud 1984). This was set at a nominal level and always paid to the mother who regulated its level. The rates of keep are set out in Table 5 and it can be seen that the majority paid between £5 and £20 per week. The payment at a fixed rate appears to be fairly universal both in Hutson and Jenkins' work in South Wales and in Allatt and Yeandle's in the North east. Moreover, it was set at around £10 in Sheppey and in these other areas, despite the regional variations in income. Those paying more than £20 per week were mostly contributing to other family expenditures - such as towards a car - too. In Sheppey, as elsewhere, the mother also took over management of aspects of the young person's income and deducted money for Building Society savings, clothing clubs, Christmas clubs, catalogues and insurance schemes. As was indicated in Cusack and Roll's (1985) study parents did not see this as a commercial rent so much as a contribution to the household. Since this fixed sum generally remained constant whether the person was on a scheme, on social security or earning £100 per week, it affected the young person's disposable income, and hence, participation in youth leisure activities. As Bradshaw, Lawton and Cooke (1987) have indicated this level rent was not economically maximising for the parent and this enables the young person to spend surplus income on youth leisure pursuits - most often tobacco and alcohol according to the Family Expenditure Survey.

Table 5   February 1987

'Keep' paid to Mother by

*Employment Career

	Nothing	Less than £5	£5 - £10	£11 - £20	More than £20
Regularly Employed	–	–	6	6	2
Irregularly Employed	3	3	8	7	1
TOTALS	3	3	14	13	3

Note *Current Employment Status at the time of Interview is referred to here rather than Employment Career

The financial situation of the young person varied very much with the general level of this indirect support. Those with more affluent parents who did give support were relatively well off compared with no support. For those who were not fully employed, but from whom parents demanded economic levels of keep there was considerable hardship, especially if the family was also poor.

Some parents depended upon this keep as part of their household budgeting, but it also had a moral dimension: it was thought to keep a young person straight. In some instances it was adjusted downwards when the person was unemployed but in only one case was it forgotten altogether in these circumstances as can be seen in Table 5. Most of those who had been long term unemployed confessed that they became more dependent upon their parents for entertainment and company as well as material support since they could not afford to go out under these circumstances:

FL...Well, I left 'ome, moved away a couple of times.
CW: And you always moved back?
FL Well, it's the best place innit? Always go back to your Mum
CW: What for security?
FL: Well, y'know, like if I, when I moved back from London that's the only place I could live innit? Back to me Mum or me Nan...Y'know, if me mum wouldn't 've 'ad me, me Nan would.

ND: Well, me mum did, yes, I mean, like, she always used to say to me 'Oh, you'll get a job, don't worry, and try to buck me up, like, a little bit. And if I bought something, like, she'd pay for it and I didn't have to pay her back straight away. Then I used to have to beg her to take it back again later; it was her money in the first place. And I always used to, always, like, look to her for ideas. You know, I used to say 'Are you going out in the car?' when she had a car, I'd say 'What are you doing?' 'Are you shopping tonight?' and that sort of thing.

However, the flows of support went in the opposite direction too. The cost of keeping a young person was generally higher than this level of keep and other subsidies also went from parents to children in the form of food, clothing, cigarettes, money for drinks and so on, which may or may not be repaid. This we might term 'indirect support' and this was particularly important when the person was unemployed. This too was found to be important in the other two studies and keep was often reduced if the young person was saving to get married both in Sheppey and elsewhere. In this way the level of keep could be used as a form of social control - a way of inducing young people to save and get married 'respectably'.

Once the person left home, this occasional but steady help continued in most cases as the two couples below (both with extensive experience of unemployment) indicate.

Jane: We got loans now and then and bits and pieces of bedding and that. Things that you know, when my mum's throwing something out we get our share. She divides it up between all of us.
Richard: Yeah, well she might have paid it at the time, but we pay it all back in the end. That's the only way you can do it, isn't it?

Dennis: Well, she gave all of us £30 when we first got our own place, you know, to get things for the house and stuff to help us move in, she gave everyone that. My mum used to pay for things, but we always paid her back. Like for Amy's Christening you see, she paid for the cake and she paid for a few things, but we paid her back...We've never had something for nothing though. She doesn't really give us money, but she helps us out food-wise. Like when we were on the dole. We wouldn't have money off her, but we used to go down there, like once a week, and she's give us a couple of tins of this or a couple of that, sort of thing.

In this way, new households could maintain symbolic and social independence even if they were materially supported. There was some tension between these different elements of dependency and this is evident in the fact that without exception young people were concerned to emphasise that they repaid favours, even though it was sometimes evident from the interview that support was mainly one way. Young people did not like to admit to dependence on a material level since it would jeopardise their rather fragile independence on other levels. The norms of reciprocity operate between equal partners - where there is inequality in their relationship it implies some power of the creditor over the debtor (Gouldner 1973). Thus, despite their economic dependence young people did not like to be seen to be dependent:

CW: Do you mind getting help from other people?
Michelle: Yeah, funny enough, I did. I hate being - I hate having to lend money, sort of thing. And I think I would've got more depressed if people hadn't been so much help. Like, I'd probably have locked myself in my bedroom and never come out again.

CW: And when you were unemployed - did you feel more dependent on your family?
Martin: I felt a burden on everyone. I felt like a leech on mankind.

This tension between being in need of help but feeling diminished by receiving it meant that this was often concealed in the interviews as the example of the unemployed man and his working wife illustrate:

CW: Do you ever get money from your parents?
Tony: No. Well I mean, we borrow it, but we've not got money to keep.
CW: Did they give you anything towards getting married though?
Tony: Oh yeah, yeah, birthdays, usual things..Otherwise it's just borrowing a quid here or there.
Liz: And forget to give it back!
Tony: Shush
CW: Do you get money from your in-laws?
Tony: No
Liz: Yes they do!
Tony: Yes they do. I've got to admit it, they bought me a motor bike helmet and the motor bike and all, and they gave me a hand with the HP and that.

Having children or getting married were events in which the whole community could participate. They supplied household goods, usually second hand, as well as baby clothes and equipment. The social networks of senior women in the community were a great resource in this respect which made it possible for the single mothers, in particular, to cope. Everyone was prepared to 'chip in' if it was to set up a young couple in their own home or to help with a first baby.

Where the girl needed assistance, this was normally provided by the girl's mother. Nearly all the girls who had children before they were living with their partners lived at home, as did those who split up with their partners. 'Mum' was particularly important as a stable figure, and particularly in divorced families, 'Dad' was often an absent partner. Hence the relationship with mums, who bec   'nans', was important for daughters as Binns and Mars (ave indicated, but also for sons. This was important   t as a social and economic support but also emotion,   .me recognised:

JB: I was becoming like too dependent on her, you know..my mum was always here, so I used to go back and tell my mum things when I should have been telling Mick (her husband)…And like we got too dependent, you know.

…she got too involved with me, and I was sort of relying on her again and I didn't want that, I wanted to lead my own complete life, so that I could go up there and feel free, to treat her, sort of like a mum, that I could go back to when I wanted someone to help me, but other times that, sort of, you know, have me own life.

However, not all families provided this sort of support and two young women who became pregnant shortly after leaving school were expelled from home and ostracised by parents. Unfortunately, I lost contact with these and hence have no way of knowing whether relations were ever repaired.

Thus many children were tied to parents throughout the life cycle albeit with a very long rope at times and the ideology of independence was maintained even when in practice the new household was dependent upon parents.

However, leaving school and starting work did result in some shifts in their relationships with parents. Although most people (87%) argued that they had become more independent from parents since leaving school, many of them were hidden perhaps not as independent as they liked to think because of this hidden subsidy[10]. Those who had gone away to college or university had a rather different relationship with parents since they returned home for part of the year, were seldom expected to pay keep and could be better described as temporarily absent.

Hence, parents supported children out of a sense of moral obligation and children routinely underestimated the extent of this support, thinking it was fair and economical.

From the point of view of the young person in Sheppey, the level of keep was generally set by the mother with little discussion. However, according to statements from parents gathered elsewhere, (Hutson and Jenkins 1987, Allatt and Yeandle 1986 and Cusack and Roll 1985) it was set by parents through a general notion of 'fairness' - an implicit contract. Implicit in this notion of fairness was that the young person should have some money left over to spend on themselves. Moreover, this hidden subsidy already mentioned meant that parents could introduce a moral contract - a form of social control. Generally in return for subsistence young people were expected to do some household chores (more in the case of girls), were encouraged to continue seeking work and to avoid drifting into deviant life styles. Once in jobs, they were expected to keep them and there was some tension when parents thought that their offspring were not living up to their side of the bargain by accepting unemployment or by abandoning jobs too readily. This lead some young people to complain that their parents did not understand them:

Tony: Yeah, Yeah, they used to say all the time 'Go out and get a job' they were always having a go at me. 'Cos they don't really understand, you see, me Dad's like that.
Liz: Well, the main one with you was that there's a big gap between you and your brother's and sisters. They'd all been to college and got jobs and never been a day out of work. So they used to think, well why can't you go out and get a job? See your sister - she got a job and they think: why can't he get one? They see him out of work and they think 'What's wrong with him?'

or as one girl put it in 1980:

> You see they don't understand (the parents). They don't understand what it's like being unemployed. They think I'm not **looking** for work. It wasn't like this when they left school. It's not their fault really, I suppose - it's just the way they were brought up.

'Fairness' however in most cases (apart from South Wales according to Hutson & Jenkins) was a gender related concept with girls having to do substantially more in the home than boys and conflicts with parents often revolved around resistance to housework, and these are also class related according to Griffiths (1986) because working class children were expected to do far more than those from middle class families. This meant that those children who were unemployed and thus more dependent upon parental subsidy were also more subject to parental moral control, and more likely to spend their leisure time at home, whereas those who could command an income had a more independent status within the home as well as outside. It is not surprising then that there was a greater tendency for unemployed young people to leave home, despite the importance of material support, and for girls particularly to find the home restricting when they were unemployed.

State policies are arranged around the assumption that parents support children materially and in most cases this was true. However, the relationship was not always harmonious. Two parents did not support daughters away at college leading the girls to give up the course. In other families, conflict arose when the young person became unemployed.

Even where parents did not give support it was generally thought that such support - such as by reducing the level of keep when the person was unemployed - **should** be forthcoming. The following two examples of arguments over the level of keep were on account of the fact that parents demanded what the young person saw as an unreasonable sum.

> Bob: But when I left home we weren't on good terms at all, in fact I was virtually kicked out.
> CW: And why was that then?
> Bob: Because I stopped going to that job down L's, and me rent money to me mother was meant to go up to £15 a week, cos I was earning quite a bit down there. And she started asking me for £15 a week. But then I stopped going to work and that and I lost the job, and she said right, well you can still give me £15 a week and I was only getting £18 a week on the dole, sort of thing, so I refused to do it. And she said 'Well if you don't give me the money you can leave'. So I left.

> Jackie: When I was unemployed I had to give her housekeeping. It was about £12 a week which was a hell of a lot then and I was only getting about £25 a week, so that's why I never had any money to go out. That's why, you understand, I never went out. I never had any money, and that's another thing I used to hate, having to give my mum money when I was unemployed. It was alright you see for the first couple of months when I was first unemployed, she said 'OK you don't have to give me any money for now' but after a couple of months I think she got a bit sick of it. (This girl too left home after arguments.)

In these two examples, the parents for their part felt that the children had defaulted on their moral contract.

Returning now to social and material (in)dependence we can see that there are a range of different statuses and they can be characterised thus:

1. Socially Dependent and Materially Dependent: Those living at home and enjoying parental support.

2. Socially Dependent and Materially Independent: Single parents still dependent upon parents, some of those who rented accommodation near home and still enjoyed substantial support, some independent couple households who lived near parents and maintained substantial contact with them.

3. Socially Independent and Materially Independent: Those in tied accommodation away from the area, new families with no parental support, those who had left home with no parental support.

4. Socially Independent and Financially Dependent: Those in full time education.

Conclusion
In the beginning I raised the question of what is a 'normal' transition. In the past, there was a transition from school or education into work and this was the 'normal' transition although it happened in different ways for different groups. However, now it can be seen from the research that during the 1980s, young people up to the age of 21 are more often between the state and the family - in the sense that they are dependent upon both for increasing periods of time and neither the state nor the labour market fully meets the cost of their reproduction.

I have argued that these transitions take place within a number of social levels - family, housing, labour market - and in a number of dimensions: material, social and symbolic. Furthermore, there is not simply a transition from one status to another, since young people may move in and out of home, like they move in and out of work.

The assumptions about the family as being a harmonious and independent unit which are contained in some state policies is not always borne out and it is evident that we should not see 'the family' as a universal monolithic institution with a single set of interests, but rather as an aggregation of individuals with different interests. Donzelot (1977) has indicated that the state 'polices' the family, and as we have seen, the way in which regulations govern the position of young people would appear to support this. However, it is also evident that young people resist the impositions of families on occasion and it is possible that their response to state benefits is not uniform and predictable either, although this would require further research. Hence although the ideology of certain family forms is embodied in state legislation and although it certainly serves to set the parameters of young peoples' experience, it does not necessarily entirely predict the social outcomes.

References and Notes
1. Lewis (1985) has indicated that this is predicated upon participation in the income distribution network although others, such as Cohen (1987), have distinguished a whole range of transitions.
2. These patterns of transition also no doubt differ between ethnic groups,

although much less is known about non white youth in this respect and I am not aware of a substantial literature which would allow me to bring these in for comparison.

3. Factors contributing to this were the abolition of Wages Councils for under-21s and the introduction of Young Workers Schemes.
4. A study of Burghes and Stagles (1983) indicated that there was great variations in Educational Maintenance Awards (paid to people remaining at school beyond the age of 16) with some LEAs spending just a few thousand pounds per year and ILEA spending more than two million. Their survey indicated that many had to leave education as parents could not support them.
5. A similar assumption about the nature of the families has been made with regard to community care, but here it is better documented (see Land op.cit.)
6. Other work on the Isle of Sheppey can be found in Pahl (1984) and Wallace (1987b).
7. In these tables I have included the nine who were still in full time education. Hence, these tables are different to those in Wallace (1987a). Of those in full time education, six had gone straight from school and were in polytechnics and universities around the country (hence not strictly in the local housing market). Two had done full time jobs before giving them up to enter higher education - one for a polytechnic and one for theological college. An additional person who is excluded from all of the analysis presented here was in a mental hospital.
8. Elsewhere I have distinguished between the long term unemployed and those with less than a year's experience of unemployment. However, it makes more sense to put these two groups together for the purposes of this paper.
9. This is taken from the 1980 survey of the same respondents. However at that time there were 103 in the sample (see Wallace 1987b for fuller account of 1979, 1980 and 1984 follow-up surveys).
10. Responses to the question 'Do you feel more dependent upon your parents than when you were at school?' are set out below.

Table 6   February 1987

Feeling of Dependence by Employment Career

	Yes	No
Regularly Employed	–	21
Irregularly Employed	6	26

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feature review:
learning all the time

MARIA SLOWEY

Ann Wickham
WOMEN AND TRAINING
Open University Press, 1986
ISBN 0 335 15119 1
no price
pp147

Pam Flynn, Chris Johnson, Sue Lieberman, Hilary Armstrong eds.
YOU'RE LEARNING ALL THE TIME - Women, Education and Community Work
ISBN 0 85124 448 3
Spokesman, 1986
£4.95
pp146

While women have always made up the majority of participants in adult education activities which do not lead to qualifications, recent years have seen a marked shift in the form and the content of the types of programmes available to women. The traditional forms of adult education tended to be determined by the providers and linked closely to particular subject areas, especially those associated with women's traditional roles of housewife and mother, and with leisure activities. Throughout the seventies and eighties however, adult education came to be viewed as an important part of any strategy for change in the position of women. There was a massive growth in the number and range of programmes designed to raise women's consciousness about their position in society, and to raise their confidence in their skills and abilities. Many of these activities were community based and closely linked with community action.

Simultaneously with these developments, increasing attention was being given to the question of how the position of women in the labor force could be improved. There are many complex reasons why women are concentrated in low paid, low skilled occupations not least of which are the facts that women tend to have primary responsibility for child care and domestic duties, and the operation of sexist recruitment and promotion procedures in the work place. Another problem area however arises from the fact that women are not trained to the same level as men. There is a cumulative process whereby lack of initial training means that only certain types of jobs are open to women, and that in turn employers are not likely to provide further training to employees in these types of positions.

It is interesting to consider these two books together as they set out to examine women's involvement in community based education in the one case, and in vocational education and training in the other case. Flynn et al say that they set out to make a link between feminist theory, education and community work.

> We saw the need for a complete book, approached from a feminist perspective, on education and community work; one particular area which had received relatively little attention from community workers.

In a similar vein Wickham sets out to ' ... look at the development of different forms of training in Britain and ask how far these meet the education needs of women.' Both books also start by acknowledging that gender divisions are cross-cut by those of social class and race. Focusing on the many common problems facing women is not to deny the additional barriers which black women, those from working class backgrounds and those with disabilities have to overcome in seeking equality of opportunity.

'Women and Training' provides a clear and quite comprehensive account of women's participation in vocational education and training. The starting point is the sexual division of labour and knowledge whereby work and skills are divided into 'masculine' and 'feminine' areas. As a result of early socialisation girls are less likely to see their future in career terms but more in terms of marriage and motherhood. Training has traditionally been linked to jobs where men predominate, particularly in the areas of science, engineering and technology. As Wickham says,

> 'Women become the receivers and operators of machinery. but never the controllers. Men and machines go hand in hand whilst women become seen as socially incompatible with technology.'

The present level of concern about shortages of skilled engineers has led bodies such as the Engineering Industry Training Board and the MSC to run special programmes to encourage women to consider training in these areas. While such schemes have had some degree of success, Wickham argues that women do not enter technological occupations simply because as individuals they do not like such jobs, but rather because they are '...actively rejected by the masculinity of technology'.

In tracing the background to developments in women's training from the turn of the century, the author also addresses the relationship between education and training. In recent years training has emerged as a priority for two main reasons. In the first place as a result of rapid technological change there is an increasing need for a highly skilled labour force. Secondly, also a product of these technological developments there is the

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massive growth in structural unemployment. Training is seen as part of a strategy for helping the unemployed to increase their chances on the labour market. Massive investment has been made in training through the MSC (recently renamed the Training Commission) particularly for training schemes for the young. Wickham describes many of these schemes in relation to their impact on young women. She draws a contrast between the commitment of the MSC to widening the scope of women's training at a policy level, and the reality of the situation in practice. Combating gender stereotyping would require an intervention with schools and employers to an extent that the MSC has not yet been prepared to make.

While comparative analysis of the position of women in training in other countries is interesting, this would warrant a book in its own right. In my view it is unsatisfactory to try to provide an overview of the position of women in training in the U.S., Sweden and the USSR in one short chapter as is attempted here.

Where 'Women in Training' links most closely with 'You're Learning All the Time' is in the discussion of innovative women-only training programmes, often provided through voluntary organisations and frequently with the support of the European Social Fund.

'You're Learning All the Time' is a fairly loose collection of papers organised into three sections. The first part contains transcripts of interviews conducted by Pam Flynn with two women about the role of community activities and non-formal adult education in their lives. The second part contains papers relating to work with young women from a feminist perspective. The papers in the final part, entitled 'Fighting Back', look at the involvement of adult women in community based education activities and 'second chance' training opportunities.

One of the papers in the final section is an account by Deborah Trayhurn of the Sweet Street women's training centre in Leeds. Finance was obtained from the European Social Fund and from Leeds City Council to set up the centre which provides training for women in the 'non-traditional' skills of computing and micro-electronics. The benefits of this scheme and the similar ones spread through-out the country are evident. As an exercise in positive action for women they demonstrate what can be achieved with women who start with very low levels of formal education, once the resources and commitment are available. Not only were most of these centres run by women, but resources were made available to support those with child care responsibilities. It is therefore a matter of great concern that at the time of writing this review the Women's Non-Traditional Skill Centre for the Tyneside area (with which a number of the editors of this book were closely involved) is closing down as funding from Europe ceases.

The other papers in this volume focus more directly on women's involvment in non-formal educational activities, through, for example, youth work and community based learning. Val Millman's paper sets the scene by reviewing some of the research on the effects of early sex role socialisation. Olivia Grant and Linda Moore discuss the role of the careers service as an 'intermediary between the world of work and its clients' in widening the horizons of young women. Judy Seymour also looks outside the school system to the youth service and describes how the present system is organised on the principle that the typical young person, i.e., the client, is male.

Three papers stand out as being most closely related to the stated purpose of the volume. Barbara Hancock reflects on her own experience as a community worker and the way in which feminism informed her development. Ailsa Bruce describes a Scottish experiment in co-operative learning which attempted to meet women's needs. These needs were identified as being for education which was directly relevant to their lives, that discarded the hierarchial and bureaucratic structures of 'schooling', and that recognised their needs as mature self-governing adults.

The final paper in the volume, by Hilary Armstrong, brings together the themes of education, training and community work in an analysis of some of the issues surrounding the certification of community work skills through the formal higher educational system. She describes the enormous personal change which the working class women students go through, not least as a result of their challenging the accepted roles of wives and mothers, and embarking on a course in an institution of higher education.

While this is an interesting collection of papers I am inclined to think that some of the claims made for it are a little sweeping. In particular I think to claim that it is the '...first complete book to make the links between education and community work' is to ignore the work of people such as Tom Lovatt who has been writing on this theme for some time.[1]

The areas dealt with in these two books are ones of rapid change. We are currently seeing the introduction of a major change in the training area through the new Employment Training programme. How this will effect women's opportunities remains to be seen, but it is encouraging to note that the programme will include those who are unemployed but not in receipt of benefit (a position in which many women find themselves) and that it is proposed that the costs of child care will be covered. On the negative side the changes to the Community Programme could have a very detrimental effect on many community based adult education activities which have relied on the CP to provide skeleton support.

1 See for example, Tom Lovatt el al, Adult Education and Community Action - Groom Helen, 1983.

reviews in this issue

This book is the collected papers of a conference held by the British Sociological Association at Sunderland in 1986, a year after the Swann Committee's Report was published. The papers are from a network of people either at Sunderland Polytechnic, or employed in local LEAs, with guest appearances from Carlton Duncan and Gajendra Verma, (both ex-Swann), and John Rex.

It may be this genesis which gives rise to the book's problems. For one thing, the authors are writing (speaking) as if they have only recently picked up Swann and read it. Obviously at the time that was the case, but it gives the book a rather dated feel today. This feeling is added to by the many references to grant applications, appointments, courses or research which were then in the future but are now well established. I also found several contributions rather descriptive, fair enough at a post-Swann information sharing, but by now it would be reasonable to expect some reflections about how experiences and events might be echoed elsewhere (which by now the authors could easily do). Thirdly, speakers at conferences rarely know what each other are going to say in detail, and this can produce overlap and inconsistency when contributions are written down.

Some of this overlap is not too important, but for me an important inconsistency is about the tactics and politics of language and the (apparent) assumptions and stances behind it. The editor is right to avoid yet more pages defining what multicultural education might be suggesting that 'multicultural' education is someting which just sort of happens (sometimes) when there are black children about, but the terms race, culture, multicultural, multi-ethnic, multi-racial and even 'ethnic children' are used without any apparent consensus. On the same theme, does Rex really think Swann's chapter on racism is good or is he just saying so to capitalise on Swann's legitimacy? (Carlton Duncan's definition of racism is different from Swann's, so he must have lost that argument in the Committee). Troyna clearly does not take what Swann says at face value. With hindsight, it is plain it could not be anything else but a mass of compromises, a political document. So we hear of the hysterical pre-publication comments by the right wing press, and are reminded of the politics of making Swann's brief 'West Indian children's underachievement' rather than 'race' and education in general.

Verma gives us more details on this, providing one of the more useful parts of the book: summarising what Swann said about achievement then questioning it and adding all sorts of useful details that ruin Swann's simplistic picture. (especially the Asians/'West Indians' distinction).

The other chapter I found useful as a trainer was Wendy Robertson's, where she argues convincingly that critical reflection on action with all its practical constraints is the most effective way of producing change. She isolates key teacher attitudes/orientations and shapes their inservice around that. The orientations make good sense, they ring true, and add more, I think, than Patricia Keel's last chapter on action research: much of the way of working she describes is now commonplace all over the country, either in ESG projects or in the 20 day courses which are mentioned as possibilities for the future.

The rest I found less useful.
Winifred Mould, on local LEA responses, cites the area's CRC as a key force for change, yet it must have been involved in the same kind of conflicts as Swann. I would have liked different perspectives on this story, for instance who was involved in the CRC, how did they handle the pressures upon them, and how did they choose a conference title like 'Racial Harmony'? Duncan offers a good basic introductory account of 'why multicultural education?' but he could give it in his sleep. Lynch deals with prejudice reduction, but rather frustratingly. He refers to American work we should all know more about, but for me he is not specific enough about how schools ought to achieve change. When he gets down to specifics he offers a checklist overlapping in several ways with Mould's. I began to wonder here how many wheels are being invented simultaneously.....

I think it is a post Swann beginners' book. It has problems in terms of audience, timing (the publisher's fault), coherence (the editor's), and not least price.

Chris Gaine

TIME OFF TO LEARN is a campaigning book; it argues for the right of workers to learn at the expense of the employers and the state. In a conservative era where a great deal of education has been transferred to a paltry version of vocational training from the Manpower Service Commission, and where the services charged with delivering a more liberal adult education are constantly cut, the call for a right to paid educational leave for the self and collective development of workers is a bold one. Not than an inhospitable climate has been set by the right alone. Generally, this is a country where education is undervalued by the left. Most of our labour movement representatives pay scant attention to it perhaps because a workerism that scorns intellectual activities is all too present in British Labourism. In such a climate, a book that attempts to engage the labour movement in a debate about working class education is important reading.

Mace and Yarnitt bring together a collection of articles from people involved in paid educational leave (PEL) initiatives from a workbased literacy project in London to the 150 hours scheme in Italy. As the editors write, in-service training and education is a norm for most middle class workers; in the course of our careers, we clock up countless experiences of conferences and courses. Not so for working class men and women who have little access to work that is intellectually developmental or perked with such educational opportunities. Though this kind of cultural poverty goes hand in glove with economic hardship, it is an issue that is rarely on the agenda of political debate. In refreshing contrast, the contributions in Time Off to Learn take seriously the proposition that men and women cannot live by bread alone. There is a

revealing example of a NUPE official's confrontation with a senior academic who wondered why the manual workers on his campus should receive non-job-related education at his university's expense! While this silly comment aided the official's ultimately successful case, it alerts us to a class snobbery that we must avoid inverting. NUPE is in fact in the forefront of PEL initiatives and much can be learnt from this union's commitment (NUPE's General Secretary has written the book's foreword). I imagine that most Youth & Policy readers are professionals of some sort who rely on low paid clerical and domestic staff and on quasi-professional assistance. Equal opportunities in the professions ought to include increased educational opportunities for ancillary staff. Professional unions can do much to urge the case for PEL and this book provides a valuable initiation into the debate. Most of the case studies provide strategic recommendations that can be discussed in union meetings.

Though the case studies make interesting reading, I would have liked more analysis and context than that provided by the editors' introduction and conclusion. For example, accounts of the 150 hours scheme (where the Italian trade union movement secured state and employer commitment to paid educational leave) tend to be offered as transferable good practice without an assessment of some key differences between Italian and British realities. On the one hand, Italian trade unionism is more politicised and amenable to debates about education, on the other hand, existing adult education options in Italy are much lower than in Britain. More crucially, most of the 150 hours schemes aimed to equip workers with a school leavers certificate which is a prerequisite even for quite low grade jobs in Italy. Since a whole generation of Italians, particularly Southerners, are disadvantaged by the lack of this certificate, this was a key in the successful negotiation of PEL. Finally, there is only a hint from the book that 150 hours is in deep crisis and more information here would have been useful. Similarly, the exploration of TUC programmes run by the WEA could have been placed beside a wider discussion of the weakness of trade unionism and education in Britain. As it stood, we were presented with the kind of descriptive bulk - all too common in adult education literature - that focussed on one course at the expense of an examination of connected concerns. Trade union membership has declined and transformed dramatically; this must involve a rethink about the role of education. Should shop stewards be the principle target of PEL? Should trade unions make more funds available to members wanting to follow day or evening courses? Should unions offer courses to non-members? Should the need to recruit part-time women workers be harnessed to revised PEL educational strategies? Most disappointingly, the relationship between equal opportunities employment practices and PEL schemes was underdeveloped in the book as a whole. Here I disagree with the editors' view that 'as white anti-racists' they must desist from elaborating on the possibilities PEL holds out for black adults. Giving primacy to experience is important but this cannot be an exclusive point of entry to debate. Such an intellectual separatism suggests that for the sake of coherence the middle class contributors should have abstained from writing about working class issues and so forth. But these are rather few reservations against the considerable strengths of the book. Anybody interested in increasing the quality of life for working class adults should treat TIME OFF TO LEARN as essential reading.

GLYNIS COUSIN

The Youth Training Scheme (YTS) is probably the single most researched training programme in British history.

Some of this is undoubtedly due to its great influence on youth un/employment and training, as well as the consequences it has had in other areas. More notably the scheme has encouraged depressed wages for young workers, as well as accomodated the traditional patterns of discrimination experienced by women workers and Black workers.

It is this latter area which has attracted a great deal of informed comment since the scheme began in 1983, and to which Verma makes a contribution.

Verma makes it clear from the outset that the research intends 'to offer a considered judgement' about the 'realities of YTS as far as ethnic minority youngsters (sic) are concerned'. And of course the best way to do so is by talking to them, as well as their white colleagues. By doing this Verma is breaking with previous research in that the 'Perceptions and opinions' of trainees are of central concern.

Before launching in to the results of interviews and questionnaires with 800 young people from two northern cities, we are first taken through a potted history of the British Education system. This 'has operated as a system of differentiation and classification of the workforce in industrial society'. Hardly surprising then that its obsession with examinations failed to meet the needs of the majority of children. Fortunately 'this failure was masked by the fact that children would leave school and be immediately absorbed by the world of work-almost regardless of their achivements at school'. But with economic recession in the late 1970's unemployment rose sharply and steadily, affecting school-leavers more than most.

According to Verma the Government responded with YTS, both as an attack on youth unemployment as well as providing 'a better introduction to working life with systematic training'. To emphasise the Government's, and the MSC's, concern with the needs of both industry and young people we are given seemingly endless quotes from relevant papers. In fact this appears to be the authors only source of information on youth training pre-YTS, for it makes just one fleeting reference to its much maligned predecessor, the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP). Thus neatly sidestepping the major arguments at the time concerning the poor quality training, health and safety abuses, discrimination and a lowering of expectation in young workers.

As far as Black (or, according to Vermas definition, Asian and Black) young people are concerned the MSC were keen that Equal Opportunity policies should be implemented: 'we shall look for action, not just words, from approved training organisations and recruitment agencies'.

So what do the 'youngsters' think of YTS? Well, trying to put aside for one moment the fact that very few Afro-Caribbean young women were included in the questionnaire sample - less than 4% - and that men outnumbered women by almost two to one, the 'findings' were confused at best and

woefully inadequate at worst.

For example, the researchers found 'little difference across the sexes and ethnic origins ... as far as those rating their (job) chances as good or very good'. Yet this despite the fact that Black trainees were well aware the effects racia' discrimination would have on actual outcomes.

The results also 'revealed significant differences in the sources of information from one ethnic group to another'. For white youth, parents, teachers and friends were important sources, whilst 'Asian and Black' school-leavers relied more heavily on the careers service. Yet having established this importan pattern, we are not given any additional information which would show, for example, the usefulness of such careers guidance. Were Black trainees channelled into non-employer YTS provision, with its lower job success rate? Were women actively encouraged (or discouraged) to enter non-traditional areas of work? Sadly we are not given any clarification about these two crucial aspects of entry to YTS. As the authors rightly point out, much evidence exists to suggest that this stereotyping is widespread, but no one bothered to ask the trainees for first hand experience then and now.

In fact one wonders why the research team concerned itself to interview trainees and non-participants in the first place, such is the dearth of evidence we are given. Far more emphasis is given to the contributions from YTS managers and supervisors, as well as others involved in the delivery of training, Black trainees, Verma found, were often isolated because of a lack of support from YTS supervisors and placements. For trainees keen on taking an allegedly racist employer to tribunal the Race Relations Act is 'formidably time consuming' and 'not very accessible to the youngsters themselves'. Understandably a Black trainee 'will decide either to cut his or her losses and look elsewhere or join the ranks of the disaffected unemployed'.

The nature of the conclusions and recommendations hardly came as a surprise having waded through 80 odd pages of 'evidence'. Once again there is a heavy emphasis on the education system, including a contorted description of cultural crisis in certain Asian communities, which suggested to me that the author would far rather be writing about multi-culturalism. The recommendations are a bland mixture of giving everyone 'race awareness training' and a bureacratic nightmare in the shape of a monitoring card which would detail trainees' progress. There is a call for withdrawal of funds from employers who do not 'reflect the ethnic mix of the relevant age group of the district', yet no mention of either prosecuting firms or establishing structures for supporting young Black trainees who wish to do so.

Verma, despite considerable evidence to the contrary, concludes that 'there can be no doubt of the genuineness of the MSC's commitment to Equal Opportunities in the Youth Training Scheme'. Perhaps this 'certainty' is inevitable if there is no serious examination of the facts. To make such a bold statement after having spoken with hundreds of Black trainees and YTS workers suggests that the interviews were either just a formality or that no one was listening.

Eustace de Sousa

Janet Holland
YOUTH AND COMMUNITY WORK AND TRAINING WITH UNEMPLOYED YOUNG ADULTS
London Union of Youth Clubs
64 Camberwell Road, London SE5 OEN
£3.00 (pbk)
61pp

'Enjoyment and a great sense of satisfaction. When you went home at night you knew you'd done a good job. And when people got jobs out of it, it was terrific. That was the best thing. They come to you down and out, very little self confidence, and you changed them.' This quotation from a member of staff on the London Union of Youth Clubs Community Programme illustrates the tone of this report with its strong emphasis on the value of this particular scheme which places the long term unemployed on Community Programme placements in youth and community projects in London.

This view has to be seen within the context of growing concern about the direction government programmes for the unemployed are taking and therefore it is a timely study, arriving as it does at the same time as the White Paper 'Training for Employment'.

The report is a study of the history and contemporary nature of the LUYC scheme, 'London Employment Training' (LET). It has been researched by Janet Holland although their is no information about the research process except for the use of some interviews, statistics and some thorough background reading. The bibiliography should be useful to anyone making a study in this area.

The report describes the development of the MSC's provision for the unemployed, the LUYC, the LET scheme and its history, the structure and roles of the organisation, and a comparison with other schemes. The background study of the MSC provides a concise description and analysis of the CP. It not only describes the changes that have taken place over the years and the voluntary sector's reaction to them, but it also analyses the reasons for those reactions in the context of reduced sources of funding from elsewhere. LET itself had the problem of reconciling issues of ideology with the wish to maintain levels of people resources to its placement agencies. Holland points out that as the CP initiative developed, the MSC changed the emphasis from benefit to the community to benefit to the individual worker. However, the LET scheme always focussed on the needs, training and future prospects of the individual worker.

Two facinating aspects of the scheme are only briefly mentioned. Firstly the report emphasises the success of LET's attempts to ensure a good balance of the sexes and a high level of participation by members of ethnic minority groups. Did this recruitment success continue into the range of placements individuals were offered? Were equal opportunities still apparent in participants employment and education prospects when they finished their year? Many agencies are struggling to improve their achivement in this area and more information could prove very helpful to them.

Secondly, the report also places considerable emphasis on careful assessment of individual's training needs. However the processes involved are not detailed and this is a sad ommission given the growing emphasis on participant-centred training and starting from the strengths of

individuals. LET appears to have been developing this procedure over many years and some indication of the successful techniques and processes they used would be very interesting.

The report appears almost self-congratulatory with little emphasis on what would have been done differently in retrospect. Nevertheless, it does show how support and supervision are the foundation of successful placements, and this is just as true for students at any level in Youth and Community work training.

The report discusses the involvement of the Youth and Community Work sector with the MSC and argues for the continuing value of LET's participation in CP. It recognises that its judgement will not be popular, but argues that despite its drawbacks, CP has potential and therefore schemes should be run by those with a real concern for the people involved.

One final aspect of the LET which the study explores is the way the structure and level of management consultation changed with the growth of the organisation. Democratic, collective decision making changed to a hierarchical managerial structure with decision makers at the top. Holland also demonstrates very well the tension for LET of working between the contrasting organisational cultures of youth and community work agencies and the bureacratic MSC.

It could be argued that this study will become less relevant as CP declines. However I think that many of the issues identified by the report will remain pertinent in terms of the wider field of youth and community work training in general, and apprenticeship schemes in particular.

Sue Bloxham

Brian Simon
BENDING THE RULES:
THE BAKER 'REFORM' OF EDUCATION
(Lawrence and Wishart, 1988)
£4.95
ISBN 085315 693Y

The state's encroachment on to the educational terrain for avowedly political and social purposes is, of course, no new thing. As an historian of the British educational system, Brian Simon is well aware of earlier examples of this trend, dating back to the middle of the nineteenth century. But as he pointed out in his earlier book, **Does Education Matter?** what distinguishes the current incursion from these previous attempts to restructure the educational system for social and political purposes is the determination of Thatcherism to impose 'a direct and unitary system of control' over the schools, colleges, polytechnics and universities. It is a political project which eschews any semblance of respect, deference or negotiation with the traditional partners in educational decision-making (the LEAs, teacher unions and the church). Nor, as Simon and others have shown, does this project represent adequately or accurately the interests and concerns of parents.

The abolition of the Schools Council, the introduction of the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) and the formation of the Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (CATE), amongst other measures, constituted the basis of the Thatcherite project in education during the first two periods of the administration. They exemplified a commitment to ensuring that the power to determine the

fundamental nature and orientation of the educational system would be concentrated at the level of the national state. The Great Education Reform Bill (GERBIL), introduced in the House of Commons in November 1987, was conceived as the apogee of that project. It provides the Secretary of State for Education with somewhere between 175 - 200 new powers and as a corollary, undermines, if not entirely eradicates, powers traditionally invested in the other partners in education. What is more, it marks formally the juncture in the development of education in this country when, in Kenneth Baker's words, 'the pursuit of egalitarianism is over'. What is envisaged instead is the legitimation of a system which is subject to market forces and more directly under state control. From this vantage point, GERBIL, together with the Poll tax, recent housing legislation and a range of other 'reformist' measures (sic) represents the realisation of the Thatcherite dream where local democracy is circumvented and decision-making is centralised.

Brian Simon's book, however, is less concerned with this contextual setting, and how it has achieved populist appeal, and more with: specifying the (spurious) raison d'etre of GERBIL, appraising critically its main, substantive clauses, drawing attention to various critiques - most of which have been ignored (or reinterpreted) by Baker - and pointing to its inherent contradictions and logical inconsistencies. Viewed for what it is (rather than what it could, or 'should', have been) **Bending The Rules** is an excellent, critical guide to GERBIL. It is written in a lucid and accessible manner and suffused with the passion, anger and commitment expected from an activist who played (and continues to play) a leading role in the formation and maintenance of the comprehensive school movement in the UK. It is almost inevitable in an introductory book such as this that there will be certain issues that are dealt with superficially and that is irritating. Occasionally, also, sustained argument gives way to assertion and 'wishful thinking' polemic, which might excite those committed to deprecating Professor Simon's political stance. But the author's uninhibited partisan reading of GERBIL provides a refreshing and apt corrective to the rhetoric of GERBIL's sponsors and supporters. It should be read.

Barry Troyna

Andrew Dewdney and Martin Lister
YOUTH, CULTURE and PHOTOGRAPHY
MacMillan 1988
ISBN 0333 391 802 (pbk)
£7.95
pp 145

> What is clear is that style practices are a significant means for working-class young people to explore cultural affinities and identitites. And that this arises through the continual discovery by young people of the contradictions within a society and a culture structured by inequality and exploitation. The question has long been how to do more than write about it (p.32)

Youth, Culture and Photography describes and analyses photographic work with working-class young people as a form of cultural practice. The authors were active in the Cockpit Arts Workshop in London during the early 1980s and developed photographic projects in schools and more widely. This book focuses primarily on their work in schools with working-class young men from various ethnic backgrounds.

This work took place at a time which witnessed the erosion of many of the material and social gains secured by the working-class over the last forty years. The young people who participated in the projects were mostly those living in 'working-class' London - a world characterised by a decaying public environment and ever-present financial uncertainty, a world in which 'they hear and see the rhetoric of plenty for all but experience the reverse....' (p.95).

The authors' thesis is that, in the face of the multiple contradictions of society and a system of power stacked against them, a majority of working-class young people resist. Such resistance rarely has any formal expression; instead, it is embedded in everyday life, as part of their **social practice**. Such resistance is often learned behaviour within subordinate cultures: it is a form of cultural self-empowerment in a context of structural powerlessness. And, since it is a means of securing a positive identity in contexts which are oppressive, resistance is a frequent response to compulsory schooling.

Dewdney and Lister sought to engage with this resistance (and have some interesting things to say about their attempts to do so), not to promote young people's adjustment to the existing form of schooling, but in order to establish a basis for an educational process to take place.

Since photography has a popular currency and use, and since it can **never** be 'closed off' as just 'school work' (the snapshot is, after all, a window on the world), it is considered as a medium through which young people can construct representations of **their** social world. The authors reject exclusive and elitist ideas about creativity on the grounds that 'the gap between what was claimed as being art in schools and the lived reality of many pupils was vast' (p.5). Instead, after initial sessions experimenting with the use of cameras (taking mugshots, pictures of self and personal styles), they encouraged young people to 'make the lived present' through carrying out assignments covering the styles and lifestyles of family and friends. It was through this practice that they addressed questions of meaning. Young people, they argue, use photos to 'map out' a relationship to their parent culture and the culture of their peers.

Five stages in the development of such a photo practice are identified, though it is conceded that 'more often than not... no such lucid or linear development is found in practice' (p.109). Flexibility in approach, acknowledging that different groups and individuals will move at different paces and in different directions, is therefore essential. However, the photography projects illustrate forcefully what can potentially be achieved. The authors suggest the possibilities of a more casual, flexible and dynamic relationship between everyday life, cultures, change, even conflict, and education.

Youth, Culture and Photography incorporates a wealth of both theoretical and practical material. However, three particular points (which have a wider currency than the specific concerns of this book) stand out.

First, the widely regarded cultural analysis of working-class (male) youth's resistance to schooling, first propounded by Paul Willis, which categorises responses along a conformist-resistant axis ('earoles' and 'lads'), is held to be inadequate. Dewdney and Lister maintain that many working-class young men do not fall into either category and

instead are 'oppressed between the poles of their peers' spectacular resistance and aspiration'(p.82).

Secondly, although the authors develop their arguments and practice from a fundamentally socialist perspective, they reject an approach where the world has to fit the current official pronouncements of the 'progressive principle'. They argue that they could never have established their practice if differences had been raised to the level of so-called 'principled politics'. Working-class young people, they maintain, are at the most confused end of politics and ideology and, if you really want to engage them in critical work, "you have to do this through the currencies and concerns of their own worlds"(p.7). Young people express much that is positive and progressive, but you will only hear this is if you are in a relationship with them.

Third, while acknowledging the institutional limitations of school-based work, they argue that to ignore the institution of the school when considering youth practice is a serious mistake. Schools may present 'formidable structures of power' which can militate against the development of cultural practice (though certain changes in schooling practice are suggested to counteract these 'negative' forces) but they also provide some positive conditions. Furthermore, and crucially, the school is a key location for establishing cultural practice since 'if you want to work with working-class young people the starting point of practice will most often be within institutions they are obliged to attend' (p.143). Once such practice is established, however, it should be extended into a wider cultural network. The most successful practice, ultimately, was that which stayed closest to the communities in which participating young people lived.

The experience of establishing photography as a cultural practice suggests the **'possibility'** of developing a cultural practice with young people with whom we have a pedagogic relation, which connects structured work to everyday experience and cuts through institutional divisions between school, work and unemployment. This is an educational potential glimpsed'(p.110).

I have my reservations about such a contention. Not because this book fails to make such a case. Indeed, it does so powerfully and deserves to be read by theorists and practitioners alike. There is no doubt, for example, that 'there can be little chance of substantial and close educational exchange and growth if what is lived as informing and valuable by young people is rejected as a starting point for educational work'(p.28) But the ideological and political climate does not support such practice. Could it have been done today? Are not any 'critical paths' through education and further education being rapidly closed down? Are the necessary educational resources available for such work, even if the ideological support is present? And, anyway, is not photography somewhat unique in that, as the authors themselves argue repeatedly, it does have a popular and everyday currency beyond school? While one can see some possibilities of similar work being developed in, say, 'history' (through oral, family and community history), even perhaps 'English', it is difficult to envisage the application of such 'cultural practice' in other areas of the curriculum. Sadly, current developments in education do not leave much room for hope. Nonetheless, despite its limitations, **Youth, Culture and Photography** remains 'an educational potential glimpsed'. Let us hope that at

least the vision engendered in this book does not fade away.

Howard Williamson

David Fryer and Philip Ullah (editors)
UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE - SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES
Open University Press 1987
ISBN 0 335 15507 3 (hbk) £25.00
    0 335 15506 5 (pbk) £9.95

There is now no shortage of social and psychological accounts of the impact of unemployment and there is a justifiable temptation to be initially resistant to the publication of another set of papers on the subject. The majority of the ten papers in this book approach these issues from the particular standpoint of social-psychology and the editors argue that their theme is to locate the effects of job loss on people in its material, social, cultural and political context. This is, of course, an honourable purpose but I think we are right to ask whether the book warrants attention by providing fresh insights or merely confirms the perspective we have gained from existing studies.

If there is a justification for attention, then it lies in the long essay titled 'Unemployed Men at Work' by Marie Jahoda which was written in 1938 but never previously published. Jahoda may be familiar to many readers as the doyenne of this field of study; a major contributor to the pioneering study of the impact of the Great Depression on the Australian village of Marienthal, first published in 1933, she later settled in Britain and continued writing into the 1980s. In 1937/8 she undertook a study of the Quaker-inspired Subsistence Production Society (SPS) which tried to develop a new form of subsistence-based economy in one of the mining valleys of South Wales which had been badly hit by unemployment.

Jahoda provides a fascinating and penetrating account which carefully dissects the social processes which were generated by this charitable scheme. In particular, the essay clearly identifies the gap between the idealistic conception of the SPS held by its originators and the realities of life experiences for people who had for a generation scrabbled for a living between the colliery and the dole queue. Jahoda shows how this radically-inspired social experiment eventually degenerated because, she argues, it had been conceived with little direct reference to the unemployed miners and their families and, perhaps more importantly, with an idealistic approach to social change. The essay ought to provide an interesting reference point for community workers, both in its importance in documenting this experiment and for the contemporary resonance of its discussion of the processes of social change.

Little else in the volume generates such enthusiasm. David Fryer contributes a useful intellectual biography of Jahoda which lays out her role in the development of what has become the conventional wisdom on the psychological impact of unemployment. This conventional wisdom is sometimes adapted in a pernicious way by divorcing the psychological consequences of unemployment from their connection with material deprivation; Fryer shows that this represents a misreading of Jahoda's work although he does not fully draw out the implications of this practice.

The remaining chapters present the results of a number of small-scale pieces of research largely carried out in the particular conditions of the early

1980s and appear rather variable in their utility. The contributions by Ullah, a study of unemployed black youths in a northern city, and by Jackson and Walsh, who examined the impact of unemployment on family life, warrant attention by being thorough even if their findings elicit few suprises. However, do we really still need material on the living standards of the unemployed wholly based on statistics from 1978/79? Equally, how is it possible to justify the inclusion of a piece (albeit interesting) on occupational health and work which puts in a few final paragraphs on job-loss when there is a wealth of research on unemployment and health?

The final chapter by Stephen Fineman opens up issues of greater currency by looking at the processes of re-employment and the legacy of unemployment for the individual. The value of his work is limited by the narrowness of the 'redundancy - unemployment - re-employment' model which does not fit into the labour market experience of many people but it does at least represent an attempt to take research a step forward.

To return to my original question; how useful is this book? Certainly, it is right to applaud the editors and publishers for bringing us Jahoda's essay, 50 years on; however, the volume contains rather too much padding with unnecessary stocking-fillers to be given more than a qualified welcome.

Max Krafchik

Tony Jeffs and Mark Smith (editors)
YOUTHWORK
Macmillan Education 1987
ISBN 0 333 409841
£15.00 (hbk) £5.95 (pbk)
pp 158.

When I heard about this book I was excited. A book by practitioners for practitioners about practice. When it arrived it looked like a social work textbook. Having been a social worker I know all about them; small, boring and a bit turgid. The contents list read like a restaurant menu: eggs and chips, sausages and chips, pastie and chips ... Here were youth workers as redcoats, youth workers as social workers, youth workers as community workers, as educators, as caretakers ... Nine chapters looking coherent and useful but were they?

The book is an attempt by a group of practitioners to offer assessments of elements of their own and others practice. Not a book about practice but an assessment of practice. It is here that the book starts to lack coherence. Instead of the diversity of this book being a strength, as the editors claim, it is, I believe, a weakness that left me uncertain of who it was written for and why it was written in this form. I found some chapters stating the obvious to youth workers while others challenged and assumed a high level of understanding. For a social worker reading the same chapters, the former would have been useful while I suspect the latter would be incoherent.

I have difficulty in knowing whether to call these chapters of articles. The book claims they are chapters; I read them as a series of articles virtually unrelated in content except by their common youth work basis. They read like an extended issue of **Youth and Policy** in the form of a book.

The introduction has more of a review feel, raising questions and issues rather than what would have been a more useful editorial introduction picking up the common themes and moulding a picture of youth work. Without this stronger introduction the editors fall into the same trap as they so eloquently describe, of the youth service being so diverse that it lacks coherence. The book's emphasis on **assessing** practice means that practice itself is devalued and yet again practitioners stray away from what they know about, what they do and why they do it. It is within the intertwining of practice, assessment and theory that 'grounded theory' develops. The introduction stresses that this is the way forward, but the idea is seriously lacking in the chapters. Here we have a fine array of practice that is so often only hinted at, we only get glimpses of the wealth of knowledge. It is only Gina Ingram's 'article' 'Youth Workers as Entrepreneurs' that manages this complex but rich combination, recognised and described by the editors as what may prove to be a seminal contribution to the literature of youth work. Unfortunately this fine example of 'grounded theory' manages to put the other chapters to shame.

What makes this intertwining so difficult? Workers seem to be discouraged from valuing their own practice, and find themselves trying to theorise about it rather than offering the work for scrutiny. This book contains a number of examples which fall into these traps, smothering the fine practice that is of such value and emphasising the theory that many practitioners find preachy.

In spite of this, the chapters do cover some useful ground. Fran Lacey's 'Youth workers as community workers' raises the often lost relationship between youth work and community work, drawing from her experience of working with local residents and training them as youth workers and management members. These reminders of the links will be particularly useful for students on community and youth work courses where the links are often at best a little hazy, and also to those workers in community centres and settlements confronting the same issues as the author Frank Booton's 'Youth workers as casualties' highlights the health and mental strain on youth workers with bad eating, pressure on relationships, lack of support all painting a picture of the stress within the youth worker's job. This article is a must for all workers and managers to read. It provides a fresh welcome viewpoint on youth work which has many implications on practice as the author implies but, as he says, 'The aim here has been to raise the question rather than to attempt definitive conclusions.' This survey has I think the makings of a good book.

Gina Ingram's article, mentioned above, redefines entrepreneurs as workers who take risks (both physically and emotionally) to make 'profits' for young people. The intertwining of theory and practice will inspire other practitioners to question and develop their work, as the editors comment, it will stimulate both practitioners and trainers within youth work and outside to address the everyday experience of working with young people. More please.

Tony Taylor's 'Youth workers as character builders: constructing a socialist alternative' is, the editors tell us, a consciously polemic chapter I was looking forward to this (being a fan of Tony Taylor's grounded practice and ideas and having actively challenged the character building models). But I found this chapter very difficult to read and even harder to understand. In 17 pages there are at least 2 large volumes full of ideas. Tony scanning historically from the decline of the Empire to The Thompson Report and ideologically from Marx to Thatcher via the Frankfurt School! All this between 'youth workers as entrepreneurs' and 'Notes on the contributors'. Seventeen pages are just not enough for the job the author is attempting.

This book will unfortunately be another one recommended by academics for practitioners to read and one that practitioners will pick up and put down. In fact I don't suppose many will read 'Youthwork' from cover to cover but I would encourage everyone to choose at least one course on the menu.

Trefor Lloyd
Until recently a self employed trainer in Boyswork.

LEGAL AID

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 chrological 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.

housing

THE HOUSING BILL 1988

It seems to have escaped the attention of the media that one of the most important pieces of housing legislation is currently passing through Parliament. The media is currently concentrating its attention on the Community Charge (Poll Tax), Social Security changes and Education reforms, but not the Housing Bill.

This is unfortunate because the Housing Bill is likely to be one of the most important pieces of housing legislation for many years. It will affect existing Council tenants, private tenants and potential tenants. Rents within the private sector may rise considerably whilst at the same time, basic rights for tenants are to be reduced. Many professionals within Housing see the new legislation as the first steps in the privatisation of public sector housing.

Government Aims

What is the Government trying to do? It's aims were set out in a White Paper 'Housing: The Government's Proposals' (September 1987). The basic desire is to regenerate the private rented sector which has been in perpetual decline since the end of the First World War. It intends to do this by reforming the legislation which regulates private lettings, in other words, by making it easier for private landlords to charge higher rents and to regain possession of their properties. The Government want to break down the public housing sector by transferring large Local Authority estates to other landlords, such as Housing Associations. They want to encourage greater investment in housing by the private sector; and finally, they are determined, as one would expect, to continue to encourage the growth of home ownership.

The Private Sector

The Government have, since the Housing Act 1980, attempted to revive the private rented sector but without much success. Although 'approved landlords' could let new and substantially renovated dwellings at freely negotiated rent levels, few private landlords took advantage.

The new legislation is aimed directly at overcoming the fears private landlords have with letting their property; an uneconomic return on their investment because of the Fair Rent System, and problems with re-possession because of security of tenure.

Lateral thought brought about easy solutions to these problems. The Fair Rent system will be abolished for all new tenancies (private tenancies and Housing Associations) after the Act becomes law, and security of tenure will be lessened. The Fair Rent system will be replaced for new tenants by Assured Tenancies whereby the rent, in theory, is freely negotiated between landlord and tenant but in practice, is probably going to be set by the landlord alone. The new rents will be known as 'Affordable Rents' or 'Market Rents'. Whatever the final terminology, they will undoubtedly be higher than Fair Rents.

What about Housing Benefit? Well, the Government have given assurances that Housing Benefit will continue to meet the higher rents, although confidence amongst professionals about these assurances is not high.

On Security of Tenure, the Government intend to make it easier for landlords to regain possession of their properties. County Courts currently have a large degree of discretion in deciding whether to award possession of a property, in particular the test of reasonableness should be uppermost in their mind. However, in future, grounds for repossession will be mandatory on two new grounds:-

— where there are serious arrears of rent, defined as more than 3 months arrears when notice is served, and at the date of the hearing.
— where there is persistent delay in paying rent even if there are no arrears at the time of the proceedings.

There is to be no obligation on the part of the landlord to provide alternative accommodation.

In addition, children of tenants will no longer [...] the right to succeed their parents to their tenancy, even though they m: [...] ed in that property all their lives, and tenants or licencees of resident landlords will be denied the minimal rights they currently 'enjoy' under the Protection From Eviction Act.

Private landlords will once again be able to charge premiums, or key money, before they grant a tenancy. One cannot help but wonder how this will be used to weed out those tenants they do not want and to discriminate against vulnerable groups such as black people, single parent families, lesbians and gay men, disabled people - even the unemployed and young people.

Landlords will have the right to grant new shorthold tenancies which will be for a fixed term of at least six months. Once the fixed term has expired, the landlord will have a mandatory right to possession, upon giving two months notice of Court proceedings.

The Public Sector

The Government believes that many people still rent their homes from Local Authorities because they see no alternative, rather than because they actually want to. The Government belives this to be wrong and wants to break up the monolithic housing estates of many Local Authorities by transferring ownership to other landlords who are seen to be more socially responsive. The most favoured 'other landlords' are Housing Associations, closely followed by institutions such as Building Societies, although all new landlords will require approval from The Housing Corporation before transfers can proceed.

Tenants have the right to vote on whether to transfer to another landlord but the vote will not be based on a simple majority decision. All those who do not vote will be regarded as voting positively for a transfer, and thus increase the potential for a transfer vote.

The Government clearly do not want Local Authotities to be major providers of rented housing, and indeed many Local Authorities throughout the country have taken these signs seriously and are looking to set up their own Housing Association to manage their housing stock. Over 100 Local Authorities are currently considering this transfer option.

With regard to tenant co-ops, a curious anomaly is likely to exist, as tenant management co-operatives may be transferred to other landlords against the very wishes of the co-operative members, which is a surprising outlook for these self-help management groups.

The prospect of large scale tenant transfer to the Housing Association Movement is worrying many Associations who manage their existing stock well because they are small. It may prove difficult, if not impossible, to maintain standards without major re-organisation and major resource input.

Private Investment

Housing Associations will be encouraged to finance an increasing part of their development programmes for new schemes, by combining private finance with public finance. It is likely that the City Investor will not be so much concerned with meeting housing need as with protecting his investment. Therefore, the Housing Association will have to charge rents which are higher than existing Fair Rent levels, probably be less lenient with tenants who are experiencing difficulties in paying these higher rents, and will probably have to carry out many more re-possessions under the new statutory powers outlined above for mandatory possessions. The Housing Association cannot default on repayments to the private investor if it is to receive further investment for new developments. The socially responsible landlord we have at the moment may be forced to become 'accountancy led' landlords.

Home Ownership

Well over 1 million homes have been purchased by sitting tenants since the Righ to Buy was introduced by the Government in 1980. As one might expect, the drive toward a home owning democracy is to be further strengthened in the new legislation.

Under existing rules, discount entitlement may not bring the purchase price of a property below what it cost the landlord to provide the dwelling. This is known as the 'cost floor provisions' and applies to all properties built or modernised since March 1974. It has had the effect of deterring many would be purchasers because they are unable to benefit from their full entitlement to discount, which, in the case of occupiers of flats can be as high a s70% off the market value after only 15 years tenancy.

The Government are to change the cost floor on the Right to Buy discounts to an eight year rolling date, instead of the previous cut off point of 1974. Therefore, any property which was built or modernised prior to 1980 will be eligible to receive full entitlement discount.

It is likely that many Housing Associations will be seriously affected by this change since the vast majority of schemes were constructed during the 1970's, and further Right to Buy sales will only diminish their ability to meet housing need within the communities they serve.

Conclusion

The proposed legislation will, over the next five years, have a marked effect on the provision of rented accommodation throughout the country. Local Authorities will be encouraged to divest themselves of their housing stock, transferring it to 'socially responsible' landlords. It seems to matter little that the majority of Local Authorities are already good managers of their stock and, if it were not for the lack of consistent investment over the years, would be considered to be unequalled managers of their housing stock.

Housing Associations are to be actively encouraged to expand their activities into areas currently managed by Local Authorities, without the accompanying statutory obligations towards the homeless. Housing Associations do not, in general, want to become the monolithic landlords many Local Authorities are currently accused of being.

The growth of the true private sector, which underpins the new legislation, will undoubtedly take place, but it will not be at a level to meet increased demand, and probably will not even begin to meet the true housing need of the homeless, the young and the special needs group.

The privatisation of rented housing is about to begin, privatisation for those who want to occupy rented accommodation will mean less choice, higher rent level, less security of tenure and fewer rights. Privatisation for those already in rented accommodation will mean different landlords, higher rents and greater encouragement to join the owner-occupied treadmill than ever before.

The Housing Bill is about to enter the Lords for their deliberations but it is unlikely that any major change will be made to the legislation. By the end of 1988, all those who work in housing, and all those who want rented housing will have to be ready to face the new challenges ahead.

G. R. Stewardson

Continued from issue 24

Vol 110 No 55 Col 534-536 WA
Construction Industry Training Board

Mr. Latham asked the Paymaster General what is the current level of cash reserves of the Construction Industry Training Board; what was the amount of (a) levy collected and (b) grants paid out in the last financial year; and what are the equivalent projected figures for the current financial year.

Mr. Trippier: As at 31 March 1986 the level of cash reserves of the Construction Industry Training Board was £58.6 million. The projected level of cash reserves at 31 March 1987 is £65 million. The amount of levy collected in the 1985-86 financial year was £47.4 million and £30.6 million was paid out in grants (including industry support for YTS trainees). The projected figures for the current financial year are £50.9 million for levy and £40 million for grants.

Non-statutory Training Organisations

Mr. Latham asked the Paymaster General what representations were made clear to the Under-Secretary of State . the hon. Member for Rosendale and Darwen (Mr. Trippier), when he attended the Confederation of British Industry's conference on non-statutory training organisations, regarding the relationship between the Manpower Services Commission and non-statutory training organisations; and what action has been taken in the light of those representations.

Mr. Trippier: I attended the CBI's conference for non-statutory training organisations on 3 November 1986 and was impressed by the commitment to training shown by those present. The discussion showed that NSTOs greatly value the assistance of the Manpower Services Commission and that the MSC's statement on the ideal outcomes of the effective NSTO provides helpful guidance.

Mr. Latham asked the Paymaster General what is the current level of (a) financial support and (b) practical advice offered by the Manpower Services Commission to non-statutory training organisations; and what are the specific figures for the Pre-cast Concrete Training Industry Association.

Mr. Trippier: Most of the money non-statutory training organisations receive from MSC is for training grants claimed by employers under the national priority skills scheme. The current value of these grants in the current financial year to date is £6.6 million. Grants received in the current financial year by the Pre-Cast Concrete Training Industry Association total £4,800. MSC staff provide advice to all NSTOs, including the Pre-Cast Concrete Training Industry Association, on a wide range of training matters.

Mr. Latham asked the Paymaster General whether he will make a statement on the achievements to date of non-statutory training organisations since the abolition of 16 statutory training boards in 1982; what is the number of such organisations known to his Department; and what proportion of firms they cover for the industries which they serve.

Mr. Trippier: Non-statutory training organisations have made good progress since 1982 in securing sound training arrangements across their sectors. NSTOs have a vital role in identifying and meeting current and future skill requirements and assisting their sectors to meet them. I look forward to receiving their action plans for setting and maintenance of standards of competence in response to para 5.23 of the White Paper "Working Together—Education and Training" (Cmnd. 9823). There are 102 NSTOs recognised by the Manpower Services Commission. Information on the proportion of firms NSTOs cover is not readily available.

Job Training Scheme

Mr. Ron Davies asked the Paymaster General what is his policy with regard to the role of further education in the proposed job training scheme.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: Training Programmes under new JTS will consist of a planned mix of directed training and practical experience. Colleges of further education will be able to contribute to the scheme either as managing agents, or by offering directed training to other managing agents.

Mr. Ron Davies asked the Paymaster General what are the implications for equal opportunities of the eligibility rules for the new job training scheme.

Mr. Kenneth Clark [Pursuant to his reply, 16 February 1987]: The eligibility rules of the new job training scheme will be fully constant with our commitment to equal opportunities.

Employment, Training and enterprise Measures

Mr. Ron Davies asked the Paymaster General, pursuant to his reply of 5 February to the hon. Member for Leicester, East (Mr. Bruinvels), Official Report, column 764, if he will disaggregate the figure of 6½ million people who have benefited from the employment, training and enterprise measures run by his Department and the Manpower Services Commission since May 1979, indicating so far as is possible how many people have benefited from each measure in each year since that date.

Mr. Lee: The breakdown of the number of people on each scheme in each year since May 1979 is as follows:

[1]

	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	1982-83	1983-84	1984-85	1985-86	1986-87
Adult Training	110,538	111,468	102,696	85,250	109,850	131,800	269,650	252,500
YOP/YTS	216,400	360,000	553,000	543,000	353,979	395,000	404,000	360,000
YWS	—	—	—	174,266	130,000	66,182	66,000	2,800
CI	5,806	6,160	6,868	6,982	9,612	9,532	9,661	9,000
STEP/CP	22,400	18,400	27,554	5,645	136,968	161,437	241,159	300,000
JRS	68,164	24,239	38,674	46,134	44,045	14,895	11,970	12,000
JSS	—	—	—	180	656	260	268	1,000
EAS	—	—	—	2,132	28,453	46,816	60,167	86,000
NWS	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	50,000

[1] Estimates.

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EMPLOYMENT

YTS

63. Mr. James Hamilton asked the Paymaster General if he will make a statement on the progress of the educational content of the YTS.

Mr. Trippier: Off-the-job training-education in YTS is a programme of learning which takes place outside the day-to-day pressures of the workplace; all two-year YTS programmes must include a minimum of 20 weeks off-the-job training-education.

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General how many and what percentage of YTS trainees have contracts of employment.

Mr. Trippier: I regret that the information is not readily available in the form requested and could be obtained only at a disproportionate cost. However, round 5 per cent. of young people joining YTS between April and December 1985 had contracts of employment at the time their training began.

Vol 110 No 55 Col 572 WA

National Curriculum

35. Mr. Galley asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what proposals he has to introduce a national curriculum for schools; and if he will make a statement.

36. Mr. Leigh asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will make a statement on his plans for a national curriculum.

Mrs. Rumbold: My right hon. Friend's proposals are set out in his speeches to the North of England Conference on 9 January and to the Society of Education Officers on 23 January; copies of both have been placed in the Library. He has invited comments on those proposals from all concerned, both inside and outside the education service.

Vol 110 No 56 Col 608 - 610 WA

EMPLOYMENT

Long-term Unemployed People

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General if he will provide figures for the most recently available date, and in the table form used at column 157, Official Report, on 29 October 1986, of the number of people who (a) have been interviewed under the restart programme and (b) have been placed into a destination by the Manpower Services Commission for the four London area manpower board areas and for the area manpower board area covering the former Merseyside county council.

Mr. Kenneth Clarke: The figures given in the form used by my hon. Friend in his reply of 29 October 1986 have to be used with care as they are only a measure of the extent to which we know of direct placements made as the immediate result of an interview. This is not a measure of the total number of people who find work or training directly or indirectly as a result of the restart programme.

Seventy Five per cent. of participants agree to pursue the offer made to them at their interview and we do not know the results of all of them. The immediate placings do not include the many people who subsequently find jobs, or other openings, such as training, as a result of counselling. restart courses, or the outcome of other elements of the restart menu. Numbers interviewed and placed for the period 12 May to 8 January.

London	Number
Interviewed	95,883
Placed in Jobs as a direct result of restart interviews	568
Placed on community programme	1,689
Placed in job clubs	970
Placed on enterprise allowance scheme	332
Placed on training schemes	1,350
Placed on restart courses	6,282
Placed on the voluntary projects programme or in other voluntary work	166

I am not able to apportion the totals for London to specific area manpower board areas.

Merseyside	
Interviewed	52,203
Placed in jobs as a direct result of restart interviews	374
Placed on community programme	857
Placed in job clubs	670
Placed on enterprise allowance scheme	107
Placed on training schemes	1,468
Placed on restart courses	4,344
Placed on the voluntary projects programme or in other voluntary work	255

Job Creation

Ms. Clare Short asked the Paymaster General what was the the gross and net cost and the numbers participating in 1985-86 and 1986-87 of the (a) community programme, (b) enterprise allowance scheme, (c) YTS, (d) new workers scheme, (e) community industry, (f) job release scheme and (g) job-splitting scheme.

Mr. Lee: The figures are:

	Gross cost[1] (£ million)		First year direct net Exchequer cost per person no longer unemployed		Participants	
	1985-86	1986-87 estimate	1985-86	1986-87 estimate	1985-86	1986-87 estimate
Community programme	667	1,038	1,950	2,000	241,000	300,000
Enterprise allowance scheme	104	147	1,800	1,800	60,000	86,000
New Workers scheme	—	9	—	1,300	—	50,000
Community industry	24	26	1,500	1,550	9,600	9,000
Job release scheme	187	112	1,850	1,850	10,000	12,000
Job-splitting scheme	0.2	1	−150	−150	268	250

[1] Excluding administrative costs.

YTS is a training measure. The concept of net Exchequer cost per person unemployed is not therefore appropriate.
Relevant figures for YTS, including gross cost per annum per filled place, are as follows:

	Gross cost (£ million)		Gross cost per annum per filled place (£)		Participants	
	1985-86	1986-87 estimate	1985-86	1986-87 estimate	1985-86	1986-87 estimate
YTS	818	891	2,800	2,600	364,000	362,000

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YTS

Mr. **Favell** asked the Paymaster General if he will state the number of YTS trainees in (a) the public and (b) the private sector.

Mr. **Trippier**: At 31 January 1987 there were 92,930 young people in training on YTS in the public sector and 204,662 in the private sector, as defined by the Manpower Services Commission's management information system.

Community Programme

Mr. **Fatchett** asked the Paymaster General what has been the impact on targeted community programme schemes in the eight task force areas of the embargo on recruitment of under-25-year-olds to community programme places in connection with the job training scheme; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. **Kenneth Clarke** [pursuant to his reply, 16 February 1987, c. 427]: There is no embargo on the recruitment of under-25-year-olds to the community programme. However, in the nine original job training scheme pilot areas, eligibility for under-25-year-olds is the same as for other long-term unemployed people, namely that they should have been unemployed for at least 12 out of the last 15 months. We believe that, where good quality job training is available, it is a more positive and preferable option for most young unemployed people under the age of 25.

The effect of having community programme and job training scheme places available has been to increase the help open to people unemployed for 12 months or more.

The eight task force areas of the inner cities initiative continue to enjoy priority in the targeting of MSC programmes and the allocation of community programme places.

Vol 110 No 57 (Part II) Col 846-847 WA

Community Programme

Dr. **Godman** asked the Paymaster General if, pursuant to his answer of 16 February, Official Report, column 427, he will publish details of the numbers and position of those involved, their offences and the sentences of the nine convicted to date.

Mr. **Lee**: The information requested is provided in the table:

	Number of people involved	Position	Offences (described in lay terms)	Sentence (described in lay terms)
1.	1	Sponsor	Deception (6 charges)	9 months imprisonment on each count to run concurrently
2.	1	Participant	Theft by deception	120 hours Community Service; ordered to pay £341 compensation
3.	1	Book keeper	Embezzlement	18 months suspended sentence
4.	1	Finance manager	Theft; false accounting; forgery	4 months imprisonment
5.	1	Manager	Theft; receipt of stolen items (2 charges)	9 months suspended sentence; restitution order for £150 (materials costs); ordered to pay £250 towards court costs
6.	1	Participant	Deception	100 hours Community Service; ordered to pay £100 compensation
7.	1	Participant	Deception (3 charges)	150 hours Community Service on each count to run concurrently; ordered to pay £650 compensation
8.	1	Participant	Theft	Fined £50; bound over for 1 year
9.	1	MSC staff	Theft (5 charges)	2 years imprisonment

Note:
The details of offences and sentences are provided from information held centrally by the Manpower Services Commission and may not agree in precise terms with Court records.

Manpower Services Commission (Induction Training)

Dr. **Godman** asked the Paymaster General if appointees to Manpower Services Commission area manpower boards receive induction training when taking up their appointments; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. **Lee**: Yes. Training for area manpower board members is an ongoing process and is arranged locally by the board secretary in order to tailor the training to meet particular needs. Training includes:

Provision of information documents (such as the AMB guide, which contains detailed guidance on the work of boards, briefing packs and booklets), presentations and briefing sessions; and visits to local MSC schemes.

Community Schemes and YTS

Mr. **Winnick** asked the Paymaster General if he will give the total number of those on all kinds of community schemes and YTS in (a) the west midlands region (b) the black country area of the west midlands and (c) the Walsall travel-to-work area.

Mr. **Lee** [pursuant to his reply, 19 February 1987]: The most recent figures for December show that the total numbers of people on the community programme, community industry and the voluntary projects programme were as follows:

	West Midlands	Black[1] Country	Walsall[2] Wolverhampton
Community Programme	27,152	8,231	4,502
Voluntary Projects Programme	1,224	232	97
Community Industry	278	—	—
TOTAL	28,654	8,463	4,599
In January the numbers on YTS were	44,942	13,804	2,864

[1] The black country figures include Dudley, Sandwell, Wolverhampton and Walsall.
[2] It is not possible to give figures for the Walsall travel-to-work area. The figures given are for Walsall and Wolverhampton.

Vol 111 No 62 Col 312 - 313 WA

Youth Training

Mr. **Andrew F. Bennett** asked the Paymaster General if he will publish by local area the rates for YTS youngsters getting jobs and the rates for ITeC, YTS, youngsters getting jobs; and whether the Government now intends to reduce the ITeC, YTS, places.

Mr. **Trippier**: The results of the Manpower Services Commission's regular surveys of young people leaving YTS (including those who leave from ITeC schemes) are placed in the Library of the House each month. I refer the hon. Member to these documents. The Commission is planning to contract for approximately 6,800 first-year and single-year places in ITeCs in 1987-88 (the same number as in 1986-87) and to provide sufficient places for all 1986-87 eligible entrants to complete their second year's training in 1987-88.

Vol 111 No 62 Col 313 WA

Community Programme

Mr. **Thurnham** asked the Paymaster General if he will provide an estimate of those currently employed in the community programme.

Mr. **Lee**: On 30 January 1987, the latest date for which statistics are available, there were 248,255 people employed on the community programme.

Vol 111 No 62 Col 314 WA

Youth Training Scheme

Ms. **Clare Short** asked the Paymaster General if, pursuant to the reply of 17 February, Official Report, column 528, he will specify the basis of the figure of 5 per cent. in relation to the number of YTS entrants with contracts of employment; and if he will give the scope and nature of the sample survey used.

Mr. **Trippier**: The YTS start certificate, completed for every young person at the outset of a YTS training programme, records whether he or she has a contract of employment. That information, together with other details from the certificate, is recorded in the Manpower Services Commission YTS management information system. The figure of around 5 per cent. for the proportion of entrants with contracts of employment refers to the period April-December 1985.

2nd November 87 VOL 121 NO 35

Job Training Scheme

Mr. **Leighton** asked the Secretary of State for Employment (1) how many participants there are on the job training scheme;

(2) how many participants have successfully completed a job training scheme course; and what qualifications they received.

Mr. **Cope:** By 25 September 1987, 22,111 people were receiving training on the new job training scheme.

As the scheme was launched nationally only last April, information on the number of participants who have successfully completed a job training scheme course and what qualifications they received is not yet available.

3rd November 87 VOL 121 NO 36

Community Programme

Mr. **Ron Davies** asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many people were employed by environmental and conservation groups in the United Kingdom under the community programme at the latest available date; what was the number in 1986; and if he is able to forecast the number for 1987 and 1988.

Mr. **Lee** [holding answer 26 October 1987]: On 14 October 1987, there were 62,868 authorised places on the community programme, primarily on environmental and landscaping projects. On 20 November 1986, the nearest comparable date, there were 81,256 such places; it is not possible to forecast the corresponding number of places for 1988. Other places often include an element of environmental and landscape improvement.

4th NOVEMBER 87 VOLUME 121 NO 37

Young Prisoners (Statistics)

Mrs. **Virginia Bottomley** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many (a) females and (b) males under the age of 18 years were in penal custody at the last date for which figures are available; and what information he has about the types of institution in which each were placed.

Mr. **John Patten** (holding answer 28 October 1987): The information is given in the following table:

Estimated population aged under 18 years in prison department establishments in England and Wales on 31 August 1987: by type of establishment, type of prisoner and sex.

Number of Prisoners

Type of establishment	Untried or convicted unsentenced		Sentenced		Non-criminal		Total	
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female
Remand centres	682	5	66	—	—	—	748	5
Local prisons	133	8	97	2	—	—	230	10
Other closed prisons	—	—	21	—	—	—	21	—
Closed youth custody centres	5	—	773	22	—	—	778	22
Open youth custody centres	—	—	204	11	—	—	204	11
Senior detention centres	—	—	122	—	—	—	122	—
Junior detention centres	—	—	175	—	—	—	175	—
Total	820	13	1458	35	—	—	2278	48

6th November 87 VOL 121 NO 39

Job Training Scheme

Mr. **McLeish** asked the Secretary of State for Employment if he will give the number of trainee places occupied on the new job training scheme in the last month for which full figures are available, in Scotland, England and Wales.

Mr. **Cope:** At 25 September 1987, 1,966 people in Scotland, 19,258 people in England and 887 people in Wales were receiving training on the new job training scheme.

Teenage Crime

52. Mr. **Heddle** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department what further steps he proposes to take to combat teenage crime.

Mr. **John Patten:** The Government have a comprehensive strategy for tackling all forms of crime of which measures to reduce offending by young people are an important part. The police, courts, probation and prison services all have a contribution to make; so have local authorities, social services, schools and voluntary organisations together with parents and responsible citizens. Most counties and large towns now have specific projects aimed at reducing crime, usually with teenage crime as one of the main targets and typically involving co-operation between the relevant services and agencies. The Staffordshire police activity and community enterprise run by the Staffordshire police in my hon. Friend's constituency is one example. These projects are constantly being developed with the Government's encouragement and in many instances financial support. The standing conference on crime prevention will later this month receive reports from working groups which have been examining various aspects of teenage crime; and the national crime prevention organisation, about which we hope to make an announcement before the end of the year, will no doubt make this one of its priorities.

Juveniles (Custody)

18. Mr. **Baldry** asked the Secretary of State for Home Department if he will make a statement on the limitation Her Majesty's Government are taking in replacements for custody for juveniles.

Mr. **John Patten:** Whilst custody must remain available for the most serious offenders, it is the Government's policy to encourage more use of non-custodial measures for offenders under 21. There has been a positive response to this approach with juvenile offenders under 17, and the Government are considering how the use of such measures might be developed for 17 to 20-year-olds.

53. Mrs. **Virginia Bottomley** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has any plans to raise the age at which boys are liable to penal custody to that currently applying to girls; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. **John Patten:** The Government propose to replace detention centre orders and youth custody sentences with a unified custodial sentence for young offenders. The Criminal Justice Bill has been amended to include the necessary provisions. The new sentence will be available for boys aged 14 and girls aged 15.

17th NOVEMBER 87

Job Training Scheme

6. Miss **Mowlam:** To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what plans he has to pay a higher wage to participants in the job training scheme.

Mr. **Cope:** Participants in the new job training scheme are trainees and receive a training allowance equivalent to their benefit entitlement, which increases when benefit rates increase.

Miss **Mowlam:** Will the Minister explain why allowances are related to benefits and needs, as he stated in reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Huddersfield (Mr. Sheerman)? Why do people's needs differ when they are training from their needs when they are in work?

Mr. **Cope:** Their needs are the same whether they are on the unemployed register or whether they are training. That is the basis of their allowances while training and that is the right basis for them.

Mr. **Baldry:** Is it not right that more than 50 per cent. of the unemployed have no skills or qualifications whatsoever and that we must all be in favour of a skills crusade? Therefore, every penny available should be spent on skills and that is what the job training scheme involves. It ensures that people get skills to get employment. Unless they have skills, they will continue to be unskilled, unqualified and unemployed.

Mr. **Cope:** Exactly so.

Mr. **Meacher:** Is it not obvious that if the JTS and community programme are merged, the community programme will turn out to be as much a monumental flop as the JTS, and for exactly the same reason, namely, that payment at or near benefit levels smells of industrial conscription? Will the Minister confirm that benefit-plus will be much nearer £5 a week than the £15 a week mentioned by the Secretary of State for Trade and Industry during the election campaign? Will he also confirm that of the 80 per cent. of present members of the community programme who are single, that represents a cut in pay of almost 50 per cent. from £67 a week to about £35 a week? That is scandalous and it is the biggest cut in low pay yet engineered even by this Government.

Mr. **Cope:** The hon. Gentleman is aware that we are considering the future of adult training, and my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Employment will make a statement as soon as possible. However, it must be right to pay allowances based on needs, purely because no-one should be denied training by the drop in benefit that that would otherwise entail. One of the disadvantages of the community programme is that it appeals only to those at the lower end of the scale, for example, unmarried people, and not to those who are married with families for whom it represents a big loss in benefit. That is one of the difficulties with the community programme.

18th NOVEMBER 87 VOL 122 NO 46

EDUCATION REFORM

Mr. **Ieuan Wyn Jones:** To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what steps are being taken to ensure that the reconstituted National Council for Vocational Qualifications consults the Secondary Education Council and other bodies to bring vocationally-oriented A and AS levels within the eventual new framework.

Mrs. **Rumbold:** The National Council For Vocational Qualifications has not yet considered in detail the linkages and progression between its qualifications framework and A and AS levels, but the principle of such an association was clearly defined in Cmnd 9823 "Working Together— Education and Training". In recognition of the importance of such defined linkages, the Secondary Examinations Council has full observer status on the NCVQ, has a close day-to-day working relationship with the national council and its subgroups, and there are regular meetings between the chairmen of the two bodies. We expect such co-operation to continue when the SEC is replaced by the School Examinations and Assessment Council.

Miss **Lestor:** To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what steps he has taken to ensure that opportunities within the proposed national curriculum will not only conti... to exist for, but will expand, the potential for development education issues to be taught in schools; and if he will ...ke a statement.

Mrs. **Rumbold:** Topics such as development education may be taug... ...ough the relevant foundation subjects of the national curriculum where appropriate, or among the non-foundation sub... ... The working groups drawing up attainment targets and programmes of study for foundation subjects are being r... ...inded of the need to take account of related cross-curricular themes. It will be for schools to decide what to teach i... the space available for non-foundation studies.

18th NOVEMBER 87 VOL 122 NO 46

YTS

Mr. **Watts:** To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what criteria are used to assess applications by YTS managing agents for approval as approved training organisations.

Mr. **Cope:** There are 10 criteria which managing agents must satisfy to achieve full approved training organisation status:

The ability to arrange a two-year training programme

A good previous record in training

Adequate resources

Staff competent to undertake training

Adequate premises and equipment

Proper means of assessing trainees

Effective means to review programmes

A positive commitment to equal opportunities

A positive commitment to health and safety

Financial viability

Mr. **Watts:** To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what proportion of applications by YTS managing agents for approval as approved training organisations has been given full approval in the current years (a) nationally, (b) in the Yorkshire and Humberside region and (c) in the south-east region; and to what factors he attributes the different rates of approval in these areas.

Mr. **Cope:** During the period 1 November 1986-30 September 1987, the proportion of applications by YTS managing agents awarded fully approved training organisation status was: (a) 51 per cent. nationally, (b) 54 per cent. in the Yorkshire and Humberside region and (c) 42 per cent. in the south-east region.

Decisions are made by the Manpower Services Commission regional directors. In reaching a decision they are required to take into account the evidence collected by the MSC about the ability of the applicant organisations to meet the criteria for approved training organisation status, comments on that evidence by the applicant organisation, and recommendations made by the appropriate area manager and area manpower board.

Rates of approval by region ae continually changing as new decisions are reached. The MSC intends that YTS managing agents in all regions shall have achieved fully approved status by April 1988.

Mr. **Nelliet:** To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will list the youth training schemes provided at the latest available date, together with the number of places each is offering for Coventry, in the same form as the information provided in the answer of 14 May at column 317.

Mr. **Cope** (pursuant to his reply, 12 November 1987): I regret that there was an error in the original text. The correct version is as follows.

A list of YTS providers at October 1987 in the Coventry Local Authority District and the number of places offered by each is shown in the table:

Provider	Places Offered
Alvis Ltd.	10
Atlas (Coventry and Warwickshire Awards Trust)[1]	33
Coventry Area Health Authority	33
Coventry Chamber of Commerce	320
Coventry City Council (clerical)	60
Coventry City Council (construction)	30
Coventry and District Co-operative Society	26
Coventry City Education Department	513
Coventry Rad Heat	14
Coventry Small Business Training Scheme	12
Courtaulds plc	26
Dunlop Ltd.	55
GEC Ltd.	90
Guy Associates	56
Hotel and Catering Training Board	52
Jaguar Cars Ltd.	28
JHP Training (Coventry)	72
Lloyds British Training Services Ltd.	98
Massey Ferguson Ltd.	24
MGTS Training Services Ltd.	268
Midland Link	126
National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders—Coventry	30
Rolls-Royce Ltd.	32
Peugeot Talbot plc	49
Tetra Incorporated	100
Wickman Bennet	6
Post Office	31
East Midlands Butchery	30
Total	**2224**

[1]Some of these places will be provided in Warwickshire.

The following list shows providers whose schemes in Coventry and Warwickshire are administered by the Manpower Services Commission large companies unit (LCU). It is not possible to separately identify schemes operating in Coventry.

Provider	Places Offered
Abbey National Building Society plc	1
Association of British Travel Agents	16
Association of Merchants in Trading	9
ARROW Training Associates	5
Austin Rover Group Ltd.	41
British Association of Professional Hairdressing Employers	15
British Holiday Homes and Parks Association	3
British Home Stores plc	6

19th November 87 VOL 122 NO 47

Under-age Drinking

Mr. Amess: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland how many criminal convictions were made on licensees for under-age drinking for each of the years since 1972.

Lord James Douglas-Hamilton: The information requested is given in the table:

Licensed persons with charge proved of selling drink to persons under 18

Year	Number
1972	89
1973	85
1974	72
1975	55
1976	54
1977	39
1978	76
1979	69
1980	88
1981	91
1982	65
1983	75
1984	114
1985	90
1986	106

Alcohol-related Offences

Mr. Amess: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland (1) how many breach of the peace convictions were related to alcohol consumption in each of the years from 1980; and if he will express the figures as a percentage of the total number of convictions for each of the years;

(2) if he will list the number of criminal convictions in which alcohol was a contributory factor, by region, in each of the years since 1972;

(3) how many breach of the peace convictions were made on persons aged under 18 years in which alcohol was a contributory factor in each of the years from 1980;

(4) how many criminal convictions were made on persons under 18 years of age in which alcohol was a contributory factor in each of the years from 1972.

Lord James Douglas-Hamilton: I regret that the information requested is not available.

Mr. Amess: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland how many criminal convictions were made for drunkeness on persons under 18 years of age in each of the years from 1972.

Lord James Douglas-Hamilton: The information requested is given in the table:

Persons under 18 with charge proved of drunkenness

Year	Number
1972	506
1973	579
1974	577
1975	562
1976	469
1977	460
1978	467
1979	506
1980	483
1981	349
1982	295
1983	274
1984	217
1985	184
1986	203

The term 'drunkenness' is taken to mean offences of being drunk and incapable, drunk and disorderly, drunk in or attempting to enter a designated sports ground and similar offences.

20th November 87 VOL 122 NO 48 (Part II)

YTS

19. Mr. Nellist: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many young people have refused a place on YTS, or left the scheme early, since 1983.

Mr. Nicholls: The Manpower Services Commission estimates that there are between 20,000 and 30,000 unemployed 16-year-olds who do not participate in YTS. The number of young people who leave the YTS programme early has averaged around 20,000 in each year since 1984 and the latest surveys show some 69 per cent. of these early leavers were in work, further education or training three months after leaving.

24. Mr. Carrington: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make a statement on the progress of two-year YTS.

Mr. Nicholls: At the end of September 1987, there were some 428,000 young people receiving high quality training on YTS schemes, the highest figure ever for the programme. The latest information on those young people leaving YTS between April 1986 and May 1987 shows that 74 per cent. were going into work or further education and training.

74. Mr. Burns: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many youth training schemes there are currently within the travel trades.

Mr. Cope: There are some 2,000 young people in training on YTS in the travel industry under schemes operated by the Association of British Travel Agents and some individual tour operators. This figure is likely to understate the total number of young people training within the travel trades, but information is not held in such a way that all travel trade schemes can be readily identified.

In addition, the MSC estimates that there are some 16,000 contracted YTS places in tourism-related industries (including the hotel and catering industry).

87. Miss Emma Nicholson: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make a statement on the number of youth training scheme trainees in Devon who obtained jobs during or at the end of this period on the scheme.

Mr. Cope: The Manpower Services Commission conducts regular follow-up surveys of all YTS leavers. The latest results cover leavers from YTS during the period April 1986 and May 1987 and show that in Devon 71 per cent. were in jobs at the time of the surveys.

20th November 87 VOL 122 NO 48 (Part III)

Youth Training Scheme

Mr. Barry Jones: To ask the Secretary of State for Wales if he will make a statement on the progress of the two-year YTS in Wales.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: At the end of September 1987, there were some 25,300 young people in training on YTS schemes in Wales. All those taking part will receive up to two years' high-quality training with related work experience. All schemes in Wales are introducing opportunities to obtain a vocational qualification or credit towards one.

The latest information on those young people leaving between April 1986 and May 1987 shows that 66 per cent. were going into work or further education and training. With the Government guarantee of a place on YTS for all 16 and 17-year-old school leavers, no young person under 18 need choose to remain unemployed.

Mr. Burns: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will list the youth training schemes provided at the latest available date, together with the number of places each is offering, for the area of the parliamentary constituency of Chelmsford.

Mr. Nicholls: The information is not available in the precise form requested. The YTS managing agents, and the places offered by each, at October 1987 in the Chelmsford local authority district, which includes the Chelmsford parliamentary constituency, are as follows:

Provider	Places offered
British Horse Society	28
Cramborns plc	47
Chelmsford Post Office Letter District	64
Chelmsford Youth Training, Essex County Council	194
Eastern National Bus Company	17
Elim Church	78
English Electrical Valves	127

Provider	Places Offered
Essex County Council Clerical Scheme	103
Essex Training Ltd	148
Fellowship Afloat	24
Maldon YTS	217
Marconi Communications Ltd.	110
Marconi Radar Ltd.	33
Marconi Research Ltd.	31
RHP Group plc	29
Martin Retail Group plc	49
Writtle Agricultural College	113
Total	**1412**

The following list shows providers whose schemes in Essex are administered by the Manpower Services Commission large companies unit. It is not possible to separately identify places offered in the Chelmsford local authority district.

Provider	Places offered
Abbey National Building Society	17
Association of British Travel Agents	31
Alliance and Leicester Building Society	2
Anglian Water Authority	8
Argyll Stores	8
Arrow Training	6
B & Q	19
Boots	12
British Association of Professional Hairdressing Employers	46
British Federation of Care Home Providers	2
British Office Systems and Stationery Federation	8
British Home Stores	11
British Insurance Brokers Association	24
British Printing Industry Federation	22
British Rail	13
British Holiday Homes and Parks	7
British Retail Florists	3
Builders Merchants Federation	19
Burtons Group plc	22
Clothing and Allied Products Industry Training Board	30
C & A Modes	2
Central Electricity Generating Board	13
Construction Industry Training Board	288
Co-operative Retail Society	7
Comet plc	5
DER	12
Debenhams	35
Dewhurst/Baxters	12
Eagle Star Insurance	2
Dixons	5
Edmund Walkers Holdings	3
Electrical Rental	11
Electricity Council	34
Essex Leisure Ltd	4
Federation of London Clearing Banks	30
Footballers' Association Further Education and Vocational Training Society Ltd	16
Ford Motor Company	101
Fosters Menswear	4
Glass Training Ltd	4
Habitat	2
Halifax Building Society	6
Granda Television Rentals	1
Home Charm Group plc	6
Home Insulation	2
Hotel and Catering Board	112
J.A.S. Smith (Cleaners) Ltd	3
K Shoes	2
Kwikfit Euro	3
Littlewoods plc	2
Lunn Poly Travel	6
London Industrial Training	5
Marks and Spencer plc	20
Midland Bank plc	16
Midland Group Training Services Ltd	12
Ministry of Defence	6
Mothercare Ltd	12
Motor Agents Association	85
Marine Training and Development	43
Meat East Anglian Traders	30
National Computer Centre	9
National Institute of Hardware	6
Newey and Eyre Ltd	3
National Pony Society	10
National Supervisory Council for Intruder Alarms	2
Nationwide Anglia Building Society	9
Partco Ltd	7
Plastics Processing Industry Training Board	10
Post Office Engineering	2
Quarry Products Training Council	3
Oxford Forestry Group	4
Property Services Agency	1
Rumbelows	20
Safeway	8
J. Sainsbury plc	4
Scaffolding GB Ltd.	3
Shoe Repair Industry Training Association	7
Standard Motorist Ltd.	6
Sutcliffe Catering	4
Southampton Engineering Training Group	3
Sperrings	3
Timber Trades Training Association	6
Timpson Shoe Repairs	2
Trust House Forte	1
W. H. Smith & Son	3
Wolseley Plumb Centres	3
F. W. Woolworth plc	11
Woolwich Building Society	3
Tesco Stores plc	12
Waitrose Ltd.	8

Labour Statistics

Mr. Burns: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many people aged 16 and 17 years were unemployed in October 1987 in the area of the parliamentary constituency of Chelmsford.

Mr. Lee: The following information is in the Library. On 8 October 1987 the number of unemployed claimants in the Chelmsford parliamentary constituency aged 16 was 47. Those aged 17 similarly numbered 47.

Mr. Meacher: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will tabulate in full such research findings as may be available to him showing what proportion of the reduction in unemployment quarterly since June 1986 comes from (i) increased employment in service industries, (ii) a slower rate of job loss in manufacturing, (iii) the expansion of special measures, and within that the (iv) higher availability for work rules and (v) the application of the restart programme.

Mr. Cope: I have nothing to add to the reply given by my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Employment to the hon. Member on Wednesday 28 October at column 289.

Health and Safety Inspectors

Mr. McAllion: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many health and safety inspectors' hours are spent each week on average, inspecting or monitoring premises and conditions of work for (a) YTS trainees, (b) community programme workers and (c) JTS workers in the Dundee area.

Mr. Nicholls: The information as requested is not available. When carrying out inspection health and safety inspections examine the health and safety conditions of all persons, regardless of whether they are engaged in Government schemes or not. No distinction is therefore made between those premises at which people are engaged on YTS, community programme schemes and the job training scheme, and those where they are not.

Mr. McAllion: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many health and safety inspectors were employed in Dundee during each year since 1974.

Mr. Nicholls: The number of factory and agricultural inspectors in the Dundee local office of the HSE's Scotland east area office at 1 April are as follows:

	Factory inspectors	Agricultural inspectors
1 April 1985	3	1
1 April 1986	3	1
1 April 1987	3	1
1 November 1987	3	1

Figures for earlier years are not available.

Training Schemes

Mr. Gordon Brown: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will place in the Library his study of the effect on unemployment levels of Government schemes.

Mr. Cope: We have carried out a number of evaluations of our various employment, enterprise and training measures. If the hon. Member could specify precisely which study he is referring to, I will look into the matter.

VOL 125 NO 72

Probation and Community Service

Mr. Bermingham: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what was the weekly cost of supervising a person on probation and community service in England and Wales for the latest date available.

Mr. John Patten: In the financial year 1985-86 the weekly cost of supervision by the probation service in England and Wales was about £15 for a person on a probation order and about £13 for a person serving a community service order. These are estimates which depend on assumptions about the allocation of the time of probation officers and are approximate. The figures are derived from those published in "Probation Statistics, England and Wales" (table 12.3 of the latest issue, 1986), copies of which are in the Library.

Mr. Bermingham: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what was the weekly cost of supervising a person in a probation hostel in England and Wales for the latest date available.

Mr. John Patten: The estimated weekly cost of accommodating a person net of residents' contribution in a probation/bail hostel in England and Wales in 1986-87, was £155.25.

18th JANUARY 88 VOLUME 125 NO 74

Education Reform Bill

Mr. Steen: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science how many classroom teachers were consulted about the Education Reform Bill.

Mrs. Rumbold: Copies of the consultation papers issued by the Department of Education and Science were sent to all the national teachers' organisations. In addition, copies were freely available from the Department. Many teachers were among the 20,000 respondents who have sent in comments.

2nd FEBRUARY 88 VOL 126 NO 85

Community Programmes

105. Mr. Teddy Taylor: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what guidance he has given to managers of community programmes about the arrangements they should make to prepare for the replacement of the programme in mid-August; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Cope: My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State has asked the Manpower Services Commission to proceed immediately with preparatory work on the new adult training programme. Therefore the Manpower Services Commission has issued guidance to its area managers about the arrangements they should make to prepare for the replacement of the community programme from September 1988. This guidance proposes that the contracts of community programme agents and independent sponsors which are due for renewal from 1 February, should be extended up to the start of the new programme. To help ensure a smooth transition the Manpower Services Commission's area managers will be talking in detail to all agents and sponsors about these arrangements and the positive role they can continue to play in moving forward into the new programme.

Young People (Training)

48. Mr. Steinberg: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many young people entered employment in 1987 with no access to training.

Mr. Cope: The information is not available in the form requested.

A postal Survey of young people aged 16 and 17 was conducted in February 1986 as part of the youth cohort study. Of these young people who were in full-time employment outside of YTS, 34 per cent. said that they were not receiving training or instructions.

65. Mr. Sheerman: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will introduce a guarantee of training for all young people entering employment for the first time.

Mr. Cope: Only employers can guarantee training for their own young employees but, through YTS the Government provide high-quality training for 16 and 17-year-old school leavers. The government intend in 1988 to guarantee a place on YTS for all young people under 18 who leave or lose a job or previous YTS place, right up to their 18th birthday. Very many employers see the benefits of YTS as a method of recruitment and training this is why YTS has become the main route into employment for the under-18 age group.

YTS

31. Mr. Hunter: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make a statement on the working of YTS.

73. Mr. Baldry: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make a further statement on the progress of the YTS.

Mr. Cope: On 31 December 1987 there were some 417,000 young people receiving high-quality training on YTS schemes. Of those young people leaving the schemes between April 1986 and July 1987, around 74 per cent. went into employment, further education or training. In addition, around 1,900 organisations have achieved full approved training organisations status demonstrating their commitment to provide high-quality programmes.

The YTS is now firmly established as a standard method of recruitment and training for many employers, and the Government hope that more and more companies will recognise the substantial benefits YTS can offer.

32. Miss Lestor: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many people are on YTS schemes; and how many of them are entitled to travel expenses.

Mr. Cope: At the end of December 1987 there were some 417,500 young people in training on YTS, of whom nine out of 10 are non-employed. All non-employed YTS trainees are entitled to be reimbursed the amount by which their essential weekly training-related travel costs exceed £3. If required to live away from home for the purpose of YTS training, such trainees are also entitled to assistance with the costs of travel between home and training location.

87. Mr. David Evans: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many young people are currently undertaking training on the YTS; and if he will make a statement.

95. Mr. Day: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many young people are currently on the YTS; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Cope: At the end of December 1987 there were some 417,500 young people in training on YTS.

This represents an impressive achievement in convincing young people of the value of training. It also represents significant progress towards our objective that all young people under 18 years of age should have the opportunity either to continue in full-time education or of entering a period of work experience combined with work-related training and education.

Mr. Rowlands: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what his estimate is of the number of YTS places in Wales in 1988-89, 1989-90 and 1990-91 that will arise from the proposed Manpower Services Commission corporate plan for Wales.

Mr. Wyn Roberts: I have been asked to reply.

The Manpower Services Commission's corporate plan for Wales, which gives estimated expenditure up to 1989-90, shows £68.7 million for YTS in 1988-89 and £68.9 million for 1989-90. The current estimate is that 29,354 places will be available for 1988-89. The number of places for 1989-90 will be estimated around the end of this year.

2nd FEBRUARY 88 VOLUME 126 NO 85

YTS Trainees

24. Mr. Stevens: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make a statement on the number of YTS trainees going into work, or further education and training.

Mr. Cope: The latest results from the Manpower Services Commission's regular follow-up survey show that, of those young people who left YTS schemes between April 1986 and July 1987 74 per cent. were in work, further education or training at the time of the surveys.

18th FEBRUARY 88 VOLUME 127 NO 97

YTS

Mr. Harry Greenway: To ask the Secretary of State for Defence how many YTS places are currently on offer with Her Majesty's forces; how many have been taken up; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Freeman: In the present financial year (1987-88) there are 1,769 places available on the scheme. Between April and the end of December 1987 we received 1,746 applications of which 585 were accepted and 526 young people were admitted for training during that period.

Applicants are offered places only on condition that they meet successfully both the MSC YTS eligibility criteria and the normal service recruiting standards.

Mr. Sims: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment (1) how many requests have been made by youth training scheme trainees for communications support under the communication service for the deaf;
(2) what information he has as to the number of youth training scheme trainees who have been provided with communication support under the communication service for the deaf.

Mr. Cope: Since the communication service for the deaf was introduced in April 1986, a total of 172 trainees have been provided with communication support. I am not aware of any application for such support having been refused.

Mr. Sims: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how much money has been allocated to fund the communication service for the deaf on the youth training scheme since it was established; and how much of this has actually been spent.

Mr. Cope: The communication service for the deaf was introduced in April 1986 and in the first year of its operation £248,000 was allocated to the service and £73,588 was spent. In the current financial year, £254,000 was allocated and £160,884 had been spent up to the end of January 1988.

Young Persons (Non-custodial Treatment)

53. Mr. Baldry: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what initiatives he is supporting that are aimed at replacing custody for 17 to 19-year-olds.

Mr. John Patten: Our policy is to encourage the use of non-custodial measures whenever they are suitable. The Government have recently offered grants to the National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders and the National Children's Home for work on alternatives to custody for 17 to 20-year-olds. This is part of our wider consideration of punishment in the community for offenders over 17.

25th February 88 VOL 128 NO 102

YTS

Mr. McLeish: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will give an estimate of the number of 16 and 17-year-olds seeking a place on YTS in Scotland, England and Wales in 1988-89, 1989-90 and 1990-91.

Mr. Cope: The estimated numbers of YTS entrants are as follows:

	1988-89	1989-90	1990-91
Scotland	38600	36500	36000
England	321100	303500	299300
Wales	24300	23000	22700

Mr. McLeish: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will give an estimate of the number of places available on YTS for Scotland, England and Wales in 1988-89, 1989-90 and 1990-91.

Mr. Cope: The estimated numbers of YTS Places in 1988-89 are as follows:

	Number
Scotland	65000
England	450000
Wales	30000

Estimates for later years are not yet available.

2nd March 88 VOL 128 NO 106

Government Training Schemes

27. Mr. Mullin: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many young people are on Government training schemes in Sunderland.

Mr. Cope: At 31 January 1988, there were 3,184 young people in training on YTS in Sunderland.

YTS

25. Mr. Robert B. Jones: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make a further statement on the progress of YTS.

Mr. Nicholls: At the end of January 1988 some 413,000 young people were receiving high-quality training on YTS. Of those young people who left YTS schemes between April 1986 and 1987, 74 per cent. went into work or further education and training. This is welcome and shows that YTS is now firmly established as a standard method of recruitment and training for many employers.

81. Mr. Carrington: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many 16 and 17-year-olds are currently undertaking training on the YTS; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Cope: There were some 413,000 young people on YTS at the end of January 1988. Of these, 238,000 were 16-year-old school leavers in the first year of a two-year training programme. 151,000 were 16-year-old school leavers in the second year and 24,000 were 17-year-old school leavers on a one-year training programme. The large number of young people now well into their second year of training in the new two-year programme shows significant progress towards ensuring that all young people under 18 years of age obtain qualifications relevant to work.

83. Mr. George Howarth: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what plans he has to raise standards of training at the YTS; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Cope: From April, all YTS providers will have to meet the high standards required of approved training organisations. The Manpower Services Commission has published its priorities for quality development in YTS and is working with these approved organisations to raise standards still further. Meanwhile the Training Standards Advisory Service has begun its programme of carrying out full inspections of all YTS schemes on the ground. A further assurance of quality is the commitment to have vocational qualifications approved by the National Council for Vocational Qualifications in all YTS schemes.

2nd March 88 VOL 128 NO 108

Young Offenders (Custody)

Mr. Bermingham: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many 14-year-old males and 15-year-old females were sentenced to a period of custody by the courts in England and Wales during each year since 1982.

Mr. John Patten (holding answer 1 March 1988): The information held centrally, which may be incomplete, is given in the following table.

Males aged 14 and females aged 15 given custodial sentences[1]
England and Wales

Sex and age	Number
Males aged 14	
1982	1034
1983	919
1984	863
1985	830
1986	578
Females aged 15	
1982	16
1983	33
1984	32
1985	34
1986	15

[1] Detention centre order, borstal training (up to May 1983), youth custody (from May 1983) and detention under section 53 of Children and Young Persons Act 1933.

7th March 88 VOL. 129 NO. 109

Under-age Drinking

Sir Dudley Smith: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department how many young people under the age of 18

years have been prosecuted for obtaining or attempting to obtain alcoholic drink over the past 10 years up to the latest date for which figures are available.

Mr. Douglas Hogg (pursuant to his reply, 18 February 1988, c. 712): I regret that the figure given for 1986 was incorrect. The table should have read.

Persons found guilty of offences under section 169(2) of the Licensing Act 1964

England and Wales	Number of Persons
Year	Total found guilty
1979	4091
1980	3954
1981	2647
1982	1862
1983	1577
1984	1095
1985	744
1986	885

15th March 88 VOL 129 NO 115

Training Schemes

Mr. Michael McNair-Wilson: To ask the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland if he will list the training schemes currently available in the Province and the total number of those engaged in them in the age groups 18 to 25 years, 25 to 40 years and 40 to 65 years.

Mr. Viggers (holding answer 8 March 1988): The available information is as follows:

Scheme	18 to 24 years	25 to 39 years	40 to 65 years
Training Centres	432	250	124
Attachment Training	476	135	37
Skill Training Scheme	850 (entrants)	—	—
Sandwich Course Grant Scheme	155	—	—
Job Training Programme (pilot)	122	14	—
Junior Management Development Scheme	43	13	—
Industrial Scholarship Scheme	65	—	—
European Export Marketing Programme	6	3	—
USA Export Marketing Programme	4	1	—
Graduate Attachment Programme	30	—	—
New Enterprise Programme	11	—	1
Management Extension Programme	—	4	5
Training Employers Premises Scheme	1993	1788	1
Manpower Training Scheme (pilot)	—	—	2

[1] The figures given represent the number of employees for whom claims have been made in the current financial year to January 1988. It is not possible to state how many are currently on the scheme. Information is available only in two categories, those aged under 25 years and 25 years and over. A further breakdown of the latter category could be obtained only at disproportionate cost.

[2] This is a discretionary scheme negotiated with individual companies. There are currently 14 companies benefiting from the scheme. Information in the form requested regarding employee participation is not presently available and could be obtained only at disproportionate cost.

15th March 88 VOL 129 NO 115

Higher Education

9. **Mr. Hind:** To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what plans he has for increasing the number of places available to students in higher education; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Jackson: The Government remain committed to the principle that places should be available for all who have the necessary intellectual competence, motivation and maturity to benefit from higher education and who wish to do so. We are confident that our expenditure plans provide for institutions to meet this demand.

Mr. Hind: Will my hon. Friend confirm that it is a major pillar of his Department's policy that higher education should be made widely available to every 18-year-old or other person who wishes to seek it? Will he also confirm that major progress is being made towards the commitment to increase the numbers in higher education by 50,000 by 1990?

Mr. Jackson: My hon. Friend is absolutely right. Important progress is being made. I have some interesting figures on student numbers and participation rates under the present Government compared with what happened under their predecessors. Between 1975 and 1979, participation fell by 9.5 per cent. and numbers rose by only 4.3 per cent. Between 1979 and 1986 participation rose by 12.9 per cent. and numbers rose by 18.9 per cent. under this Government.

Rev. Martin Smyth: Will the Minister confirm that if the growing numbers of students from outside the United Kingdom want to take advantage of further education in the United Kingdom under the EEC directive, students in the United Kingdom will not be penalised and there will be enough places for them if they are qualified?

Mr. Jackson: There is room within our system for people to come from other countries of the European Community and we benefit from reciprocal arrangements with those countries. At the moment the traffic is more or less equal.

Mr. Rowe: Does my hon. Friend agree that there is considerable evidence that people entering higher education at a much later age than 18 frequently get more out of it than 18-year-olds? If he does, will he confirm that he will do everything in his power to make it easier for such people to achieve access to higher education, which is so important?

Mr. Jackson: My hon. Friend has touched on an important theme. By the middle of the next decade there will be a reduction by a third in the number of 18-year-olds in our population and it will be necessary, as well as desirable — as my hon. Friend said — to increase participation by mature people and part-time students.

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett: Will the Minister tell us what the Government are doing to attract mature students and make it easier for them to get into higher education, instead of leaking stories about student loans, which would clearly make it difficult for them? What will he do to develop access courses and provide proper grants for mature students so as to attract them and to fulfill his policy of making a larger proportion of the student population consist of mature students?

Mr. Jackson: I have already described the enormous expansion of higher education under the Government. On the point that the hon. Gentleman makes about loans, it is interesting to make international comparisons. They are difficult to make—[Interruption]—but, comparing the United Kingdom with the Federal Republic of Germany, we see that the average value of a loan paid by a student is £2,000 a year, and roughly 15 per cent. of new entrants to universities are from manual working class backgrounds, whereas in Britain, which has no loans and the most generous grant provision in the world, only 6 per cent. come from manual working-class backgrounds—[Interruption.]

Mr. Speaker: Order. I appeal to the House once again to listen to Question Time. These are important matters of great concern to hon. Members and to people outside.

Community Programme

Mr. Meacher: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment of the entrants to the community programme in the 12 months to (i) April 1986, (ii) July 1986, (iii) October 1986, (v) December 1986, (v) April 1987, (vi) July 1987, and (vii) October 1987, what proportions were (a) full-time places, (b) men, (c) single, (d) aged over 25 years, (e) unemployed for over 12 months and (f) former benefit claimants.

Mr. Cope: The figures requested are as shown in the table.

Percentage of Entrants

In the 12 months to:	Full-time	Male	Single	Aged over 25 Years	Unemployed for Over 12 Months	Former Benefit Claimant[1]
(i) April 1986	15	78	79	34	57	96
(ii) July 1986	14	77	79	35	57	96
(iii) October 1986	13	76	79	36	58	96
(iv) December 1986	13	76	79	37	58	96
(v) April 1987	13	75	79	39	60	96
(vi) July 1987	12	75	78	40	60	96
(vii) October 1987	12	74	76	41	60	97

[1] Directly in receipt of an appropriate benefit.

Mr. Cope: Results of the 1987 labour force surveys are not yet available.

Mr. Meacher: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment in each parliamentary constituency at the most recently available date, how many unemployed claimants were (a) aged under 25 years, (b) aged under 25 years and unemployed for 12 months or more, and (c) of all ages and unemployed for 12 months or more.

Mr. Cope: I am sending the hon. Member the requested information, which is also available in the Library. The table shows the numbers of unemployed claimants aged under 25, those aged under 25 and unemployed for 12 months or more and those of all ages who have been unemployed for twelve months or more, at 8 October 1987.

Mr. Meacher: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will show by region, including Greater London, and by male and female, the number of self-employed people in June 1979, June 1983, June 1984, June 1985, June 1986 and June 1987, and by similar categories, the number of people in the working population in June 1979, June 1983, June 1984, June 1985, June 1986 and June 1987.

Mr. Cope: The available information is as follows:

Self employment and civilian working population at June 1979

(thousands)

	Self employed		Civilian working population	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
South East	544	107	5020	3345
Greater London[1]	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
East Anglia	64	15	502	308
South West	111	35	1093	734
West Midlands	124	17	1542	951
East Midlands	99	17	1064	676
Yorkshire and Humberside	107	27	1380	873
North West	161	53	1831	1240
North	61	16	881	554
Wales	98	26	769	462
Scotland	128	32	1445	984

[1] Included in South East.

n/a Not available other than for Census of Employment dates before 1981.

Self employment and civilian working population at June 1983

(thousands)

	Self employed		Civilian working population	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
South East	567	163	5058	3443
Greater London[1]	220	60	2452	1631
East Anglia	72	22	526	330
South West	161	52	1138	764
West Midlands	137	40	1517	949
East Midlands	127	30	1076	688
Yorkshire and Humberside	130	39	1349	869
North West	163	61	1747	1203
North	64	27	829	536
Wales	94	32	722	454
Scotland	137	42	1421	981

[1] Included in South East.

Self employment and civilian working population at June 1984

(thousands)

	Self employed		Civilian working population	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
South East	647	211	5143	3613
Greater London[1]	256	73	2482	1674
East Anglia	83	26	540	347
South West	171	62	1154	800
West Midlands	129	36	1519	968
East Midlands	129	38	1076	720
Yorkshire and Humberside	159	44	1357	894
North West	183	74	1741	1231
North	73	19	828	546
Wales	108	36	728	465
Scotland	145	40	1416	999

Self employment and civilian working population at June 1985

(thousands)

	Self employed		Civilian working population	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
South East	686	217	5228	3714
Greater London[1]	280	80	2514	1697
East Anglia	86	28	563	365
South West	186	65	1182	824
West Midlands	145	40	1526	999
East Midlands	124	33	1120	747
Yorkshire and Humberside	162	61	1365	935
North West	193	75	1743	1253
North	79	26	844	566
Wales	111	34	730	465
Scotland	151	49	1431	1019

Self employment and civilian working population at June 1986

(thousands)

	Self employed		Civilian working population	
	Males	Females	Males	Females
South East	667	238	5213	3816
Greater London[1]	260	86	2497	1725
East Anglia	81	24	576	374
South West	193	63	1182	838
West Midlands	144	43	1527	1020
East Midlands	127	40	1118	767
Yorkshire and Humberside	163	53	1374	942
North West	196	71	1715	1259
North	79	25	843	579
Wales	120	34	727	462
Scotland	165	40	1430	1014

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