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The Youth and Policy Collective is sorry to report the death of Roger Cartledge during January 1989. Roger was a valued teacher, colleague and friend to numerous people involved in community and youth work. His contribution to our field will be greatly missed. We wish to extend our sympathies to his family, and to his fellow tutors and students at Durham University.

revolting youth. the rise of independent youth groups in the ussr

JIM RIORDAN

Such is the swift pace of change since Gorbachev became Party Secretary in March 1985 that the status quo is assuredly the status quo ante the moment it is written about. It is not simply the changes as such, but the changing picture that reveals a whole host of phenomena radically different from that revealed hitherto. Hence the need for this article to bring readers (almost) up to date with latest developments.⁽¹⁾

One aspect of Soviet youth my previous two contributions omitted is its identity. For youth is not always what it seems. To us in Britain youth is often confined to the teenage years. That is not so for the French or Germans, nor for Soviet writers, who all set broader parameters. Academician Yakovlev, a Party Central Committee secretary, for example, puts Soviet youth in the 14-32 age band.⁽²⁾ Other Soviet scholars see the Komsomol (Young Communist League) membership years (14-28) as the age bracket for youth, which makes Soviet youth a sizeable and influential body of people, slightly less than a quarter of the entire population. In 1977, there were some 70 million persons in the 15-30 age group, but with the falling birth rate, the number declined to 64 million in 1987.⁽³⁾

Youth disaffection

Youth disaffection from official organisations (like the Komsomol and the Party) and values is a widespread and growing problem, and is frequently admitted as such by leaders as different as Gorbachev and Archbishop Mikhail of Vologda and Velikoustyug. The former has criticised 'a certain section of young people enclosed in its narrow little world, out of step with the swift onrush of life.'⁽⁴⁾ The latter wrote to *Pravda* recently of the 'moral decay' among teenagers.⁽⁵⁾ Many young people evidently no longer read or read only what they are set at school and college; visits to libraries by young people have halved over the past two decades.⁽⁶⁾ Many are said to be work-shy: in a recent poll among senior formers, only five per cent intended to go straight into work upon leaving school; they saw 'work virtually as an inevitable evil'. The average age of starting work for the USSR as a whole is 20-21.⁽⁷⁾ A number of Soviet cities are suffering chronic problems of teenage gang 'warfare', especially on the new housing estates that are said to be 'no-go' areas for many youngsters.⁽⁸⁾

As a journalist, writing in the youth daily *Komsomolskaya pravda*, has put it, 'The scope of senseless action is vast; it encompasses a variety of activities: from skirmishing to full-blown battles, drug taking, gambling for huge stakes and hostility between rival youth gangs. This is an entire generation of young people from the age of ten to almost thirty. It amounts to tens of millions of people.'⁽⁹⁾ These and

other multifarious youth problems are now being analysed and faced up to, though they are easier to confess than to find a solution to.

Independent youth groups

The opting out or passive membership of official youth organisations is reflected in the rapidly growing creation of informal youth groups and clubs. While interest groups, urban gangs, religious and other unofficial and often illegal associations of young people have existed for a long time, the real 'take-off' came after youth groups gained official recognition in May 1986, were able to register and have somewhere to meet (with Komsomol permission). As a delegate from Sverdlovsk put it at the Komsomol 20th Congress in 1987 'The lack of premises prevented the many spontaneous but mass youth movements from taking organised forms.' But after May 1986 there was 'an avalanche of new informal youth associations.'⁽¹⁰⁾ *Pravda* recently put the number of registered youth groups at some 30,000 at the end of 1987⁽¹¹⁾ and a youth poll in five urban centres revealed that 60 per cent of young people belong to one or another unofficial youth group.⁽¹²⁾ The groups are extremely heterogeneous and by no means opposed to socialism or official organisations. The above poll claimed that nine out of ten members 'believe their activities are in harmony with the interests of Soviet society.'⁽¹³⁾

It is not easy to categorise them. Some last for a few weeks, some for years, some are local, some nationwide, some are pro-, some anti-Soviet, some are a purely domestic phenomenon, some are clearly Western influenced. For reasons of space and convenience here, they are divided into five distinctly separate groups: personal interest groups, public pressure groups, Western orientated groups, ultra patriotic groups, and constitutionally illegal groups.

1. Personal interest groups

Such groups are informal associations of young people who have spontaneously come together out of common interests that are not covered adequately or at all by official organisations. The Soviet media used to refer to them as 'socially-beneficial' amateur youth associations (*samodeyatelnye obyedinyeniya molodyozhi* — *SOM*). Many date back to the first wave of unofficial youth culture in the early 1960s, when Khrushchev was pursuing his uncertain and contradictory policy of destalinisation.⁽¹⁴⁾ Relaxation of political control and aspirations for liberalisation gave rise to various cultural developments, including a great boom in poetry. The newly emergent genre of guitar ballads became popular, inspired mainly by Bulat Okudzhava whose songs were recorded on tape and distributed unofficially, and many

young people formed their own guitar-song groups, meeting wherever they could — in parks, gardens, apartments or street corners. Although the authorities arranged public discussions for young people, many began to form their own discussion groups where the range of topics was unrestricted. Students formed independent satirical theatres out of which grew popular clubs for quiz games and other self entertainment. There were also independent clubs for lovers of classical, jazz and folk music, philately, outdoor recreation, combat sports, bodybuilding and yoga.

Youth culture of the 1960s tended to develop on domestic roots. The influence of Western youth culture was still relatively weak, mainly because of the country's cultural and ideological isolation. The unofficial youth culture also was primarily constructive, idealistic and socialist oriented. The disillusionment among young people after 1964, therefore, has to be seen in the context of the deteriorating political situation under Brezhnev. During the Brezhnev years, most of the institutions for official youth culture (especially the Komsomol) became exceedingly formal and bureaucratic, trying merely to implement the dominant Party ideology. Steadily the younger generation turned away from them, and the gap between official and unofficial youth culture grew wider all the time. It was in this period that the ever growing vacuum tended to be filled by Western youth culture, with its rock music, trends and fashions, and its consumerist, hedonistic ideology (see below).

Today, the personal interest groups have expanded to include young people eager to build their own housing and cultural amenities, to exchange videos and computer games. They also include sports groups for example, of young women who have long ignored the pontification of male leaders about their participation in 'harmful sports' like soccer, ice hockey, judo, weightlifting, bodybuilding, water polo and long-distance running.⁽¹⁵⁾ On the whole, however, the interest groups are no longer the dominant form of association for young people they once were. The gap between their relatively 'high culture' and socially beneficial activity, on the one hand, and the relatively 'low culture' and asocial actions of modern youth appears to be widening.

2. Public pressure groups

Pressure groups are not confined to young people, though it is youth that has often inspired them and provided the bulk of their membership, as in the green movement in the West. Such groups cover areas ignored or treated inadequately by the state, such as the environment, the disabled, orphans, one parent families, animal protection and preservation of monuments. It is such pressure groups that have brought into being in recent years a variety of charitable organisations such as the Children's Fund (for orphans and underprivileged children), the Animal Aid Fund, the Paraplegic Sports Federation and the Charity Society (Obshchestvo Miloserdiya — for the aged, the handicapped, orphanages, underprivileged children and one parent families).⁽¹⁶⁾

The campaign by young people to protect and preserve public monuments is an interesting example both of public spirited consciousness and of a successful fight against the bureaucracy whose job it was to protect public monuments (the Society for the Protection of Historical and Cultural Monuments). As Kagarlitsky writes, 'There is a close link between freedom and heritage that is well understood by members of the youth movement.'⁽¹⁷⁾ In 1986, for example, when the Moscow City Council decided to pull down the 17th century Shcherbakov Palace Complex, a group of schoolchildren and students led

by Kiril Parfenov occupied the building and held it for two months. As a result, not only was the Palace Complex saved, it remained in the hands of the 'invaders'. Parfenov himself appeared on the Twelfth Floor TV programme, defending the need to fight to preserve the nation's historical treasures.⁽¹⁸⁾ A similar campaign was launched to save the writer Bulgakov's house in Moscow and the Angleterre Hotel in Leningrad from the bulldozers.

The spontaneous movement to defend the national heritage which arose in the 1980s discovered it had to fight not only insensitive town planners, but the official Society for the Protection of monuments and nationalistic pressure groups like *Pamyat* (Heritage), *Rodina* (Homeland) and *Veche* (Popular Assembly) as well. Both the official Society and the newly emergent heritage groups like *Pamyat* turned out to be full of Russian nationalists and anti-semites more interested in combating Jews and 'Freemasons' than in preserving and restoring the Soviet Union's heritage.⁽¹⁹⁾

The campaign to protect the historical aspect of Soviet towns is closely linked to the movement to protect the environment generally. It is here that the youth groups, unlike the ecology lobbyists of the older generation, tend to be oriented towards a new conception of social development. Thus have come into artists existence pressure groups of young architects, avant garde and the Moscow Club for Social Initiatives which, along with other youth groups, has helped young people to move from protest to elaborating their own conception of the society of the future.

Such politicisation of parts of the youth movement has also led to the emergence of expressly political groups impatient with the distortion of socialist ideals, Marxism, Leninism, and Russian and Soviet history. The Soviet press has mentioned youth study groups of the Marxist classics and Soviet history, rivalling the long standing informal associations of Old Bolsheviks around people like Roy Medvedev.⁽²⁰⁾ Perhaps the most significant development of all is the formation of the Federation of Socialist Clubs, an independent political organisation formed in August 1987 during a three-day conference of 51 informal youth groups. The conference was the first officially sanctioned non-Party event of its kind for more than 50 years. The manifesto it issued called for the right for individual citizens to run against Party members in local elections.⁽²¹⁾ Although some of its member groups have officially registered (for example, the Club for Social Initiatives has registered with the USSR Sociology Association), the Federation had (by early 1988) preferred to retain its independence by operating as an unregistered umbrella body (even attending a Komsomol-run youth conference much to Komsomol annoyance, on solidarity with liberation movements in Africa and Latin America last autumn).⁽²²⁾

The formation of such pressure groups is a radical departure from past youthful activity, with potentially serious implications for Soviet politics.

3. Western-oriented groups

As opposed to the *SOM* groups, Western-oriented or Western-influenced youth groups were initially called by the less welcoming title, 'informal youth associations' (*neformalnye obyedinyeniya molodyozhi* — *NOM*).

It was with the relaxation of tension with the West during the late 1970s that various Western youth subcultures, like mods and rockers, hippies and punks, skinheads and bikers, soccer

and ice hockey fans, found their eager imitators among Soviet youth, with all the sartorial gear, artefacts, argot and even sometimes their macho, racist and semi fascist ideology. Many young people developed a defiant attitude to Soviet ideology and the older generation, giving themselves foreign names (like Charlie, Sex and Stalker⁽²³⁾), renaming their residential districts Hollywood, California and Pentagon⁽²⁴⁾, even using a Russian-English patois such as *shoesy, flat, police, high-life, parentsy, night-life, childrenyata* and *vpisatsya na nait* (to stay the night), and meeting in bunkers, garages and flats, now and again invading public places.⁽²⁵⁾

Until 1985, the official Soviet response to such Western infiltrations was generally to expose bourgeois propaganda, denigrate rock, inculcate a faith in Soviet patriotism, reinforce the monopoly powers of Soviet youth organisations, do whatever possible to suppress alien culture and harass its Soviet imitators. For example Valery Andreyev, leader of the popular rock group Arax spent two years in jail. Boris Kagarlitsky was imprisoned for 13 months 'for Eurocommunist views' and Boris Grebenshchikov, leader of Aquarium (the most popular Soviet rock group of the past ten years) was expelled from the Komsomol, sacked from his job and banned from appearing with his group in public.⁽²⁶⁾ The leadership had made a minimum of concessions, encouraging home grown pop groups playing approved music (based on folk or accepted foreign styles like Italian and French sentimental ballads, as expressed by groups like Vesolye rebyata, Samotsvety and Pesnyary, or the pop singers Alla Pugachova, Bichevskaya and Magomayev), sanctioning discos under Komsomol control with restricted entrance, and inviting less 'extreme' foreign stars for tours for example, Cliff Richard, Elton John, Abba and Boney M. Further a list was compiled of 73 Western and 37 Soviet groups whose records were not to be played at discos or anywhere else under Komsomol control.⁽²⁷⁾

The results, we now learn from the Soviet media, have been widespread disaffection from and contempt for official organisations, and an alarming increase in a wide range of deviant activity, particularly drug taking, gang warfare and soccer hooliganism. The interest in all new strains of Western pop music from heavy metal and funk to break dancing and reggae has burgeoned, forcing official attitudes to change. Rock clubs and laboratories have been set up in major cities lists of prohibited music have been abandoned, banned groups like Aquarium, Kino and Mosaic have appeared on television and had albums produced. Even a heavy metal club was registered in Moscow's Sevastopol District for the first time in 1987.⁽²⁸⁾ It is no longer considered possible today to suppress or drive them underground. The new balance of power at the top and the new social situation have forced the legalisation of many of the Western oriented groups.

4. Ultra-patriotic groups

If the new liberalisation has created legal opportunities for liberals and Western oriented youngsters, it has also produced an ultra patriotic, conservative backlash from some young people determined to combat liberalisation itself just as the Black Hundreds and other right groups did in the 1905 Revolution. In the last few years a motley assortment of youths in and around urban conurbations have been forming their own clandestine vigilante groups to combat what they perceive as anti social and, therefore (to them, axiomatically) anti Soviet behaviour. It would be wrong to brand them all as a Soviet version of skinhead toughs⁽²⁹⁾ in fact, they differ markedly in social and political orientation.

The borderline between noble vigilante groups (which fight corruption, bureaucracy and officials who abuse their position) and gangs of patriotic thugs is often thin and mobile. While the common foe would appear to be people harmful to society, the perception of villainy differs, as do aims and methods. The Rambo style youth cult known as the Lyubery have more ambitious aims relating to society as a whole and they espouse violence in pursuit of their mission. The victims are largely Westernised youth. Moreover, they impose a strict discipline upon members, requiring initiation tests of neophytes (for example, beating up punks) and have a hierarchical structure with leaders who are sometimes older ex servicemen.

The name Lyubery comes from the Moscow industrial suburb of Lyubertsy, some twelve miles south west of the capital. Its teenage thugs have been terrorising neighbouring urban centres like Moscow, Podolsk and Nakhabino for several years.⁽³⁰⁾ Today they travel further afield in search of victims (for example, to Leningrad some 700 miles away!⁽³¹⁾) and they find imitators in and around other conurbations. These male teenage toughs are generally staunchly puritanical. 'They don't drink, smoke or take drugs, and they engage in combat sports in gyms they've built with their own hands.'⁽³²⁾

The Lyubery are self appointed guardians of what they see as genuine Soviet values and way of life. Their patriotism extends to trying to intimidate, and cleanse society of, all alien elements, first and foremost followers of Western fashion. As one 16 year old puts it, he and his mates are against 'anyone who wears chains or foreign badges, has dyed hair and brings shame on our country ... anyone who looks like a protester.'⁽³³⁾ Another young affiliate, in reply to a query as to why he takes the 30 minute train journey to Moscow every night, says 'we go to beat up punks, hippies, heavy metal and break dance fans.'⁽³⁴⁾ When asked why he terrorises such people, another young tough replies that 'We're going to cleanse society of the hippies, punks and "metallist" who disgrace Soviet life.'⁽³⁵⁾

So speaks the not so silent majority. Or does it? It is hard to say. At any rate, many Soviet ideologists now accept that it is their own militant moralising in the past that has not only spawned these 'muscular socialists', but is hampering the new democratic openness. A rather bizarre twist to the Lyubery story occurred in the spring of 1987, following a speech by Major General Goncharev, Deputy Police Commissioner, warning of youths emulating the gangs they read about in 'sensationalist' press reports.⁽³⁶⁾ Some periodicals then informed readers that the Lyubery did not exist at all; for example, *Moskovsky komsomolets* declared that the Lyubery were 'something cooked up by certain journalists.'⁽³⁷⁾

Apparently some people in high circles were trying to play down any mobilisation of public opinion against the threat posed by the Lyubery. As Kagarlitsky put it, 'the anonymous influential protectors of the Lyubery were one and the same as those opponents of Gorbachev's liberalisation who were keeping quiet for the time being.'⁽³⁸⁾ Whatever the reason, the curtain came down on Lyubery activity, and no adverse material on the Lyubery appeared after April 1987.

The emergence of such unofficial conservative groups as the Lyubery partly has its source in the confusion felt by the many thousands of young men who return after their harrowing experience in Afghanistan (between 15,000 and 20,000 young men are sent to Afghanistan each year). Battlehardened and prematurely aged by their service, some

'Afghantsy', as they call themselves, find it hard to settle back into civvy street and to accept with equanimity the Western youth culture they see around them: 'They have experienced the full horror of war ... which has stamped itself upon them, changing something within them, making them radically different from their age-mates.'⁽³⁹⁾ In the film, 'It isn't easy to be young', their predicament is called 'the return home of the lost generation' which, for at least one of their number, ends in suicide through disillusionment and disorientation.⁽⁴⁰⁾

One returning conscript says he seemed to have 'landed on another planet. Painted girls totter about, super-fashionable boys meet each DJ's announcement of a tape by a group from "over there" with squeals of delight, and hiss our Soviet music ... We're stifling in this dirty little world.'⁽⁴¹⁾ Because they find the authorities dragging their feet in tackling social ills, many 'Afghantsy' are setting up their own veterans associations, the 'Green Hats', 'Blue Berets', 'Reservists', 'Paratroopers' and 'Internationalist Soldier Councils', which all engage in what their members call 'military patriotic education of young people'.⁽⁴²⁾ This sometimes involves meting out rough justice to those who do not share their patriotic ardour and perception of morality. It is here that they often overlap with the Lyubery.

In October 1987, as many as 2000 ex-servicemen staged a rally and camp in Ashkhabad, their aim being 'to define ways of improving military-patriotic education of young people.'⁽⁴³⁾ The rally certainly had official approval probably from sections of the armed forces, though it clearly came as a surprise to the central authorities. That the objective was not only to flush out 'bureaucrats' was apparent from a statement made by one of the camp's organisers: 'It was much simpler in Afghanistan. We knew full well who the enemy was and that he had to be destroyed. But you can't stick a bureaucrat up against a wall here, or scare home grown punks and drug addicts with a machine gun. We have to find some other way. But how?'⁽⁴⁴⁾ It later emerged that the rally had been the culmination of a spontaneous movement begun in 1985. Despite official opposition and unwillingness to provide drill halls, uniforms and combat sports equipment, the 'Young Paratrooper' movement succeeded in obtaining all that the state had refused.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The problem of the 'Afghantsy' is, however, more complex. The ex servicemen differ radically in their reaction to war duty in 'Afghana'. Many, having seen so much death and suffering, just wish to be left alone, to forget the past and live a 'normal', even apolitical life. There are reports of some turning to religion.⁽⁴⁶⁾

The longer the war in Afghanisatan goes on, the more problems the USSR is storing up for itself at home, as the USA found in trying to integrate Vietnam veterans back into the community.

5. *Illegal groups*

Although the opportunities for contact across institutional boundaries are much greater now and a new confidence exists among Soviet youth for 'coming out', some youth groups still prefer to retain their clandestine status, as is the case with a number of underground rock groups, perhaps for fear of succumbing to the establishment and losing their original following (as happened with the punk movement in the West not so long ago). Some have no choice, since their activities involve illegal practices, like drug taking, not working or singing 'offensive' lyrics. The same lack of choice applies to various dissident and religious groups. But the

constitutionally illegal youth groups that are causing the older generation most concern are those professing fascist sympathies.

The fury of older people was evident, for example, when they read the letter from a group of punks to the youth weekly **Sobesednik** in May 1986, expressing their spiritual affinity with fascism and stamping on hallowed Soviet beliefs.⁽⁴⁷⁾ Predictably, they drew the attention they desired. Probably like many of the public, the readers who responded made no distinction between rock lovers and punks on the one hand, and traitors and fascists on the other. As one of the more printable replies put it tersely, 'the whole lot should be shot at birth.' All the same, the journal's editors admitted that the punks had also had their advocates who pointed to social injustices that 'spawn fascist jobboes'.⁽⁴⁸⁾

Although information is understandably patchy and the scale of fascist influence uncertain, there is no doubt about the existence of fascist youths and clubs. A rock group from Chelyabinsk calling itself by the English name 'Bad Boys' has circulated an underground tape with lyrics that run 'Kill all the commies and Komsomol too.'⁽⁴⁹⁾ Letters have appeared in Moscow newspapers from defiant young gangs who openly call themselves Nazis, confident that in the USSR that is the ultimate obscenity to shock their elders.⁽⁵⁰⁾

Naturally, as with Western anarchistic rebellious rock groups like the Sex Pistols, Iron Maiden and Black Sabbath, the intention is probably more to shock and draw attention to themselves than actively to propagate fascist ideology. Komsomol Secretary Mironenko is surely near the mark when he says that 'some youngsters react in a simplistic way to social injustice and our failure to match deeds with words. The immature mind starts looking for an alternative, even resorting to mysticism or the ugliest of ideological systems, such as Nazism. The quest is for an idol, while the ideology remains alien to them.'⁽⁵¹⁾ As Mironenko admits, it is the unrelenting moralising, the hypocrisy, double standards, the rigid monopoly of the mass media that have not only produced apathy among many youngsters, they have pushed some to extremes. The 'if Pravda's for it, I'm against it' syndrome. One British journalist talks of sitting in a Moscow cinema to watch *Battle for Moscow* and hearing the teenagers cheer every time Hitler appears on screen.⁽⁵²⁾

Reports in the Soviet press talk of clean cut young people dressed in Nazi imitation uniform: black shirts, jackboots, black glasses and often sporting homemade swastikas. Most of them appear to be students, especially from the **PTU** technical colleges. **Leningradskaya pravda** has mentioned a Nazi group at **PTU** No.64 in the city. It not only had its own 'Führer', but sections of SS and SA as well. The 39 strong group of 37 young men and two women wore Nazi uniforms, home made medals and orders, and had as their stated objective the establishment of National Socialism in the USSR. The paper reported that, when questioned, however, the group had no real idea of Nazi ideology (never having read any Nazi literature).⁽⁵³⁾

Other sources talk of support for Nazi ideas from the 'golden youth', the scions of privileged Party, state and army officers. One report mentions the existence of 'quite a few fascist'⁽⁵⁴⁾ organisations whose members meet in a number of Moscow cafes. They wear Hitler badges under their jackets and sometimes wear black uniforms.⁽⁵⁵⁾ School heads and Party secretaries are said to have given warnings about possible demonstrations from 'fascistised elements from among non-

politically aware groups of young people.⁵⁶ And the Komsomol theoretical journal, *Molodoi kommunist*, has recorded 'instances of the penetration of neofascist influences among young people.'⁵⁷

The extreme right has reared its ugly head in a number of already-mentioned organisations (*Pamyat*, *Rodina* and *Veche*) in cities as far apart as Novosibirsk, Sverdlovsk, Moscow and Leningrad. Reports mention a wide ranging membership, including several students.⁵⁸ Such is the threat that *Pravda* has warned that action may be taken against 'informal associations' that include 'scoundrels and demagogues who, under the guise of ultra patriotism, make chauvinistic and anti-semitic sermons.'⁵⁹ And that has implications for all groups, legal and illegal, which is perhaps what the latter want.

Some conclusions

Some youth problems have arisen from the stresses and strains of modernisation, producing a polarisation of attitudes, first between generations, and second between young and young, and old and old alike. A Soviet historian has admitted that 'We are feeling the effects of mass transition from a traditional rural to a modern urban way of life. We are seeing the disintegration of the old type of family, age old traditions, mores and customs. Young people used to have clear cut and well-defined duties and life goals, to help the aged and bring up the young.'⁶⁰ Nothing is clear cut or well defined any more.

The areas with the highest crime rates, drug abuse, teenage vandalism and broken marriages are not the major cities, but the medium size 'smokestack' towns like Sverdlovsk, Chelyabinsk, Gorky, Vologda and the city suburbs and satellite towns like Lyubertsy (pop. 300,000, of whom 80 per cent work in industry).⁶¹ Not only do these areas lack modern amenities and entertainment, have poor public housing and shopping facilities, they are experiencing the withering of the old industries and the retraining of an obsolescent workforce, similar to the problems confronting the depressed industrial northern cities of Britain (minus the unemployment). Both local and central papers are full of cries of despair, of boredom among the youth, of envy of the big cities, from decaying suburbs and medium sized towns. One Soviet journalist has described such places as 'giant railway waiting rooms'.⁶² The disoriented young people who remain, envious of the 'city slickers', seem to seek out scapegoats for their plight and deprivation, taking it out on those who flaunt their conspicuous consumption and possess the cherished residential permit to live in a big city.

In the last two decades Soviet urban society has moved from the six to the five day week and entered a phase of relative affluence and leisure. This has given some young people new diversions, new aspirations, new technology (cassettes, videos, computers), new forms of emotional investment that conflict with the old single minded focus on self sacrifice and future orientation. Often the new aspirations have outstripped what the government has made or been prepared to make available in the way of leisure activities or youth clubs outside the old fashioned and sometimes suffocating tutelage of the Komsomol.

Some young people, frequently from the inner cities of the major urban centres, have reacted in the more liberal yet disorienting atmosphere of the Gorbachev reforms by embracing Western youth culture or subculture with all the naive zest that their peers in other modernising societies have

shown towards US 'cultural exports'. Others, particularly those returning from the war in Afghanistan, are as affronted by the apparent lack of patriotism of their contemporaries as have been the militant young fundamentalists in Iran or the returning Vietnam veterans in the USA. For others, although life has certainly altered radically since the Stalin years, there exists a certain nostalgia for the past, for a strong master, for a mixture of patriarchal nationalism and totalitarian traditions. They seem to exhibit symptoms of what Erich Fromm once called a 'flight from freedom', seeing in freedom and democracy (or, at least in perestroika and glasnost) a threat to firm traditions, law and order, and security. Some such youngsters evidently have a yearning for Stalinism, what the writer of teenage fiction Albert Likhanov has called wishing 'to model their behaviour on the most distressing period of our history.'⁶³ This hankering after the 'old' values is by no means confined to the older generation, as the Lyubery, the ultra patriotic organisations like *Pamyat* and *Rodina*, and the neofascist youth groups have demonstrated.

Finally, a major implication of the 'youth revolution' for Western theorists of Soviet society is that they will have to rethink their fundamental assumptions about the nature of the Soviet system; they will have to abandon models that postulate a passive society dominated by an elite and replace it by one that encompasses the active and unofficial youth involvement in changing society. For what we have been witnessing in the USSR for a period that predates Gorbachev's assumption of power by at least ten years is young people taking affairs into their own hands and operating outside the framework of state institutions. It is a situation that has some similarity with the 'dual power' interregnum between February and October 1917, with the informal youth associations having their equivalent in the outlaw (*dikie*) worker groups. It is not the elite *Party and Komsomol* that has precipitated reform; it has merely acquiesced to a situation that had existed for several years and was rapidly getting out of official control. While the coming of Gorbachev has certainly accelerated the process of change, it is youthful opposition to the old regime and mounting disaffection from official institutions and values that have initiated and carried it forward. Where it is heading and which youth group will prevail is impossible to predict. But that, then, is part of the uncertainty and thrill of pioneering change.

References & Notes

- 1 See my two articles in past issues: 'Political socialisation and young people's organisations in the USSR, No. 19, 1987, pp. 1-9; and 'Western influences on Soviet youth culture,' No. 21, 1987, pp. 13-21.
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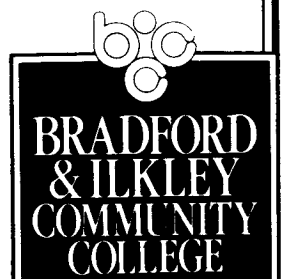
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gateshead international youth action committee hungarian exchange november 1987

Gateshead International Youth Action Committee was formed in 1984 to preplan a programme of exchanges and events in celebration of International Youth Year (1985). This year was designated by the United Nations, the themes being peace development and participation.

All of the voting members of the International Committee in Gateshead are young people aged 18-28. The Committee is serviced by four non voting members i.e. two councillors and two advisers. There is a mammoth commitment from all the young people involved in preplanning exchanges, fund raising and publicising the events. It has been a central theme of the Committee that no young person should be excluded from participating in an exchange due to lack of finance. Every exchange has a high educational content and a work theme that forms the core of the exchange. The work of the Committee is financed by Gateshead Metropolitan Borough Council Education Department, The Youth Exchange Centre and numerous regional, national and international organisations.

Over the past three years the Gateshead Committee have organised numerous exchanges throughout Western Europe, Scandinavia, America and the West Indies. From its inception the Committee had an aim to establish links with eastern European countries. This however proved to be fairly difficult, until early in 87 when a contact was made with the Hungarian International Exchange Bureau in Budapest.

The outgoing group to Budapest could only gather very limited information on the country to be visited or the eastern block in general, there appeared to be a complete dearth of information regarding Hungary in local libraries, travel agencies etc. Many people who the group came into contact with prior to their visit had very negative opinions about the whole eastern block. Stories of gloom and doom were cited from all sides. Comments such as 'you'll get locked up for anything', 'there will be queues everywhere and the food will be scarce' and 'you'll be able to sell your Levi's for a fortune' were very common.

The following article is a compilation of views and opinions of the group who visited Hungary in November 1987.

One of the first impressions of the group whilst travelling into Budapest from the airport was the lack of vandalism and graffiti, which is usually associated with the majority of our urban areas. Throughout the groups stay the youth of Hungary were polite and courteous towards us and in particular their elders. They were expected to behave and were treated as young adults, we believe this to be one of the major reasons for the responsible attitude to their environment and society.

Outside most shops were display cases of glass filled with goods such as clothes, books, badges, records and even knives all appeared to remain untouched. Because of the political system they see the majority of things being in common ownership and therefore belonging to them and therefore to be respected.

Hungary has a very high standard of education, which is built on a very competitive model. Schools start at 8 o'clock in the morning and finish at 2 p.m. Young people attend elementary schools for eight years and at the age of 14 move on to a secondary school for a further four years. There are a variety of secondary schools which specialise in a range of trade and professional training as well as those which would equate with our grammar schools.

Finishing at 2 o'clock you would expect to see a lot of young people on the streets, but their absence was obvious. We discovered that schools, technical schools, young communist organisations, trade unions etc. all run social and youth activities in the afternoons. These range from basic sports, personal hobbies through to additional school work for students who wish to progress their academic studies.

Once a Hungarian young person reaches the age of 18 he or she is presently guaranteed a job. Although it must be noted that in a lot of work places there is over-staffing. Many highly skilled and qualified young Hungarian professionals are tempted abroad or into the fast growing private sector which exists within the country, as wages are much higher than in the public sector. Politically the only organisation for young people is the Communist Youth Organisation which tends to try and solve young peoples work problems etc. rather than giving any strong political direction.

Demonstrations and marches have been unknown in Hungary over the last few decades, however only last year there was a silent march through Budapest against acid rain, so this situation may be changing.

The opportunities for young Hungarians to travel are growing, the government intends to ease restrictions drastically in 1988. A high percentage of young Hungarians are interested in visiting England particularly since the majority learn English now as a second language.

In Hungary young people are clearly seen as the countries future and are therefore given every opportunity by society. Their social, physical and economic well-being is of the highest importance to the State. Substantial financial aid is given to

young families in the form of subsidies for housing, and excellent child care facilities. The state fixes many commodity prices of food, clothing and fuel. Overall it was found in all walks of life young people are put first. We were surprised at the number of night spots, discos and youth centres for young people, without exception they all had superior facilities than those provided in Great Britain.

The visiting group from Gateshead all expected that the Hungarian Socialist Labour Party would have a much higher profile in society and a substantial impact upon individual's lives and ways of thinking. The vast majority of people however appeared to be apathetic about the party and only 32% of people under the age of 30 are in fact members. Politics over all was a much vaguer concept than we expected to find in a socialist country, even workers from the party talked in terms of individuals finding their own form of socialism. The main overriding motivation for people to work harder seemed to be simply based on providing financial incentives and productivity targets, in a very similar manner to that practiced in the west.

Early in 1988 the government intends to introduce personal income taxation for the first time. The amount to be paid will be related to the individuals earnings. At a minimum this will mean a 17% cut in workers take home pay. The decision to impose a personal taxation system was taken by the Hungarian government in order that the annual state deficit could be reduced. It is difficult to project the long term economic effects, except to say that an already poorly paid workforce will receive a substantial cut in their living standards.

Although everyone the group spoke to agreed that the deficit position had to be resolved, many were disillusioned about this course of action, some even thought that it may adversely affect trade union membership which presently stands at 98% of the work force. There is an emerging and apparently growing private sector as already mentioned built around the service industries i.e. catering, leisure and tourism. Within these forms of employment much higher earnings can be achieved than in the public sector, this in a political sense is creating an imbalance within earning potentials.

For a well educated and informed work force we would have expected a high level of motivation and an acceptance of responsibility in terms of employment, the counter was in fact the case, many thought the responsibility without substantial financial rewards as simply not worth their while.

For an apparently well ordered society the group were amazed at the availability of alcohol and the amount consumed by Hungarians. Bars, cafes, shops, swimming baths, football grounds, trains, bus stations all had alcohol on sale. The alcohol content of beer was approximately three times the average to be found in Great Britain yet the Hungarians did not consider it to be an alcoholic beverage in the same way as hard spirits. The official age when young people can begin to drink alcohol is 18, licensing laws are virtually non existent, the only rule is that bars cannot serve alcohol before 9 a.m. although there are no restrictions as to when they close from the preceding evening. The official statistics provided by the state committee against alcoholism made horrendous reading. Hungary has the sixth highest consumption of alcohol in the world.

The average consumption per head of hard spirits is 11.3 litres per year. There are over 60,000 registered alcoholics and over 2,000,000 are described as hard drinkers. Over 84% of road accidents are related to alcohol abuse even though there

is a total moratorium on drink and driving within the country. There would appear to be a high social stigma of admitting to having problems within Hungarian society. Social welfare provision appeared to be underdeveloped in comparison with Britain. Each year over 5,000 Hungarians commit suicide and over 50,000 make attempts. These are frighteningly high figures for a country with 11,000,000 inhabitants. The quiet and insular disposition of the population combined with massive problems of alcohol abuse and the huge dependency upon prescribed anti-depressant drugs, low wages and vastly overcrowded living conditions must surely provide the reasons for the Hungarian leadership in the suicide league. The birth rate is steadily falling and like many other countries the numbers of aged people to be supported grows by the decade. Presently there are over 3,000,000 pensioners in Hungary, this situation is exacerbated by the fact that women retire at the age of 55 and men at the age of 60. Divorce figures are high and mirror the levels to be found in western countries, at first sight this may appear surprising in a country where so much value is placed on the family unit, and over 75% of the population are catholics.

Within Hungarian society women have a very unequal position. There was a complete lack of awareness with regard to sexism and sexual equality did not appear to be one of societies goals. Photographs of naked women appeared to be plastered all over Budapest on advertising, posters, calendars, badges etc. The group wrongly had assumed that the exploitation of women would not have been as blatant in a socialist country.

It would seem there are very few women who hold high ranking positions within Hungarian society. Of the twenty government ministers only one is a woman. The group saw quite a few women on the shop floor in factories, but most women were taking on traditional roles and they were paid at average 20 to 30% less than their male counterparts. When the group visited a huge residential children's home again the usual stereotyping was taking place and no choice was given ie girls had to learn needlework and cookery and the boys had to learn mechanics and engineering.

Several of the group visited the association of Hungarian Women to try and find some answers to these problems. The association is the only national council for women and was founded in 1975 and presently comprises of 235 voluntary committees. With regard to the semi-pornographic pictures which the group had seen these were described as 'art' by the women and they were so used to them they did not notice them in the streets it was claimed. When questioned about why women were not fully represented in decision making posts the answer was 'they cannot possibly be equal as their bodies are different physically and mentally'. 'The women have their families to see to and also many women workers don't want a woman for their manager or boss'.

Apart from the association they did not appear to be a structure for women's groups or meetings.

Contraception can be prescribed to girls over the age of sixteen. The pill is widely advertised and there is a system of regular medical checks for women. Before a woman can have a legal state abortion she must have the agreement of a special committee made up of Doctors, Social Workers and lay representatives and comply with one of the following six requirements; 1) she is over 35, 2) already got three children, 3) has no husband, 4) husband is in the army, 5) medical problems, 6) the foetus is defective in some way.

Overall child care facilities were outstanding, most large firms and factories provided nurseries for small children so that the mother could still work. A single mother is entitled to five months full salary after the birth of a baby and can take up to three years supported maternity health from work. The amount she will receive decreases per year. A child from the age of five months can go to a nursery which is used by most mothers who want to continue with their careers. Child benefits are provided, the maximum benefit is for two children, the amount per child then decreases. Housing priority is given to families with children. For those couples who apply to purchase their own apartment a scheme exists whereby if they sign a declaration saying that they will have three children before the age of 35 they then receive a discount off the price of their house. If by the age of 35 they have not achieved a family size of three then the couple are obliged to repay the loan to the government over a period of years, in total if they are childless or in proportion if they have less than three children.

The group stayed in a youth hotel operated by the Express Organisation which promotes youth travel both within Hungary and abroad.

Numerous contacts were made at the hotel with other delegations from neighbouring eastern block countries. One of the most pleasant evenings the group had was with a large group of young Soviet people who were visiting Hungary to look at computerised information systems. The Russian group welcomed our group with open arms. Discussions went on very late into the night and topics ranged from Chernobyl to the miners strike, to why Labour's defence policy had allegedly lost the election (according to Soviet information). The group who were from the Urals were excited by 'Glasnost' and the new openness of Gorbachov and claimed the changes were 'real' and not purely empty political propaganda.

Both groups at the end of the evening felt they had a much more positive view of each others culture, to set against the negative images and views of the west and east which are perpetrated within the media coverage of each others society. Both groups were somewhat saddened by the political divide

which exists, particularly since at a fundamental level we appeared to have very similar needs, ideals and beliefs.

In stark contrast to this wonderful meeting the following evening in a nightclub, four members of the Gateshead group encountered a large number of London based National Front members, travelling to Yugoslavia for an England international football game. The game appeared to be a secondary objective to this group who proudly sported 'shoot the reds' tee shirts and boasted they were fighting their way through eastern Europe. Their behaviour typified every tabloid readers view of the lunatic fringe which are associated with English football league clubs. They were however not the expected skinheads, the majority were employed in responsible jobs ie banking, stockbroking and insurance. Their ages ranged from early twenties through to forties. The Gateshead group were absolutely appalled at their behaviour and attitude as they proudly boasted how they had wrecked their accommodation in Budapest and claimed it was all part of the fun. It brought home to all the group the massive divides which exist in Great Britain, and made everyone question how our society creates such bigoted and violent racists.

The programme organised by the Hungarian Youth Exchange Bureau was both stimulating and informative for the group. Numerous visits were organised to a huge array of groups and national organisations. The Gateshead group have developed numerous contacts which would be useful for future exchanges and are happy to share this information with any interested party in the UK. The objective of the visit was to create better links with eastern Europe, this objective was more than fully realised.

The Gateshead International Youth Action Committee would highly recommend other youth groups and organisations establishing exchange links with Hungary.

The group would be only too happy to share contacts with other interested parties, the Gateshead International Youth Action Committee can be contacted via the Community Education Service, Civic Centre, Gateshead, Tyne & Wear, Telephone 091 4771011.

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made in australia youth policies and the creation of crime

MIKE PRESDEE

In Australia during the last five years, there has been an almost total pre-occupation with things economic. This has permeated through all levels of government and the bureaucracy, covering all areas of administration, from the structure of banking and methods of taxation, through to defence, education and child care. Yet there has been little thought given to how these major changes, achieved in economic life, have affected, and will continue to affect, the ordinary every-day lives of Australians and how they are 'making sense' of the policies that are changing both the material and cultural conditions of their existence.

The Labour government, through the embracing of policies aimed at producing a form of 'peoples' capitalism', has raised popular expectations that have contributed to the formation of a culture that is essentially 'individualistic, competitive, efficient and affluent'.⁽¹⁾ As the economy has collapsed, with falling world commodity prices, so there has been a cultural acceptance by the more conservative forces of labour, of a de-regulated economy, partially privatised, and guided only by the 'hidden hand' of the market. Market forces are now seen as able to make more competitive both private and public enterprises, and able to force not only airlines but also the corridors of education into being efficient organisations. Coupled with this is a strongly held belief that we can 'manage away' poverty, by pursuing the path of increased efficiency and effectiveness within the major institutions of society which will in itself herald the beginnings of social justice. It appears that poverty is no longer a result of economic relationships but a by product of bad management.

The fact that these policies have created massive Corporate success has given both confidence, and comfort, to those conservative workers, made insecure in their traditional class positions by the sudden and deep recession. This has produced a split in Australian society that has forced large sections of the working class into poverty, where they languish, unrepresented and over-controlled; and has in many ways added to the creation of crime.⁽²⁾

The Culture of Affluence

We have all, in recent years, become more aware of what is going on in the courts of our Corporate Kings, as Australia enters a culturally Imperialistic period heightened by the stock market crash of October 1986. Fed by all sections of the media the complete and intricate details of the private lives of our own 'Dynasties', we are informed of the 21st birthday parties of their offspring; their marriages, and their latest art acquisitions; and we have made a National sport out

of watching them bob up and down in their expensive, high-tech yachts. The Labour government, more than any other, has brought to the centre stage its Corporate Masters, so that we might all gain spiritual sustenance from both the size of their economic success, and the 'right fullness' of their social behaviour. It now seems, as one newspaper editorial put it, that the Labour government has made 'the interests of Mr Hawke's rich mates one of its chief interests'.⁽³⁾ Whether the recent Conservative Budget, brought down by British Treasurer Nigel Lawson, is in reality anything like a Labour Government budget is neither here nor there. What is important is that the British Treasurer felt able to cite Australian's fiscal policies as a justification for his own policies that unabashedly benefitted the affluent over and against the poor.

There is little doubt that the breathtaking speed with which our millionaires have created their wealth has entered the realms of popular culture, as more and more we are invited to marvel at the spectacular personal wealths that surround us and the lifestyle of the 30,000 millionaires that gives evidence of all our, and the government's success.

Now, thousands of tourists take boat trips up the Swan River to marvel not at the beauty of their natural surroundings, but to take in the evidence of the wealth of their nation by wondering at the conspicuous consumption that clings to the side of the Swan. The commentary of one of the trips explains:

The house of John Roberts that you can see, cost five and a half million dollars for the land and five million for the house, the air-conditioning alone cost \$250,000. The house that you can see there, with the limestone base is the home of Kevin Parry. We've been reliably informed that it has just been revalued at six and a half million dollars.

Since the world stock market 'readjustment' or 'crash', (depending on whether you 'lost' or 'gained'), we have been fed even more detailed accounts of the lives of our entrepreneurs. Indeed there was, initially, an almost touching consideration for the plight of the rich, with advice being offered by psychiatrists and counsellors as to how they might all cope with the reality that they were down to their last few millions. The Press ran stories about the rich at the races, after the crash, explaining how they coped with the logistics of the Melbourne Cup carnival. The Hyatt hotel's best 'suite' was booked out for the week at \$1,300 a night and Budget Chauffeur Services' fleet of 35 limousines was fully booked at \$1,100 a day, as was its fleet of 25 Mercedes, Jaguars and

Ford LTDs, at only \$550 a day. Nick's Wine Merchant in Melbourne expected to 'shift' a million dollars worth of champagne in the week, with Dan Murphy Cellars reporting that it wasn't unusual for someone to buy \$9,000 worth of bubbles for a single party.⁽⁵⁾

South Australia boasted its own post 'crash' celebration with its 'better than ever' four day Grand Prix extravaganza that produced an orgasm of drinking and dying, as tens of thousands watched millions of dollars worth of cars decrease in value at 3,125 dollars a minute, throughout the 2 hour race.⁽⁶⁾ During the week, organisations and politicians watched over the struggle between large Corporations and the tourist industry, as the Corporations scrambled to block-book in advance as many luxury rooms for next year that they could, until the Premier of the State called for a more rational approach, and for all to share. After all this was the International Year for the Homeless. The Adelaide Hilton eager to play its role in providing accommodation for the homeless rich, opened this month its 'yellow ribbon' floor, with the expressed purpose of allowing the extremely wealthy to retain their separateness and to keep them from being soiled by the 'ordinariness' of others. And in Melbourne, Brents Toyshop in Toorak Road sold at least 2 motorised toy Porsches in October — a snipet at only \$5,500 each.⁽⁷⁾

In the last financial year we have read of the media musical monopoly game that has done little to change what we hear, read, and see, but has somehow magically created vast wealth for individuals. Kerry Packer made a profit of \$79.5 million overnight by selling his stake in Hill Samuel (UK) to the TSB group, and since the 'crash', there has been a 'flurry' of activity with our new national heroes continuing to compete in their quest for further wealth. After the crash, John Spalyins moved into the British insurance industry at a cost of 158 millions, Alan Bond moved into gold for 750 million and 'played' with Allied Lyons. Kevin Parry bought Television Satellite Services and Larry Adler was repeted to be 'all cashed up' and wondering what to do with a billion dollars.⁽⁸⁾ Chris Skase managed to keep the 2 billion Quintex leisure empire intact after divesting certain companies before the Stock Market crash, and Bob Hawke reminded us that the businessmen who had built up successful export enterprises were 'Natural Heroes' and described Alan Bond as one of the 'most outstanding exports from Pommie land' because 'risk takers ... create employment and opportunities for tens of thousands of Australians'.⁽⁹⁾ There was no mention of workers as heroes or of the thousands of United Kingdom migrants who had given their working lives to the steel works and car factories of Australia.

Meanwhile, Australia's largest merchant bank, Tricontinental Holdings Ltd announced a 230% increase in pre-tax profits that heralded an orgy of record profit and good news that showed:

John Elliot's Elders IXL 132% increase in profit;
Pioneer Concrete profit up by 28.1%;
Ron Brierly's Industrial Equity profit up by 58%;
Goodman Fielder, record profits;
Westmex, record profits.⁽¹⁰⁾
Standard Chartered Bank, 47% increase in profit (arrowed within a week of the Crash).⁽¹¹⁾
Custom Credit 30.1% increase in net profit;
TNT 3 months to September 43.7% increase in equity accounted profit.

Daily, the real estate pages show us how the property boom is benefitting us all as we see how much we've all made from the homes we live in, as we all scramble at auctions to pick up a bargain at half a million or so. In Sydney, one week alone, 15 properties went for over one million dollars and were all snapped up within one week of coming onto the market.⁽¹²⁾ There was no mention as to whether the purchasers were factory workers or OCs., although the fact that ABC current affairs reporter Max Walsh was half-a-million lighter was thought to be newsworthy. Again since the 'crash' property prices have continued their high public profile, measured by both press coverage and in 'millions' of dollars. The largest 'residential' sale of 'crash week' took place in Sydney where 63 residences were sold for more than 20 million dollars and Jones Lang Wootton recorded a sales record of 400 million dollars for the ten days directly following the 'crash'.⁽¹³⁾ October was a record month for Gold Coast dealer Max Christmas who celebrated crash month with a new high of 42.5 million in sales and the Benton Corporation was congratulated 'publicly' in a full page advertisement in the *Australian* for paying a record price of 106.6 million for number 327-343 Collins Street.⁽¹⁴⁾

The stock market crash has made more visible the culture of our designated National Heroes but has little altered the way in which they live, nor indeed the way in which they accumulate the wealth created by others. There has simply been a move from one market to another as 'cash' looks for stable, and growing markets. Since The Crash, there has been a string of record prices paid for a motley collection of scrap metal, canvas, paper and rocks, that when presented as cultural commodities, demand millions of dollars on the open market.

October:

54.99 carat Rhodes diamond record price — US\$3.85 million
followed next day by
64.83 carat stone — new record of US\$6.38 million
Gutenberg Bible — record price of \$7 million

November:

Van Gogh's 'Irises' record price \$A79 million
Picasso etching record price \$A864,700
Bugatti Royale car — record price for a car \$A14.2 million

March:

Ashoka diamond \$A5.36 million

April:

World's most valuable diamond expected to fetch over \$A11 million.

In January the whole country listened and looked at the opening of Australia's first complete housing estate for the extremely rich, as 50,000 people attended the finale of the 15 million dollar five day opening of the Sanctuary Cove resort. The Resort's brochure, adorned with the bottom half of a bikini clad young woman and a large glass of champagne, informed us that

Sanctuary Cove is unashamedly elitist ... protected by its own Act of Parliament. In a world which seems to have gone mad, in a society in which crime and violence have become commonplace, this kind of peace of mind is priceless'.

all for a starting price of \$885,000 through to \$1.5 million.

As Chase AMP implores us in double page spreads to line up for \$20,000 worth of credit with the heading 'FOR PEOPLE WHO WANT IT ALL NOW', we need not wonder that welfare workers complain about the recipients of social security payments falling into the 'millionaire for a day' syndrome, as they spend all their money virtually as soon as they get it. The culture of affluence has permeated through Australian society and dominates the way in which we are all making sense of our new economic world.⁽¹⁵⁾

The reality for many people is, of course, vastly different, as welfare agencies pick up the casualties of the new culture of efficiency and affluence. The latest report on bankruptcies has shown, that for the first time, the number of individual bankruptcies has overtaken the number of business bankruptcies, with household debts rising by over 500% in a decade and bankcard debt rising by 42% in a year.⁽¹⁶⁾

Young people have been just as vulnerable with the South Australian Legal Aid service advising 135 young people aged between 18 and 20 about their debts, in the last year, with some young people so in debt that they needed advice about personal bankruptcy proceedings. The budgeting advice service of the South Australian Department of Community Welfare has also found that the young people who came for advice averaged debts of about \$1,000, with one young person owing \$5,000 in credit card and bank loans.⁽¹⁷⁾ And the '2nd storey' multiple youth services centre in the middle of Adelaide's Rundle Mall shopping centre has been forced to introduce a Breakfast programme for young people, in a desperate attempt to divert them from prostituting themselves for subsistence money. A more modern version of the soup kitchens.

At the same time that Corporate wealth has created new individual expectations, so the Treasurer has proudly announced to New York entrepreneurs that business in Australia has prospered since Australian workers had accepted a 7% cut in real wages under four years of Labour administration. Such is the mystifying quality of language that the ensuing stress placed on the lives of Australian workers by their magnanimous restraint (and how it seems felt also by parliamentarians themselves) is simply called by the Treasurer, a 'very sizeable reining-in' of labour costs, which has been matched, he says, by a full recovery in Corporate profit.⁽¹⁸⁾ And of course a 20% rise in executive earnings in the last 24 month period (A.B.S. figures).

The Experience of Young People

As the rift widens between how the government thinks people live, and the everyday reality that many experience, so a cultural confusion confronts large numbers of young people. There has been a fundamental misunderstanding by this Government about how young working-class people live; their expectations, hopes, fears; their happiness, their desperation. The present governing group of Parliament, Peak unions and Corporate Capital, presents itself to the country as a grey, sombre suited, wall of conservatism, (the very picture of proprietary), who are under the misapprehension that young people need to be coerced into the new, sparkling, corporate economy. If the young resist the power of 'rationality' then they should suffer all the controls needed to render them both socially, and politically impotent. It is only by enforcing control mechanisms that the unacceptable social side-effects of economic deregulation can be masked and portrayed as a moral, rather than an economic question. In this way the regulation of young people is

separated out from the question of employment.⁽¹⁹⁾ From this Society, that has as its spiritual driving force the legal, or illegal, acquisition of individual wealth, we can expect, not only an unconstrained rise in so-called legal economic activities, but a corresponding rise in illegal activities. As the prospects of poverty begin to bear down over more and more young people, so we can expect cultural responses that will be considered rational by the young, — and illegal and irrational by our 'leaders'.

Youth Poverty

Unemployment still remains the greatest threat to the social development of young people. In South Australia the rate of unemployment for 15-19 year olds, still hovers between 25% and 30%. In the city of Elizabeth, local CES figures show a rate of 40% for the same age group that excludes any 15 year olds who rarely register at the employment office.⁽²¹⁾ A more realistic figure for Elizabeth is more likely to be in the region of 50%, a situation that has changed little in seven years. Surprisingly whilst the 15 to 19 year labour force has reduced significantly in South Australia, from 78,300 in 1981 to 69,500 in 1987, youth unemployment has become both higher and entrenched, and now stands 73% higher than in Victoria.

In response, faced with ever-increasing periods of poverty, young people are beginning to make sense of their economic situation by the resolving of social and economic tensions, from which they have created the fabric of their culture.⁽¹⁴⁾ We should not underestimate the ability of sub-cultures to take even the most entrenched structural inequality and numb it into normality, creating for those involved, a much needed sense of being part of 'the wider world', of 'fitting in', of being 'normal'. Sub-cultures have the potential to capture the 'different' and 'routinise' it into the normal and necessary. It is this alternative sense of normality that confronts the dominant culture, disrupting its rhythm and order. In this way sub-cultures resist the outer world, and protect the social world of their members as they create new senses of the same economic reality that is experienced by us all. Competing views of the world, containing as they do different politics, come into being and present a threat to the existing dominant understandings and meanings made of Society. It is just this process of 'meaning making', that politicians and political economists find so hard to understand. It is their failure to do so that has led them to the belief that improvements in training opportunities and schooling will, on their own, persuade young unemployed people to give up their 'hedonistic' lives of leisure and suspend their involvement in the culture of affluence, whilst they are re-trained and re-schooled, ready for life on the dole at 18 rather than 16.

This offer of a reduction in income by the removal of the dole for 16 and 17 year olds, is one that a great number of young people are likely to reject, forcing even more young people to attempt to survive a consumer society from the conditions of poverty. As Frank Maas has suggested, the policy proposals introduced in the May economic statement 'seem destined to exacerbate rather than reduce problems such as family conflict and young homelessness'⁽²²⁾ and, we might add, increase crime. The present situation points significantly to disaster when we consider that in January there were 60,600 sixteen and seventeen year olds 'not at school, not at a tertiary institution' and looking for work (A.B.S. cat. 6203.0 table 11). But the Social Services in Canberra had, on the 29 January, given only 25,126 job search allowances, which rose only slightly to 26,055 on March 11, clearly at a time when

young people had already re-enrolled at school. Even allowing for the vagaries of statistical sampling techniques and the new 13 week waiting period for 'dole' eligibility, there is still a staggering 30,000 plus young people without work, without a wage and without income.

The trial of one young armed bank robber in Adelaide showed how the 'trial' constructed the crime in a cultural way when the offender admitted committing his crimes because of 'a lust for money'. He had gone about satiating his lust in quite the wrong way and was sentenced to a period of 30 years gaol. Had he gone about acquiring his wealth in the 'correct' way then he may now have been a 'National Hero' and be languishing on the banks of the Swan, rather than behind bars.

Poverty and Crime

There is a continuing confusion in the media about the current state of crime in Australia. When the South Australian office of crime statistics released its 1986 crime analysis the Adelaide evening *News* reported with the headlines:

S.A. CRIME RATE SOARS. (15/9/87)

whilst the next day the ever responsible *Advertiser* stated:

S.A.'s CRIME STATISTICS SHOW POSITIVE DECLINE. (16/9/87)

with the *Sunday Mail* countering this maverick view by informing us all:

We should be under no illusions. *There is a crime wave.* It is tantamount to a crime war. And the criminals are winning. (20/9/87)

The State Labour government, sensitive to these issues, could only sit back and wonder how all this had happened, after all, as Dr Hopgood announced in Parliament, 'South Australia has the best police to population ratio in the country!'

The press continued its law and order campaign, putting it into perspective with the evening *New's* spectacular full front page headline —

JAIL FOR S.A. DOLE CHEAT (26/8/87)

This article went on to explain that a man who 'ripped-off' more than \$18,000 in unemployment benefits was sentenced to two and a half year's gaol, with an 18 months' non-parole period. Later the *Sunday Mail* ran a court story under the byeline — 'Slim, sad and sorry', describing a young woman from Elizabeth as a 'dole cheat'. She was young, single, a mother, unemployed — and had duplicated two of her \$162 dole cheques. The magistrate was reported as saying, 'The motivation was need rather than greed, but they are serious offences' and fined her \$200, plus \$80 costs and \$22 court fees, a total of \$302, to be paid out of her pension of \$140 per week. If, like 2,600 other South Australians last year, she fails to pay her fine then 'need' rather than 'greed' will have added another young person to the gaol statistics.⁽²³⁾

The structured 'hidden injuries of class' buried deep in the legal justice system are laid bare when we contrast the recent gaoling of another Elizabeth young mother for falsely obtaining 'supporting parents' benefit. She was given 2 years

gaol for embezzling \$25,000, whilst in the same week members of Parliament, their staff and journalists, embezzled 10,000 dollars worth of food and drink from the bars and restaurants of Parliament and received a stern 'telling off' from the acting President of the Senate. As one mother goes to the privations of prison, so members of Parliament look forward to inhabiting their new luxury \$1,000 million Parliamentary Palace, with its saunas, meditation rooms and squash courts.

At this time of great 'law and order' outrage, (and in South Australia a re-examining of the juvenile justice system), a Treasury draft paper estimates that in 1983 alone \$3 billion was lost in tax fraud whilst the AMA has conceded that fraud and over-servicing cost \$100 million in 1981. The August edition of *EYE* has described how the law was circumnavigated by the wealthy, stating:

Officials familiar with the process say some appallingly low settlements have been accepted by the Tax Office. One of Melbourne's wealthiest families has been given indemnity against future prosecution after a settlement based on a payment some tens of millions below what tax investigators believe was owing and could have been recovered in court.

It would appear that 'greed' rather than 'need' is more respected, and affluence, rather than poverty, considered a virtue.

Youth Responses: School Absenteeism, Unemployment and Crime

In an attempt to gain a greater understanding of the reactions of young people to the poverty of unemployment I have been interviewing a number of 15 year old young people who have already faced a life of unemployment without the dole. During this time I have interviewed individually eight young people from a drop-in centre in Elizabeth, a group of 5 young women undertaking a receptionist course run by Elizabeth CYSS, and a group of young women working in a brothel in Adelaide. Their responses have illuminated the way that they have struggled with the economic and political realities facing many young people today.

The official extent of juvenile crime in South Australia and the connection with unemployment has been well documented by the office of Crime Statistics. The figures for the period 1 January to 30 June 1986 reveal a 3.4% increase compared with the previous 6 months. Of 4,856 appearances the great majority were for relatively minor property crimes, such as shop theft (57.9%), breaking and entering (11.6%) and offences against order (9.2%). Under 1% of all juvenile appearances involved an offence, defined by the Department of Community Welfare researchers, as a crime of violence.⁽²⁴⁾ 46.1% of young people appearing before courts were unemployed, whereas 72.3% in front of aid panels were in the student/apprentice category.

The situation for young women 'offenders' is worse than that of young men with 55% of young women 'offenders' being unemployed, compared to 45% of young men. The figure for 15 and 16 year old 'young women unemployed offenders' was dramatically high, being 68% and 70%, with the corresponding figure for young men being 48% and 54%.

The stress on young unemployed women is quite clear, as those without dole payments figure highly in the 'offenders'

figures — precisely the conditions that the present government has created for thousands more Australian youth.

Of all children's court appearances the high unemployment areas of the outer western, southern and northern suburbs of Adelaide account for almost 70% of all offences with the regional area of Elizabeth making up 36.6% of the total. This, coupled with a high frequency of 'court and panel appearance' rate of 42.7 per 1000 in Elizabeth, 51 per 1000 in Port Adelaide (against 4.6 for the middle class eastern suburbs area of St Peters) shows clearly the class nature of crime.

It is not my intention here to discuss the added problem of race that faces, for example, the city of Elizabeth, but we should be aware of the over representation of Aboriginals in all the figures, especially young Aboriginal women.

The fact that the greater number of panel appearances are from young people, still at school, is little comfort when we consider the state of absenteeism in schools, and the connection between absenteeism and crime. The increasing number of truants shows the extent of the failure of present educational policies, (especially for working class young people), as 15 year olds choose unemployment without the dole, over the exciting learning environment of school and TAFE!

Without exception, all the young unemployed people that I interviewed had truanted from school at some time, so beginning an early pattern of 'offending'. Truancy was a response to problems faced within the school, with young people rarely truanting to do specific things, but simply to steal both time and space for themselves in which they could, for a short period, be autonomous, be free, and be themselves, thus escaping, even for a short period of time the rules, regulations and regimentation of schooling.

I hated science, every science lesson I went down the school creek and sit in the tunnel — they got a tunnel there, or we go up the shops — we used to go down the shops and pinch smokes. (Wendy 15).

The first time (truanted) I went into Adelaide with a couple of friends. It was really funny because they found out we were wagging and that so the police in Elizabeth sent out, it was so funny, sent out a message to Police in Adelaide, and we were walking along. There was three of us and this guy had a really short haircut and there was 2 policemen were standing there and we walked right past them, and they said, and one of the police said 'Ha, ha, look at his hair', like we was messing around, and they were looking for us, and they never realised it was us. It was so funny and we mucked around in Adelaide all day — it was nothing exciting — we went down the Torrens. (Sue 17 — left school 15).

Another time I sat in a tree all day — I was not going to school — I did not want to go to school — That's where I stayed — in a tree. (Ann 16 — left school 15).

Already Chris, 13½ and still at primary school, is 'wagging' regularly and spending her time 'scoring for my brother' and Deb, 14½, last went to school one and one half years ago.

There is little doubt that the rates of absenteeism are increasing in South Australia, with attendance officers

reporting an increasing problem. The pattern and reasons are complex, but there are significant differences in rates between working class schools, such as Port Adelaide at 6.9% and middle class schools such as Marryatville with just 1.7%. The latest study undertaken by the Adelaide regional office estimates that 8,500 students are absent for more than one term a year and that on any one day 18,000 children may be absent for a variety of reasons. It is clear that a great majority of these would be absent with parental knowledge although not necessarily under the direct supervision and care of parents. Young women are more often absent than young men, a pattern that starts in the late primary school and becomes exceptionally marked by year ten.⁽²⁵⁾

It is when young 15 year olds, especially young women, finally leave school that the battle for an income, for survival, begins in earnest. It appears that no matter how hard they try, in the end the way in which an income is achieved matters less and less. In each of my interviews every young person had broken some legal regulation, in some way, in their fight for survival. Although most had never been caught, they had, between them, been guilty of:

- Non-attendance at school
- Vandalism
- Drug use
- Under age carnal knowledge
- Drinking

- Smoking
- Breaking and entering
- Shop lifting
- Prostitution
- Driving offences
- Non declaration of taxable income.

I'd left school and I wasn't on the dole and wasn't getting any money whatsoever. So I had to get money somehow — from friends, borrowed from friends, hassle kids at the shops — not bash them, just say give us your money or we're going to get you into so much trouble. (Sue)

I used to steal out of Mum's purse all the time — if I went to a friend's place I'd steal out of their mum's purse. I just needed the money. I wasn't getting any money. Mum would buy me a packet of smokes. I just had to have money. (Ann)

I've been to court just for pinching ... flogging stuff. It was cause I liked them, it was for my bike, a pair of pedals. I was with my two mates but they never knew I done it. (Rod 14¾ — left school).

At times the 'event' of breaking and entering served both the purpose of providing an income and of structuring the day. Like a cricket innings the descriptions of breaking-in were vivid and precise.

One time I was with one of my girlfriends. We went to this meeting at the shops and no-one had any money whatsoever and this girl who was there, she was really trying to get into the group, sort of thing, and she was saying we could all trust her, and she said she'd left the window open — There was a guard dog there but because it was her house she went and got the dog, an that, and there was about 5 guys and 2 of us girls — I stood at the letterbox and was watching, and that, pretending I was

waiting for someone, and she went and opened the window and they cut the wire and they just forced it open, and I remember hearing this scream go bang! Crash! and she goes 'Oh, there goes my ornament, gone' — or something like that — Um, no lights were turned on and she led them through to where there was this, like a jewellery box or something — some sort of box where this money was kept — They were going away on holiday and they'd saved it all up.

We only took 50 — we only took 50 cause we were scared that if we did get caught it would be worse. (Sue 17).

In all cases they came to regard stealing as a disease. Something they had to be cured of, something that they were battling against in a brave effort to accept their poverty, to accept the bottom of the pile. as they began the painful process of learning to be poor.

I, I don't do it no more — I can handle being without money — I can handle it now. If I'm broke I just come here — I don't steal no more. (Sue).

I got done for smashing windows at school — 4 months ago it was, it was over at the North Primary school I was looking for my lighter cause I dropped it — night time — the cops came over and my friend smiles a bit and the Copper says 'Smack!' knocks him to the ground and he goes 'Don't laugh at me'.

I'm alright now, my soccer coach is a policeman. If I've got no money I just stays at home. (David 17 — left school 16)

Never, in six weeks, did any of these young people suggest that they might return to school. Several had tried to go back, and failed once more. Several had finished CYSS schemes and TAFE courses, and they had all got skills that, although unmarketable, they clung to as examples of their individuality, their creativity, their humanity.

I've got a thing about Egyptology — I've written maasses about it and I'm always reading about it. I've got no maths though. I need an education; so I'd like to go back, but then I couldn't keep up with it unless I did my year 8 and year 9 all over again, but I don't think I could do it — I could do Egyptology — I went for a job in the Museum in the Egyptology department but I didn't get it. (Ann).

I was thinking of, about doing industrial sewing cause I'm a good sewer — I make skirts an that for me sister. (Wendy 15).

My sister designs clothes — she's got a whole book that thick of clothes designs — she's going to do a fashion parade and I'm going to be a model. They say I've got the right face for it. (Chris).

I've got no talent, an that. I've just got skills and sports, but no talent. My mum's got no talent either, she's 40 years old and still plays netball. (David 17 — played soccer for South Australia).

I put my name at the CES and I done a CYSS course — Retail sales — I went for an interview at John Martins but I didn't go too good cause it was my first interview. She said I got good eye contact — next time just try a bit harder and don't be so nervous, cause I was stumbling over my words, an that. (Sally 15).

As their high expectations for their new independence and their hopes for a life of work and social activities receded into the poverty of unemployment, so new ways of filling the day with normal activities becomes important. The power of the social rhythms of the day, inextricably bound up in the work place, becomes a force that drives most young unemployed people to the extremes in their quest for an income, or what an income might buy.

I went for a couple of jobs as a waitress. Fake name, fake age. Then I thought ... the peek-a-boo girls an that, and I thought should I, shouldn't I. It'll be extra money, anybody can do that sort of thing — but I didn't end up doing it — I got an interview and said I was 25 — I got to Adelaide but I chickened out. (Ann).

This guy I was seeing had an older brother who was 35 and was setting up an escort agency and he was going to get me a car an that — I would have done that cause I knew he would treat me right. At that time I was really desperate — I would only have had to do it 2 or 3 a day. (Sue).

When I was on the run I slept with guys but I wasn't getting paid. The guys were protecting me a lot — you know — They really protected me heaps. (Ann).

Young Women and the Cash Economy

There is little doubt that young unemployed women are more susceptible to working in the cash economy than young men driving young women to accept both illegal conditions and illegal work. Even the most respectable businesses were found to have accounting practices that dealt frequently with only cash transactions. One young woman who, after completing a TAFE beauticians' course, got work at a nail-sculpting salon, only to find that she was paid in cash, no pay slip, no tax — no questions asked. When she and her friend asked for a proper pay-slip they quickly found themselves on the dole and again back into the training in a CYSS course. Another young woman worked for 6 months at a baker's shop and only demanded a pay slip when the family realised something was wrong. She found herself quickly joining the unemployed statistics! During this study I have encountered a range of jobs which were part of the cash economy including: waitressing, swimming lesson, nursing, tennis coaching, telephone selling, and child care centre work and I found that market places were used often for cash earnings but the most institutionalised method of all was the 'vice' industry. The extent that young women work in the general area of 'vice', (ie, photographic studios, stripping, peek-a-boo, prostitution) is difficult to ascertain, but there is a generalised feeling from the police, bureaucrats, street-workers, and young women themselves, that this is an area of work that has increased in the last two years and is still expanding.

In a recent report in South Australia, the head of the Children's Interest Bureau stated:

Young prostitutes often have ... petty criminal records for offences other than prostitution, usually committed in order to survive. They are runaways and have low educational achievement and are often unemployed.

She went on to report that the

Federal governments decision to cease dole payments to

16-17 year olds will further disadvantage an already alienated group.⁽²⁶⁾

In the Victorian 'Inquiry into Prostitution', it was estimated by the police that there were 180 young people involved in prostitution in that state whilst Hancock's research for the same enquiry showed 67% of a sample of 63 young women, had left school and 85% of those were unemployed,⁽²⁷⁾ and the Fitzgerald enquiry in Queensland has been told of a 16 year old who worked at 'Fantasy Photographic' agency during her school holidays, earning up to \$1,800 a week.⁽²⁸⁾

The recent debate in South Australia has been around whether organised under-age prostitution exists. With the exception of reports of 2 such establishments, one in Port Adelaide and one at Dry Creek, there is little evidence of any organised approach. However, there is no doubt that young women, rather than under-age women, are more desired by 'businesses', their services cost more, and they are in greater demand by clients, with some establishments specialising in young women, as against under-age women. It is doubtful whether the niceties of a legally defined age bracket has any affect on young women's responses. Because they reach the age of 18 doesn't mean they feel less exploited, less helpless, less vulnerable; or for that matter more able, all of a sudden, to cope. By only concentrating on the legally under-aged a great deal remains unrecognised, invisible, and unconcerning.

The 1986 'prostitutes of South Australia' phone-in of 108 calls showed that 54% were under 21 when they started working, whilst the Victorian report showed only 34% under 20, from a sample of 90. However, workers were now working longer with 54% working 2 years or more whilst in 1979 only 22% worked longer than 2 years.⁽²⁹⁾

In the last year, there has been an explosion of escort agencies in Adelaide with 112 agencies now in existence and 22 brothels. The South Australian vice squad estimates around 100, 18 to 20 year olds to be working in the business and there seems little doubt that ages are getting lower, and harder to detect, and that prostitution, like war, is something experienced by the young; both young men and young women.

My wage was only 40 odd dollars — I didn't know anybody (having just run away to Melbourne) I started to go out. I started meeting people and I think it was in a pub in Coburg, and some old guy came over and offered me some money, and I said no. The next night there was this young guy, so I took it and that's how I started — it wasn't organised or anything — I wish I'd done it properly — It was the company I liked.

I didn't care about the morals of it, I think I was too young — I was only 15. It was \$20 then — now I think they got a bargain — a 15 year old for \$20! I was drinking an that — it just seemed to happen. (Jane).

By the age of 15 Jane had run away to Melbourne, married at 16, become pregnant, lost her child, went to Perth; started to work as a stripper before being tempted by the money available in escort agencies.

The other young women Jane worked with had the following histories that connected them, inevitably, with the young women I had interviewed in Elizabeth.

- a) Left school 2nd year High. Almost illiterate.
- b) Worked Hindley Street at 14 — little schooling (described as no schooling).
- c) Just started working. Left school at 15, worked in a supermarket 6 days a week for \$180 — lived in a flat and started to shoplift.
- d) Left school at 15. Ran away from home at 14 — slept around in exchange for housing. Became pregnant — stayed in single mothers' home. State housing emergency list — slept in park with baby. Now working to buy a home.

For these young women there is a sense of 'belonging', bringing to them the normality of a working life that they have never had before.

Even now some of the girls don't like the work but they like being part of something. The girls who work together get quite friendly — They like to belong. (Jane).

And Sue, in Elizabeth, who had flirted with the idea herself, of joining an escort agency, got the same feeling of 'belonging' from the drop-in centre that now held her life together.

Do you ever watch 'Cheers' — the song in that is magic, it goes 'Sometimes you need to go where everybody knows your name'. I walk into this place and I feel welcome — we all know each other and we all care about each other, we muck around and we — you know — have a laugh and do really weird things ... we all belong.

We can see, from the present struggle of young 15 and 16 and 17 year olds, how the lack of income, and the lack of the dole, has had little affect on persuading them to return to the realms of education and training. They have, after all, all failed there already; hated the institutions; hated being treated as powerless children. In Victoria the much publicised figures of 6,185 suspensions in 1986 point to similar nationwide responses.⁽³⁰⁾

The present federal government's policy of starving young people back into education is likely to drive as many young people into the vagaries of the cash economy and crime, as it is likely to drive young people into the experience of traineeships. We can assume that the withdrawal of the dole will create a bigger pool of 'at risk' young people virtually overnight, creating a nightmare 'new year' for the social services throughout the country.

From young people themselves has come both the warning, and the evidence, if we care to look and to listen. Whilst politicians and administrators peddle the politics and economics of 'competition, efficiency and affluence', they should look deeper than the play things of our Corporate Kings, and look towards the struggle for survival, the struggle for creativity, and the struggle for humanity, that many young Australians are engaged in now. There will be little thanks for Youth Policies that neglect the creation of work for the unintentional, creation of crime.

From young people several blithe suggestions were offered concerning the ease of solutions. These were generally in the vein of *increased break and enters and if necessary prostitution*. It must be stated that the majority of younger people considered that the lack of income support would be problematic for them. (Inner City Kids' Project).⁽³¹⁾

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- (11) *The News*, 28/10/87.
- (12) *Australian*, 26/9/87.
- (13) *Australian*, 31 October — 1 November, 1987.
- (14) *Australian*, 14-15 November, 1987.
- (15) *Adelaide Sunday Mail*, 4/10/87.
- (16) *Advertiser*, 11/10/87.
- (17) *Advertiser*, 7/10/87.
- (18) *Times on Sunday*, 4/10/87.
- (19) For a major discussion of this view, see Presdee, M. and White, R. 'Priority One down under: Australian Youth Policies in the 1980s', *Youth and Policy*, (UK), August 1987.
- (20) Figures supplied by Elizabeth CES June 1987.
- (21) See Presdee, M.
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HELPLINE FOR YOUNG WORKERS

The Youth Employment and Training Resource Unit, are pleased to announce the establishment of a new service, the 'Young workers Helpline'. The service will provide a 24 hour answering facility, and there will be someone answering calls in normal office hours.

The helpline will be able to clarify simple rights, both on schemes such as YTS, Employment Training and at work, like hours at work, travel, wages, unions. We will also be using the booklet 'Schemewise' (given free to young workers) to provide backup to those on schemes.

Also, with ongoing problems, such as health and safety, discrimination, the hours you are expected to work etc, we will provide support and advice on what you can do about it and who can help you.

We are especially interested in providing help with abuse or harassment at work. If you are a women and/or black and are

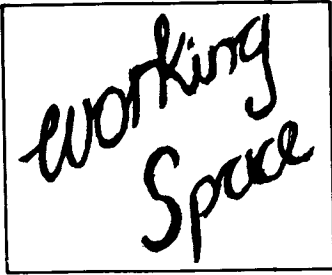
facing unwanted attention at work or abuse then we are here to help. There are two women working on the service.

A spokesperson from the helpline said: 'We hope this will mean that young workers exploited in their job or scheme do not suffer in silence, they have somewhere to go that will provide sympathetic information and support if you're having any problems then just get in touch there's always someone who can help.'

ALL CALLS WILL BE TREATED IN CONFIDENCE

Contact for more information, Jennifer McCarey or Maggie Owolade on 021 236 8620 (office); 021 236 9649 (helpline).

YETRU, 7 Frederick Street, Birmingham. B1 3HE.



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.

Introduction

Giroscope is a six-member worker co-operative which operates in south-west Hull. We purchase run-down properties which we then renovate and rent-out to young unemployed people. We presently own 8 houses, and provide accommodation for 19 adults and 5 children. Most of these people were either homeless or on the verge of homelessness when they contacted us.

Homelessness in Hull, as in any city, is a big problem which threatens to break out of control, if it hasn't already. Unlike most landlords we endeavour to keep a certain amount of social contact with our tenants, and we give them as much control as possible over their homes, not just doing repairs quickly, but also re-decorating to a new tenants specification when they move in. We generally know who the tenants for a house are when we start renovating it, and we consult them frequently about the way in which we do the work, or whether there are any features they wish us to incorporate when deciding the basic layout of communal rooms such as living-rooms or kitchens etc.

Our project was made easier by the incredibly cheap house prices in Hull, which are now beginning to increase, but are still way below national average. As we started off with no capital this factor has helped us enormously.

The Giroscope Story

The roots of Giroscope go back 3½ years to a group of people who were mainly unemployed, with the exception of some who were finishing their degrees at Hull University. As a social group we were very close, eating communally and sharing what little we had.

Most of us lived in private rented accommodations which were, to all intent and purpose, slums. One friend, Reg Salmon, bought a two-up two-down with a friend whilst at university. They had realised that buying a small house on bank loans worked out cheaper, week by week, than renting.

With this fact in mind, and a general dissatisfaction with being unemployed and living in slum accommodation under an oppressive government, we decided to take action. Initially we just thought about housing ourselves, but after several meetings a larger plan began to emerge.

We decided that we would attempt to buy houses to rent solely to young unemployed people who, through our own experiences, we knew were heavily discriminated against. We wanted to run our operation as a co-operative, and arrive at

decisions through consensus. Although we thought grant money might be available to us, we basically wanted to be self-financing so we could maintain our independence and political integrity. We had seen too many worthwhile organisations have their hands tied because of their dependence on state money. At these first meetings we also talked about the pooling of any personal wealth into the co-op. Even now, any Giroscope member who inherits a large amount of money has to invest most of it into the co-operative. It was also realised that, should the housing scheme be successful, we might be able to generate enough money to initiate other schemes involving young people.

Next we had to put the plan into action ... we had a clapped-out Marina Coupé, a few hundred quid, and lots of houses to view! Within weeks we had made an offer on a house. Then began the more difficult task of convincing bank managers. With a few white lies and a simple business plan we secured three personal bank loans, and the house became ours. We had left ourselves very little cash to renovate the house and, not having any building skills, the house was little more than decorated.

Whilst working on our first house we made an offer on a second. The first house saw some of the initial group evaporate as hard work became the order of the day. Eventually the house was finished and we ran an advertisement in the local evening newspaper which simply ran ... 'Unemployed? Need accommodation? Rooms available'. Our phone rang all day, and very quickly the extent of youth homelessness dawned on us. The desperate stories we heard of illegal eviction and domestic violence hardened our resolve to continue. Four young people moved into the house: two sisters, their brother and his girl-friend. All had been kicked out of their parental home.

The second house we intended to purchase, No. 1 Kings Bench Street, was going to be the home of the co-op members. However, just before the deal was completed our solicitor wrote to us saying there were big problems. The family selling the house had done a moonlight flit leaving massive debts, and ownership of the house in the balance. By the time we found this out we had already given notice to our landlords so we faced the ominous spectre of homelessness. We decided to squat the property.

Hence we found ourselves squatting a house we were trying to buy, whilst owning and renting out another. It was nearly a year before the legal complications were sorted out and the house could be renovated.

In the meantime we purchased and renovated another house, 8 Glencoe Street, where the majority of the co-op members live. The renovation of 8 Glencoe Street was a very important stage in the development of Giroscope, primarily because it was during this period when Giroscope's members began learning their basic building skills. The house is a large terrace and was a very cheap purchase due to its condition. With the exception of the plumbing and the wiring which was done in conjunction with a trained friend, the Giroscope members, all unskilled in the building trades, renovated the house whilst living in it. We had moved out of the squat in January 1986 after a request to do so from the estate agents we were purchasing the property through.

However living in the house whilst renovating it gave us the added incentive needed to overcome the daunting task ahead of us. Important factors during this crucial period were skill-sharing, support and constructive criticism from colleagues and the willingness to thoroughly discuss tasks undertaken, both successes and failures. In this way we built-up the confidence in our ability to renovate the house. Breaking down the mystique of the building trades was an important process in building-up our belief in our ability. Skill-sharing became normal practice for Giroscope members, but unfortunately you cannot stop specialisation from occurring to an extent, and people also develop preferences for certain jobs. On the whole however, Giroscope's members have a broad knowledge of building work, and generally, prefer to vary their work rather than sticking to one task monotonously.

During this period we also made the first tentative steps to becoming a co-operative in a legal sense, and began consulting our local C.D.A. for advice. From the outset Giroscope had operated as a co-operative. Every member is expected to take part in running the co-op in a management level, as equality amongst the members, not just in wages, but also in status, is an important aspiration for a co-op which takes its democratic structures seriously. We also started operating more professionally, having weekly meetings which were minuted, members taking responsibility for various aspects of co-op work not directly related to building, and broadening our horizons from just renovating houses to becoming directors of a vibrant company which intended to make its mark in a number of ways, whether it be raising finance, or getting our ideas across to the public.

In constructing our 'Articles of Association' we included a couple of conditions which we felt were essential to the underlying philosophy of Giroscope, and its working practices. These were, limiting our wage levels to not more than twice the unemployment benefit rate, and incorporating consensus decision making on all issues. The first item is important because our incentive to start Giroscope, as explained above, emerged from our experiences as young unemployed people and we do not wish to replace this incentive with that of getting rich. We want to maintain our contact with young unemployed people and do not wish to become alienated from the people we help. Also, many of our tenants, as well as other unemployed people, often work for us voluntarily. This help is invaluable to us and we feel it would be less forthcoming from voluntary workers on the dole if we were paying ourselves substantially more than they receive. From day one Giroscope members have only paid themselves wages equivalent to the unemployment benefit levels. The second item is important because we didn't want splits or factions developing in the co-op, and we believe consensus decision making helps prevent these tendencies

from occurring by encouraging people to talk around problems.

For consensus decision making to work practically we have put a limit of twelve members on the co-op. Obviously there are provisions within our rules and regulations for voting procedures should a consensus not be achieved, but in over two years of minuted meetings we haven't had to vote on an issue yet. The big advantage of a co-op is having real control over your job. Also, for the initial members, it gives them the privilege of forming a company structure which reflects their own working ideals, which is a unique and very gratifying opportunity.

Soon after renovating 8 Glencoe Street, we started to renovate 1 Kings Bench Street, the house we had squatted in. This gave us the chance to refine some of the skills learnt previously. We were now managing four properties, but none of the deeds were in Giroscope's name because the houses had been purchased on personal bank loans or by friends with full-time jobs who could secure mortgages. Obviously this position meant we had to put a great deal of trust in our friends who had purchased property for us. We managed the properties in all respects but there were two main problems. First, the two houses we bought with building society mortgages by friends were being rented out which contravened the contracts, so problems may have emerged if the building societies discovered this. Secondly, although we trusted the friends who had purchased the houses for us, this situation was only satisfactory in the short-term. If the young co-operative was to thrive and grow it needed the security of having its name on the deeds of the properties it was managing. To this end we approached a number of financial institutions in an attempt to loan the capital required to re-mortgage the four properties and get Giroscope's name on the deeds. The Co-operative Bank agreed to loan us £29,000 over ten years and in September 1986 Giroscope Limited became the legal owner of its four properties.

Just before this, in August, Giroscope set-up trading as a legal company and its members went on the Enterprise Allowance Scheme. Although the Allowance pays £40 per week, we decided to pay ourselves £30 per week and gleefully donated the other £10 to the Co-op. Unfortunately the period between September 1986 and March 1987 was a barren one. Although we had viewed a property, 36 Kings Bench Street in September which we wished to purchase; due to the Co-op Bank's ponderous bureaucratic procedures the loan to purchase this property did not become available until the following May.

In the meantime we decided to renovate 11 Gee Street and this work commenced in March. The building skills learnt after we had initially rented out this property were put to good effect, and the work was completed in two months.

This period coincided with our first publicity, an article printed in the local evening paper. The article explained what Giroscope was basically all about and also mentioned that we needed more members, particularly women. This led to three women coming to work with us for a while although after a couple of months two of them decided that building work was not really for them. The woman who did join has written the final section of this article.

At the beginning of May we purchased 36 Kings Bench Street for £9,000. We did this with a loan from the Co-op Bank who provided 70% of the finance for both purchase and

renovation. The house was renovated in three months which, considering the amount of work we had to do, was very quick indeed. This seemed to be for two main reasons. First, we had lots of help from tenants and friends. Before the house was finished we had found prospective tenants and they chose colour schemes and advised us on other plans regarding renovation. We feel that involvement of the tenants is very important, and anybody is welcome to help us at work and attend our weekly meetings.

Two tenants have actually gone on to join the co-op. If on the otherhand their interest is limited to knowing that they have somewhere to live then that is fine. Secondly, we had planned a first birthday party for Giroscope, which we hoped to hold at the newly completed house during the middle of August. We invited the press, local Councillors, other Co-op's, the Housing Department and anyone else who had helped us in any way or who we thought should see what we were doing. We had to work through the night on the eve of the party to get the house completed in time, and without the help from the tenants and friends we wouldn't have achieved this objective.

The birthday party was very successful. There were speeches from representatives of Giroscope and Shelter as well as displays and videos about the problems of homelessness, both locally and nationally. The event was reported in the local press and in the Observer a couple of weeks later. We were pleasantly surprised at the amount of support offered as a result of the publicity.

We had begun a little fund-raising earlier in the year with success when we were given our first large donation, £5,000 from a local charitable trust. Following our exposure in the press we decided to try to capitalise on the publicity and started a fund-raising drive which seems to have been continuing ever since. To make fund-raising easier we have registered as a limited company with charitable aims and this move seems to have paid off. Including the £5,000 mentioned above, we have so far managed to raise roughly £25,000 which has been an invaluable contribution to our work.

At the beginning of September 1987 we purchased another house, 56 Chomley Street by auction. Except for myself, all the other co-op members were on holiday, so I was instructed to arrive at the appropriate place and not to bid over £7,000. A bid of £6,100 was accepted, 10% of which was paid immediately, but that was all the cash we had, and we needed to raise £5490 within 28 days to pay the remainder or we would lose our deposit. It was a risk, but after some panic and much optimism we managed to acquire £3,000; £1000 from a bank loan, £1000 borrowed from my mother and £1000 donated from an Ilkley woman who had read an article about us in the Yorkshire Post. This was still not enough but at the last minute we were given a £5,000 interest-free loan (later written off), from another local charitable trust.

Work began in October, and the house was the most derelict we had tackled. It had been empty for some time, and anything which could be moved had been stolen; floorboards, doors, all the metal pipes and tanks in the plumbing system,

banister rails, etc. In addition to this, several floors were rotten, so was most of the plaster, and all the window frames, as well as much of the internal woodwork needing to be replaced. We have completed all this work ourselves, as well as fitting a central heating system, which we fit to most of our houses. We have also installed a solar panel on the roof which will supplement the hot water system. We try to minimise heating bills for our tenants who are all either receiving benefit or on low incomes, and we are considering other alternative energy projects for future houses.

This house has taken an inordinate amount of time to finish. We have been very short of money because we have not borrowed to renovate this house. This has led to cash flow problems, and as we have borrowed nearly £40,000 from the Co-op Bank they have decided not to lend us any more money in the foreseeable future. Borrowing the money over 10 years is expensive and nearly half of our rental income goes on paying back the loan.

We are presently trying to find a building society who will give us commercial mortgages repayable over 25 years to try to ease our present cash-flow problems. Also renovating the house over winter in unpleasant conditions has meant that we have had less regular help from friends and tenants.

There are presently six members of Giroscope and the workload is increasing all the time. We can still not afford to pay everyone a wage and this, together with the high level of commitment required, makes it difficult to attract new members. I joined Giroscope just over a year ago and since then two members have left.

In February we held our first A.G.M. The 'Guardian' newspaper sent a reporter and two days later they printed a large article. Due to this publicity we appeared on 'Look North' and the BBC six o'clock news. We also received a £9,000 donation from Comic Relief which has enabled us to buy our seventh house 25 Gee Street on which we should be starting renovation in the next couple of weeks. We have also purchased an eighth house with a loan from the Yorkshire Bank.

As indicated earlier on in this article, we hope to be able in the future to provide finance to other projects set-up and run by young people. We have already helped to finance a shop called 'Propergenda' which was set-up in November 1987 and run by an ex-member of Giroscope. The shop sells hand-made clothes and other crafts, as well as books and periodicals etc. This shop will soon be run as a co-operative as other people have become interested in helping to run the business. We would like to see more small-scale initiatives which involve members of a community providing services to their own community co-operatively, and we hope that by our action and example others will be inspired to start similar projects.

The Giroscope members are:
Robert Amesbury, Martin Newman, Sarah Paton (the three authors of the article). David Salmon (Reg), Michael Shutt and Simon Wheatley.

young women in South Wales - a regional variation?

SUSAN HUTSON

The ideas in this paper derive from interviews with young unemployed people and their parents in two South Wales towns. The research, undertaken with Dr Richard Jenkins, was funded by the Rowntree Memorial Trust. The main focus of the research was the effect of long-term youth unemployment in three areas of life: family relationships, courtship and marriage, and the move into adulthood.

Young people from 18 - 25 years of age were interviewed. Where possible, their parents were also interviewed. The majority of the young people were still living at home and were contacted by taking 'young voters' from the Electoral Register. Although an interview schedule was used, informants were encouraged to talk freely about the topics that most concerned them. Interviews were tape recorded and an edited version was written-up.

Informants were contacted in three contrasting areas: Abbeyview, a large and bleak council estate in the shadow of the British Steel works at Port Talbot; High Oak, a smaller, newer and sought-after council estate looking over Swansea Bay; and Ty-gwyn, a tract of private housing on the outskirts of Swansea. In terms of social class, income, unemployment rate⁽¹⁾, Abbeyview and Ty-gwyn represent the opposite ends of a continuum with High Oak falling conveniently in the middle. These differences proved significant in the analysis of, for example, family conflict but in gender relations there appeared to be less variation between the three areas. It must be realised that, despite differences, skilled manual workers made up the largest social class group in all three areas. Thus the research was concerned largely with 'ordinary' or 'non-problem' young people. In all, 37 young men, 26 young women, 28 fathers and 36 mothers were interviewed.

The main findings of gender relations are included elsewhere in a joint article⁽²⁾. This paper develops further some of these ideas. It presents and accounts for a picture of young women which appears to diverge from some of the recent accounts of young women in Britain.

The innovative studies of Griffin⁽³⁾, McRobbie⁽⁴⁾ and Nava⁽⁵⁾ give young women a place in youth studies after several decades of male bias. The impression is, however, of young women limited in movement and expression, restricted to the domestic sphere where the burden of domestic obligations curtailed their freedom. McRobbie and Nava⁽⁶⁾ see young women excluded from the public leisure of their brothers. They speak of: 'the domestic preoccupation of girlhood merging into the domestic subjugation of womanhood'. McRobbie sees the only panacea in this situation as being the girl's 'best

friend' and the ideology of romance indulged in the 'bedroom' culture of the teenage girl.

Leonard⁽⁷⁾, working in Swansea in the early '70s, notes the early preoccupation of young women with marriage: 'Most young women are involved in some consideration of marriage to a particular man during their teens'. Lees⁽⁸⁾ explains the popularity of a 'steady' relationship by analysing the way in which girls' behaviour is controlled by their own and by their peers' concern for their sexual reputation. For them: 'The active expression of sexuality is only safe when confined to the bounds of marriage and wrapped in an aura of love'. This importance of a 'steady' boyfriend leads, according to Leonard, to girls dropping their peer group friends on leaving school whereas, for men, the peer group continues in importance.

Most of these somewhat shadowy young women are, therefore, seen to be immersed in domestic work within the parental home, dreaming of or, if lucky, going out with the boy of their dreams. It is a picture of adolescence restricted by parents or, more importantly, by their peers, to a limited and controlled expression of sexuality.

Aspects of this are more reminiscent of my own girlhood in the early '60s than my conversations with young women in Swansea and Port Talbot in the 80s. The number of independent and forthright young women, the strong friendships with other girls, the lack of interest in marriage all surprised me, as did the awareness of a new quality for women expressed by many of them, by some of their parents and even by some young men.

In the two towns I found young women going out in mixed and single sex groups to the pub, borrowing and driving the family car. Most parents felt that a job was just as important for their daughter as their son. In fact some parents saw their daughters as more 'go getting' than their sons in relation to the labour market. Some young women preferred to pay for themselves on a night out with a boyfriend. I was surprised at the lack of domestic work done by both sons and daughters even when, being unemployed, they spent much time in the house.

This is not to say that all the young women I talked to were forceful, aware of new equalities or independent. Some were not. Some girls cared for sick parents and were restricted in their movement. Others saw their future in terms of domesticity and child bearing. Some preferred the traditional ways of courtship and let the young man pay for the night out. I am, in this paper, talking about a minority, albeit a sizeable

minority. This paper aims to set out the ideas and life-style of that sizeable minority of unemployed young women in their own words and in the words of their parents and young women.

This minority diverge in behaviour and opinion from the somewhat younger teenage girls interviewed by Griffin, McRobbie and Nava, and indeed the older age of the South Wales sample may go some way in explaining the greater independence of the young women here. Jenkins⁽⁹⁾ suggests that a life-style relatively free from parental control often ends when the boy is 'settled' by a steady girlfriend into the responsibilities of marriage and parenthood which, amongst other things, necessitates getting and holding down a regular job. Wallace⁽¹⁰⁾ goes further, seeing the adoption of adult gender roles as being problematic for both young men and young women. She sees the forthright expressions against marriage and a domestic future of some of the young women she interviewed as part of this process of adjustment to what becomes, in the end, the traditional role of wife and mother. Are the ideas and the life-style of a substantial minority of young, unemployed women in South Wales merely a temporary expression of this problematic transition or are they something more?

Boyfriends and Girlfriends

I asked all my informants whether it was important to have a boy/girlfriend. In all 47% thought it was important. Only 27% of the young women thought a boyfriend was important. A surprising lack of dependence on boyfriends at this age is related to the apparent strength of the female peer group and the existence of mixed friendship groups. A young woman without a steady boyfriend can usually go to the pub or a disco with a group of girlfriends or in a mixed group. Young women spoke of 'boys who are not boyfriends' just as young men spoke of 'girls who are not girlfriends'. These friendships have generally lasted from school and are not surprising in an area of co-educational comprehensive education. Partners were not usually chosen from within these mixed friendship groups. As one young man put it: 'We know too much about each other'. A courting relationship generally meant the partners withdrew from their peer groups to a greater or lesser extent but that these friends, both boys and girls, were there to return to if the relationship failed.

The importance of the friendships young women maintain with girlfriends after leaving school is illustrated by this account of a young unemployed woman's social life with her 'best friend':

When I was on the dole, I used to...well, I was out every night. It used to be in Swansea. I used to go to Harpers on a Wednesday, Harpers on a Thursday, Troubedour on a Friday, Swansea on a Saturday. I used to go out all the time. I don't know how I did it. But, you know, my friend was in the same situation ... She was on the dole as well. I mean I used to stay out 'til four in the morning and we used to come home, lay in bed all day, then get up. I used to meet her. Perhaps we'd go for a walk, come back and get ready and go out again. And that's all we did (laughing) when I was out of work.

20 year old girl, Abbeyview.

The following quotation shows the strength of the female peer group. The speaker is talking about a girlfriend who 'let herself go' when her mother moved out of the household when she was fourteen. The speaker and another girlfriend, friends

originally from school, coax her into what they see as 'right' behaviour. The socialising aspect of the peer group is evident.

She got plump. She never cared about her hair or clothes. She was like a boy ... We got to know her better when we left school. We said "Come along, Tracy". First we said, "Come into town with us, Tracy. Have you got money?" We looked at make-up etc. with her and we said "You look nice in that, Tracy"... She gradually started to take an interest in her appearance as a girl should.

Some parents realised the strength and importance of their daughter's friendships with other girls:

She's always gone out with boys and girls. She's still got her girlfriends. They've been a gang since they've been in school. I don't believe in going out night after night with one person.

Mother of 18 year old girl, High Oak.

These quotations express the importance of female company for young women continuing on into adulthood. When the 'steady' relationship breaks up many young women know that girlfriends can be contacted by phone for solace and strategies and, moreover, social life will continue. Groups of women from the same office or shop, having a night out, as described below, can continue after marriage and are nothing new in this part of the world:

When we were working we were all working together. We were on the same scheme. We used to go out regularly drinking.

18 year old girl, Abbeyview.

Marriage, motherhood or jobs?

Nearly all the young people I interviewed were more interested in a job than in marriage. Having a job was seen to be an important stage in life. As a young woman from Abbeyview said: 'You can't just come out of school and have children....I want a job, a career.' Another girl from High Oak, in fact engaged, was determined to join the Army, learn to drive and earn enough to buy a Suzuki Jeep. She said she wanted to 'make a name for herself' and knew that by staying in Swansea and getting married she was not going to achieve her ambition. Another girl, also engaged, refused to set a wedding date until she found herself a job and could save equally with her boyfriend. Unemployment had not yet robbed these young women of their aspirations and early marriage was not one of them.

Of course, some young women in Swansea and Port Talbot do come out of school and start families, with partners or without partners. Whether or not teenage or unmarried mothers are increasing and the connection of this with unemployment⁽¹¹⁾ is outside the scope of this article as only one single parent fell within our sample.

It could be suggested that this view of jobs and careers by these young women were unrealistic and based on the fact that jobs were seen as their escape from unemployment as marriage was an escape from factory work for the young women interviewed by Pollert⁽¹²⁾. All I can say is that this did not seem to be the case. Most of these young women had had short term jobs or worked on schemes which, in general, they had enjoyed. At this stage at least, the wages, the interest of the work and the sense of independence which work and money bring were still felt to be important and positive in themselves.

Money and jobs

I asked all the informants, young women, men and parents, whether it was important for boys/girls to have money in their pockets when they were out on a date. I also asked whether they felt jobs were more important for boys than girls. It was in answer to these questions that views on changing gender relations were collected.

A few of the informants felt that lifestyles had changed for both boys and girls. In answer to the question: **'Are jobs more important for boys?'** I was given this answer from an unemployed boy in High Oak:

It's not as bad as the bad old days when the bloke had to pay all the time. The girl pays sometimes.

Do you mind?

No (laughs). Oh, it's more important for a man. I know there's more equality today because a lot of women don't get married. They have families and bring them up on their own, don't they?

More common amongst the informants was a preference for the old ways but an acknowledgement, often by a parent or a young man, that their views were 'old fashioned'. Here are the answers of two mothers of girls in High Oak to the question: **'Are jobs more important for boys than girls?'**

Yes...if they do get married they are the breadwinners. And I do still think that a man should be the head of the household. I'm old fashioned enough to think that.

Yes, a boy. If they've got a girlfriend they feel embarrassed without money. If they are courting or getting married it's important. It's still important even though things have changed.

Changing ideas about gender equality throughout life came to the fore several times in interviewing parents together. These are two answers, again to the question **'Are jobs more important for boys or girls?'**

Wife: I think it's equal.

Husband: I'm a bit old fashioned. I think it's more important for the boy to get a job.

Why?

Simply because it's the old thing. Once they come to 21 they get married, probably have a child.

Wife: I think the girl wants money and clothes the same as a boy.. You're a chauvinist.

Husband: But the girl ends up in the house looking after the child. If you mean when they're both single...?

Wife: Yes, that's what I'm talking about...even then (when married) a girl can contribute.

Parents of two unemployed boys, Abbeyview.

Husband: I do.

Wife: I don't.

Husband: Well ultimately, despite your modern equality, the man has to be the provider and men can still earn more than women can in most things.

Wife: Well, if a husband dropped down dead, as they seem to do with heart attacks, a woman has to support herself.

Parents of two boys, one unemployed, Ty-gwyn.

These answers show the different viewpoints of the wife and

the husband and the way in which they apply changing gender standards in their own life. They show the way in which women temper traditional, patriarchal notions with their own, everyday experience. Divorce, their own or a friend's, was the experience most likely to alter traditional gender attitudes:

The views in this section are presented not because they are typical but because they show an awareness of change. They must be read with the realisation that 67% of parents thought that jobs were more important for boys; 34% of young people thought the same way. What is surprising is not the majority opinion, which confirms the present structure of society, but the size of the minority which saw jobs as equally important for young women.

These attitudes exist alongside considerable changes in the way in which young people move from school into marriage. When Leonard was interviewing in the early seventies, premarital sex appeared to be the exception. Most sons and daughters lived with their parents prior to marriage and open cohabitation was unheard of. Some twenty years later, premarital sex is largely expected. Many young people leave home at sometime before marriage⁽¹³⁾. Cohabitation is often an acceptable phase of courtship and marriage is frequently deferred.

The responses of my informants reflected these changes. 58% of parents thought it was 'OK for young people to live together before marriage'. 92% of young people felt the same. Parents sometimes justified their acceptance by claiming that cohabitation lessened the risk of later divorce. Some felt there was little they could do to stop their children anyway.

Wallace⁽¹⁴⁾ documents clearly the variety of living arrangements between the family of origin and that of destination. As the young people in my sample were mostly living at home with their parents, their living arrangements did not reflect this diversity. However, most were aware of general changes in living styles before marriage.

Young women cope better and are less at risk than young men

In Swansea and Port Talbot young men are more at risk of unemployment than young women due to the decline in mining and the iron and steel industry in South Wales. There has, however, been a recent increase in jobs in the service sector which employs predominantly women. In Swansea, a service centre for rural Wales to the West, the official unemployment rate is 19.3% for men and 9.3% for women. In Neath and Port Talbot, two smaller towns centred around the British Steel Works (where many men were laid off in the early eighties) and a BP Chemicals Works, the official unemployment rate is 15.5% and 11.2% respectively⁽¹⁵⁾.

In view of these figures, which reflect the economic climate of South Wales in the eighties, it is not surprising that some informants, seeing unemployment in personal terms, felt that young women coped better than young men with the labour market in particular, and with life in general.

Some parents pointed out the Saturday jobs which 'go getting' daughters had found more often than sons while still at school⁽¹⁶⁾. The following, rather wistful comments from two unemployed boys from Ty-gwyn show their feeling:

'I think it's because they (boys) are lazy in school that they're lazier out of school.'

More girls go to tech?

'Yes. They're more interested...I know this is going to sound funny but they grow up more quickly. Suddenly, they come out of school and they shape up a bit and have a good time but we just carry on, plodding along.'

'Are jobs easier for girls?'

'Yes'.

'Why'.

'Because girls have a more mature attitude to jobs. Boys think they are still in school. They give cheek. A girl can handle a manager, or younger lads. A boy can't. They'll take the mickey. I wasted time at Dixons. Boys mess around more.'

I was aware when interviewing, that most parents did not see their daughters at risk in view of their sexuality. This is undoubtedly a change since the sixties and probably due, in part, to the wider availability of reliable contraception. In contrast some parents did see their unemployed sons to be in danger of being lured into an alternative lifestyle - a life-style where work and even consumer goods were seen as unimportant. At best the life of surf and comradeship, at worst the life of drugs, were seen to pull young men away from the traditional pathway of work - girlfriend - marriage - fatherhood. In Swansea, a university town, the influence of the 'student' lifestyle cannot be discounted. From Ty-gwyn and High Oak significant numbers of young people went away to college.

A stepfather and a mother from two families in High Oak, express their concern for the company and lifestyles of their unemployed sons:

While there's a couple of them going around and sharing dole, addresses...while they're running around dinner times, playing pool and having a couple of pints...it's just carrying on (being out of work).

Now he has fallen in with boys who are not academic. They are unemployed. I think companions can bring you down...If he had not come back here for that fortnight and talked to his friends, he would not have given in his notice (in the Civil Service clerks job in London). He's very ashamed at not having a job when he gets in with his friends, they don't try.

Although Wallace⁽¹⁷⁾ suggests that this pursuit of an alternative non-working life style by young people is transitory and fragile, disappearing particularly when children are born, the fears of these parents are real and in both these cases, fuel considerable conflict within their families.

The way in which unemployed sons were seen to be at greater risk may, of course, reflect the fact that young women have been socialised more closely to the traditional norms than their brothers and so represent less of a threat to the authority structure of the family, the school and the state. Here, I am merely saying that, at the conscious level, young women in South Wales were not seen as particularly vulnerable and were not apparently more tightly controlled than their brothers.

Unemployment, 'spoiling' and generations

Why do these findings about young women appear to be so different from those outlined at the beginning of the article? What lies behind the awareness of change, these many

assertive and apparently undomesticated young women in South Wales and the fears that some sons are at risk to outside pressures while daughters are felt to be coping better in the labour market?

One obvious answer to the view that daughters cope well and that sons are at risk is that there is a higher rate of male unemployment in both Port Talbot and Swansea. In the earlier paper written by Richard Jenkins and myself⁽¹⁸⁾, we suggested that the higher number of unemployed men and the fact that there is no difference in the amount of dole given to young men and young women, may lead to a 'shift in power' in traditional courtship and marriage patterns which were based on the economic prosperity and higher male wage of the '50s and '60s.

However, this explanation must be laid against the findings by Bell and McKee and Morris that unemployment does little to alter domestic roles within the family when the head of the household is unemployed⁽¹⁹⁾. Although it is difficult to talk about young people who leave school at sixteen without taking into account unemployment, I suggest, at this stage, that unemployment on its own does not go far enough in explaining statements of increasing gender equality. These attitudes, that gender relations are changing, appear to be part of the general climate of opinion rather than being limited to those young men and women experiencing long term unemployment.

When some of the published accounts of young women diverge from this material so markedly, a regional explanation looks attractive. If so, what was distinctive about the lives of young people in Swansea and Port Talbot? Turning to Leonard working in Swansea some twenty years earlier, I was struck by the finding that young people were spoilt. For Leonard, this spoiling was a way in which young women were 'kept close' by the 'mam'. This closeness led to the daughter, on marriage, maintaining links and, in later years, caring for her elderly parents. Leonard says of spoiling in South Wales:

...adolescence has been described as a time of 'indulgence' in the working-class. But the indulgence described in South Wales occurs also in the local middle-class and lasts through babyhood, childhood, adolescence and into adulthood and continues after marriage.

This spoiling, Leonard says, leads partly to a low load of housework given to the daughter. As she says, 'Girls do rather more than boys, but even girls do very little'. Although Leonard does not hold that this light load of housework was particular to South Wales, her accounts do not resemble the findings of McRobbie and Griffin where the lot of the working class girl is much harder and more industrious.

Although I would not go as far as to present a purely regional explanation for this 'spoiling', which was very evident to me as I interviewed in people's houses, this 'spoiling' may provide a favourable seed bed in which the ideas of leisure, freedom of young people in general and the greater equality of young women could easily take root.

This relative freedom from domestic work of young women depends on the labour of her 'mam'. The comparison of an unemployed daughter's day with that of her mother illustrates this. The mother, recounts her daughter's day:

...she'll help round the house; do some of her hand

washing. She's bored by midday. She does sometimes cook my lunch. She has a snack. This afternoon she'll go swimming. If Karen's off or Helen's home, she'll do Helen's hair. (Most evenings her boyfriend comes back from work and they eat together before going out).

Although partly domestic in content, the daughter's day compares favourably with her mother's domestic commitment which centres around the provision of food. The mother goes out at lunchtime to supervise school dinners. She also goes out to clean the same school just before tea. Her husband does shift work but prefers a main meal near midday. The daughter and her boyfriend have their main meal at five o'clock. During the interview the mother was cooking some chicken in a casserole for herself and her husband's midday meal. This was going to be turned into a different dish later for the daughter and her boyfriend's tea.

Several mothers justified the lack of pressure they put on their daughters by the fact that these days of freedom are short lived. As one mother from Abbeyview said: 'She's spoilt. Well, if you don't spoil them no one else will. Once they've married, they're on their own.' The fact that the indulgence of one generation rests on the duty of another highlights the way in which a woman's role can change throughout the life course. Thus the apparent freedom of many young women in South Wales today may result as much from their position in the life course as from current ideas of gender equality originally generated from middle class England and America.

Children are 'individual personalities'

There is another point which lead me to understand what I found. Firstly, when interviewing parents I found that they tended to see their children as having different personalities which were not particularly connected with gender stereotypes. In the following quotations two mothers from Ty-gwyn and Abbeyview are talking about their children. In the first case she compares her two sons. The elder son, after failing to get into the RAF, applies for the Police Force. In the last, a mother sees her daughter's reaction to single parenthood to be consistent with the character shown throughout her life:

Paul - he's entirely different to David. He's a very come-day, go-day sort of...in some ways it's easier. He'll more or less settle for anything (a job)...whereas Dave would tend to say: 'This isn't what I want to do. What am I doing here?'...I worry much more about David. He's a different type altogether. I think Paul will cope with life better than David. He will take the knocks better.

Julie's been more of an adult... Well, Julie's always been a very independent girl. Since she's been tiny. She's always known what she wanted to do and it's always worked out for her. I didn't think the other one (her sister) would cope as well as Julie. They're two different girls...she can be a problem to live with. She's too independent for this baby. Everything this baby has she's struggled to get. She didn't have to, mind...The other sister, she wouldn't be able to cope...she's engaged. They're looking for house. She comes in: 'Dad, will you come with us?' You know, they're two entirely...

of course much gendered behaviour within families is unconscious⁽¹⁹⁾. What I am suggesting is that this conscious stress on individual personality, which tends to be ungendered, is not insignificant. Moreover, there is some evidence that these kinds of statements of greater gender

equality are new. For example, one mother from Abbeyview was consciously treating her daughter differently from the way she had been treated by her parents:

...Father wouldn't let me put lipstick on. I had to go down the backyard... And, I think the boys were favourite. I could perhaps have done with my voice. But, my mother wouldn't spend any money on me. I was jealous of my brother. I wouldn't let that happen to my children.

This mother had paid for music lessons for her daughter and also supported her through a degree course in a London Polytechnic.

It is perhaps stating the obvious that it is at marriage and particularly after the birth of the first child, that gender differences within the family of destination becomes centrally important. In the following two quotations the informants link traditional gender relative with marriage and a family:

Are jobs more important for a boy?

I think it's more important for a boy to have a job.

Why?

I don't know. It's just the way it's always been. Girls should have jobs too, like. But when they're married, a bloke should have a job.

20 year old boy, Ty-gwyn.

It's like this. They (boys) can get a good, a 'proper' job 'cos they're going to go courting and they're going to get married. well, they've got a family to support.

Mother of 23 year old girl, Abbeyview.

Before talking again to these young women, after marriage, it is difficult to know whether the female peer group will continue, the independence and the interest in careers remain. Wallace (1987) suggests that it does not, once the 'problematic' move from girlhood to womanhood is achieved. Looking at a cohort of both young men and women, employed and unemployed, over a period of seven years, she suggests that these young women 'who did not uncritically accept their situation and were often torn between conflicting expectations, in the end settle down and marry the young men, a few of whom have already given up 'anti-work' or 'anti-respectable' life style.'

Conclusions

This account arises out of a disparity between some of the accounts of young women and what I found in the field in South Wales in 1986/7. The majority of young women appeared relatively unconcerned with having a steady boyfriend partly because their social lives could be carried on with girlfriends or a mixed group of friends. Most young women were more concerned with jobs or careers than with marriage. Parents were, in general, more worried about the lure of the 'alternative life' to their sons that their daughters' sexuality. Young women, young men and parents were all aware of the new independence being demanded by women in forms of wanting jobs or paying for themselves.

I have given some tentative explanations for the apparent independence of young women. I have suggested that such ideas might easily flourish in South Wales where young women, as well as young men, are 'spoilt' and given few domestic jobs to do. Their freedom from the domestic round is made possible by the hard work of 'mam'. I pointed out that, consciously at least, children are often treated in a relatively ungendered way in the family. Daughters, in their late teens

and early twenties are not apparently more strictly controlled than their brothers. Young people are expected 'to have a good time' but many informants felt that this would stop on marriage when both young men and young women would 'settle down' to more gendered adult roles.

These explanations, in terms of the life course and regional culture, do not take account of national changes in patterns of leaving home, cohabitation, illegitimacy and divorce which reflect the changing experiences and attitudes of men and women in Britain today. It is also important to take account of the effect of unemployment on the gender attitudes and behaviour of young people. One cannot ignore the fact that many informants felt that life is changing for women. Feminist ideas, which are current in many schools and in the media, are becoming part of the vocabularies of many families and many young people.

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Social class	Abbeyview %	High Oak %	Ty-gwyn %
I-II	3	9	26
III N	5	17	18
III M	31	22	26
IV	20	14	6
V	21	1	4
Armed forces	1	—	2
Retirement	19	37	18
Households without a car	51	35	9
Economically active pop. out of employment	30	12	7

Source 1981 Census Small Area Statistics

Income of sample	Abbeyview %	High Oak %	Ty-gwyn %
Informant households dependent on state benefit only	67	45	11
Informant households with two parents employed	17	41	61

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WALES YOUTH FORUM

Launch of a New Organisation for Young People in Wales

A new youth organisation has recently been established in Wales for young people, it is called the **Wales Youth Forum**.

The Wales Youth Forum which has recently been set up with the help of a Welsh Office grants, aims to encourage young people to take a more active role in the development of Welsh society and to encourage greater involvement of young people in the management and decision-making processes of the youth sector both statutory and voluntary.

The organisation, which will be based in Swansea, has recently employed a Development Officer, Phil Treseder, who has wide experience in working with youth clubs and organisations. Phil, 26 years old, from Cadle Crescent, Portmead, Swansea, says:

"The youth field has needed such an organisation in Wales for a long time. Young people in Wales will have a voice at last."

The Forum's immediate plans will be to organise a series of meetings of young people early next year all over Wales with the intention of following them up with a conference in March 1989.

Phil Treseder said today: "This will be a new and exciting opportunity for young people to participate more in society as a whole.

Anybody between the ages of 14-25 wishing to become involved can contact Phil Treseder on (0792) 55548.

youth unemployment — an international perspective

GUCKENBIEHL, HEUTER, HOLMES

The idea for this article came from workshops held in Koblenz, West Germany and Norwich, England in March and September 1987. Young unemployed participants of special programmes and their supervisors from both countries met to explore the question: 'What is it like being unemployed in your country?' The exchange itself was an outcome of the activities of the European Centre for Community Education (ECCE) in Koblenz, a voluntary organisation founded in 1985 to promote and spread the idea of Community Education in the wider sense of youth work, community work, social work, adult education and work with disadvantaged groups. In this sense the young unemployed people fell into the category considered as 'disadvantaged'. The organisers of the workshops Sabine Guckenbiehl, Frank Holmes and Martin Heuter decided to write an article that would put the practitioners' view on youth unemployment and their experiences and views of the future.

Martin Heuter: Introduction

Unemployment is without any doubt an international problem. Occasionally young unemployed groups take action and speak out, but for the most part they remain silent. Those with no qualifications or only poor school results, are further 'educationally handicapped'. It is amazing how many different labels both languages have generated in an attempt to describe those who do not embrace the norm. It is therefore these groups of young unemployed with lost hopes, who are the least likely to go public and speak out about their frustrations. This is true on both national and international levels. It is usually left to the professionals to voice the feelings of the unemployed and their recommendations are rarely put into practice.

When preparing the workshops we actually ran the risk of doing it for them rather than asking the participants 'What do you want?'. You can't expect a definite answer from people who have hardly ever been given a choice. Most of our participants come from that background: poor school qualifications and/or poor family background with little support. However, by asking the participants what their expectations of the workshops were, we realised that we were going to have to be very flexible. The programme included a session of acting out different situations in the life of an unemployed person. The animation with which they performed these sketches, the self confidence that suddenly surfaced really made us think; unemployment is usually considered in terms of figures, lack of money and psychological problems. If we accept that we, as the people in touch with the unemployed, can't actually change the general economic and political situation then let's concentrate

on areas where change is possible; let's find approaches that help discover the skills and interests of the unemployed and make this type of work as important as support in finding jobs. The brief of our exchange programme was information about the facts of unemployment and a look at the schemes dealing with the problem, like YTS and counterparts in West Germany. But we also wanted the young people in question to have the opportunity to take part in 'cultural events' in encountering and discovering new skills. For example, when in England, it took us ages to get one of the German lads away from a word processor; he so much enjoyed the chance of working on the computer and explained that at school he was never given the opportunity.

And here I suppose lies one of the justifications for the workshops. Unemployed people should have just as many rights as those in employment, including the chance to enjoy an exchange such as ours. I interpreted my role in the workshops in the following way; although they are unemployed it's our task to work against that division as hard as we can. They had the experience of a week abroad, of work sessions, of informative visits, meeting other people and discovering new skills. The 1933 research into the situation of the town of Marienthal by Lazarsfeld, Jahoda and Zeisel gave an account of the psychological effects that unemployment has. Both Sabine Guckenbiehl and Frank Holmes encounter similar changes in people's behaviour in their work. Isn't there a case for offering them an enhanced opportunity of discovering skills and making new experiences from which they can benefit?

Society's division is not only into haves and have nots. There is the danger of creating a society where the young generation especially are in danger of losing qualities like self-esteem, mental application and imagination. Therefore there could be a strong argument for positive discrimination. If there is money available for workshops and exchanges where people with common interests meet to talk and do things together, the balance of emphasis should lie with the 'disadvantaged' of whom the young unemployed regrettably form a large part.

Sabine Guckenbiehl: German Youth unemployment, a practitioner's view.

Youth unemployment is a challenge for any organisation that would consider itself as an advocate for young people. In West Germany 7.5% of the women and 4.7% of men under 25 with vocational training were unemployed at the end of 1985 and about 350,000 young people were without apprenticeships. This made some people working in the German Catholic Scout Movement St. Georg (Deutsche Pfadfinderschaft St. Georg-DPSG) and the Catholic

Students' Community decide on concrete steps to alleviate youth unemployment. Both initiators agreed on providing a project with real jobs rather than just contributing to the ongoing theoretical debate. The charitable voluntary organisation 'Pro-Ju e, V.' was founded and a project for German and foreign youths in the textile branch was planned. This 'sewing workshop and clothes store' was designed to provide jobs to prepare participants for integration into the 'normal' labour market. Some subsidiary aims were to enhance basic living skills, to provide meaningful workshop training and teach behaviour techniques within the work situation. The target group for the project were young people up to 25 years.

The group of the 20-25 year olds is increasingly affected by long term unemployment. About 20% are unemployed for six to twelve months and another 20% have been without work for over a year. Especially affected by this situation are:

- girls and young women: 64% of the career's guidance participants are women as compared to 36% of the total jobs on offer,
- immigrant young people, whose unemployment rate was 12.9% in June 1986 (German average 8.4%),
- applicants with secondary modern qualifications or no qualifications at all; those leaving special schools for educationally handicapped,
- handicapped,
- older applicants.

Members of these groups are considered to have difficulties in finding jobs. The labels imposed on these groups suggests that the individual has special difficulties which exclude her/him from the jobs market and a number of special support programmes and motivation courses have developed to overcome them. We object to the use of these terms since in themselves they are discriminatory and isolating. Parts of a whole generation are being excluded from working life by being classified in these groups. These young people would have found a job under different labour market conditions. The commission of the 'Bund-Laender-Kommission fuer Bildungsplanung und Forschungsfoerderung' predicts 1.7 million young people without sufficient qualifications entering the labour market in the year 2000 (based on projected economic development). The amount of jobs for unqualified people is predicted to fall from about 32% to 20%. For young people this means a state of emergency in financial, social and psychological terms.

The rate of young unemployed not receiving financial support currently stands at 58% (1977; 30%). The rate of those receiving unemployment benefit amongst the 18-25 year olds increased to 14% in 1984.

Long term unemployment hinders the fulfillment of valid norm and value systems in society. Values like punctuality, industriousness and efficient performance, are the very keystones on which our society is founded; they can be transmitted through the existing organisation of labour. These values lose their significance for the unemployed as, despite obeying them, unemployment is unavoidable. Not obeying these values, no matter whether significant or not, leads to social segregation.

Young people miss essential experiences in communication, solidarity and representation of interests; the development of future plans and life perspectives are hindered.

Hopelessness, depressive moods and resignation are the result. In our project we often face problems like drugs misuse, and ill health. Additionally, immigrants and other minority groups face prejudice. Young people often blame themselves for their situation taking it as inevitable. They

don't have the power to stand the selection process, many lack family support. A number of those who work in projects and special schools never worked before, left school early or come from special schools. On the other hand there are young people who have reasonably good school qualifications but left apprenticeships or training early. There is a vast need for flexible qualification opportunities, training in social skills and work experience. Therefore we are looking for provision to fulfill these needs. Any projects wishing to provide opportunities like these must seriously consider:

- becoming independent from government sources,
- that goods manufactured by these projects should be sold on the open market, thus reducing financial dependency,
- the importance of paying the rate for the jobs for participants and trainers.

Frank Holmes: Unemployment; Whose responsibility?

Between 1948 and 1968 unemployment in Britain never rose above 3.4%, so before we can sensibly ask whose responsibility unemployment is we need to ask other questions. Can we ever return to full employment again? Is it desirable to get everybody back to a 40 hour week? Whatever happened to the promise offered by modern technology and the computer revolution, of better living conditions, new prosperity and a shorter working week? Certainly the inner city deprivation, bad housing and poor health care being currently experienced by many would seem to suggest that these images were hallucinatory, induced by the 60s and 70s boom. Nor are these problems exclusive to Britain: throughout the 24 most wealthy nations which make up the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) we have created a subclass of approximately 35 million unemployed people.

For me to try and put forward glib answers to such complex and vast problems would be pointless. However, I would like to offer a few observations and theories gleaned from my work

with the unemployed which I hope will find food for thought. In the three years I have been involved with unemployed people I have only come across a handful who didn't want to work. For the hundreds of others of both sexes and all working ages finding a job is the chance of establishing or reestablishing a personal identity. I remember my own redundancy from the printing trade almost came as more of a shock to my parents than to myself, who had the belief that a job was the only thing which could give meaning and direction to life. In my apprenticeship days having a trade to fall back on was regarded as a guarantee of a job for life. Computerised typesetting brought the first real changes in the compositor's art since the days of Gutenberg and proved how wrong you can be.

Not only do we judge our own status by the job we do but also the assessment we make of others is based on the same criteria. Loss of status is only one of the deprivations we need to look at. Lack of money is a major problem not only in its own right but as a causative factor in other problems. A majority of unemployed people are forced to cope on benefits which are less than half the net wage they would expect if employed.

There is little doubt that unemployment and health are associated. Illness, psychological and mental problems are more frequent among the unemployed. What is yet to be proved to any satisfaction is that unemployment causes illness or mental breakdown. It may be that those prone to depression or recurring illness are the groups most likely to become unemployed.

It is to this vast army of wasted talents that the many special

employment measures address themselves. Sponsors struggle to keep the funding life-lines open without being hamstrung by them. Whilst governments have a say in how monies are spent, much grass roots creativity is being stifled by their unrealistic policies. In West Berlin, the Senate, having granted 7.5 million DM to special employment measures, was surprised to find that some projects actually turned down money rather than compromise their objectives.

In Great Britain in 1983 approximately 27% of under twenty year olds were unemployed. The corresponding figure in April 1987 was 16.9% and obviously had been very heavily influenced by the introduction of the Youth Training Scheme.

Although the chances of finding yourself jobless decrease as the years progress, once out of work, the chance of reemployment also decreases. Given these figures it is obvious why YTS has figured so prominently in the government's strategy to tackle unemployment.

As YTS currently offers guaranteed places for all school leavers not moving into jobs or other training so the strategy is being extended to encompass the New Job Training Scheme, Community Programmes etc.

From September 1988 all these schemes will be unified as the Adult Training Programme and will provide for all those 18 and over. Emphasis on training and less on the community aspects of all schemes has been a steadily increasing priority for some time. Stress is being placed on encouraging enterprise. Under CP schemes parts of projects which show possibilities of becoming viable commercial propositions are now allowed to use the last few months of funding as a stepping stone to self-employment. This is fundamental to so much of the government's thinking and Mrs Thatcher herself has said she believes that a major fall in unemployment will only come about 'when our people, instead of relying on subsidies, set out to create more small businesses themselves.' I must say I applaud flexibility which provides the nursery slopes for the entrepreneur. I believe that we do need small businesses which then become successful and employ others. Unfortunately, many are sucked into self employment

because they have been unable to find paid employment elsewhere. One survey quoted a third of all participants starting up through the Enterprise Allowance Scheme as doing so for this reason. Contrary to expectations many of these reluctant 'go it aloners' fare quite well, but to suggest that just anyone is capable of creating their own small business is simplistic and wrong.

The government have committed themselves, during this present term of office, to introduce Restart interviews for everyone unemployed for more than six months and through these interviews, over the next five years, to offer everyone who is under fifty and has been out of work for two years a place within the Adult Training Programme, the Enterprise Allowance Scheme or at a Job Club.

Having trained them can we really find jobs for all these people with enhanced skills? Is Benjamin Franklin's view on the work/money relationship a right one?

'Remember that time is money, He that can earn ten shillings a day by his labour, and goes abroad or sits idle, one half of that day, though he spends but sixpence during his diversion or idleness, ought not to reckon that the only expense; he has really spent or rather thrown away, five shillings besides.

I would like to think that we could progress towards sharing out work more evenly and just as importantly share out leisure so that both become equally meaningful and respectable. We are creating a split society of haves and have nots and no amount of protestations can hide the fact. If we continue to allow this rift to widen, Toxteth and Briton will only be a foretaste of what is to come. Recently a young person amused me with this comment. 'YTS Scheme, JTS Scheme, CP Scheme, Pension Scheme'. Good as some of these schemes are, they are not a substitute for a proper job, we need to create jobs, we need to be prepared to share them, we need all the imagination and resourcefulness we can muster. Unemployment is the responsibility of all of us.

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

by Alan Inglis

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

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

by Pat Whitehead

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

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

by Michael Key

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

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

by Philip Hartley

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

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

by Linda Warren

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

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reviews in this issue:

Viveca Urwitz
**A COMMUNITY ORIENTATED
APPROACH TO AIDS PREVENTION: THE
STOCKHOLM YOUTH PROJECT**
Community Project Foundation (60 Highbury
Grove, London, N5 2AG.) 1988
Research and Policy papers No. 1
£2 (pbk)
pp.31

James Gilbert
A CYCLE OF OUTRAGE
Oxford University Press (USA) 1986

Gloria Lee and Ray Loveridge (Eds)
**THE MANUFACTURE OF
DISADVANTAGE**
Stigma and Social Closure
Open University Press (1987)

Mark Smith
POLITICAL EDUCATION:
Developing approaches in the Community
Youth & Policy 1987

Sue Askew and Carol Ross
BOYS DON'T CRY:
Boys and sexism in education
Open University Press

Mark Smith
DEVELOPING YOUTH WORK
Open University Press 1988

John Pitts
THE POLITICS OF JUVENILE CRIME
Sage 1988

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Only half of this short paper is devoted to the exposition of the Stockholm Youth Project; the second half, an edited discussion on the presentation fails to fill the gaps, regarding content, methodology and success rate of the training programme; essentially, all we are given is the bureaucratic framework.

The Project, part of the Stockholm AIDS Prevention Programme, targeted existing organisations concerned with young people; schools, youth centre, uniformed associations, churches etc., inviting adults from them to participate in their AIDS prevention training programme. It was a massive undertaking but within a year they had trained 3,000 adults.

Five teachers from each school attended a two-day mass training course for some 400 people at a time called, 'Facts and perspectives on teenage sex and HIV.' These were followed up six months later with two people from each school attending in groups of 40 or so for a day, sharing experiences. The youth service was tackled in a similar way. Programme director Viveca Urwitz recognised 'that there are too many people to have a good discussion, it is just information giving.'

Towards the end of his account, given at a seminar organised by the Community Projects Foundation in March of this year in London, Urwitz revealed that the Project is 'experimenting with the distribution of free condoms through schools, youth clinics, a discotheque, youth clubs and a football team.' In view of the powerful anti-sex education lobby currently dominating education in this country a co-ordinated and sustained programme concerned with sexuality and relationships for schools and youth clubs is highly unlikely let alone the distribution of free condoms! Former MP Peter Bruinvels put paid to co-ordinated developments in sex education with his successful ambush of the Education (No2) Act in the last Parliament.

Considerable anxiety has arisen around the now infamous Section 28, banning local authorities from 'promoting homosexuality' but it is Section 18 of the 1986 Education (No2) Act 1986 which places the legal onus for sex education on the governing bodies of individual schools. This Section, along with Section 3 of the Act concerning the composition of governing bodies is effective from September this year. Thus, at a time when the national curriculum of core subjects is being implemented the nation's young will only receive sex education if their governing body decide they should!

Teacher training is still not, by and large, addressing sexuality and inter-personal relationships and so, by and large, the issues are still largely unaddressed in most schools in most parts of the curricula. Apart from the crisis issue of disease this reveals an appalling dereliction of responsibility towards young people. Like Sweden, like the rest of the world, we are faced with an expensive crisis, potentially, facing everyone now and in the near future in the form of HIV. There are those who argue that perhaps

where reason and argument have failed the spectre of escalating public costs of care and death impoverishing private profits will spur the powerful to embrace rather than eschew preventative policies. But preventative of what? Heterosexism, the fertile ground on which HIV has flourished or merely exhortations for monogomy, or at best, encouragement of the use of condoms?

Peter Kent-Baguley.

James Gilbert
A CYCLE OF OUTRAGE
Oxford University Press (USA) 1986
ISBN 019 503721 9
£18.50
pp. 228

Probably, in the history of panics about the media generally, and certainly in their history over comics in particular, no name rings so loud as that of Frederic Wertham. Author of *Seduction of the Innocent* in 1953, and chief spokesperson for the rage against crime comics which swept America, Britain, and about 30 other countries in the 1950s, Wertham is the focal point of this study. His name appears more often than any other in James Gilbert's book. His ability to combine leftish concerns about the degradation of working class youth, and rightish concerns about the destruction of the family, is at its heart. This is both its strength and weakness.

Gilbert has traced in fascinating detail the wave of anxiety which struck America, from 1948-60, over a supposed rise in juvenile delinquency. In separate but interlocking chapters, he uncovers the way this worked in different fields. Even before the Second World War ended, the seeds were laid. The zoot-suiter riots in Los Angeles, in which off-duty servicemen attacked anyone, but especially Mexicans, wearing a zoot-suit — the garment that symbolised leisure, dancing, etc. — coupled easily with the theory then being developed that such independence in the young was the precursor of fascism. Their goalless rebellion was the first sign of what had happened in Germany and Italy. Gilbert nicely captures the paradox of what happened to this idea. The book most expressing this fear was by Robert Lindner, published in 1944. Eleven years later, it was made into a film, *Rebel Without A Cause* was itself to be blamed for glorifying the same delinquency.

From looking at those early beginnings, Gilbert moves to consider how well-based the fear of rising delinquency was. He is cautious. Using those who, even at that time, doubted the data thrown around by J. Edgar Hoover, he suggests that the 'rise' in juvenile crime was perhaps a mixture of changing recording procedures, and a rise in 'status offences' (such as bunking off school). Indeed, he points out that there is reason to think that the real rise in crimes by young occurred during the 1960's — just when the wave of public concern had receded. Which leaves a nice paradox needing investigation.

But the important thing for Gilbert is that virtually everyone believed that there was such a rise during the 1950's. And, he documents the reactions of the main groups who shaped the campaigns into an assault on the mass media for 'corrupting the young'. The lawyers, for example, led by the American Bar Association, in the person of Arthur Freund, were caught between a wish to blame comics, especially, and a fear of promoting censorship. The official agencies

dealing with the young, notably the Children's Bureau: who fought a desperate battle against 'amateurisation' of responses to delinquency, wanted to maintain their own expert position in the field. The intellectuals were hooked on the themes of the 'mass society' and looked for ways to understand both the new media, and the new young (Gilbert's chapter on the developments in delinquency theory during this period is surely one of the best in the book). The politicians, led by Estes Kefauver who chaired for most of this period the Senate Hearings in Juvenile Delinquency, which provided a focus to official responses — Kefauver certainly using the Hearings as a springboard for his Presidential ambitions. And Fredric Wertham, an enigmatic figure.

It was Wertham who, more than any other, pushed the view that above all else crime comics were responsible for causing delinquency, by 'demoralising' a generation. Gilbert conveys the sense of Wertham's obsessive 'single-cause' view of delinquency; but he sidesteps the more serious criticisms of his methodology (on which see Lowery & DeFleur, *Milestones in Mass Communication Research*); and he completely misses his distortions of the comics themselves (on which see my *A Haunt of Fears*). But it was also Wertham who spoke vehemently against segregation in the famous Brown vs Board of Education trial; who set up a Psychiatric Clinic in Harlem, and who was one of the few of his time who would treat black patients; and who took the children of the executed 'spies', the Rosenbergs, under his wing. Wertham is a complicated figure, and we do sense this in Gilbert's account of him. But not nearly enough. In fact, my criticism of the book is that often it either does not see puzzles at all, or it does not know how to tackle them.

Take the case of Ray Bradbury. Gilbert opens his on the intellectuals with a discussion of his *Fahrenheit 451*, discussing Bradbury's dismal account of the degeneration of elite civilisation into mass culture (p. 109). This makes him very much an associate of Wertham, and his ilk. But Bradbury also regularly wrote scripts and story-outlines for the 'worst' of the horror comics — probably including the outline for the story which eventually got our own *Children & Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act* passed in 1955. Or take his example (p. 15), 'indicative' of the new youth culture, of the benign dad (as he calls it) for coonskin hats. That dad derived from Walt Disney's determinedly clean and 'American' TV series *Davy Crockett*. Benign, maybe. But also political in a sense that Gilbert never quite grasps.

The point I am making is this. Gilbert gives us masses of fascinating information about this critical period, when 'youth' became a major political issue. But he does not give us the wherewithall to understand it. And the reason, I suspect, can be found in a number of absences from the book. First, while there is a chapter on the responses of the American film industry to the delinquency scare, and in particular on the genre of delinquency films, there is no such chapter on the comics industry. Yet the charge against the comics is central to the campaigns. And I think we would find that while the film industry, for all its box-office love of the controversial, remained safely within 'American values', at their best the comics stepped outside those parameters — which is precisely why they were attacked.

Gilbert misses this. He misses it because he lacks the instruments for investigating such artefacts. In his final chapter he settles his own accounts with

the question: can the mass media cause delinquency? He answers that he cannot go along with single-factor theories of crime, but that a 'climate of violence' must have effects on us. But then see how he participates in the slippages of meaning with those he is investigating. In his chapter on the lawyers, he accompanies Freund's critical slide from talking of unsympathetic presentations of lawyers and judges, to talking of violence — an equation which must surely give us pause for thought. There are political dimensions to the talk of violence and delinquency that he touches on, but does not know how to explore. That makes his book fascinating, but ultimately unsatisfying.

A final point, to illustrate this: the period he is looking at is 1950s America, the nadir of McCarthyism. It is remarkable to me just how little connection was made between the anti-communism, and anti-comics crusades. Yes, a few nutters suggested the comics were deliberately being used to undermine America, but that was not the main tone. Running in parallel, Senator Joseph McCarthy and Frederic Wertham stirred and led deeply irrational hatreds. One led to virtual crucifixions of individuals and smashing of radical trade unionism; the other led to book-burnings, and closure of critical questions. Yet they hardly touched. We will have to look elsewhere than this book, to wonder why.

Martin Barker

Gloria Lee and Ray Loveridge (Eds)

**THE MANUFACTURE OF
DISADVANTAGE**

Stigma and Social Closure

Open University Press (1987)

£7.95

IS BN 0.335-15502-2 (pbk)

pp.216

Despite almost twenty years of equal opportunity legislation the incidence of prejudice and discrimination is on the increase. Various strategies have been used to try to bring about some kind of change but clearly this has proved to be ineffective, largely because such strategies were based upon an analysis that located such prejudice and discrimination within psychological understandings and were interpreted in the attitudes and beliefs of individuals within organisational settings. Thus to address such problems as institutional racism or sexism one would simply refer to democratic values based upon the rights of individuals of access to jobs etc, and to the legislative process to reinforce such rights. One would not be concerned with institutional change. One could agree that if this were the case then prejudice and discrimination would simply fade away. It has not and the fact that it has not is examined in this book which makes a significant contribution to the understanding of discrimination in terms of an exploration of the social construction, or the manufacture of, disadvantage. Here is an excellent text which underlines the fact that there is a social dimension to inequality — it does not exist in the minds and actions of individuals, but is manufactured by various social processes which the authors collectively identify as 'stigma and social closure'. The use of these concepts is particularly significant — 'stigma' — in the way that disadvantaged groups themselves take on the responsibility and blame for their own situation, and 'social closure' in the way that other groups use various mechanisms such as networks (both familial and social) to close down opportunities

and exclude disadvantaged groups, not only from being able to apply for jobs but construct a culture within those jobs which, by its very nature, is exclusive.

The book is written by a team of authors who each make major contributions in a particular field, and were working or were associated with Aston University Management Centre. After an introduction by Loveridge which gives a conceptual overview and explores a number of 'sociological and social psychological approaches to social differentiation' the book is divided into three sections:

Section 1: Networks and Social Closure which explores the existence of networks with the process of social closure. Within this section are the striking examples of gender bias within the legal profession, and the contribution by Walsgrove which explores the individualistic coping mechanism used by the young unemployed to deny themselves a social network of support. Also in this section are excellent accounts of employee social networks as recruitment channels and an examination of informal models of organisational recruitment which leads to racial and gender discrimination.

This section of the book is well written and well researched and each chapter would probably have made an interesting book in its own right.

Section 2 examines the role of formal structures under the title of 'Agencies and the State'. Various authors explore the Health Service, the MSC, the Probation Service and the trade unions. I found the section by Lee and Wrench on race and gender in the youth labour market to be most disturbing in that they show that traditional racial and sexual inequalities are perpetuated despite changes which have accompanied YTS. Miles and Phizachlea also provide disturbing evidence that the TUC has consistently played a regressive role in dealing with racism despite a high commitment to a tradition of labour organisation from Asia and Afro-Caribbean workers.

Section 3 looks at the response of disadvantaged groups to ameliorate their oppression through resistance and accommodation. This section opens with a very full analysis of the interdependence of various factors that affect and effect the stigma of race and the way that they sustain an unequal structure of social relations. The author calls for an alliance of all deprived and oppressed groups in advancing their mutual interests. An aspect of this is developed in a chapter by Lee looking at black members and their unions and the way that black workers are demanding a voice in the affairs of their own union. In a very interesting chapter Robin Ward examines the development of ethnic minority owned businesses in Britain, their history and their growth. He argues that the emergence of ethnic minority business has less to do with the positive forces of entrepreneurial ideology but more to do with a reaction to redundancy and unemployment. However, for those who wish to proceed in this kind of business venture there are many obstacles in such areas as access to bank finance and in gaining access to markets.

Loveridge, in a highly theoretical chapter, develops a very interesting account of the classification of various stages of 'collective consciousness' that disadvantaged groups go through in dealing with this situation as a response to market and legal political forces. He argues that collective protest has moved in historical waves that reflect both the technical and social modes of

control. He uses this to chart the accommodation and transformation of the struggle of women workers as their collective protest moves from a separate union organisation for women to being reabsorbed into a reconstructed labour process dominated by male trade unions and thereby suppressed. He argues that as a result of this all technological transformation in the organisation of society moves in the direction of a model provided by patriarchy.

In conclusion, Lee discusses the implication of the social construction of stigma and outlines some possible strategies for change. She argues strongly for more resources for the statutory agencies representing the interests of the disadvantaged and for convincing employers that equal opportunity is in their own best interests. Thus they are encouraged to develop equal opportunity policies looking at practices in recruitment, selection, promotion, training and so on. She argues that the greatest impetus for this comes from groups who have the power to bring about change, particularly local authorities, who through various approaches to training can be part of a radical and far reaching assault upon sexism, racism and other forms of discrimination, particularly if such training is focussed upon behaviour in organisational settings.

It is not possible to do justice to this book given the confines of a review but I have found it to be extremely useful and sheds much light upon the social construction of disadvantage. It covers a wide range of topics and indeed I found myself wanting more from each chapter. The authors acknowledge that much has been lost by reduction of various texts. The language is complex and theoretical and if one is not familiar with some of the terms it takes some understanding, but that does not detract from the central issues. Indeed in many cases I was surprised by how much material had gone into each chapter. I like to think that the book ends optimistically outlining some possible ways forward, but various chapters outlined some deeply-held views and practices that define 'normal' behaviour as prejudicial and discriminatory. Avowedly 'neutral' monopolies in fact participated in unjust actions by their definitions of individuals and groups and their power to make definitions seem to be common sense. Indeed 'systematic stigmatisation is justified in terms of an apparent natural order of things rooted in biology or culture,' which constructs concepts of youth, race and gender in deficiency/pathological terms.

Nevertheless, I congratulate the authors in the way that all the threads that run through the book hold together beautifully and one is left with a definitive text. Read it.

John Richardson

Mark Smith
POLITICAL EDUCATION:
Developing approaches in the Community
Youth & Policy 1987
Occasional Paper 4
£3.50+pp.
pp. 58

This is a significant paper in the development of thinking about the relationship between politics, education and youth and community work practice, because political education has formed so much of the rhetoric of contemporary practice. But the paper is also frustrating and often disappointing. Many of the right questions are

posed but the reader is often left struggling and wishing Smith would develop his arguments further. In this sense the paper can only be seen as a first journey which shows some of the difficulties ahead in trying to develop practice theory for political education in youth and community work. The problems can be summarised in terms of the complexity of the concepts being examined — politics, education and youth (and community) work. An attempt is made to address this in terms of arriving at a theoretical framework which can hold them together. I think however the paper fails because it does not settle for any single theoretical perspective and struggles to develop a consistent practice theory — be it Marxist, pluralist or liberal democratic. At the same time there appears to be a neo-Marxist orientation operating at a meta-theory level which Smith does not make explicit but which is flagged from time to time. For me the paper would have been more useful if he had made these markers clearer and developed an analysis based on clearer statements and how politics, education and youth and community work interrelate in the development of practice theory. He admits difficulties are there but the space allowed him in this occasional paper is insufficient to do justice to the complexities of the questions raised. In other words too much is attempted in too short a paper.

In his introduction Smith sets himself the task of constructing an analytical framework for understanding the political education work that is taking place at the moment and not just providing accounts of practice and his paper sets out to outline for political education (a) a working definition, (b) a summary of some important debates, (c) a typology of approaches used by educators in the community and (d) finally some key dimensions relating to practice.

Section one works on establishing a working definition. Smith correctly sees this as needing to link a definition of education with a definition of politics. There is a useful discussion about education which discusses the role between 'teachers' and 'learners' in establishing shared learning objectives if education as a purposeful intervention is to be productive. The difficulties in achieving this are looked at. Because to some extent he challenges the need for a necessary relationship between 'teacher' and 'learner' he goes down the path that all experiences can be seen as education — intended or unintended consequences of a variety of agents including the learner herself. This is of course a position common in youth and community work but often short of rigorous analysis, and is more often a statement of faith than of tested practice.

Similar difficulties occur in his definition of politics. His position is close to the 'personal is political' which again can be seen as a reductionist or expansionist definition in which everything is political. This of course is very much a process orientated approach. He does see 'politics' as 'the ways and means by which social conflict (and particularly class conflict) is manifested'. This apparent leaning towards a Marxist perspective seems to be endorsed in the final page of the paper when, drawing on Gramsci, he makes reference to political education being about the struggle to confront structure of domination and so enhance human dignity and social justice. One problem in his discussion is that the political economy analysis implied in these views is not developed. This occurs because another set of assumptions (again common in community and youth work) are given emphasis in a way that inhibits the development of a consistent Marxist

practice theory for political education in community and youth work. This is the 'learning through doing' approach which is critical of any political education approach which only deals with thinking and reflecting on politics. He quotes approvingly Crick and Porter 'the ultimate test of political literacy lies in creating a proclivity to action, not in achieving more theoretical analysis' to support his case that any definition must make explicit a concern with both thinking and action. In Smith's own works 'it is only through actual participation in politics that truly effective political education will take place.' The difficulty here is that it is accepted as given and not needing to be questioned whereas this statement is loaded with a baggage of epistemological and ethical considerations. There is not any necessary connection between thought and action. It is possible to separate them in developing a curriculum for political education. He compounds this later, in a section on political education in practice, when he states 'The near mystical status of participation within youth work involves a tendency to treat it as an end rather than as a means of working with young people.' But arguments can be made that participation may be an end as well as a means. These are as much analytical problems as practice problems.

In other words 'participation' may be just as much a contested concept as 'education' and 'politics'. Smith ends the first section with a useful discussion of the nature of contested concepts but only applies it to politics when he could have applied it equally usefully to 'education' and for that matter 'youth and community work.' In many ways, this is a problem with the paper. It is dealing too briefly and superficially with so many contested concepts. At the same time the value of this in stimulating discussion needs to be recognised.

A second section sketches a history of the development of a curriculum for political education. Most of this refers to work in schools and further education. He identifies two periods — firstly the period from the 1930s until the second world war and the period 1970s until today. He sees this development characterised as a move from education for political literacy (civics) to education for oppositional struggles against domination. (Women's Studies, Black Studies). He offers some explanation for the move from cognitive didactic to more affectual action orientated approaches. This is seen through feminist and black politics movements and the struggles to overcome sexism and racism in the formal education institutions. The civics, political literacy approaches with their implied status quo conforming assumptions about the political system had to be challenged because of the way they played their own part in sustaining domination and oppression. Smith shows the problems these new approaches to political education have created for schools and colleges which have made necessary the development of alternative action orientated political education in the community. The dilemma here is that this can still leave schools untouched but with the added justification that something is being done elsewhere — in youth and community work, women's groups, supplementary schools for black pupils and so on. In other words the development of political education in 'youth and community work' may be allowing the most powerful mainstream education institutions to marginalise political issues and their attendant struggles. This discussion is accompanied by a valuable discussion of 'single issues' approaches to political education with a focus on women's and black consciousness education. It is interesting to note

here that there is a literature from youth and community work in both of these fields which illustrates how community based curricula have been developed. A major weakness here is that the paper does not give any indication of how to relate these 'single' issues to class conflict, particularly since Smith himself recognises the importance of this earlier in this paper.

This leads to a specific section on political education in youth work. This is introduced through a brief historical perspective, used to identify different approaches, which themselves mirror the general development within education ie. from citizenship to learning via collective action. He breaks these down to seven distinct approaches which are each underpinned by differing views on the nature of society, and its power structure. Much more historical work is needed here on locating socially and politically these approaches. These differing approaches are however illustrated with useful examples from practice. Smith gives some indications how specific youth organisations in both the statutory and voluntary sector may be inclined to particular approaches because of the nature of their organisations. He concludes this section by admitting it has been brief and deserving more work. This review strongly endorses this. Nevertheless it is usefully used to lead into a final section in which Smith tries to bring his thinking together to offer a typology of the approaches.

His proposed typology divides the seven approaches into two distinct categories — information assimilation and experiential. The basis of these are the pattern of learning. He obviously locates himself in the experiential pattern but using a model derived from Kolb he warns against any pattern which claims superiority against the other. In particular he is concerned with experiential learning in youth work which does not recognise the need to link experiences with cognitive development and learning. He is worried that too little attention is given to reflection. There follows a section on ideologies and their relationship to definition of politics. This is useful in indicating how the different approaches referred to above relate to differing ideological positions. This section does need elaboration as Smith himself implies when he states he does not wish to enter into a long discourse. Nevertheless his own leaning towards a Marxist theory with concepts of dominant ideology and hegemony (not stated but implied) is revealed. The section ends with a discussion of how settings in youth and community work — 'by nature front line' — are unique and different from other educational settings and thus can both enable and hinder political education processes. He correctly identifies the large degree of autonomy available to workers which derives from the marginality of so much of their practice. This gives potential for political education. However the lack of a generally recognised concept of curriculum particularly in terms of context has its own shortcomings and in particular the risk that the meanings of curriculum and education become synonymous and thus lose usefulness as analytical concepts from the development of practice theory. Thus Smith ends on the note that, in terms of thinking out ways towards what political education in the community actually means, we clearly have a long way to go. In his view there is still some baggage from history that needs to be jettisoned which inhibits political education. He believes some of the approaches discussed offer a path forward. Certainly the author of the review would agree that this paper is a start. There is still a long way to go and current legislation

concerning a national curriculum is not encouraging excepting that it may unintentionally create opportunities for moves forward in the development of political education in youth and community work. It may be that youth and community work may be one of the few places left for such education because of the increased constraints on curriculum development for political education in both the formal education system and the MSC dominated employment training system. It is critical that we have some curriculum theory that can be used to defend the territory. The climate is not good but papers such as Smith's can help us be clearer about our philosophy and approaches to political education.

Sue Askew and Carol Ross
BOYS DON'T CRY:
Boys and sexism in education
Open University Press
ISBN 0335 102964
£7.95 (pbk)
pp.114

Why teach about race and gender in school? Attitudes are carried to school from home, and it is not the school's job to quarrel with family issues. Schools are there to teach Maths, English, Science and a foreign language if you are lucky. And, of course, if you are a girl, you may choose Home Economics, or a boy, C.D.T. as one of your GCSE options. Does this sound archaic? Have we not, in the late 1980s finally gone beyond this sort of stereotyped thinking? Unfortunately not, for although most schools offer what have been in the past, traditional 'boy's subjects' to girls. (and vice versa) we still see far too low a take-up rate in these subjects.

'Boys Don't Cry' examines the conditioning of boys in schools and seeks to explain why they still seem unable to reject their own stereotyped view of themselves. The book offers some teaching strategies for the classroom and the staffroom which the authors hope will eventually lead to a change in the way we teach boys.

This book examines the socialisation of boys, especially the factors in schools which affect their attitudes. It looks at relationships between boys; at male stereotyping; and at bullying and aggressive behaviour. Also examined is the way the school system and structure actually reinforce the traditional view that the ability to impose control and power should be the aim of all, but especially boys, who will in their later careers need this ability to manage their colleagues or employees. To exert power which is a particularly masculine ability, means to achieve success.

The book concentrates on boys in boys' schools, but it could apply to all schools. The 'masculine' atmosphere of all boys' schools serves to highlight that which exists in a less obvious way in mixed schools. That is, that domination, aggression and control, equal authority and power.

The writers begin with a rather brief explanation of how the adoption of sexist attitudes begins before the infant is even verbal. They give examples of research carried out on infants which indicate that before the child is recognisably male or female, we make assumptions about the child's needs which are based on our own conditioning. For instance, an infant named Mark is given to an adult. The baby becomes restless, so the adult assumes 'him' to want to play so he is bounced up

and down and entertained. The same infant, this time named Mary, is given to an adult. When 'she' becomes restless, the adult assumes that 'she' is tired and requires soothing. From this beginning boys are encouraged to be demanding of attention, boisterous and active, and girls are encouraged to be quiet and placid.

I found this research very interesting, and would have liked to see more reference to pre-school socialisation. If children enter school, as this book suggests, with fixed ideas on how they are expected to react, then schools are immediately disadvantaged because they will have to swim against the current from the child's first day at nursery school. Unless, of course, teachers themselves are so entrenched in their own conditioning, which perpetuates this stereotyping, that they go along with it. Askew and Ross suggest that most teachers do, and that they themselves would benefit from re-education in gender issues.

Reference is made to the dominating behaviour exhibited by boys in primary schools: liking to take charge to the extent that they prefer to compete with each other, attempting to outdo each other rather than negotiating and cooperating. It seems that the will to control and to dominate is already entrenched, to the extent that when working alongside girls, the boys will take what they require from the girls without asking permission, assuming that it is their right. According to the research used by the writers, girls quickly adapt (or are conditioned into doing so) and they withdraw from the boys, working together and letting the boys get on with it.

The need for boys to dominate and control prevents them from being able to cooperate fully with each other or in mixed groups. The girls are seen to be able to discuss and develop ideas; to work cooperatively, whereas the boys find this difficult; they argue, trying to outdo each other. More examples of other research reaching similar conclusions would have made this a most powerful point. After all, if boys are not genetically more aggressive, then evidence is required to prove it in order that effective changes can be made in the way we treat boys and girls.

Askew and Ross argue that the structure of schools, especially all boys' schools, automatically reinforces attitudes which have been held as the norm for masculine behaviour and success. They claim that the exercise of discipline is often characterised by 'authoritarian power and control thorough strength.' Whether or not a teacher may use violence against a pupil, it is the pupil's perception all too often, that the threat of violence is there. A 'good' teacher is assumed to be one who can 'control' a class. The emphasis here is on the teacher who controls, and not on the class as a whole reaching a consensus where each individual exercises self control. Teachers who are not intimidating, and refuse (or are unable) to adopt postures of intimidation are regarded as 'soft' and fair game. Female teachers who wish to succeed in such a system adopt 'male' attitudes and take on the posture of a controlling authoritarian figure.

Given that teachers have to work within established hierarchies, and that competition, aggression and domination are the norm, the writers suggest that in order to enable boys to discover and adopt alternative methods, we need to examine more closely strategies for the staffroom. However, they also say that teachers have to accept that there is a problem to be tackled and to recognise that gender issues are

important before these strategies can be adopted. In order to accept change you have to have begun the process of change already. Teachers must come to gender issues willingly otherwise strategies will be ineffective. Only lip-service will be paid and entrenched attitudes will remain. Pupils will see straight through them and the whole project will be seen for the sham that it is.

So, what do the writers suggest can be done? Fortunately, increasing numbers of teachers are showing a genuine interest in gender matters and these people will benefit greatly from the worksheets for in-service training which form the latter part of the book. The emphasis in the worksheets is on cooperative work; on group discussion; on group development of ideas, rather than an individual approach. These methods seem fairly standard to those already teaching in mixed groups and allowing substantial discussion. However, more traditional teachers may find this approach intimidating.

Chapter 5 of the book offers clear strategies for working with boys. It argues that although anti-sexist work in school must be 'girl-centered education', boys are under unnecessary pressure in school to conform to masculine stereotypes. However to offer specific anti-sexist courses is of limited value because they put the onus for change on the pupils — when this behaviour is, in part at least, an outcome of the structure they operate within. A whole school 'ethos' is vital in consideration of what kinds of classroom methods and teaching style can be implemented. The writers offer a variety of worksheets and plans which tackle boys' feelings about themselves and challenge existing stereotypes. The chapter dealing with practical strategies is challenging and useful.

'Boys Don't Cry' is a very useful book. It deals with fairly complex ideas in a direct and straightforward manner. It makes points which once digested make so much sense that the reader wonders why they were not so obvious before. I would like to see the issues raised here debated with as much vigour in every classroom.

However, I have come to the book looking for information to support my own ideas; to confirm my suspicions, and to give me added ammunition in the struggle against sexism. How many teachers who insist that there are no gender problems (and these teachers exist in large numbers outside the Capital) will ever willingly read this book? What is the audience for the book? If it is meant for the staffroom. I would question how many teachers would be ready to accept the ideas so eloquently expressed in it. For my own part, I am thankful that in my own school such a book would be welcomed and read with enthusiasm by a large number of a staff already committed to equal opportunities, and now looking for ways to implement them.

Judith Garrahan

Mark Smith
DEVELOPING YOUTH WORK
Open University Press 1988
ISBN 0 335 15835 8; ISBN 0 335 15834 X (pbk)
£7.95
pp.177

Mark Smith begins his book with an ambitious declaration of intent. The time, he says, 'seemed right for something "big", which would 'place youth work in time and context, explore actual as

against idealised practice, and set out basic principles'. Smith himself thus sets the aims against which a reviewer can measure his achievement.

On the other hand he poses this particular reviewer with problems. For one thing he identifies *The Social Education of the Adolescent* which I co-authored as one of 'the last attempts ... to reconceptualise youth work in this way.' Secondly, after ruthlessly probing that book's central concept, social education, he discards it as unusable in today's conditions, partly because it has come to mean all things to all people and partly because, no doubt as one consequence, it has repeatedly failed to influence practice.

How therefore to subject Smith's book to a tough but reasonably objective critique; and how to do this in a way which does not end up simply as a defensive retrospective of something I helped to write over twenty years ago?

So, to get them out of the way and make them explicit; some early declarations of my own. Smith, I believe, is entirely correct in asserting that new frameworks are needed for understanding and guiding youth work practice in the late 1980s and 1990s. In particular a very critical reappraisal of 'social education' is now long overdue, not least because, if anecdotal evidence is to be believed, two decades on *The Social Education of the Adolescent* is still being used as if it were a text for today.

Yet 'social education' was formulated — typically for the 1960s — as an ostensibly a-political concept. Even if unintentionally, it implied that personal development and improved social relations depended primarily on individuals possessing interpersonal insights and skills whose use and impact, it seemed, were largely unaffected by wider political and economic structures. As a result notions of 'self-realisation' and 'maturity' — so central to our thinking in the 1960s — hardly acknowledged how gender and race as well as class determine individual choices and life chances.

Unlike Smith — and I don't think this is entirely a view from the bunker — I do believe that 'social education' may still have some selective usefulness. Even for this to be true however it needs a thorough revision which recognises how weak and evasive was the analysis on which its original formulations and therefore its intended practice rested. In fact only when it incorporates large segments of what is more often associated with 'political education' can there be any continuing justification for treating it as the, or even as one important, conceptual tool for youth work.

On these issues Smith's book is often convincing. For example he places youth work in a historic context which assumes that politics is intrinsic to all that is done; that such politics rest on quite complex, contradictory and deep-seated conflicts of interest; and that within these being black and/or a woman makes a considerable difference. At the same time he refuses just to go along with some currently fashionable approaches: his examination of the limitations of 'issue-based' work, for example, provides some timely warnings about untheorised and unanalysed practice even when it is 'anti' an 'ism'.

Whether Smith's alternative concepts for analysing and understanding practice will be any more effective than 'social education' in helping

practitioners find direction and coherence is however less clear. His optimism about the potential for young people's learning of some 'popular' youth work 'traditions' is certainly welcome. Again with good reason, he sets out to conceptualise these aims which are realisable within and relevant to today's society. Here he presses youth workers 'to move away from a near exclusive concern with the self and immediate others' by encouraging young people to 'weigh their own needs and interests with those of others ... display civic courage, and ... gain for themselves the knowledge, attitudes and skills necessary to think and act politically'.

In line with such aims he also attempts to conceptualise in general terms how such 'popular youth work' might be carried out, proposing notions of 'informal education' and 'mutual aid' as the main substitutes for 'social education'. His exposition of these enables him to outline such important principles as 'tuning in' to the young's culture and language; and accepting the essential distinctiveness of being a 'practitioner' while at the same time resisting pressures to take on tasks which are actually young people's.

In the end however the total schema does not seem quite to hold together. This is partly because parts of it strike as almost incongruously out of place: when and how for example are all those 'popular practitioners ... of the same neighbourhood or culture as those they work with' ever going to get round to doing all the recording for which Smith calls?

More fundamentally however, with all his recognition of how contradiction and dilemma are endemic to practice, Smith seems just a little too anxious at times to gloss over the inevitably 'unfinished' nature of any such framework. At one point for example he tries hard to demonstrate that his model is not as ethnocentric as the social education models he has rejected. For, say, white youth workers however a more realistic and above all more helpful response would surely have been to acknowledge that such purity is unattainable; but that, having built in the very best safeguards they can against 'cultural aggression', such practitioners need to go on acting, including (when called upon) with black young people.

And then there is the stress which throughout Smith puts on probing definition and painstaking analysis. Though in themselves both of these are much needed, his preoccupation with them does at times threaten to spill over into diversionary debates about which are the best labels for things. The result is an often quite abstract text which is made to feel even less 'rooted' by the virtual absence of case-study or even illustration — and which, given Smith's past writing, is particularly to be regretted.

What in the end is left behind, therefore, is a set of questions about who the book is aimed at and who will actually use it. For the author this will surely invite some unwelcome answers. For, one is forced to conclude, the main readership is likely to come, not so much from those 'popular' and 'indigenous' practitioners in whom Smith places most of his trust, but from that professionalised section of the work-force with which he has far less patience. And this more specifically is likely to mean most use by full-time students and their tutors, some use by other full-timers wanting to keep up with more recent thinking and a little by other groups — with the link between all of this and what actually goes on 'indigenously' on the ground having to be constantly struggled for.

What is more (though I'm sure Mark Smith appreciates this) the struggle ultimately has to be waged less through the pages of a publication than through training, organisational interventions and political activism. On these grounds alone I wish his sections on how we move from where we are now to where he would like us to be could have been longer and stronger.

Bernard Davies

John Pitts
THE POLITICS OF JUVENILE CRIME
Sage 1988
ISBN 0-8039 — 8133-3 (pbk)
£7.95
pp.182

According to John Pitts, Mrs Thatcher indicated before the 1979 election that the prime task of a Conservative government would be the restoration of the rule of law. A reporter then asked which particular laws she had in mind. The laws we are going to introduce.

This stands as a neat metaphor of the active stance of the New Right towards the creation of law, and its crucial role in the implementation of a wider political and social project. It also hints at some of the difficulties in writing a book such as *The Politics of Juvenile Crime*. Pitts attempts to combine a summary of developments over the past twenty-five years with a critical analysis of current policies. He also makes radical policy proposals of his own. The central difficulty here is that the Left is obliged to react to issues defined by the Thatcherite agenda. Even the best writers in the critical tradition, such as Lea and Young, respond to the Government's ostensible concern with victims by the 'rediscovery' that victims are indeed important, and that they have been neglected by Left theory. Furthermore, Pitts faces the problem that the Government's populism is, to some degree, popular. The difficulties of approaching the topic selected by Pitts are thus considerable. Not surprisingly, there are weaknesses as well strengths in this study.

Pitts is most effective in providing a sharp historical overview. His account of treatment and justice is well-written, and reminds us that the therapeutic model (along with its dangers, not least for civil liberties) commanded respect in Labour thinking in the early 1960's. Pitts rightly connects this approach to juvenile crime with the 'high tech' Labour policies of the 1960's, where everything was deemed possible, and where solutions to crime and deprivation were seen as essentially technical, almost apolitical. In the subsequent moves by Wilson to assemble a group

of academics to analyse and resolve a range of social problems, the endeavour was essentially to de-politicise social issues. It is refreshing to find a sense of humour in Pitts' writing too. At least, I certainly discern one from a section entitled Durkheim, Freud and Harold Wilson.

Continuing his summary of events, Pitts is surely right to say that after the Labour years of the 1960's, we found an expanded juvenile justice system, not a fundamentally different one. Intermediate Treatment sat beside traditional custodial responses. Different ideologies coexisted uneasily. Perhaps, however, some of the debates Pitts chooses to examine here are of limited relevance today. Was the increased juvenile imprisonment in the 1970's due to a justice backlash (juvenile court magistrates imprisoning more people) or to professional entrepreneurship (social workers defining a new exclusive role for themselves)? I'm not sure that it matters much in 1988, when the political ground has shifted so profoundly, and when the major issue is a Government with strong ideological commitments but with few coherent proposals. When Pitts discusses the repoliticisation of juvenile crime, he enters an area which is more relevant today. He notes that the stress on morality and on a punitive approach began in the Heath years, and this is important in identifying those social forces which led eventually to post-1979 policies.

From 1979 onwards, Pitts sees an amateurism in Government approaches to juvenile crime, by which he seems to mean an appeal to a commonsense strand of populist attitudes. I feel some considerable caution is necessary here, for 'amateur' carries a misleading implication. One might say, using Foucault's terminology (as Pitts does at certain points) that the Government has chosen its discourse for juvenile crime carefully. Discourses can and do contain incompatible ideas and a combination of thoughts, feelings and ideologies. And they can be politically effective. There is nothing amateur about this.

In general, Pitts provides a coherent historical account. His study also contains much detail in relation to specific developments, such as I.T. and the role of Probation Officers. Legislative changes are well-documented. For those reasons, the study will be a sourcebook of some value. The weakest area is in the discussion of theoretical issues, particularly those drawn from sociology. Chapter One, for instance, contains references to Durkheim which, in my view, are simply misleading. Pitts suggest that Durkheim regarded classicism as political ideology, and saw industrial societies as denying opportunity to all but the privileged. It is possible to see what Pitts is getting at, in terms of Durkheim's pessimism about the

logic of urban society, but Pitts offers a particular reading which should either be elaborated or left out. Later, in Chapter Seven, Pitts defines the theoretical task as being to link together social action and social reaction and to locate both within a theory of the ways in which social events are structured. According to Pitts, this is the task of sociology as conceived by Durkheim. However, one might say this was Talcott Parson's project too. Or that of Max Weber, Or G. H. Mead. Indeed, Pitts has simply outlined the sociological task *per se*, and it is not clear how this assists in the task of examining juvenile crime when left at such a basic level of analysis. In Chapter Five, Pitts skates over the work of Cicourel, Becker and Schur. These passing references to social science theory add nothing to the study. The book as a whole has a different utility and is valuable in that respect.

Returning to policy-related issues, Pitts examines alternative approaches. He is critical of the back to justice model, its pluralist assumptions and its political naivety in emphasising formal rights and due process in a society characterised by unequal access to power. Which model does Pitt advocate? The potential totalitarianism of the treatment model is, I would have thought, fairly well-recognised. Pitts advocates, like many before him, a reformulation of justice. He enumerates the social and political alliances which might achieve this. He talks of the redistribution of power, the decriminalisation of some behaviour, the repoliticisation of the aetiology of juvenile crime. The broad sweep of this approach is, of course, familiar and is often criticised for its lack of specific policy proposals. Pitt attempts to deal with this objection. For instance, he suggests a neighbourhood tribunal could seek to mend damaged social relationships and deal with offences informally wherever possible. Such lay tribunals would be able to challenge existing structures of legality and even consider wider issues such as pollution, transport etc. Perhaps such a proposal is indeed workable and important. Perhaps it would produce a forum with a role so widely-defined as to be, in the end, vague and powerless. Perhaps such an example of informal justice would be a dangerous threat to whatever civil and legal liberties juveniles currently possess. These are empirical questions and, like all policy proposals, are open to evaluation. What is interesting, ultimately, about Pitt's analysis is that it is fundamentally optimistic. It is based on assumptions about the ability of sections of the community to effect change and to participate. Given the political environment of the late 1980's, and the lessons of the 1960's and 1970's, this optimism is all the more remarkable.

John Fenwick

intercultural learning and international youth exchange: a german view

GUNTER J. FRIESENHAHN

The following text is a translation of a lecture held during the seminar 'Intercultural Learning and International Youth Exchange' arranged by the European Centre for Community Education, 23rd - 29th October 1986, in Athens. A central concept in the text is that of interculturalism which requires an introductory explanation.

In the FRG there are different terms with regard to the work with migrants and Germans: bicultural, multicultural and intercultural. And probably a special German term is 'Auslanderpadagogik'. All these terms have a particular educational and political background and ideology. So they differ in aims, objectives, goals and education methods or tools.

The term intercultural is used mostly in a socio-political sense. The basis for using it is the thought that the political situation in the society cannot be changed only by educational agencies. Nevertheless the situation, particularly the 'Living-together' of different ethnic groups should be improved and education/social/community work could be agencies to support this process. In contrast to other approaches, intercultural education is convinced that education/learning always has political implications. Consequently it is also a political 'business'. This education ought to be an agency which should try to have an influence in society with special regard to future planning and it should be an agency which struggles for equal rights and chances for all children. It should also interfere with complacency in society, enhancing sensitivity to (hidden) conflicts and also seeking new possibilities for further development. This is probably very similar to the term 'multi-cultural' as it is used in the UK. However on transfer to the FRG the political implications of multi-cultural have been lost. For some years the intercultural approach has been more and more accepted amongst social/youth/community workers in the FRG, but this doesn't mean that interculturalism is a recognised principle in our society. So one of the main tasks of and for intercultural education/learning is to give examples and to show the opportunities and chances of a life in a multicultural society.

A last distinction between multicultural and intercultural: multicultural refers to the empirical facts and the conditions in the society which have changed because of immigration. Intercultural refers to the new aims, objectives and processes which follows from the fact that our society is now a multicultural one.

The theme I want to talk about touches three essential

aspects of education: interculturalism, learning and international youth exchange. These three aspects are neither restricted to one educational institution nor to one target group: they concern pre-school, school, youth and community work and adult education. They refer to the inter-relationship between education and society and they go beyond the national context. Intercultural learning in the context of international youth exchange has therefore a comprehensive theme, but it is also a concrete one.

It is possible to characterize learning as the changing of behaviour. The behaviour of people refers to their attitudes to nature, to other people, to the political, economic, social and cultural processes in society and also to their wishes and ideas for and about the future, which do not yet have an empirical base. Learning is a lifelong process in which it is necessary to keep in touch with as many aspects as possible of a changing society. Learning characterized as the changing of behaviour depends on the readiness of a person for such change. This requires the co-ordination of behaviour and mental attitudes with changing reality. It is about both economic and political development and social and cultural development. Yet it senses that readiness for change is not marked in the same manner with regard to these various developments.

The sociological situation of the Federal Republic of Germany has changed substantially in the last 30 years. Today about 4.4 million people live in the FRG without German citizenship. 1.58 million of them are employed. This means that 7.6% of all employees in the FRG lack citizenship and that about 780,000 children and young people with foreign status are attending German schools. 59% of these people have been in Germany for longer than ten years. They live and work there and are prepared to stay in the long term. They bring the culture of their countries of origin to Germany, and they have a natural need to communicate. As a result of this situation, different customs, languages, religions, ethnic and political ideas are in conflict and have to be mediated.

A very important agency which should support this mediation is education. Yet initially the educational services were unable to fulfill this task, lacking both theoretical and practical concepts. Slowly new programmes began to be developed which specified what to do for migrants and described how to do it. In the early 1960's the approach of social work was orientated towards case work and counselling models. Then educational programmes came to the fore. These programmes called attention to children's difficulties with the german language, to deficits in achievement, and to differences in the behaviour of the so-

called 'second generation' of immigrants. There was talk about culture shock, about problems of integration. The lives of immigrants were investigated, particularly those of Turkish women, in order to explain differences in socialisation.

In time, the educational sciences were forced to act because they had offered apparent solutions to the 'migrant problem', but the difficulties between Germans and other nationalities remained and were becoming more serious. The educational sciences had sought too speedy solutions, which lost sight of global connections and failed to question exactly what was being done and why.

The different technical terms which were given to these new and various approaches point to the uncertainty of the educational sciences with respect to 'bi-cultural education', 'migrant education', and the so-called 'Auslanderpadagogik'. These terms indicate that 'migrants' received a special emphasis. Special programmes were developed which led to 'positive discrimination'. Yet such programmes failed to promote contact between German and other national and ethnic groups in the FRG. It slowly became clear that these educational programmes were not given enough consideration. In particular, it was not the language difficulties of the 'migrants' which hindered their social integration. What endangered the social peace was not the migrant cultures themselves but an unwillingness on the part of the indigenous Germans to discuss and learn about them.

The term intercultural learning/education was first coined in the 1970's. Unlike the concepts of bi- and multi-culturalism in the FRG intercultural concepts do not seek to act **for** migrants but **with** migrants. The every day living situation became the new starting point for educational work. Living together was now the aim and not simply cultural co-existence. This meant not a one sided integration but an attempt to influence the indigenous Germans to change their views and perspectives. the multicultural situation of society was of concern to all inhabitants in the FRG. This meant that intercultural learning was necessary for everybody.

It is not difficult to eat Italian, Spanish, Portugese, Greek or Turkish food in the FRG. People enjoy these restaurants and are glad that they are available. Yet now, as before, it is still difficult to arrange a common playscheme which involves children from all national groups.

It thus appears that the intercultural situation can be accepted and even enjoyed provided that it does not make any demands. This is only a small point in the broader social field which the educational sciences must address; stimulating further efforts; motivating, supporting and becoming involved. The educational sciences are not simply empirical but should look to the future by making suggestions, criticising, and indicating ways in which society can be improved.

In the discussion surrounding the topic of intercultural learning there is a scientific debate which is not intended to enter at the moment. There is however general agreement about some concepts of intercultural learning which:

- involves common activities with persons from different cultures;
- has its starting point in the view that cultures are of equal value while recognising differences between them;
- is not a special form of education which must

be established as a specific approach to the education of foreigners;

- does not concentrate on the unusual or exotic but starts from the particular situation in which all cultural groups are living;
- has programmes which can not be run in one educational institution. They require the mutual support of various educational institutions and other social groups in society;
- can bridge the gaps which currently exist between separate fields of education;
- can be found on both the local and international levels;
- is directed against the anachronism of national ideology and is a contribution towards education for peace and social fairness;
- needs new educational content, methods and aims and requires a revision of existing curricula.

Although there are a lot of other points which would be made, I hope the main one has become clear: intercultural learning is a significant task which cannot be taken as a matter of course.

What does this mean for the training and practice of teachers and social workers?

- They need relevant information and knowledge about the situation in which they are working;
- they need knowledge of various methods and techniques to be able to analyse this situation;
- some specific categories of intercultural learning are for instance: history, social science, politics, economics, languages, customs, and the critical study of ideology;
- they should be able to mediate between the cultures but they are not the sole possessors of knowledge.

There are positive initiatives in many areas of society but intercultural learning has a growing number of opponents who believe that it will endanger the national culture. The xenophobia and racism which can be found across Europe testifies to the difficulties facing the proponents of intercultural learning.

A traditional way of learning about the customs and living conditions of other countries is offered by the international youth exchanges, but these are often subject to specific restricting conditions. We must ask therefore whether the principles of a multicultural learning can be applied to international exchanges, or whether international exchanges have other aims.

International exchanges and meetings were arranged before the concepts of international learning were developed. Does this mean that in former times there was no intercultural learning or that all international meetings constitute intercultural learning? The answer to both questions is no. We must therefore differentiate. The question is how can we instill and attain such aims as 'education for empathy', 'solidarity' and 'intercultural respect' in a summer camp which only lasts four weeks?

International exchanges and meetings must be differentiated from those intercultural processes mentioned above. A summer camp only lasts a short time and young people attend voluntarily and it is above all a holiday. International exchanges should not simply provide knowledge and information about other cultures but should also be fun. And it is fun to drink Italian, Greek or Spanish wine and perhaps

someone from France or Germany will offer wine from their country and the wines can be compared. However this situation is just the beginning of intercultural learning. To take it further, questions should be raised. For instance: how is the wine produced? Are the workers self employed? Are they in co-operatives? How much money does it cost in my own country? Are there trade agreements or embargos in the European market?

This example shows that intercultural learning has its starting point in concrete situations including international exchanges. It must relate to the participants and it is social learning which must reflect the experiences of the participants and their particular situations. Yet this example also points to the difficulties of formalising intercultural learning in the context of international exchange: the learning situation is spontaneous and accidental.

Of course spontaneity is an essential element in education as is contingency. The question is how youth workers and teachers use the situation. It is obvious that such workers must command substantial knowledge and skills and they must have empathy and creativity. But we must not stop here. If intercultural learning is to happen in the context of international exchange it has to be carefully planned and organised. People must have the readiness to change and to redefine their attitudes by, for example, acknowledging the relativity of their opinions and recognising the prejudices of their own countries. It is not impossible to achieve these aims without conflicts - these are positive. It's better to learn how to deal with conflicts rather than to pursue ideas of universal harmony. For the problem of intercultural learning both in society in general and during international exchanges is not the diversity of cultures, people, attitudes and ideas but the acceptance of differences.

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Contact	: Ms Al Garthwaite, Vera Productions, Video Vera, P.O. Box HP5, Leeds LS6 2ED Tel: 0532 717460

International Women's Day, a Video Vera Community Production, was funded by Leeds City Council Women's Sub-Committee and by Video Vera. Vera Productions/Video Vera acknowledges financial support from Yorkshire Arts Association and from Leeds Leisure Services towards our education and outreach programme.

juvenile justice in ireland

ROBBIE GILLIGAN

Some recent trends in Juvenile and General Crime in Ireland

The last twenty years or so in Ireland have seen a dramatic rise in levels of crime. For instance, between 1967 and 1987 there occurred a spectacular increase (over 1,500%) in robberies as recorded in police statistics — 86 in 1967, to 1,426 in 1987. The Irish pattern of crime now seems more closely modelled on the typical experience of many other more industrialised societies.

Rottman (1984) has summarised the factors which he suggests are involved in this rate of crime increase (which he notes was relatively evenly spread over urban and rural areas):

1. The suddenness and rapidity of Irish industrialisation, achieved through a conscious act of will by government in the late 1950's, had wide-ranging effects on all of Irish society by the mid-1960's.
2. Industrial development policy sought to diffuse industrial employment and avoid concentration of work and population in major urban centres.
3. The cessation of emigration was not replaced by massive immigration to Dublin. Moreover, those individuals who did migrate to Dublin were better educated and of higher occupational status than native-born Dubliners.
4. The changing age structure resulting from demographic vitality, and end of emigration, and the substantial returned migration of the 1970's: by 1981, the 15-24 age group represented 18% of the population, in contrast to its 15% share in 1951, a rise in numbers from 443,000 to 607,000.
5. A massive growth took place in the availability of mass produced consumer goods, which are portable, anonymous, and of growing symbolic importance to claims to be a particular kind of person (the motor vehicle being the most obvious example).
6. Opportunities did not only increase in terms of the numbers of goods worth stealing. Prosperity and demographic trends combined to greatly expand the number of potential targets of housebreakings: there were 726,000 private households in 1971 and 898,000 in 1981 (CSO, 1983, p.xiv).
7. The benefits of economic progress were unequally experienced. This is particularly evident in the social class patterns of educational participation and unemployment risk. Left without a realistic point of entry into the occupational positions created in the post-1958 period, successive groups of children have grown up in many urban working class neighbourhoods watching their older brothers and sisters enter the trap of early school leaving and high unemployment (Rottman and O'Connell, 1982).
8. These social class specific factors have been accentuated by housing policies by local authorities, which uprooted traditional working class urban communities and dispersed their residents to suburbs. Here public policy has reinforced the concentration of disadvantage. Dublin is more segregated by social class than other major European cities (Bannon et al., 1981, p. 85).
9. The 'troubles' in Northern Ireland have directly contributed to the Republic's crime problem by increasing both the numbers of some serious offences and adding a new dimension of sophistication and use of firearms.
10. There have also been indirect consequences of the situation in the North. First, it affected public perceptions about crime, with part of the current anxiety reflecting a concern that what is now occurring in Belfast and Derry may one day be experienced in Dublin and Cork. Second, quite apart from groups involved in subversive activities, the ethos of subcultures whose members base their shared identity around lawbreaking has changed. Changes in the beliefs and customs of those interpersonal networks have taken place, making crime more malevolent and violent, a change particularly evident in the increased use of firearms in 'ordinary' crime.
11. The above factors (6-10) coincided with a sharply rising problem of drug abuse in urban areas (Bradshaw, 1983).

Source: Rottman (1984: 93-95).

Young people under 17 are not especially over represented (relative to their population share) among those found guilty of offences in this new era of crime. However within this group the 14-16 year olds are over represented (a trend which is even more marked for 17-21 year olds).

Table 1

Age distribution of national population and of persons found guilty of offences by a court
1986

Age Group	% Total Population	% Persons Found Guilty
7-13	13.7	3.5
14-16	5.9	13.3
17-21	7.1	26.6
7-21	26.7	43.4

Crime involving these young people under 17 tends to be against property rather than the person. This is a pattern that has remained consistent over the past four years, at least among those found guilty by the courts.

Table 2

Indictable Offences for which young people under 17 were found guilty by a court, by type of offence, by year of offence/court hearing.				
Indictable offences	1984	1985	1986	1987
Group I: Offences against the person (inc. sexual offences)	2.2	4.02	2.3	3.4
Group II: Offences against property with violence	54.4	49.7	52.7	51.7
Group III: Larceny and fraud	43.0	45.5	0.3	44.3
Group IV: Other indictable offences — riotous assembly, indecent exposure, etc.	0.3	0.72	44.6	0.11
		100.0	100.0	100.0

Derived from Crime Report of the Garda Commissioner (various years).

Juvenile crime remains heavily male dominated, although there appears to be a trend in recent years towards a reduction in the extent of this dominance.

Table 3

Ratio of Recorded Indictable Offences — under 17 years by gender		
Year	Male	Female
1987	6.36	1
1986	6.47	1
1985	5.3	1
1984	11.4	1
1980	12.86	1
1976	11.4	1

Source — (data derived from Annual Crime Reports of Garda Commissioner)

Over the past twenty-five years, there has been a steady downward trend in the significance of juvenile crime. Numbers of juvenile offenders have fallen both in absolute terms and as a proportion of all offenders.

Table 4:

Number of offenders under 17 years and as % of all offenders found guilty by courts selected years		
	%	
1987	14.4	2,850
1986	16.8	2,643
1985	13.5	2,065
1984	14.3	2,349
1983	14.4	2,614
1979	25.2	3,473
1975	24.1	3,310
1971	24	2,751
1967	31	2,935
1963	41	3,268

Source: ibid.

To summarise, juvenile crime is more significant among the older age groups, tends not to involve violence against the person and is heavily male dominated although perhaps less so than previously. It also seems to be reducing in absolute terms and as a proportion of all crime as judged by numbers of offenders found guilty in a court.

The Irish Juvenile Justice System: an overview.

A number of elements make up the operation of the Irish juvenile justice system: the Garda Síochána (police), the courts, the Probation and Welfare Service, a variety of custodial and residential institutions and community facilities, as well as, of course, the necessary administrative and legislative backcloth.

Garda Síochána

The Garda Síochána (Guardians of the Peace, in translation) are obviously the key gate keepers of the juvenile justice system. In 1985 the force, which operates on a national basis had an establishment of 11,400. (Ireland, 1986, p.411). It does not operate a Juvenile Bureau. Any officer may be involved in apprehending a juvenile under 17 years. When interviewing a young person under 17, however, the gardai are generally obliged to do so only in the company of a parent, guardian, relative or other responsible adult who is not a member of the force (Criminal Justice Act 1984, Treatment of Persons in Custody in Garda Síochána Stations Regulations 1987, Section 13). A decision then falls to be made whether to drop the matter, institute a formal caution, or initiate court proceedings. The only part of the force devoted specifically to young people is the Juvenile Liaison Scheme. This scheme represents the only formal method of diversion from the criminal justice process in the Irish juvenile justice system. The scheme dates from 1963. Whittaker (1985) provides a useful summary of the scheme's operation and conditions:

It provides for the cautioning instead of prosecution of juvenile offenders involved in minor offences (mainly larceny, burglary and malicious damage) subject to the conditions that:

- (i) the offender is under 17 years of age;
- (ii) the offender admits the crime/offence;
- (iii) the offender either has no criminal record or has a criminal record which is not serious;
- (iv) the offender gives a commitment to co-operate with the Juvenile Liaison Officer;
- (v) the parents or guardians of the offender agree to co-operate with the Gardai by accepting any help and advice about the juvenile's future;
- (vi) the injured party agrees.

The scheme is directed mainly at first offenders. However, where there have been previous cautions or convictions and the Gardai consider that the juvenile should be given the benefit of the scheme, the matter may be referred for decision to the Director of Public Prosecutions. A Superintendent or Inspector administers the formal 'caution' in the presence of the juvenile's parent or guardian.

Where agreement cannot be obtained from the injured party or the parents/guardians, but where the Juvenile Liaison Officer is of the opinion nevertheless that the scheme would benefit the juvenile, the case is also submitted to the Director of Public Prosecutions.

It also allows for the involvement of the Juvenile Liaison Officer with a youngster who has not actually committed an offence.

The juvenile liaison officer may also be given the care and guidance of a young person who, though not known to have committed an offence, may be regarded as a potential delinquent by reason of unsatisfactory behaviour, such as persistent truancy, running away from home, staying out late at night, unruly at school or at home, behaving in a disorderly manner, or frequenting undesirable places. Such cases would come to notice through teachers, parents, school attendance officers, or other gardai. (Minister for Justice 1985).

Youngsters admitted to the scheme receive supervision for a period of two years. During 1987, 2,993 boys and 716 girls were admitted to the scheme. Since its inception in 1963, a total of 32,725 (19,856 boys, 3,442 girls) have been admitted (Crime Report of Commissioner Garda Siochana 1987, 1988:28). The figures for 1983-7 show a fairly steady annual increase in the numbers dealt with under the scheme in each year.

Table 5

Numbers of Young Persons admitted to the Garda Siochana Juvenile Liaison Scheme by Year admitted

Year	Year	Year	Year
1983	2,298	1985	3,000
1984	2,552	1986	2,718
		1987	3,709

Source — Garda Commissioner Report on Crime various years.

The rate of recidivism, i.e. of those who fail to keep the terms of the scheme averages 10.5% since the scheme began; the

rate for 1987 was 12.2% (Report of Commissioner Garda Siochana (1988:28).

A total of 79 members of the Garda force are assigned to full time duties under the scheme. Those selected for the scheme receive four weeks special training.

Courts

When dealing with a child, or young person under 17, a court is required, under the Children Act 1908, as amended by the Children Act 1941, to sit in a different place or at a different time from the ordinary sittings of the court. The Courts of Justice Act 1924 provides for such special sittings in Dublin, Cork, Waterford and Limerick. Dublin has the only full time Children's Court which deals with children up to 15 years and young persons between 15 and 17 years. Under the provisions of the Summary Jurisdiction Over Children Act 1984, such courts have jurisdiction to deal summarily with a child or young person charged with any indictable offence other than homicide.

The Justice who hears cases in the Dublin Children's Court is a District Justice assigned from the panel of district Court Justices. Such Justices are trained lawyers and are salaried. Justices assigned to the hearing of cases involving children have no special additional preparation.

Burke et al (1981) have criticised, on welfare grounds, what they see as defects in the present operation of the Dublin Metropolitan Children's Court.

The impersonal and legalistic structure of the Dublin Metropolitan Children's Court must be as frustrating for the administrators of the system as for the juvenile offender and his parents. The formality of the setting creates a barrier to close communication between all of the parties concerned and diminishes the opportunity for responding appropriately to the juvenile's needs. The cases heard in the Children's Court are often processed within a matter of minutes. The court is not bound to take into account the child's welfare, and for only one charge, he could expect to appear on several occasions to allow for a remand, to claim legal aid, make a plea and obtain necessary witnesses. At present far more attention appears to be given to legal detail than to the circumstances of the juvenile ... it is vital that the legal procedures for troubled and troublesome young people should ensure the maintaining of a clear focus on the welfare of the juvenile and the greater involvement of the accused, the family, and other significant persons, in decisions which are going to have a deep impact in the lives of all concerned. (Burke et al 1981:77)

It is possible for any child of 7 years or over to be brought before a court for an offence. The position is explained by Shatter (1986: 416-417):

A child may be held criminally responsible for his acts from the age of seven. Under common law there is an irrebuttable presumption that a child below that age cannot commit a criminal offence, in that such a child could not distinguish between right and wrong. From the age of 7 to 14 years there is a rebuttable presumption of innocence, i.e. a presumption that a child lacks criminal capacity or is doli incapax. To override this presumption it must be established that at the time of committing the act charged, the child knew it was wrong.

When dealing with a child or young person the court has the following dispositional alternatives (under Children Act 1908, S107):

- (a) by dismissing the charge; or
- (b) by discharging the offender on his entering into a recognizance; or
- (c) by so discharging the offender and placing him under the supervision of a probation officer; or
- (d) by committing the offender to the care of a relative or other fit person; or
- (e) by sending the offender to an industrial school; or
- (f) by sending the offender to a reformatory school; or
- (g) by ordering the offender to be whipped; or
- (h) by ordering the offender to pay a fine, damages, or costs; or
- (i) by ordering the parent or guardian of the offender to pay a fine, damages, or costs; or
- (j) by ordering the parent or guardian of the offender to give security for his good behaviour; or
- (k) by committing the offender to custody in place of detention provided under this part of the act; or
- (l) where the offender is a young person by sentencing him to imprisonment; or
- (m) by dealing with the case in any other manner in which it may be legally dealt with.

Whipping as a disposition has fallen into disuse. The most recent dispositional alternative given to the courts is a Community Service Order under the Criminal Justice (Community Service) Act 1983. Only those aged 16 and over can be made the subject of such an order.

There is little information available on the relative importance of different dispositions. One exception is work by Caul (1985) on 1982 data, in relation to the Dublin Metropolitan Children's Court. He found 'that there had been 498 decisions involving custodial or residential care out of a total of 15,663 cases heard, reflecting an incarceration rate of 3.2% overall,' which he observed was lower than that in Northern Ireland.

Probation and Welfare Services

While the Probation of Offenders Act (1907) gave the courts this disposition, it had not really become a realistic option for the Irish courts until quite recently. That is in the sense that full time probation officers were available to every district court on a national basis. While established in 1961, with one officer, it was in the seventies that the current Probation and Welfare Service began to be expanded onto a fuller footing; it now comprises 169 posts. Whittaker (1985) describes its objectives as 'to reduce criminality in the community and to prevent and remedy social breakdown in the interests of both society and the individual.' The Probation and Welfare Service is an arm of the central Government Department of Justice and operates on a regional basis. It performs a number of functions in relation to juveniles:

- (i) preparing social enquiry and other reports for the courts;
- (ii) supervising offenders in the community on probation, on adjourned supervision and under Community Service Orders;
- (iii) assisting with and helping to set up community based facilities, e.g. hostels, for those in the care of the service and providing a welfare input to special schools, Youth Encounter Projects and others.

- (iv) assisting in the resolution of family difficulties in civil cases, e.g. marital problems.

Offenders may come under the supervision of probation and welfare officers in three ways. Firstly, there are offenders who are the subject of a **probation order**, under Section 2 of the Probation of Offenders Act, 1907. The probation order is the main disposal used by the courts. It generally contains a condition that the offender be under the supervision of a named Probation Officer and such other conditions as the court considers necessary 'for preventing a repetition of the same offence or the commission of other offences' (1907 Act, section 2(2) as amended). The supervising officer endeavours to challenge the attitudes and behaviour of the offender through counselling and support, with a view to developing his/her self-awareness and self-responsibility. Younger and immature offenders may not respond readily to such an approach and for them the development of sustaining relationships through indirect means, such as the use of educational or recreational programmes, is encouraged. (Whittaker 1985: 334-5).

Secondly, offenders may be placed on **adjourned supervision**. In such instances, the court chooses to defer sentence on condition that the offender complies with supervision from a probation officer. A date is fixed for a review and the penalty is then decided by the Court in the light of the progress report from the officer concerned. This disposition is purely informal and has no statutory basis.

Thirdly, offenders over 16 years may come under the supervision of a probation officer as a result of a community service order. This disposition was made available to the courts in early 1985 under the Criminal Justice (Community Service) Act 1983. The offender's progress is managed by a probation officer and any breach of the sentence may be reported to the court who can then impose a custodial sentence. The number of 16 year olds sentenced is not known.

Table 6 suggests, in general a declining trend in the absolute and relative numbers of persons under 16 who are the subject of the expanding number of court ordered referrals to court Probation Officers.

Table 6

Basis of Referrals of persons under 16 years from criminal courts to court based probation and welfare officers (% referrals for all ages), selected years.

	1980	1984	1985	1986	1987
Probation Order	310 (64.7%)	370 (27.9%)	307 (24.3%)	326 (26.5%)	264 (25.3%)
Adjourned Supervision	357 (55.6%)	200 (34.3%)	125 (24.3%)	189 (25.1%)	237 (25.1%)
Placed on Recognisance under Misuse of Drugs Act 1977	—	1	—	—	—
Total Referrals	667 (59.5%)	571 (28.6%)	432 (24.3%)	515 (25.9%)	501 (25.2%)

Source: Probation and Welfare Service Annual Reports

Besides the courts, the other responsibilities of the Probation and Welfare Service include prisons and places of detention

where officers help 'offenders to cope with personal and family problems, leading them towards a better understanding of their responsibilities to themselves, their families and the community, counselling them in preparation for release and participating in the formulation of the release programmes' (Whittaker 1985: 336). Prison based probation and Welfare Officers may also be involved in the supervision of offenders on full time temporary release and of activities of voluntary groups with offenders in custody.

Residential and Custodial Setting for Young Offenders

A variety of residential settings for young offenders are provided by statutory and voluntary bodies: special schools, hostels, places of detention and, in very exceptional circumstances adult prisons.

Special Schools

Special School is the working title now given to institutions designated as Industrial Schools or Reformatories under the Children's Act 1908. Their functions differed along the lines of age and reason for admission: younger and less serious offenders generally being sent to Industrial School. Nowadays many children and young people who are non-offenders are receiving care in these special schools in addition to those committed for offences, or in a small number of cases non school attendance. Three centres cater for boys: one open long stay, one semi secure with remand and assessment facilities, and one secure unit. There is one remand and assessment unit for girls but no long stay facility. The only placement option available for girls is to be found on a limited basis within the child-care/social services rather than justice system.

Hostels

A maximum of 62 places are available in hostels for young people referred by the Probation and Welfare Service. Two thirds of these are in hostels operated in conjunction with the service by approved voluntary bodies. In the remainder the service pays a capitation fee for the use of places in these smaller hostels. Only 8 per cent of places are for females, making up 11.6 per cent of those under 16 who are referred for supervision by the service. The provision suffers from an even more marked disparity in regional terms in that 77.4 per cent of places are in Dublin, which only accounts for 60 per cent of under 16 year olds referred for supervision (Department of Justice, Annual Report of Probation and Welfare Service, 1987).

Places of Detention

An offender of 16-17 years may be sentenced to a Place of Detention (which normally serves 17-21 year olds) if the Court considers that none of the other methods in which the case may legally be dealt with is suitable (Criminal Justice Act 1960). There are currently two Places of Detention for male juvenile offenders up to 21 years. St Patrick's Institution (built in 1850), is a closed institution and had a daily average of 226 in custody in 1986, Shanganagh Castle, opened in 1969, is an open institution and had a daily average of 57 in custody in the same year. Data available for St Patrick's indicates trends in relation to the committal of 16 year olds there over the past few years.

Table 7

Committals to St Patrick's Institution Dublin of those aged 16 and under 17 in selected years (% of all committals).

Year	1980	1983	1984	1985	1986
Age group 16 & under 17 years	173	137	139	148	124
	26.7%	14.0%	15.1%	14%	16.2%

Adapted from Department of Justice (1985) *Annual Report on Prisons and Places of Detention 1983* and Department of Justice (1987) *Annual Report on Prisons and Places of Detention 1986*, p. 141.

The above table indicates a decline in the proportion of those in custody in the 16-17 age group over recent years. There has also been a decline in absolute numbers in this age group since 1980.

Prison

The Children's Act, 1908 provides for the committal of a young person of 15-17 years to prison where the court certifies that the offender is 'of so unruly a character that he cannot be detained in a place of detention provided under ... this act, and that he is of so depraved a character that he is not a fit person to be so detained.' The number of young people so certified has decreased since 1971 as Table 8 indicates. What is most remarkable about these figures is the high proportion of all females committed which this age group represents (table 9).

Table 8

Number of juveniles aged 15-17 years committed to Irish prisons selected years.

Year	Aged 15 and under 17		
	Male	Female	Total
1972	53	25	78
1976	15	11	26
1980	10	15	25
1984	4	2	6
1985	10	10	20
1986	10	7	17

Source: Department of Justice Annual Report on Prisons (various years).

Table 9

Number of females aged 15 and under 17 committed to prison for relevant years, all female prisoners committed and % for selected years.

Year	A	B	A as % B
	15 & under 17	All ages	
1976	11	199	5.5
1980	15	148	10.1
1984	2	131	1.5
1985	10	195	5.1
1986	7	240	2.9

Source: Department of Justice Annual Report on Prisons (various years).

This pattern represents a much higher ratio between females of 15 to 17 years and females of all ages, than exists between males of the two categories. This trend may be explicable more in terms of the much fewer alternative residential/custodial places available for females rather than a proportionately greater propensity to criminal behaviour by females in this age group.

Community Based Day Programmes

In the past ten years a number of community based services for young people at risk or in trouble with the law have begun to emerge. Their desperate origins and organisational arrangements tend to parallel the fragmentation of responsibility evident elsewhere in the Irish Juvenile justice system. The range of such community facilities include Probation Workshops and Day Centres administered or grant aided by the Probation and Welfare Service, Youth Encounter Projects wholly funded by the Department of Education, Neighbourhood Youth Projects funded by the Department of Health through regional health boards and Community Training Workshops funded by the Department of Labour under FAS — the Manpower Authority.

Table 10

Number of Day Programmes for Young People at risk or in trouble.		
	No. of Projects/ Centres	Estimated nos. participating
Youth Encounter Projects	4	100
Neighbourhood Youth Projects	4	96 ⁱⁱ *
Probation Workshops and Day Centres	3	92 ^c
Community Training Workshops	78	2,242
	89	2,510

Sources: (i) Costello (1985: 152)
(ii) Costello (1985: 154) *(does not include peers, siblings who may participate in some activities)
(iii) Whittaker (1985: 342)/Dept of Justice 1988: 50
(iv) Youth Employment Agency (1987: 84,86) Estimate

Approximately 2,500 places for young people are available through these programmes. However 90% of these places are provided for training courses by the Manpower Authority to alleviate youth unemployment. It has recognised the need to devote special attention to young people who are socially disadvantaged generally for the kind of reasons most recently summarised by Breen (1985). Places dependent on funding from this source remain secure only so long as patterns of youth employment and perceptions of them remain as they are today.

The following is a brief summary of each of the categories of day programmes mentioned above.

Youth Encounter Projects

Some of these Projects began to be established in 1977 by the Department of Education 'to test the hypothesis that some young people at risk could be catered for in day facilities as a reasonable alternative to residential care.' (Costello 1985:

151). Considered administratively as special schools, and generously staffed with teachers, a social worker, (seconded from Probation and Welfare Service) Community Worker and housekeeper, these projects 'cater for boys and girls in the age group 10-14 who were persistent truants or had been involved with the law or were likely to become involved with the law.' (Costello 1985: 151-2).

The further development of this approach has been widely commended, (Costello 1985: 152-4; National Planning Board 1984: 296. Burke et al 1981: 164).

Neighbourhood Youth Projects

These Projects also began to be established as a result of a recommendation of the Task Force on Child Care Services (1975: 15-19). Projects typically have a local Management Committee, representing professionals, locals and sponsor interests. Staff are drawn from these with relevant professional or other appropriate experience and skills in working with young people at risk. The Projects are geared to young people experiencing social and other problems in their adolescence. They are deliberately **not** confined to delinquents, on grounds of normalisation (Task Force 1981: 152). Most attention is devoted to a core group of 25-30 (boys usually) in the 10-16 age range. To avoid stigma, their peers and siblings can also participate in some activities.

The essence of the Neighbourhood Youth Project is working with small groups of children in their own communities, using close adult/child/peer relationships, with a variety of activities to encourage and facilitate personal growth and development in all spheres of the child's life. Where children who need intensive help are concerned (i.e. the core group) work with the family and their involvement in the project is, we consider, an essential part of the exercise. (Task Force 1981: 151).

As with the comparable Youth Encounter Projects, further use of the Neighbourhood Youth concept has been recommended (Costello 1985: 154-5; Burket et al 1981: 186-7; Task Force on Child Care Services 1981: 147-150).

Probation Workshops and Day Centres

The Probation and Welfare Service sponsors six workshops and day centres of which three are geared to young people on probation or at risk. These three are situated in the Dublin region.

Community Training Workshops

As a result of a Social Guarantee to provide training places for 6-12 months for all those who leave the educational system unqualified (Youth Employment Agency 1985: 11), a network of Community Training Workshops to fulfil this guarantee is being developed. Some 2,242 young people were served in 71 such workshops at the end of 1986, including 604 young people from the traveller community in 28 workshops provided specifically for them (Youth Employment Agency, 1987: 84-86). Sligo Young Enterprise which has 30 places is typical of these. This project was opened in May 1984. Initially, trainees sample the various training modules, which are woodwork, arts and crafts, catering and household skills which will help them to make individual choices. As part of their life skills development, there is an emphasis on developmental group work. In this setting the young trainees can discuss any topic, which not only helps them to build up relationships but also to communicate better. (Youth Employment Agency 1985: 23).

A Suitable Case for Reform

The Irish juvenile justice system faces many challenges. It has

to gear up to tackle the effects of social disruption in the lives of deprived youngsters caused by economic policies and problems. A public fiscal crisis which absorbs thirty pence in every pound of tax revenue and consequent cutbacks fuels high unemployment especially among the under twenty fives (26.6 per cent). It is against this backcloth that more specific problems of minorities of young people have begun to emerge, viz. drug abuse, homelessness and prostitution. These mounting pressures will expose even more starkly the need for reform. A series of measures are urgently required:

- new juvenile justice legislation to replace the (British enacted) Children Act 1908;
- a new family court system to have *inter alia* responsibility for all contact by courts with children and young people;
- much greater integration and co-ordination of services from the juvenile justice system with those from the education, health, and social services systems for adolescents at risk;
- sufficient resources for adequate residential, fostering and day care provision, with special priority for the needs of females.

What in fact are the prospects of such reforms being realised? Unfortunately, reform looks quite remote.

The juvenile justice system in Ireland presents a complex picture, as difficult for the outside observer as the 'inside' actor to assimilate. The continuing importance of old legislation, the fragmentation of responsibility between different executive agencies, the uncertain and shifting shape of policies formed by the gradual accretion of precedents often based on ad hoc and/or isolated decisions, and the ambivalence of public opinion and politicians, all contrive to produce a fascinating if confusing patchwork. The observer's task is made more difficult by the dearth of information, especially about the processing of young offenders by the Gardai and the courts, not so much in terms of calculating crude numbers but more in terms of gaining a sense of the youngsters who 'flow' through the system and the rationale behind, and frequency of, decisions taken about them at different key stages.

Overall, it may be said that juvenile justice has not been a dominant concern of public policy since the foundation of the Irish state. The current system, with some exceptions, largely resembles that inherited from the British and certainly relies heavily on the foundations laid by them in terms of legislation and so on.

No substantive legislation in the field of juvenile justice has been introduced by any native government. Institutions and services geared to young offenders have languished under resourced or have remained under developed until relatively recently. The 1970s saw a change in this pattern with unprecedented state investment in residential accommodation and the probation service. But the kind of public pressure (CARE 1972) which prompted these developments failed to crown its efforts with the ultimate goal of legislation. Indeed the prospect of promised legislation relating specifically to juvenile justice seems to have been moved back in the queue of government priorities. Given the time scale of reform heretofore, reform lobbyists remain less than optimistic about the prospects of early change. Undoubtedly part of the delay reflects the increasing difficulty of reconciling unsympathetic public opinion which largely demands an unyielding and generally punitive strategy and professional and welfare opinion which favours a more complex and constructive set of policies. The difficulties

experienced by the Task Force in Child Care Services (1981) in reaching a consensus on these matters reflects this conflict very succinctly.

In summary it seems reasonable to argue that the system proceeds broadly from 'justice' rather than 'welfare' concerns. This preoccupation with justice is most explicit during moral panics about perceived increases in juvenile crime. (Kelly 1985). Yet this generalisation needs to be qualified since not all institutions necessarily share to the same degree a preoccupation with 'justice' or law and order priorities. In addition those agencies apparently most identified with a 'justice' stance may demonstrate 'welfare' considerations in at least some of their decisions. Courts and Gardai may be influenced by the social circumstances of a youngster. The Juvenile Liaison Scheme and the Probation and Welfare Service often mitigate the naturally overriding preoccupation with justice of the Department of Justice which is charged with oversight of the criminal justice system nationally. The Department of Education by virtue of its orientation has acted to incorporate welfare considerations into the services for young offenders for which it is responsible. Stigmatising titles and practices have been minimised and there is more concern with prevention as evidenced by its sponsorship of Youth Encounter Projects, Voluntary organisations — religious orders in the Catholic Church and other bodies — clearly have a broader and less constrained view of their role than can a Department of State, and act with a clearer welfare orientation. While crime requires the attention of the State, in keeping with the ethos of traditional Catholic thinking it has tended to adopt a hands-off approach to many fields where elsewhere the State might have formulated definite policy and exercised direct responsibility. Rather the Irish State has tended to leave well enough alone or at least to intermediary bodies such as voluntary organisations or religious orders. While this detached role for the State is not uniquely confined to the juvenile justice system, it has had major implications for those who are processed by or work within that system. As perceptions of the role of the State modify and pressure mounts for it to exercise a more direct role it is interesting to note that it may well prove reluctant, but for different reasons than in the past, i.e. for fiscal rather than philosophical reasons. Economic pressures may replace Catholic thinking as an impetus for a minimalist State role in social welfare generally and in the juvenile justice system specifically.

Notes


- (i) Ireland refers to that part of the island which has independent government since 1922. It does not include that part of the island which remains under British jurisdiction and which is known as Northern Ireland.
- (ii) Age 17 is generally taken as the cut off point for the purposes of this review of services. The focus is on those in touch with the juvenile justice system who are under 17.
- (iii) Data is supplied where available, but coverage is often not comprehensive. This may be as much to do with the availability of official statistics as the author's fallibility. (The usual caveats about official statistics should probably also apply here)*.
- (iv) Where it is considered helpful, general data about the overall criminal justice system is supplied in order to provide a context in which to situate juvenile justice matters specifically.

*(See Rottman (1984) for a discussion of difficulties in

relation to justice statistics on Ireland specifically).
(v) For a highly regarded discussion of the influence of the Catholic church government in Ireland see Whyte (1980).

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**THE NEW
INTERVENTIONISM:
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CONSEQUENCES
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ECONOMIC
CHANGE**

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This conference will examine the uneven character of national restructuring, and its effects, which are dependent upon regional variations. The uneven effect of Keynesian state and economic strategies in the UK has produced interesting variations in local experiences of the Thatcherite era: the aim of the conference is to address the new kinds of state and government relationships to key regions on a comparative basis.

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Please reply to Carol Stephenson, School of Social Studies

analysis

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

BENEFITS

YOUNG PEOPLE AND THE EFFECTS OF SOCIAL SECURITY CHANGES

Dramatic changes have occurred in Social Security legislation since April 1988. In this personal comment, an advice worker looks at some of the effects these changes are having on young people. The effects are far reaching and the most vulnerable groups of young people are at risk for example, the homeless, the sick and the disabled. Here however, the writer argues that welfare benefit changes have more intrinsically removed young peoples' fundamental rights to housing, education and choice over work.

A technical annexe follows on to provide a guide to the changing legislation.

Personal Comment

A trend towards undermining young peoples rights has ben maintained by this government with an attack on their rights to means tested welfare benefits.

The Social Security Act is now based on the principle of a test of income rather than the right to benefit. For young people this means that very few qualify for certain welfare benefits and their real choices are considerably curtailed.

Income Support. Who can Claim?

In the new scheme of things only certain categories of young people are eligible to claim Income Support. Categories include for example, the seriously ill, the disabled, single parents and young people who can establish that they are estranged from their parents.

No Independent Right Of Appeal

Even those young people who fall into these narrow categories, will find it difficult to enforce their rights to benefits since independent rights of appeal have been removed.

Benefits And The Youth Training Scheme

Every school leaver will apparently be offered a placement on Y.T.S. If there is not a placement available the iniquitous Bridging Allowance can be claimed for a limited period.

The limited period is the child benefit extension period ie, twelve weeks. The Bridging Allowance is only a proportion of the equivalent full Income Support rate.

The clear inference is that choices over Y.T.S. placements and future careers are only available to those young people with parents or guardians etc., who are wealthy enough to keep them.

Young People and Education

Few sixteen, seventeen and eighteen year olds qualify for Income Support, if they are involved in further education up to 'A' Level standard.

Those who do qualify have to demonstrate that there are no other means of support available to them and that they fit the following categories.

If the young person is:

A single parent.

An orphan and no-one is acting as her/his parents.

A refugee who has arrived in this country in the last twelve months and who is studying English for at least fifteen hours a week.

or:

Has parents who are in prison.

Has parents who are prohibited from entering Great Britain.

they may qualify for Income Support. However, young people who have no parents, those who live independently from parents and part-time students, have even fewer choices.

Part-Time Students

There are very limited possibilities available for part-time students to claim Income Support. Each possibility depends on a young person being available for work. An offer of a Y.T.S. placement or a job could be made at any time during the claiming period.

Setting aside the question of the suitability of these alternatives, the ability of young people with few financial means to maintain a course of part-time study is at best, weakened and at worst, impossible.

Young People and Independence

The low levels of Income Support available to those young people who are eligible, make independent living an arduous task. Income Support makes no distinction between levels of benefit for those who are householders and those who are not.

Young people who would like to have some choice in the matter of having their own home will find that Bridging Allowances and low levels of benefit effectively remove their rights to independent living.

Young people who have no choice but to live independently are the most badly affected of all.

Reform of the Social Security Act

The 'reform' of the Social Security Act had three main aims:

To target resources to those most in need.

To simplify the benefit system.

To initiate work incentives.

However, there was little attention paid to claimants needs and even less attention given to the life chances of people who were excluded from targetted groups of claimants. Young people were specifically excluded in most instances.

Losses

Nearly half a million people have lost money due to changes in Social Security. Of those young people who left school in the summer of 1988 seventy thousand cannot claim the barest subsistence allowance which is Income Support.

The loss in terms of life choices however, for disadvantaged and poor young people are potentially even more extensive and savage.

TECHNICAL ANNEXE

Hardship

Reg 20 (4)(a) of the Social Security Act 1986 empowers the Secretary of State to make payments of Income Support to individuals to avoid severe hardship.

Although claims are to be made to the local office the decision is made nationally at the Department of Social Security head office in Carey Street. All other options to avoid hardship must be explored before a referral is made. The Method of referral is by telephone and the response is made by telephone. There is no right of appeal against refusal of benefit on hardship grounds.

Child Benefit Extension Period

Prior to this amendment school leavers could claim Income Support as follows:

School leaving date Christmas	1st Monday in January
School leaving date Easter	1st Monday after Easter Monday
School leaving date in May/June	1st Monday in September

The effect of the amendment regulations has been to extend child benefit and any other benefits received *for* the young person rather than *by* the young person.

The Position is now:

Previous Income Support Claim date	Child benefit extension period
September	16 weeks ending day <i>before</i> first Monday in January
January	12 weeks from the first Monday in January
Any other time	12 weeks commencing the first Monday after Easter Monday

For Parent to obtain this extension the following conditions must be satisfied:

- Young person is registered as available for work/training via YTS at a job centre/careers centre.
- Young person is in full time work.
- Immediately before the start of the extension period the parents received child benefit for the young person.
- An application is made in writing for the payment of benefit during the extension period.

Exemptions

Certain groups of young people are not affected by the changes and have entitlement to Income Support in the normal way.

- Lone parents.
- Single parents with foster children.
- Persons temporarily looking after child of another person.
- Blind persons or those having regained sight in past 28 weeks.
- Pregnant Women — from eleven weeks before expected date of confinement or prior if incapable of work and have medical corroboration.
- Persons in education; *and*
- Persons receiving a training allowance.
- Refugees learning English. This must be a course of at least 15 hours per week and from the start of the course must have been resident in the U.K. less than 12 months. This criteria lasts for a maximum of 9 months.
- Persons from abroad — subsequent condition Reg 21(3) I.S (General) Regs and Reg 70(3) I.S (General) Regs. 1987.
- Incapable of work or training via YTS due to illness/disability and likely to last over 12 months.
- Laid off work and available for re-engagement.
- Incapable of work/training via YTS and likely to last less than 12 months.
- Students but only during summer holidays for definitions a-k see I.S. (General) Amendment Regs Sch 1A. l-m see I.S (General) Amendment Regs Reg. 13(A).

Bridging Allowance

This is an allowance for up to eight weeks in any one year at the rate of £15. Those young people who lost entitlement to Income Support because of the

changes went straight onto the bridging allowance.

Others will start it after the Child Benefit extension period. But they must be registered as available for work/YTS.

The allowance will also be available to them in between YTS schemes. The bridging allowance is paid by the Department of Employment and is *not* Income Support.

Benefit Rates (Income Support)

Income Support 88/89	
Age	Rate £
16 - 17	19.40 *1
18 - 24	26.05 *1+2
25+	33.40 *1+3

Supplementary Benefit 87/88		
Age	Non-householder	Householder
16-17	18.75	30.40
18 or Over	24.35	30.40
25+	28.40 *4	

*1 Any householder would have to pay 20% General Rates plus Water Rates.

*2 Non-householder would pay £3.00 towards rates.

*3 Non-householder would pay £3.00 towards rates and £3.45 towards rent.

*4 Includes £405 towards housing costs.

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*All these books are available on publication from good bookshops. In case of difficulty, please write to
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law

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

The Legal Aid Act

The present system of legal aid was introduced in 1950 with the aim of making justice accessible to everyone regardless of means. In the last seven years Government expenditure on legal aid has quadrupled and still shows no signs of levelling off, particularly in the light of ever increasing crime and divorce rates. In 1986/7 the government's legal aid bill was in excess of £400 million.

In June 1986 the Cabinet Office Efficiency Unit published the Legal Aid Efficiency Scrutiny. It was the product of just ninety days research and constituted the most fundamental review of the legal aid system since its introduction. As a result of the report a white paper was produced in March 1987 followed by the Legal Aid Bill which has recently received the Royal Assent. The new Legal Aid Act is brief. It is basically an enabling Act giving extensive powers to the Lord Chancellor and the new Legal Aid Board. The true indications of changes to come are given in the white paper.

The existing Legal Aid system is administered by the Law Society from area offices throughout England and Wales. The Law Society deals with all aspects of legal aid except the grant or refusal of legal aid in criminal cases which is still decided by the magistrates court. The Act takes this role away from the Law Society and gives it to a newly created Legal Aid Board, a step which has been generally welcomed by practitioners. However, there is concern that the Board may not have complete independence and may have more interest in the economics of legal aid than in the provision of services. A suspicion which has, to some extent, been confirmed by the recent appointment of the board. The Chairman is a business man and the remainder of the board consists of five industrialists, two solicitors, two barristers, an academic, and a Citizen Advice Bureau worker.

The powers of the Legal Aid Board are extensive and are not just confined to setting levels and guidelines for the granting of legal aid. The Act gives it the power to contract out certain areas of legal work to specific agencies.

At the moment all legal aid for civil and criminal proceedings is means tested. In most cases the DHSS carry out this test. In addition legal aid will only be granted where the case is one that merits it. Merit is decided by the Law Society in civil cases and the Magistrates Court in criminal cases. Some legal proceedings are simply not covered by any of the forms of legal aid, in particular representation at industrial tribunals, social security appeals, and immigration appeals. Although a major gap in the system the white paper makes it clear that the new system will not be extended to cover these areas.

Legal Aid for advice (as opposed to actual proceedings) is covered by the simple Green Form Scheme. The eligibility for greenform advice is means tested but the test is carried out by the solicitor at the time of giving the advice and merit is not in question providing the advice involves 'a matter relating to English Law'. So, where a solicitor could not get legal aid to represent a client at an immigration appeal, s/he could give advice before the appeal on the relevant law and procedure under the scheme. The Green Form only allows the solicitor to carry out £50.00 worth of work but this can be extended on application to the Law Society. The Green Form Scheme goes part of the way to filling the gaps left by the remainder of the legal aid system and in 1986 1,200,000 people received advice and assistance under the scheme.

The white paper makes clear that the new contracting out powers of the Board are to be used to reduce the green form element in the government's legal aid expenditure. It will do this by reducing the ambit of green form advice (it will no longer cover advice on wills or conveyancing) and by restricting the numbers of advisors who can give advice on certain areas of law previously covered by the scheme. The white paper envisages

that the Board, under the direction of the Lord Chancellor, would enter into contracts with certain agencies and organisations to provide advice in specified areas of law. That area of work would then cease to be covered by the scheme. The agencies expected to tender for such work would be the Citizens Advice Bureaux, advice agencies and Law Centres. However, the Act is wide enough to allow firms of solicitors in private practise to tender for work.

The two areas of law singled by the white paper as being possible areas to contract out are social security and housing law, the idea being that advice agencies already deal with these areas to a large extent and therefore have the expertise. The white paper does not acknowledge that advice agencies are overburdened already and any money raised through tendering is unlikely to cover the cost of the additional manpower needed to cope with the increased number of enquiries which will inevitably result. Indeed many advice agencies will endanger their local authority grants by entering paid contracts to provide advice.

Clearly the effects of contracting out will be felt most by the customer whose choice will be restricted. Solicitors will no longer be able to advise clients on all matters arising from a case. S/he will have to refer clients elsewhere for information on the social security or immigration implications of cases. The ultimate outcome for the client is no choice and more inconvenience in obtaining advice which may be of the greatest importance to him/her.

Although the new powers are likely to be used initially to transfer areas of law which advice agencies already deal with, there is nothing to stop the system being extended further. It may be that eventually all criminal representation or divorce work is contracted out to specific firms of local legal aid solicitors.

In reality the savings generated from contracting out are likely to be very small. In 1985/86 the green form scheme expenditure on housing and social security was only £3.5 million and it seems likely that the Government would have to pay this out under contracts if it were to set up a realistic country wide advice system to fill the gap.

All existing types of legal aid are preserved under the Act but the definition of what will be covered and to what level is left to the legal aid board. In the areas of law not affected by contracting out the white paper suggests that legal aid will be harder to come by. Indeed, the white paper states that one of the Governments intentions is to make people consider the cost to the ratepayer and potentially to themselves. The merit of taking or defending the case appears to be of secondary importance. The white paper concentrates on financial restrictions to legal aid. It suggests that the means test becomes less flexible and that, where a client is required to pay a contribution for legal aid, these should continue to be payable for the duration of the case and not just 12 months. The white paper also suggests that the legally aided person's opponent be allowed to make representations against the granting of legal aid.

The complexities of the law are such that most people are obliged to entrust their case to a solicitor. It is vital both for the client and the legal system itself that those needing to use the law have confidence in their advisers and feel that their case has been presented to its best advantage. The qualities required from advice workers and solicitors by clients will vary from case to case and from client to client but if the client does not have the right to shop around and find the solicitor that he has confidence in then it is bound to reduce confidence in the legal system as a whole.

The white paper promised to cut current legal expenditure by £10 million. The Act gives no details of how this is to be achieved but it does give the Legal Aid Board and the Lord Chancellor a free hand to do what they want to achieve this. The first regulations under the Act are to be produced in October 1988 and these will be the first indications of what changes are in store for the legal aid system. The real danger is that the Governments concern over expenditure may reduce the legal aid system to one which can only provide second class representation. Regardless of the independence of the judiciary and the mechanism of the legal system itself, for the customer second class representation is second class justice.

LEGAL AID

"Getting Legal Help" leaflet

Copies of our introductory leaflet "Legal Aid - Getting Legal Help" are already available in Bengali, Hindu, Gujarati, Punjabi and Urdu. This leaflet has now been translated into Arabic, Chinese, Farsi, French, German, Greek, Italian, Portuguese, Spanish, Turkish, Vietnamese and Welsh.

Because it would have cost more than we could afford to have the leaflets printed in these 12 languages and distributed in bulk, we have instead produced master copies which are now available to advisory and other agencies. The idea is that a photocopy can be run off as and when a request is received for a copy.

Leaflet for Intermediaries

We recognise that very many people go to an "intermediary", for instance a social worker, advice agency or member of the clergy who then advises them to go to a solicitor. We have therefore produced a leaflet describing the range of legal services that are available, the various kinds of legal aid for different types of cases, specialist panels, free advice and the duty solicitor schemes.

Readers who would like to see copies of any of these leaflets should contact Legal Aid Head Office, Newspaper House, 8-16 Great New Street, London EC4A 3BN, Tel (01) 353-7411.

Code

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings are as published

The following code describes the reference used.

DIV	Division
D	in debate
S	statement
WA	written answer
AMM	amendment moved
OA	oral answer
RB	reading of Bill, 1, 2, or 3
V	volume of report

N	number of report
etc;	this item continued as such
adj;	adjourned
ans.	answer
exchange;	comment by Members on the subject as some length
table;	figures given in chart form

Vol. 132, No 142, May 88 OA

Youth Employment (Leicester)

3. Mr Vaz: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what steps he proposes to take to boost youth employment prospects in Leicester.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Employment (Mr John Lee): The employment prospects for young people in Leicester, as elsewhere, are being boosted by the high quality training and work experience offered by YTS. From September, the Government are extending their guarantee of a YTS place to all 16 and 17-year-olds who are not in work or further education. As a result, no young person under 18 need be unemployed.

Mr Vaz: Is the Minister aware of the existence of the Leicester enterprise board, established by Leicester city council, one of whose guidelines is to promote youth employment and provide grants for assistance to local business men? Does he agree that one way to boost the prospects for youth employment in Leicester would be for the Government to provide the local authority with resources to allow it to continue with its valuable and important work?

Mr Lee: As the hon. Gentleman is aware, substantial amounts of Government money are directed to Leicester for programmes including the inner city task force. Something like 80 per cent. of young people leaving YTS in Leicester enter jobs, further training or education against 75 per cent. nationally. Leicester is not doing too badly.

Mr Latham: Is my hon. Friend aware that in the city of Leicester and in Leicestershire county, including my constituency, there are many excellent youth training schemes and that they are training young people very well? There is no reason why any young person should not get training and go on to decent employment afterwards.

Mr Lee: I am grateful for my hon. Friend's comments. Of course he is absolutely right. There are some excellent schemes, not only in Leicestershire but in the whole country.

Training Initiatives

7. Mr Ron Davies: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what training initiatives his Department currently supports specifically for rural areas.

Mr Nicholls: Our training programmes are available nationally to all those who are eligible, irrespective of where they live. The planning and delivery arrangements ensure that all programmes respond to particular local needs.

Mr Davies: Has the Minister considered the particular problems that will be faced by those who are eligible for the new employment training scheme in rural areas, particularly as a result of the high cost of transport? If the scheme is not to become a descript scene in the countryside, does the Minister accept that it must be made more attractive? One way of doing that would be to abolish the 25 travelling cost threshold, and at least make all travelling costs free from the applicant.

Mr Nicholls: I appreciate the hon. Gentleman's point. Under the new training programme, travelling costs in excess of £5 will be met. I hope that the hon. Gentleman agrees that that is a proper way to proceed. In view of the economic climate generally and, indeed, the various training programmes already available, I am sure that he would wish to point out that such programmes have already been particularly successful in his constituency. In the year to March 1988, unemployment fell by 19 per cent., and in the year to January 1988 the number of people under 25 out of work for more than six months fell by 34 per cent. I know how much the hon. Gentleman will welcome that, and I join him in doing so.

Sir John Farr: With the complete change in agriculture and its outlook for the future, will my hon. Friend look into the prospect of modernising the present youth training scheme in so far as it affects agriculture and the changing face of the business?

Mr Nicholls: I am certainly very much aware that YTS has played a major part in the agriculture industry, as it has elsewhere. However, it is fair to point out that nothing is ever set in tablets of stone. If schemes and training can be improved, those are obviously matters that we tend to consider. I can give my hon. Friend an assurance that improvement in the quality of training is borne constantly in mind.

Mr Sheerman: I realise that the Minister is an expert on rural unemployment, but is he not concerned about trends that are occurring in youth training in rural and other areas? I had evidence only today of a scheme run by a manufacturer in Wiltshire, which is now offering £92 a week to young people with no training to come into the industry. Is the Minister aware that that will mean the collapse of youth training in this country, with young people at the age of 16 again going into occupations with no future, training or prospects? What does he propose to do about that collapse?

Mr Nicholls: I am pleased to hear the hon. Gentleman's tact, if not explicit, support for training programmes in general, and the adult training programme in particular. It should be pointed out that not so many years ago, as a result of the policies of the Labour Government, there would not have been even unskilled jobs for people to go into, because unemployment was rising. At present, it is falling. Even if the hon. Gentleman is a late convert to the Government's policies, the sinner who has repented is welcome.

Mr Harris: Will my hon. Friend confirm that in the county of Cornwall unemployment in rural development areas has fallen by 2.9 per cent in 12 months, which is the third largest drop in any English county? Following his visit to Cornwall on Friday, does my hon. Friend agree that the two biggest drawbacks that we face in dealing with unemployment — because the economy is now picking up — are first, a shortage of industrial land, and secondly, the demand for more skill training?

Mr Nicholls: I am sure that my hon. Friend is right. It needs to be stressed repeatedly that the new adult training programme has a vital role to play and that it deserves support from both sides of the House. As we both come from country constituencies, we have the advantage of knowing what we are talking about.

Employer-School Compacts

11. Mr David Evans: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many proposals he has received to date for employer-school compacts; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Norman Fowler: There has been a good response to my announcement that the Government will back compacts between schools and employers in urban programme areas. I understand that about 40 partnerships are working on the preparation of a compact. The Manpower Services Commission is today launching a formal invitation to all 57 urban programme areas to apply for development funding. We hope initially to launch some 15 compacts throughout Britain and the Government are making available over £3 million a year for this initiative.

Mr Evans: I welcome my right hon. Friend's initiative to guarantee YTS training and jobs for young people, particularly in inner cities, and I am pleased that he is making resources available for this programme.

Mr Fowler: I am grateful to my hon. Friend for his comments. Under the compact arrangements employers will be asked to guarantee a job, with training, to young people from inner-city schools, and I hope that on this we can take the Opposition with us.

School Governors

Mr Cartwright: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will list those local education authorities which are providing training courses for school governors at public expense.

Mr Dunn: A survey conducted recently on behalf of the Department suggested that most local education authorities provide some school governor training. Section 57 of the Education (No. 2) Act 1986 places on every local education authority to provide every school governor with such training as the authority considers necessary for the effective discharge of the governor's functions. This duty will take effect from 1 September 1988 for county and maintained special schools, and 1 September 1989 for voluntary schools.

Teachers' Pay

Mr Bermingham: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what consultations are currently taking place with teachers and local education authorities on pay increases.

Mrs Rumbold: My right hon. Friend wrote on 19 April to the local authority associations, the teacher unions and bodies representing the interests of the governors of voluntary schools setting out his proposal to implement the recommendations

on pay rates of the interim advisory committee on school teachers' pay and conditions. This letter invited the consultees to say if they would like a meeting with him or with officials, such meetings to take place by 13 May. A number of such meetings have been arranged.

Police-School Liaison

Mr Cartwright: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what action he has taken on the recommendations of the joint teachers' association, Police Federation working party report on police — school liaison.

Mrs Rumbold: The Government welcome co-operation between the teaching profession and the police as reflected in this report. Liaison between police and schools is important not only for education itself, but also for the prevention of crime and for maintaining the essential relationship of trust and confidence between the police and the public.

The report covers very similar grounds to that covered by a report produced jointly by the Association of Chief Police Officers and the Society of Education Officers in 1986. The Government circulated this report to all schools and police forces. Both the Home Office and the Department of Education and Science have worked in hand to identify and disseminate examples of good practice in police-schools liaison. The Home Office is financing a research project to evaluate the effectiveness of various methods of police-schools liaison and her Majesty's inspectorate of schools has begun an examination of good practice in a number of local education authorities.

The arrangements for police-schools liaison need to be developed locally. We understand that since the publication of the 1986 report local working parties have been set up in many areas to develop joint police-schools programmes.

Education Expenditure (Kirklees)

Mrs Peacock: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what was the expenditure per pupil for primary and secondary schools in Kirklees metropolitan council area for each year from 1982 to the present date.

Mr Dunn: The net institutional recurrent expenditure per pupil by Kirklees local education authority in primary and secondary schools in the years 1981-82 to 1986-87, the latest date for which actual data is available, is set out in the table:

Expenditure per pupil in Kirklees — 1981-82 to 1986-87

	Primary £	Secondary £
1981-82	590	780
1982-83	650	855
1983-84	675	880
1984-85	720	960
1985-86	785	1,055
1986-87	875	1,250

Net institutional recurrent expenditure covers the cost of salaries and wages, premises and certain supplies and services. It does not include the cost of school meals, central administration and inspection debt charges or revenue contributions to capital outlay.

Note: All figures are in cash terms.

Enterprise Allowance Scheme

16. Mr Key: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make a statement on the progress of the enterprise allowance scheme.

Mr Lee: Since the enterprise allowance scheme began in 1982, just over 333,000 unemployed people have been helped to start their own business. 110,000 places will be available during the current year.

YTS

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

Mr Norman Fowler: Two-year YTS was introduced in April 1986 and the programme is now firmly established as the major route from school to work, providing training for around 60 per cent. of all 16 and 17-year-old entrants to the labour market. Three quarters of all young people leaving YTS go into a job, full-time education or further training.

25. Mr Anthony Coombs: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what are the latest figures for YTS trainees going into work or further education and training.

Mr Lee: The Manpower Services Commission conducts regular follow-up surveys of all YTS leavers. The latest results show that 75 per cent. of young people who left YTS schemes between April 1986 and October 1987, were either in work, further education or training at the time of the survey.

29. Mr Hayes: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many young people are currently on YTS training schemes.

Mr Nicholls: At the end of March 1988 the Manpower Services Commission management information system shows some 389,000 in training in YTS. This figure represents an impressive achievement in convincing young people 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.

73. Mr Hinchcliffe: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what percentage of YTS participants leave the scheme with a recognised qualification.

Mr Cope: Until recently, as a result of the conversion to two-year YTS, 90 per cent. of leavers were early leavers and therefore not representative. Most young people will not have completed their two-year training programme until after March 1988. A national survey of those trainees who have stayed into their second year shows that 54 per cent. have already gained a qualification, and that a significantly higher proportion will have entered for a qualification by the end of their second year.

MSC Training Schemes

20. Mr Stevens: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many people are currently on Manpower Services Commission training schemes.

Mr Fowler: In March 1988 there were some 390,000 young people on YTS and 30,000 people on the new job trainee scheme.

"Training for Employment"

37. Mr Mans: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what representations he has received for publication of Cm. 316, "Training for Employment", and if he will make a statement.

62. Mr Simon Coombs: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what representations he has received White Paper "Training for Employment"; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Nicholls: We have received a number of representations from hon. Members and others about our impo- ambitious proposals contained in the White Paper "Training for Employment".

76. Mr Ashley: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will make a statement on the implications for people of the White Paper "Training for Employment".

Mr Nicholls: The new adult programme employment training will provide quality training for all eligible participants including those with hearing difficulties. All organisations participating in employment training will be required to have an effective equal opportunity policy. Trainees with hearing difficulties will have access to the full range of opportunities, with, as necessary, additional help through a communicator service, loans for special equipment and the possibility of

supplementary funding for training managers for parts of their training programme that would be particularly expensive.

Training Commission

42. Mr Favell: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he has any plans to meet the chairman of the Training Commission, and if he will make a statement.

Mr Nichols: My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State frequently meets the chairman of the Manpower Services Commission, which will be renamed the Training Commission subject to the Employment Bill 1988 receiving Royal Assent. He will, of course, continue to meet the commission chairman to discuss training issues.

School leavers

45. Dr Michael Clark: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many school leavers are expected to come onto the job market in each of the next five years; and how that compares with the latest year for which figures are available.
Mr Lee: It is projected that 510,000 school leavers in the academic year 1988-89 will be available for employment in Great Britain and that the corresponding numbers for the following two years will be 480,000 and 460,000. Projections for later years are not yet available. The latest year for which estimates are available is the 1984-85 academic year. An estimated 620,000 young people leaving school in that year were available for employment.

Restart Programme

59. Mr Tredinnick: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many long-term unemployed have been offered help under the restart programme since its inception.

Mr Lee: Since 1 July 1985, some 3.5 million interviews have taken place under the restart programme, of which just under 90 per cent have resulted in an offer of positive help being made.

Non-statutory Training Organisations

72. Mr Sherman: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what provisions are being made, in light of recent critical reports, to improve non-statutory training organisations.

Mr Nichols: I refer the hon. Member to the reply I gave him on 29 March 1988, *Official Report*, column 412.

Community Programme

Mr Battle: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what provisions his Department has made for additional funding to be made available for those projects in the community programme which may be unable to generate the funding necessary to meet the costs of the management team salaries and running costs, following the changes in the Manpower Services Commission community programme due to come into force on 5 September; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Nichols: The funding arrangements for employment training were set out in the White Paper "Training for Employment" (Cm. 316). Higher cost training places, including places on projects carried over from the community programme may attract a supplementary grant of up to £40 a week.

Mr Battle: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many representations he has received concerning the impending changes in the Manpower Services Commission community programme criteria, due to take place on 5 September; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Nichols: The community programme and our other provision for unemployed adults will be replaced by employment training from 5 September. My right hon. Friend has received a number of representations from hon. Members and others about these important proposals to provide quality training for long-term unemployed people.

Education Reform

Mr Worthington: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland what he estimates will be the budget for a school board with (a) up to 500 pupils, (b) up to 1,000 pupils and (c) more than 1,000 pupils.

Mr Michael Forsyth: Under the terms of the School Boards (Scotland) Bill it will be for education authorities, after discussion with the school boards concerned, to set budgets for their school boards. The size of the school may have some effect on the budget for a school board; a more significant variable would be the range of additional delegated functions, if any, which the board concerned had taken on.

Mr Worthington: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland if he will specify, in detail, how his estimate of £5 million for the cost of running school boards was arrived at.

Mr Michael Forsyth: The Government's estimate of the net additional cost to education authorities of the initial implementation of the school boards system was made on a national basis. It was based on information about the existing school councils system and on the cost of governing bodies under the Education (No. 2) Act 1986 in England and Wales.

Teachers (Superannuation)

Mr Dallyell: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland if he will amend the teachers' superannuation scheme so that women teachers have the same right as male teachers to pass on to their spouse on death, benefit rights and entitlements accrued in respect of contributions paid prior to 1 April; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Michael Forsyth: The Scottish teachers' superannuation scheme is being amended to introduce widowers' benefits in respect of service undertaken by women teachers from 6 April 1988. The Social Security Act 1986 requires that, for service from that date, a widower will become entitled to a restricted pension of one half of the minimum pension of his spouse guaranteed for the purposes of contracting out of the state earnings-related pension scheme. However, after consultation with teachers' associations and employers, it has been agreed that, in respect of service after 6 April 1988, the teachers' scheme will go further than the statutory requirement and will provide widower's benefits on the same basis as those currently available to widows. In order to cover service prior to that date it will be necessary, however, for those women teachers, who so choose, to make appropriate payments. This is because the contributions already paid do not reflect the cost of giving such a substantial improvement.

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EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

Teachers and Ancillary Staff (Vetting)

Mr Cohen: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what information he has in relation to the number of teachers and ancillary staff who have been vetted by police before they are employed in jobs where they work with children; and whether his Department keeps information as to the number of people refused employment and the reasons therefore.

Mrs Rumbold: I refer the hon. Member to the answer given to him by my hon. Friend the Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for the Home Department on 29 April, at column 283.

Teachers (Pay)

Mr Wray: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what has been the percentage increase in teachers' pay for each year since 1974.

Mrs Rumbold: I refer the hon. Member to the answer I gave to the hon. Member for Clydesdale (Mr Hood) on 27 April, at columns 168-69.

Higher Education (Course Approval)

Dr Hampson: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science how many of Her Majesty's inspectors will be rendered redundant by the ending of the course approval system for higher education.

Mr Jackson: None.

Ethnic Monitoring

Mr Blunkett: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science (1) how many (a) colleges of further education, (b) colleges of higher education, (c) polytechnics and (d) universities in England and Wales are actively engaged in ethnic monitoring with respect to (i) academic staff, (ii) support staff and (iii) the student body;

(2) how many (a) colleges of further education, (b) colleges of higher education, (c) polytechnics and (d) universities in England and Wales are actively engaged in ethnic monitoring in accord with guidelines currently laid down by the Commission for Racial Equality with respect to (i) academic staff, (ii) support staff and (iii) the student body.

Mr Jackson: This information is not collected by my Department. However, a consultative document was issued by the Department on 8 March addressing the issues and options for consideration in the collection of ethnically-based statistics for students in further and higher education. The document sought views on the use of the Commission for Racial Equality guidelines for classification of ethnic origin.

Mr Blunkett: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what information he has on overall percentages of black lecturers in (a) colleges of further education, (b) colleges of higher education, (c) polytechnics and (d) universities.

Mr Jackson: This information is not collected by my Department.

Mr Blunkett: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science if UCCA and PCAS plan to include an ethnic monitoring question on their application forms for student entry to universities and polytechnics.

Mr Jackson: I refer the hon. Member to my reply to the hon. Member for Newham, North-West (Mr Banks) on 13 April 1988, at column 135, in which it was reported that UCCA is considering the question of ethnic monitoring of university applicants. In addition, a response to the Department's consultative document on ethnic monitoring of students in further and higher education has now been received from PCAS indicating its willingness to discuss the proposal with the Department.

Pupil-Teaching Ratios

Mr Beggs: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland what is the present pupil-teacher ratio for (a) primary and (b) secondary schools in Scotland.

Mr Michael Forsyth: The provisional pupil-teacher ratios for 1987-88 are 20.2 in primary and 12.9 in secondary schools.

Further and Higher Education

Mr Galloway: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland how many students in Scottish further and higher education are between the ages of 16 and 18.

Mr Michael Forsyth: In session 1986-87 the number of students in vocational higher and further education in Scotland aged 16 to 18 inclusive was estimated to be 92,000. Of these, 34,100 were full-time or sandwich course students and 57,900 were part-time students.

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Availability for Work Test

Ms Short: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment whether individuals who are on the community programme who choose to leave when the adult training scheme is introduced in September will be liable to benefit loss under the availability for work test.

Mr Nichols: Participants who join the community programme (CP) from the end of February are entitled to six months on that programme. We have already made it clear that the new employment training programme is to be a voluntary one. Those CP participants who choose not to take advantage of the new programme at the end of their time on CP will not be liable to benefit loss under the availability for work test.

Training Schemes

Mr McAllion: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if people who (a) complete a course on the adult training strategy and (b) come off training courses prior to completion will be entitled to claim unemployment or supplementary benefit.

Mr Nichols: People who have completed their time in employment training or have left the programme early and who have not secured a job will be entitled to claim unemployment benefit or income support provided that they meet the statutory conditions for entitlements to these benefits.

Social Workers (Education and Training)

Mr John Greenway: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services when he expects to be able to respond to the proposals from the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work for reforms to the education and training for social workers and other care staff.

Mr Newton: I wrote yesterday to Professor Saul setting out the Government's position in response to the proposals of "Care for Tomorrow". The letter indicates that, while the Government do not feel able to commit resources to the extension of qualifying training for social workers to three years, as proposed by CCETSW, we wish to work closely with the council in developing a balanced package of improvement not only to improve qualifying training, but to improve the skills of staff already working in the field.

The training support programme announced by the Government last November is an important step already taken in relation to those working in the care of elderly people. The Health and Medicines Bill includes powers which would enable us to make similar provision in the field of child care. We are making up to £1 million available to CCETSW to improve planning and co-operation between the colleges and employers and review the standards of teaching of various aspects of social work. We are also providing support for a variety of other initiatives aimed at extending the availability of training for social services staff in a number of specialist areas such as mental health and mental handicap and child abuse.

In developing qualifying training, our view is that the most important immediate objectives are to improve the quality and availability of "practice placements" and to move to a uniform two-year training period for postgraduates. We attach high priority to both of these. We are seeking the help of the council to develop detailed proposals for phased development over a five-year period starting in 1989-90.

These further measures, building on improvements already taking place, should help to ensure a better prepared and therefore more competent staff for the personal social services. The full text of my letter is as follows:

"CARE FOR TOMORROW: THE CCETSW TRAINING REFORM PROPOSALS"

I am grateful to you, Tony Hall and Rachel Pierce for coming to see me on 20 April. We agreed that it would be helpful if I were to let you have a statement of the Government's position before your Council session on 4 May.

I want to be able to assure you that the Government agrees that there is a need for improvement in training for the social services. The employers of social services staff have an important role to play in this, as does CCETSW. For social work staff this is necessary both at the qualifying and post-qualifying stages, and more training opportunities are vital for the other staff employed in the social services. We have already introduced a training support programme for staff working with elderly people with that in mind.

We welcome the considerable effort the Council has already put into specifying what needs to be attained by student social workers at the point of qualification; improving planning and co-operation between the colleges and the employers and reviewing the standards of teaching of the various aspects of social work. These are all essential elements in getting the most from the existing public investment in the preparation of social workers. We very much want to encourage and support this work, and the developments that flow from it. We also welcome the contribution being made by CCETSW to the development of the National Vocational Qualification framework. I told you that the government's financial allocation to CCETSW for this financial year is being increased by up to £1 million to enable the programme of improvements to increase in scale. I asked you to let officials have an action plan for this programme of improvements for their agreement.

We had, in our earlier correspondence, asked CCETSW to provide a set of costed options to enable Ministers to form a view of their relative benefits. In the event the Council provided a single package of measures in its Care for Tomorrow proposals. We discussed those, and I made it clear that the Government did not feel able to make financial provision for the proposals it contains for the extension to three years of qualifying training for social workers. I explained that this conclusion was based principally on our assessment of the relative priority of this development for future generations of social workers among the many other competing calls on public resources in the short to medium term, both in the social services and in other fields, including not least those needed to improve the skills of existing social care staff in such fields as residential care of the elderly and child care.

You made it clear that three years training was essential in the view of the Council in order adequately to prepare social workers for the tasks they face, and that its achievement would remain your long-term goal.

Against this background, I am concerned to respond to your request for a firm steer on where and how to concentrate planning effort in getting a practical programme of improvement in social work training under way. Our view, which I think you share, is that the two most important objectives in the short-term are to improve the quality and availability of "practice placements" and to move to a uniform two-year training period for postgraduates, both of which have the advantage of building on developments already taking place.

I acknowledge that both require a measure of direct government encouragement or sponsorship, especially in advance of employment-led NVQ arrangements becoming a reality. You understand that I cannot commit myself to specific sums in advance of public expenditure discussions, which will not be completed until the autumn; but I can tell you that I attach very high priority indeed to finding the resources to make significant progress in these two respects, with a start being made from 1989-90. I hope therefore that the Council will bring forward proposals quickly for a phased programme to secure these improvements over a five-year period.

I recognise that you and your Council would have wished us simply to accept the programme set out in "Care for Tomorrow". But I hope that you and they will recognise in turn that the important steps we are suggesting are consistent with the Council's long-term goal, and indeed can be seen as substantial progress towards it. I hope too that the arrangements that we have set in train for an annual programme and performance review will provide a good framework for us to work together in building further on this progress in due course.

Student Fees

Mr Allan Stewart: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland whether he will announce the fees to be charged to students attending Scottish institutions other than universities in the academic year 1988-89.

Mr Michael Forsyth: For the academic year 1988-89, my right hon. and learned Friend has prescribed the following fee levels for home students and for students from other European Community (EC) countries on full-time advanced courses in the central institutions and colleges of education (fees for 1987-88 are shown in brackets):

Postgraduate courses	£1,800 (1,730)
Undergraduate and equivalent courses	£578 (556)

For non-advanced courses, the central institutions and colleges of education will be invited to set their own fees, by having regard to fees charged for comparable courses at local authority further education colleges.

Fees for home and other EC students on courses at local authority colleges are the responsibility of the local authorities. I understand that the Convention of Scottish Local Authorities (COSLA) has decided to recommend fees for such students as follows:

Postgraduate courses	£1,800 (1,760)
Advanced full-time courses	£578 (556)
Non-advanced full-time courses	£440 (360)

For overseas students the Government's policy is that students should pay fees that cover the cost of their education. Local authorities and institutions are free to determine the fees to be charged in accordance with that policy, and in the light of their own circumstances. I understand that COSLA has decided to recommend to local authorities the following fees for students at local authority colleges paying the overseas rate who began their courses on or after 1 September 1980:

Advanced courses	£3,890 (3,720)
Non-advanced courses	£2,145 (2,055)

Information Technology Education Centres

Mr Leighton: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what is the average cost per trainee at an information technology education centre; and how long does the course last.

Mr Nichols: Information technology centres provide a range of training, most of it under YTS. In 1987-88, the annual cost to the Manpower Services Commission per YTS trainee was £4,224. As with all YTS schemes, information technology centres provide up to two years of vocational training for unemployed 16-year-olds and up to one year of training for unemployed 17-year-olds.

Free School Meals

Mr Dobson: To ask the Secretary of State for Wales if he will give the number of children in each local education authority who received free school meals (a) because their parents were in receipt of family income supplement and (b) at the discretion of the local education authority, at the latest date for which figures are available.

Mr Wyn Roberts: In September 1987, an estimated 82,236 children received school meals because their parents were in receipt of supplementary benefit or family income support. But information about the numbers in each category is not available. A further 7,314 children received free school meals at the discretion of the local education authority.

Pupil-Teacher Ratios

Mr Beggs: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what is the present pupil-teacher ratio for (a) primary and (b) secondary schools in England and Wales.

Mr Dunn: In January 1987 the pupil-teacher ratios in maintained primary and secondary schools in England were 21.9 and 15.6, respectively. Information for schools in Wales is the responsibility of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Wales.

Mr Blunkett: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will list those colleges which have given a definite indication of their intention to apply to join the Polytechnics Central Funding Council sector by 30 April and whose full-time equivalent enrolment numbers for courses of advanced further education on 1 November 1985 did not exceed 55 per cent. of their total full-time equivalent enrolment numbers on that date.

Mr Jackson: The following colleges have given a provisional indication of their wish that the Secretary of State should exercise the power conferred by clause 106(1) of the Education Reform Bill to incorporate them within the PCFC sector with effect from 1 April 1989, subject to the Bill's obtaining the Royal Assent:

Buckinghamshire College of Higher Education
Cambridgeshire College of Arts and Technology
Gloucestershire College of Arts and Technology
Harrow College of Higher Education
Luton College of Higher Education

Further Education Colleges

Mr Devlin: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science when he will issue guidance on the way in which the governing bodies of further education colleges should be reformed so as to meet the requirements of clauses 132 and 133 of the Education Reform Bill; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Kenneth Baker: I am today issuing draft guidance which sets out how I would expect college governing bodies to be reformed and their instruments of government revised in order to meet the requirements of clauses 132 and 133 of the Education Reform Bill if it receives Royal Assent in its present form. The draft guidance is being issued now in order to inform discussion of the further education clauses during the remaining stages of the Bill's passage through Parliament; to help local education authorities, colleges and others to prepare for the reconstitution of governing bodies as envisaged by the Bill; and to give all concerned an early opportunity to comment. Draft guidance on the provisions I would expect to see contained in the planning and delegation schemes envisaged by clause 121 of the Bill was issued on 21 April.

Copies of the draft guidance have been placed in the Libraries of both Houses and in the Vote Office. They are also being sent to local education authorities, further and higher education colleges, and a range of interested bodies, with a request for any comments by 22 July, 1988.

Social Security Reform

Mr Jack: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services if he will give details of the changes to social security benefits which were announced on 27 April.

Mr Scott: The measures announced last week included changes to the rules of the housing benefit, income support and family credit schemes and arrangements to provide transitional protection to those claimants in vulnerable groups who have lost significant sums at the point of change the new schemes.

First, we propose to increase the limit on the amount of capital which renders a claimant ineligible for receipt of housing benefit to £8,000. Subject to the necessary consultation with local authorities and others, this change will be made as soon as possible to take effect from the date when the regulations become effective.

Second, some minor changes are being made to the detailed rules of income support and, where applicable, housing benefit and family credit. In particular, we are amending the procedures for taking account of the value of a home no longer occupied by a claimant; for example, because the claimant has been admitted to long-term residential care or has left the marital home because the marriage has broken down. There will now be a period of 26 weeks to allow for the disposal of the property, with provision for extension in exceptional cases of genuine difficulty. Other detailed changes, including those to provide transitional protection to people affected by the changes in rules relating to full-time work, are described in my reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Saffron Walden (Mr Haselhurst) on 28 April at columns 253-54.

The third main change is in the introduction of a measure of transitional protection for pensioners, including those in receipt of a widow's pension, long-term sick and disabled people (including those in receipt of industrial injuries benefit) lone parents and families with children who have lost significant sums in housing benefit as a result of the changes introduced on 1 April. The scheme will include those in the relevant groups with capital between £6,000 and £8,000 who will have lost all entitlement to housing benefit between 1 April and the operative date of the change to the capital rule.

The precise way in which assessments will be carried out will be decided in the light of detailed discussions with the representatives of local authorities about the information that can readily be provided. The main basis for payments will be a comparison between the cash sum received by claimants as housing benefit and housing benefit supplement immediately before 1 April and their present cash amount of housing benefit. For those affected by the change to the capital rules the comparison will be with the cash entitlement after the new limit of £8,000 is applied. The comparison will be designed to ensure that the resulting cash difference does not exceed £2.50 a week. Payments of family income supplement and family credit will be taken into account in making the comparison, with an allowance for the loss of entitlement to free school meals.

These transitional payments will be made from a new departmental central unit to be located in Glasgow. Payments will be made monthly, or less frequently for small amounts, continuing unless there is a significant change in the claimant's circumstances. They will not be uprated and, as is usual with transitional arrangements, will be phased out as increases in benefits and other changes reduce the necessity for them. The period of phasing will vary from case to case, but for the larger losses protection may be necessary for some time. The new unit will not be fully operational for some weeks, but detailed procedures for claiming these payments will be announced as soon as possible and payments will be backdated to 1 April.

We estimate that the full benefit cost of these measures will be some £100 million in the current financial year. Parliamentary approval for the payments will be sought in a Supplementary Estimate; pending that approval, urgent expenditure of up to £25 million will be met by repayable advances from the Contingencies Fund. The provision for administrative costs of local authorities in paying housing benefit will also be adjusted as necessary to reflect additional work arising from these changes.

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Job Seekers (Travel to London)

Mr William Ross: To ask the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland if he will publish a table in the *Official Report* to show for the last 12 months for which figures are available (a) how many persons from Northern Ireland have received assistance from public funds to travel to London to seek work, and (b) how many families and individuals from Northern Ireland have had to be given accommodation in London at public expense while seeking work in London, what is the average period such accommodation was occupied; and what was the cost.

Mr Viggers: Under the travel-to-interview scheme the Department of Economic Development assisted a total of 275 people to travel to interviews in London during the 12 months ended 31 March 1988.

Under the supplementary benefit scheme, which ceased on 11 April, help was available in limited circumstances to people on supplementary benefit to enable them to find work within the United Kingdom provided they did not qualify for assistance under the travel-to-interview scheme. Information is not held centrally about the numbers of persons assisted and could be obtained only at disproportionate cost.

Information is not available about the numbers of families or individuals from Northern Ireland who had to be given accommodation in London at public expense while seeking work there.

Housing Benefit

Mr Leighton: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services if the weekly premium over benefit of those participating in the new adult training programme will affect their claim to housing benefit.

Mr Portillo: No. An amendment to the housing benefit regulations will be laid before Parliament shortly, which would provide for the premium to be disregarded in the calculation of housing benefit entitlement.

Ms Ruddock: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services if people with capital between £6,000 and £8,000 who fail to qualify for housing benefit because of the assumed tariff income, but who nevertheless have lost more than £2.50 per week, qualify for a transitional payment under his Department's new arrangements.

Mr Scott: Yes.

Mr Robin Cook: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services what he estimates the administrative costs will be of his announcement of 27 April of changes to the housing benefit regulations (a) in total, (b) expressed as a proportion of the additional money to be made available to claimants and (c) as an average weekly sum per head of the beneficiaries of the changes.

Mr Scott: The administrative costs of implementing the changes cannot be precisely assessed until more information is available about the scale of the inquiries and claims which need to be handled, and until detailed procedures for handling claims have been agreed.

Mr Ingram: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services what proposals his Department has to set up a new unit to administer the transitional protection scheme on housing benefit; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Scott: I refer the hon. Member to my reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Fylde (Mr Jack) on 5 May 1988 at columns 550-51.

Juvenile Offenders

Mrs Virginia Bottomley: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will list the number of 14 year-olds given custodial sentences in 1986 by constabulary area; and if he will express these figures also as a percentage of juveniles cautioned or found guilty of an offence in a juvenile court.

Mr John Patten: The information available centrally which may be incomplete, is given in the following table. Data relating to juveniles found guilty at magistrates' courts giving a breakdown by police force area and offence group are published annually in tables S3.2(b) and S3.2(c) of "Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, Supplementary Tables, Vol 3". Similarly information about juvenile cautioning is available in tables S3.7(B) and S3.7(C) of this publication, copies of which are in the Library.

Juveniles found guilty at magistrates' courts or cautioned for indictable offences by police force area

Police force area	Number of males aged 14 given detention centre orders (a)	Number of persons aged 10-16 found guilty at magistrates' courts or cautioned (b)	(a) as a percentage of (b) (c)
Avon and Somerset	5	3,088	0.16
Bedfordshire	4	1,381	0.29
Cambridgeshire	3	1,833	0.16
Cheshire	8	2,507	0.32
Cleveland	10	2,970	0.34
Cumbria	7	1,688	0.41
Derbyshire	12	2,219	0.54
Devon and Cornwall	14	2,446	0.57
Dorset	3	1,332	0.23
Durham	20	2,341	0.85
Essex	4	3,110	0.13
Gloucestershire		1,198	
Greater Manchester	88	10,801	0.81
Hampshire	5	4,599	0.11
Hertfordshire	4	2,125	0.19
Hertfordshire	4	2,125	0.19
Humber	7	3,493	0.20
Kent	5	2,669	0.19
Lancashire	24	3,968	0.60
Leicestershire	11	2,366	0.46
Lincolnshire	9	1,841	0.49
London, City of		40	
Merseyside	26	4,375	0.59
Metropolitan Police District	53	13,942	0.38
Northolt	6	1,805	0.33
Northamptonshire	3	1,235	0.24
Northumbria	34	6,285	0.54
North Yorkshire	4	1,794	0.22
Nottinghamshire	12	4,579	0.26
South Yorkshire	19	4,716	0.40
Staffordshire	11	1,876	0.59
Suffolk		1,545	
Surrey	4	988	0.40
Sussex	7	2,328	0.30
Thames Valley	8	3,834	0.21
Warwickshire		1,019	
West Mercia	5	2,796	0.18
West Midlands	25	10,755	0.23
West Yorkshire	39	8,351	0.47
Wiltshire	1	1,734	0.06
Dyfed Powys		833	
Gwent	3	1,596	0.19
North Wales	10	1,667	0.60
South Wales	18	3,921	0.46
England and Wales	532	139,979	0.38

Custodial penalties are not available for females aged 14.

The majority of these offenders would have appeared at juvenile courts.

Figures are those recorded centrally and are approximate; detailed checking of individual cases would involve disproportionate cost.

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Housing Benefit

Mr David Nicholson: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services when water charges were excluded from the scope of housing benefit; and why.

Mr Portillo: Help with water charges was previously provided through the supplementary benefit scheme, in some cases paid by the local authority along with housing benefit under a special administrative arrangement. This separate provision for water rates ceased from 11 April this year as part of the simplification of the benefit system. However, when setting income support levels, account was taken of the overall amount spent in supplementary benefit on water charges.

Supplementary benefit claimants who were entitled to help with water rates, however paid, will, where necessary, receive transitional protection which took account of the water rates element.

Social Security Reform

Mr Buswell: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services what is the first-year cost of transitional protection (a) under the social security changes implemented in April and (b) under the further modifications he announced on 27 April.

Mr Scott: Estimates of the information requested are (a) rather more than £200 million and (b) about £100 million.

Day Centres (Disabled Workers)

Mr Alfred Morris: To ask the Secretary of State what consultation he has had with the local authority associations on the implications for local authorities of the social security changes effective from 11 April in regard to physically disabled people working in day centres; how many local authorities have had to abolish payments to disabled workers as an alternative to closing day centres down; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Scott: Disabled people who receive income support and who are entitled to the disability premium are now entitled to a higher (£15) disregard if they work part-time. Prior to 11 April they were entitled to a £4 disregard. Additionally, those whose earning capacity is reduced to 75 per cent, or less of what they could otherwise earn, may work an unlimited number of hours and remain entitled to benefit. We have not consulted with local authorities on the implications of these changes, which are entirely beneficial to the individual claimant. We are not aware of any local authority abolishing payments to disabled workers as a result of these changes.

YTS

Mr Paice: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment, of those YTS managing agents who received provisional ATO status at the end of their first monitoring period, (a) how many were awarded full status after a further monitoring period, (b) how many withdrew application, (c) how many were rejected after a further monitoring period and (d) what other outcomes there were.

Mr Cope: Of the 1,715 managing agents who had been awarded provisional ATO status after the first monitoring period (which ended on 31 July 1987), 1,353 had been awarded full status, 90 had withdrawn, and seven had been rejected, by 31 March 1988. Two hundred and sixty-five decisions are awaited, most of which will be taken by mid-May.

Mr Paice: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment, of those YTS managing agents who applied for ATO status, how many, at the end of the first monitoring period, (a) received full status, (b) received provisional status, and (c) were rejected; and of those that were rejected at area manpower board level, how many were awarded provisional status on appeal to the youth training board.

Mr Cope: Of the 3,184 YTS managing agents who applied for ATO status by 30 September 1986, 1,393 were awarded full status, 1,712 provisional status, and 14 were rejected, by 31 July 1987. In addition, 64 withdrew, and one decision is still outstanding.

There is no right of appeal to the Youth Training Board against rejection, but 12 rejected organisations requested the chairman of the MSC to review their cases. After taking advice from a panel of area manpower board chairmen, the chairman decided to award provisional status in three cases.

Mr Paice: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many YTS managing agents were under contract to the Manpower Services Commission on 1 April 1986; and, of these, how many applied for approved training organisation status.

Mr Cope: Contracts between the Manpower Services Commission and managing agents are agreed locally. There is no central record of the number of such contracts at 1 April 1986. However, all managing agents with contracts to provide YTS from 1 April 1986 were required to become approved training organisations by 30 September 1986. The number of such applications was 3,184.

Restart Interviews

Mr McLeish: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment how many restart interviews have taken place in each of the standard regions in each month between June 1986 and the most recent date for which information is available.

Mr Lee: The information requested by employment service regions is shown in the table:

Employment service region	1986-87											
	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March		
London and South East	8,126	18,183	21,676	14,836	29,361	31,846	25,906	35,440	42,812	31,281		
South West	1,667	5,312	4,862	5,084	8,281	7,444	4,261	12,369	9,438	5,560		
West Midlands	4,567	17,061	4,750	12,940	23,595	21,742	25,783	14,357	27,255	18,162		
East Midlands	3,155	8,073	6,325	8,331	13,810	15,488	7,851	22,911	17,457	9,851		
Yorkshire and Humberside	2,831	10,626	9,837	11,065	16,924	15,013	9,548	23,539	20,032	15,523		
North West	11,364	22,752	19,176	20,498	28,149	26,573	14,199	34,968	24,105	14,807		
Northern	6,177	9,810	3,298	8,763	12,985	12,411	6,730	16,228	11,099	8,597		
Wales	4,446	6,536	5,031	5,722	8,925	8,273	4,197	13,690	10,952	7,508		
Scotland	9,102	12,034	11,374	11,714	17,162	16,482	8,354	24,663	21,381	15,298		

Employment service region	1987-88											
	April	May	June	July	August	September	October	November	December	January	February	March
London and South East	18,715	27,506	34,765	49,733	40,793	38,726	56,187	48,806	37,538	70,415	43,861	42,463
South West	4,637	7,124	9,354	12,582	11,419	10,488	14,810	13,314	9,978	13,341	11,611	10,315
West Midlands	10,775	18,026	23,744	30,108	22,972	20,857	25,780	21,503	18,652	24,472	22,617	20,367
East Midlands	8,958	12,801	20,803	23,324	17,681	17,157	23,212	20,421	14,062	16,927	16,701	15,190
Yorkshire and Humberside	8,452	12,510	15,534	23,552	20,400	19,877	28,466	26,257	20,792	23,408	18,591	16,675
North West	12,848	22,596	29,079	39,357	30,735	27,512	39,483	32,416	24,563	33,387	30,982	29,956
Northern	6,683	11,741	13,774	18,588	14,478	14,309	19,549	14,908	11,656	14,654	13,145	12,128
Wales	5,343	8,617	11,402	15,107	10,135	10,085	13,426	12,103	9,117	12,526	11,034	11,165
Scotland	10,325	21,461	22,129	28,189	23,239	23,151	30,435	26,796	21,364	25,749	25,621	22,763

Mr McLeish: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will provide details for each standard economic region of the average lowest weekly wage or salary, before stoppages, that unemployed people have said that they would be prepared to accept at restart interviews.

Mr Lee: The information requested is not available.

Mr McLeish: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if, in the light of the Manpower Services Commission report No. 269S, "An Evaluation of the Impact of Restart Follow-up Interviews on Counsellors and Staff," there are any plans to reorganise the work of restart interviewers in order to reduce the level of stress amongst staff.

Mr Lee: The report did not conclude that restart counselling, of itself, was a stressful occupation but that some individuals had experienced stress.

One of the recommendations of the report was that restart counselling staff should follow up some of their clients, this improving both the quality of the programme and job satisfaction. As I announced in the White Paper "Training for Employment", follow up is being incorporated into the programme on a national basis in 1988-89.

Mr McLeish: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what methods of monitoring are used to assess the level of stress amongst restart interviewers.

Mr Lee: It is the responsibility of managers in the employment service to monitor the performance and well-being of their staff on a continuous basis.

Mr McLeish: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if all restart offices use selective procedures in assessing who should be invited to a follow-up interview; and what are the criteria upon which selection is based.

Mr Lee: In those offices where follow-up interviews are currently taking place, the decision which groups should be invited to interview is a matter for local management.

However, a systematic basis for follow-up is currently being developed for implementation as part of the package of proposals announced in the White Paper "Training for Employment".

Mr McLeish: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what is the recommended length of time that restart counsellors are maintained as interviewers.

Mr Lee: The length of time counselling staff stay in post is a matter to be decided between the individual and local management.

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Social Security

5. Mr Dalyell: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services what resources his Department is devoting to monitoring the effects of the recent social security changes.

Mr Moore: The effects of the social security reforms are being monitored using a wide range of data derived from my Department's management, expenditure and statistical returns and from the family expenditure and general household survey. The collection and analysis of this data involve a substantial staff effort, but it is not possible to provide a reliable estimate of the cost.

Mr Dalyell: Why are those on junior rates, who are mostly under 25 and students, excluded from the transitional arrangements?

Mr Moore: I am not absolutely certain how this point directly relates to the question, but I shall endeavour to answer it. The transitional arrangements refer specifically to certain groups — the disabled, widows, pensioners and families with children. Throughout the social security reform, an attempt was rightly made by the Government, after long consultation and debate, to retarget help not so much on those who are younger and independent.

Mr Sims: Because of the changes that my right hon. Friend recently announced, may I ask how soon local authorities will be given details so that they can implement the changes to housing benefit? Similarly, when will DHSS offices know about the changes involving hardship cases?

Mr Moore: I hope that my hon. Friend will be able to confirm in reply to later questions that by the end of this week we should be able to notify specific local authorities. The new unit is being set up this week, and free phone facilities should be in operation within 24 hours.

Mr Orme: Is the Secretary of State aware that the way in which industrial injury benefit and invalidity benefit are taken into account for housing benefit is having a dramatic effect on tens of thousands of homes? I spent a most depressing week in my constituency talking to constituents who have lost £10, £15, £20 and £25 a week. That is outrageous. What is the Secretary of State going to do about it?

Mr Moore: If the right hon. Gentleman checks the very helpful letter that my hon. Friend the Minister for Social Services and the Disabled wrote to him last Thursday, he will see that transitional protection covers the particular problem to which he is referring as it relates to those who are above income support level but for whom there were local authority discretionary schemes which theoretically under the law stopped at the beginning of last month. However, they are covered by the transitional arrangements.

Mr McCrindle: I welcomed the announcement two weeks ago that in future beneficiaries in certain categories should not be more than £2.50 a week worse off, but am I correct in thinking that that does not take into account the 20 per cent. contribution to rates? If so, as a large number of the complaints that I continue to receive are about the effect of having to pay that contribution, may we have an assurance that that will continue to be monitored? If the conclusion reached is that the principle is good, may it be that we are going too far too quickly?

Mr Moore: As my hon. Friend the Minister of State said on another occasion, we shall continue to monitor this area. However, I would not want to give my hon. Friend false encouragement, because the 20 per cent. contribution to local authority rates was not expected to be covered by the transitional protection.

Mr Kennedy: One of the effects that the Department is monitoring over the transitional period will be an analysis of the number of single payment claims which were outstanding at 11 April, about which I have tabled a question later on the Order Paper. Will the Secretary of State give us the average figure, for regional offices within Scotland, of outstanding single payments?

Mr Moore: I would not wish to abuse the Order Paper and leap to a further question. However, we have had only the first month of initial monitoring of offices in Scotland, and that would be an incorrect statistical basis on which to make a judgement. For example, I know that the hon. Member for Linlithgow (Mr Dalyell) would not like us to make judgments on the basis of the Bathgate office where, not typically, only half the loans provision was used in the first month — a fraction of the grant. However, we are watching the details with great care, and obviously we shall keep the House well informed.

Mr Hayes: I congratulate my right hon. Friend on his swift and sensitive adjustments, but will he make it absolutely clear that if any further injustices appear he will also be swift and sensitive in rectifying them?

Mr Moore: I thank my hon. Friend for recognising that the Government moved very fast in making these adjustments. This Government, who were involved in a rapid change concerning 8.5 million people and an expenditure of £14-plus billion and who made modifications to the tune of £100 million, deserve my hon. Friend's congratulations.

Mrs Beckett: Does the Secretary of State accept that the Department ought to heed the results of the monitoring within the Department and by outside reputable bodies? If it had heeded the advance warnings that it received over the last three years about the results of the changes, the transitional protection, for which the Secretary of State has just claimed credit, and a great deal of suffering and anxiety would have been unnecessary. Will he pay special attention to the monitoring of the social fund, from which most applicants, including the young, will be excluded because of its totally inadequate budget?

Mr Moore: We shall monitor carefully all aspects of the changes. We have already made a clear public commitment to commission independent research into the social fund. It has already been announced in a private notice Question that that research will start in the spring of 1989. I confirm that announcement.

Prime Minister

Mr Gill: In view of the increasing difficulty faced by young people on low incomes in obtaining homes in rural areas, will my right hon. Friend agree to review the allocation of Housing Corporation funds, only 3 per cent. of which go to rural areas, even though 20 per cent. of the population lives in those areas?

The Prime Minister: I know that the proportion is very small but the guidelines covering Housing Corporation allocations to rural areas have recently been revised. Funding will be targeted on smaller and more isolated agricultural settlements, with a view to doubling the present level of housing association provision in those areas. It is not a great deal, but it is a start. As my hon. Friend is very well aware, one also has to get planning permission for increased housing in rural areas.

No. 147 10th May 88 WA.

Student Support

Mr Matthew Taylor: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he is yet in a position to make a statement on his proposals for the reform of student financial support.

Mr Wallace: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science when he expects to announce his proposals for the reform of the system of a student financial support.

Mr Jackson: The Government will determine their policy in the light of the conclusions of the review of student support. They will publish their proposals for the future of student support in due course.

Pupils (Transport)

Mr Flynn: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will take steps to ensure that local education authorities' contracts for transport to school of pupils with special needs are subject to strict enforcement of adequate provisions, concerning overcrowding of vehicles, use of safety harnesses and adult escorts for young people.

Mr Dunn: Contracts for the provision of school transport are a matter for local education authorities and the relevant transport contractors, not for my right hon. Friend.

Mr Flynn: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what financial allowances will be made available to children with visual impairments to assist their independent use of public transportation services.

Mr Dunn: Section 55 of the Education Act 1944 lays down requirements on local education authorities for the provision of transport for school children. Any additional provision for children with visual handicaps will be matter for individual local education authorities.

Autistic Children

Mr Dunnaichie: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what provisions are being made in the national curriculum to ensure that the special needs of autistic children will be adequately met.

Mr Dunn: Clause 11 of the Education Reform Bill provides that, where a child in England or Wales has a statement of special educational need under the Education Act 1981, the statement may direct where parts of the national curriculum should be modified or, in exceptional cases, dispensed. This provision could be used to meet the particular needs of the autistic child.

GCSE Syllabuses

Mr Straw: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he will make a statement about the number of mode 2 and mode 3 GCSE syllabuses scrutinised by the Secondary Examinations Council which have failed to meet the appropriate standard and about those procedures for scrutiny.

Mr Kenneth Baker: All GCSE syllabuses in use in schools have been approved for 1988 and 1989 examinations against the relevant GCSE national criteria.

The Secondary Examinations Council approved the mode 1 syllabuses in the 20 main subjects, accounting for over 90 per cent. of estimated entries for the 1988 examinations. The GCSE examining groups approved the remaining mode 1 syllabuses, and all mode 2 and 3 syllabuses. The mode 2 and 3 syllabuses are likely to account for less than 5 per cent. of entries. The GCSE examining groups comprise the independent school examination boards, which bore sole responsibility for approving O-level and CSE syllabuses.

For 1990 examinations, all syllabuses in the 20 main subjects, including mode 2 and 3, will need SEC approval. So far the SEC has approved, for 1990 examinations, 19 of about 450 mode 2 and 3 syllabuses in the 20 main subjects which have been brought to its attention. We estimate that about 95 per cent. of entries in that year will be for syllabuses approved by the SEC.

Free School Meals

21. Mr Nellist: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services what is his estimate of the probable impact of changes in the entitlement to free school meals following the enactment of recent social security legislation in the city of Coventry; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Portillo: In October 1987, the latest date for which information is available, 15,002 children in the Coventry local education authority area were authorised to receive free school meals. Of these, 83 per cent. came from families in receipt of supplementary benefit. Children from families now in receipt of income support continue to be entitled to free school meals. Many of the other children who previously received free school meals may be from families eligible for family credit, which includes extra cash compensation in place of entitlement to free school meals.

Child Benefit

52. Mr Heathcoat-Amory: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services what is the estimated cost of child benefit paid to income tax-payers.

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Mr Scott: It is estimated that the cost of child benefit paid to tax-paying families in 1988-89 is likely to be around £3.6 billion.

Housing

Mr Kirkwood: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland (1) what plans he has to review existing tolerable standard laws for housing;

(2) whether he intends making severe condensation in a house a reason for declaring a house unfit for habitation;

(3) whether he intends to make lack of bath or shower a condition for a house being regarded as substandard.
Lord James Douglas-Hamilton: We are currently reviewing the statutory tolerable standard for houses in the content of our proposed reform of the home improvement and repair grants system, as outlined in the White Paper "Housing: The Government's Proposals for Scotland," published last November. We expect to issue a detailed consultation paper on our reform proposals shortly for comment.

Chronically Sick Young People

Mrs Margaret Ewing: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland what is the total number of residential places available in each health board area for the young chronically sick.

Mr Michael Forsyth: Information is not held centrally in precisely the form requested. Information about beds available for young chronically sick people in NHS hospitals in each health board in Scotland is contained in table 3 of "Scottish Hospital Activity Statistics" published by the information and statistics division, Scottish Health Service Common Services Agency. Residential places for physically disabled people are also provided in residential homes registered by local authority social work departments. Information about these can be found in the "Statistical Bulletin: Residential Accommodation", published by the Scottish Education Department, social work services group. Further relevant information is contained in the annual report presented under the provisions of the Chronically Sick and Disabled Persons Act 1970. All of these documents are available in the Library.

Mrs Margaret Ewing: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland what is the most recent estimate of the number of young chronically sick in each health board area.

Mr Michael Forsyth: This information is not held centrally.

Training Schemes

Mr Leighton: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what are the main differences between the new job training scheme and the proposed new adult training programme.

Mr Nicholls: Employment training combines the best features of a number of the existing programmes it will replace, including the community programme and the new job training scheme. A major new feature will be the training agent, who will carry out an objective initial assessment for each entrant and draw up a personal action plan, agreed with each individual, which will form the basis of their training programme. Employment training will be more flexible than new

JTS, enabling participants to progress through a wide range of training options. These will include project-based training, enterprise training, placements with employers and an entitlement to at least 40 per cent. off-the-job training. The emphasis will be on quality and wherever possible, training will lead to a recognised vocational qualification, or a credit towards one.

Restart Programme

Mr McLeish: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment if he will provide figures of the cost of the restart programme for the financial years 1986-87 and 1987-88, and an estimate of the cost of the programme for 1988-89; and what criteria and evaluative techniques are used to measure the success of the programme.

Mr Lee: The main aim of the restart counselling programme is to contact all long-term unemployed people and to offer them positive help back to work.

The main measures of success of the programme are the number of long-term unemployed people contacted, the number interviewed, and the percentage of those interviewed who are offered positive help. This information is collected monthly.

Between July 1986 and March 1988, some 4.4 million people were contacted, 3.5 million interviewed and 89 per cent. of those offered positive help.

The costs of the counselling programme are as follows:

1986-87	£22 million.
1987-88	£40 million (estimated outturn).
1988-89	£41 million (estimate)

Training Schemes

Ms Short: To ask the Secretary of State for Employment what is the benefit position of adult claimants who leave the proposed new employment training scheme for adults before the end of their agreed training programme, in relation to their previous level of benefit; and in what circumstances an adult claimant will face benefit penalties for either refusing to go, or leaving a place early, in the proposed employment training scheme.

Mr Nicholls: People who leave employment training early will be entitled to claim unemployment benefit or income support, provided that they meet the statutory conditions for entitlement to these benefits. The level of benefit of those who have previously received these benefits may alter if their circumstances have changed while on the programme. Refusal of a place on employment training or leaving the programme early will not in themselves be grounds for refusal of benefit.

No 150 13th May 88 WA.

Scout Movement

Mr Ronnie Campbell: To ask the Secretary of State for Defence what information his Department keeps on the Scout movement; why the information is collected; who supplies the information to his Department; who has access to the information; and why parents were not asked for permission.

Mr Freeman: What information the Ministry has is provided by the Scout Movement itself, and relates primarily to the operation of the Scout movement in north-west Europe. Here the army assists with the administration of the movement but policy, organisation, records and running the Scouts remain the responsibility of the movement which maintains a civilian field commissioner in Germany for this purpose.

City Technical Colleges

Mr Straw: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will list all plans and propositions of which he is aware for the establishment of city technical colleges, with details in each case of (a) the foundation, trusts or individuals supporting the proposition; (b) the number of pupils for whom the school will cater; (c) the amount of (i) private funds, and (ii) maximum Exchequer contributions to (x) capital establishment, and set-up costs and (y) running costs; (d) the planned date of opening; (e) whether the proposition involves a change in character of an existing school; and (f) the address of the proposed school.

Mr Kenneth Baker: The full details requested are available in respect of only the Kingshurst and Nottingham CTC's and are as follows:

The principal sponsors are Hanson plc and Lucas Industries at Kingshurst and Mr Harry Djanogly at Nottingham. Each college will provide for about 1,000 pupils.

For the Kingshurst CTC the estimated capital cost of acquiring the site and adapting part of the existing buildings is £3.45 million, £1 million of which was contributed by Hanson plc. Additional capital costs, which have not yet been determined, will also be shared between the Department and the Kingshurst CTC Trust. The Kingshurst CTC Trust expects to raise at least £1 million for this purpose.

The cash limit for capital expenditure on the Nottingham CTC is £9.05 million. £1.4 million has already been raised by the private sector.

The normal running costs of CTC's will be met by Exchequer grant; it is for sponsors to decide whether to make additional sums available to CTC's.

Kingshurst will open in September 1988, Nottingham in September 1989. Both colleges are entirely new establishments and involve no "change of character" by existing schools.

Their addresses are the Kingshurst CTC, PO Box 1017, Cooks Lane, Kingshurst, Birmingham B37 6NZ and the Nottingham CTC, Sherwood Rise, New Basford, Nottingham.

Dixons plc, the Philip and Pauline Harris Trust, the Mercers Company and Thamesmead Town have each announced plans to provide sponsorship of at least £1 million towards three more CTC's. I am not yet in a position to give details of the locations or the division of capital expenditure.

The CTC Trust has acquired a site for CTC in Middlesbrough; there and elsewhere detailed discussions are taking place with a number of prospective sponsors who are not yet ready to declare their hand but who are committed in principle to provide financial support of at least £1 million.

I am also aware of other bodies which have expressed an interest but which have not made a direct approach to the Department. It would be inappropriate to name the bodies until such an approach is made.

Deaf Children

Mr Ashley: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services (1) if he will take steps to improve the information health authorities make available to the parents of deaf children with special educational needs;

(2) what representation he has received from the National Deaf Children's Society about deaf children, health authorities and the Education Act 1981; what reply he has sent; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Scott: I recently received a report from the National Deaf Children's Society about the responsibilities of health authorities under the Education Act 1981 in regard to the special education needs of deaf children. The report is being studied and I will respond to the society in due course.

No. 151 16th May 88 OA.

Family Court

56. Mrs Virginia Bottomley: To ask the Attorney-General what further representations the Lord Chancellor has received seeking the establishment of a family court; what response he has made; and if he will make a statement.

The Solicitor-General (Sir Nicholas Lyell): The Lord Chancellor continues to receive representations from both hon. Members and others, and the Government are actively working on the issues comprehended by the concept of a family court. High priority is being given to the rationalisation of the law relating to the care and upbringing of children, which is an essential precursor to any reform of court structures.

Mrs Bottomley: Bearing in mind that it is 16 years since Finer first raised its report, and recognising the Lord Chancellor's commitment to the rationalisation of family and child law, is my hon. and learned Friend aware that this is a necessary first step and not a final one? So long as many family cases are heard in courts that primarily exist for criminal purposes there is little likelihood of proper justice being done in such cases. When does the Lord Chancellor envisage responding officially to his own consultation document, to which many have made representations?

The Solicitor-General: I well understand the point that my hon. Friend is making. A response will be forthcoming. Some of the answers are to be found in the White Paper of January 1987. Once we have the rationalisation of the law well in train, we hope to come forward with a formal response, as my hon. Friend has requested.

Mr Alex Carlile: Is the Solicitor-General aware that that profession that is generally most opposed to change, the legal profession, is virtually unanimous in the belief that a family court system is urgently required? Immediate attention should be given to the dual jurisdiction of magistrates' courts and to the hostility that county court matrimonial proceedings inevitably engender because of the adversarial system that is still retained in those proceedings.

The Solicitor-General: Yes. The rationalisation of the law will provide a helpful first step in the process, and then we can look to the court structures. When the hon. and learned Gentleman refers to unanimity within the legal profession he may refer to unanimity over the belief that something should be done, but there is less unanimity within that profession about what should be done.

Mr Sims: If it is the view of my noble and learned Friend the Lord Chancellor that changes in child care legislation should precede rather than follow changes to set up a family court, may we have an assurance that such changes, particularly legislation on child care, will form an essential part of the Queen's Speech later this year?

The Solicitor-General: I can say that they will be given high priority.

Glue Sniffing

Mr Hardy: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he has any plans to seek to change the powers of the police to deal with the problem of glue sniffing.

Mr Douglas Hogg: No. The police have adequate powers to deal with those found supplying intoxicating substances in contravention of the Intoxicating Substances (Supply) Act 1985. They have also been given guidance about the options open to them in dealing with glue sniffers in Home Office circular No. 30/84, a copy of which is in the library.

Vandalism

Mr Butler: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what information he has on the cost of vandalism in schools (a) in England and (b) in Cheshire in the latest available year.

Mr Dunn: The cost of vandalism in schools in English local education authorities was estimated in total to be between £25 million and £30 million in 1985-86. I understand that the maintenance cost falling on the Cheshire authority due to vandalism was £531,000 in 1987-88.

Education Reform

Mr Pawsey: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science (1) when the national curriculum will be introduced into secondary schools;

(2) when the first 14-year-old will be assessed.

Mrs Rumbold: The implementation of the national curriculum depends on the passage of the Education Reform Bill now before Parliament and the making of subsequent statutory orders. However, my right hon. Friend is considering

introducing attainment targets, programmes of study and related assessment arrangements for mathematics and science from September 1989 for pupils entering the third key stage of 12 to 14, with the first reports on results of assessments made publicly available for pupils starting the third key stage in 1990. On that basis the first reported assessment of 14-year-old pupils would be in summer 1993.

Mr Pawsey: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science when the syllabuses for the core and foundation subjects will be produced.

Mrs Rumbold: The national curriculum will not prescribe syllabuses for core and other foundation subjects. As now, it will be for schools to choose their own syllabuses. However, my right hon. Friend expects to initiate the statutory consultations required by the Education Reform Bill, if passed, this autumn in respect of programmes of study for mathematics, science and, for primary pupils, English and technology, with a view to orders being made early in 1989.

Mr Pawsey: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what estimate he has made of the impact of assessment on independent schools.

Mrs Rumbold: No such estimate has been made, since independent schools will not be required to adopt the national curriculum and its assessment arrangements.

16 and 17-year-olds

Mr Andrew F. Bennett: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science how many pupils, and what percentage, remained in full-time education after 16 and 17 years of age in each local authority in 1978-79 and the latest date available and the total for England.

Mr Dunn: The latest available data are as follows. Information for 1978-79 is not available.

Numbers and percentages of students aged 16 and 17 in education in each local education authority in England.

Academic year 1986-87

Schools and further education establishments	Full-time/	Participation	Full-time/	Participation
	sandwich	Per cent.	sandwich	Per cent.
	Numbers	Aged 16	Numbers	Aged 17
	Aged 16	Aged 16	Aged 17	Aged 17
Barking	549	28	348	17
Barnet	2,168	67	1,608	48
Bexley	1,476	48	956	29
Brent	1,715	65	1,195	43
Bromley	1,918	56	1,212	34
Croydon	1,874	49	1,292	31
Ealing	1,727	58	1,245	40
Enfield	1,795	53	1,213	34
Haringey	1,142	56	772	34
Harrow	1,572	75	1,141	52
Havering	1,466	42	948	25
Hillingdon	1,294	44	840	29
Hounslow	1,495	59	878	33
Kingston upon Thames	878	62	613	40
Merton	1,006	54	692	35
Newham	1,370	47	865	29
Redbridge	1,349	51	956	34
Richmond upon Thames	779	58	623	46
Sutton	1,216	59	743	35
Waltham Forest	1,237	46	770	27
ILEA	11,706	51	7,734	31
Birmingham	7,119	47	4,678	30
Coventry	1,833	40	1,297	27
Dudley	1,920	40	1,404	30
Sandwell	1,661	35	1,133	22
Solihull	1,686	50	1,296	36
Walsall	1,766	38	1,264	27
Wolverhampton	1,590	39	1,079	27
Knowsley	908	33	572	20
Liverpool	2,920	40	1,906	25
St Helens	1,177	38	932	30
Sefton	2,337	52	1,682	39
Wirral	2,163	46	1,660	33
Bolton	1,622	40	1,260	30
Bury	1,208	50	951	37
Manchester	2,458	41	1,924	30
Oldham	1,044	30	782	22
Rochdale	1,180	36	829	26
Salford	1,233	36	947	26
Stockport	1,859	46	1,459	34
Tameside	1,342	41	881	26
Trafford	1,211	42	1,010	34
Wigan	2,251	43	1,824	33
Barnsley	1,265	35	860	23
Doncaster	1,511	34	1,064	24
Rotherham	1,644	39	1,171	27
Sheffield	3,160	40	2,234	27
Bradford	2,621	38	1,600	24
Calderdale	1,231	43	809	27
Kirklees	2,742	47	1,845	32
Leeds	4,204	41	2,699	26
Wakefield	1,809	36	1,163	23
Gateshead	893	32	574	20
Newcastle upon Tyne	1,245	37	902	26
North Tyneside	1,157	45	846	31
South Tyneside	741	33	593	24
Sunderland	1,530	33	997	21
Avon	5,360	45	3,660	29
Bedfordshire	3,467	48	2,349	32
Berkshire	5,150	54	3,449	35
Buckinghamshire	4,313	53	3,256	39
Cambridge	3,828	48	2,635	32
Cheshire	6,593	47	5,018	35
Cleveland	3,647	41	2,642	29
Cornwall	3,312	54	2,254	36
Cumbria	2,842	41	1,997	27
Derbyshire	5,888	44	4,143	30
Devon	5,846	47	4,301	33
Dorset	3,629	46	2,486	31
Durham	3,409	39	2,394	26
East Sussex	3,988	55	2,711	36
Essex	9,074	43	5,940	28
Gloucestershire	3,235	46	2,294	31
Hampshire	10,348	52	7,156	35
Hereford/Worcester	4,410	50	3,215	35
Hertfordshire	7,406	54	4,888	34
Humberside	4,677	35	3,430	24
Isle of Wight	849	52	532	34
Kent	10,493	50	7,019	32
Lancashire	8,000	40	6,243	31
Leicestershire	5,574	45	4,144	32
Lincolnshire	3,437	44	2,666	32
Norfolk	4,255	43	2,703	27
North Yorkshire	4,841	52	3,645	38
Northampton	3,519	44	2,353	28
Northumberland	1,720	41	1,230	29
Nottinghamshire	5,509	37	4,222	27
Oxfordshire	3,704	53	2,459	34
Salop	2,765	47	2,000	33
Somerset	2,632	46	1,864	32
Staffordshire	6,333	41	4,589	29
Suffolk	3,147	38	2,204	26
Surrey	6,915	63	4,881	42
Warwickshire	3,419	51	2,733	38
West Sussex	4,424	53	2,958	34
Wiltshire	3,688	51	2,449	33
Total	293,619	46	205,873	31

Residential Care

Mr Hinchliffe: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services what action he will take to improve the provisions for the special needs of members of ethnic minority groups in residential care.

Mrs Currie (holding answer 28 April 1988): The Department's Social Services Inspectorate examine aspects of services for ethnic groups in 24 authorities in 1986 and reports have been sent to each participating social services department with advice on how to improve their provision for these groups. Further work by the inspectorate is being planned. The Department is funding three projects aimed at assisting social services authorities in the development of services for ethnic minority groups.

The residential care needs of ethnic minority groups was one of the issues touched on in the independent review of residential care chaired by Lady Wagner. We will be considering Lady Wagner's report further in the light of Sir Roy Griffiths' report on community care and of reactions to both reports and will bring forward our own proposals in due course.

Parenthood Education

Mrs Fyfe: To ask the Secretary of State for Scotland whether he will take steps to promote parenthood education in secondary schools.

Mr Michael Forsyth: A joint working group of the Scottish Examination Board and the Scottish Consultative Council on the Curriculum is currently developing proposals for short courses in health studies suitable for secondary pupils from age 14. Their report, which will shortly be circulated for consultation, includes proposals for a 40-hour short course on parenthood.

No. 152 17th May 88 OA.

Working Life (Reduction in Hours)

3.35pm. **Mr Bruce Grocott (The Wrekin):** I beg to move.

That leave be given to bring in a Bill to provide for a shorter working week, a shorter working year, earlier retirement and for connected purposes.

I introduce the Bill against an economic climate that shows a stark contrast. On the one hand, even on the Government's figure over 2.5 million are out of work, although we all know that the real figure is much higher. On the other hand, many people have to work excessively long hours, with shorter holiday entitlements than most of their European contemporaries and, in the case of men, having to work to age 65, whether or not they want to. That is why the main provisions of my Bill, which are in line with a long-standing TUC campaign and with European trade union objectives, are, first, to provide for a 35-hour week, secondly, to provide for six weeks' ANNUAL holiday, and, thirdly, to give men the choice to retire at age 60. All this would give enormous benefit both to those at work, by improving substantially their quality of life, and to those out of work, by providing the opportunity for the creation of new jobs to fill the vacancies that would result from my proposals.

Dealing first with the 35-hour basic week, at present the average for people in manual occupations is 39 hours a week before overtime, and the average for people in non-manual occupations is 37 hours a week. I can see no reason for a difference between manual and non-manual occupations. A year ago last January legislation was introduced in Norway to reduce the working week of people in manual occupations by two and a half hours to bring their hours into line with those of non-manual workers.

If we add overtime to the basic working week, the figures are worse. It might surprise the House to know that the average working week has increased since 1983 because of the greater tendency of employers, instead of taking on additional workers, to require more and more overtime. There are also great pressures for overtime from people on low wages. I look for a substantial reduction in overtime. I tell my friends in the trade union movement that where they find large amounts of overtime being worked they should start negotiating a reduction in working hours and the employment of more people.

I have chosen a 35-hour week because it opens the exciting prospect of trade unionists being able to negotiate a four-day week for their members. This is happening in limited cases at present. Many people, given the choice of a five-day week of seven hours a day or a four-day week of nine hours, or thereabouts a day, would opt for a four-day week. It would make great sense in terms of travel expenses and the wear and tear of commuting. It would lead to a substantial improvement in quality of life for many of our fellow citizens.

The second provision in the Bill is for six weeks' annual holiday. Most German workers get six weeks' annual leave, but in this country the norm is 22 days for people in manual occupations, which is just over four weeks. In recent years there have been moves in the annual pay round to improve holiday entitlements, but the very minimum that we should require is six weeks' holiday entitlement. This is strongly in line with what happens in many European countries and with the TUC campaign.

No doubt we will be told by employers that they cannot afford to grant such leave but, of course, they have said that in response to every improvement in people's working conditions, ever since we stopped sending children up chimneys. They said exactly the same thing when it was suggested that there should be equal pay for men and women. It is a simple statistical fact that an additional week's annual holiday would add no more than 2 per cent. to the annual wages bill of a company, and it is well within the capacity of most companies to meet that. Six weeks' holiday is a perfectly reasonable request.

Finally, I should like to deal with the matter of earlier retirement. My proposal is that men who want to do so should be allowed to retire at age 60. We know that 676,000 men between the ages of 60 and 65 are at work. We also know, from repeated Treasury estimates, that it would cost £3 billion to achieve this reduction in the retirement age. I do not know how that calculation can be substantiated, when we realise that many of the vacancies created by those who would be offered a pension would be filled by people in the dole queue, with dependent relatives. Many people have written to me to say that they are 60 years of age and have already worked for 45 years in a heavy manual occupation. They say, "I think that that is long enough for anyone." I think so too. We should adopt the commonsense approach and give early retirement to men who want it, because the vacancies thus created could be filled by people in the dole queue.

My Bill contains the enigmatic phrase, "and for connected purposes." I see this merely as a start. There are many other things in the best practice of good employers that we should seek to introduce. Increasingly, substantial years are being offered to workers in mid life, but that is much more in evidence abroad than it is here. I commend that practice. There is also increasing evidence that employers are having the sense to prepare people for retirement by putting them on a four-day week during the six months prior to retirement. That is another example of best practice which I strongly recommend.

There is much humbug about the dignity of work and about the desirability of more people working longer hours. I have long been of the opinion that if work were such a splendid thing the rich would have kept more of it for themselves. The Bill offers the prospect of substantial improvement in the quality of life of many of our fellow citizens and the substantial possibility of creating jobs for those in the dole queues who are currently searching for work. It is an enlightened Bill and I hope that it is far-sighted. I commend it to the House.

Question put and agreed to.

Bill ordered to be brought in by Mr Bruce Grocott, Mr Harry Cohen, Mr Ron Davies, Mr Don Dixon, Mr John Garrett, Mr Sean Hughes, Mr James Lamond, Miss Joan Lester, Mr George Robertson, Mr Jeff Rooker, Mr Ernie Ross and Mr Dennis Skinner.

Working Life (Reduction in Hours) Bill

Mr Bruce Grocott accordingly presented a Bill to provide for a shorter working week, a shorter working year, earlier retirement and for connected purposes: And the same was read the First time; and ordered to be read a Second time upon Friday 8 July and to be printed. (Bill 167).

Education Reforms

Mr Arnold: Has my right hon. Friend noted the widespread public support for our education reforms? Has she further noted the Gallup poll results in yesterday's *Daily Telegraph*, which noted that two out of three Londoners would not be worried by the loss of ILEA and that three out of four of them support the national curriculum, testing and parent power to opt out of local authority control?

The Prime Minister: Yes; my hon. Friend makes his point very effectively. I believe that most parents want the chance

to opt out, to get their children out of the grip of some of the fanatical Left-wing authorities. I believe that the reforms to which my hon. Friend refers will lead to much better education. That is why the Labour party is fighting them, but parents will be very pleased with them.

Provision Quality

13. Mr Allen McKay: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science when he expects to publish the annual report of Her Majesty's inspectors on the quality of provision in schools.

Mrs Rumbold: My right hon. Friend hopes to publish the report for the 1987-88 academic year next January.

Mr McKay: As previous reports from Her Majesty's inspectors have spelt out the truth about the Government's neglect of our education system, will the Minister ask her right hon. Friend to ensure that the report receives maximum promotion and publicity, as do his reports and statements from the Department of Education and Science?

Mrs Rumbold: As I have just said, my right hon. Friend will obviously publish the report. I remind the hon. Gentleman that the last expenditure report from Her Majesty's inspectors showed that in just over half the schools visited there was a need for improved teaching styles, better perception of pupils' needs and higher expectations of pupils. The report stated: "unsatisfactory standards of provision are more often related to ineffective deployment of people and resources than to shortages of the resources."

Mr Ian Bruce: When the report is published, will my hon. Friend comment that it is clear that the amount of money that is spent per pupil varies widely throughout local authority areas and that, unfortunately, we do not get quality for pounds spent in many of those areas, especially in ILEA? Will she highlight the fact that areas such as Dorset, which spend far less per pupil get a better quality of education for the money spent?

Mrs Rumbold: I thank my hon. Friend for that question. Reports by Her Majesty's inspectors take an overall look at what happens in all of our schools. While they take into account expenditure, they also take into account the quality of the education that is delivered. That is easily identifiable and will be recognised in the report.

Mr Cryer: Following the disgraceful attack by the Secretary of State on the right hon. Member for Old Bexley and Sidcup (Mr Heath), I draw the Minister's attention to the fact that the inspectors will be concerned about the standard of provision in constituencies such as mine of Bradford, South, where the Government are neglecting the construction of the schools. Many schools in my constituency exist almost entirely in temporary classrooms. When will the Government make adequate provision in cities such as Bradford, with expanding school rolls, for which they are not now providing sufficient money?

Mrs Rumbold: In the local government elections in the hon. Gentleman's constituency the Labour party lost control, so clearly there cannot necessarily have been such wonderful expenditure on buildings there. The public expenditure plans for this year contain considerable increases, as I have said earlier, for additional building work.

English Teaching

11. Mr Tim Smith: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what further proposals he has to improve the teaching of English in schools, in the light of the responses received to the Kingman report.

12. Mr Harry Greenway: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what further action he proposes to take in the light of the responses received to the Kingman report, on the teaching of English in schools; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs Rumbold: My right hon. Friend has asked the new English working group to take account of relevant Kingman report recommendations in its work on attainment targets and programmes of study for English as a whole. He will consider the other Kingman recommendations in due course in the light of public reaction and the English working group's advice.

Mr Smith: Does my hon. Friend agree that the traditional method of teaching English in schools, with its emphasis on grammar, on construction and on spelling, has many virtues? Will she ensure that, as far as possible, these basic elements are retained as part of the national curriculum?

Mrs Rumbold: I can assure my hon. Friend that we are asking the English working group to recommend attainment targets covering the grammatical structure of the English language, building on the Kingman targets.

Mr Greenway: Does my hon. Friend agree that children develop their imagination and skill in writing from having the freedom to write without too much grammatical constraint? Will she bear in mind that the English language has its cement in its grammar and that that is English language at its greatest and its best? Will she ensure that grammar teaching is preserved?

Mrs Rumbold: We are most anxious that the English working group will build on the recommendations of the Kingman report and look at the structure of grammar. We certainly expect our children to be able to read, write and speak English, and to enjoy literature.

Mr Hardy: Does the Minister not accept that the curbing of expenditure on books for schools and public libraries over recent years has scarcely assisted attainments in both the teaching of English and reading? Does the Minister not accept that during the previous period substantial attainments were made?

Mrs Rumbold: I always accept that there has been progress in teaching in our schools, because, of course, there has. However, there have been considerable advances during the past two years in the amounts of money that have been allocated for schools, especially for books. Indeed, there has been an 8 per cent. increase in the allocation for books and equipment in the current year.

Mr Sackville: Does my hon. Friend agree that parents expect—(Interruption.)

Mr Speaker: Order. Private conversations should cease while we are on questions.

Mr Sackville: Does my hon. Friend agree that parents expect that their children should acquire at least the basic skills at school, of which use of English must be one of the most important? Does she further agree that an alarming difference has grown up between the teaching profession on the one hand, and parents and employers on the other as to what exactly constitutes education?

Mrs Rumbold: My hon. Friend will be reassured by the fact that for our core subjects in the national curriculum we have chosen English, mathematics and science. It is perfectly true that many employers have complained that some of the children leaving school do not have the adequate literacy and numeracy that they believe necessary. That is the reason for the introduction of the national curriculum.

Village Primary Schools

5. Mr Hicks: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what proposals he has to ensure the future of village primary schools; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Dunn: It is the responsibility of local education authorities to provide a proper service to villages and rural areas as well as to other areas that they serve. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State is currently supporting a number of projects, including one in Cornwall, designed to identify ways of enriching the curriculum of rural primary schools. Any proposal for the closure of a village school which comes before us is considered very carefully in the light of the criteria set out in the Department's circular 387, which makes it clear that size is not a criterion for closure.

Mr Hicks: Does my hon. Friend agree that, to ensure the future of our village primary schools, it is essential that adequate resources are made available for vital improvements and extensions? Is he aware that in Cornwall alone over 50 major and minor primary school projects are awaiting attention, which is particularly worrying, since by 1993 Cornwall will have 40,000 children of primary school age, the highest ever?

Mr Dunn: My hon. Friend is right, but I must point out that allocations for capital works are made annually. Cornwall's allocation for schools and for further and higher education in 1988-89 was £6.4 million, which represented an increase of 14 per cent. over the figure for 1987-88. Of course, it is the duty of local authorities to look at their demographic situation and to decide whether to build new schools.

Mr Matthew Taylor: Hon. members will be aware that I represent and take particular interest in what the Minister has had to say about Cornwall's education system. The Minister will be aware of the particular difficulties that the county faces. I welcome the county's increase in its capital spending programme this year, but, with the new assessment arrangements, particular costs, in terms of teaching time, will hit primary schools. Has the Minister made any assessment of that impact and has he any plans to help local authorities to overcome it?

Mr Dunn: I congratulate the hon. Gentleman on being appointed to his new post.

I must remind him that in allocating resources for capital expenditure, the Department of Education and Science will continue to give priority to projects which provide places in areas of population growth. That answers the hon. Gentleman's point and refers to the earlier point made by my hon. Friend the Member for Cornwall, South-East (Mr Hicks).

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