YOUTH AND POLICY

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Advertising Aids: Young People's Opinions

TIM RHODES AND ANGELA JOHNSON

In order to gauge the potential effectiveness of advertising on AIDS that has been aimed at young people, it is important to examine the opinions held about the advertising by young people themselves. As yet, there has been little evidence of attempts to do this. But in doing so, young people's educative needs may be identified and if recognised, may facilitate the future design and implementation of advertising on AIDS. Discussed in this paper are some findings based on young people's opinions towards recent Health Education Authority advertising on AIDS.

Advertising on AIDS

In the early months of 1988 the Health Education Authority's (HEA) mass media campaign concerning HIV (Human Immunodeficiency Virus) infection and AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) began to target young people between the ages of 16 and 25 who see themselves as heterosexual. The media campaign consisted of poster and magazine advertising, and was spearheaded by two television commercials. The commercials use a form much in vogue in recent advertising: the sixty second micro-drama, here punctuated with captions proferring HIV-related health education advice. Both the commercials portray familiar sexual scenarios; one of which was only shown on television after 9 p.m. (the Independent Broadcasting Authority's (IBA's) 'watershed' for material of a sexually suggestive or explicit nature), depicted the aftermath of a dinner *a deux,* that ends with a young woman inviting her male companion to 'stay the night'. The other, shown far more extensively, and targetted at a younger and teenage audience, showed a young man and woman meeting at a disco, and culminates with the man inviting the woman 'back to his place'.

In general, there is scepticism about the effectiveness of mass media campaigns that aim to change behaviour (McCron and Budd, 1981). Changes in attitude, brought about by an increase in awareness and knowledge, are only likely to be short lived and it is unlikely that changes in attitudes will transform directly into desired behavioural changes (Gatherer et al, 1979). As has been established in other areas of health promotion, accurate information alone is often inadequate to alter unhealthy behaviours (Parkinson, 1982; Leventhal, 1980). The value of mass media campaigns then, is to provide a flow of information. In this way, they are supportive to other educational programmes that co-exist beside the campaign, such as those in schools, colleges or youth clubs, where a flow of influence can be applied.

Empirical research as to the efficacy of television advertising on AIDS, however, has been far from encouraging (Wellings, 1987; Hastings and Scott, 1987; DHSS, 1987). Likewise, the HEA campaign has been shown to have little impact, and to have been largely ineffective in meeting its desired aims to change young people's sexual behaviour (Wellings, 1988). Much of this research has concerned itself with representing on a large scale the opinions of the general public (rather than the opinions of particular targetted groups) towards AIDS, of which an evaluation of opinions towards advertising on AIDS is only a small part. In so doing these studies have mostly used pre-structured approaches to collecting data. These approaches, using ready made opinion statements or questionnaires, may have ignored much of the detail that a more exploratory examination of opinions towards advertising on AIDS might yield. To complement and by way of contrast to much published research dealing with advertising on AIDS, therefore, we will report on some findings gained from an interview based examination of young people's opinions, focussing mainly on the HEA's television campaign of February to May 1988.

The interviews and the young people

The HEA's advertising was targeted at young people aged between 16 and 25. Our 42 interviews, with young people of both gender (30 were female), aged between 16 and 21 (mean age of 18.1), therefore, satisfy part of this target group. The young people, all living in Newcastle upon Tyne, were interviewed individually: in their schools or sixth form colleges (35), their homes (4) or at their place of work (3), in June and July 1988. The interviews, each running about 45 minutes long, were designed to cover, by open ended questions, six main areas of interest:
1. frequency of viewing and recall of advertising on AIDS.
2. descriptions of the television commercials on AIDS.
3. recall of the health education advice on AIDS.
4. opinions about the health education advice on AIDS.
5. overall opinions about the television commercials on AIDS.
6. opinions about future advertising on AIDS.

Frequency of viewing and recall of advertising on AIDS

Consistent with previous research (Helgerson, 1988), the majority of young people obtained most of their information on AIDS from media related sources: from television (42), from documentaries (29), from posters and leaflets (21), from the news (20), from newspapers and magazines (20)

and from television drama (12). By comparison, of the young people at school, college or university (36), only 4 had obtained information on AIDS from their educational institution. Documentaries and news related programmes on AIDS were considered as most beneficial, those most frequently cited being: 'AIDS Update 1988' and 'First AIDS', whilst few young people saw advertising on AIDS as a primary source of information:

Elaine: I think the adverts are there just to remind you, to reinforce the importance of AIDS, so I don't expect to get a great deal of information out of them.

Gordon: I think most of the information has been through the documentaries from the AIDS Week, and once you've got that information and can remember it, the adverts don't really tell you much more at all.

The television commercial recalled most frequently by young people without prompting was the 1986 'DHSS iceberg' commercial. Over half (24) of young people recalled this commercial whereas 19 did so for the 'Mates condom-restaurant' commercial, 16 did so for the 'HEA disco' commercial, 14 for the 'Mates condom-chemist' commercial, 10 for the 'DHSS heroin-HIV test' commercial, 9 for the 'HEA dinner' commercial, 8 for the 'DHSS coffin' commercial and 4 for the 'DHSS heroin-doll' commercial. When prompting the above trends were no longer reflected: a further 14 recalled the 'disco' commercial bringing the total recall to 30, whereas only a further 4 recalled the 'iceberg' commercial bringing the total recall to 26. There is some evidence then, that the DHSS/COI commercials (of February 1986) are easier recalled than the HEA commercials (of February 1988). Such recall may, of course, be heavily influenced by the frequency of broadcasting. For example, the IBA broadcasting restrictions on the 'dinner' commercial may explain the lower recall of this commercial amongst young people.

Most young people (26) had seen the 'disco' commercial more than two times, although 12 had never seen the commercial. As might be expected given broadcasting restrictions and the intended targetting of the 'dinner' commercial, half as many young people (13) had seen it more than twice, and twice as many (24) had never seen the commercial, than had done so for the 'disco' commercial. 14 young people had seen both the 'disco' and 'dinner' commercials, 8 had seen neither and 20 had only seen one.

Descriptions of the HEA commercials

Young people were asked to describe, in as much detail as possible, everything they could remember about the two HEA commercials, In doing so, interesting differences became apparent in the way the young people accounted for what they could remember. Three typical descriptions of the 'disco' commercial were:

Alison: A man and a woman dancing in a disco. I can remember the man chatting the woman up. Then they go for a drink. Go to the side of the room and have a drink. You get the impression that he's trying to get her a bit drunk. Then they go back to his place I think it is. Then I suppose they have sex or whatever.

Cath: Well, they're dancing on the dance floor and he says to her "do you fancy a drink", and he holds her hand and they go over to find a table, and there's lots of camera shots of them with their glasses. And after the punchline is said, the camera pans back to show her looking indecisive and shocked.

Paula: There's this one about a person who's drunk in a disco. There was a lad and a girl, and they were dancing in flashing lights. Then they both go and have a drink . . . then you see close ups of the girl when she's sitting down I think. He asked her if she wanted to come back to his place and then she's left kind of looking up at the camera.

Presented in this commercial, like in most other commercials, is a very conventional portrayal of male and female sexual roles. This it seemed, most young people were aware of:

Question
If you had to describe the man, say a few descriptive words about the man, what sort of things would you say?

Alison: Quite confident, probably had quite a few drinks, and he's the type of person that would go and boast to his friends afterwards.

Bob: I would describe him as very much in the same way as I would most other men on TV adverts, you know, very macho.

Steve: I'd say he was a fairly normal person just out for a good time. Yeah, out for a good time.

Wendy: Same as most men his age. *(and how would you describe that?)*. Well, just taking the opportunity when they can.

Jan: Just like any normal sort of lad that goes out drinking.

Helen: Ambitious — he's only just met her. A bit of a show off really, he loves himself.

Others described him as 'typical', 'pushy', 'persuasive', 'selfish', 'creepy', 'domineering', and 'slimy'. Whether or not the man was described favourably or unfavourably, most young people accepted him as quite normal and conventional in his behaviour; in ostensibly pursuing and inviting the woman 'back to his place'. They also do this for the woman in the commercial, although the descriptions are slightly more favourable:

Question
How about the woman, how would you describe her?

Sarah: I think, well I can't remember what she did at the end but, I think she was quite sensible.

Wendy: She was careful, more careful than he was.

Rose: . . . And she doesn't know whether to go with him or not so the advert seems to say that she's thinking about AIDS.

Bob: . . . She is seen to contemplate the decision in order to get across the message that it is her decision to take action to stop sex.

Julia: . . . well she was very hesitant about things . . .

Cath: I think she's umm, after a longer relationship, but not to the extent that she wouldn't go for one night with this guy.

Others described her as 'normal', 'typical', 'scared', 'shy', and 'dominated'.

In this 'disco' commercial then, young people are presented with a sexual scenario which embodies perfectly conventional male and female sexual roles. Like the 'disco' commercial, advertisements in general, are effective when they confirm, rather than challenge, viewers' existing beliefs, expectations and stereotypes. At a fundamental level, advertisements exist in order to sell products to consumers, and clearly, the more an advertisement is able to exploit images and beliefs that the viewer recognises as familiar and reassuring and 'knows' to be 'true', then the more potentially effective it will be. This is most apparent in the way that advertising conforms to stereotypical definitions of gender and sexuality. Thus, despite the introduction in recent years of a variety of 'new' character types in order to accommodate wider shifts in gender roles, the discourse of advertising is on whole dominated by thoroughly conventional masculine and feminine stereotypes. Women are, in the main, represented either in a maternal role or as passive sex objects and men are seen as active, possessive and masterful. Both the 'disco' and 'dinner' commercials conform to these stereotypes about sexuality: for example, both scenarios are viewed from a male perspective and in both, sexually arousing shots of the woman's body are interspersed with the captions that offer the health education advice. Some of the young people acknowledged this, for example:

Alison   ... it (the camera) keeps centring on parts of the girl's body. In both of the adverts, I personally found this a bit unnecessary and a bit distasteful. They're making her into a sexual object which is wrong I think ... but then, I suppose it helps the message of the advert because it relates AIDS to sex, so it's really aiming to stop you getting AIDS.

It is obviously the intention of the commercial to work on these stereotypes: they are presumably identifiable by most young people, and this is how a health promotion campaign that utilizes the forms and channels of advertising has a hope of being successful. Although this may seem fairly obvious; in that successful health promotion will be effected through the sophisticated techniques of persuasion and suggestion that advertising has at its disposal; as we have argued more fully elsewhere, there may be particular problems with the ways in which AIDS education may be promoted through advertising (Rhodes and Shaughnessy, 1989). For, in order for AIDS education to be instrumental in modifying sexual behaviour it will inevitably need to confront the very stereotypes and preconceptions about gender and sexuality that advertising in general upholds and exploits. Most important of these may be to recognise the normative role of penetrative sex in most heterosexual sexual behaviour, that sex is often represented and encouraged as a 'force beyond control', and that sex is represented through a perspective that is specifically masculine (for example, contraceptives have always been accepted as a female responsibility). Because of stereotypes

such as these, upheld within the discourse of advertising, health education advice such as the encouragement of safer sex and the use of a condom, does not sit easily. For this reason, the health education advice offered in the commercials may not go far in meeting some of the real problems young people face when attempting to change their sexual behaviour: such as the need to change beliefs that non penetrative or protected sex is 'effeminate' or that the use of a condom is an 'impossible interruption to sex' — all beliefs which the discourse of advertising encourages. So, although the young people we interviewed have accepted the characters and sexual scenarios in the two commercials as 'normal' and 'typical', and few have questioned the stereotypical representations of 'normality' or levelled criticism at the implicit sexism of the commercials, such an approach to educating young people about AIDS may be highly questionable. This becomes clearer when we examine young people's opinions about the health education advice given in the commercials, which sheds further light on some of the conflicts that exist between the status and function of the commercials as advertising and their status and function as promoting AIDS education.

Recall of the health education advice

Much of the potential effectiveness of these commercials, and of previous DHSS/COI mass media advertising on AIDS, lies in the messages offering health education advice. There are principally two messages in the 'disco' and 'dinner' commercials designed to inform young people as to how to reduce their risks to infection: **THE MORE PARTNERS YOU HAVE THE GREATER THE RISK** and **USING A CONDOM COULD HELP SAVE YOUR LIFE**. This, apart from the meanings derived from the scenarios themselves, is the only health recommendation given to young people as what actually to do in terms of modifying their behaviour to avoid infection. It may give rise to some concern then, that only 5 young people (out of 34 who had seen at least one of the two commercials) were able to recall without prompting either the actual message or the recommended actions that resembled the 'partners' advice, while only 4 managed to do so for the 'condom' advice. This may seem of some surprise considering that advice to reduce ones sexual partners and to wear a condom has been a central and recurrent feature of all government-backed advertising on AIDS since February 1986.

Recalled most frequently without prompting (by 8 young people), was the advice shown towards the end in both commercials: **AIDS: YOU KNOW THE RISKS, THE DECISION IS YOURS**, and recalled least frequently without prompting (by 3 young people) was advice shown mid-way in both commercials: **YOU CAN'T TELL BY LOOKING WHO IS INFECTED**. When prompted, five of the six pieces of advice (including, **AIDS: THERE IS STILL NO CURE, AND IT'S ON THE INCREASE**) were recalled by at least 28 of the 34 young people who had seen at least one of the two commercials. Perhaps not surprisingly, advice that was only given in the 'dinner' commercial: **BOTH MEN AND WOMEN CAN PASS ON THE VIRUS THROUGH SEX** was recalled by less young people (24). Although young people had considerable difficulty in remembering that the health education advice to reduce

partners and to wear a condom was given within the two HEA commercials, there is evidence elsewhere in the interviews which suggests that these two pieces of advice form the basis of most young people's perceptions and understandings of AIDS prevention. When asked, for example, to describe what the phrase 'safer sex' meant to them, almost all answers were fairly typical:

Claire: Have as few partners as possible and use a condom until you're sure.

Wendy: Well, if you are going to sleep with someone and you don't know their background then if you're a man you take precautions and if you're a woman you make sure the man takes precautions. It's also best not to have sex with too many people.

Charles: Using a condom, and um, reducing the risk by having less partners, and that's about it really.

Fewer had formed understandings of safer sex outside of the advice offered by the advertising:

Mark: Safer sex is anything you do in sex where you are not at risk for passing on the virus for AIDS. You can't pass on blood or semen but you can do everything else. It doesn't necessarily mean you have to use a condom, but obviously that's one way of being safe.

Cath: I guess it's (safer sex) sex without transferring blood or semen. I should guess to most people though it's using a condom.

What is noticeable about the understandings of safer sex which are not based strictly on the advice that has been given in advertising on AIDS, is that stress is made by the young people that to be safer in sex does not necessarily mean using a condom, and certainly does not mean having sex with less people. In showing themselves to be open to other forms of sexual expression other than simply penetration these young people, such as Mark and Cath, may have questioned the normative role of penetrative sex. Such an understanding of safer sex; an understanding which recognises all that is safer (and unsafe) within the realms of sexual expression; is educationally and practically of great importance when actually having to make the necessary changes to sexual behaviour in order to avoid HIV infection. Of course, such an understanding of sexual behaviour (one that isn't simply constructed around penetration and one that implies an element of mediation and control) is at odds to the stereotypes of sexuality that are represented in the 'disco' and 'dinner' commercials and normally in advertising.

Opinions about the health education advice

In examining young people's opinions about the advice given in the commercials it may be possible to identify specific problems that the advertising had in addressing this particular target group. Opinions about the advice to reduce partners and to wear a condom were varied, but there seemed some consensus in the opinions that were generally unfavourable:

Jack: Reducing your partners is obviously true, but I don't think it's awfully effective. Most people know the risks you see, but a lot of them still don't take any precautions. The condom advice is also true but I prefer it, because people aren't going to change their habits just because a few adverts tell them to.

Claire: Telling people to use a condom really makes you think twice. You can't tell people to have one partner, because you meet somebody and you think you fall in love, but the chances are you haven't, and so you want to move on. You can't tell people not to have partners, it won't work out like that. Because there's going to be no medical breakthrough, using a condom is realistic and probably as helpful as it can be at the moment.

Clive: . . . the one that gets across more is telling young people to use a condom, because young people don't seem to care, they think 'There's AIDS' but they think 'Oh it'll not happen to me', so there needs to be something to protect them.

Mark: I think I feel we are given advice like this (reducing partners) only because real and important advice like what we should and should'nt do can't be given . . . you know, it's true (the advice), but it's not how you get AIDS, you can only get that by passing on the virus. We should be told about this more.

Ruth: It's (the advice to wear a condom) about the only way you can really protect yourself from AIDS.

Alison: Well, it's not very good (the advice to reduce partners) because you could, you know still get it the first time with someone . . .

As some of the young people have recognised, the advice to reduce one's sexual partners and to wear a condom contradict one another. Because wearing a condom in reality is the *only* way to prevent the spread of HIV infection by penetrative sex (the target behaviour requiring change), the advice to reduce one's sexual partners becomes redundant. As Mark (above) recognises, 'it (the 'partners' advice) is not how you get AIDS'. As we know, it is not the amount of sexual partners that reduces or increases the risk to infection, it is what one does with those partners. As Ruth (above) indicates, wearing a condom is 'about the only way you can really protect yourself from AIDS'. It is only by wearing a condom that one can still have penetrative sex with one's sexual partners and be reasonably safe from infection.

It is perhaps not surprising that more young people preferred the 'condom' advice than did the 'partners' advice, as the advice to wear a condom actually gives some *certainty* as to how to avoid infection. It is obviously of great educational concern that, by comparison, the advice to reduce one's partners only informs young people of how risks of infection *might* be reduced, rather than how they *can* be reduced.

No matter the opinions of young people, however, an advertising campaign cannot be seen to encourage morally proscribed behaviours. Because of the government's ideological stance and advertising regulations, an advertising campaign on AIDS has to simultaneously recognise the existence of sexual diversity without being seen to promote 'promiscuity'. For this reason, positive encouragements to wear a condom can not singularly be made, but will have to

be accompanied by advice (to reduce partners) that serves more of a political or moral purpose than an educational one — advice that is educationally quite redundant and confusing.

In positively not encouraging sex then, much of the past mass media education on AIDS has purposefully associated sex with death, guilt and evil (see, for example, Watney, 1987). Although the HEA campaign may do this less overtly than previous DHSS/COI advertising, it is not of educational value simply to give anti-sex messages as young people are obviously going to continue to have sex. Apart from the practical nonsense of such an idea as Claire points out above, even as long ago as Schofield's studies it was shown that by the age of 18, one third of boys and one sixth of girls had had penetrative sexual intercourse (Schofield, 1973; Schofield, 1968), and will no doubt continue to do so. Moreover, as we have suggested, this rather negative anti-sex health education advice rests within a highly sexualized advertising discourse. The result is that contradictions arise within the two commercials between the educational objectives regarding sexual behaviour and AIDS (that is, encouragements not to have sex and when doing so to apply some control and protection), and the advertising context within which attempts to meet those objectives are made (that is, enticements to sex, in this case the eroticization of the female at the disco and after a dinner *a deux*). In this situation there may not be enough support for the young person such that he or she can tackle the problems involved in attempting to make the necessary behavioural changes required.

Overall opinions about the commercials and ways forward
Of the 14 young people who had seen both the 'disco' and 'dinner' commercials, 10 preferred the 'dinner' commercial, 3 preferred the 'disco' commercial and 1 remained undecided. This may be of some surprise considering that the 'disco' commercial was specifically aimed at the younger and more teenage audience. In fact just over half of those seeing the 'dinner' commercial saw it as 'aimed at them', while two thirds of those seeing the 'disco' commercial saw it as 'aimed at them'. As was typically pointed out:

Steve: . . . I thought it (the 'disco' commercial) was more general. I suppose the danger is to the younger age groups, but you know, it didn't feel as though it was talking about me.

Gordon: I don't think it's (the 'disco' commercial) effective. I think it's too slick and it's too trendy, you know, it's 'we are appealing to youth'.

Question
So you don't find this advert 'youth appealing' in any way?

Gordon: No, not really. Slightly older I would say (G. is 18). About early twenties. I found the 'dinner' commercial more serious and more believable.

Virtually none of the young people saw either of the two commercials as 'offensive', 'too fearful', or 'hard to understand'. Under a third of young people, however, saw the 'disco' commercial as 'effective', approximately a third saw it as 'educational', under a quarter felt it 'reassuring' and only half found it 'grabbed their attention'. By

comparison, proportionately more young people saw the 'dinner' commercial 'embarrassing' (although still under a fifth) than did for the 'disco' commercial, but also, despite the intended targetting of the commercial, proportionately more found it 'effective', 'worthwhile', 'reassuring', 'educational', and found it 'grabbed their attention'.

Most young people felt that the two HEA commercials were more effective than the DHSS/COI television advertising of 1986 to 1987:

Paula: . . . I liked it (the 'disco' commercial) more than the one, the one with the flower (the 'coffin' commercial) — it's more interesting than that one, that one at the end was boring. The main reason why I didn't like it much was because it didn't really have anything to do with AIDS.

Zoe: Better than the iceberg ones, they were too scare-mongering. It's best not to do that I think.

Cath: Yes, I think they're quite good in that it brings it down to real life situations. It's all very well to put across these slogans but it's just remembering them when you're involved in something else . . . Let's see, it would have been better to have an ending and a decision from the person who was asked. This would show that it was a real life situation rather than just stopping when posed with a decision.

The high profile and recall of the DHSS/COI publicity was reached by using fear as a stimulus and attaching such fear to, albeit sometimes obscure, imagery. Many young people, when discussing improvements that could be made to advertising on AIDS for future campaigns, indicated that they felt inducing fear might be a necessary approach:

Debbie: I reckon some of them were really good. I remember the iceberg one and the one with coffins and that, it was really scary that one, it really did hit you hard and the message was really strong. I'm not sure if that one could be improved . . .

Claire: I think people have a morbid curiosity about what happens after AIDS . . . There's not enough stress on how horrific the disease actually is, and too much stress on the 'everybody's going to get it' approach . . . People need to be scared about what sex could lead to . . . I think part of the problem, is that a lot of people of my age (17) haven't started to have sex, some of us have — some of us haven't, and for this reason you're more interested in talking about sex itself and what it's like or going to be like, than you are about what's going to happen after you've had sex . . . more of experiences than things like diseases and consequences.

Julia: You should try and show them what AIDS can really do to you. Show a person whose suffering from it perhaps.

Divergence of young people's opinion was approximately equal over whether fear should be a technique used in future advertising on AIDS. Most young people, however, felt that real situations were more appropriate than the use of imagery alone, with or without the use of fear. Much must depend on the ways in which fear techniques are employed:

recent research has indicated that equating sex itself with fear is not productive (IPPF, 1988), and that future advertising on AIDS should now adopt a practical rather than fear-inducing approach (Hastings and Scott, 1987). Furthermore, it has long been established, that even if anxiety is raised to the optimum low fear levels required to change behaviour and even if it is also coupled with a persuasive communication, it does not always follow that it will be contributory to the intended behavioural changes (Janis, 1953: Leventhal, Singer and Jones, 1965).

Much of the other suggestions for improvement centred around the use of humour. Many young people found the approach taken by independent condom advertising as far more effective than advertising specifically for AIDS:

Alison: I like the way condoms are advertised, particularly the funny ones. There seems a lot of it around as well, but I suppose this is not surprising. There should be more AIDS adverts like them as well.

Bob: . . . condoms should be honestly advertised so we can see them, and then I suppose they'll come less of a problem, a lot easier to use.

Jan: I like the posters in the magazines for Mates . . . because they look relaxed . . . also sort of inviting.

Gordon: . . . I think other adverts are far more effective than this (the 'disco' one) . . . (Give me some examples) . . . I like the Typhoo advert . . . and I like the Carling Black Label one, the ones with humour I especially like best . . .

Question
So how do you think humour could be used in AIDS advertising, or do you think that would be impossible?

Gordon: Oh, I think it's very possible, it's used in condom advertising already isn't it? — in the one where he goes into the shop — I mean I think you have to be very careful though, obviously not to be too offensive, it's got to be funny and well liked by everyone.

Humour may seem an especially useful tool: Norway's 1986-87 television condom advertising demonstrated that a humorous approach can make a significant impact on the public and vastly increased condom sales (Newman, 1987); and as the advertising of alcohol has shown, it is possible to get away with a lot more as long as the commercial itself is amusing and inventive. Within such contexts it may be feasible to promote safer sex (forms of non-penetrative sex) and the condom in 'real situations' and in the light of real behaviours. If this was the case, young people's health beliefs about preventing HIV infection might also be a little more realistic.

Concluding remarks
Too often because of their status as non-adults, young people are denied a voice in matters that so closely affect them. By examining their opinions to advertising on AIDS, it may be possible to construct a framework for future mass media education of young people about AIDS. In theory, we can look to mass media education as the provider of

necessary information. In practice, it seems there are limitations in doing this in relation to the education of young people about AIDS. The health recommendation and information provided within mass media education campaigns on AIDS so far, serves as much an ideological and political function as an educational one. This may be unfortunate; it must be remembered that of incontestable importance is the education of young people such that lives are saved.

Before the education of young people about AIDS, however, has a chance of being effective it must first challenge the obstacles that exist to changing sexual behaviour. Stereotypical perceptions of gender and sexuality that prevent such changes, therefore, need to be at least questioned and at best removed. As long as mass media education on AIDS continues to ignore the questioning of such stereotypes it systematically destroys the potential effectiveness of the health education advice it provides. Indeed, as long as mass media education on AIDS ignores the diversity and complexity of sexuality, and as long as it refuses to incorporate this into its health education material, the likelihood of young people having enough support and encouragement to make the necessary changes to their sexual behaviour must remain extremely slim.

Notes
All interviews were conducted anonymously. All names in reported speech are therefore pseudonymns, the purpose of which is to make each interviewee identifiable throughout the paper.

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irish youth work in london

THE IRISH YOUTH WORKERS' GROUP

The following is the text of a report originally prepared by the Irish Youth Workers' Group for a submission to the ILEA working group on Irish issues on education.

THE IRISH YOUTH WORKERS' GROUP AND ITS HISTORY

The Irish Youth Workers' Group has been meeting for about nine months. It was formed because we realised that the Youth Service does not recognise the specific needs of Irish young people, both first and second generation, and we, as a group of Irish Youth Workers, felt isolated and had experienced anti-Irish racism within the Youth Service. The Irish Youth Work group operates at a number of different levels, as it provides general support for its members; it develops new pieces of Irish Youth Work; it provides training for Youth Workers on Irish Issues; it is developing information and resources; it campaigns for local education authorities to provide policy and resources for Irish Youth Work.

Who are the Irish?

The Irish community in London makes up an estimated one-sixth of the population. The legal definition of Irishness is anyone born in Britain, or elsewhere, of Irish parents or grandparents who is entitled to Irish citizenship and an Irish passport on request (Irish Nationality and Citizenship Act of Dail Erieann 1956). However, the Irish community recognises anyone of Irish descent, or having an awareness of Irish identity, as being Irish.

What this means is that there are thousands of Irish young people in London whose specific needs are not recognised by the Youth Service. They are rendered invisible, with the consequence that most do not attend general Youth Service provision and those who do participate are not given any positive recognition of their culture and experiences as Irish young people; their identity is denied. They are subsumed under the general category of British. There has not even been any consideration of what the real needs of Irish youth are, and how the Youth Service should respond to them.

Irish young people in London

At present, there is occurring the biggest mass movement of youth emigration since the second world war. Young people are uprooting themselves from all parts of Ireland (rural and urban areas, north and south) and heading for London which is ill prepared for their arrival. The Central Statistics Office in Dublin show a 35% increase in emigration for 1986 and this is clearly reflected in the numbers of young Irish arriving, mostly in London at the moment. It is estimated that 50,000 arrived on these shores in 1986, and that figure will increase now that America has recently clamped down on immigration.

Ireland's economic situation is dictating these conditions; unemployment is the main reason for leaving. Young people under 25 make up 47% of the Republic's population and, in 1986, unemployment in the under 25 age group was even more acute at 36% in 1986. The Action Group for Irish Youth conducted a survey in 1985 with newly arrived young Irish. They summarised in their campaign document of 1985 that, of 249 young people interviewed, 49.2% cited unemployment as their reason for leaving, while 42.9% cited familial problems as the instigating factor for their move.

The myth of London's streets being paved with gold is long dead for those who have lived in the capital but, perhaps, not so for some young immigrants newly arriving. It is not long, however, before the reality of living in London hits home, especially when seeking accommodation which is their most pressing concern. Being young, single, homeless, puts them in the lowest priority category. Already, overloaded agencies can hardly deal with the influx of Irish young, and many are slipping through the net, added to which, because of their youth and vulnerability, they are open to financial and sexual exploitation.

For many young people, sleeping rough and squatting becomes a harsh reality. In the AGIY survey mentioned above, 27% of those interviewed had slept rough since arriving in Britain. A hostel which caters for young Irish men, Conway House in Kilburn, has witnessed an increase of more than 100% in 1987 in those seeking beds. Many young people get referred to bed & breakfast hostels where they are hindered by the eight week rule, which gives them a level of very short term security. Irish hostels are not alone in witnessing the huge increase in numbers of young Irish. Centrepoint in Soho and Riverpoint night shelter, which cater principally for young people under 26, have recorded a dramatic increase in the numbers of young Irish using their services. Riverpoint, which provides up to three weeks

accommodation for single homeless people saw 1,770 people in 1984/85; of these, 301 or 17.2% were Irish. the problem of homelessness amongst young Irish is a matter of grave concern.

Employment is another matter of pressing need to young, newly arrived Irish people in London. Of the 249 young people interviewed by AGIY, 80% had not made any arrangements concerning employment prior to leaving home and 81% were currently unemployed in London. Many young people end up in work such as labouring or the hotel industry, for which they may be far too highly qualified, and yet these may seem easy options in the highly competitive rat race where to be culturally different if often seen as a handicap. There is no co-ordinated approach to the provision of advice and information in the way of careers guidance. The unemployed and those in poor employment can experience problems which are compounded by such things as alcohol abuse and emotional difficulties.

Clearly, adjustment to a new and culturally different environment can be very traumatic for many young Irish people arriving in London. These young people bring with them a culture and heritage which is rich and varied and which should be encouraged by educational bodies. Educational opportunities are hindered by the fact that the Republic of Ireland examination system differs from the English. Often qualifications which were difficult to attain in Ireland are not recognised over here and many young Irish with excellent examination passes can end up working on the aforementioned building sites or in the hotel industry. This is an area that has been largely ignored and local education authorities should be sensitive to this issue. Non recognition of qualifications can be undermining to the young people concerned, especially if they seek to advance in the educational field.

While young Irish immigrants are in a particular situation, it is important to also consider the needs of second generation Irish young people. The latter may have warm memories of holidays in Ireland and of contact with Irish relatives, and identify closely with their parents and their reasons for coming here. Nevertheless, the fact that Irish history and current affairs is seldom, or never, addressed in the school curriculum means that they have little opportunity to understand the realities of present day Ireland. English attitudes to the Irish — that they are a stupid and violent race — encourage the young to ignore or deny their Irish connections. The fact that the only badge of difference, or Irishness, that they wear may be their Catholicism (which they may experience as oppressive during their early and mid teenage years with their developing interest in sexuality) compounds their ambivalence. It has been shown that Irish young people will not talk of their experience — even when they feel comfortable with it — unless they are assured in advance of a positive and interested response.

The Irish Youth Workers' Group is very concerned about the lack of recognition given to both the first and second generation of Irish young people in educational institutions, including the Youth Service. The second generation suffer from prejudice, as Brian Keaney [1] has pointed out.

They suffer from prejudice because their very existence is denied. It is generally assumed that the Irish are a minority ethnic group who disappeared after the first generation. This is the very first myth which the Irish are challenging ... the absence of a socially recognised second generation

model and the constant stereotyping of the first generation by the media as "navvies", who have difficulty in telling one end of a shovel from the other, causes them to adopt and English identity.

The Irish have a rich cultural tradition most of which, Irish writing and poetry for example, has been appropriated under the heading of English literature in educational establishments, and thus rendered invisible.

The ambivalence which second generation Irish young people experience about their identity can lead to them concealing their Irishness and, in turn, to tensions between their home life and educational institutions. Many second generation Irish young people attend clubs attached to Catholic churches. Our impression as youth workers is that the need for initiatives to help them develop a positive identity is not recognised, much less undertaken. It is crucial that Youth Workers address this issue and, in the process, challenge their own, often negative, stereotypes about the Irish community.

The implications for the Youth Service are that where provision is used by second generation Irish young people, it is rare for them to have opportunity to address these issues. Within most clubs and units, there is no recognition of the identity problems which exist and the workers' own lack of awareness of the issues confronting Irish young people contribute to the problem. So an arena in which Youth Work skill and the techniques of social education could play a valuable role is wholly neglected.

Although this is an aspect of a multi-culturalism that has been largely ignored by the Youth Service — even in areas where there is a large Irish community — there have been some encouraging beginnings. There has been an Irish girls' group established at the London Irish Women's Centre, and a group of Irish girls from Eden Grove Youth Club in Islington met them recently to discuss their impressions of Ireland and Irishness.

Background Situation

The negative attitudes experienced by the Irish in Britain are the result of deep rooted historical phenomena. The causes of this can be located in Britain's relationship to Ireland over the past seven hundred years, in seeing the role of the Irish in Britain as migrant labour, and the present political situation in Northern Ireland. These have resulted in Anti-Irish racism which is reflected in the Youth Service, as in all other social institutions.

Britain's imperialist and colonial relationship with Ireland for seven hundred years has greatly contributed to the negative and offensive stereotyping of the Irish in Britain by institutions and, particularly, by the media. The Irish community in Britain experience racism.

Since early times, there have been varying degrees of antipathy and hostility to the Irish community in London. Some of this stemmed from anti-catholic prejudice in the indigenous community; however, the bulk of anti-Irish sentiment hinges on Ireland's historic resistance to English rule. In times of hostility between both countries, the Irish community is looked upon with distrust and resentment. The Irish community has found itself under attack whenever Ireland's interest were seen to be in conflict with those of the host community. [2]

As a white minority ethnic group, the Irish do not experience racism on the basis of colour of their skin but do experience the obliteration of their cultural identity and the non recognition of their needs by British institutions which seem to assume that Irish culture is identical to British culture.

Because the Irish are white and Britain is assumed to be a religiously tolerant society, they are deemed not to experience any problems that constitute racism. In fact, many of the Irish and their descendants continue to be concentrated within low skilled jobs and low paid occupations or not employed at all. Evidence of housing discrimination still persists; racist treatment by the police and legal apparatus is clear cut; in the media, the Irish are either the butt of jokes or often subject to censorship; while in most schools, a travesty of Anglo Irish relations is taught as history.[3] The current political situation in Northern Ireland, and in particular the operation of The Prevention of Terrorism Act, have all contributed to a situation where the Irish community have kept a low profile and have not adequately asserted their needs and identity.

In London now, the situation appears to be changing somewhat. The Irish community becoming more self-aware. The Irish women's movement has played a very significant role in this development. We in the Youth Service are also reflecting these changes. We were much encouraged by the recognition of the Irish as an ethnic minority by the GLC/ILEA and by the setting up of the ILEA Consultative committee to look at the irish dimension across the whole education spectrum. We want to ensure that the Youth Service features strongly, and that its specific contribution is recognised and valued.

At the same time, we deplore the racism shown by certain members of the Irish community towards black individuals and groups. We feel that this could be challenged by the ILEA, and other institutions, by encouraging a more positive image of the Irish themselves and an understanding of their own cultural, historical and political heritage, much of which has a lot in common with Africans and Asians, particularly in relation to our respective colonial experiences and their consequences today.

The Role of the Youth Service

The aims of Youth Service include the provision of cultural, recreational, informal and social education in a caring and secure setting by offering a wide variety of experiences which will lead to a deeper self knowledge and a greater awareness of the social environment, to foster stable social relationships and confidence, to offer opportunity for the expression and development of views, and to co-operate with other statutory and voluntary services. When one compares such aims with current provision for Irish young people, cleary there is much to be done.

Irish young people have the same needs for advice, counselling, social education and group work provided by the Youth Service as do other young people. But they also need a service which is ethnically sensitive and is targeted to meet their specific needs, as often they do not use general provision. The needs of first generation Irish young people are particularly urgent. The Youth Service on its own cannot tackle all of these problems. It should be encouraged to liaise with the Irish community, so that the cultural isolation taking place for the young Irish is avoided. The young Irish should be encouraged in their development and their induction into

a new environment facilitated while retaining positive links with the old. The Youth Service should also work more closely with other agencies.

The need for housing, employment, training and social services input, are crucial and require the development of a multi-agency response. However, we cannot afford to wait until this approach is developed, particularly as we shall not know exactly what is required until we begin to do the work itself.

As a service specialising in social education, it may not be within the remit of youth work to provide housing and money, but it certainly is within our role to build up young people's confidence and abilities to deal with their housing and DHSS problems. We are providing learning experiences which enable young people to take more control over their life. Currently, there is one detached worker within West Hampstead, working with Irish young people. Work is also being carried out by certain West End agencies, such as the Soho Project. Some of the needs which should be addressed are those of:

— Young single mothers — isolation, housing problem, lack of space, desperate for company, need advice, lack of confidence etc;
— young people from the North of Ireland — deeply scarred by war-torn society, high levels of frustration and anxiety, identity problems, anti-Northern feeling which categorises them before they have a chance, excessive drinking etc;
— travelling young people — stigma attached to their way of life, isolation, lack of facilities;
— young people in squats or homeless — bad housing, lack of motivation, getting caught up in certain way of life, drink and drugs problems, depression and apathy;
— very young and vulnerable people — runaways, unstable backgrounds, ex-offenders, lifetime in care, easily led — perhaps into drink and drugs problems;
— those just off the boat — penniless, homeless, identity problems, cultural shock unprepared, ill equipped;
— those with acute personal problems — psychiatric illness, drug addicts, familial problems, unplanned pregnancy;
— young people in Prison — it speaks for itself.

Second generation Irish young people have the same needs as all other young people for Youth Service provision and for the support of youth workers. They also have additional needs, such as the input of youth workers in helping them to generate a positive Irish identity, to combat anti-Irish racism and to understand its effects on them. Mary Cullinan's report of the Irish group at the London Irish Women's Centre is an example of what needs to be done.

Alongside the need for new provision, more positive work needs to be done on Irish identity within the units which already attract second generation Irish young people. Much work has to be undertaken to make all Youth units accessible to Irish young people in the same way that there has been an increase in consciousness about the need to make Youth provision more attractive to young women and black young people. This must also apply to Irish young people, who form the largest minority ethnic group in London. It is not enough to say no-one is excluded. Instead the welcome must be more positive and include the recognition that Irish young people have their own culture and identity which needs to be accepted and valued.

Young Irish immigrants, especially those from the north of Ireland trying to escape from an unstable environment, should be given extra specialised encouragement and support to adjust in a constructive way to a society which, if not viewed in a positive light, could become as traumatic as the one they left behind.

Proposed Areas of Development for Irish Youth Work

DETACHED WORK:

At present, the Youth Officer for the south district in Camden is consulting on the feasibility of detached Youth Work in the area. An area containing Euston, Kings Cross and St Pancras British Rail Stations, which are the main points of entry for young Irish people into London, surely has some resposibility for work with these young people. A recent survey by Action for Irish Youth shows that 79.8% of young Irish questioned experience homelessness and are very vulnerable.

These same young people have problems of unemployment and have found difficulty in obtaining Supplementary Benefit. The Youth Service has a definite part to play in advice, counselling and social education of these young people. It would seem logical that a voluntary organisation such as the Action Group for Irish Youth, who have direct knowledge and indeed empathy with these young people, would be an ideal group to apply for, and manage, a detached worker, as opposed to a statutory managed project.

The detached worker within West Hampstead has revealed an overwhelming range of needs, but it is also clear that detached work is a particularly appropriate way of responding to these needs. This work also needs to be developed in other areas where there are large, newly arrived Irish populations, such as Westminster and Hammersmith.

Specialist Irish Youth Centres:

There is a need to establish Irish Youth centres in various London boroughs, which will include specialist sections to deal with Housing, Unemployment, Advice and Welfare Rights. These should be run by Youth Workers who would stress not only the provision of advice but also educational experiences which would enable young people to have more control over these areas of life.

Other specialist work that should be initiated includes:

— counselling service by people sensitive to the needs of Irish Young people;
— educational and careers section to include courses and night classes;
— space for use by different subgroups, ie young single mothers, disabled young people;
— resources for music, drama, arts and recreation.

It has been discussed, by the Irish Youth Worker's Group, that a course of Irish Studies could be run in the Youth Service. This would be aimed at young people based upon the model of Irish Studies that Adult Education Institutes are currently operating. It is envisaged that such a course can quite comfortably be accommodated within the programme of the Youth Centre. Topics that might provide a framework for the course could be

A History of Ireland and its Relation to Britain
The Imperialistic Invasion of Ireland

Migration of the Irish People
Contributions of Irish People to Britain
The effects of Catholic education on the migrant Irish culture
Effects of anti-Irish racism and remedial action

It is intended that such a course will be run in Camden very soon.

Future Training Needs

Irish Workers in Voluntary and Statutory Units:

There is a great need for Irish Youth workers, first and second generation, to explore and analyse what it means to us to be Irish, looking, at the same time, at major social, political and cultural influences on our lives, both negative and positive, in England and Ireland. In relation to our own lives, it is important to examine how non-Irish groups (majority or minority) perceive our Irishness and the Irish in general. It is foreseeable that there will be a necessity to reflect on the history of Ireland in the context of its relationship with Britain, especially in the light of the recent partitioning of Ireland (a mere 60 years) and the consequent continuation of the 'troubles'.

There is an undeniable need for the exploration of the roles of males and females in Irish society — in England and Ireland. Issues such as those which occur in all societies should be explored, eg male brutality, sexual hypocrisy and discrimination against gay and lesbian colleagues. These will have to be examined in the specific context of the Irish experience in Britain.

Irish Young People:

The following issues could be considered in the context of member training and particular courses could be designed to address them.

i) *First Generation:*

— Training needs for young Irish people coming to England in the 1980's, have undoubtedly to be met both in Ireland and England.
— A mechanism will have to be set up so that a multiplicity of information can be transmitted to young Irish people.
— Guidance with reference to Social Security processes, addresses etc, health information and general help (where it can be had).
— Employment information, not forgetting to create awareness of the present manipulative set ups, especially in the construction industry.
— Young people will need a chance to express their expectations about coming to England and a chance to look at current myths.
— Most young Irish people may be aware that there is a lot of Anti-Irish feeling around; in some quarters it is supposedly superficial fun. Awareness may need to be created on how deep seated racism against the Irish actually is and how it can seriously affect the lives of young people coming to England to live.

ii) *Second Generation:*

— Many specific issues have to be examined. Space could be provided for second generation Irish young people to

share their experiences of growing up in Irish households, in British society.

— There have been indications that there will be a need to look more closely at how they have coped with repressing their Irish heritage to the extent that, in some cases, they have become racist themselves, towards black people for example.

— Indeed what does it mean to second generation Irish youth to be Irish and living in Britain.

— Grass roots experience tends to suggest that a culture has developed amongst second generation males which is in parts aggressive and violent. This culture needs to be looked at with second generation males. Has this culture anything to do with the difficulties experienced by their parents when they first arrived in Britain.

Non Irish Workers:

First and foremost non Irish workers will have to look at their own attitudes.

Stock must be taken of the numbers of Irish young people in London's clubs and centres. At a guess, it would be fairly safe to assume, that there could be at least one second generation Irish young person in most clubs. This should lead to consideration of how those young people needs are reflected in the programme of the unit.

Non Irish workers should look at Ireland's relationship with Britain and the relationship between this and their own attitudes to the Irish. The history of our representation by the British media. Workers should then look at other aspects of Irish life to discover a little about Irish parents and their attitudes. Awareness of other sociocultural factors, influential both in Ireland and England, will illustrate something about the good and bad things Irish young people go through.

Recommendations

These recommendations were submitted to ILEA with specific reference to London. However, it is considered that they could have implications in other areas of Irish settlement. the recommendations are as follows:

1. Education Authorities recognise the Irish as a minority ethnic group and adopt the former GLC Policy on the Irish. Each LEA should produce its own policy which has as its aim the elimination of anti-Irish racism and which identifies specific targets to be met in Youth provision.
2. Research should be initiated within each borough to identify how the Irish as a minority ethnic group feature in priorities regarding the distribution of borough resources, to be monitored over a number of years. Whenever posts are re-established, the needs of the Irish should be taken into account. Feedback from youth workers and youth committees should outline:
   a) the needs of Irish young people
   b) existing work with young Irish
   c) proposals for future developments
3. The existing statutory and voluntary Youth projects should make themselves more accessible to Irish users and each should include an Irish dimension to their social educational programme.
4. Training should be provided in the Youth Service on the special neds of young Irish to be available to all Youth Workers. The range of training provided should reflect the variety of needs, including the implications of work with newly arrived young Irish, the encouragement of a positive identity for young people of Irish descent, and the examination of Youth Workers' attitudes. Training will also be required specifically for those working with Irish travellers.
5. Active encouragement should be given to promote links between Youth Workers and their colleagues in Ireland; Funding should be made available for educational visits and exchanges.
6. More Irish workers should be recruited into the service and advertisements should be placed within the Irish press. (To our knowledge, there are only a small number of Irish workers in ILEA posts, of whom only one has been appointed specifically to work with Irish young people, in 1986.)
7. The attitude of the ILEA should be clarified regarding the operation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act and more thought is needed as to how the Authority can best protect the interests of young people affected by this measure.
8. A number of development worker posts should be created who could channel resources (eg books, tapes, videos) to all ILEA Youth Workers in each borough and who would investigate the needs of young Irish and their Youth Service needs and offer practical advice. help and support to workers initiating work with young Irish. These workers should also have responsibility for liaison with other parts of the ILEA (eg Careers, Adult Institutes, Schools) to ensure that Youth Service is not working in isolation.
9. The Authority should republish the GLC booklet 'The same old story — roots of Irish racism.'
10. A greater number of detached Youth Workers should be appointed, in all areas where there is a high concentration of young Irish; these should not be single worker posts.
11. The ILEA should set up a youth counselling agency for young Irish and focal points within London for advice and information. These should include sites at mainline stations such as Euston and Paddington.
12. Full-time posts are needed to work with Irish travellers where there are large numbers.
13. An approach should be made by the ILEA to the Irish Government to co-ordinate a response to the new wave of young Irish who are emigrating to London. A number of projects could be set up which would be partly funded by the Irish Government and could concentrate on areas such as homelessness and unemployment and the needs of Irish young women.
14. The ILEA should investigate and consider co-operating with Social Services, Health Services, DHSS, etc, in being part of a multi-agency response to the needs of young Irish arriving in London.
15. Youth centres should be established which would cater for the social education and recreational needs of young Irish, while serving as a resource centre and a model of good practice for other units who wish to make their provision more accessible to young Irish.
16. Specific posts should be set up to deal with some of the groups referred to in Eileen Power's report, eg Irish single mothers, Irish drug abusers, those in squats and immigrants from the north of Ireland.

Roger Cartlidge

BY MURIEL SAWBRIDGE

Roger who died suddenly in January, at the tragically early age of 52 years was one of the tutors who founded the Community and Youth Work Course at Durham University nearly fourteen years ago. He brought to the course a keen intelligence, sincere commitment to community and youth work and a fascination with helping students to learn which never waned. He was in many ways a larger than life character and it is hard for his colleagues and students to really believe that he is dead.

He had a checkered history and could have ended in a variety of jobs but undoubtedly found his niche in his work at Durham. He was initially educated at a public school, memories of which were not relished and which undoubtedly sowed the seeds of his later radicalism. He started a degree in architecture at the University of London but left after two years, although his interest and knowledge of the subject was evident to the last. After qualifying in community and youth work at the National College in the early 1960s he went on to graduate in sociology at Newcastle Polytechnic. At the time of his death he was working on an M.Phil, the research of which was focussed on the relationship between community and youth work and the political economy.

He had had a variety of jobs including being an architectural assistant in local government, translation work with an assurance company, warden of a youth centre in Hartlepool, work at the Pestalozzi Childrens Village in Sussex, tutor on the Leicester Polytechnic Youth and Community Course and in the Army Intelligence Corps during his national service.

After coming to Durham his enthusiasm and energy was channelled into a variety of projects, mainly in the Northern Region but also nationally. These ranged from chairing committees in detached youth work and community arts projects to serving as a committed and challenging representative on the In-Service Training Panel of the then newly created Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work. His contacts were legion and to judge from the response to his death, he was held in deep affection by people throughout the country.

None of us are perfect of course and Rogers 'faults' were also some of his most endearing qualities. His enthusiasm for debate was wearing at times particularly when expediency seemed to call for a quick decision. It wasn't always a consolation to know that the questions he posed were important.

His energy which enabled him to stay up to the early hours during residentials debating about the purpose of it all, often made me feel inadequate, as did his apparent disregard to creature comforts which lead in the early years to some appallingly squalid residential venues. A lasting memory is of students and tutors at Otterburn Army Camp a venue that even the army had discarded. Freezing cold, miserable and ugly with Roger blissfully unaware, sound asleep after a night and early morning in the village pub, the thinnest of blankets thrown over him with all the windows open and a blizzard blowing off the Cheviots.

He leaves a widow and two grown up sons — they, his colleagues and ex-students all over the country, have lost someone very significant.

Learning from Experience

ROGER CARTLIDGE

When recently rereading the case studies presented below I realised there was probably a wider audience which may be interested in looking at them. These studies arose out of my work on the panel which looked at the training of voluntary and part-time youth and community workers which eventually resulted in 'Starting from Strengths'. I think the studies give us portraits of practice. They may also help show how the panel arrived at its views on training. There is no doubt the report has influenced training in the youth and community service. I think the case studies demonstrate the importance of a personal approach to training which helps workers work through their own experience and look at their own dilemmas in practice.

For the most part, I present the material as it was written up for research. I have had to make some modifications, but these are minor and take the form of tidying up some of the English and clarifying one or two points. I have also had to modify the tense used in the original in order to make the material readable today.

I have not attempted any developed analysis in the studies themselves other than some interpretative comments. I do, however, think that the studies act as windows into youth and community work practice in the Northern region at the beginning of the eighties, at a time when Thatcherism was beginning to impose itself as the new national project on our society. I leave the reader, however, to make the links. The same format is used for each study. This arose out of the methodology adopted for the research. This was for the panel 'to go to ground' in order to hear what people say about their work, how and why they became involved, what experience, knowledge and skill they brought to the work and how they continued to learn. This was seen as the essential starting point. This is the origin of **Starting from Strengths**. So often the voices of the client are drowned in the shouting of experts. The only comment I would make is that all three studies refer to spatially located communities, specifically in the case of two and implied in the third. All three of these communities were very similar in terms of their structural features — high levels of unemployment and consequently state dependence on income maintenance, poor quality physical amenities, a strong feeling of belonging to a community. The communities in the urban context were stigmatised and labelled by outsiders as 'problem estates'. The rural community was similar to many Durham ex-mining villages. Whilst the three communities share structural features they are nevertheless different. Their social formation must be located in both time and space. It must also take account of the way British capitalist society has developed in the post war period impacting itself in very varying ways on different people and the areas in which they live. For some it has offered freedom to move without many constraints. The rich are a clear example. Capital in many senses is free of space restrictions whilst many forms of labour are rigidly bound by space with few opportunities for mobility. For people in these locations their very perception of themselves as belonging to a 'community' may compound their material poverty. Community for them may be a prison even though it is the only place they want to be.

At a theoretical level I think the studies show that the attempts to develop a non-spatial sociology are problematic. For me they show the centrality of locality and space in the working of society. Above all the case studies show the strength and determination of local people to act on their own communities and to bring new amenities, however modest, to the life of their communities. It is interesting to compare the two studies describing community action from within with the one where activities are put into a community by outsiders. I think a clear class dimension is operating. Two studies are located in indigenous community action. In the third intervention is an imposition on community. There are also significant gender factors operating.

CASE STUDY 1

Tenants Association — Tyneside

This case study grew out of an interview with a group of six women. These women were running a youth club on several nights a week. It catered for different age groups. The club was situated in a semi-detached house on a housing association estate. The housing association which owned the house in the street had made the house available to the tenants association for youth work. The estate was built in the early post war period and was typical of estates which had been allowed to deteriorate. The area was one which was stigmatised by outsiders. The tenants association had just recently been able to appoint a community worker and were about to appoint a youth worker. Both of these jobs were being financed from the Newcastle/Gateshead inner-city partnership.

Getting started, becoming involved in youth work

The youth work which these people were engaged in grew out of their community activities. The tenants association had been established to fight for modernisation to the houses. The association had been successful in its campaign and the modernisation was under way. It was this success which was the motivation to go on to do other things in the estate. The women decided that they needed to provide

youth facilities for the estate because there was nothing in the area and they felt there was a need to keep the kids off the street. They referred in particular to the dangers for children from heavy traffic using some of the roads. There had also been pressure from members of the tenants association asking what could be done about the kids in the area. The young people themselves had petitioned for a tenants association before the association had been established but there had been no response from the local authority. In addition some of the pensioners were worried about the kids and that the fun they were having was resulting in vandalism in the area. Before the tenants association were able to acquire the semi-detached house the first youth work that the women did was carried out in the play areas and playing fields of a local school adjacent to the estate. The work however did not really begin to develop until a house was made available to them. Once they had the house they said that the start had been chaotic. None of them had had much idea what to do when the youth club started.

Some of them had been members of youth clubs but did not see that they were going to organise a similar youth club. They clearly had some negative images about youth clubs which were about kids being ordered about. They didn't want to do this themselves. The way they coped with this situation was to ask the kids what they wanted to do and also to use their own interests and skills in the establishment of a programme. This resulted in craft work and drama being undertaken. My general impression from the interview I had with these women was of an imaginative approach to their work drawing on much of their own life experiences, much of their coping at the beginning was 'playing it by ear'. But they also began to work together as a group and to engage in forward planning. The group in particular referred to how much they had learnt from the kids in this process of establishing the club.

Coping and acquiring skills and knowledge
As can be seen from above much of the acquisition of knowledge and skills for this youth work was gained pragmatically through experience. The women did however, also refer to other support which was given to them for their youth work. They referred to the encouragement given to them by other tenants in the area. The young people themselves also played a major part since they were involved in organising and running jumble sales and raising finance in other ways. It is important to point out that no help was given by the local education authority. This was because the group was seen as belonging to a tenants association rather than a community association. This made them ineligible for grant aid from the LEA. The group felt very bitter about this. They were generally not impressed by the professionals with whom they had come into contact. Some help was given by outside people but they felt that this was not as much as they would have liked. Support had also been given by husbands in terms of encouraging this group of women in what they were doing. From time to time the men became involved in scrounging things for the youth club. At the same time however the commitment which this group had to their youth work involvement had also caused considerable stress within

their families so all of them at one time or another had had to re-assess their priorities in terms of their relationships between their youth work and their family life. The strongest impression which I got from this group in terms of coping and learning to do the youth work was the strength and support which came from being a member of a very close knit women's group which worked very well together and in which there were high degrees of sharing and co-operation. Having fun together played a big part. One could see a return to their own childhood and youth after years of hard work bringing up families and looking after husbands.

What the group got from being involved in this work
The women talked about meeting more people and the new interests which youth work had given to them generally. It had extended their life outside the family particularly after their children had grown up. It was clear from the way they talked about their work that there was a lot of fun so it can be seen that the youth work had met some of the deep personal needs which this group of women had. At the same time however it is important to recognise the political perspectives which this group of women had developed over time through their tenants association work and their fight generally to improve facilities in the area. They talked about the resistance which they had met, about how councillors and officers had put them down. Their impression of this was that these were people who felt that 'we are only tenants anyway, we don't know what we are talking about'. What came across strongly from this group was their persistence and willingness to engage in struggle. Many of the strengths of this group were in fact acts which one could define as political. They were also aware of the shortcomings in their work. They were particularly concerned that they were not getting through to the boys as well as to the girls. They were aware of a strong male/female difference in the group work and felt that the boys were not getting as much from the youth work as they would have liked. Yet at the same time they were aware of the difficulties in breaking down the barriers between the boys and the girls. They had also tried to involve parents. This had not been successful. They were not sure how they could involve parents more although they did identify this as something they would like to do. They had in fact tried out a number of ways of getting parental participation in the project. This included door to door visits, leaflets, items in a community newspaper and generally through word of mouth. They did however refer to some of the structural problems in the estate, for example shift work and mothers working at night. These made contact difficult. The area is also one of very high unemployment.

Strengths and weaknesses
Some of these are explicit in what has been said above. The strongest thing that came across however was the group's specific reference to their determination when establishing the tenants association and the subsequent youth work. 'This is not going to be a failure; even if it kills us we will make it work'. They recognised that they were the ones that always had to make the initiative and felt that strengths had been gained in the struggle of getting things off the ground

and working. In terms of weakness, references were made to the male/female differences. They were also very concerned that becoming involved in directly providing youth services had probably made them less militant as a tenants association than they had been previously. In a sense they were very aware of the price which might have to be paid from changing from being an organisation which was specifically political to one which was engaged in providing personalised services. Yet at the same time they recognised there were still major structural problems. They talked in particular about not being able to attract other than the 'good youngsters' and that there were many kids in the area who were not becoming involved in the youth club who they felt were in need. They also felt they had not succeeded in shifting local authority resources for the provision of social amenities to their estate.

CASE STUDY 2

A voluntary youth project in Cleveland

This case study arises out of an interview with two voluntary workers who are engaged with a specialised youth project. The project had been running for 20 years. It engaged specifically in specialised group work using volunteers as group leaders to work with young people who were referred to the project by welfare agencies such as schools and social services. The project did not have any fixed base for its work other than an office which was situated in the back garden of the one full time worker who was engaged in the project. The actual work with young people took place in community buildings such as schools, community centres and social services centres. Quite a lot of the work also occurred in street settings, in parks and playgrounds. The majority of the young people who referred to the project came from quite specific neighbourhoods in the district in which the project operates. These were usually defined as 'problem estates'.

Getting involved — becoming a voluntary worker

The interview was conducted with a young woman and a young man. The young woman had become involved through her work in an employment office. One of her clients was a worker with the project. She herself had been thinking about doing youth work for some time and the chance contact with this person stimulated her to find out more about the youth project. She was particularly attracted to it because 'it was not just an ordinary youth club'. The second person, a young single man in his mid 20's, had become involved in the project because of his contact with a colleague at work who was already working as a volunteer in the project. This person had already been involved whilst at university in student community action and with work with mentally handicapped young people. When he moved to Cleveland after graduation he looked for similar opportunities for voluntary work. The youth project attracted him particularly because of the responsibility it gave to volunteers for work with groups of young people. From later comments in the interview it became clear that the project had a quite clear informal process of selection from one particular company in the Cleveland area and that this young man had been recruited through these informal processes.

The first experiences which these two young people had had at the project were very different. The woman's first experience was quite overwhelming. She went out with a group of young people and felt immediately that there was no way in which she was going to be able to cope with the situation. During the interview she stated 'Oh God, what had I let myself in for?' Nevertheless, whilst this experience had been daunting she still expressed admiration for the other adults who were working with this group and who had stayed with it for so long. Her second experience was with a group of girls where she felt much more comfortable. A particularly significant factor in this induction process was the support which the other adult workers in the girls' group gave to her when she joined them. This had not been the case with the other group. The man felt that it had probably been easier for him to get involved in the project because he was a 'bloke' and his experience in college had helped him be prepared for the sort of work the project was doing.

The role of the full time workers and other experienced voluntary group workers seemed to be significant in the process of induction. The man referred to the fact that 'X (i.e. the full time worker) played the part he wanted him to. X is a utility, if you have a problem go to him'. For the woman there were opportunities to meet with other volunteers before becoming involved with the project. Specific meetings were also arranged where the full time worker and other experienced workers were available to help the new volunteers work through their role as workers in the youth groups. It was apparent from both of the two people I interviewed that they had a clear sense of social purpose which motivated them to becoming involved in this type of youth work. The man talked about the need to keep contact with what he described as 'real people'. He in fact came from what he described as a 'good family'. This in fact was a family with its roots in a mining community.

Coping and acquiring skills, knowledge and confidence for work in the project.

These two young people had had different experiences in this respect. The woman got most of her support from the informal meetings and the informal training programmes which the project provided for new volunteer workers. One of the frustrations which she felt about her work was that her co-colleague in the group was not as supportive as she would have liked. She particularly felt that there was a need for him and her to discuss much more fully the work which they were doing together. The full time worker appeared to play a substantial role in providing support for her. For the man however much of his support and training for the work came from the fact his co-worker was employed in the same company. The two workers talked at work about their evenings with kids and discussed the problems which had occurred. On Tuesday mornings they used the centre's computer to work through a programme monitor and evaluate the work they had been doing with the kids. The programme they were using with the computer was one they had worked out themselves and was not based on any clear formula which was produced by the project. This close involvement at the work place appeared for this worker to be the major form of support and training which was

available to him in coping with his youth work and helped him acquire the knowledge and skills for group work. As for the informal training sessions which the project provided, which the woman had taken advantage of, and which were in any case optional, the man felt that he could not really afford to give up any more time for training. This was related to a further demand which the project put upon its voluntary workers. They were not only expected to work consistently and regularly on a weekly basis with a group of young people but were also expected to make contact with the parents of individual children. The man felt that there was no way which he could maintain both of these commitments and also be involved in a training programme.

What the two volunteers got from being involved in the work of the project

For the woman, what made the work worthwhile was the appreciation which the kids showed her at the end of the evening with such comment as 'Thanks, I really enjoyed it'. For her it was the development of individual relationships with young people which was important. Nevertheless there were frustrations. She talked about the problems of lack of communication which existed between herself and her co-leader. This particularly depressed her if she had had a bad night. She felt there was not enough time for the two of them to talk about what had been going on within a group. She also felt that her co-leader had let the group become her main responsibility. A more fundamental frustration was the contact which she had with the young people's parents. Both of the two workers interviewed identified this as a major problem area. They both found the home visiting very difficult. They referred to the problems of taking the children home and of the constraints which the home background put upon the development of their own work within the group with the young people. The man said. referring to the parents, 'they can't understand us'. He felt that there was a built-in mistrust between the workers and parents. The woman also felt this since she already knew some parents through her work in the employment office. Having this form of work relationship with some of the parents had been her biggest anxiety. In fact she had to get special permission from the local Department of Employment office to be involved in this type of voluntary work.

The man's enjoyment in the work stemmed very much from the direct contact with children 'I enjoy being with the children, I enjoy playing at student still, I love to play. I am dafter than them sometimes'. For both of these volunteers then it can be seen that much of the motivation for carrying on with this work stemmed from their own personal satisfaction in terms of what they were getting from contact with the kids. Equally the dislikes were described in terms of personal relationships. There was little discussion of the broader social and political context in which their work was taking place and what their relationship to this broader context should be. In fact both of them were most emphatic in denying any political perspectives on their work. The man however, was clearly worried by some of the social and political implications of the work he was doing and tension could be detected with him in this area. He said 'All I can see is that people who already have seem to get more'. The

people in Y community with their colour television sets and concrete floors seem to get less. I hate to see that these groups are slowly diverging when they should be converging. He said that for him, the greatest success would be if he was able to help an individual young person escape from a disadvantaged and deprived background. He described this in terms of 'I can see some of the kids growing up more like me than their parents', when he was asked whether his role should be to help the parents get out or to help the kids get out. The only choice he could make at the moment was to help the kids and then he went on to say 'All I can see is the communities the kids come from getting bigger and that terrifies me'.

Strengths and weaknesses
It was very clear from what has been noted above that both of these young volunteers enjoyed and were committed to the work with particularly disadvantaged young children. Both of them felt that their major strength was their ability to create relationships with the young people. The woman talked about being able to use her own experience as a young person and being able to understand young parents who do not have much time for their own kids. The man was more clear on his strengths and weaknesses. He admitted he was not very good at home visiting and explained this in terms of a lack of commitment. He also said that he perhaps liked to enjoy himself too much and that his own enthusiasm and enjoyment could itself be a weakness.

Training
The woman was taking part in the local authority's part-time youth and community work training course. When she was asked about this she grimaced. She explained this in terms of the relevance of much of the training which had been done feeling that it did not have very much relevance to her situation in the youth project but was geared almost entirely to people who were working in youth clubs. She said that the method of training was to sit and listen to the tutor and that there were very few opportunities for her to discuss the work she was doing in her own project in the training programme. The man had not been involved in any formal training and felt that it was the opportunities that he had had to talk to the full time worker which had probably been most useful to him as well as the opportunity to discuss work with his co-worker referred to above.

Summary
These were two very enthusiastic and committed volunteers who were clearly prepared to accept the responsibility of working over a long period of time with a group of young people. Both of them appeared to be getting the support they needed to do this work. Nevertheless there were areas of tension. It is important to note that the membership of the groups with which the workers were involved were drawn from distinct geographical areas, that is all of the members came from the similar areas. Yet the perspective which the two volunteers had on their work was entirely personalised and individualised. They did not see their intervention in any way relating to a neighbourhood or local community. In fact as the man quite clearly showed,

one of his own objectives was to help young people escape from their local neighbourhoods. I felt that with both of these workers this was related to a class dimension. In answer to my question 'Are the kids from working class families?' the women answered 'Ah, well I don't like class distinctions, but yes the parents all tend to be from a low intelligence group and I think that is one of the reasons children are the way they are'. Both also said 'The areas they come from have no facilities'. As indicated above both of them disliked and had a fear of the home visiting. I felt that the support and informal training they were getting in the project directed itself only to looking at the individual development in young people and did not look at the home background or the neighbourhood children came from. This could have been seen to be a weakness in this project.

CASE STUDY 3
Durham village youth club
This case study was based on an interview with a woman voluntary youth worker who ran single handed a village club which operated in a village community centre. The club catered for up to 80 children on one night a week. It was the only youth facility in the village. The village had lost its mine in the Robens area in the late 1950's and early 1960's.

Getting involved
The person interviewed had been the main instigator for the community centre. This had been established 10 years earlier. It was the result of 500 signatories which had been collected. In addition to this petitioning the woman had been involved in establishing a membership for a centre and a management committee. This was necessary in order to be recognised under the county's youth and community service. The establishment of the community centre had not been easy and a number of people had felt that the woman had been wasting her time. The motivation for establishing the centre had come from a lack of social amenities in the village after a small hut which had been used as a meeting place had been pulled down. In her words it had left 'a gap in the community life'. When the centre was finally opened it did not make provision for teenagers. This was because it was thought at the time there were 'other things going for them'. There was a club for younger children in the village but this did not cater for the needs of the teenagers. The woman was finally able to get a youth club in the community centre six years after the centre had opened. She talked about the growing unemployment in the village and the increasing number of young people who were finding it difficult to get jobs. As a result they were beginning to hang around at the 'corner end'. She said that she knew most of the young people by their names. The local people were complaining because of the activities which these kids got up to when they were playing around the corner end and she said 'I became sick of the kids getting wrong'. Whilst these complaints about young people were being made the adults however were not pressing themselves for a club and in fact she had to fight like 'cat and dog' to get the community centre management committee to accept a youth club in the centre. She said that parents had given support more in a financial than moral sense but yet she had not been able to

get any of them to involve themselves in helping to run the club. She felt that in any case the kids would not want their own parents present. Her own son who was present during the interview felt that if the parents had been there this would have made the club too formal. Her view was that it was a pity that sons and daughters could not relate more easily to their parents. She felt that in her own family the relationship between her husband, herself and the children was very close. Nevertheless she felt that the youth club was one of the most important events in the village in any one week. It had operated earlier more frequently than one night a week but she had cut down her own commitment when her husband had asked her to do so. Nevertheless a further important aspect of her work was the contact which she had with both young people and their parents outside the club context. The young people often visited her at home and she also often met them in the street. The parents themselves came up to her in the working mens club and often asked how their son or daughter was getting on. This mediating role between parents and children of the village appeared to be a very important part of her work and one from which she gained a lot of satisfaction in terms of both the personal relationships involved and the standing which she enjoyed in the village community.

Coping and acquiring knowledge and skills
The woman had not been a member of a youth club herself when she was a child. In fact there had not been a youth club in the village. She said that when she was a young person, the village children could afford to go to the nearest local town (about 4 miles away). This was no longer the case. The kids today could not afford to travel out of the village very often, particularly those who were still at school or those out of work. It was clear that the club was a popular one. Not only did a large number of village youngsters take part, but a significant number came from neighbouring villages and from the town. I felt that this was very much due to the personality of the women herself and the way she was working with young people. She talked about the young people making the rules themselves and that her role was to help them make these rules and carry them out. It could be said that her role was very much the archetypal matriarch. She said that many of the girls, in fact, called her 'Ma'. She enjoyed the respect which the young people showed to her and felt that she still received respect even from those young people who she had to put out of the club for a short while. Nevertheless, when this happened, contact was still made as they still spoke to her when she was out in the street. I think this could be seen as evidence of a woman who dealt kindly and fairly with young people and it was this which was respected. There were, however, areas she was worried about and about which she felt she could do very little. She was particularly concerned about the growth of glue sniffing in the village. She was obviously very upset about this. She also referred to the increase in poverty in the village due to the growing unemployment. This had led her to stop the small shop in the youth club because the kids were increasingly 'ticking on'. There was also the problem of money going short at the end of the evening. She felt it was not fair to carry on with this shop in these circumstances. She also expressed concern about the

role of the police and felt that some of them at times were dealing very aggressively and unfairly with the kids. When I asked her if she thought it was her job to deal with issues like this she said, 'Yes, I did pull up a policeman one night'. And then later in the interview, said about the kids, 'Oh yes, I stick up for them'. From these instances it is clear that her work is not just about being involved in the community centre. It is difficult to pinpoint exactly how she had acquired the knowledge and skills to do this work. I suppose the best way of describing it is to say that she worked with a very deep rooted commonsense which related to her understanding of the village context, its social dynamics and the relationship between young people, their parents and others in the village. It was very clear from the interview that she was one of the leaders in the village life who enjoyed a high status and esteem.

Strengths and weaknesses

It came across very clearly that she was a very open minded and flexible person who was able to work with sensitivity and tolerance with young people. Through this trust was established between them. Being part of the total social village network was an important part of her strength, but it was not necessarily an easy one, since there were divides and tensions in the village. She came across as a very honest person. She talked about having had to put out her own daughter from the club for fighting, and she felt that one of her strengths was that she did not show any particular favour to any particular young person or group of young people. She felt that she was working democratically to the elected committee in the club and that this was important. Strength came to her because she knew the kids were enjoying themselves and that she had the support of their parents. Her husband was always a major strength and she said, 'He is very good about it. He grumbles sometimes, but I don't think he means it'. He was present at the interview and said, 'I know that she is doing something which is really good. I'm proud of her actually'. In terms of her own weaknesses, she felt that at times she might be a little bit soft on rules and also referred to her bad temper. As far as the adult management committee of the community centre was concerned, the major impression I had was of how strongly she fought within this committee for the interest of the young people. Perhaps the fact that she sometimes became angry indicated how strongly she felt about protecting the interests of the young people in the village. This is clearly seen in what she said about her relationship with the police. 'I'm not afraid to intervene',
Nevertheless she was able to identify that there were areas where she lacked confidence. She would have liked to be able to take the children away on residential trips and perhaps take them abroad, or at least, bring children from abroad to the village to meet the young people. But this was something which she felt she could not do, not having the confidence for this sort of work. The young people were putting pressure on her to take them away at weekends, and she said, 'I really feel sorry for them myself because I can't do it'. One of the difficulties here was that even running the club for one night a week was really too much for one person. The growth in youth unemployment appeared also to have increased the number of young people who

continued going to the club over the summer months when she would normally have expected a decline in numbers. She had tried to get the committee to open the community centre during the day, but without success. She saw the need for this committee to become more open minded and flexible in the way they thought about the community centre. It was clear from her comments that she was trying to do work with the management committee, but at that point in time, she was not succeeding. It is important to note here that she had not been visited or supported by any full-time youth and community officer from the county services.

Training

The woman had not received any training for the work she was doing. Yet it was very clear that she worked very effectively in the village context with the young people. Nevertheless, one can see that there were problems with the adult management committee of the community centre and that these were blocking the development of youth activities in the village. She was clearly a very strong, fair and caring woman, but it was also clear that she was not sure how she could deal with this management committee. Perhaps this was an area where training and support from the professional youth and community service might have been able to help. I think also that training would have been able to help her to think about ways in which the local community could respond to growing youth unemployment. She did have ideas but had not been able to implement these. For example, she worked with the young people on a plan to paint the community centre. This had been turned down by the management committee. She thought that one of the major difficulties here was that the adults in the village had difficulty in accepting the fact that young people do grow into adults. Perhaps the unemployment situation itself was a factor in confusing the usual growing up patterns in the village. It may be that these big changes in the village life would create situations which her undoubted knowledge and skills might find difficult to cope with without some supportive training and consultation input.

Roger Cartlidge was the author of the review of Political Education in issue 26, which was unattributed.

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On Whose Terms? Young Womens Experiences of Mixed Provision

SUE HOLDEN

In 1988 Youth Work and Young Women is firmly on the agenda with an overwhelming commitment to the work by many women workers. Whilst recognising, and acknowledging, such struggle it is the contention of this paper that lip service is still being paid to the work and that mixed provision is still concerned with attracting young men towards its resources, marginalising young women to the periphery. The research presented in this paper was carried out in a large local authority in the North and focuses upon white young women's experiences of traditional mixed provision in the Youth Club. In one sense it is a partial account but in another it provides a window into the experiences of a group who normally remain invisible.

Young women do not participate in, or experience mixed provision within a vacuum, they hold positions in a capitalist patriarchal society which structures such experiences, differentiating by race, class and sexuality. It may be useful therefore to briefly look at the position of women in British society and their relationships, as young women, to State welfare agencies such as Education and the Personal Social Services. Developing a brief historical analysis of the Youth Service it will be argued that specific definitions of masculinity and femininity have fashioned the character and format of mixed provision. Four major themes emerged from the research which form the basis of the article; formal participation, invisibility, hidden curriculum and informal domination of young women by men.

Women in Society

Women's experience of British society continues to be one of subordination. Women perform unpaid work in the home as wives, mothers, daughters and carers (1). Contraints are imposed upon women by the familial role of carers. The lack of child care facilities, and adequate domicillary care for the increasing numbers of elderly cared for in the home by women, prevent them from taking up paid employment in the labour market. Once in the labour market women are horizontally and vertically segregated, commanding a woman's job for a woman's rate of pay (2). Moreover, the last fifteen years has witnessed the growth in part-time work which is low paid and poorly unionised (3). This work is frequently undertaken by women (4). Such practice maintains married women's economic dependence upon men, reinforcing their subordination in the home, and keeping single women economically marginalised in society.

Education for Femininity

Research has highlighted how the education system prepares girls and boys for different roles in the family and society. Boys are prepared for the world of work as breadwinner and girls for marriage and motherhood (5). Such ideology is transmitted through both the formal and informal curriculum that operates in schools. In relation to young women the Newsom Report, **Half Our Future**, argued, 'For all girls, too, there is a group of interests relating to what many, perhaps most of them, would regard as their most important vocational concern, marriage' (6).

Policy makers prescribed different life expectations to women of different classes. The Crowther Report (7) made special reference to the educational needs of middle class young women in terms of their dual role; career and domesticity. For working class young women the emphasis was on preparation for marriage and motherhood (8).

The 1970's witnessed a resurgence of the feminist movement and the nature of gendered subjects was highlighted (9). In response to such findings Education was included in the Sex Discrimination Act of 1975, making overt discrimination illegal. However, as Cockburn (10) found, in 1984 young women were still grossly under-represented in the science subjects, and over-represented in the arts and domestic sciences.

To explain such persistent inequalities feminists began researching the educational process and highlighted the hidden curriculum. They found that teachers socialised children into gender roles in a wide variety of ways. Belotti (11) found that little girls were encouraged to service little boys. Other research found that girls were encouraged to behave in 'feminine' ways whilst unfeminine behaviour was heavily discouraged (12). The role of young boys themselves is significant in reinforcing such boundaries, as Clarricoates found; 'It is increasingly evident that boys are able to dictate classroom life to their own advantage . . . pupils are "ordering their own world" on the basis of gender and do, in fact, exert some influence on their teachers' (13).

Young women's experience of the state education system is one based on traditional ideas about masculinity and femininity. The experiences of working-class and middle-class young women, although different in terms of class are similar in terms of gender as Griffin suggests in discussion with white middle class girls.

> Whilst some of these young women clearly realised the extent of their privileges as white and middle class, as women they always have to play second fiddle to men, denied full access to the spheres of power in which they have apparently been granted 'equal opportunities' (14).

The experiences of Asian and black women are not only

informed by such dominant ideas but also by institution-alised racism. As Wilson states, 'The structure of primary education in Britain is implicitly racist — in the books used, the curriculum, and teachers' attitudes' (15).

It is clear that specific ideas in relation to masculinity and femininity are reinforced through both the formal and informal education system.

Young women however do not passively receive such socialisation; they can, and do, resist it. McRobbie (16), researching white working class young women, identified young women's cultures as being invisible, developing around a small number of friendships in the home, whilst male youth cultures are visible, developing around a gang on the street. Based in the bedroom, young women concern themselves with the world of fashion, boys and make-up, a culture of 'romance' and 'femininity'. Such resistance is, however, fraught with danger. Young women walk a fine line between acceptable and unacceptable feminine behaviour. They are caught in a contradictory set of expectations. Teenage magazines, peer group pressure and young men exhort young women to look feminine and attractive whilst at the same time continuing to demonstrate, and maintain their respectability (17). Young women must avoid getting a 'reputation', becoming known as a 'slag', whilst still advertising their interest in developing heterosexual monogamous relationships with young men. However, within a capitalist patriarchal society in which women have little access to economic rewards physical attractiveness may be the only vehicle for some young women to gain social status and reward (18).

Lees (19) illustrates how young men police young women through such language. 'Slag', 'drag' and 'lesbian' are used to define young women's sexuality. There are no comparable terms for young men except in relation to homosexuality. Defining homosexual males as 'deviant' reaffirms heterosexual masculinity as 'normality' for young men.

Such findings demonstrate how sexuality is defined and used to formulate and sustain dominant assumptions about appropriate feminine behaviour. Young women who transgress such boundaries, particularly working class young women, run the risk of being brought into the realms of the Personal Social Services, via the social worker, on the grounds of being 'in moral danger' or 'beyond parental control'. Young women who are perceived to be rejecting the feminine role may become defined as 'problems' and run the risk of being taken into care (20). Such ideology is enshrined in law, Brophy (21) found that lesbian mothers were very unlikely to retain custody of children, not because they were neglectful mothers, but because they were labelled as 'sexually deviant'. Adolescence for young men is a period characterised by rebellion and is seen to be distinct from adulthood; for young women it is bound up with their futures as potential wives and mothers in the domestic sphere (22).

The Development of the Youth Service
Present day statutory Youth Service provision can be traced back to the voluntary uniformed organisations of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, for example the Boys Brigade, Girls Friendly Society, YMCA, and YWCA.

These and similar organisations were concerned with instilling middle class attitudes and morals into working class young people. Baden Powell, the founder of the Boy Scouts Movement, was explicit about the connection between character training and the public school ideals:

> This then is one of the main reasons for the Boy Scouts training, namely to take the place of public school life . . . to give the mass of our rising generation some of the spirit of self-negation, self-discipline, sense of honour, responsibility, helpfulness to others, loyalty and patriotism which go to make 'character' . . . (23)

State social policy, trade union organisation and the legal system (24) had become firmly imbued with a specific ideology of domesticity and the uniformed organisations developed upon the separation of the sexes. It was within these organisations that masculinity and femininity became delineated and defined.

The position of young women in terms of agency provision is best summed up in the words of Maud Stanley, in the manual **Clubs for Working Girls.**

> . . . if we raise the working girl, if we can make her conscious of her own great responsibilities both towards God and man, if we can show her that there are other objects in life besides that of gaining her daily bread or getting as much amusement as possible out of her days, we shall then give her an influence over her sweetheart, her husband and her sons which will sensibly improve and raise her generation to be something higher than mere hewers of wood and drawers of water (25).

Such provision emphasised the domestic sphere. Young women were taught to be better housewives and mothers. As Nava suggests, 'youth provision . . . was directed towards girls only when it was considered that they lacked domestic and moral surveillance and instruction' (26).

Agnes Baden Powell became the leader of the Girl Guide Movement in response to Baden Powell's concern over the association of young women with the boys movement. Dyhouse argues:

> Anxious to save scouting from the 'contamination' of feminine influence Baden Powell insisted that the girls should form a separate movement, must adopt a separate name, different values and more appropriately 'womanly ethos' (27).

As a result of a merger between the National Union of Women Workers and the Clubs' Industrial Association the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs began its life. The Girls Club Journal was established in 1912, and described the aims of the club as: 'After a long day's work what the girls most desire is some quiet place to sit in, which is cheerful and bright and warm' (28).

Such aims reflected a national concern with the health and well being of working class factory girls. There was growing concern, highlighted by the Boer War, about the moral and physical well being of the working classes. Poor performance was often attributed to poor maternal skills. Dyhouse concludes:

> Ultimately Guiding, The Girl Friendly Society, and other organisations for adolescent girls, as much as changes in the elementary school curriculum in the period, were designed to teach girls about femininity (29).

The interwar period was characterised by an overwhelming concern for potential male delinquent youth, with Ministry of Labour Grants being made available for outdoor training. Post 1945 Youth Service provision is based on the two Circulars issued by the Board of Education; Circular 1486 issued in 1939 and Circular 13 issued in November 1944. These circulars made the Board of Education responsible for youth welfare, placing the Youth Service on a par with other educational services.

It was during this period that the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs began to slowly admit young men into their clubs. In 1944 the Association became known as the National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs; in 1952 the National Association of Mixed and Girls' Clubs, to reflect a changing membership. Young women's attendance rates increasingly declined whilst young men's increased, and from this time on young women became perceived as the problems. New activities were introduced to encourage young women's participation. Such activities however reflected traditional ideas about the role of women in society; hairdressing, make-up, cooking and etiquette.

These developments were paralleled with the professionalisation of the Youth Service, witnessing a substantial increase in the numbers of full-time male employees. It was increasingly men therefore who were defining the needs, and problems, of young women.

In 1961 'Girls' finally disappeared from the title, and the Association became known as the National Association of Youth Clubs, (NAYC) and more recently Youth Clubs UK. Women were not only marginalised, but rendered invisible. Subsumed under the category of 'youth' the differential needs of young women were invisible in an organisation that had been developed, and controlled, by women for girls and young women.

The Albermarle Report, 1960 (30), marked a change in direction for the Youth Service recommending the training of youth workers, a massive building programme, and work with the unattached. On the building programme initiated under Albermarle, Carpenter and Young conclude:

> The massive building programme established purpose-built youth centres designed for the active participants — large halls for the boys with girls as a consequence finding their space in the coffee bar or toilets (31).

In 1969 **Youth and Community Work in the 1970's (32)**, (Milson-Fairburn Report) was published. This report like Albermarle previously, marked a change in direction for the Service at least in theory. Arguing for a community development approach the report suggested the Service should take on many forms. The report highlighted how the needs of young women were being ignored by the Service. However, as Nava argues, Milson-Fairburn, like Albermarle focussed upon the need to develop work with the unattached young males, who had always been of central concern to policy makers (33).

The 1970's was a period of contradiction for the Youth Service. On the one hand the State was restructuring in response to the fiscal crisis, whilst on the other the Womens Movement, both nationally and in the Youth Service was pushing for change. It was a period of optimism for women. The introduction of Equal Opportunities, the public profile of the Womens Movement and the radicalisation of youth work in terms of developing work with young women led to a belief that it was a time of change. However, the world economy was in slump, increasing levels of unemployment and disillusionment with Labour Party politics led to a shift to the right in public attitudes. Ideas of the New Right became increasingly more attractive and resulted in the present Conservative government being elected to office, with an adherence to rolling back the State and reinforcing traditional family values.

In January 1981 the Thompson Committee was commissioned with terms of reference to; report on present provision, consider the deployment of resources and the need for changes in legislation. The Committee reported in October 1982 and although the report resulted in no new legislation it is accepted within the field as a statement of the basic philosophy for youth work practice. The Thompson Report concluded that the Youth Service:

> . . . must be particularly vulnerable to criticism if it is failing young women at the most impressionable period of their lives. The existence of the work with girls movement testifies to a growing concern that the Service is doing just that, . . . because it uncritically mirrors sexist attitudes in society and has carried these into elements of its practice and philosophy (34).

Contemporary research shows that young women are marginalised within Youth Service provision (35). A report from Camden, *Out of Sight* (36), found that despite what was described as an enlightened local policy of positive discrimination in favour of work with young women, more resources were still allocated to provision which favours young men. £6,733 was spent on mixed provision, £1,094 was spent on provision specifically for young women and £2,124 on provision specifically for young men. Since young men constituted 80 per cent of the attendance at mixed clubs, four times as much was spent on young men than young women. Such findings led Marshall to conclude that,

> Mixed provision is the term used to describe what in reality is either predominantly male, or sometimes all male work, but is described as 'mixed work' . . . as no-one actually excludes the girls (37).

Work with young women has never been adopted at a policy level in all local authorities. In many it still depends upon the drive and enthusiasm of individual women workers. In 1978 The Work with Girls Unit was established with a single appointment at NAYC. In 1987 the Girls Work Unit was closed, it was argued, for financial reasons. The following section offers insights into young women's experiences of the Youth Club, twelve years after the Sex Discrimination Act, and ten years after NAYC made their first, now defunct, appointment.

Formal Participation

In terms of formal participation the aim of the research here reported was to ascertain the extent of involvement of young women in mixed provision, numbers attending, but more importantly, the *level* and *type* of their involvement. For individual youth clubs, irrespective of the size of the membership, a similar pattern emerged; young women were outnumbered 3:1. In youth clubs with membership rates of 18, 40, and 128, young women constituted 3, 10, and 34 respectively. In terms of attendance, young women's

rates were zero, 5 and 13 whilst for young men they were 6, 17 and 19 respectively.

It is clear from this evidence that young women's formal participation in youth clubs, in terms of numbers, is significantly lower than that of young men. Such findings raise a whole series of questions; why do young women not attend youth clubs in more significant numbers?, if they are not in the youth club, where are they?

In relation to these questions we can draw on the work of McRobbie (38) discussed earlier; working class young women tend to develop their own cultures, in 'private' contexts focussing upon teenage magazines, fashion and pop music. We saw above how the Youth Service has historically been pre-occupied with providing 'diversionary' activities for youth who otherwise might threaten social codes on the 'street'. Such youth are predominantly male, for young women are expected to be focused on domestic related activities rather than those based in the public sphere. Consequently, it is not surprising that young women's presence in youth clubs is so much weaker than that of their male counterparts. The Service has never really been explicitly concerned with attracting them towards its resources.

This partially explains the low attendance rates of young women. However, this alone is not sufficient. Constraints are also imposed upon young women from within the family. Familial expectations encourage many young women to feel that they 'belong' to the family and that their attentions should be orientated towards preparation for domesticity, marriage and motherhood (39). Whilst this aspect of young women's lives was not specifically examined in this research it is nonetheless a central theme that needs further exploration if we are going to fully understand why more young women do not attend youth clubs.

The research revealed that young women attended the youth club because their female friends did. In response to the question, 'Who do you spend most time with in the club?' the overwhelming response was:

'Girls usually'.
    (Janet, age 15)
'Nicky'.
    (Maureen, age 15)

When asked why they spent most time with other young women the overwhelming response was that they enjoyed their company;

'Because I get on better with them really, I usually go down for them first'.
    (Janet, age 15)
'They're all my mates'.
    (Marie, age 15).

Such findings correspond to the conclusions made by Griffin (40) that young women develop close intense friend-ships with other young women. The existence of such friendships has implications for Youth Service provision. If such friendship groups did not attend the club, or if young women were not part of such a group, they could be discouraged from attending, as Emily responded to the question of why she didn't attend the club more often.

'Well, it's a case of me not knowing many of the people who come and I feel, I'm a bit out of place'.
    (Emily, age 15).

This was reinforced by the finding that almost all young women interviewed attended the club on a very regular basis. The following responses were given to the question, 'How often do you come to the club?'

'Everytime it's open'
    (Marie, age 15)
'Well whenever it's on'
    (June, age 15)

Young women who attended clubs did so on a regular basis, but this was more to do with their friends' attendance than with what the youth club was offering. This became significant when discussing what young women did in the youth club.

The Invisibility of Young Women

The actual numbers of young men participating in Youth Service provision will necessarily increase their visibility over young women. However, 'visibility', as a concept, is more loose and subtle than sheer numbers would suggest. The invisibility of young women in youth clubs is concerned more with their actual 'presence'. By 'presence' I am referring to the way in which young women take part in youth club provision, their use of space, their influence in defining the use of such space and their visibility to staff.

As highlighted above, young women tend to spend most of their time in the club with other young women. The research found that what they actually did was sat and chatted;

S.H. 'What do you usually do at the club?'
Y.W. 'Just sit and have a talk with my mates'.
    (Christine, age 15).

Sitting around and talking with friends renders young women invisible. This is significant when analysing the design of most modern youth club buildings. The massive building programme of the 1960's resulted in a large number of purpose built youth and community centres designed around one large room, which would house the snooker, pool and table tennis tables very well. Given, as suggested above, that young women mostly sit and talk when attending clubs such buildings immediately marginalises them. As Maureen commented:

'... in there it's all boys doing stuff and girls just sat down. I don't know, whether girls don't dare do it or what, but we just sit down us'.
    (Maureen, age 15).

Implicit within this statement is the acceptance, by Maureen, of young women's marginalisation and invisibility. Although she recognises her state she accepts it by relating the activities on offer to her own internalised beliefs about what appropriate behaviour is for young women. She goes on to comment.

'It's all boys stuff, like table tennis, and all that. We want stuff that we want'.
    (Maureen, age 15).

The internalised beliefs that young women hold about gender, which defines appropriate roles and activities, serves to augment their invisibility. The only space readily available to young women in which they can express themselves is the toilets.

S.H. 'What do you usually do at the club'?
Y.W. 'Sit around and talk in toilets'.
    (Maureen, age 15).

The use of the toilets, although allowing young women to develop their own cultures as distinct from young men's, fortifies their marginalisation, reducing young women to mere shadows. However, even the toilets are not wholly young women's space; as Emily commented,

S.H. 'Would you like to have girls only space?'

Y.W. 'Yes the toilets. It's not that, it's just that like if, uhm, girls go in there, I mean if they go in for a cigarette, or talk, or something like that, lads go in as well'.

(Emily, age 15).

This illustrates how young women's experiences in youth clubs are structured by young men. Young men, it seems, will even enter young women's toilets, the only space they do not informally dominate; or it would appear they can, if they choose to do so.

Young women are confirmed in their invisible state by the apparent lack of interaction with male youth workers;

'They're alright but, I, I don't know, I don't really talk to the male staff at all'.

(Fiona, age 15).

If male youth workers are not interacting with young women in the club, what are they doing? Although not conclusive the research suggests that male youth workers tend to spend their time engaging young men in games of pool or snooker; activities, moreover, which young women perceive to be for young men rather than for themselves. If it is young men who are taking part in such activities, male workers are reaffirming masculinity via exclusion, young women descend into obscurity. The evidence suggests that this may very well be the case.

The weight of such findings becomes apparent when we begin to look at the staffing of youth clubs. In one youth club under research no female staff were employed; in a second club, two male and one female worker, and a third three male and one female. In terms of full-time youth workers, women constituted less than 30 per cent of the full-time team. The invisibility of young women in youth clubs is thus reflected in women's employment in the Service. Within this context then, perhaps it is unrealistic to expect youth clubs to be any different.

The Hidden Curriculum

Comments from the young women emphasised how a form of the hidden curriculum was operating within youth clubs. When discussing which activities young women did not take part in, football, weight training and table tennis were all highlighted.

When questioned about why young women did not take part in those activities some young women responded:

'Because the lads always do it, and you don't feel right'.

(Janet, age 15).

'I think that's because nobody really wants to play'.

(Lisa, age 15).

These young women appear to have accepted that such activities are 'boys' games. Janet, by asserting that she would not feel 'right', is implying that it would be inappropriate for her to take part; that perhaps it would be 'unfeminine'. In relation to football, young women preparing drinks for half time was an accepted form of practice. Young women also provided emotional support for the football team, as one youth worker commented:

I visited the club and I said, "there's not many in tonight?" The leader replied, "no, the lads are playing football". So I said, "Where are all the young women?" and he said, "Oh, the girls will be out watching them".

This was in contrast to another club which had a netball team that travelled around the country playing matches. The worker commented that young men never provided such support for the netball team. It is suggested that such practice can be viewed as a precursor for domesticity; young women spend their time servicing the needs of young men. It is within this mode of practice that the hidden curriculum transmits specific ideas about the feminine role. Activities defined as male were also ascribed importance, and this was reflected in the allocation of resources within some clubs. In one club under research over half the funds allocated from a Community Association had been spent on the football team, whilst single sex provision for young women was not made available. Moreover when young women sought financial support for such provision they were advised to seek funds elsewhere; current finances had already been committed to existing programmes of work. Young women learn very quickly, living in a patriarchal capitalist society, that economic resources accrue to young men, a principle ingredient in the make up of gender. Male activities take precedence, and are ascribed social status because they are male, young women being subordinated and peripheral.

Scraton (41), with reference to the teaching of physical education in schools, suggests that physical activities reinforce specific qualities and traits defined as masculine and feminine. Developing a historical analysis she highlights how the teaching of physical education in schools, for young men, was concerned with character building and discipline, which emphasised what she terms 'a culture of masculinity'. Football stresses skill, competition and aggression, the antithesis of feminine qualities — unskilled, non-competitive and passive. With the teaching of physical education in schools being primarily in a single sex setting, football is clearly defined as male. The centrality of football, as an activity within youth clubs, illustrates the way in which the youth service reproduces, and reaffirms, the 'culture of masculinity' which operates in schools.

What emerged from the research in relation to pool was that in one particular club, which had two pool tables, young women and young men did not tend to play mixed games. When young women did play, they played each other. Moreover, though not formally defined, there was one table for the young men and one table for the young women, as Wendy suggests,

'. . . they have a table where the winner stays on, girls don't really play on that'.

(Wendy, age 15)

The tables were differentiated in terms of quality, young women having access to the older table, being of inferior quality. Such findings exemplify the unequal distribution of resources in favour of young men, and by definition the power accrued to being male. Combined with the practice of 'winner staying on', emphasising skill, it is apparently clear that the activity of pool is 'the boys game'. The hidden curriculum ensures that young women's experiences are

defined and structured by femininity. Mixed provision, rather than responding to the differential needs of young women, actually reinforces their marginalisation through its day to day working practice.

The Informal Domination of Young Women

An ILEA Report highlighted the role of young men in preventing the participation of young women: 'Many of the girls that do attend, do not participate in the activities on offer because they are prevented from doing so by the boys' (42). Are males, youth workers and young men, informally dominating young women in youth clubs? If they are, how is such domination mediated? How does it influence young women's participation?

During the research the young women discussed ways in which young men use physical aggression to exclude them from certain activities. On the issue of football the young women suggested they did not take part in the game because:

'. . . they get hit with the ball everytime they walk on pitch and boys are too rough'.
(Lydia, age 16)

Football is not only defined as an activity for young men, it also defines the space as male. Young men use physical aggression to defend that space against intrusion by young women using bullying, and threats of physical violence, to achieve their objectives. As Fiona commented;

'They get pushed around'.
(Fiona, age 15)

Such behaviour places young women in situations where they have to take the initiative; to take part in such activities, they have to 'react'. Femininity defines young women as passive; aggression breaks the rules governing masculinity and femininity. Aggressive reaction towards young men may contribute to some young women becoming defined as 'a problem' which may be deemed to warrant the intervention of welfare professionals. Young men are defining the terms on which young women experience mixed provision;

S.H. 'What do the lads think about you playing pool?'
Y.W. 'That we're rubbish'.
S.H. 'Why do they think that?'
Y.W. 'Uh, they just do because they think they are better than us'.
(Janet, age 15)

This form of oppression is also transmitted through language as much as at the level of ideas, as Fiona responded to the same question.

Y.W. 'What a load of rubbish, pressurising you'.
S.H. 'How?'
Y.W. 'Saying 'ah, she's not going to get that one in' you know'
(Fiona, age 15)

The youth club is clearly male dominated terrain and young men are effectively dictating the rules and regulations for participation. When the youth club is situated in a school building, the hidden curriculum that operates within the school is reproduced in the youth club; the agenda is already set.

When questioned about participation in activities such as pool or snooker, most young women said they did take part

in them. When further questioned about other young women's participation in such games they acknowledged that other young women did not take part. This would suggest that they recognised the oppression of other young women, yet did not want to acknowledge their own. As the interviews developed the young women gradually moved from talking in the third person to talking about themselves; acknowledging their own oppression. Young women's acknowledgement of their own oppression increases their sense of powerlessness not only in the youth club situation, but in society in general.

Young women seemed to suggest that youth workers did very little to prevent aggressive behaviour towards them. When asked what youth workers would do if, for example, young women playing table tennis were 'hassled' by young men June remarked:

'Well mostly they just say, come on, be fair, let girls have a go as well. So, the lads end up giving in and taking turns'.
(June, age 15)

Implicit within this response is a power struggle clearly articulated by 'the lads end up giving in'. It demonstrates how young men define the club, and the resources available within the setting, as 'theirs'.

'Probably say, 'Oh, just lay off', but allow the lads to take over'.
(Fiona, age 15)

This young woman got very little support from youth workers and her response implies complicity on behalf of workers, although not necessarily conscious. Moreover, such workers may not be male, female youth workers may also be part of this process. Statistically however, male workers outnumber female workers 3:1, it could be suggested that male youth workers are reinforcing, both their own power and that of young men, over young women. Other young women suggested that youth workers would use aggression to resolve the situation;

'Throw them out'.
(Marie, age 15)

Such behaviour on behalf of workers, particularly males, reinforces aggression in young men, by providing role models which reaffirm the masculinity. The use of such aggression, however could be seen as a result of the way in which the service has historically developed. The Service has been concerned with young males on the street and as a result good youth work practice, in reality, tends to be defined in numbers. Some youth clubs may attract 50, 70 or maybe 90 young people. In such a situation youth workers can do nothing more than 'police' the situation. Such behaviour reinforces the informal domination of young women by young men, aggression being one way in which young men define the world of youth clubs for young women.

The research suggests that youth workers have the discretion to decide whether or not to fulfil requests made by young people:

'Well, if they think it's a good idea like, then they'll do it, but if they think, 'Oh God what we got to do that for' they won't'.
(June, age 15)

Given that women workers are a minority in the Service, it is largely men who are making such decisions. This reveals

the way in which men informally dominate young women, and define the terms on which they participate in mixed provision. Moreover, they also determine methods of practice that women workers have to adhere to.

With the growth of the Work With Girls Movement women workers have been arguing and pushing for single sex provision. However, it became apparent that such provision was at the will of the particular district, or individual youth worker. All the young women interviewed expressed a desire for some form of single sex provision, when asked why they wanted such provision Janet commented;

'. . . yes, somewhere where it's private like, if you don't want everyone to, well lads especially, if you.want something to say to your mates'.

(Janet, age 15)

Young women's access to such power is controlled by men. One young woman commented that they had previously been running a Girls' Hour in her club, and because only six young women attended, the male youth worker involved closed it, on the grounds of insufficient numbers. The Service must move away from defining success in terms of numbers and begin to analyse its methods of practice. The lives of young women are constrained by the family, men and femininity; mixed provision is still neither acknowledging nor responding to their differential needs.

Implications for Practice

The findings in the research carry with them serious implications for current working practice. I have attempted to draw out some of the implications, whilst acknowledging that other workers in the field will be able to add to them. Mixed provision should be reappraised in order to allow for greater participation by young people. In view of the present political and economic climate, the increasing financial controls being put upon local authorities and the associated cuts upon welfare provision, arguments for closure of Youth Service facilities could never be substantiated. What is required is a defence of existing provision, but within that a critical examination of current working practice. The Service must recognise the differential needs of young women and develop responses accordingly. The Youth Service, it is argued, is a service concerned with social and political education in its broadest sense. Such education however has stressed social stability and cohesion in a society based upon consensus values; such consensus being central to the democratic process in a capitalist society. Within its own historical development the Youth Service has been concerned with maintaining the status quo as manifest in its concern with policing male youth; attracting young men towards its resources by offering activities such as pool, snooker or table tennis. It is of no surprise therefore that the research shows how these traditional activities, associated with mixed provision, are defined in terms of gender. Such definitions both inhibit and oppress young women, encouraging activity in young men and passivity in young women. Therefore, youth workers need to challenge gender stereotypes both in the activities on offer, their own day to day working practice and that of their colleagues.

This will inevitably mean both adapting traditional methods, and adopting new methods of working, to a practice which

seeks to examine such issues. It must be emphasised that the availability of activities, such as pool or snooker, are to be used as vehicles for exploring issues with young people, not as ends in themselves. Issue based project work, and the development of a curriculum that reflects the needs and experiences of young women, should become the focus of youth· club· practice. Multi-media arts is one method workers can employ to achieve such objectives.

In consideration of this, youth workers need to seriously examine the physical environment in which they work. Purpose built youth centres, designed for traditional indoor activities, render young women both invisible and peripheral, marginalising them to the coffee bar or toilets. The concept of space, physical space, the power attached to the use of space, who defines space and how space has become defined in terms of gender, are questions which need to be addressed when developing youth work practice. Particular reference should be made to the use of decoration and images which 'set the scene' for a club or centre. The music available on the juke box is another determinant. Youth workers need to ask themselves 'Is this building accessible to young women?' 'Does this environment inhibit or oppress young women?' These questions gain increasing importance when placed in the context of recent trends of very young women, 13-14 years, becoming parents. Is mixed provision responding to such trends or is it making piecemeal responses? Are centres being made accessible to young women with children? Workers need to ensure that these young women are being catered for.

Central to such developments is a commitment at policy level to the employment of child-care assistants.

Conjoint to this is the use of language, both by youth workers and young people. Language is a tool of oppression which maintains and reinforces the subordination of both young women in the youth club or centre, and women in society generally. Youth workers must ensure that young women are not controlled and oppressed within the youth club situation through the use of language.

Single sex provision should be made available to young women to facilitate their personal growth. Such provision should allow young women to develop their confidence, define their own sexuality and the terms on which they participate in mixed provision. Thereafter they will be able to participate in the development of a more effective and appropriate working practice, suited to their needs and experiences. Young women need to gain access to resources and the power to direct those resources. Single sex provision should be available to males, addressing issues arising from conceptions of masculinity, analysing how such conceptions oppress young women and determine the roles of young men.

Within this youth workers should adopt positive role models at all times. Both full and part time workers should be made aware of their position as role models, particularly in single-sex settings. Their responsibilities within this should be manifest through personal relationships, programme planning and managerial and administrative practices. In-service anti-sexist training should be compulsory within every two year cycle. Such training should seek to locate the Youth Service as a state institution. Energies should be channelled into challenging power and

discrimination at the level of the State, since it is at that level that power resides, not with individuals. Individuals derive power from the laws and institutional practices of the state and society, which in a patriarchal capitalist state, equates with the power of the capitalist class, white, heterosexual and male. To focus upon training individual workers out of their sexism is to confuse the personal with the structural, anti sexist training would incorporate strategies for fighting both fights, although the tactics employed would be different, drawing together the similarities and differences of the struggles to unify the strategy for combating oppression.

On a practical level training should ensure that youth workers fully understand the nature of women's oppression in British society, and how such oppression is mediated and differentiated by race, class and sexuality. The Service should develop a working practice that does not maintain or reinforce such oppressions. Positive action must be taken to ensure that black and white women gain access to positions of authority. Likewise youth workers should facilitate the involvement of young women at all levels of practice in the youth club/centre.

This would involve extending access to full-time training located in institutions of higher education. With the increased professionalisation of the Service access to the career structure under recent CETYCW regulations, is only via the relevant Youth and Community Work qualification. Such practice discriminates against women because of the unequal access women have to education and training. Whilst recognising that some colleges are developing courses which are more flexible, (i.e. considering the material and structural constraints imposed upon women), encouraging women to qualify, the reality is that participants suffer many hardships. The part-time route to qualification is demanding both intellectually and emotionally for most students, but for women who may have to support both themselves and dependent children the route may not be an alternative. This is compounded by the very small number of institutions that undertake this form of training, and many women have to travel for over two hours in each direction to attend the college. Recent initiatives by CETYCW, Validating Learning Through Experience, may go some ways to address this issue, however this is still in the embryonic stage of development.

It is well documented that women are caught in a dual role, that of the private domestic sphere and the public world of work. A large number of women employed in the Youth Service are employed on a part-time basis, their relationship to the full-time structure and hierarchy is even more tenuous than that of their full-time female colleagues. For substantive part-time workers the Youth Service may be their only form of income, therefore the Service must develop a formal structure within which part-time workers have access to the decision making process. To facilitate such access child care facilities must be made available.

Women in the Service can experience insurmountable problems with male line managers resulting in a sense of isolation and frustration. The Service needs to develop structures which provide support and encouragement lacking in the line management structure. This is of vital importance when considering sexual harrassment at work.

The need for a separate complaints structure to deal with this matter, run by women, I think should go without saying.

Conclusion

The main conclusion from this work is that, despite over ten years of hard work by many workers fighting for change, mixed provision is still inherently sexist. It neither recognises, nor responds, to the differential needs of young women. Moreover, the Service constrains and controls young women through its day-to-day practice, confirming them in the passive feminine role. The Service therefore needs to seriously review its current methods of practice. Whilst trying to offer some possible ways forward in this paper in the final analysis workers, full and part-time, need to enter the debate to stimulate ideas and a more coherent and unified way forward.

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the mood and temper of penal policy. curious happenings in England during the 1980s.

ANDREW RUTHERFORD

THE MOOD AND TEMPER OF PENAL POLICY. CURIOUS HAPPENINGS IN ENGLAND DURING THE 1980s

Andrew Rutherford

The title of this article borrows from the remarkable speech of Winston Churchill, in a debate on prisons in the House of Commons in 1910. Churchill's period as Home Secretary in Asquith's Liberal Administration was brief, lasting just 20 months but he was able to inject into the national policy process a sense of urgency that the prison system not only be humanized but be substantially reduced. Churchill exemplified what the Americans call the 'can do' stance, fired by a powerful scepticism as to all aspects of imprisonment in a free society. Even when decent conditions of confinement were achieved, 'the convict stands deprived of everything that a free man calls life ... The mood and temper of the public in regard to the treatment of crime and criminals is one of the most unfailing tests of the civilization of any country'.[1]

The prison population of England and Wales had in 1908 reached 22,000, its highest point for twenty years. But in that year it began to decline and by 1915 had been halved and remained at this level of 11-12,000 throughout the 1920s and '30s. The rate per 100,000 inhabitants for England and Wales was 30, and with the exception of the Republic of Ireland this was the lowest rate in Europe, below Sweden at 38, not to mention the rate of 57 per 100,000 inhabitants enjoyed by that latter day penal example to us all, The Netherlands.[2] During the inter-war years 25 prisons were closed and capacity cut by one-third. Curious visitors from overseas would arrive in Britain, puzzled, envious and wishing to learn. Edwin H. Sutherland (already renowned for his standard criminology text) in an article 'The Decreasing Prison Population of England' wrote: 'Prisons are being demolished and sold in England because the supply of prisoners is not large enough to fill them.' (Sutherland, 1934, p.800).

The situation in Britain during the years between the Wars provides a striking contrast with that of today. The prison population rose steadily in the 1950s and '60s and it was not until the late '60s that concerted efforts were made to slow the rate of increase or indeed reverse the trend. However, the 1980s have witnessed a rapid and relentless increase in the prison population. The average daily prison population in 1980 (the first full year after Mrs. Thatcher came to power) was 42,570. In the Spring of 1988 with the number of prisoners at around 50,000 the Home Office are forecasting that by 1996 the total will be between 63-69,000. The imprisonment rate, as measured per 100,000 of the population, is now about 100 (double what it was in 1950) and along with Austria and

Turkey, leads the European table.[3] The Government have embarked on a massive prison building programme, adding 22,000 cells (an increase of 56%) to the prison estate by the mid-1990s at a cost of £1.5 billion. The levels of crowding in many local prisons are so severe that around 1,000-1,500 people are held at any one time, on a contract basis, in police cells which are totally unsuitable for the task.

The prison population size between 1982-87 reflected an increase in sentence length (average length of prison sentence on males aged 21 + sentenced at the Crown Courts rose from 16.6 months to 18.3 months and is reported to have risen by 8% over the first 9 months of 1987); a substantial rise in the remand population; increases in time served due to more restrictive granting of parole since 1983; and, a substantial shift in the distribution of cases from magistrates' courts to the Crown Courts. It is particularly noteworthy that against these disturbing developments, there has, since 1982, been a decline in total court proceedings and in the number of persons sentenced for indictable offences. Sentencing practice for the period 1980-86 are set in the table below.

Sentencing Practice, England and Wales, 1980-86

Males sentenced to immediate custody, total and as a percentage of all sentences.

	age: 14-16		age: 17-20		age: 21+	
	total	percent	total	percent	total	percent
1980	7400	12.4	19200	18	34400	17
1982	7100	11.9	22100	18	40900	19
1984	6500	12.3	23000	20	41000	20
1986	4300	11.4	20600	21	40500	21

Source: *Criminal Statistics, England and Wales 1986*. Cm. 233, 1987.

These data show that for the period 1980-86, while the percentage of persons aged 17 and over who were sentenced to immediate custody for indictable offences somewhat increased there was a slight decline with respect to juveniles. The shift away from custody for juveniles was also in contrast to practice over the previous dismal decade. (Rutherford, 1983, Tutt, 1981.)

The downward declining use of care and custody orders must be placed in the context of the considerable increase in formal cautions instead of prosecution of juveniles over this period. When care orders and custody sentences are shown as percentage of known offenders, as shown in Table 2, the shift of practice is especially apparent, declining from 10 to 6 percent.

	(a) Formal caution	(b) Guilty Findings	(c) Total known offenders (a) + (b)	(d) Care orders	(e) Custody sentences	Percent of (d) + (e) of (b)	Percent of (d) + (e) of (c)
Year							
1978	32100	64700	96800	2600	7300	15.3	10.2
1980	31700	63200	94900	2300	7400	15.3	10.2
1982	35400	59200	94600	1900	7100	15.2	9.5
1984	42100	52800	94900	1000	6500	14.2	7.9
1985	48000	48100	96100	800	9500	13.9	6.9
1986	43600	37000	80600	600	4300	13.2	6.1

Dispositional practice, males aged 14-16, England and Wales, 1978-86

Source: *Criminal Statistics, England and Wales, 1986*, Cm. 233, 1987

How do we account for this decline in the use of custody/care for juveniles against the relentless upward trend for young adults and adults? Policy at the national level has not been without ambiguity, not least with reference to the Criminal Justice Act 1982 (which took effect in May 1983) to strengthen the sentencing powers of the courts with respect to both custodial and non-custodial options. Government's position was that while it had a 'firm commitment to custodial provision for a minority of juveniles' it also had 'hopes' that the measures would result in a reduction of the numbers of juveniles in custody. (Home Office, 1980, p. 15).

It is argued here that while part of the explanation for the reduced use of custody/care may to be located in terms of national policy, of primary significance has been the emergence of a new mood which is more evident at the local than the national level. It is of course an immensely complex task to disentangle the relative significance of the variables at work. As Warren Young has written, in the context of trying to make sense of comparative prison population data: '... policy and attitudinal differences are elusive variables to assess: objectives in penal policy are often vague, covert and internally inconsistent; and the attitudes underlying the implementation of such policy by prosecutors and judges are rarely made explicit.' (Young, 1986, p.134.) Certainly all these elusive phenomena are much in evidence in the period under review.

National Initiatives
Home Office ministers have taken some credit for the reduction in the number of juveniles receiving custodial sentences. John Patten, a minister of state at the Home Office remarked in April 1988 that this reduction had not happened by chance but was the result of provisions of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 and the initiative taken by the Department of Health and social Security in January 1983 to make £15 million available to fund Intermediate Treatment (IT) projects in England.[4]

The new sentencing arrangements and procedures contained in the Criminal Justice Act 1982 were primarily addressed to persons under the age of 21. The semi-indeterminate borstal sentence was replaced by fixed periods of youth custody (subject to a maximum of 12 months for persons under the age of 17). Detention centre sentences were retained with a new minimum period of 3 weeks. The courts' powers were also strengthened with respect to supervision and control of young people in the community. The non-custodial new arrangements differed between juveniles and young adults but the common purpose was to encourage their use by increasing their credibility with the courts. As Parker has commented the overall intent of the legislation was to extend sentencing options in both directions. The authors comment: 'overall the Criminal Justice Act is a piecemeal collection of disparate elements, although with a general theme of increasing the options in sentencing' (Parker et al, 1987, p. 25.) An innovative feature of the legislation was the creation of three statutory criteria that had to be satisfied prior to the imposition of a custodial sentence on a person under the age of 21. It is perhaps significant that initially the government had opposed the amendment that led to this provision.[5]

In January 1983, four months before the Criminal Justice Act 1982 was brought into effect, the Department of Health and Social Security announced that £15 million was to be made available to support intermediate IT projects which were designed to reduce the use of care and custody. In part this initiative may have reflected an effort by DHSS to regain some of the young offender ground that had over the years been lost to the Home Office (see Rutherford, 1983, p. 82). By 1986, financial support had been given to 110 projects (offering 3,400 places) in 62 Local Authority areas in England.

As yet there are insufficient research findings to reach firm conclusions about the particular impact of these Government measures. Parker's Home Office funded study using data up to 1986, concluded that the new alternative sanctions were supplanting not custody but other sentences (Parker et al, 1987, p. 38). Other research has concluded that the new statutory criteria were often ignored by courts in their sentencing practice (Burney, 1985, pp. 53-63). A monitoring exercise, funded by DHSS, of the projects funded under the 1983 initiative reported a lower custodial sentencing rate in areas covered by the projects averaged 7.7% compared with the national rate of 11.5% in 1986.[6] The authors comment that this difference is all the more impressive as these projects tend also to encourage diversion from the courts, thereby leading to only the more serious offences reaching the courts.) The Criminal Justice Act 1982 and the DHSS initiative may have encouraged these local developments but this should not distract from other forces also at work. Of probably greater significance than these policy thrusts from above have been a series of inter-related developments at the local level focussed largely on juveniles. It is noteworthy, as shown in Table 1, that the sentencing pattern with respect to young adults changed very little over this period. As a Home Office minister noted in April 1988 the use of custody for young adults has remained at about 21% of all indictable offences 'even though some of the factors which might have influenced the decline for juveniles applied also to young adults'.[7]

The emerging arrangements as to how adjudicated young people are dealt with in the community instead of custody share all or most of the following features:

(i) The local nature of the reforms
The reform initiatives have, in most instances, arisen within a particular locality, often within the jurisdiction of a single court or petty sessional division. Where county-wide, or regional, efforts have occurred these have generally been to consolidate existing projects rather than to break new ground. The pattern strongly suggests that in the absence of a firmly based and highly localized initiative the reform effort will amount to very little. The local court is very much a key part of the target of change. Parker spells out the implications of this feature for the probation service in dealing with young adults, remarking that 'if more attention was paid to developing an integrated, coherent approach and to working on relationships with local courts, much could be done. At present, as our survey indicates it is very rare for the courts to be seen as a 'target' '. (Parker et al, 1987, p. 41).

(ii) Reform thrust on the coal face

The primary thrust for change has been made by social workers, working within statutory and voluntary agencies, who themselves are directly engaged with young offenders. In a very real sense, basic grade workers have dictated both the pace and the direction of reform.

By stating that practice is leading policy it is not suggested that middle and senior managements have not been supportive. However, without doubt, practitioners have made the running, generated the enthusiasm, and sustained the change process. A focal point and catalyst for practitioners has been the Association for Juvenile Justice which was founded in 1983. By 1988 the Association had a national membership of 500, most of whom were basic grade workers. Much of the initiative has come from outside the probation service, but some probation officers have been closely involved particularly as a result of more coordinated and sometimes collaborative schemes.[8]

(iii) Focus on process rather than programme

Many of the early IT projects were criticised for neglecting issues related to the juvenile justice context within which they were located. While the responsible personnel put much effort into the activities in which they involved young people in activities intended to be of a crime preventative nature, they failed to adequately address the relationship of the project or the young people to the various decision-making stages which comprise the juvenile justice process. As a consequence, it was fairly held, such projects carried the real risk of widening the juvenile justice net by bringing youngsters needlessly into official contact and also of moving them up the tariff in any later court appearance.[9]

In the early 1980s considered attention began to be given by practitioners to issues of process. In particular, IT projects were much more likely to be located at the 'deep end' of the juvenile justice process, specifically designed to perform a gatekeeping role. By providing constructive and credible alternatives to custodial sentences, projects were able to effectively intervene at the sentencing stage. This focus, sharpened if not always novel, has resulted in the targetting of young people regarded as being in serious risk of receiving a custodial sentence. In effect, the purpose of the redirected decision-making arrangements is to create, on a local basis, which has been described as 'custody free zones'. Given the recognition that there is a viable local resource, custody ceases to be an acceptable option in all but exceptional cases.[10]

(iv) Inter-agency collaboration

At the crux of the reforms are a variety of new forms of collaboration involving statutory and non-statutory agencies. In many instances, these arrangements are informal, arising from initiatives taken by key people in their respective agencies. At a more formal level, interagency committees have been established in some areas of the country which provide support for the new sentencing options. Collaboration of this kind has been encouraged at the national level, notably by means of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 and the DHSS initiative of 1983.[11] An assessment of these projects funded through the DHSS scheme concludes that these and other projects have done more than provide an alternative to custody:

They have brought together the various organisations involved in the juvenile justice system and thus provided the basis for a consensus approach to the whole issue of juvenile crime. In so doing, *they have created a climate in which schemes such as theirs could soon replace custody for juveniles*, instead of simply providing an alternative, but parallel, sentencing option.[12]

(v) The anti-custody ethos

The creation of this climate, at the local level, reflects the powerful anti-custody ethos that has been imbued by social workers working with young offenders. In sharp contrast to the situation less than ten years earlier when social workers routinely recommended care and custodial dispositions (see e.g. Thorpe et al, 1980, p. 74). The new ethos takes the form of an absolute dissent from sentencing juveniles to custody. The position extends beyond a refusal to recommend custodial sentences to the courts, encompassing a broad campaigning role with respect to custody. The once ambiguous, if not ambivalent, attitudes about custody held by social workers during the early 1980s have been replaced by unequivocal opposition. The emergence of this anti-custody ethos and the manner in which this has been sustained is at least in part accounted for by a small number of national organisations such as the Association of Juvenile Justice, NACRO and the Children's Legal Centre (which has been especially effective in uncovering abuses within penal institutions).

The sea-change which characterised juvenile justice in the mid-1980s should be seen as the confluence of the five features described above. The effect of this new ethos on local practice has been succinctly described by a clerk to the justices who has worked closely with one of the pioneering IT schemes established in 1981. Bryan Gibson observes with respect to his own court that,

the circumstances in which custody might be deemed to be the only 'appropriate' disposition — to borrow the key word from the statutory terminology have tended to become increasingly rare, as viable alternatives have demonstrated that they can cope with the worst excesses of the town's youngsters. This growing 'success' has been accompanied by a general shift in attitudes among both magistrates and informed sections of the local community, so that while there is no 'policy', the climate has changed in favour of avoiding custody at all costs. (Gibson, 1987, p. 15).[13]

Why did this sea-change occur? The 1980s had, after all, opened with forebodings of gloom deriving from general expectations about the impact of the Thatcher government that laid heavy stress on law and order and the 'short sharp shock' approach to young offenders. The following observations must be regarded as a tentative explanation.

The Criminal Justice Act 1982 may have served as a catalyst in that it presented both opportunities but also a challenge. In large part the statute incorporated the proposals that the government had announced in 1980. (Home Office, 1980.) The only major departure during the legislative process had been the incorporation of the sentencing criterion as a result of an amendment sponsored by the All-Party Penal Affairs Group and introduced in the House of Lords. Although this innovation has been opposed by the Government no attempt was made to overturn it when the Bill returned to the House of Commons. This legislative coup had capitalized on the ambiguity of the Government's position on custody which had been apparent in the 1980 white paper. Once the statute took effect, in May 1983, the challenge was taken up by practitioners at the local level, and by organisations such as the Association for Juvenile Justice. Indeed, in 1986 the Association formally agreed to campaign for the abolition of custody.

While this campaigning platform addressed national policy, its most important influence was on daily practice at the local level. It was not only that practitioners had a shared goal in the abolition of custody for juveniles, they recognised that they could themselves directly seize opportunities to move in

that direction. This new conviction that they held the key to change contrasted with the stance taken during the 1970s of waiting for a lead from the centre. The inertia of the previous decade was replaced by a collective sense of 'lets get on with it'.[14]

While the main impetus for the campaign came from practitioners there was support from other quarters. Surprisingly, and of particular significance, a generally supportive stance was adopted by the Magistrates' Association. How can the decline of the mutual distrust and disagreement between social workers and magistrates, which characterised much of the 1970s, be accounted for? At least three factors are important. Firstly, the campaign was firmly located in the context of providing the courts with structured options to custody in the community. IT had come a long way from being associated in the minds of magistrates with 'treats' such as rural outings on a mini-bus. Secondly, there was a distinct change of attitude by sentencers about detention centres from 1983 onwards. Comparing 1981 and 1986 3,100 fewer juveniles were sent to detention centres (a decline of 52%; for 17-21 year olds the decline over the same period was 1900 or 27%). In 1979 the Conservative Party Election Manifesto made a commitment to restoring the 'short, sharp shock' approach to the detention centre. This pledge prompted an evaluation exercise to be undertaken so as to guide Home Office policy. When the research, which was conducted at considerable expense by the Prison Department, was published in the summer of 1984 it became evident that there was no discernible difference in outcome found between the experimental and the 'less tough' centres in the study (Home Office, 1984). In the face of these research findings, the Government decided to extend aspects of the 'tougher' regime to all detention centres. The cynicism of this political decision was not lost on magistrates. A third consideration was sympathy for the attack on custody among some national officers of the Magistrates' Association.

The mood change of the mid 1980s in England and Wales with respect to juvenile offenders may have something in common with the sceptical stance on criminal justice, and imprisonment in particular, which took hold across the Netherlands during the 1950s. Emanating from the Faculty of Law at the University of Utrecht, a generation of prosecutors, judges and other practitioners carried with them ideas and assumptions which ran counter to prevailing practice. Willem de Haan has written of the 'Utrecht School' that the, 'reformist endeavours were primarily motivated by a strong empathy with the delinquent as a fellow being. Central to their thinking was the notion that the convict is, on the one hand, a person needing help and, on the other hand, entitled to certain basic rights.' (De Haan, 1987, p. 19.) The expression of this stance among the judiciary has been described by David Downes, based on a series of interviews with judges, as 'the strongly negative value placed upon imprisonment, which is viewed as at best a necessary evil, and at least as a process likely to inflict progressive damage on a person's capacity to re-enter the community.' (Downes, 1982, p. 345.) Elements of this perspective are discernible in England, even though narrowly focussed on juveniles.

In 1983, Dato Steenhuis and colleagues published an article in the *British Journal of Criminology* entitled 'The Penal Climate in the Netherlands, Sunny or Cloudy?' The authors, argued that there are a variety of measures of 'climate' and that to rely on merely one, for example the prison population as a rate per 100,000 inhabitants, produces a misleading impression (Steenhuis et al 1983, pp. 1-16). Penal developments in England during the 1980s suggest that the overall climate may be cloudy but with more sunny gaps. How do we account for metereological phenomena of this

sort? Or to change the metaphor and revert to the paper's title, how do we account for apparent contradictions in mood and temper? Why should prisons be at bursting point but the number of young people in the prison system be at record low levels? In part, the explanation may reflect the way in which penal policy during the Thatcher years has become increasingly 'bifurcated' between what is regarded as the serious and the less serious offender (Bottoms, 1977; Rutherford, 1988). An example of this 'twin track' approach has been articulated by a minister of state at the Home Office.

The Government's policy has been to provide courts with an appropriate sentencing framework with scope for severe penalties for violent and other very serious crimes, together with demanding non-custodial penalties for the lesser offenders. The figures published today show that the courts are responding to public concern — taking a firm stand against serious violent crime, while at the other end of the scale, making good use of the range of alternatives to custody, especially for youngsters. I particularly welcome the drop in the number of juveniles aged 14 to 16 sentenced to custody.[15]

It would seem that a crucial part of the explanation of the 'sunny' developments within an otherwise cloudy England has to do with the practitioner led characteristic of the reform movement. In this sense there may be a parallel in the Federal Republic of Germany where there also appears to have been a distant sea-change in attitudes among practitioners in particular regarding the need to reduce the number of persons held in prison on remand. After attending a conference on this topic, organised by the German Lawyers' Association, one participant described as 'euphoric' his feeling that action could be directly taken by lawyers. A public prosecutor remarked: 'No-one believes in the prison system anymore'. And in a telling phrase, a judge remarked if he sends someone to prison (or in other ways treat that person too harshly), he might 'lose him for society'. The dynamics of the new attitude and practice among lawyers across West German criminal justice process demands full exploration, but there seems little doubt that the key steps were taken, not at the level of state or federal government, but by practitioners who remain ahead, perhaps far ahead, of any grand policy scheme.

In emphasising the significance of practitioners across the criminal justice process it is not to suggest that other ingredients of what is called 'public opinion' are not important. Practitioners are not immune to concerns raised in the media or to the 'mood' of the country as a whole as they perceive it. But we should not underestimate the extent to which the mood and temper of criminal justice reflects the attitudes of persons whose day-to-day activities are within that arena.

NOTES
1. **H. C. Debates**, 5th Series, vol. 19, cols. 1353-4, 20 July 1910.
2. Howard League for Penal Reform, The Prisoner Population of the World, London, 1936.
3. Council of Europe, **Prison Information Bulletin**, 9 June 1987, p. 23.
4. Patten, notes based on address to the Parliamentary All Party Penal Affairs Group, 12 April 1988; see also Douglas Hurd's reference to 'the success we have had in reducing the number of juveniles who receive custodial sentences.' (Speech to Members of the South East London Branch of the Magistrates' Association, 15 January 1988); and the Home Office on the reduction being achieved 'through the shared commitment and determination of the social services, the probation service, voluntary organisations and the juvenile court'. Home Office, 1988, p. 7.
5. Section 1(4) of the Criminal Justice Act 1982 states that a custodial sentence can only be passed on a young offender if:
    (i) the offender appears unable or unwilling to respond to non-custodial penalties, or
    (ii) the custodial sentence is necessary for the protection of the public, or
    (iii) the offence was so serious that a non-custodial sentence cannot be justified.

6. **Diverting Juveniles from Custody.** Findings from the Fourth Census of Projects Funded Under the DHSS IT Initiative. London. NACRO. 1987, p. 4.
7. See note 4, above.
8. But see Parker et al, 1987, pp. 35-7 who described the stance of the probation service as being 'ambivalent'. For a probation service initiative directed at young adults, see Raynor, 1988.
9. For an early commentary on the location of early IT programmes at the 'shallow end' of the juvenile justice process, see Thorpe, et al, 1980. For a different perspective see M. Nellis, 1987.
10. Rutherford, 1986, pp. 136-147 and p. 168.
11. The National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (NACRO) has played a very important role, since 1979, in working at the local level to encourage interagency collaboration to reduce the use of juvenile custody. See **Juvenile Crime Unit, Juvenile Crime, Coordination and the Community,** London, NACRO, 1985.
12. See note 6, NACRO, 1987, p. 2 (emphasis added).
13. In April 1988 it was reported that after two years and eight months, this magistrates' court finally imposed a detention centre order on a juvenile who had been convicted of a series of burglaries. (**Justice of the Peace,** April 9 1988, p. 226.)
14. For example, AJJ has been active in advising its members on the appeals process. The increased number of appeals, at least up to 1986, may have impacted upon custodial sentencing practice. See Stanley (1988).
15. Home Office Press Release on Home Office Statistical Bulletin No. 788, **Cautions, Court Proceedings and Sentencing in 1987,** May 1988. Apart from showing a continuation of the fall in juveniles sentenced to custody during 1987, the Bulletin charts further increases in average length of sentence imposed by the Crown Courts (for all custodial sentences 1983-87 from 16.6 to 18.9 months; property offences were not immune to this greater severity (burglary rose from 15.3 to 16.7 months, and criminal damage from 19.9 months to 22.4 months).

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The New Politics of Training

KENT WORCESTER

The New Politics of Training

Kent Worcester

Our reluctance, as a nation, to allow our current living standards to fall, in order to make increased investment possible, is a major cause of our present discontent. It has been re-inforced by a tragic failure, on the part of too many in Britain, to understand the role of profit in a mixed economy. (Thatcher 1975: 13)

Why is it I have a brother (24) and when he left school he could have an apprenticeship as nearly anything he wanted to be, and I cannot? What have I done, because I am a 16 year old in 1985? All I want is a real job. Please. (Survey participant cited in Horton 1985:. 46)

With little attendant fanfare (except for that provided by the swollen advertising and PR budgets of the Department of Employment and the MSC/Training Commission), 'training' has become the terrain upon which Thatcherite economic priorities, organised producer and professional interests, the unemployed, and young people have negotiated an uneasy settlement. The '16 year old in 1985' (who may have been in some way affected by the policies of a Prime Minister prepared to 'allow our current living standards to fall') probably ended up on a Youth Training Scheme. He or she may well have suffered 'scheme fatigue' on the Community Programme. For some time now, Conservatives have regarded the transformation of the training sector as one of their most solid accomplishments. The training and retraining of young people, workers, managers, and others has taken on a quasi-transcendental aura among sections of the government and the media. The deceptively simple term 'training' has been acquiring an entirely new package of meanings.

In effect, under Thatcher, training has been turned from a despised policy backwater into an engine of the 'enterprise culture'. And to a great extent this change has gone unnoticed among the chattering classes of the left. It is suggestive that Peter Riddell, one of the best respected students of Thatcherism, lumps training with agriculture, fishing and transport as one of the essentially minor and boring issues of the day (Riddell 1985). Most textbooks on British society, government, or policy making mention training in passing, if at all. Yet in terms of labour market economics, industrial relations, youth culture and modern statecraft, the MSC and the new Training Commission matter a lot. More broadly, the new politics of training is relevant to the formation and reproduction of class politics in Britain (On 'class politics' see Worcester 1987).

In this article, I seek to illuminate the transformation of training by tracing the evolution of Conservative policy, by focusing on the quite crucial notion of an 'enterprise culture', and by considering two possible models for describing the development of training in the 1980s. The models are: political economy and institutional. I compare the types of questions these models address and discuss the sorts of insights each model provides.

Thatcherism and Training

While training was ripe for radical change in 1979, the incoming Conservatives seemed unconcerned with the issue. They came into office with rather vague and even reactionary ideas about training policy; Thatcher and her allies were suspicious of tripartite bodies and corporatist solutions, and they were committed to giving the taxpayer 'value for money' from government expenditure. As a result of a set of largely unanticipated pressures, such as the tremendous growth in youth unemployment in the early 1980s, the riots of 1981 and 1985, and certain unresolved party-political anxieties, the Conservatives boosted the budget and scope of the MSC, which remained a tripartite body until 1988, when an 'employer led' Training Commission was created in its stead. Under the charged stewardship of David (now Lord) Young, the MSC became a bureaucratic empire whose programmes, particularly YTS, emblemised the emergent pattern of state intervention. While it is true that more recently the Department of Employment has reappropriated several of the MSC's functions, the general trend towards selective intervention via non Whitehall agencies in the interests of social and economic management seems clear.

The impact of Conservative policies may be measured in four ways. First, there is the issue of pre-existing arrangements. Overall, the Tories have failed to revive the ailing foundations of postwar training. Given the dismantling of the levy-financed system of Industrial Training Boards, it should come as little surprise that the percentage of full time workers receiving training actually fell from 7% in 1974 to 5% in 1984 (Driver 1987: 55). The status, purpose and financial stability of segments of the Further Education sector seems unresolved. Little has been done to facilitate day release or part time adult education. It is still true, as the Central Policy Review Staff complained in 1980, that the adult training and retraining is relatively neglected: much of industry's training effort is concentrated on young entrants to the labour force ... (CPRS, cited in Taylor 1982: 102).

Indeed, 'industry's training effort' often amounts to brochure in the head office and junior executives on one day leadership courses. One half of all UK firms make no provision for

training; the average private company spends 0.15% of its turnover on training, whereas the average US firm spends 3% (Banham 1987). A government minister recently drove the point home:

> I am convinced that one of the main reasons for the poor level of training in general in this country is that too few employers look beyond the immediate horizon. We seem to go for short-term profit, and cope with staff development as and when the need arises. We prefer to buy from others rather than grow our own.
> I do believe that many businessmen are short-sighted; they fail to plan ahead, and to consider the skills that will be needed in the years to come. (Lady Hooper 1988: 21).

Much of the impetus, then, for training emanates from government action, not company policy. In recent years, however, the focus of government action has shifted, so that the older training props, a strong FE sector, Industrial Training Boards, apprenticeships, skill centres, are no longer required. To a small extent, the vacuum in high quality industrial training is being filled by union sponsored colleges, as in the electronics and engineering industries.

Where young people and the unemployed are concerned, the impact of Conservative policies seems crucial. The figures tell part of the story. In fiscal year 1977/78, 28,000 people enjoyed subsidised apprenticeships, the Work Experience Programme provided places to 19,600 young people, and 36,700 workers were on Job Creation Programme schemes. Ten years later, apprenticeship funding had been abolished, 35,000 people were on the Young Worker Scheme, and a full 280,000 sixteen and seventeen year olds were embarking on two year YTS. In addition, 245,000 people were on CP, and 86,000 were taking advantage of the Enterprise Allowance (Chapman and Tooze 1987: 104-5). Massive numbers of school leavers and unemployed adults had become caught up in the social machinery of the MSC/Training Commission.

YTS (and its predessor, YOP) has received the bulk of whatever critical attention government intervention has accorded. Complaints have been raised about the minimal allowances offered on the scheme, the low quality of training often provided, the low placement rate (although this has been improving, along with the economy), the subtle forms of discrimination which many schemes perpetuate, and the way in which many trainees are used as substitute labour (see Chapman and Tooze 1987; Cockburn 1988; Finn 1987; Watts 1983). Trade unionists have been some of the programme's most vocal critics, and some unions have attempted to block the introduction of YTS into certain industries (e.g. health, the civil service, printing). A majority of trainees have little or no contact with the unions, however, and the policy making powers of the TUC inside the MSC/TC have steadily eroded during the past decade (see Coates and Topham 1988).

Building on projects developed under the monetarist phase of the Callaghan administration, the Community Programme and YTS represent major departures when compared to traditional postwar approaches. They, and the hybrids they have spawned, are key instruments of micro- and sectoral-level state intervention. They are part of a larger effort to make the training system — and the economy as a whole — flexible, business and service oriented, and cost effective. According to the criteria used by the government, training is no longer 'rigid, conservative and slow to respond to new industrial requirements,' as the Central Policy Review Staff reported in 1980 (CPRS, cited in Taylor 1982: 103).

Without attacking the distinction between 'training' and 'education' per se, the government has used the MSC/TC as a weapon against the educational establishment. To take one example: in January 1988 the MSC launched 'Enterprise in Higher Education', a project which provides 10 institutions up to £200,000 per year for five years for exposing students to the theory and practice of free enterprise. Roger Dawe, the TC's Director General, says the project will generate:

> graduates who are more sympathetic to the enterprise culture, more aware of business needs with some direct work experience and the real economy ... We are seeking change in learning and teaching styles right across the curricula so that the way students are taught is experience-based rather than intellectual, practical rather than abstract and connected with the real world. (CBI News 1988: 6).

For cash starved polytechnics, £200,000 is very definitely 'real world'. But 'Enterprise in Higher Education' is only one facét of the government's reconstruction of the relationship between training and education. In many areas the power relations between the two sectors have become reversed. This is expressed by the fact that the TC funds 25% of the non advanced further education sector. There has also been the implementation and expansion of the Technical Vocational Education Initiative, directed at the 14-18 age group, which provides for vocational education in the schools (Gleeson 1987).

Finally, Conservative policies have had a marked effect on the discourse of training. 'Training' is now one of a cluster of words which connote the dawn of a prosperous new world. The key term in this discourse is, presumably, 'enterprise', and we have seen how state policies have linked specific measures and the general themes of the 'enterprise culture'. It may be that if the overall quality of training goes down (as more and more content is drained out), the need for ideological fervour becomes greater. Lord Young in particular has been identified with a new style of administration, one which integrates state policy-making, promotion, and enterprise. As he says: 'Government programmes are like cornflakes. If they are not marketed they will not sell' (Scofield 1988: 15). Moreover, if they are marketed like cornflakes they will be tastier. The effect has been to create the sense that 'something is happening.'

And, of course, much has happened in nine years. A moribund policy sector, burdened by a badly-organised system of tripartism and by a dense fog of consensus seeking discourse, is now integral to the central projects of the government. At the upscale end of the market, private arrangements now dominate. Low cost and low content schemes are aggressively targeted at the more marginal segments of society. Vocational education has made a partial comeback, the future of further education looks uncertain, and the vision of 'training' for 'enterprise' has blinded many a newspaper proprietor.

The Enterprise Culture

If training is becoming one of the engines of the 'enterprise culture', what is *that*? In one sense, it is no more than a revanchist conceit, a vision of a post collectivist 'New Jerusalem' driven by the impulses of emboldened investors. At the same time, the term is employed by ministers, pundits of the right, and a few civil servants to legitimate the telos of the Thatcherite project. The term validates policies directly

or indirectly crafted by Lord Young, with the explicit support of the PM. In this context, the enterprise culture pertains to such matters as trade, employment, training, and education policy, and to inner city politics. One may usefully, I think, regard the enterprise culture as the grafting of Dukakis-style selective interventionism to Thatcherite individualism in the interests of competitiveness, hard profits, and social peace.

Fueled by a laissez faire agenda and the efforts of a 'tightly-knit group of politically motivated men', the rhetoric and policies of enterprise advances the logic of a 'disorganised' or 'disestablished' capitalism. John Lloyd writes about the 'new disestablishment', right wing think tanks, journalists, politicians, men and women of the City, who have 'enthroned the figure of the entrepreneur' (Lloyd 1988: 15). Wielding the apparatuses of advertising and publicity, the prophets of entrepreneurship have commanded state resources in order to redefine the state's relationship to capital and civil society. Increasingly, government's central task appears to be reconstituting civil society in the interests of forces stimulated by international market competition. Instead of reconciling divergent group interests (the declared aim of the postwar welfarist/consensus seeking state), this new state seeks to undermine and 'deintegrate' those oppositional currents whose existence threatens the core principles of the new order (see Krieger 1986).

A certain insight into the transparently ideological character of the enterprise culture may be found in the subtext of an aptitude test ('Are you an Entrepreneur?') recently featured in a personnel journal. Residents get no points for confessing that they are satisfied with their 'lifestyle', or that they prefer to work as a member of a team. However, not minding 'very hard work involving evenings, weekends and no let up' yields the respondent an impressive score. (Education and Training 1987). It should be stressed that the enterprise culture is very much aimed at recalcitrant elements not only in civil society but also in the state and in the upper reaches of the business and financial communities. The cause of enterprise was furthered by the appointment of John Banham to the post of Director General of the Confederation of British Industry in 1987. Banham quite plausibly argues that:

> Britain is at present too near the bottom of the investment league table, and companies need to spend more; not just on plant and equipment and new technology, but on innovation, research and development, skill training, design and marketing if they are to capture a larger share of world markets. (Banham 1987).

His solution, in part, involves having government foster the conditions under which such investment will take place. For Lord Young and John Banham, government should facilitate the further internationalisation of (quite dubiously) 'British' industry and services.

In his book on the postwar education system, Pat Ainley situates the new politics of training in the context of the government's efforts to wipe out the famous 'British disease'.

> At all levels the education system was seen as encouraging attachment to attitudes of dependence and egalitarian lassitude in the majority. These attitudes, together with traditional prejudices for an outmoded culture instead of the entrepreneurial skills required of a managerial elite, are posited as the cultural core of the British sickness. Economic renaissance was thus seen as dependent upon a cultural rebirth in which the role of education was central. (Ainley 1988: 10).

The training measures of the MSC/TC have enabled the government to reach, and reorganise, subaltern groups, particularly the young, through alternative state circuitry. The installation of YTS has been complemented by its promotion: by zooming in on 'the actual trainees, their parents, Trade Unions, opinion formers, teachers and potential trainees,' YTS adverts help foster a new social identity for the young (Webster 1988). This social identity, of course, casts young people as prototypical entrepreneurs.

One Model: Political Economy

A proper account of training in the 1980s presumably requires some appreciation of the importance of contingency in human affairs. Consider, for example, the profound and in many ways unexpected impact of David Young at the MSC after his 1982 appointment. At the same time, it is quite 'natural' for theorists to adapt or construct models which help define the historical record. Generally speaking, students of training tend to rely on one of two models: political economy, or institutional (1). I will outline each in turn.

A political economy model emphasises causality and seeks to locate the roots of social practices in economic processes and laws. Ainley, for example, sees the crisis of education as being 'part of the economic and social crisis precipitated by recession and insoluble in itself without some resolution of that more general crisis' (Ainley 1988: 21). Paul Scofield sees YTS as functional to the imperatives of the economic system. 'To make the young fit the contemporary needs of capitalism,' he writes, 'the Tories have subjected them to an unprecedented ideological offensive' (Schofield 1988: 13; see also Frith 1980; Loney 1983; Sclofield, Preston and Jacques 1983). Ainley and Sclofield focus attention on the exigencies of capital accumulation and profitability; they stress the ways in which training policy meets the needs of private employers for pliant and minimally skilled workers. The policy making nexus is seen as responding to pressures generated by 'broader' economic forces filtered through individual representatives of capital or through institutions such as the Treasury or the Conservative Party. And how much difference these filters make on the outcome is open to debate.

On the left, there has been something of a retreat away from elegantly mapped causal explanations of social phenomena. It is often said that a political economy model of the sort articulated by Ainley and Sclofield reduces complex processes to simple foundations. At its crudest, such a model supposes that economic crisis = Conservative government = YTS. But of course the equal signs condense so many real historical battles and political operations that they seem absurd. Without a great deal of elaboration and hedging (which, to their credit, Ainley and Sclofield go in for; but which, unfortunately, robs the model of much of its vaunted scientific basis) the political economy approach seems inadequate for the purposes of comprehending the dense new world of training. Having said that, this approach does emphasise certain key issues: the apparent centrality of business interests in the making of training policy; the connection between labour market needs and training policies; and the undeniably 'economic' aspect of the enterprise culture. There are, no doubt, connections of a sort to be drawn between capitalism and British training policy in the 1980s. Disclosing those connections, however, requires more than a little historical spadework, or slightly reworked formulations. it requires a willingness to view capitalism as overdetermined by an array of social and political forces whose development is constructed historically.

Another Model: Institutional

This question of refusing to see capitalism as simply reducible to the economic raises the whole notion of the 'specificity of the political'. This specificity, I would suggest, takes the character not only of social conflicts articulated within economic structures ('class struggle' etc.), but is condensed and expressed through hierarchical state and non state institutions (Poulantzas 1978). The formation and development of these institutions has a determinative effect on economic and social forces, while at the same time economic and cultural processes leave their mark on institutions of law and order, party competition, and policy making. The main question here is whether or not one finds it acceptable to regard a hermetically sealed 'economic' system as determinative 'in the last instance'. An institutional approach starts from the assumption that real state structures play a significant role from the outset in shaping social and economic struggles, and that these structures function according to rules and codes which are derived from practices originating within as well as beyond the state.

In Britain, state centered research is often conducted under the rubric of 'policy studies'. Important work on training has been published in this field (see, for example, Howells 1980; Moon and Richardson 1985; Sheldrake and Vickerstaff 1987). Although much of the output of policy studies seems tame and apolitical, it is capable of generating useful, detailed knowledge. After all, the policy dimension is crucial. Training politics reflects the immediate conditions under which policies are crafted as well as the logic of political economy. As Rainbird and Grant suggest, the 'extent to which nationally determined/training/policy objectives are met depends on the co-operation of intermediaries, namely employers' associations and the trade unions, as well as firms and their employees' (Rainbird and Grant 1985: viii). These intermediaries operate and interact, through concrete institutions and arrangements. In the words of McCulloch, it is a mistake for scholars to

> neglect the key role of political dynamics in mediating between policy and opinion, explaining how issues emerge and disappear, which 'counter-pressures for innovation and established practice' are successful, why policies rise and fall. (McCulloch 1987: 14).

Fogerty and Brooks argue that industrial relations

> take shape through a complex interaction in four dimensions: between the main parties to the industrial relations system itself; between them and the other parties whose co-operation is needed for the success of enterprises and the economy; and in each of these cases between decision-makers at different levels and between the various sub-groups or agencies within each of the main parties. (Fogerty and Brooks 1986: 1).

Surely the determinates of the new politics of training are just as varied and diffuse, as structured and politicised, as those shaping industrial relations.

Applied to training, an institutional approach allows us to pose the following sorts of questions: how has tripartism shaped training policy; to what extent has the government been constrained by the existing pattern of state institutions and practices? How has participation in the MSC/TC shaped the internal politics of the trade unions and other interest groups? What are the implications of the MSC/TC's expansion for our conception of a centrally adminstered

British state? How have the pressures of electoral competition affected training policy? What sorts of struggles have taken place within the state (between parliamentary and executive bodies; between civil servants and ministers; between different ministries) over training issues? What are the new patterns of decision making; how are they structured; what new institutional dynamics and contradictions do they foster? The central point here is mapping the *politics* of institutional realities, in the expectation that this knowledge will bear on the fundamental issues of casualty raised by proponents of the political economy model.

Conclusion

If, as I have suggested, training has become an engine of the enterprise culture, and if the enterprise culture is a paradigmatic expression of the drift of modern British politics, then training may provide an exceptionally attractive point of entry into a range of theoretical and historical questions. I believe that training above all represents a site of accommodation and conflict where subaltern groups and remnants of the postwar settlement have confronted and absorbed the social and fiscal precepts of Thatcherism. Training has become an arena of discourse, struggle, and bureaucratic empire building where new arrangements have helped forge a new pact between the polity and sections of society. For the '16 year old in 1985', training almost certainly bridged the gaps fostered by the massive dislocations of the 1980s. The future of class politics in Britain could be vitally affected by whether that '16 year old in 1985' now understands, as Thatcher described it, 'the role of profit in a mixed economy.'

Notes

(1) There may also be a 'cultural' approach which considers the quite diffuse and indistinct patterns of interaction which contribute to the making and remaking of culture and social consciousness. This approach emphasises the habits of daily life, the operations of the mass media, and the formation of raw ideology. As embodied in the writings of Jeremy Seabrook, this model casts light on how economic pressures and public policies are received by real individuals and families (Seabrook 1982). A cultural approach may also help gender-based differences within families and groups (see Campbell 1984). There are a few authors who seek to combine · cultural and political economy approaches (see Finn 1987; Cockburn 1988).

A cultural model could usefully analyse the following types of issues: in what way is the enterprise culture an intervention in cultural politics? To what extent are the programmes of the MSC/TC instruments of social control? How does the new politics of training affect the reproduction of gender and other social divisions?

Beauty and the Beast

ANDREW WEST

BEAUTY AND THE BEAST

Social Security, Employment Training and Workfare: the view from below

Andrew West

For the past few years there has been some debate over the idea of 'workfare', unemployed people working in order to receive their state benefits. The model of workfare operating in the United States has been examined by the government as well as other observers and the introduction of a similar system to Britain has been welcomed by some and denigrated by others. The new Employment Training (ET) Scheme, expensively advertised on television and other media throughout the 1988 summer, is seen by some as the last step on the road to 'workfare'. However, in practice, combined with other pieces of legislation, the introduction of ET means that for young people in particular, 'workfare' has already arrived.

There are three crucial differences used to demonstrate that ET is not 'workfare': (a) that it is not compulsory, (b) that claimants receive their benefit plus £10 or more on the scheme, and (c) that it is a training scheme and not work. The government has powers to make the scheme compulsory in the same way that a Youth Training scheme (YTS) is compulsory for all 16-17 year olds from 12 September 1988. But in practice there is no need to do this. For single young people in particular ET is effectively workfare and is effectively compulsory. Only a low take up of the scheme by claimants will force the use of the regulatory power, but even before this happens there are a number of existing enforcement mechanisms that could be used; for exampe, pressure in the regular Restart interviews, or in the referral to Claimant Advisors, or merely the suggestion that by not taking advantage of this training claimants are not available for work and thus not entitled to benefit.

The beauty is the way civil servants and others have dovetailed pieces of legislation together to produce this effect, and the beast is the result of these efforts for individuals. As the pieces of the jigsaw have slotted into place the effects on the lives of individuals have become clearer. Each person is different and the slow unfolding and realisation of how the situation has actually changed can bring admiration in the eyes of those unaffected, but anger, horror and frustration to the unemployed. It is possible to look from a distance at pieces of legislation and predict their effect. But when people, each with a specific history, personal situation and aspirations gradually come across the different stages of the policies, the legislation can be viewed in a different light. It becomes not a question of statistics, of numbers in 'deprived' areas, but one of emotions, feelings of depression, of being trapped, hopelessness and for most, making the best of what is available so that 'life' does not pass them by. Priorities have to be decided upon, but there are certain luxuries of decision making if a person already has a sufficient income and home that they can call their own. Many young people are lacking one, and many are lacking both. For them employment training formally offers hope, but there is also no real choice. It is from their point of view and experiences that the thesis outlined below, that workfare is actually here now, is derived.

The main aim of this coherent policy seem to be firstly to reduce the headcount of unemployed people and secondly to create a pool of cheap labour, but other sidelines include the heightened division of communities into rich and poor, increasing the poor's need for self-help groups as a replacement for statutory and some existing voluntary services, decreasing or removing the options of internal migration and removing real income choice for poor people. The main thrust of these policies is at young people who are caught in the pincers of different pieces of legislation, namely the Social Security Act of 1986 and the Employment Training initiative.

The cornerstone of the change is the Social Security Act implemented in full in April 1988. A brief perusal of the new income support structure shows that the single under 25s category was the most obvious in terms of cuts in benefit rates. If the old supplementary benefit rate waas taken as the poverty line, this means that thousands of young people are now living below the poverty line. However, the academic dispute on measuring the poverty line has passed them by; whether the line should be taken as the benefit line, or that plus a percentage is only useful as a measure of how many people are living in poverty. It does not affect the life of an individual unless legislation offers advantages to those living just above or below. For example, in the old system a person living in their own bedsit on supplementary benefit received a basic minimum of £30.40 a week; if however, that same person was entitled to unemployment benefit his or her income was increased by £1.35. If a young twenty year old lived with their parents their weekly supplementary benefit income of £24.35 was increased by £7.40 each week if they were entitled to the national insurance based Unemployment Benefit. But this advantage in weekly income was outweighed for some by not being able to claim single payments for essential items like rent in advance, cookers, baby items and so on. Which was the poverty line? For the young people concerned, the question depended on what their exact circumstances were.

Furthermore, poverty gives no status except visits to and from the D.H.S.S. or Department of Employment in order to get a weekly or fortnightly income. The degradation of the poor in the eyes of many others in the community is simply a way of life, forcing them to look for some sort of spiritual uplift that makes it worth continuing to budget to keep body and soul together. That way of life may well include fundraising for others, for example, hospitals, sick children or the elderly who are seen as being worse-off. What is clear is that the old benefit rates were inadequate for a full life and much time had to be spent in seeking and giving support to and from others in order to survive. That amount of time to give and take support will disappear as workfare is implemented.

Before April 1988 a young single 16-24 year old who lived independently in a flat or bedsit, received a minimum income of £30.40 per week to pay for fuel, food, clothes and other items. The rent, rates and water rates were paid in addition. Before August 1986 grants were available to acquire and replace essential items like cookers. After August entitlement was restricted and by May this year not having a cooker was not considered a risk to health and safety even to a family with children, provided meals could be bought in a local cafe, or materials for cold salads could be purchased easily nearby. The fury of claimants was (and is) turned against those operating the system rather than those who devised and supported it; 'I'll bet he doesn't expect his kids to live on cold salads if his cookers blown up and been thrown out!'

The weekly income, pre-April 1988, was increased if the flat was difficult to heat, or there was nowhere to dry clothes or no bath or large sink to wash them in, or the claimant needed a special diet. It was not uncommon to find a single 18 year old living in a privately rented bedsit, of reasonable quality as the standard goes, receiving £30.40 basic, plus £2.20 for heating because the room was large, damp and had badly fitted windows, plus £1.45 for laundry because there was nowhere to dry clothes, plus £2.10 for the water rates, a total of £36.15 in addition to all their rent and rates. Now this 18 year old, having just finished their YTS and unemployed would receive £26.05 for the same outgoings plus having to pay 20% of their general rates, say £1.40 per week, making a total cut in benefit of £11.50. However, it is a cut in the rate only. So far transitional protection has meant that people newly coming onto benefit are simply paid at the new rate, hopefully having no other expectations. Only those changing circumstances, such as moving home or ending a temporary job, have experienced a cut. But the issue of the reduction in weekly income is there however it is described. Young people living independently have less money on which to live than last year.

Young people who live at home with their parents are theoretically better off, with the rate going up from £24.35 to £26.05. But it is only in well off households that this increase of £1.70 is to be found. The poorest families have been hit with another cut. If parents are on housing benefit, meaning they are either unemployed, low paid or sick, their 'rate rebate' is reduced by £3.00 if their son or daughter under 25 on income support is living at home. Curiously, the green paper to the Social Security Act justified differential rates for the over- and under-25s on the basis that most of those over 25 had left home. This housing benefit measure seems to be encouraging the young to leave home by reducing the amount of disposable income in the poorest households.

The situation of benefit rates is further complicated because claimants, like working people, expected a pay rise this year. In the past benefit rates were increased in November. The 1986 rise was delayed until April 1987 and in April 1988 for most single people who are supposedly better off than their younger counterparts. The over 25s benefit rate is set at £33.40, an increase of £2 for those who live independently of parents. But this increase was swallowed up by water and general rate payments. Indeed many over 25s are on transitional protection, being paid at a higher rate than £33.40. Thus some had no increase this year and many unemployed since April 1988 will be on less income than they would have been in March or before.

The worst sufferers have been the under 18s and in their problems can be seen the workfare beast for the 18-24 year olds. The 16-17 year old who had to live away from home, in a bedsit or flat, had their rate cut to £19.40 even if it would have been £36.15 (as in the above example) earlier in the year. Many 16-17 year olds who were not living with their parents have good reason, for example sexual or violent abuse, overcrowding, or even that their parents are dead. Many have to go through as 'estrangement' process with a social worker confirming that they cannot live with their parents. Yet the reduction in their benefit, perhaps as much as £11.00, still applied.

The position of 16-17 year olds changes again in September 1988. If they are not in a job or supported by parents then they must go on a YTS in order to receive a weekly income. Benefit will not be payable. An allowance, of £15.00 per week for a maximum of 8 weeks, is intended to see the young person through to the start of a YTS or between schemes, but it means that temporary housing, for example a hostel or 'bed and breakfast' will almost certainly not be affordable or practical.

For 16-17 year olds in order to get money, they just go on a YTS. For 18-24 year olds, except in well off households, in order to bring themselves up toward what they received or would have received on benefit last year, they must go on an ET scheme. ET does not offer them more money in their reality. Although described as benefit plus, most of those young people who live independently will still be worse off than last year. Those living with parents in poorest households will be a few pounds better off, not including any increase on last years benefit rates.

The ET benefit plus is £11.25 extra under-25 and £10.00 for the over-25s. £5.00 of each is made up of travelling expenses and the increase in bus fares in many places recently means that the £5.00 will be used fully for that. Yet even on the basic level a young person living independently needs £4.35 plus water rates plus 20% general rates extra to bring them up to the level of last years benefit rate: probably at least £7.00 in total. In the example given above some £11.50 is needed to get back to last year's rates.

Will ET actually be used? In part this is the wrong question. The Social Security Act has made the options clear. A two tier system now operates. If a person wants benefit at what was considered to be the minimum adequate rate than they must go on an ET scheme, otherwise they will be paid less.

Financial pressure alone, it seems certain, will force young people to need extra income. The pressure will arise partly because the old benefit rates were inadequate for a lifestyle that kept body and soul together and barely maintained the body at a low level. In addition the abolition of single payments means that essential furniture must be acquired or replaced using loans, interest free if available from the DHSS, or extortionate interest from private finance. Benefit rates are set so that major events, like Christmas, birthdays, births, weddings and so on require months of saving. Even then not

enough may be available. At present people do take out loans at interest even for clothes but do not see them as such: these are items bought through catalogues, often the only way the poor can clothe and furnish themselves. Missing a few payments by, for example, diverting the money elsewhere to an unexpectedly large fuel bill, means that debts soon mount up. People borrow £100 to clear up debts, but have to pay £145 or more back. The cycle is soon set — borrow £100, but £55 has to pay off the existing debt, so receiving £45 in hand means to pay back £145.

Those who are desperate for money will have a legal and illegal way out. The legal way will be ET (or a job). Illegal will be working 'on the side' or theft. Some firms, as reported in newspapers, are set up for 'work on the side' paying a lower rate, but no tax or national insurance, on the assumption that the worker is also getting at least £20-£30 a week benefit. In some ways the ET might be seen as official competitor to the illegal employment market but at a lower rate.

Financial reasons alone must be regarded as a major move to compulsion. In addition existing structures will almost certainly point toward ET. Job centres and the Department of Employment are now effectively amalgamated. When a person becomes unemployed they have to make an appointment and be interviewed at the Job Centre. Whilst there they fill out a long form questioning their availability for work, and they are expected to check through all the jobs on display. In some instances the interviewer goes round the cards with them. Every 6 months or less the process is repeated; the claimant attends a Restart interview having filled out a 'Restart questionnaire' very similar to the 'Availability for Work' form. A 'menu of options' is then offered. This offering has included the Job Training Scheme (JTS) and Community Programme (CP), both officially regarded as last resort options. Both of these have been effectively similar in status to ET at least in terms of income. While refusal should not have been hindered the interview for one of these places. Claimants, who are often wary of declining any offer in case their benefit is stopped, have been in reality sent on a YTS Preliminary or CP interview.

CP ended in September 1988. By April 1988 it was obvious why it had to end. The majority of places available were part-time and the new housing benefit calculations meant that people on part time CP were often working for a similar, less or slightly more income than their benefit of pre-April 1988. Yet some unemployed people were sent for a CP vacancy interview by Job Centre and Restart interviews even when only a few weeks were left on many CP schemes. The JTS, apparently regarded officially as a failure in most of Britain, has been the forerunner to ET offering usually four days work and one day training for benefit plus travelling expenses, or since June (for under 25s) benefit plus £11.25.

The quality of these schemes has varied enormously. YTS is often viciously criticised by those who have left and it is not for nothing that young people on some schemes refer to themselves as 'Young Trainee Slaves'. JTS placements are effectively working for an employer; an example is a young woman who received one hour training on one day a week, spending the other four as a shop assistant. She was already familiar with shop work and did exactly the same work as the two part-time assistants employed by the shop owner. For her four day working week she took home the same pay as each of the others did for two days work. The work experience offered no more than she had already gained on a YTS and working as a 'Saturday girl', and yet this placement was supposed to have been individually designed to meet her needs. This is not an isolated story. She went into the JTS

not with high expectations but because she wanted employment. She left because the promised training was not delivered (the responsibility of the local college) and because she felt she was being exploited. However, her financial position was such that given a few extra pounds she might have continued for a couple of months. Such schemes have great impact on 'real' employment opportunities.

The ending of CP has greater implications. ET will not be directed at work of benefit to the community, which means that many schemes helping vulnerable people will not continue or will rely on volunteers. If the work is done then it will be at benefit rate because the volunteers are likely to be unemployed. Thus the rate for the job in caring professions is reduced, just as the rate for many jobs in private industry, commerce and so on is reduced by having scheme placements. The job market for 16-17 year olds has been drastically altered by the existence of YTS, not only for rates of pay, but with employers recruitment patterns changing. For example, all future administrative and management staff are taken from a pool of YTS labour after two years of observation.

Experience of CP varied greatly over the country. In December 1987 over fifty CP managers at a seminar were defending their scheme against ET on the basis of community benefit, rate for the job and so on. While these principles are important, CP had already effectively become working for benefit-plus for the employees. Many organisations still needed volunteers in order to be able to survive. But it was the north-south divide that showed clearly. Managers for the south were complaining that their biggest problem was in retaining staff on a CP; after a few weeks people left to get jobs of equal or more pay. In the north the situation was reversed, with staff having to cope with depression when reaching the end of their CP year, still jobless. Many became 'professional CP'ers'. These were particularly young people, often with considerable talent for whom the only work available was CP, and who have been on two or three, working one year on, six months off, one year on and so on, often working voluntarily in the same place in the intervening period of unemployment. CP almost became a reward for good volunteers.

The north-south CP experience is reflected in other employment opportunities. There are, apparently, jobs in southern counties, although rates of pay are little more than for similar jobs in the north. However, housing costs effectively prohibit the move south away from the support networks of family, relatives and friends which are necessary when on low pay in a high cost area. Trying and failing a migration brings financial problems in reduced benefit for 26 weeks. Decisions must be carefully thought out and the risks are high. For young couples with children the risks are often too high. Even young singles give up, for the quality of life is not improved when having a job means so little money left to be able to relax in the evenings or weekends. It is the same as working for benefit.

The new housing bill seems likely to exacerbate this divide. One way of moving south at present is to get a job and use the National Mobility Scheme to obtain council housing in the required area. However, quoted delays of at least 20 weeks mean that time must be spent in expensive accommodation. Even then, what might be offered for a couple plus baby, for example, is a one bedroom flat. Wage levels are too low to mean that other housing is an option. But, at least in theory, the move is possible. Since some councils in the south have already taken steps to offload housing to private firms, a move south will eventually be impossible.

The divide between rich and poor is becoming exacerbated. Poor households' income is reduced by housing benefit changes; options available are also reduced in number and quality. In order to maintain the levels of community support, increased numbers of the community must volunteer. The choices facing young people are between two levels of low income, and to volunteer to help the community they must choose the lesser of the two.

Workfare is already with us. Young people are not in general the mass of thugs, hooligans, drug addicts, and alcohol frenzied gamblers that they are popularly supposed to be. Many care about their community and social problems and issues. If they are unemployed and given the space and power they will participate in their community helping themselves and others and adding to the pleasures of life. But they would like employment in order to materially provide for themselves and the families they have or wish to have, and also to have some self respect and self regard in the society that declares its preoccupation with personal responsibility. Being unemployed and working in the community is now devalued both in financial terms and in official status with the Social Security Act benefit rates and the withdrawal of the community programme. All values are now set on work for an employer, in industry or commerce. In order to maintain oneself at the pre-April 1988 benefit line and have the dignity of not being called a scrounger, it is necessary to go on as Employment Training Scheme that involves working for an employer for an income roughtly equivalent to the old poverty line. It is young people, under the age of 25, who are the most affected by these changes. A new age of majority has been declared, and for many a rather degrading and lengthened rite of passage from school to adulthood has been established.

Young People and Social Crime Prevention in Scotland

DAVID SMITH and KEVIN GILL

YOUNG PEOPLE AND SOCIAL CRIME PREVENTION IN SCOTLAND.

David Smith and Kevin Gill

An important recent development in thinking about crime prevention is the revival of interest in social, as opposed to 'situational' approaches. Situational crime prevention, wich aims to reduce opportunities for criminal acts by a combination of increased security and intensified surveillance, seems to be, at the very least, an inadequate strategy on its own. Critics point to the difficulties of implementing situational prevention (Hope and Shaw, 1988) and, at a more political level, argue that an excessive or exclusive reliance on situational methods is potentially repressive — how much surveillance is compatible with civil liberties? — and socially regressive, since the rich and commercial concerns can pay for crime prevention, while the poor cannot. Furthermore, it is argued that situational strategies, by treating crime as essentially opportunistic, neglect the possible connections between crime rates and social and economic conditions — poverty, unemployment, educational failure or rejection — and the despair and alienation to which these conditions may lead.

For these reasons, social approaches to crime prevention may offer a more hopeful and progressive line of advance than an undiluted situational strategy. It is interesting that, perhaps unexpectedly, there are signs that this possibility is being considered by the government. The Home Office minister John Patten, for instance, has shown enthusiasm for the range of imaginative social approaches to crime prevention among young people which has developed in France since 1981 (see King, 1988 for an optimistic account of 'the French experience'). An important feature of the French initiatives is that they are based on a broad local consensus of the need for a social strategy for crime prevention among young people. The nearest British approach to this is the policy developed in the past few years in Scotland's (and Britain's) largest local authority, Strathclyde.

We find that in Scotland there have been interesting developments, particularly in work with young people, and associated with (among other things) the distinctive Scottish system of juvenile justice. It is our view that these developments are not as well known as they should be, and that some of the Scottish initiatives are of general relevance. The aim of this article is to describe elements of the Scottish approach, particularly in Strathclyde, and to suggest what lessons may be drawn from them.

The Strathclyde Regional Council's **Working with Young People** report, published in 1985, offers a useful categorisation of provision which defines three levels of intervention:

categorisation of provision which defines three levels of intervention:

— *Primary intervention*, which includes community development and other strategic approaches to reducing the incidence or likelihood of crime.

—*Secondary intervention*, which relates to efforts to prevent or minimise the official processing of young people, including positive discrimination in the provision of youth facilities.

—*Tertiary intervention*, which aims to divert identified young offenders from residential care or custody.

In Scotland the pattern of service development has been different from England and Wales. Levels one and two have developed much more extensively than level three, and it is on the first two levels that this article will concentrate. In doing so, the authors recognise that not all primary prevention programmes will impact wholly on young people — they usually start from a neighbourhood or issue based perspective, covering the whole community. Similarly, many secondary prevention projects will define their aims in terms of urban survival strategies or youth empowerment rather than specifically crime prevention. This is characteristic of a broad range of projects throughout Scotland which would see crime prevention as a by product of a reforming social action approach, rather than its direct objective. Both of these approaches, however, either directly or incidentally, assist in the 'prevention' of youth crime, although from different perspectives. The third level of provision — diversion from residential care or custody — is in reality more of a reactive than a preventive approach, working as it does with individual adjudicated offenders.

Much has been written in England about the dangers of undertaking 'preventive' work with individual juveniles. It has been argued that attempting to identify potential juvenile offenders in order to 'prevent them becoming criminals' is known, through research, to be counter productive, and should be discouraged. While there are undoubtedly some lessons from Scotland in such research, it is important to recognise that much of this research was inspired by the increasing level of juvenile custody in England and Wales, which has not occurred in Scotland because of the different system of juvenile justice. It is helpful to establish the differences of context before proceeding further.

Context

Since the Social Work (Scotland) Act of 1968 there have been no juvenile courts in Scotland. Instead there is a system of children's hearings, to which children (up to age 16, or 18 if they are under supervision) may be referred for a wide range of problems, including offending, truancy, care and protection, moral danger and glue sniffing. The hearings can thus consider a broader range of problems than can juvenile courts in England and Wales, and crucially they can only

consider the welfare of the child, not the public interest, which reflects the welfarist intentions of the legislation. The only disposals open to the hearings are home supervision or residential care, and the proportion of young people in compulsory residential care has declined steadily since the hearing system was set up in 1975. This has been coupled with the virtual abolition of custody for under 16s, although the proportion of 16-21 year olds in custody is higher than in England and Wales (ITRC 1986; Gill, 1985). This may be due to a number of factors — 'end loading' of the hearing system, which is able to export the most difficult young people to the adult court on their sixteenth birthday; lack of community based resources for adult offenders in Scotland; and a superfluity of custodial places. Occupancy rates of both detention centres and young offenders institutions did not exceed 80% in 1986. The number of Detention Centre places was however reduced from 258 to 182 in 1986, and Young Offender Institution places from 1172 to 815 in the 1987 prison department re-organisation. (SHHD 1987).

The organisation of local government in Scotland is also relevant to the pattern of development of social crime prevention with young people. The 1968 legislation abolished the separate probation service, whose functions were incorporated into local authority social work departments. This has meant that there is no protected vote of resources for services to offenders, which have in practice been given a low priority by many authorities. In addition, the slower development of parole and community service in Scotland has meant that there are relatively few community based resources for young adult offenders.

Another important factor is that since 1975 there has been no separate youth service in Scotland. The work done by the youth service in England and Wales is undertaken by the generic community education service (which provides informal education and community facilities for all age groups) and by various local and national voluntary organisations.

The culture of local government in Scotland is also important in assessing the development of responses to youth crime. For example Strathclyde Regional Council, which encompasses about half of the Scottish population, is explicitly committed to anti deprivation policies with a strong emphasis on positive discrimination, community development and youth enfranchisement. Much of the impetus for these policies has come from councillors, and has found expression through the chief executive's department and the community development section of social work. Other regions, notably Lothian and Grampian, also have a strong community development approach, which has in their cases been developed primarily through the community education service and the voluntary sector.

The part played by voluntary organisations is another distinctive feature that deserves mention. Perhaps most importantly, there has been until recently no activity in Scotland comparable with the work in England and Wales of NACRO's Safe Neighbourhood Unit (Bright and Peterson 1984). In 1987 a Safe Neighbourhood Unit project was set up by the Scottish IT Resource Centre and Strathclyde Regional Council using urban aid funding. This project is working in conjunction with local residents, district housing authorities and other local authority departments. In addition, SACRO, a Scottish wide voluntary organisation with a rather different profile from its English counterpart, also appointed a safe neighbourhood worker in 1987, to an estate in Dundee. The established national child care voluntary organisations such as Save the Children Fund and National Childrens Home are engaged in secondary prevention programmes for children and young people, but much voluntary activity in Scotland is local, neighbourhood based, and in some cases short lived. Scottish voluntary projects have tended to be more akin to those supported by the IT Fund in England and Wales locally-based projects outside the formal justice

system, working with young people who do not use (or are excluded from) mainstream youth services. The Scottish Office has been active in funding many of these initiatives, but Scotland was not included in the English circular LAC83(3), which provided a substantial cash injection for alternative to custody programmes in England and Wales. Because of such factors, social crime prevention in Scotland is distinctive in its practices and guiding principles, in its location within particular agencies, and in the definitions employed by practitioners and planners in describing their work. This is particularly relevant to the development of Intermediate Treatment in Scotland, which is quite different from the pattern found south of the border.

Intermediate Treatment as Social Crime Prevention
In a recent review of Intermediate Treatment in Scotland (ITRC, 1986) the authors chart the growth in English IT of a 'new realism' which rejects preventive, welfare orientated programmes in favour of direct alternatives to custody for serious offenders, and regards other young people as someone else's responsibilty. A much broader definition of IT has been employed in Scotland. The Scottish review distinguishes between activities entailing compulsory supervision ordered by the children's hearings, and diversionary programmes for young people at risk which accord broadly with Strathclyde's definition of secondary prevention. Many of the latter programmes are indentified with youth work rather than social work, and aim to prevent young people from being formally labelled and subjected to compulsory supervision. The ITRC review found that virtually all the regions provided some facilities of this kind whereas several, including Lothian, had no intensive IT schemes at all. The pattern of development reflects local preferences and ad hoc decision-making rather than coherent planning, as evidenced in the geographic distribution of this type of provision. In some cases, provision is entirely within the voluntary sector, while in others the lead has been taken by either the community education service or by community work teams in social work departments.

In many parts of Scotland there is no sharp distinction between secondary prevention programmes aimed at young people at risk and youth work generally. This is recognised and welcomed by the Scottish Community Education Council, which has suggested that this overlap of responsibility should encourage social work and community education departments to work more closely together at regional level, although the evidence of diversity from the ITRC review suggests that this may not be easy to achieve in all regions. In Strathclyde, for instance, the community education service has been less involved in supporting young people at risk than in some other regions. Nevertheless, Strathclyde has a clear policy for this kind of work, based on its **Social Strategy For The Eighties** document (1983). It is worth describing developments in this region in more detail, because Strathclyde represents half of Scotland and receives more than 80% of Scotland's urban aid allocation. The authority was recently invited to present its social crime prevention work to a Council of Europe conference on 'the reduction of urban insecurity' in Barcelona in November 1987. The scale of problems of poverty and deprivation in Strathclyde are among the worst in western Europe.

Young People and Social Crime Prevention in Strathclyde
Strathclyde's policy on young people is set out in two reports, **Working with Young People** (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1984) and **Working with Young People at Risk** (Strathclyde Regional Council, 1985). The second report adds detail to the broad principles outlined in the first. Both are products of Strathclyde's model of member/officer groups, which include both councillors and regional staff working at a number of levels, fieldworkers as well as management, and which aim

'to produce practical solutions that will ensure changes on the ground rather than simply compile a philosophical or idealistic report'. The broad principles identified for preventive work in the first report emphasize the need for facilities to be locally based and accessible, and to be concentrated in the areas of greatest need. Strathclyde has defined 80 areas for priority treatment in its Social Strategy for the Eighties (1983), which highlights unemployment as a particularly significant factor in youthful alienation and antisocial behaviour. The report is also concerned with closer links between agencies, especially community education, social work and the police; with community development; and with maximising participation by young people in the identification of local needs and in decision making. A theme in both reports is the need to ensure that preventive work offers help and support without labelling or stigmatizing its recipients. Policy in Strathclyde is thus highly sensitive to the criticisms of preventive work made by the 'new realists' in England and Wales, who argue that preventive work may lead to the premature identification and labelling of young people as delinquent.

At the primary level of prevention, the **Working with Young People at Risk** report provides a useful summary of the range of preventative work.

> This includes neighbourhood/detached work, community action, drop-in cafes and flats, and encourages young people themselves to get invloved ... it is likely to identify issues such as theft, gangs, violence, truancy, solvent and drug abuse, apathy, homelessness, and lack of amenities and facilities, all of which will necessitate an inter-agency response.

Clearly some of this work does not have a direct crime prevention focus, but some does. For example, local crime prevention panels have tried to involve young people in several areas by setting up junior panels in schools and inviting representatives from them to sit on the main panel. Elsewhere, unemployed school leavers have been recruited to crime prevention teams, to design portable exhibitions on crime prevention and to visit schools and other venues to convey the message. An example of inter agency cooperation in more situational' crime prevention is the establishment, in 1985, of a police/architect liaison group to discuss at the design stage the security implications of vandalism and other forms of crime, and this liaison is now repeated at district level. The Strathclyde police have a well established community involvement branch and actively cooperate with other agencies and liaison groups. They support a wide range of primary and secondary forms of social crime prevention as well as situational measures against crime.

The 1985 report discusses social crime prevention most directly in a section on work with young adults, whom it acknowledges have been relatively neglected. It suggests that crime prevention panels are likely to have found it harder to implement social than situational measures, partly because they are harder to define; and indeed the report itself does not distinguish very clearly between social and situational approaches. The report's interest in the work of NACRO in England and Wales has led to the establishment of one major project, the Strathclyde Safe Neighbourhood Unit which works in particular neighbourhoods applying a community development approach to the issues of crime and fear of crime. Local people are then encouraged and helped to devise action plans to tackle the issues they identify. While this project is not primarily aimed at young people, a large proportion of estate based crime and fear of crime relates to young people.

The early work of the Unit, through field projects and consultancies, has followed a pattern of working with local groups and agencies through an inter agency steering group and working with residents through the process of neighbourhood consultation. Responses sought by residents included design changes, changes in community provision, changes in service delivery and support of residents groups and activities. They sought positive policing and were not happy with the way their areas were presently being policed. However, they were also clear that crime prevention was not just a matter for the police.

A range of issues of neighbourhood safety and security have been highlighted, including design, layout and maintenance. The quality of some fittings, particularly doors and windows and street lighting, was not good enough to deter crime. Moreover, poor planning, design and maintenance allowed crime and nuisance to go undetected because proper oversight of areas was impossible.
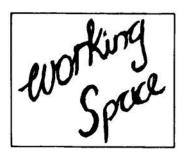
Secondary prevention work in Strathclyde is also covered in these reports. The first report called for the development of area-based youth development teams to be established on a multi disciplinary basis by the community education service. These teams have not developed uniformly, and some involve young people directly while others just include professionals. The report on **Working with Young People** noted that in some areas 'community education is alleged to wash its hands of young people who cause problems'. This is of course a recurring temptation in youth work, and it is less likely to be resisted in the absence of adequate support and a clear departmental commitment to working with the awkward as well as the tractable. In Strathclyde such a commitment clearly exists.

The development of social action work with young people in Strathclyde deserves special mention. A series of inter agency social action training courses have been run over the past few years, and a network of practitioners engaged in this kind of work has been created. This is difficult work with few obvious rewards; working with difficult young people on a neighbourhood basis when some of the more conservative residents groups and councillors would prefer them to be locked away. Despite political difficulties and the difficulty of creating genuinely cooperative inter departmental working have meant that inevitably the reality has fallen short of the high aspirations set out in the reports. This is hardly surprising, given the scale of the problems being tackled in this region.

Conclusion

In summary, social crime prevention work with young people in Scotland is at present diffuse and uneven. Compared with England and Wales, social action and community development work is relatively highly developed, but neighbourhood based work with a specific crime prevention focus has only recently begun to emerge in the Strathclyde and Dundee areas. The police have been strongly involved, showing that cooperation with them is compatible with a radical local authority strategy. The fact of clear anti deprivation and community development policies in several regions has encouraged the spread of a wide range of often ambitious and innovative work which can be seen as having a real potential for crime prevention. These projects, however, do not always see themselves as being concerned solely with young people, nor do they necessarily articulate social crime prevention as their main objective. At the secondary level of intervention, Intermediate Treatment programmes are becoming more specialised following the IT review, with an increase in alternative to care programmes linked more clearly to children's hearings. There is also more clarity about the need for diversionary programmes to guard against unintended consequences such as net widening, although there is no real evidence that this is a significant problem within the Scottish juvenile justice system.

Taking an optimistic view, we can envisage that in the next few years provision for young people in Scotland in trouble or at risk will develop in a way that builds on the positive elements of the distinctive Scottish experience while

Britain — GDR Youth Exchange. Background and Opportunities.

DICK COPELAND

BRITAIN — GDR YOUTH EXCHANGE.
BACKGROUND AND OPPORTUNITIES

Readers of 'Youth and Policy' may feel that more urgent problems face them in their work as they grapple with everyday problems — or pause to speculate on the ramifications of the latest directive from government or LEA — than to explore the little known territory of youth exchange with young people in a socialist country.

Yet never have the prospects and conditions been more favourable. True, at international level, relationships are not back to the spirit of friendship and cooperation between ourselves and the Soviet Union which existed from the launch of the nazi attack in the east in June 1941 to the end of the war. Nor is there yet the warmth of friendship and understanding of other people's aspirations, problems and achievements which existed among ordinary people at that time — so noticeable to the writer as a teenager at school.

Forty years later, on the anniversary of the ending of the war in Europe, I gave a seventy minute lesson to each class in a comprehensive school in Sunderland. It was a thought provoking experience to receive many comments from school students checking that Britain and Russia had really been on the same side. Naturally, young people asked why it was that the Russians appeared now to be our enemies.

That was in May 1985 and a considerable improvement has taken place since then. The Treaty on Intermediate Nuclear Forces signed by Gorbachev and Reagan in Washington in December 1987 and confirmed at the Moscow summit in May 1988 was a practical indicator of what can be achieved in the future for the benefit of humankind not least for the young people of the world. The emphasis, however, must be on 'can'. As in any field of endeavour, last year's success gives no guarantee of future progress. That must be worked for at every level.

So Glasnost is on the agenda and there is official recognition[1] of the importance of mutual understanding, especially among young people, if a favourable climate is to be achieved for further progress towards world peace and productive international relations.

What contribution can be made within the youth service?

THE GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC (GDR)

Whilst the Soviet Union will always have a special appeal as a result of its history and culture as well its significance as a major influence in world affairs, the GDR (East Germany), which is the subject of this article, also has advantages. It is the nearest socialist country so travel costs are less. It is well organised for visits and exchange of youth groups and its territory, too, has seen tremendous historical events and been the centre for the development of movements and ideas which have had a major influence in Europe throughout the centuries. A special interest arises because of its border with the FRG (Federal Republic of Germany or West Germany) and the border with West Berlin (the Wall).

Mutual understanding requires an ability to view issues and events from another person's standpoint which, in turn, depends on some appreciation of geographical and historical perspectives. Points such as the following may be useful to explain prior to a visit:

In my experience with young people I find that few have a clear picture of the geography of the two German states and, in particular, that Berlin is over 100 miles inside the territory of the GDR.

The GDR emphasises that the Potsdam Agreement made in July 1945 between the heads of state of Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union provided for joint allied control of Germany prior to a peace settlement to be drawn up for the whole country by their foreign ministers together with those of China and France. Thus the subsequent decision of Britain, France, Belgium, Holland, Luxembourg and the U.S.A. to establish a West German Government (in the region of high industrialisation and mineral resources) is seen as contrary to the Agreement both in letter and in spirit.

The FRG was established in September 1949 and the GDR was founded one month afterwards.

Berlin was separately administered from the rest of Germany by an allied control commission after the war and, today, West Berlin is not part of the FRG. The eastern part of the city is referred to as Berlin, capital of the GDR.

Geographical and historical situations heighten feelings and emotions as I realised when visiting fortifications in Czecholslovakia built in 1938 and preserved as a museum on the border of what is now Poland but what was then Germany. To look across two or three fields and imagine how it must have felt to know that Nazi troops were massing and parading just out of sight was a sobering experience. Today, GDR citizens in Berlin know that NATO bases are just a few streets away. Inevitably this concentrates their thoughts.

This Society is playing an increasing part in facilitating youth exchange. It has expanded rapidly in recent years and now has forty local branches. It is not associated with any political party and encourages participation in its activities by people of the widest range of educational, civic, cultural, leisure, industrial and other interests. It liaises closely with the relevant bodies in the GDR such as the League of Friendship, the corresponding GDR — Britain Society and Jugendtourist, the youth tourist organisation.

Last year the Society helped to organise many holidays and study tours including ten exchange visits for parties of young people. Jack Berlin, the appropriately named secretary of the Society, notes that these initiatives involved a total of 150 from each country and adds with a touch of wistfulness that this falls somewhat short of the offer of twenty thousand places for young people made by Jugendtourist on a reciprocal basis. Hard currency is in short supply in the GDR so they can only operate exchanges on a basis of the hosts meeting all charges during the stay except the cost of initial travel.

EDUCATIONAL IMPRESSIONS

In May 1988 I was a member of a group of 25 teachers who went to the GDR for intensive study of their educational system from creche (open 6am to 6pm) to vocational training and youth tourism. The tour was arranged by the Britain — GDR Society and took place under the auspices of the GDR League of Friendship. It was a strenuous, exacting and totally absorbing and enjoyable experience. Every preparation had been made and every help was given to see that individual wishes by members of our group were met. We had ample opportunity to talk to students, teachers and administrators on an individual basis, using either the interpreters or one of the seven members of our party who were fluent speakers of the language. A highlight of the week was an evening spent in groups of three or four in the homes of GDR teachers of English and their families.

As all young people met on an exchange visit are products of the educational process, some overall impressions of it may be helpful. Yet it would miss the point simply to list differences between our two systems. Yes, one could say with confidence that we are streets ahead in the provision of computer hardware in our schools and that the best of our teaching methods would be of more than passing interest to teachers in the GDR. Equally, their care and provision for disabled young people — we visited a school for the deaf — is worthy of the highest commendation, and all noticed the very friendly staff-student relationship at every institution we visited.

It was interesting to see polytechnical (comprehensive) school students on 'works experience' actually make or assemble components and goods which will be used in industry or sold for consumer use. When the gas cookers being assembled in a factory in Magdeburg reach the shops, they will have a ticket which notes the school and class who undertook the work. It was even more interesting to learn that 6% of school students leave two years early and complete their education within a framework of vocational training.

Contrasts and similarities are always of interest especially as the career and leisure interests of adolescents in advanced industrial and technological societies have plenty in common despite different social and political systems. Nevertheless, mutual understanding rests on an ability to relate similarities and differences to basic objectives.

Principles

Much can be learned about the values and priorities of a country's educational system by observing the first stages of schooling. A morning spent at a kindergarten illustrated particularly clearly the total commitment of the state, and the widespread support of parents, teachers and the community, to the explicit purposes of education.[2]

'Healthily and happily' is our aim for the children, said the headteacher stressing that each one must feel cared for. She listed three attributes which were seen as of fundamental importance for all GDR children: to acquire a love of the homeland, a love of peace, and to learn about the importance of solidarity with people. Our visit took place on 1st June, International Children's Day. The celebrations and activities were colourful and informal and due regard was given to those less fortunate in the world. Peace and solidarity were unobtrusively but unquestionably on the agenda — and in a happy environment.

The school aimed to enlist and involve all parents as well as members of the local and industrial community in these tasks and to provide opportunities for the children to gain a respect for work and to understand that 'the work of adults is the guarantee of their future'. Other activities, often on the initiative of the parents committees (one for each class as well as collectively for the school), had included collecting toys to be sent to Nicaraguan children. Parents had wanted their children to understand the importance of sharing toys.

Criticisms undoubtedly develop among GDR young people and imperfections will be observed by visitors. A person in her twenties said to me: 'Many young people envy what the West has' whilst the chairperson of a residents' committee for a block of flats expressed concern, which he said was widely held, about the number of people getting paid while shirking work and responsibilities thus reducing the living standards of the majority. No doubt many challenging problems face the GDR but, on the evidence observed together with corroborating impressions from two previous visits I have made, the basic educational aims have a wide measure of popular support and their implementation is worked for actively at all levels of society.

JUGENDTOURIST

Jugendtourist was established in 1975 as the travel agency of the FDJ or Free German Youth. It is non profit making and administers the youth hostels and youth tourists hotels. Its work is based on the principle that travel and tourism is the right of all people and, as a result of state subsidies, charges are very small. An overnight stay in a youth hostel costs about ten pence and a five day trip of a cultural and recreational nature including full board and accommodation at youth hotels and all expenses, about eight pounds.

We visited the 'Egon Schultz' youth tourist hotel in Berlin towards the end of our stay. It was extremely well appointed and catered for 800 young people at night. There, a speaker from Jugendtourist explained that the main problem which the agency faces is in distribution of places, not selling them. With a total of 24,000 beds a day there is a 93% occupancy rate which, he felt, would cause surprise to any hotel manager in the world. However, it is also a fact which must be taken into account by any organisation planning a youth trip to the GDR. Advance booking is essential and, for all practical purposes, only organised groups of 10 or more members are a realistic possibility.

The speaker said that GDR young people now go to 45 different countries and that significant progress had been made with non-socialist countries during the last five years. Unfortunately the Federal Republic of Germany was currently the only capitalist country encouraging exchange through grants and facilities. Perhaps our civil servants and political advisors need copies of the Helsinki agreement quoted in[1]. Only a few hundred copies were printed in Britain so they may be short of information concerning what has been agreed and should be expected!

As far as Jugendtourist is concerned, top of the list for arranging exchanges with capitalist countries, are the various friendship societies including the Britain — GDR Society. For example, annual exchanges through this connection now take place between Coventry and Dresden, London and Berlin and Manchester and Karl-Marx-Stadt. He stressed however that the main point was not to 'lie on the beach for a fortnight with the principal topic of conversation concerning whether or not they got the same food as at home'. It was clear that there were deeper and more lasting objectives than a sun-tan. However reports to the Britain — GDR Society from returning parties indicate thoroughly happy and enjoyable experiences as well as instructive ones. The

increasing number of annual exchanges is a practical indication of their popularity and success from both sides. Exchanges are not the only possibility. Jugendtourist also arranges visits from British schools, language study courses for students with a basic knowledge of German, and also work and holiday tours for students. The majority of these are made through the Britain — GDR Society though there are other fruitful contacts including universities and colleges and trade unions.

A TRADE UNION INITIATIVE

The FDGB (The GDR trade union organisation) has a centre at Zechlinershutte in the lake district area between Berlin and the Baltic. Last July, ten young people spent nearly a fornight there under an arrangement made between the FDGB and Newcastle Trades Union Council's Centre Against Unemployment. They met groups of young people from fourteen countries including Greece, Luxembourg, Portugal, Cuba and Mozambique as well as from most of the European socialist countries including the Soviet Union.

The programme provided a mixture of informative and recreational activities. The former included talks and discussions on education, youth, military, international and women's affairs (approximately 40% were women) and visits to Berlin, a modern heavy engineering enterprise and to the concentration camp at Ravensbrucke which is maintained as a memorial to the victims. The day in Berlin included a visit to the House of the People which includes the Parliament Chamber and a meeting with elected members from several of the political parties. Under the Constitution of the GDR, 37 out of the 500 MP's are nominated by the FDJ and, currently, 9% were aged between 18 and 25 on election.

Recreation at Zechlinershutte included discos and social events and a wide range of outdoor activities. 'All had a tremendous time', the party leader told me and the Newcastle Centre hopes to organise another visit next year.

At the time of writing, the Trades Union Congress in England and Wales does not maintain relationships with the FDGB although this does not apply to corresponding organisations in other socialists countries. Hopefully, the particular problem can be resolved and the situation soon restored and visits by young trade unionists, unemployed and those on training schemes can be facilitated.

PROBLEMS

It is wise to recognise a number of problems:

Planning is not without its problems particularly for first time visits. Normally, firm commitments have to be made up to eighteen months in advance and arrangements must pass through bureaucratic processes in the GDR. There is no government body in Britain that will assist. Hopefully, this may improve expecially as Kenneth Baker has recently concluded an agreement on exchanges for British and Soviet school students.

Jugendtourist does not consider assistance with youth tourism on an individual basis as a priority. Nevertheless it administers many youth hostels and it has been a member of the International Youth Hostel Association since 1985. Booking has to be made with youth hostels six weeks in advance and only bed and breakfast is available. Cycling is possible — providing the bicycle is sent to the GDR in advance! Youth hostels are not keen on young people with cars according to the Jugendtourist spokesman.

Entering the GDR, individually or in a party, takes time, typically one and half to two hours depending on traffic. Passports and visas are checked and considerable clerical work appears to take place. Whilst appreciating the need for the GDR authorities to be stringent at their borders, it is wise to prepare a party concerning what to expect. Otherwise, a long wait after a tiring journey just as the visit

proper is about to commence can seem less than ideal. These remarks apply equally to entry by road or from West Berlin by underground. Trains have timetabled stops of an hour or less at border stations.

CONCLUSION

The potential exists for a considerable expansion of exchanges and visits to the GDR. Undoubtedly the climate is becoming more conducive at national and international level and useful practical experience has been built up by organisations particularly in the last two or three years.

Exchanges have been well received in both countries and participants have been able to combine new experiences with an understanding that they are making their contribution to a better and more secure future.

REFERENCES AND NOTES:
1 The importance of personal contacts was recognised by the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe which opened at Helsinki in July 1973 and was concluded there in August 1975 by the representatives of thirty three European nations together with Canada and the United States. The Helsinki Final Act, as the document is often known, has a section 'Cooperation in Humanitarian Fields'. Under a sub-section entitled 'Meetings among Young People' the participating states pledge themselves to further the development of contacts and exchanges among young people by encouraging:

— the development, where possible, of exchanges, contacts and co-operation on a bilateral or multilateral basis between their organisations which represent wide circles of young people working, training or undergoing education; ...
— awareness among youth of the importance of developing mutual understanding and of strengthening friendly relations and confidence among peoples...

The Final Act with its 'Declaration of Principles Guiding Relations between Participating States' has not been widely publicised in this country. This is a matter for regret because the document gives a lead to workers and participants in many fields. The ninth Principle, headed 'Cooperation among States', provides a challenge especially relevant to aspects of youth work:

The participating States ... will endeavour, in developing their co-operation as equals, to promote mutual understanding and confidence, friendly and good neighbourly relations among themselves, international peace, security and justice. They will equally endeavour ... to improve the wellbeing of peoples and contribute to the fulfillment of their aspirations through ... the benefits resulting from increased mutual knowledge and from progress and achievement in ... social, cultural and humanitarian fields. They will take steps to promote conditions favourable to making these benefits available to all ...

They confirm that governments, institutions, organisations and persons have a relevant and positive role to play in contributing toward the achievement of these aims of their co-operation.
The Final Act of the Conference is printed in full in a White Paper *Cmd 6198* HMSO, 1975 and in Roberts D. and C. *How to Secure Peace in Europe* Harney and Jones, 1985.
Another hopeful development occured in October 1988 when Kenneth Baker and the Soviet education minister, Gennady Yagodin signed an agreement for school exchanges. The agreement expresses the hope that school to school twinning will 'promote a greater degree of mutual understanding amongst young people of both countries'.
2 The educational aims of the GDR derive directly from the constitution of the state. For example, Article 25 of the constitution provides for equal rights to education for every citizen and refers to 'an integrated socialist education'. This is developed in the 'Integrated Socialist Education System Act' which, in Section 1, states:

The socialist education system shall contribute substantially to enabling citizens to shape socialist society, to master the technological revolution and to take part in the development of socialist democracy ... It shall provide the people with a modern general education ... and, at the same time, shall bring out qualities in them in line with the principles of socialist morality.

A summary of aims is included in *Education in the GDR*, Panorama GDR, 1987 and *Young People in the GDR*, Panorama GDR, 1987 obtainable free of charge, with other relevant titles, from the Britain — GDR Society.

recognising what can be learned from elsewhere. That is, we hope to see an increasing use of the emphasis of the 'new realists' on the need to develop services for those at immediate risk of losing their liberty, particularly young adults; but, contrary to trends in England and Wales, we hope that alongside this development the positive, optimistic orientation of social crime prevention in Scotland will be retained. The Scottish experience has been shaped by a commitment to bringing about improvements in the life chances and social condition of young people. This is its distinctive value, and we believe that it contains lessons that should be heeded south of the border.

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reviews in this issue

Andrew McPherson & Charles D. Raab
GOVERNING EDUCATION:
A SOCIOLOGY OF POLICY SINCE 1945
Edinburgh University Press (1988)

Philip Hope
IDEAS INTO ACTION
National Council for Voluntary
Youth Services 1988

Michael Carley
PERFORMANCE MONITORING IN A
PROFESSIONAL PUBLIC SERVICE
Policy Studies Institute:
Research Report 685

W. Feek
WORKING EFFECTIVELY:
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Bedford Square Press 1988

J. Junger-Tas & R.L. Block
JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE
NETHERLANDS
Kugler Publications 1988

Jim Riordan (editor)
SOVIET EDUCATION: THE GIFTED
AND THE HANDICAPPED
Routledge 1988

Mike Maguire & John Pointing (editors)
VICTIMS OF CRIME:
A NEW DEAL?
Open University Press 1988

T. Jeffs & M. Smith (editors)
WELFARE AND YOUTH WORK
PRACTICE
Macmillan, London. 1988, 285 pages

This is an important book which concentrates on the nature and quality of the administration of the Scottish educational system from 1945 to the present.

In an introductory section (Part I) Chapter 1 deals briefly with aspects of policy history and theory, Chapter 2 with the educational system in Scotland and Chapter 3 with the methods employed by the researchers/writers in undertaking their empirical study. The book progresses through Part II (Education, Reconstruction and Change: A Case Study), Part III (Government and Resources), Part IV (Schooling and Advice) and Part V (The Policy Community). The book runs to twenty chapters in all.

The book has its origin in enquiries that started over ten years ago with a series of interviews with various senior officials concerned with changes in Scottish education in the post-war years; they include politicians, civil servants, inspectors and directors of education, and the transcripts of the interviews are the main source of the writers' primary research material.

What is effective methodologically in McPherson & Raab's book is that theirs is an account of events by those involved in the process of change. The perceptions of respondents are linked to a series of important developments in the educational landscape of Scotland: the needs of an expanding system in the '50s and '60s in terms of resources, facilities and teacher supply; pressures on the examination system including the introduction of 'O' Grade and latterly Standard Grade examinations; raising of the school leaving age and comprehensivization; and the demands of teachers' organisations for improved standards of entry to the profession, salaries and conditions of service.

Within the book they also consider such changes as the setting up of the General Teaching Council and the Consultative Committee on the Curriculum and the Scottish Examination Board. They examine relations between central and local government, the Scottish Education Department and the Department of Education and Science and the Treasury; and within the Scottish Education Department itself between administrative branches and the inspectorate.

McPherson & Raab discuss competing — if not conflicting — ideologies in Scottish education and offer a fascinating interpretation of power and challenge in educational change. They use the concept of 'policy community' as a way of encapsulating, interpreting and discussing the issues. The policy community is a dynamic entity and, as they describe it, has emerged as a result of both chance and intent. McPherson & Raab demonstrate how this community appeared firstly in the immediate post-war period as 'in-house' group mounting the SED's defence to the threat posed by the 1947 Advisory Council Report on Secondary Education. Then the policy community was widening by Brunton (HMCI) to include 'active' professionals in the field — teachers, college of education staff and directors of education.

However, centralised control was maintained in that the patronage of HMI's was used to select 'suitable' members to the 'policy community'. More recently the Inspectorate's role itself has been challenged by the tighter managerial style of Scottish Office administration, and politicians have been increasingly involved in bringing to bear greater internal pressure on the Inspectorate.

Since 1945 forces generated by local government, teachers' organisation and others have prevented

Scottish education from being wholly centralised.

McPherson & Raab illuminate the subleties of the conflict between centralisation and a wider system which stresses pluralism and partnership. Nevertheless, one point to be noted is that their interviews were conducted with many officials who retired in the mid-70s; and this means that their interpretation of changing events and perspectives of the last ten years are less well developed than the earlier years of their chosen period. The book is worthy of detailed consideration and will be a useful text on any academic's bookshelf. The book provides a wealth of information for future researchers to explore, and will particularly appeal to sociologists interested in socio-historical texts and to comparative scholars. I stress this last point because it is not clear from the title that this book is all about Scotland — not Britain. And in a book which is essentially about ideologies, it is perhaps an omission that the writers do not declare their own theoretical stance regarding the 'evidence'.

Overall the book is a blend of research and contextual theory and, if it were a whisky, one could suggest that it would mature with age. I would highly recommend the book to those interested in the government's attempts to control educational change and how this has been 'articulated', challenged and adapted by the wider educational community. It is a fine book which questions politics, policy, bureaucratic structures and forces and shows how these social factors set limits on the policy implementations of individuals within the educational system. As an important postscript, it is worth noting that it is not impossible that the 'policy community' and its influence on Scottish education may be considerably changed in the future if schools can opt out of local and regional authority control as is likely to happen in England.

DR. LEO B. HENDRY

This handbook, in the words of its writer, describes a structured, logical and fairly intensive project planning process. Here project is used in its more general sense as a piece of work. The handbook is aimed at practitioners, managers, and advisors. It has been designed as a 'working tool' which can be. dipped into at the relevant moment.

Material is organized around six main themes. These are framed in the following questions. 1. What issue do you want to tackle ? (Defining the problem). 2. What is your project trying to achieve? (Setting objectives). 3. What will happen in your project? (Choosing methods). 4. How will the project be run? (Questions of management). 5. How will you know whether the project has been successful and how will the learning be used? (Doing evaluation). 6. How can the project be put into practice? (Implementation).

Each section has a fairly brief survey of the key questions and issues; a listing of 'action points' — setting out the steps that you must take to plan your project; a number of discussion points — which highlight some of the places where choices have to be made and attempt to stimulate thinking about the necessary decisions; and activities — these set out simple exercises, mainly for small groups. Philip Hope also gives some indications as to further reading.

Most practitioners and managers will find something of interest in this publication. It has been built upon the experience of the writer as a trainer and consultant to various projects. As a result a number of the exercises etc. can be lifted and used with some confidence. The various checklists and the orientating discussion in each of the sections are competently done. At this sort of level it is difficult to fault the book, and as such is a useful addition to the literature of project planning, management and evaluation. However, I do have a number of reservations about the handbook and here I want to focus on two.

First, Hope doesn't seem to have been able to make up his mind as to the nature of the enterprise. Are these, in effect, programmed or open learning materials, an attempt at an integrated book, or are they to be understood as a sort of cookbook, where people take what they want? As learning materials they fall down in a number of design respects — for example, discussion points are not built into the text. As an integrated text the various activity points and the like rather take the reader away from the central conceptual points the writer may want to stress. As a cookbook, the text needed a more thorough-going mechanism by which people could pick and choose. In the end, as they say, the proof of the pudding will be in the eating. I suspect that people will get a lot out of the handbook, but they could be getting more if more attention had been paid to the identity of the beast and its design.

Secondly, and rather more fundamentally, there have to be questions about the whole conceptual edifice upon which this and many other similar books are based. Most of the management and evaluation books in youth work, and in the welfare services generally, draw upon industrial/bureaucratic models of thinking and practice. More specifically they focus on objectives and outcomes (products). Such approaches tend to stress technical rationality. In the Hope model the problem is described, then analysed, and a desired outcome and objectives framed. The method is then chosen, evaluation criteria and mechanisms established and steps taken to implement the project. All this then feeds back into the understanding of the problem. A number of writers have cast doubt upon this sort of

approach as a means of conceptualizing professional or educational thinking and action.

Alternative approaches stress reflection and deliberation. In other words, they are far more concerned with processes than products. Rather than starting with the problem, such approaches allow a number of elements to interact at any one moment. The talk is not so much of objectives, but of how our ideas of what makes for human well-being interact with particular situations, and how critical thinking may be generated and applied. A focus on deliberation and process, necessarily involves somewhat different means of project planning, implementation and evaluation. Grand designs and tight objectives for the work are basically out of the window. Some of the flavour of this has been captured by Schön in his book **The Reflective Practitioner** (1983). When people reflect-in-action, they become researchers in the practice context. Their inquiries are not limited to deliberations about means which depend on prior agreement about ends. Ends and means are not kept separate, but are defined interactively as problematic situations are framed. They do not separate thinking from doing, reasoning their way to a decision which must be later converted into action. Because their experimenting is a kind of action, implementation is built into inquiry (see Schön, 1983, p. 68). When materials start appearing about youth work management which are infused with that sort of thinking, we really can jump for joy. Up until then, we will have to make do with books like Hope's, which can be plundered for material, but which also have to be approached with extreme care.

MARK SMITH

PERFORMANCE MONITORING IN A PROFESSIONAL PUBLIC SERVICE
(The Case of the Careers Service)
Michael Carley
Policy Studies Institute: Research Report 685
ISBN 0 85374 375 4
Price: £7.55 (pbk) pp 157.

The research, on which this book was based, was commissioned by the Careers Service Branch of the Department of Employment in 1986/7. Its terms of reference were to study the feasibility of developing statistical instruments to measure the expectations of clients of the Careers Service and their level of satisfaction with the services provided. These were to be used to create a management and policy tool which would assist in a regular inter-authority performance monitoring system.

The book starts with a background to performance assessment in the public sector and describes some of the difficulties in applying this technique to professionals, in that there are problems in first defining key elements such as objectives, tasks and roles and then in devising measures of output that are easily quantifiable, valid, reliable and cost-effective. Carley then relates these issues to the specific case of LEA Careers Services. He lists 30 functions of Careers Services, under the broad headings of Young People, Careers Teachers, YTS, Employers, The Unemployed and Adults (adding racial monitoring and publications) — all of these derived from his own observations — and notes the significant variations in local service provision across the 96 LEA's in England. Carley shows that theories of career choice and development are diverse and provide no clear indices for measuring outcomes. It is also very difficult to separate the formal contribution of the Careers Service in the process of vocational maturation, from both the formal contributions of other agencies and informal/environmental factors — i.e. 'intervening variables'. He explains that there is not even total agreement as to which is the primary client-group for that service, noting that the position of this service within LEA's would tend to favour the young people who are the recipients of guidance and counselling as the primary group, whereas the objectives of the Department of Employment would tend to favour employers and training providers. Looking at the needs of the 'enterprise economy', he feels that client-centred guidance holds out the best possibility for the Careers Service contributing to a flexible and adaptable workforce. Most Careers Officers work to the client-centred principle, in his view, with young people as the primary clients and then a range of secondary client groups such as parents, employers and YTS managing agents. He accepts, however, that there is confusion over the appropriate role of the service, divergent expectations amongst secondary clients and an inability to demonstrate clear outcomes from careers guidance. Because of these factors, Careers Services have tended to use their strengths in organisation, expertise and the accumulation of data (e.g. on young people, employers, job vacancies and training opportunities) to good effect in a variety of coordinating and intelligence functions.

He then questions whether there would be any way of establishing a correlation between the expressed satisfaction of young people and the effectiveness in service provision, as their expectations may be unrealistic and/or based on undeveloped criteria. Similar reservations are made re. secondary clients. The most useful client satisfaction studies for the Careers Service are suggested to be long-term research projects into aspects of client satisfaction and/or 'quick and dirty' studies designed to reveal problems and aid in trouble shooting. Both of these would be conducted within a Careers Service. Inter-authority comparisons were rejected as invalid measures of performance.

Carley then investigated the potential for developing what are known as performance indicators. These attempt to measure the results of the provisions of

services (outcomes or outputs). He indentifies three preconditions for such an approach to be successful: 1) The delivery system can be 'modelled' to a series of defined tasks, each of which is quantifiable. 2) The relationship between inputs and outputs, or production function, can be established in such a way that varying inputs leads to a measurable change in output. 3) The 'intervening variables' can be controlled, or their effects neutralised. Not surprisingly, he finds the complexity of the Careers service and the range of intervening variables a barrier to an effective modelling approach of this kind. So performance indicators were also ruled out as inter-authority measures.

At this mid-point in the research project, Carley produced an interim report, outlining the methodological difficulties. Taking all of the above factors into consideration, Carley suggests that there are intractable obstacles to quantitative assessment of inter-authority performance.

In the second part of the report, there was therefore an investigation of more feasible approaches to performance monitoring. He started from the baseline of the present statistical Careers Service Management Return. Figures produced from this return, such as placings into employment, if modified to allow for local variations in the notification of vacancies, could be used as 'intermediate output measures', which would again be more appropriate as tools for intra-authority use.

Carley then focussed on the Careers Service Inspectorate of the Careers Service Branch and identified three ways in which its role should be strengthened (increased staffing, higher salary gradings and more promotion opportunities to lower turnover).

Finally, Carley suggests that Careers Services nationally should supplement the input and activity information provided already on the Careers Service Management Return with a coordinated and standardised annual collection of data on the destinations of young people. He feels this would make a real contribution to the flow of management information.

Despite some very useful suggestions, the main impact of the work is in the firm rejection of the feasibility of applying a measure of the outcome of vocational guidance, such that LEA's could be compared, ranked and therefore national or local policy/expenditure decisions taken on the strength of this measure. Given that the author could not find any valid, reliable and cost effective means of doing this, Careers Services will be grateful that he abandoned this approach during his research, rather than recommend to Careers Service Branch any measure(s) which would provide misleading information and lead to damaging decisions being taken. One hopes that a similar caution will prevail in any similar attempts to develop performance monitoring in other professions within the public sector.

Overall, the work is interesting and informative. Given a dearth of up-to-date literature on the Careers Service, it provides useful background information on that Service, in a readable form. It suffers from some duplication, especially in concluding/recommending paragraphs at the end of chapters, perhaps because of the change in direction midway through the research. His rationale for rejecting performance measurement, although sound; could have been explained in greater depth, perhaps in an appendix. Whilst, in my view, the usefulness of national destination statistics was overemphasised.

DESMOND HALL

WORKING EFFECTIVELY: A GUIDE TO EVALUATION TECHNIQUES
W. Feek
Bedford Square Press 1988
ISBN 071991177
£4.95.

'Voluntary organisations . . . have not, in the past, had a very good track record for devising and carrying out evaluations of their projects and programmes'.

This is the problem which Warren Feek, in this short book sets out to assist with by providing a practical guide to the principles and practice of evaluation.

To be able to write anything on this topic in the space of 45 pages demands that a number of assumptions are made from the beginning. Warren Feek's are revealed in a series of statements in the opening section which tell us that evaluation will be difficult if: there is uncertainty about the principle aim of the organisation; about the purpose of the work, or if resources for undertaking evaluation are unavailable. And where, later in the book, examples are provided to illustrate his approach, the importance of these underlying assumptions become apparent.

Thus, in his community transport project, precise, measurable objectives for the project itself are identified — 200 people over sixty-five for example, will get out of their houses on average three times a week. From such a starting point, identifying the indicators which will be used to measure progress towards the achievement of objectives becomes, if not simple, then at least a logical process. But we read, on page eleven, that only in an ideal world can we assume that voluntary organisations plan their projects in such detail. Is it unfair to ask, by implication, what the consequences are for community work method, of a planning process which requires precise, measurable objectives to be set in order that outcomes can be evaluated?

Or what an agency might do to help it evaluate its work where the purpose is less clear or the objectives imprecise? Or where real differences in values exist or emerge?

Feek is not unaware of the underlying values which inevitably affect the judgements in the evaluation process, but the book does not dwell on this. Choosing instead to stay with the basic methodology and take the reader step-by-step through its various stages: evaluation purpose, design, information collection, comparison judgement and outcome. Perhaps an acknowledgement at the beginning that the book represents one approach to evaluation would have made me feel more comfortable with it.

That said however, I do believe that the approach it provides can be enormously useful, both in programme-planning, and in evaluation itself. The book's greatest strength lies in the clarity which it brings to bear on the topic, and the choices it has made about where to provide detail, example or explanation. The twelve pages of chapter four for example, are very helpful in offering a range of techniques for collecting information.

Voluntary organisations do not need yet another academic treatise on evaluation design (the library shelves are full of them!). If they need some practical assistance, a D.I.Y. manual, then 'Working Effectively' may be just what they're looking for.

MALCOLM PAYNE

JUVENILE DELINQUENCY IN THE NETHERLANDS
J. Junger-Tas & R.L. Block
Kugler Publications 1988
ISBN 90 6299 036 3
US $ 38.50 D.F1.70.00. pp 242.

We all know that the Dutch penal system has a reputation for the liberal and humanitarian way in which it deals with offenders with only 33 prisoners per 100,000 population compared with 94 in England and Wales; yet there is little detailed information available in English on how the system works or the principles on which it is based. This book goes some way towards rectifying this situation by offering a series of empirical research studies into the causes of juvenile crime and the ways in which the identification of such causes have informed and directed policies towards young offenders in Holland.

As a publication from the Research and Documentation Centre of the Ministry of Justice (similar to our Home Office Research and Planning Unit), the research studies in this book are confined to an analysis of the individual characteristics of young offenders and the individual decisions made by policemen and prosecutors. This narrow 'scientific' approach tells us nothing about the nature of Dutch society, the policies of Dutch governments and their effects, for example, upon the distribution of wealth, single parents or race relations — all of which could validly be seen as important factors in the construction of the problem delinquency and its solutions. Anyone seeking to draw comparisons between Dutch and British society and social policies, therefore, will be disappointed by this book. However, what it does present is a powerful endorsement, based on unassailable empirical evidence, of penal measures which emphasise the social integration of young people who break the law and a condemnation as totally counter-productive of punitive sanctions which remove young people from their community or drive a wedge between them and that community.

The research begins with a series of sophisticated 'self-report' studies to test the validity of Hirschi's social control theory (or as Josine Junger-Tas prefers to call it, 'social integration theory') and compare it with 'differential association theory' as an accurate account of the way in which children and adolescents come to commit criminal offences. The results offer clear support for the idea that the strength of family or school bonds as, measured by participation in family or school activities and accepting family or school values, is the strongest predictor of delinquent behaviour. Conversely, they offer no support to the idea that 'mixing with the wrong sorts' or coming into contact with the formal criminal justice system are adequate explanations for initial offending, although such factors may serve to further alienate and isolate young people whose weak integration has pushed them towards a deviant career.

On the politically explosive issue of unemployment and crime, the Dutch experience is that a causal relationship between the two exists only in times of low youth unemployment, when, in other words, to be unemployed is to stand out as different from ones peers. However, it does not rule out the possibility of long-term unemployment leading to low self-esteem, poor integration and the commission of offences.

Another study confirms what many of us have believed for some time — that intervention by the police, prosecutor or courts has little or no discernible deterrent effect on individual delinquent behaviour. This is so even where 'the perception of such contacts is penetrating and disturbing' (p. 200). Yet, contrary to the theories which now dictate much social work and police practice throughout England and Wales, the 'labelling' effects of contact with officialdom were nowhere to be found. Once again, it is, according to the Dutch research, the level of social integration

which counts.

Since 1983 the Dutch government has taken positive steps to apply these research findings in penal policies directed at young offenders by the introduction of the *alternative sanction*. In some respects this brings the Dutch juvenile justice system into line with the system of educative justice developed by the French. This allows juvenile court judges and prosecutors to suspend pre-trial custody and divert young offenders away from the formal process in return for their participation in some form of community service designed to enhance their social integration and sense of personal responsibility, while at the same time 'limiting the use of traditional penal sanctions, especially detention, in order to avoid such unwanted side-effects as stigmatization, temporary separation from home and the non-occurrence of positive re-inforcements'. (p. 204).

Despite the strong influence of North American criminological methodology, the Dutch Government has avoided falling into the trap of making simplistic claims for *alternative sanctions* in terms of their effects on recidivism and the general reduction in juvenile crime. There is rather an implicit recognition that the locus of causality for most young offending is situated outside the formal criminal justice system and that it is quite unrealistic to judge the effectiveness of that system by attempting to relate crime rates to specific penal sanctions or treatment programme. Instead, the criteria used to assess these *alternative sanctions* are concerned with such matters as net-widening, time delays between offence and disposition, the ethnic, age and gender distribution of those young people selected for these measures, the attitudes of offenders and juvenile justice officials towards them and the drop-out rate. Above all, 'the "enrichment" of the judicial system and the humanizing aspects of the alternative sanctions are felt to be important'.

In conclusion, despite the obvious limitations of an approach to juvenile crime which concentrates on individual characteristics on the one hand and the juvenile justice system on the other, this is a book which challenges many of the assumptions about juvenile crime which proponents of both the justice and welfare approaches to juvenile crime hold dear. By relying upon clear analysis of empirical evidence, it also demonstrates how simplistic and absurd are the claims of successive British governments about what causes juvenile crime and how to change young people's behaviour through official intervention to tackle those causes.

MICHAEL KING

SOVIET EDUCATION: THE GIFTED AND THE HANDICAPPED
Jim Riordan (editor)
Routledge 1988
ISBN 0 415 00574 4
£27.50. pp 194.

The school system of England and Wales has always seemed to me to be remarkably parochial in both its self image and the debate about alternative forms of provision. However there are occasionally cracks in this endemic chauvinism, an example of this being a recent and growing interest in education in the Soviet Union and other Eastern Block states. Even our esteemed Secretary of State for Education has visited schools in the Soviet Union. This text is a reflection of that developing curiosity and provides a mixture of description and analysis of the position within the Soviet education system of special schools. The schools under examination include those which are specifically for a range of disabled young people, and also those schools which are intended to boost the sports skills in other young people.

In the field of Special Education, recent interest in the UK has focused on schooling for children with cerebral palsy. For example the Peto Institute in Hungary has pioneered conductive education, which appears to be a rather more effective teaching approach than currently practised in this country. The work of the Peto Institute has been influenced by the work of Vygotsky, a Russian psychologist, whose theories about learning were originally published in the post revolutionary period.

This book should therefore find a ready readership to some extent since it makes available an introduction to other educational theorists whose work has a significance for teachers working with young people with a range of disabilities. Over recent years the interest in the work of Vygotsky seems to have been driven by a concern for the integration of theory and practice in learning. There is an emphasis in the work of writers like Vigotsky, and other theorists, on the relationship between action and reflection, and also on the social nature of the teaching relationship. That is that the teaching/learning process should be seen as a helping dialogue, rather than a didactic transmission. Within this process however Vigotsky does emphasise the expertise of the teacher, unlike some western progressive educational theorists who tend to play down the directive influence of the teacher. However there is an ironic contrast embedded in this text between subtle dialectical theories of learning, and what appears to be incredibly authoritarian practice. If we examine the descriptions given in this book, the impression gained of the Russian practice is of the worst excesses of didactic, formalistic and unimaginative teaching which can still be found in this country.

According to the accounts given, the Russian school system in addition seems beset by the same inequalities that have marked schooling in the UK. Children from the service classes have a greater chance of extending their education than those from manual working classes; parental ambitions for children are as problematic in Russia as here; individualised competition is equally rife.

Having read the descriptions of Soviet practice in the text, the Secretary of State's enthusiasm for aspects of the Soviet education system is not surprising, given the Tories' preference for competition, a National Syllabus (I refuse to call it a curriculum), testing at every opportunity and the extension of elitist forms of schooling. All those who have been falling over themselves to welcome the proposals of the 1988 Education Act, should read this book to see what the future may hold.

The contradiction between theory and practice in the Russian system is commented upon by the authors, particularly in the chapter by Sutton. The authors also discuss another area of practice that I found difficult to resolve with the rhetoric of equality and citizenship which is intended to under-pin the Soviet school system, that is the way that schooling is organised for children with special needs. A significant issue is that children with special needs are frequently segregated from their peers in mainsteam schools in the USSR. If the education system is regarded as contributing to a homogeneous society as the Russian system intends, then it would seem to follow that young people should be educated together. Whatever the rationalisations offered by educationalists in Russia for this segregation, the competitive, individualistic curricula of mainsteam schools is antithetical to integration. I felt that the authors might have subjected this conflict to a rather more critical debate than the minimalist analysis presented here. The authors might plead lack of space, but the text is in fact only 194 pages long and for £27.50 readers could be forgiven for expecting rather more for their money.

I do agree with the authors view that we in this country have little right to criticise the system of the Soviet Union in relation to the gap between theory and practice. Despite the political rhetoric from both Labour Party and Tories about the need for changes in the educational system, in reality the business of teaching and learning in UK schools has often been addressed from a position of spiteful ignorance, with the wants of employers placed before the interests of young people themselves.

At least the Russians can be said to have some theory about teaching and learning which is taken seriously. Secondary education in the UK has only recently been an area for professional training, and given the predilections of the present Government we may quickly return to the days of yore. It does not take too long to find individuals who believe that teaching itself requires little or no theorising, anyone with a degree or a modicum of interest in a subject can get up and do it. This may be partly due perhaps to the contempt which the professional classes have historically had for 'trade'. But it is also the case that the division between theory and practice based on the division between mental and manual labour has deeply embedded itself in the education system in this country.

Overall the book is certainly worth reading for the descriptions and to some extent the analysis which it contains. However I suspect that the title will put off a number of people since it indicates a narrower focus than the book has in reality. In addition I must admit to being particularly repelled by the awful dust-cover which might have been reconstructed from the cover of the 1953 Conservative Party Manifesto.

DON BLACKBURN

VICTIMS OF CRIME: A NEW DEAL?
Mike Maguire and John Pointing (editors).
Open University Press 1988
ISBN 0 335 15567 7. ISBN 0 335 15566 PBK
Price £7.95. pp 224.

A substantial new collection concerned with the victims of crime is bound to address many audiences. Maguire and Pointing's resource book will be a valuable point of reference for academics and practitioners alike. It is particularly interesting to note that the contributing researchers straddle voluntary agencies, academic settings, and official bodies. This all serves to assist in the continuing rehabilitation of 'applied research' as something intellectually respectable and practically valuable. At last it seems that criminological research, to be 'applied', need no longer hark back to positivism and, by implication, the territory of the political Right.

This is a book of twenty chapters, diverse and densely packed. Students of what was once termed 'the sociology of crime and deviance' will find Jock Young's Left-realist critique of how surveys treat the 'reality of crime' and the 'fear of crime' to be useful. Young's contribution sounds perhaps a little familiar by now, but it is concise, and lucid, like the bulk of this collection. I found Mawby's discussion of victims' needs and rights valuable, linking-up to public policy and the responsibilities of the State in broad compensatory activity.

Mayhew and Hough's summary of the origins and context of the British Crime Survey is straight-forward, economical, and also introduces strands of research method: it will be a convenient introductory account for many undergraduate students.

Other chapters focus directly upon the problems faced by practitioners in supporting victims of crime, and also upon the characteristics and needs of victims themselves. Several papers deal with the question of women as victims and, here, two distinct aspects arise: the extent to which women are victims, and the applicability of feminist perspectives in accounting for the status of women as victims, and the links with gender roles in wider society. Stanko,

for instance, examines the degree of violence against women which remains hidden, going unnoticed in official statistics, police recording of crimes, and, as a consequence, the extent of support offered by victim support schemes. Stanko wishes to redirect the practice of law enforcement, and of crime survey researchers, to the 'concept and reality of gender stratification' in identifying and responding to violence against women. Three further chapters deal with rape and sexual offences, while Cooper and Pomeyie focus upon racially-defined victims of crime. Drawing from the experience of Camden Victim Support Scheme, Cooper and Pomeyie contrast the perceived lack of response by official/State agencies to racial harrassment with the modest, but successful, steps taken via the local VSS. A 'multi-agency approach' is advocated, and, despite its rather hackneyed image and connotations, there seems little doubt that a truly co-operative and co-ordinated multi-agency response is indeed the only hope for street victims.

Practitioners will find much that is useful here. If one wishes, however, to stand back from the details of current practice and to address questions relating to the re-emergence of the victim, and the rise of ostensible party political interest in the welfare of victims, then one needs more than a collection of essays, however useful they may be. In pursuing this larger task, the introduction to this collection by Pointing and Maguire themselves is a useful starting point.

Pointing and Maguire trace the ideological foundations of victims' movements to the United States, expressed in academic work on 'victim precipitated crime' in the late 1940s, and the more vocal protest movement of the 1970s. Whether talking of absurdist 'blame the victim' theories, or the more compassionate moves to treat victims decently, Pointing and Maguire are probably correct to locate the USA victims' movements as being toward the political Right. Libertarian and feminist elements, that is, are certainly active, but their voices have perhaps been weaker than the law-and-order lobby. The British victims' movement, as Maguire and Pointing note, has tended to concentrate on the development of services, rather than engaging in ideological dispute. In this sense, help for victims has been the objective, i.e., an extension of traditional British provision of voluntary social service where the State role is underdeveloped. Indeed, this latter point helps to identify the reasons why the current Government proclaims itself to be concerned with victim support: it satisfies the dual ideological goals of voluntary social service and of strong law-and-order rhetoric.

What, then, of politics? Alan Phipps contributes a chapter which examines the positions of the Conservative Party and the Labour Party in relation to victims of crime. It is often pointed out that the Conservative government showed its support for the victim by announcing, in 1986, a sharp increase in the funding of local support schemes. Phipps reminds us that this is the proverbial 'drop in the ocean' in comparison to total spending on the criminal justice system. However, it is worth remembering that the current Government, for whatever dubious mix of ideological motives, has spent more on direct victim support than any previous Government. Can this be dismissed? I think not. An elaborate discussion of relative autonomy is not necessary in order to recognise the progressive spin-off from this aspect of a change in the attitude of the State. Perhaps the best way of addressing the record of the current Government is to look in detail at the policies of the Labour Party in this matter. Phipps indicates that the Labour Party views support for victims not only in terms of increased financial support for specific schemes (although that is of course essential) but also alongside ' . . . wider policies on social provision — dealing with unemployment, alcohol and drug abuse, racism and sexism . . .'. This is, surely, a very positive development in the Labour Party's position. If implemented, it would shame the current level of Government support for victims of crime.

What of the origins of crime? Many contributors to this collection rightly point out that strategies of intervention presuppose theories about causation. It could be argued that Government support is considerably less than the costs of its economic and industrial policies which to some degree have contributed to crime in the first place. For those readers with a practical involvement in victim support schemes, the moral of many contributions herein is to rely on your efforts, organisation, and resources, accepting funding from the State where available, and learn from the experience of others, many examples of which are presented here. It may be that a Government at some point re-examines not only the level but the nature of its support for victims, and that eventually would clearly involve individual schemes in a re-assessment of their role. However, that is for the future: perhaps. In the meantime students and researchers will find this collection to be the most useful currently available on victims of crime. It is a sourcebook for different audiences. If you are either interested or involved, it is worth getting hold of.

JOHN FENWICK

WELFARE AND YOUTH WORK PRACTICE
T. Jeffs and M. Smith (Eds).
Macmillan, London. 1988, 285 pages
ISBN 0 333 40581 7 (hb). 0 333 40982 5 (pb)
£30 h.b./£8.95 p.b.

This collection of specially commissioned essays is the second book in a series of three dealing with youth issues edited by Tony Jeffs and Mark Smith. The editors' declared central objective in this work is to 'plug the gaps' in youth work literature which have impeded the development of a comprehensive theory of, and an analytical framework for, youth work. A superficial glance at the contents page and the notes on the contributors — a wide cross section of practitioners, training officers and lecturers in further and higher education — leads to a certain sceptical hesitancy as one wonders whether such a disparate set of essayists can contribute effectively to the achievement of the book's main aim. Such doubts begin to fade quite rapidly as, on closer reading, one realises that the twelve main chapters do appear to fall quite naturally into three main sections. Firstly, a debate on the nature, purpose and development of youth work, both as a separately identifiable service and also within the broader context of welfare provision. Secondly, an investigation into youth work's relationship with other agencies involved in working with young people. Thirdly, an analysis of the issues affecting youth work as a profession and, in particular, questions of organisation, training and management. In view of the bold objective, to which so many are contributing, it seems appropriate to outline the general nature of some of those individual contributions.

Chapters 1 and 2 analyse the relationship between the welfare state and youth work, formulating a critique along Marxist lines of the purpose of the welfare state, 'a transmitter of disadvantage' (p. 21). The authors systematically develop illustrative arguments to demonstrate how the state responds to its two contradictory functions of, on the one hand, maintaining a system which ensures profit for the dominant elite whilst, on the other hand, claiming to pursue the objective of social harmony. Depoliticising social problems is the state's solution; the authors clearly aim to re-politicise the issues. This first section of the book concludes with a chapter on the 'economics of youth work' which is prefaced with the admission that little is in fact known generally about this aspect. The data and statistics produced by the authors clearly raise more questions than they answer, but surely the response they provoke will serve the general debate well.

Given the traditional primacy of local government in youth work, Chapter 4 is an essential element, all the more so as it provides a thorough and succinct account of the changing relationship between central and local government, and examines how the decline

in local authority autonomy is likely to have an impact on youth work. Chapters 6, 7 and 8 focus on some of the other leading actors in youth work, in particular, schools, the Department of Education and Science (DES) and the recently renamed Manpower Services Commission (MSC). A youth work ideology as developed by key groups and individuals such as Her Majesty's Inspectors and leading professionals in statutory and voluntary organisations, is extracted by the authors with the aid of some revealing interviews with experienced professionals and 'field workers'. Supported by other data and statistics the authors raise a number of serious questions which seek to challenge the establishment practice of trying to divorce youth work from the broader political and economic context. The anonymity which is granted to some interviewees is, however, likely to be pinpointed as the Achilles Heel of an otherwise soundly developed case which is consistent with the strongly critical theme running through the book.

Unemployment remains one of the severest problems facing today's young people in Britain, yet surprisingly, the major drive to confront this largely excludes what might be considered an essential player: the Youth Service. The relationship between youth workers and the principal agent involved in youth unemployment, the MSC (as was), is subjected to some serious 'soul searching'. To what extent is the MSC's motivation in dealing with young people severely 'at odds' with that of the Youth Service? The dilemma posed to the Youth Service is whether to become involved in . . . 'restructuring youth labour in the interests of capital and the political purposes of containing and resocialising surplus youth labour in the interests of control' (p. 160) . . . or rather to refuse to abandon young people and seek to work within the various schemes in the hope of fighting for young people's rights from within an established framework. Scenes such as at the recent Trades Union Congress suggest that the debate has, in fact, moved on a generation to the question of Employment Training for adults, which leaves the impression that the question of youth training enjoys enough of a measure of consensus amongst the influential groups to strangle attempts to revitalise fundamental differences of opinion on its general nature and purpose.

Youth work at its most effective necessarily involves the building of good relationships between youth workers and young people, an inevitable consequence of which may be the disclosure by young people of personal problems which could have criminal implications. This is, suggest the authors, an area in which many youth workers feel a sense of unease and trepidation, which may be at least partially explained by ignorance of the workings of the juvenile justice system. Chapter 8 seeks to remedy this. What follows is an examination of the related and rather thorny issue of relations between young people, youth workers and the police. Against the rather bleak backdrop of widespread street disturbances in the summer of 1981, and subsequent violent clashes, the authors chart the deepening sense of suspicion and distrust of the police harboured by sections of young people. As a matter of some urgency the authors call on the Youth Service to develop a coherent response to what they see as the attempt by the police to gradually displace the Youth Service by becoming increasingly and more directly involved in youth work.

Chapter 10 opens the final section of the book by considering the arguments about the suitability of organising youth workers into some kind of professional association as opposed to trade union based organisation. The two fundamental arguments revolve around whether youth work should be regarded as a distinct profession, equipped with unique skills and guided by a professional code of ethics, seeking to maintain and develop that profession to the benefit of its 'clients', or whether youth workers are more significantly characterised by their status as employees who have little control over their working environment and would thus be more appropriately organised as trade unionists. Set against the historical context of developments in youth work over the past 50 years or so, the author's

conclusion is that, given the deeply divisive nature of Thatcherite policies, whose impact on youth has been particularly severe, a certain radicalisation of youth workers has resulted, and welfare policies which have left youth workers vulnerable in terms of employment, wages and conditions of service, have made the trade union framework for organisation essential. Such political criticism notwithstanding, a certain accommodation, rather uncommon in the book as a whole, is considered appropriate insofar as the necessity for some kind of updated professional code of practice is considered important in order to salvage some quality for what remains of the Youth Service. This is surely the dilemma facing a whole range of professionals as attempts to 'roll back the frontiers of the state' are having their impact throughout welfare services in general. Dependency is deplored in government circles as a social evil, an '. . . aberrant path . . . (which) can corrupt the human spirit' according to John Moore, Social Services Secretary, as reported in the press last year. Self help is promoted as a restorer of pride and self confidence, a fountain of inner strength which helps one overcome life's misfortunes. But when one considers the welfare organisations, charities, families, friends and neighbours overburdened with the devastating consequences of reduced welfare provision, or at least with those consequences they are aware of and are able to do something about, the double-speak of this government is clear for all those who wish to see it. Dependency is not the corrupting influence it is made out to be, certainly not according to the present administration, unless, of course, one is unfortunate enough to have to be dependent on it.

The general purpose and direction of youth work training is examined in its historical context, although particular attention is paid to the 1982 Thompson Report and the subsequent establishment of a national supervisory body for training in youth and community work. The authors detect a certain 'creeping centralism' which is particularly concerning in view of the rather narrow representation on the aforementioned supervisory body which, in its original form, counted amongst the 22 members only 3 women and no-one from the black community. Chapter 12 reflects a similar concern for growing centralism as youth work becomes enmeshed in the managerial revolution which is sweeping through the public sector. One of the key concerns is quite succinctly put by the authors who question the extent to which managerialism is no longer a process to facilitate the achievement of certain objectives, a means to an end, as it were, but has rather become an end in itself with substantial resources being diverted from the delivery end of youth work to the implementation of various management-orientated organisational plans.

Despite the reviewer's initial concern at the disparate focus of individual contributors, one theme clearly emerges from the book, and that is the questioning of the continued existence of the Youth Service. Throughout its entire existence, the Youth Service never did, according to the editors' conclusions, develop a 'clarity of purpose that could have given it a role and secure future' (p. 252). With this in mind one cannot help wondering whether the editors' laudable objective of contributing to a rigorous debate to 'thrash out' a soundly based theory of youth work has, by their own findings, come too late. Nonetheless the book will achieve that main objective, for the critical edge of all the contributions will surely provoke a rash of counter-theories and explanations which will move the debate forward. In this respect, then, the book is a welcome and valuable addition to youth work literature and many of its arguments will strike a chord much further afield in the public sector than with just those who have an interest or involvement in youth work. One lingering doubt about the book remains, though, as a nice touch of irony is effected by the editors' prefacing of this solid and systematic left-wing critique of welfare and youth work practice with an expression of gratitude to those arch-capitalists Messrs. Wimpey and MacDonald!

NICK HAYWARD

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. It is important to note the chronological sequence of some material.

BENEFITS

STUDENTS, BENEFITS AND ACCESS TO EDUCATION

This article briefly describes the main rules affecting students' rights to claim Income Support (IS) and Housing Benefit (HB). It looks at the proposals contained in the recent White Paper on student loans and makes some suggestions for a more democratic financial system to support all students.

At a time when the Government says it is concerned about possible problems of skill shortages and a lack of flexibility amongst the workforce you could be forgiven for assuming that this means they would be trying to make access to further and higher education as easy as possible. In reality the opposite is the case. Changes made to benefits up to now and future changes proposed for grants and benefits from 1990, have systematically restricted access to further education to those students whose families can afford to support them.

Such an approach reinforces the already strong class bias in our education system and makes a nonsense of reforms which have sought to redress balances such as those between rich and poor.

The Current Position

The question of whether students are able or not to claim welfare benefits is widely seen to be complex and confusing.

This partly stems from attempts by the present Government to separate financial support for students from the wider welfare benefits system. The Government would prefer a situation where students were supported "through the grants system, by their families, and by their own earnings in vacations".[1]

However, very many students find that the grants system is inadequate or not available to them. What can students who fall into these categories do?

INCOME SUPPORT

Those people who are classed as students cannot normally claim Income Support at any time other than during the Summer vacation. A student is either:

— a person under 19 doing a full-time course of advanced education

or

— a person aged 19 or over who is attending a full time course of advanced or non advanced study.

For practical purposes, what counts as "full time", is not defined and it will therefore remain an area of contention. The description of the course will, in most cases, be more important than the number of hours spent at college since colleges vary in their descriptions of what constitutes a full time course.

Even if a person does not receive a student grant once she, or he, is classed as a student they will normally be unable to claim Income Support in term time or during the Christmas and Easter vacations.

Who can Claim?

Certain groups of people can still claim and these include the following:
1. Single parents.
2. Disabled students who are unlikely to obtain employment in a reasonable period of time (i.e., in comparison with other students).
3. A student who is a "person from abroad" and who is temporarily without funds.
4. People who are not doing a full time course.

21 Hours Rule

The "21 hour rule', is perhaps more easily understood as an instance where a person can continue to claim benefit provided that the course of study is part time e.g., under 21 hours, and that the person continues to make herself, himself available for work (if required to).

Contrary to common belief, the 21 hour rule is still in operation although there have been changes which generally exclude 16 and 17 year olds.

Calculation

Once a student has established entitlement to I.S., then benefit is calculated in the normal way except where special rules apply about grant and covenanted income.

HOUSING BENEFIT

Being a student is not normally a bar to claiming Housing Benefit. However, the Government has been concerned about the growth in the number of students claiming H.B., and steps have been taken since 1986 to restrict student claims.

H.B., Regulations provide a much wider definition of a student than I.S. Part-time and full-time students are therefore defined as persons:
". . . Attending a course of study at an educational establishment".

Effect on students

This has important consequences for students trying to claim H.B.

a. Students living in accommodation provided by the educational establishment they attend, can only claim H.B., for the period they occupy the accommodation in the summer vacation.

b. Full time students cannot claim H.B. for their term time accommodation during the summer term if they are temporarily absent from it. (Exceptions include, for example, students whose main reasons for occupying accommodation are not connected with courses of study).

c. Many overseas students cannot claim H.B. For example, students whose entry into the U.K. are dependent on the proviso that they make "no recourse to public funds".

d. Full-time students face a reduction in the amount which H.B. recognises as rent. This is equivalent to the amount contained in mandatory student grants to cover weekly rents, (£14 for students outside London). With the exceptions listed below, deductions apply to all full-time students whether they receive a mandatory grant or not.

No Deductions
— If students are on I.S.
— If student receives a Training Commission Allowance.
— If student is a lone parent.

or

— If student, or partner, is disabled and receives a disability premium.

or,

— If student has a partner who is not a full-time student and making a deduction would bring their income below H.B. level.

Calculating H.B. proceeds in the normal way after the deduction is made except, as with I.S., special rules for grant and covenanted income apply.

FUTURE PROPOSALS

Cuts

The White Paper[2], proposes to introduce a system of student top-up loans while cutting students rights to claim some benefits. This means that from September 1990 the Government proposes to severely restrict the ability of full-time students to claim Income Support, Unemployment Benefit or Housing Benefit. Only lone parents, disabled students and partners or students will be able to claim.

Charity

The Government is also proposing to establish three "Access Funds" of £5 million each, per year, "to provide discretionary support, in individual cases of financial need, for students losing their entitlement to benefits".[3]

Access Funds will be administered by each educational establishment. Allocations to each establishment will be made in response to their bids to appropriate "Funding Councils".

Poverty or Self Reliance?
The Government has presented these proposals as a method of promoting "economic awareness among students and their self-reliance".

Quite how putting people into debt achieves this, is something of a mystery. Many students clearly face a worsening financial outlook. Replacing the right to benefit with uncertain payments from discretionary funds organised by individual colleges also follows in the now familiar pattern of the Independent Living Fund and the Social Fund.

The Facts
Some general points should be made about this Government's approach to income maintenance for students.

In its aim to remove students from the benefits system, the Government infers that students are adequately supported via current grants arrangements. This is not so. Students who do receive mandatory grants often find them inadequate because the cash amounts depend on assumed, rather than actual, proportions of parental contributions.

Then there are students who are not eligible for mandatory grants. Local education authorities have discretionary powers to provide grants to people who don't receive mandatory awards but authorities vary widely in their application of these powers.

If H.B. is designed to assist people on low incomes with their housing costs why are students singled out for special treatment? Furthermore, unlike I.S., entitlement to H.B. is not linked to availability for work so there is no logical reason why students should be treated inequitably.

WHAT SHOULD BE DONE?

There is clearly a need to radically revamp the existing student income maintenance system. The following brief notes outline the basis on which I believe, changes should be made.

a. Grants Not Loans — Students need a system of grants. These grants should be set at a level where students don't have to consider relying on means tested benefits like Income Support.

b. Fair and Comprehensive — A grants system needs to be adequate in level and comprehensive in coverage. The same system of grants should apply to all full-time students over school leaving age, whatever the type of further education institution or course, they attend. This clearly implies that the new rules introduced last September for 16 and 17 year olds should be abolished. The needs of part-time students are more complex but time should be given to examining these and to ensuring that any proposals for change are clear to everyone.

c. Parity in Benefits. Students should be able to claim benefits on the same basis as everyone else. This particularly applies to Housing Benefit.

References
1. Reform of Social Security, vol. 1 Cmnd., 9517, 1985, para. 9.28.
2. Top-Up Loans for Students cm., 520, 1988.
3. White Paper, para 1.4.

monitor:

'Monitor' for this issue:
prepared by Chris Parkin and Moyra Riseborough.
'Monitor' will not appear in future issues.

Code
All sources are Official Report (Hansard).
Headings are as published.
The following code describes the references used.

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

All items are available through our Copy Service

No. 157 24th May 1988

Child Benefit
Mr Kinnock: Will the Prime Minister now unfreeze child benefits and restore the 70p cuts that she has made in the past two years?

The Prime Minister: Child benefit is reviewed each year. This year we chose to give a great deal more to children in families who had low earnings, so that we helped those who needed it most.

Mr Kinnock: It did not make up for the child benefit cuts. When I heard the Prime Minister on Saturday saying that she considered that children were: "a precious trust", I wondered whether she meant in practice. Now I know that she does not. By their fruits ye shall know them.

The Prime Minister: Perhaps the right hon. Gentleman will do me the courtesy of reading the speech. I do not believe — and it is a personal view — that one discharges all one's duties by casting them off on to the state.

Mr Kinnock: The Prime Minister has cut child benefit. She has stopped free school meals. She has ended single payments. Can she tell us which passage of the Bible inspired her to do all that? Could it have been Matthew 27:24, "Pilate ... took water, and washed his hands."

The Prime Minister: I believe that the right hon. Gentleman debases everything — *[Interruption]* — that he and I both probably believe in if we try to exchange quotations across the Chamber. I made it perfectly clear in that speech that we simply cannot delegate the exercise of mercy and generosity to others, and that therefore there is a very important place both for help through the state — which we operate — and personal help and personal responsibility. The right hon. Gentleman asked me personally. Perhaps he will kindly look at the amount which I have voluntarily forgone from my salary over the past nine years. *[Interruption.]*

Nurses (Education and Training)
Mr Stokes: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services if he will make a further statement on the project 2000 proposals for the reform of nurse education and training.

Mr Moore: I have today announced our broad acceptance of the United Kingdom Central Council's proposals for major reform of nurse education and training. This entails acceptance of the proposals for a common foundation training between the various nursing specialisms, to be followed by specialist training; a significant reduction in nursing students' rostered contribution to service, without, however, substantially altering the essentially practical orientation of their training; and a move to full student status and replacement of salaries with non-means-tested bursaries. A number of outstanding points remain to be resolved, including the role and training of support staff to nurses and the timetable for the cessation of enrolled nurse training. I hope that further work with the council will enable us to agree a firm timetable as soon as possible.

A copy of the Government's response to the UKCC has been placed in the Library.

Child Allowances
Mr Wigley: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services if he will set out in a table the child allowances paid to families with one, two three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and 10 children in each of the European Community member states.

Mr Scott: I refer the hon. Member to the Department's publication, "Tables of Social Benefit System in the European Communities (Position at 1 January 1987)", a copy of which is in the Library. Section VIII contains information on child allowances in the European Community member states.

Benefits
Mr Fatchett: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services how many people under the age of 23 years were in receipt of (a) supplementary benefit and (b) housing benefit at the latest available date; and what were the corresponding figure for 1983 and 1986.

Mr Portillo *[holding answer 4 May 1988]:* On 31 May 1987, the latest date for which information is available, 738,000 people under the age of 23 years were in receipt of supplementary benefit. The corresponding figures for 1983 and 1986 were 807,000 and 843,000, respectively.

Source: Annual Statistical Enquiries.

Teachers (Qualifications)
Mr Devlin: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he has any proposals to amend the arrangements for granting qualified teacher status in England and Wales.

Mr Kenneth Baker: After consultations with my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Wales I am today issuing a consultation document proposing new arrangements for granting qualified teacher status in England and Wales.

I propose to simplify the arrangements governing the employment in England and Wales of teachers from other parts of the United Kingdom and from overseas and to introduce clearer and better arrangements for the entry to teaching of persons with relevant experience and other qualifications who have not completed courses of pre-service training.

My objectives are to:

enhance quality by requiring that — except in closely prescribed cases — all those entering teaching by other than the normal initial training route should have demonstrated the necessary knowledge, personal qualities and teaching ability in the classroom before being granted qualified teacher status;

ensure that the arrangements for granting qualified teacher status are better able to serve the needs of employers; reduce significantly the administrative complexity of the present arrangements.

With certain limited exceptions, primarily for teachers from other parts of the United Kingdom or other parts of the education service, I therefore propose that all entrants to teaching by other than the standard training route should have to have satisfactorily completed a period of service as a licensed teacher and any associated training required by the employer before being eligible for qualified teacher status.

To secure that appropriate statutory authority exists for the new arrangements as these may be implemented in the light of the process of consultation, the Government will table appropriate amendments to the Education Reform Bill now being considered in another place.

I am also proposing to revoke the regulations providing for a statutory system of probation for teachers. The present system has proved cumbersome and ineffective. It should be the responsibility of the employer to provide support for the beginning teacher, to monitor his performance and, if necessary, to decide that that performance is unsatisfactory.

Full details of my proposals are set out in the consultation document; copies are being placed in the Libraries of both Houses and in the Vote and Printed Paper Offices. I shall invite replies to the consultation document by mid-October.

Solvent Abuse
Mr French: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services how many children under the age of 16 years died as a result of solvent abuse in the most recent years for which figures are available.

Mrs Currie: The most complete data available come from a continuing study carried out by the department of clinical epidemiology and social medicine of St George's hospital medical school, London.

This study, the national study of deaths associated with the abuse of volatile substances collects data from a variety of sources, including death registrations and a survey of coroner's findings. It suggests that in 1985 there were 23, and in 1986 27 (provisional figure) such deaths to those aged under 16 in England and Wales.

Community Care
Mr Robin Cook: To ask the Secretary of State for Social Services what impact the Government expect section 19(3) of the Income Support Regulations 1987 to have on its community care policy.

Mr Portillo: Regulation 19(3) of the Income Support (General) Regulations 1987 provides definitions of establishments which are to be treated as residential care homes or nursing homes for income support purposes. These definitions do not substantively differ from those in force under supplementary benefit legislation and represent no change in the Government's policy on community care.

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Travel Bursary Scheme
3. **Mr Chapman:** To ask the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland what is his estimate of the number of young people who will benefit from his recently announced travel bursary scheme; and what is the timetable for its implementation.

The Parliamentary Under-Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (Dr Brian Mawhinney): I anticipate that between 24 and 30 young people, selected equally from across the religious divide, will benefit from the Spirit of Enniskillen bursary scheme each year. The first applications will be considered in the autumn of 1988 with the first visits being undertaken in 1989.

Mr Chapman: I thank my hon. Friend for that information and applaud the initiative. Will he tell the House a little more about this unique scheme? What does he hope that it will achieve? I hope that it will promote the example and spirit set by Mr Gordon Wilson in the wake of the horrific tragedy at Enniskillen last year.

Dr Mawhinney: The purpose of the scheme is to enable Catholic and Protestant young people to travel together around the world, to learn about each other and to learn how others are living across divides. My hon. Friend mentioned Mr Wilson. We hope that the awards will be imbued with the spirit of forgiveness that he exemplified and the spirit of coming together evident among the people of Enniskillen after that horrific event. My hon. Friend will be pleased to know that Mr Gordon Wilson has agreed to be one of the judges in the first year of the award.

Under-Age Drinking (Prosecutions)
Mr Cox: To ask the Secretary of State for the Home Department what has been the number of prosecutions in each of the last five years for under-age drinking against publicans and juveniles.

Mr Douglas Hogg: The information available to me, which may be incomplete, relates to prosecutions under sections 169(1) and 169(2) of the Licensing Act 1964, and is given in the following table. Data for 1987 are not yet available.

Persons proceeded against for offences under sections 169(1) and 169(2) of the Licensing Act 1964

England and Wales					Number of persons
	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986
Prosecutions under:					
Section 169(1)	323	307	314	274	296
Section 169(2)	1,931	1,627	1,171	790	949

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City Technology College Lincoln
Mr Fatchett: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science (1) on what basis his Department has held any discussions with members or officials of Lincolnshire county council education committee about the possible use of (a) South Park school, Lincoln and (b) any other local education authority school in Lincoln as a city technology college; and if he will make a statement;

(2) whether his Department had held any discussions about the possibility of establishing a city technology college in Lincoln, and if he will make a statement.

Mrs Rumbold: My Department has had no discussions with members or officials of the Lincolnshire LEA concerning the use of any specific LEA school as a city technology college. Discussions have taken place, on three occasions in the period between November 1986 and February 1988, to give the local authority and the business community general information on the establishment of CTC's.

Universities Funding Council
Mr Lester: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science when he expects to announce the appointment of the chairman and chief executive of the proposed Universities Funding Council.

Mr Kenneth Baker: I am pleased to announce appointments to both posts: Lord Chilver FRS FEng, currently vice-chancellor of Cranfield Institute of Technology, and soon to return to private industry, will be the first chairman; and Sir Peter Swinnerton-Dyer KBE FRS, currently chairman of the University Grants Committee, the first chief executive. The Universities Funding Council and the universities will be well served by this formidable team.

Pupils (Equal Opportunities)
Mr Tony Lloyd: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will give guidance to local education authorities about the implications of the recent decision in the courts with respect to equal opportunities between male and female pupils.

Mr Dunn: I assume the hon. Member is referring to the recent decision by the Court of Appeal to uphold the earlier High Court ruling that Birmingham city council was guilty of unlawful sex discrimination in providing fewer selective places for girls than for boys in the City's maintained grammar schools. I understand that the council now intends to appeal against the judgement to the House of Lords. My right hon. Friend wishes to await the outcome of that appeal before considering whether it would be appropriate to offer any guidance to local education authorities.

Job Training Scheme
Mr Anderson: To ask the Secretary of State for Wales what was the target figure for JTS in Wales in the last financial year, the total number of participants, and the underspend on appropriation.

Mr Wyn Roberts: Numerical and financial regional targets were not set when new job training schemes started in April 1987, since the pace of expansion of the scheme was to be determined by the quality of training. In Wales up to 12,040 places were contracted by managing agents in the year ending April 1988, during which 4,586 unemployed adults entered the scheme and expenditure by Manpower Services Commission was £2,069 million.

Youth Projects (Kensington)
Mr Fatchett: To ask the Secretary for the Environment if he will list those youth projects in existence in the Kensington parliamentary constituency for each of the past five years; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Trippier: My Department does not keep comprehensive information on youth projects in Kensington or any other area. A number of projects in Kensington aimed at benefiting young people have been supported by my Department through the urban programme in the past five years. These are listed as follows.

Royal Borough of Kensington and Chelsea Youth projects supported through the Urban Pogramme 1983-88

YTS Training Centre
Construction of new training centre for borough wide youth training scheme.
Glissando Steel Orchestra
To build a sound proofed rehearsal centre for orchestra.
Outward Bound Courses
12 outward bound places on courses.
Cremorne Riverside Centre
Training centre for water based activities.
St Stephen's Intermediate Treatment Centre
Centre for the prevention and treatment of delinquency.
North Kensington Family Centre
Family centre with a Caribbean focus.
North Kensington Students Hostel Ltd.
Accommodation for homeless students.
Unemployed Centre (Venture Community Association)
Drop in centre for the unemployed.
Holiday Projects
Provision of play projects during the school summer holidays.
Stopgap
Holiday project.
Unity Association Hostel
Accommodation and support for young people.
Tabernacle Community Association Ltd.
Community Centre.
Harvey IT/Education Centre.

Mr Buckley: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what representations he has received on the report of the interim advisory committee on teachers' pay and conditions; and if he will make a statement.

The Secretary of State for Education and Science (Mr Kenneth Baker): I have received written and oral representations from the teacher unions and the local authority associations.

Mr Buckley: Does the Secretary of State accept that morale in the teaching profession is pretty low because of pay? Does he also accept that the interim advisory committee report recommends that teachers should have an equal salary increase across the board and also considers the £300 million allocated to be a restraint on the wage increase for the teaching profession which is well below the average increase in earnings of 8 per cent. recently awarded to other workers, such as nurses and doctors, and others in industry? Will the Secretary of State comment on that?

Mr Baker: Teachers will receive 4.25 per cent. from 1 April on top of the 8.2 per cent. last October. Teachers on the main scale will, on average, receive a further 4 per cent. in September as a result of increments. Increases for individual teachers during this year will range from 4.25 per cent. to 14.5 per cent., when allowance is made for the increased value and number of allowances.

Mr Madel: As the administration and teaching of GCSE has a lot to do with teachers' conditions of service, will the advisory committee on pay and conditions publish some of its conclusions and opinions as to how this first year of GCSE has worked out?

Mr Baker: That goes rather beyond the remit of the interim advisory committee, but I pay tribute to the work of teachers across the country to make the introduction of GCSE so successful, which I am sure it is and will be.

Ms Armstrong: Does the Secretary of State recognise that many teachers are looking to the Government for some response to the work that they have been putting in to improve GCSE and to cope with the many changes that he is suggesting? Is it not disgraceful that the Government are suggesting offering them just over 4 per cent. when other average earnings are increasing by more than 8 per cent., and when the Government gave in to pressure from the nurses to improve their pay and conditions? Why will the Secretary of State not respond to the teachers?

Mr Baker: There was a major restructuring for the teachers last year just as there is a major restructuring this year. I do not know whether the hon. Lady heard my reply earlier, but I said that teachers would receive 4.25 per cent. in April and the great majority of teachers on the main scale will receive another 4 per cent. in September. If they qualify for incentive allowances, some teachers will get infinitely more than that.

Mr Paice: Does my right hon. Friend agree that the extra increase in incentive payments in the latest award — well above the basic 4.5 per cent. — means that there is ample opportunity for the better teachers to improve themselves and be better rewarded?

Mr Baker: I agree with my hon. Friend. That is one of the features of the IAC report and the structure of teachers' salaries introduced last year. There are now five different grades of allowances which permit good teachers, teachers with more responsibility and teachers in shortage subjects to be rewarded. That structure was given tremendous impetus by the IAC report.

Mr Fatchett: As the Press Association tapes report that the Secretary of State is having to cancel meetings because of the "pressures of the Education Reform Bill".

we are delighted to see him here this afternoon. Will the Minister note that the interim report paints a worrying picture of low morale among teachers, of key shortages of teachers of important subjects, and states that there is real doubt about the ability of teachers to deliver the national curriculum? What action will the Minister take on the interim advisory committee's suggestion that none of those problems can be satisfactorily resolved if the £300 million ceiling is maintained?

Mr Baker: To answer the hon. Gentleman's last point, although there was a cost envelope of £300 million, the cost of the report's full recommendations came to £332 million, and I have accepted the extra allowances. My hon. Friend the Minister of State has already emphasised the impetus that we are putting in to increased teacher training. I agree with the hon. Gentleman that we shall need more teachers, particularly in certain shortage subjects, to implement the national curriculum. We have several schemes in hand, and there was a good increase in recruitment last year. I hope that there will be an increase this year as well.

Racism (Prosecutions)

Mr Harry Greenway: To ask the Attorney-General how many successful prosecutions there have been for incitement to racial hatred in (a) the past 20 years and (b) the past five years; and if he will make a statement.

The Attorney-General: Since 1979 there have been 43 successful prosecutions for incitement to racial hatred. Of these, 16 successful prosecutions have occurred in the past five years. The figures in respect of prosecutions prior to 1979 are not kept separately and could be discovered only at disproportionate cost.

WA.

EDUCATION AND SCIENCE

Post-16 Provision

10. Mr O'Brien: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he has any plans to meet representatives of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities to discuss future arrangements for post-16 provision; and if he will make a statement.

38. Mr Fisher: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he has any plans to meet representatives of the Association of Metropolitan Authorities to discuss future arrangements for post-16 provision; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs Rumbold: My right hon. Friend has no plans at present to meet the Association of Metropolitan Authorities to discuss post-16 provision. However, he is always willing to receive representations from the association on that or any other issue.

Education Reform Bill

18. Mr Ames: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what representations he has received about those aspects of the Education Reform Bill which deal with higher education.

Mr Jackson: Many representations have been received. Copies of those from organisations in response to the various consultative documents are in the Library.

20. Mr Morley: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he is in a position to provide more detail of the proposed methods of testing under the provisions of the Education Reform Bill; and if he will make a statement.

51. Mr Cousins: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he is now in a position to provide more detail of the proposed method of testing under the provisions of the Education Reform Bill; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs Rumbold: Not yet.

53. Mr Boswell: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what recent representations he has received about the future of religious education in England and Wales.

Mrs Rumbold: A large number of letters have been received, from hon. Members and others. These expressed concern at the exclusion of religious education from the national curriculum, and about a lack of Christian content in the subject. The Education Reform Bill has been amended in another place to strengthen the position of religious education in schools; the Christian content of religious education will be considered further in the other place at a later stage of the Bill.

Religious Education

23. Sir John Biggs-Davison: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what comparative study he has made of the suitability of the agreed syllabus obtaining in various local education authority areas, in the light of public concern at the ignorance among young people of the Bible and Christianity; what report he has received of the extent to which the statutory collective act of worship is observed or neglected; and if he will institute an appropriate inquiry into the current state of religious education.

Mrs Rumbold: My right hon. Friend does not have details of all current locally agreed syllabuses; but he is not persuaded on the evidence available to him that any are unsuitable, and the evidence suggests that the vast majority give Christianity a central place. There is evidence that some schools fail to provide collective worship as required by the present law. Where such matters are brought to my right hon. Friend's attention by complaint or otherwise, they are followed up by the Department; in 1987 seven complaints were received. The Education Reform Bill contains a number of measures to strengthen the position of religious education in the schools curriculum, and to update the law on collective worship as recommended by the Education, Science and Arts Select Committee. My right hon. Friend has no plans to institute any inquiry.

Research Funding

19. Mr Maxton: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science when he last met the president of the Royal Society to discuss research funding.

Mr Jackson: My right hon. Friend has not held an official meeting with the president of the Royal Society to discuss research funding. I have. We have, of course, taken note of the points made by Sir George Porter in this recent Richard Dimbleby lecture on science.

University Funding

40. Dr Moonie: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he has received any representations about the future funding of universities; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Jackson: We have received many such representations which have helped to shape the university funding provisions in the Education Reform Bill.

Teacher Morale

Ms Primarolo: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he has any proposals to improve teacher morale, following the report of the interim advisory committee; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs Rumbold: My right hon. Friend announced on 19 April that he proposed to accept the recommendations on pay rates in the report of the interim advisory committee on teachers' pay and conditions. He is now considering the representations that have been made to him about the report.

National Curriculum

36. Mr Haselhurst: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what representations he has received about whether the national curriculum is designed with sufficient flexibility to ensure adequate preparations for pupils in the 14 to 16 years age range; and if he will make a statement.

Mrs Rumbold: A number of replies to our consultation document stressed the need for flexibility for this age group. The proposals in the Education Reform Bill will secure this flexibility in a number of ways; by enabling the national curriculum in those years to be offered in 70 per cent. of the time available, by providing for attainment targets and programmes of study or guidelines for foundation subjects which can be met in a variety of ways, and by giving the Secretary of State the power to make regulations modifying or disapplying elements of the national curriculum pupils for whom this is appropriate.

The national curriculum proposals will allow all schools the flexibilty to meet the particular needs of their pupils, including the most able. The proposals on open enrolment will not affect the nature of the intake to grammar schools, as the relief safeguarding the selective character of such schools under the Education Act 1980 will remain in force.

Grant-maintained Schools

46. Mr Pawsey: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what representations he has received about the establishment of grant-maintained schools; and if he will make a statement.

Mr Dunn: My right hon. Friend has now received just over 1,000 letters about his proposals for grant-maintained schools, together with a variety of less formal representations. A number of these expressed interest in acquiring grant-maintained status for a particular school.

Academic Freedom

49. Mr Ingram: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he intends to meet the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals to discuss the safeguarding of academic freedom; and if he will make a statement.

59. Mrs Margaret Ewing: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science when he expects to meet the Committee of University Vice-Chancellors and Principals to discuss academic freedom.

Mr Morgan: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he intends to meet the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principles to discuss the safeguarding of academic freedom; and if he will make a statment.

Mr Jackson: My right hon. Friend and I have met the vice chancellors to discuss their two main concerns about academic freedom. The first, that academic freedom in higher education institutions should not be at risk from interference from the Government, has been met by Government amendments to clauses 115 to 117 of the Education Reform Bill in a way that has been welcomed. Their other concern is that individual academics should not be victimised by other academics on account of their views. The Bill contains very substantial safeguards on this including a requirement for the commissioners to estabalish a proper appeals procedure in cases of dismissal and, by removing the exclusive jurisdiction of the visitor, provides access to the courts for actions concerning wrongful dismissal. Those will be strengthened by the amendment we intend to table to the Bill requiring the commissioners to establish grievance procedures. Even so, the Government are willing to consider what further appropriate protection might be provided and discussions to that end are continuing with the vice chancellors.

Drug Abuse and Alcohol Consumption

56. Mr Sumberg: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what assessment he has made of the extent to which increased truancy and problems of discipline among secondary pupils are attributable to drug abuse and alcohol consumption; and what measures his Department is taking, and plans to take, to counter such activity among school children.

Mr Dunn: The information available to us from Her Majesty's Inspectorate's reports, and from research, has not suggested that either of these matters is a major factor in truancy or indiscipline. We shall be looking to the committee of inquiry into discipline in schools to recommend action to promote good discipline.

Initiatives taken by the Department to counter drug abuse and alcohol consumption include funding for the appointment of drugs education co-ordinators in each local education authority in England at a cost of £6.7 million over three years; the allocation of £2 million per year since 1987 for teacher training in drug related problems; research funding; the funding of pamphlets and other materials; and encouragement to schools to promote health education as a necessary element in both the primary and secondary school curriculum.

GCSE

57. Mr Anthony Coombs: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what steps he is taking to ensure that employers understand the changes inherent in the new GCSE and their implications for educational standards.

Mrs Rumbold: My Department has conducted a major campaign over the last year to inform employers about GCSE and the contribution the new examination will make to the Government's policies for raising educational standards.

60. Mr Madel: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will make a statement on the arrangements that have been made for the marking of GCSE papers this summer.

Mrs Rumbold: The GCSE examining groups are responsible for marking GCSE examination papers and for awarding GCSE grades in a manner consistent with the GCSE national criteria. The Secondary Examinations Council and Her Majesty's Inspectorate will be attending a selection of the group's meetings concerned with the awarding of GCSE grades.

Universities and Polytechnics (Funding)

Mr Ernie Ross: To ask the Secretary of State for Education and Science what estimate he has made of future funding of research in universities and polytechnics by private sources; and how this affects his plans for financial support from public sources.

Mr Jackson: We have encouraged higher education institutions to develop their externally funded research and consultancy, and welcome the rapid increase that has taken place. However, in keeping with our assurance that this is institutions' private business, we have no estimate for future growth and we take no account of this income in our public expenditure planning.

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contributors

Dick Copeland is a retired Headmaster.

John Fenwick is a Principal Lecturer in the Department of Economics and Government at Newcastle Upon Tyne Polytechnic.

Kevin Gill works in the Scottish I.T. Resorce Centre.

Desmond Hall is a Senior Lecturer.

Nick Hayward is a Lecturer at the Department of Economics and Government at Newcastle Polytechnic.

Leo Hendry is Head of Deparment of Education at Aberdeen University .

Sue Holden is employed by Sefton Youth Service. The research was undertaken at the University of Manchester as an E.S.R.C. award supported by Annie Hudson.

Irish Young People in London I.L.E.A. The Irish Youth Workers Group is a support group which also develops policy and provides training on Irish issues within the Youth Service. Contact Bea Gavin c/o CYUP, 6 Camden High Street, London NW1 0JB.

Angela Johnson is a Research Worker at MARC Europe, Kent.

Michael King is a Research Fellow, Department of Law, Brunel University, London.

Ian Kitt is a Principal Welfare Rights Officer for Durham County Council. He is also an active Labour Party member and a new editorial member of Youth and Policy.

Malcolm Payne works as a Professional Advisor with CETYCU, in Leicester.

Tim Rhodes is a Research Worker on the HIV outreach Research Project.

Andrew Rutherford teaches in the Faculty of Law and Southampton University.

David Smith is a Development Officer at NCVYS.

Mark Smith

Andrew West is a Youth Counsellor at the Warren Centre — Community Resource for Young People.

Kent Worcester is currently studying at Culumbia University.

Please note the views expressed by contributors should always be seen as their own. They do not represent their employing agency.

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Judith Cocker, Youth & Policy, PO Box 10, Blaydon, Tyne & Wear, NE21 5LY.

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Maura Banim, Youth & Policy, PO Box 10, Blaydon, Tyne & Wear, NE21 5LY.

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