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Talking about Sex/uality

PETER KENT-BAGULEY

Opportunities for the exploration of sex/uality in supportive, structured settings are rare. A weekend residential held at Burwell House, Cambridgeshire, last December was developed, delivered and in the end, defended, by four people who strongly believe that the overwhelming majority of young people's expressed needs are not being met by schools, youth clubs or counselling agencies. Nor, it should be emphasised, are they being met by the vast majority of parents.

The general absence of provision is given as a statement of fact. The design of the residential, TALKING ABOUT SEX, was based upon considerable experience and expertise, co-operatively shared and harnessed to facilitate the development of a trusting and caring group environment. Face to face working with people on issues of relationships is a demanding and exhausting process. It is vital, therefore, that such workers receive the fullest, explicit and unequivocal support from all colleagues; support for this course fell far short of that vital level. The officer-enforced name change to the ludicrously inappropriate, SO WHAT'S LOVE GOT TO DO WITH IT? underlines the urgent need for in-service sex/uality awareness experience for colleagues throughout the youth service. No wonder the interests of young people are not being met when hierarchical officers are imprisoned by their own fear, prejudice and inexperience.

The weekend also highlighted the urgency for such courses for grassroots youth and community workers and teachers, firstly, explicitly by the interest expressed by workers who spoke with us at the weekend having transported some of the participants and secondly, indirectly by the absence of support from all those workers who had had no personal contact with any of the facilitators; such workers need considerable support before they will feel free to develop effective work with regard to personal relationships.

Counties like Cambridgeshire which have identified issues of sex/uality for priority developmental work must recognise that if these policies are to be translated into effective practices they must provide a properly resourced programme developed for both colleagues and young people. Young people want the opportunities of responsible exploration of their experiences, desires, fears and aspirations; young women want to work together and gain the strength that affords; young men grasp the opportunities to be more honest about their feelings for each other in separate sex group work. Separately and together they begin to cut through taboo founded on prejudice, exposing the strait-jackets of heterosexism and sexism and more clearly see that sex/uality can be a creative choice; that many women are building to break free from male dominance; that there is support for those suffering from sexual abuse; that some men are becoming less patriarchal; that lesbians and gay men are everywhere and everywhere building positive relationships.

The vast majority of colleagues have not experienced sex/uality awareness in co-operative group work and so understandably there is considerable fear expressed and anxiety generated when these opportunities are provided for young people. The fears and anxieties are misplaced, but above all, they are a disservice to young people.

Without jokes and innuendo, talking about sex/uality has, for most of us, always been difficult and embarrassing, highlighting our inhibitions, ignorance, stereotypes and above all, insecurities. Expressing our dreads is a prelude to articulating our desires, determined more by taboo than touch, and developing our humanity involves challenge, conflict and change. Sex/uality awareness through co-operative group work offers the space and support for personal development. Through laughter and tears the young women and men on the course shared such space and support; they shared their fears, their bad experiences; they groped and struggled, at first, to share their feelings; they shared their desires, their joys; they shared their trust, their concern, their love; and shining through it all, they shared the strength that sharing brings.

Every single young person said how pleased they were that they had been able to share the weekend; each said they were leaving behind negative feelings, ugly stereotypes for which they had no further need; each said they were going away strengthened, more loved and more loving. The needs are obvious, the benefits clear.

Several sessions concentrated over one weekend cannot eliminate years of accumulated repression but they will, hopefully, be an inspiration and spur for challenge and change.

If we do believe that voicing our dreads is a prelude to articulating our desires then talking about sex/uality is an essential element of the process of understanding our individual autonomy and our social dependence, and their complex inter-relatedness. Desire, distorted by prohibition and policed daily by the stereotypes of taboo, is a narrowed and alienated desperation rather than a declaration of creativity. To begin the challenge for change we should expect conflict from others as well as from within ourselves; to continue the challenge we need to maximise our

individual strength developed from group support.

Pervasive public prohibitions, promoting the negative aspects of sex/uality, encourage the envelopment of feelings of guilt, secrecy and uncleanliness. They are further compounded by oppressive sexploitation which flourishes publicly for private titilation. Sex/uality is everywhere demeaned and distorted by the ideological and material realities of exploitation; without this recognition, the idea of individual strength through group support lacks material reality, remaining meaningless rhetoric.

There are, of course, a great many people, in youth and community work as elsewhere, who prefer to believe myths, to believe that sex/uality is so personal, so private, so politics has nothing at all to do with it. Why, when politics permeates every other aspect of life, sex/uality is seen in splendid isolation is testimony in fact to the power of political propaganda peddling the naturalness of modesty, monogomy and misogony, all of course, within marriage.

The idea that naturalness, essentialism, biological determinism or whatever term is used to convey the belief that certain acts are normal, others abnormal, according to nature, deity and/or society is deeply entrenched and largely taken-for-granted in lived experience. Nor should we be surprised that the majority of people think dichotomously; it's undemanding, traditional and plausable. What more can one ask?! Acts are either natural or unnatural, sacred or sinful, normal or abnormal. Moreover people who do such acts are either natural or unnatural etc. Certain acts bestow a totality of being, a legacy of concrete rigidity of being either one kind of person or the other kind; there is no scope for degrees of variance nor variation.

The triple alliance forged between nature, god and man, the triumphant triumvirate terrified of challenge, conflict and change, responds robot-like with cause and attendant cure, or failing that, control. Since choice is out, compassion is in. Faced with the 'homosexual child' the parent may rest assured 'they did not go wrong anywhere' and the child is guiltlessly 'nature's offspring'.

Additionally, of course and most importantly, this undemanding, uncomplicated and unpleasant determinist triumvirate is so traditionally pervasive that its own foundations in political ideology are obscured.

Naturally (sic) if biological determinists can convince you that what they are saying is natural, not man(sic)made, then their essentialist perspective commands a trans-historical, divine, power. It offers a permanence, a matter of (natural)factness, elevated above the squabbles of human factions, freeing individuals from difficult ideological debate, with thought and discourse reduced to ritual repetitions.

When working through issues of sex/uality what we talk about is obviously important but how we talk about it is absolutely crucial. And by how, I am not referring to the mechanics of communication (one-to-one, group work, shouting across the disco floor etc.) nor in its superficial form the language of communication, but to the ideological essence or perspective. Of course, language can obscure as much as it can communicate so we do need to be especially careful with our choice of words and syntax. It does matter a great deal which words we use because they invariably reflect a host of unspoken assumptions derived from our ideological perspective.

When talking about sex/uality we do need to be clear and confident about our ideological perspective lest we compound the confusion and oppression others may be experiencing.

> When Rachel Parker decided to tell her parents she was lesbian, she was met with blank incomprehension. 'They had no idea what to say or do', she says. 'They just said they couldn't accept me being gay'. She was chucked out of home.
>
> Sonia is only just recovering from a similar experience. At 15, she ran away from home after her parents disowned her because she said she was lesbian. She ended up in a local authority secure unit where her openness about her sexuality led to mockery from the staff. She felt completely isolated. Even her social worker sided with her parents in their hostility to her being gay.
>
> Rachel and Sonia's stories are far from unique. Lesbians and gay men the world over can recount experiences ranging from the horrific to the hilarious about coming out. All too often, though, it is the horrific which makes the most lasting impression.

These were the opening paragraphs of the leading feature. The Struggle of Gays to be Themselves, on the Young Guardian page on August 17th 1988. Attacking the cliche, parody even, of the essence and form of such stereotypical human interest journalism is not in any way intended to detract or deflect from the real anguish so many young people experience during the adolescence of sexual turbulence. Indeed it is the cliche that is no small contributing cause to the anguish.

Such cliched confessionals are every bit as embarrassing as the evangelical public confessionals of a decade ago, delivered with the pride grabbed by our egos from the tolerant audience to whom we professed 'inner strength' for our 'real selves', by and large oblivious of or deliberately eschewing the political structure within which and from which our forms of joy and sadness, success and failure, acceptance and rejection and so on were forged and fettered.

Such articles encapsulate some of the major contradictions associated with positive images. On the one hand it was prominent, intentionally supportive and delivered directly to young readers. On the other, not-so-positive hand, the content perpetuated the pathological (albeit liberal variant) biological determinist perspective. Quoting Rose Robertson of Parents' Enquiry, we were told: 'homosexuality or lesbianism is not something a child goes out to choose'. The journalist goes on to say: 'it is', she says, 'something inherent that the young person has to come to terms with, a process that needs support and advice to cope with the "internal struggle" of knowing that he or she is different'.

Sexual identity, according to the determinists, is locked into place before, during or soon after birth so that, for example, a forty or fifty year old woman or man coming out lesbian or gay has finally recognised their true nature rather than having made new choices! Thus it is that young people come to terms 'with what they are' rather than 'with

choices they want to pursue'. Determinism defines difference with an inbuilt individual cause. Secondary causes may arise from contagion but this variant only serves to emphasise the focus on the primary cause, in terms of stopping the rot at source. In other words, if 'homosexual people' are not to be segregated they should be chaperoned with care.

A recently published pamphlet intended as a guide for parents boldly states: 'homosexuals have no choice in terms of their sexuality'. But then, during the parliamentary debates on Section 28 such mindless causal assertions were elevated to principled defence by the Opposition, no better epitomised than by the only out-gay MP, Chris Smith, declaring that 'we are what we are'.

Educational enlightenment for the majority, therefore, consisting of 'accurate information' is seen to be a small enough request for safe conduct through the heterosexist world. In fact, such a colonial-type request illustrates the pervasive imperialism of biological determinism. The subject colonials' pleas for tolerance can be serviced benevolently or brutally, with self-government or extermination. Equal opportunities policies during the good times afford openness and self-organization; but alternative liberation policies for the transformation of society avoids the bad times.

Constant calls for 'accurate information' and 'facts' are themselves reinforcements of essentialism. 'Facts', rather than being seen as the one tenth visible part of the nine-tenths invisible ideological underpinning are truncated 'things in themselves', Durkheim's *sui generis.* The provision of such facts under such conditions is unlikely to enhance anyone's enlightenment. What 'facts' would have pre-disposed Nazi exterminators to stop killing 'homosexuals'? The approach is neither fanciful nor farcical but frightening. Without a radically progressive ideological analysis we are doomed to countering one 'fact' with another 'fact' within the predetermined ideological territory of our opponents where our ways of thinking and talking are their ways of thinking and talking. Thus effortlessly, pleas for tolerance are devised, delivered and answered within the ideology and language of the oppressors:

> . . . can children be persuaded or seduced into becoming lesbian or gay by being exposed to positive information about homosexuality? Although this notion was at the heart of the Section 28 debate, not one shred of evidence to support it was ever produced. Indeed, all available evidence demonstrates clearly that this does not happen.

The Earl of Halsbury and his merry right wing Christian fundamentalists need not worry so much about positive images; they are only intended to make people who can't help themselves being what they are feel positive about being so imprisoned. They are not, after all, designed to encourage anyone to choose same-sex relationship, sometimes, all of the time, at different times.

Moving from one mode of analysis to another is not an easy or speedy operation. We have all been indoctrinated with determinism, which, infiltrates every fibre of the body politic and all aspects of our daily lives. The form attributed to 'homosexuals' may be benign or bestial but such a form derives from the underlying biological determinist ideology. A social constructionist ideology of lesbian and gay relationships is totally different territory marked by ambiguity, fluidity and the potential for choice.

When talking about sex/uality we should be absolutely clear about the purpose. Are we supporting the determinist status quo of unequal relationships with the associated abuse, exploitation and violence or are we rather promoting liberationist perspectives which confront and challenge dominant class, cultural and religious ideologies?

Real progress will not be achieved by playing clever with legalistic interpretations of the law, making selective use of official publications or by pretending that 'we are only what we are'. (I doubt if the latter point needs spelling out in relation to rape or child sexual abuse, for example). So, to quote from the Department of the Environment circular 12/88 that government policy 'will not prevent the objective discussion of homosexuality in the classroom, nor the counselling of pupils concerned with their sexuality' while not quoting from the DES 11/87 circular that 'there is no place in any school in any circumstances for teaching which advocates homosexual behaviour . . . indeed, encouraging or procuring homosexual acts by pupils who are under the age of consent is a criminal offence', is to defend by deceit or default.

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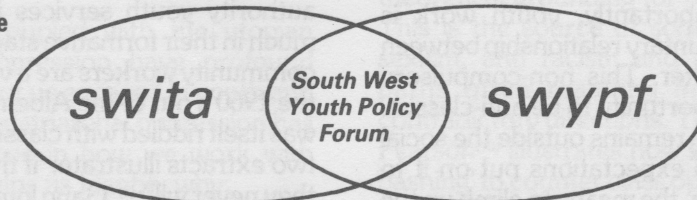

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Anti-racist strategies in white working class areas

This article addresses the question 'what appropriate anti-racist strategies can be developed by youth and community workers operating in working class areas.

TIM WARREN

Before attempting to answer the question in this essay I will contextualise my thoughts by clarifying my interpretation of some of the terms and concepts used in the question. For instance, what do youth and community workers do? What is meant by working-class? What is meant by anti-racist? Theoretical perspectives on these issues clearly underpin the method of searching for appropriate strategies. It is important, to recognise that such perspectives are my perspectives and therefore draw largely on my own experience as a youth and community worker in Wigan, and indeed as a lifelong inhabitant of that town. The article will begin with a brief look at youth work and in particular some of its implications for my personal practice and theory. It will then branch out to look at ideological perspectives posed by the sex, race and class dilemmas before focussing more intensely on the life experiences engendered by such oppressive ideologies. In part, I hope to concentrate on some life-experiences common to those suffering from both classism and racism before moving on to suggest possible strategies for working against racism in white working-class areas.

How can we describe the youth work setting? First and foremost, we must establish that youth and community work is firmly rooted within the education system. However youth and community workers enjoy some considerable advantages compared to their teaching counterparts. Firstly and perhaps most importantly, youth work is fundamentally based upon a voluntary relationship between young person and youth worker. This non-compulsory element gives it at least the opportunity to be anti-classist. Furthermore the Youth Service remains outside the social progress ladder. There are no expectations put on it to provide, via examination results, the means to climb up the social ladder. The combination of these two advantages affords certain important implications. Firstly, the service can choose its point of contact, or more correctly it can allow young people to choose a point of contact. In this respect, it is not forced to operate from an Institution and increasingly youth workers are being assigned to work in an outreach or detached manner with young people on ground of their choosing. In addition, the curriculum of youth workers is relatively free and un-specified, forced as it is to rely upon the experiences of the young people involved. Whilst there are increasing signs that the State may wish to increase its control over this curriculum, the voluntary relationship between youth workers and young people will continue to militate against such external control for as the DES (1978) acknowledges, 'they are neither recipients nor consumers of what the youth worker is offering, but are both active and willing partners in the process'(1).

The Youth Service does of course suffer from disadvantages as well. In particular it is a low priority in receipt of minimal funding. In addition, the central state is expanding via the MSC a different sort of Youth Service which is both compulsory (in economic practice if not in name) and claims direct links to the social progress ladder. It remains to be seen whether local authority youth services will be able to defend themselves against this central state invasion, particularly as local authorities themselves are being increasingly squeezed financially, thus severely endangering peripheral parts of the Education Service like youth and community education. However, for the moment, the local state in some areas has had some success in promoting and expanding its Service with particular reference to the young unemployed. Such developments are not dissimilar to the development of higher grade schools during the late nineteenth century and we can only wait and see whether the central state will once more try to incorporate them into its own system via compulsory institutionalization.

A further concept worth bearing in mind about local authority youth services is that such services are very much in their formative stages. Full time salaried youth and community workers are a very recent phenomenon born in the 1960's out of the Albemarle report of 1960. This report was itself riddled with classist and adultist ideology as these two extracts illustrate: 'if they do not learn in adolescence, they never will';(2) 'Gang loyalties are intense enough in their way; their members are in a sense committed, but to objects often unworthy of their loyalty'(3).

Despite this, Albemarle opened some doors for anti classist, anti adultist practice by tentatively endorsing some forms of participation, community links and non institutionalised youth work. Moreover the new breed of youth and community workers have been trained and practice in a political and socio economic climate vastly different to the full employment consensus of the 1950's

when problems with youth were identified as generational rather than societal. The result is that many youth services are in the process of turning the traditional youth work espoused by Albemarle on its head in much the same way as workers in the Institute of Race Relations[4] radically altered that institution's practice and objectives. The resulting product is something known as radical youth work which I described elsewhere as follows:-

> It is still rooted in the person-centred school of education. However, it differs fundamentally from traditional youth work by focussing its youth work around issues affecting young people rather than on the individuals themselves. It rejects individualistic psychological explanations of young people's difficulties and throws the problems back at society with a confidence in the young person akin to that held by the progressives in the wider education framework. It does this by working with and alongside young people rather than by leading them to accept society's prevailing values[5].

In other words, regular engagement with young working class people is forcing youth and community workers through the realities of their practice to reject 'blame the victim' approaches and to unite with young people against the various oppressions from which they suffer in our society. This is done via informal and semi formal methods of working with young people via processes not dissimilar to those described by Mullard (1985) as social refraction and the reapplication of that process:

> By social refraction we therefore mean a process which enables individuals or groups to develop consciousness; a process in which they identify social objects and conditions including their own position(s) in the dominant social structure and institutional order through tracing observable social situations to the material and cultural basis from which these situations evolve . . . This not only called for the reapplication of the general process of refraction, but it demanded that they should engage in the sub-process of identification. They needed to identify the phenomena which produced distortions between what existed and appeared to exist; to identify the mechanism which maintained these distortions; and identify the broker agents which in a sense traded in them[6].

These methods of working coupled with the utopian practices of work against oppression have profound personal implications for those of us engaged in youth and community work. In particular, patriarchal oppression has emerged as a major significance in how we work with young people. Cohen (1986) helps us identify why:

> The simplest law of Patriarchy could be formulated as: Male/Female: Adult/Child, where the first term of each pair corresponds to a position of domination, associated with a variety of presumed capacities, and the second to a position of sub-ordination linked to their presumed lack[7].

In patriarchal terms then, a young man undergoes a change in status on achieving adulthood from the position of subordination to that of domination whereas the young woman does not necessarily experience the same shift, simply moving from one position of subordination to another. Consequently the experience of young women is profoundly different to that of young men.

If we add to this perspective that of Sivanandan's (1977) quoted in Mullard (1985) we see evolving a major dilemma for male youth workers: 'In coming to consciousness of the oppressed, he takes "conscience of himself" (Jean-Paul Sartre) in taking conscience of himself he comes to consciousness of the oppressed'[8].

This 'personal is political' notion leaves the radical male worker in a dilemma in a patriarchal society for it is female workers who are uniquely placed to work radically with young women against their oppression. The implication for the male worker is that, if he has any role at all, it ought to concentrate on work with young men.

Atta puts the thrust of the dilemma forcefully: 'Who feel it knows it!'[9]. Where does this leave a white man like myself trying to write about developing anti racist strategies for youth and community workers in working class areas? There are ways forward from this impasse but they lie in the fundamental recognition that my work must be experiential and non prescriptive. Moreover my comments must recognise the limitations imposed upon my practice by my own experiences and I must use such recognition to identify realistic areas of work which are both experiential and non prescriptive. In my case this means limiting my comments in this essay to those of a white male Wiganer practising youth and community work with groups of predominantly white working class young men in socially deprived areas of Wigan. Whilst some of my observations may be useful for other kinds of workers working with other groups of young people, it is for those workers and young people to decide on their relevance rather than for me to prescribe. Moreover, before moving on to look at appropriate strategies it is particularly important that I analyse ideologies of race, sex and class to identify my own position within a patriarchal, capitalist and imperialist society before going on to look at the places where resistance to patriarchal, capitalist and imperialist oppression are likely to occur, and influence my work with young people against oppression suffered by them.

A starting point would appear to be the need for some theoretical grounding for youth work against oppression. This is the source of some interminable debate as anti sexism, anti racism and anti classism follow particular paths often resulting in apparently conflicting and contradictory directions. There are many examples of this. Pearson[10] illustrates how some northern youth use 'paki-bashing' to counter class oppression. McCabe[11] points out the culture of resistance on which Cohen and others would seek to build is fundamentally sexist and racist. The young men studied by Willis[12] repeatedly exhibit sexist and racist behaviour, whilst at the same time illustrating the classist nature of educators' attempts to reform their behaviour and language. This is further illustrated by Bagley's[13] comments on the effects of teaching about race relations following the project by Stenhouse et Al[14].

Some students in all programs showed a negative

attitude change after teaching. These students had particularly poor self-esteem, a high degree of alienation from school and teachers, and came from depressed urban areas where their families had to compete with ethnic minorities (mainly West Indians and South Asians) for scarce employment and housing resources[15].

No doubt for these young people, anti racist education can just become another arm of the State's classist bandwagon to be resisted. The problem that is posed for those of us wishing to work against oppression is that working against one oppression (e.g. racism) can sometimes lead to us condoning or contributing to another oppression (e.g. classism). Such problems are made even more difficult when some political purists attempt to justify this by asserting the supremacy of one oppressive ideology (e.g. capitalism, patriarchy) over another thus advocating a kind of heirarchy of evils to be resisted. It is these dilemmas which persuade Sivanandan to call for alliances, which 'do not mean the subserviance of one group to another'[16]. He goes on:

> Alliances between the anti-racist and the working class struggle are crucial because the struggle against racism without the struggle against class remains cultural nationalist. But class struggle without race struggle, without the struggles of women, of gays, of the Irish, remains economistic[17].

To make such alliances possible however, they must be integral to our work and must be based on some common theoretical perspectives. At this level it may be useful to concentrate, not on the historical origins of oppression, but rather on how oppression works in the 1980s and 1990s in Britain. A simple illustration of this is the formula:

Power + Ideology (Oppressive) ⟶ Oppression

This can operate at an individual one to one level or it can operate at an institutional or state level and both operations can take place simultaneously. In twentieth century Britain, it must be acknowledged that the State is capitalist, imperialist, patriarchal and very powerful, and this power is in part maintained by classist, racist and sexist ideology. At this level, state power and state ideology are common sites of struggle around which resistance work against oppression can be built in alliance. Moreover the agents of these sites of struggle can be both individuals and institutions.

What does this mean in terms of youth work practice? In the first place it means that the personal must be political. If individuals are agents through which oppression can be channelled, then a first step for any of us working against oppression is to cease to operate as such an agent. For me and my practice, this means by commitment to the following guidelines:-

1) I will resist oppression and try not to oppress.
2) I will not support that which I see as oppressing others.
3) I will support young people resisting oppression.

I can make these commitments because I have the power to control my own actions and behaviour. At an institutional level, I may also have this power. For instance, youth workers have considerable power within youth centres. It therefore becomes possible for a youth centre to adopt the same guidelines in the form of an anti oppression policy like that created at Tramlines Youth Club[18] in 1986. As the bandwagon rolls up the heirarchy it may even be possible for a Youth Service to adopt such guidelines and policies. However whilst these guidelines may be crucial to developing anti racist strategies in working class areas, they do not in themselves constitute such strategies. Moreover they still leave us with the problems posed by apparently conflicting resistance to state ideologies. In addition they need to be contextualised by relating them to how I, as a white male with a social class status different to that of the young males with whom I work, can develop appropriate anti racist strategies. The question of 'whose side are you on'? is one which is constantly posed by young people to youth workers and other professionals when they are struggling against state oppression. It is at this level that it is important for me, as a youth worker to identify my own position in the dominant social structure and institutional order[19]. In particular, for the purpose of this article, it is important that I analyse my position vis-a-vis young people from a class orientated perspective for I have already made reference to other perspectives which force me to limit my comments to those of a white male Wiganer working predominantly with white working class men in socially deprived areas of Wigan.

To do this it will be necessary to define what is meant by class, and in particular by working class, for these terms are much abused and misused and consequently become confused in modern Britain. To help clarify my own analysis I will use two categories of the term working class, one political and one social. Members of the political working class I would identify as being:-

a) dependent on waged/salaried employment for sustinence
b) susceptible to unemployment
c) have little or no access to real political power

In other words their political identity is dictated by capitalism and it is this relationship which most powerfully controls their lives. Youth workers as well as the young people with whom we work belong quite clearly to this categorisation, as indeed does the majority of the country's population.

The social working class is a division within the first category and refers roughly to that group of people who have the lowest socio-economic status within the political working-class. In modern Britain this means, broadly speaking, non-owner occupiers, low paid or unemployed and others dependent upon state benefits for sustinence. It includes the vast majority of the young people with whom I work. Their lives are not only controlled by the essence of the capitalist relationship but also by a permeating classist ideology inculcated into the rest of the political working class by the capitalist, imperialist and patriarchal socialisation processes of the British state.

These relationships leave the youth worker with two alternatives. The first which was the dominant position of the 1960s is an analysis asserting the relative security and affluence of one's own social position and consequently conforming to work with the capitalist system and thus promote classist ideology. Such youth work practice **leads**

young people **telling** them not to take drugs, not to use bad language, not to smoke, drink or be violent. This kind of approach is noticeable in Albemarle with its emphasis on association, training and challenge of the right kind[20]. However as the days of political consensus and expansion have wilted quickly into history, increasing unemployment and education cuts have highlighted the youth workers politically powerless position vis-a-vis the capitalist system. Their relative security and affluence appears much more fragile and so there is an increasing penchant to line up alongside young people in challenging oppression. From this perspective youth workers can in their own interests, work with young people of the social working class to resist the worst ravages of the capitalist system. This helps us with the dilemma posed earlier. I can, as a white male worker legitimately involve myself on the side of young white working class men in the struggle to resist the ravages of the capitalist, imperialist and patriarchal state. Indeed it would appear that I have little option to do otherwise!

The crucial question then is how do I do it? I have already emphasised the importance of working from an experiential, non prescriptive and anti oppressive perspective. In addition I have outlined a formula of (Power + Ideology (Oppressive) ⟶ Oppression) and identified the British State as being capitalist, imperialist and partriarchal. The resistance of such oppression must be centred around the analysis of common experience and juxtaposed against such prevalent ideologies to render visible that which is artificial. In this way such ideologies e.g. classism, racism and sexism can be broken down. There are many good examples of this happening in the youth work field or work with girls and young women where women workers and young women have consistently proven that 'girls can do anything' thus rendering transparent much of the State's sexist ideology. However the particular problem facing us in this article is slightly more problematic for we have to find ground where there is an automatic experiential alliance between those suffering from classism and racism. Although it is quite clear how young women might benefit from resisting sexist ideology it is less clear how young white men will benefit from resisting racist ideology. It is because of this that we must search for some common ground between racism and classism, in order that we can identify those experiences of white young men it will be most helpful to juxtapose against State ideologies. To do this it will be helpful to look at social class from an ethnographic perspective. What are the life experiences of young men of the social working class?

A major influence on their lives are the schools. Schools are designed to promote conformity and this is integral to their whole operation. Their first task is to teach the Queen's English, and this is very different to the everyday language of northern working class young children. This has important implications! Firstly there is an assumption which is everywhere reinforced that the Queen's English is the correct English and working people's English is inferior. Accordingly children are forced to conform to 'the right kind' of English. When my two year old daughter first said 'shit', the instant reaction of relatives was 'if you don't stop her saying that she'll be for it when she goes to school'. Secondly inability or refusal to conform to the prescribed norm will result in poor exam results and consequent low achievement. Manners and behaviour become added to this formula to form what Bordieu has termed 'culture capital'. Moreover Halsey's superb study of how educational progress is achieved has shown that it is these factors which are most important in examination achievements, and consequent progress up the educational and social ladder. For instance he notes, 'our analysis showed that IQ itself was surprisingly unimportant. Its effects on secondary schooling and school leaving age were quite small compared with those of the other variables in the model'[21].

Although Halsey later eliminates 'culture capital' in favour of social class as being the variable of most significance to the success formula, this is simply because he starts from a confused class analysis which fails to identify correctly the relationship between the two terms[22]. The main point is further supported by the biologist Rose who tells us that;

> The IQ test is not an index of fixed biological potential, but a particular social construct, a set of carefully selected items intended to distribute individuals on a single dimension across a magic (nearly) normal distribution bearing some relationship to school exam results. Social judgements determine the test construction[23].

Not only does the school system attempt to force conformity to a prescribed language and prescribed behaviour but it also justified resultant social failures and successes by the creation of the social construct of intelligence, which is itself based upon an ability/willingness to acquire these prescribed attributes. In this way, young people of the social working class are put down as inferior, accused of inadequate moral values and led to believe that they are not bright enough to get on in life. Not surprisingly this results in low self-esteem and in some cases (like the young men spied on by Willis) to the development of a counter-school culture.

This whole process serves to reinforce the very limited life chances available to such young people. It also asserts the superiority of a foreign culture by denigrating the young people's own culture and goes on to justify their resultant low class status by a socially constructed theory of such young people's inadequacy. This becomes so overwhelming that many young people end up believing in their own inadequacy. However streetwise they may be, they believe themselves to be thick. And yet, five years experience of working with such young people has taught me that these so called low achievers are as bright as the next person. Mary Appleton writing in a community education pamphlet sums up the process as a fifty-five year old woman: 'I was born clever but my upbringing suppressed my intelligence. Till seven years ago when I helped to form a women's group'[24].

The lifestyle which is then left for these young people I have described elsewhere as follows:

> For the northern working class youth, the picture is very very different. There is little available access to

economic power. The usual choice consists of taking a low-paid job, an even lower paid government training scheme or existing on supplementary benefit. In this respect the Welfare State has had a significant impact. Whilst such young people are clearly being denied economic power they are able to gain economic independence from the age of eighteen. Consequently many of the north's council housing estates are housing a growing number of young people. The result is the creation of a ghetto-like sub-society of the socially rejected living an alternative lifestyle to the rest of society. This lifestyle is often revolutionary in nature focussing around petty crime, drugs, co-operation and support but its participants have no social, political or economic power and are simply controlled by the police and the courts. This group who left school at 16 have been socially rejected by society and as a result have adopted a lifestyle beyond direct state influence making them revolutionary youth. However, their powerlessness means that they can be easily repressed causing concern only when their constant struggle with the police erupts into violent clashes[25].

What is interesting from our point of view about these experiences is that they are very similar to how black people in this country experience racism. Black culture is regarded as inferior as is the black language despite the fact that as Grubb points out;

> Sociolinguists . . . have described the different structure and form of Black English as being different in quality from standard English, but not inferior . . . Black English viewed in this fashion becomes adaptive and is as complex as standard English, fitting the Black urban environment better than the middle-class English taught in schools[26].

Similarly black people suffer in life chance terms from an examination system linked to the false ideology of intelligence and based on culturally biased criteria. Low self esteem results once more. Moreover the passage above written to describe the resultant lifestyle of northern white young men could be equally applied to the lives of many black young men in Britain.

There are of course differences and we cannot pretend for a minute that black people do not suffer additional daily discrimination simply because they are black. Colour is an additional discriminatory tool in contemporary Britain which deepens to another perspective the above experiences. It may be because of the harsher and more visible nature of black people's oppression that black people themselves appear more proficient at seeing through the prevailing transparent ideologies and at asserting the validity of alternative cultures to the so called British culture. To those of us who are looking for alliances between those suffering from classism and those suffering from racism, it is the similarities experienced which are most useful for the building of such affinity. Tony Atta says the following about being British:

> I was born in this country. Born in Moss Side, Manchester. All of my life I have lived in England. I have never been out of this country until I was in my twenties and even then it was only to Europe on holiday. So why then can I feel no sense of affinity with England? Why do I wince whenever someone uses the word 'we' when talking about the British? Why am I reluctant to admit that I may be British? . . . I don't feel British[27].

Surely young white men can be posed similar questions. How much affinity do they really have with so called British culture? Is British culture their culture? The question of Britishness can be broken down to find out what being British really means and what British ideology serves to protect. In this way youth workers can work with young people to raise consciousness of their own classist oppression thus exposing so called British culture as a common source of oppression shared with Black young people albeit experienced at different levels. Once this kind of common experience can be explored and false ideologies exploded the futility of discrimination on grounds of colour may be seen to be as futile as it is when exposed by Steve Deacon, 'Consider these questions: Is man much more intelligent than animals? If your answer is yes, answer yourself this one. What colour are rabbits?[28].

What implication does this analysis of proposed alliances have for my practice? What can I actually do? It is useful here to look at our work at three different levels, the institutional, the informal and the semi-formal.

At an institutional level this involves adapting the institutions I am part of in order that they have open anti oppressive policies which challenge the oppressive ideologies of classism, racism and sexism. As an outreach worker the institution is represented by myself and the Service employing me. As a centre-based worker, the centre itself is added to this formula. To be genuinely anti oppressive it is important that this is done openly and not as part of some hidden agenda or curriculum. I have already referred to appropriate guidelines and policies for incorporating this perspective into our work.

At the informal level, the most obvious areas for anti racist intervention are racist comments, jokes etc. However this can also be a potential minefield for workers for, as we have seen, the devaluing of a groups language and culture by educators is a constant form of classism experienced by the young men with whom we work. Accordingly we must find ways to challenge such racism which are not classist. In practice this will inevitably become a question of style. To maintain our personal/institutional anti oppressive stance we are obliged to consistently challenge racist behaviour and language. However it may be more useful to do this on a personal level rather than by invoking any superior moralistic positions. There are many ways in which this can be done and they are the bread and butter skills of good youth work practice. Perhaps the dilemmas involved are best illustrated by this extract from the recent NYB guide to anti racist youth work.

> Such decisions are not straightforward and involve critically not only the external factors, but one's own perceptions as well.
>
> Here we are two white women talking about it and maybe it is easy to draw some of the lines and say yes it is important to gauge and get the gauge right. But the way in which a man would gauge when it was

important within sexism would be different from me and similarly there is a point where my judgement is different from a black woman's![29]

Gauging what to say and how to say it are vital if we are to challenge racist comments etc. without being classist. In this respect, an open anti oppressive policy is a most supportive tool to fall back on and use to support a position that challenges racism. However, if that position is to be anti classist as well as anti racist perhaps the most important guide will be the Bananarama adage:- 'it ain't what you do, it's the way that you do it'.

At the semi formal level, youth workers, unlike teachers, have the power to set the curriculum with the young people with whom we work. In addition we can concentrate on young people's experiences without being prescriptive. It is at this level where we can really get to grips with working against oppressive ideologies using real life experiences of ourselves and the young people we work with. If we are to build on the alliances raised in my analysis then there are several possibilities open to us.

Firstly we can work around young people's experience of school. We can look with them at how the school system works, who benefits from it and why. We can pose questions about why the kid with an answer to everything on the street and in the youth club is a so called low achiever in school. We can ask questions about life chances as a result of this experience. In these ways we can begin to work to expose the oppressive ideology of intelligence which is the source of much of their low self esteem. To supplement this we can work with them at things they feel confident in and offer them opportunities to feel confident in areas they never dreamed of in order to further bolster their own self esteem. These were some of the aims of the Hole-in-the-Wall project with young unemployed people in Wigan which resulted in the following comments from young people. 'I have learned a great lot of things I never dream of doing'; 'We learn more on the Hole-in-the-Wall. Has been more educational than school work'[30].

As Bagley and Verma have indicated on several occasions, self esteem is a crucial pivot around which to base anti racist work and in our work it is crucial that we break down ideologies which promote low self esteem at the same time as building alternative awareness for higher self esteem.

In addition to working round school experiences and self esteem, we can also work around young people's experiences of the police. For many young people living on Wigan's council estates, these amount to being subjected to stop and search policies, harassment, early morning break ins and regular appearances in court. Like the school experiences, these experiences have much in common with those of black young people. The media, too, can be looked at in this way. In particular we can look with young people at how the local press present images of both young people and of the more socially deprived areas of Wigan e.g. Platt Bridge, Worsley Mesnes. These are real experiences which regularly affect the daily lives of the young people with whom we work and which can at appropriate times be related by the youth worker to the experiences of young black people. No doubt countless other issues that crop up on television or in the local community can be used in this way.

Finally, efforts can be made to look into the local history and culture of the young people with whom we work. As the NYB publication notes:

> Black and white youth share common experiences and problems like unemployment, schooling or homelessness. Instead of alliances there are often divisions and scapegoating. The attempt to discover racial and ethnic themes within the fabric of local urban life promises to be a slow and hesitant process but one which offers the possibility of creating alliances[31].

Increasingly there are opportunities for young people to learn about their own culture and contrast it with so called British culture. In Wigan, there is the local heritage centre at Wigan Pier which attempts to give life to the history of working class Wiganers. There are increasing numbers of poems written in local dialects and it is relatively easy for individuals to begin to trace their own family trees. In the context of the curriculum I have been describing these may be areas which young people will feel worth pursuing. In this way young people will begin to learn not only about the classism of British culture but inevitably they will learn about the racism of British culture. This appears to me to be an indispensable supplement to multicultural education for as Sivanandan asserts: 'Just to learn about other people's cultures is not to learn about the racism of one's own. To learn about the racism of one's own culture, on the other hand, is to approach other cultures objectively'[32].

The young men we work with on local housing estates in Wigan are the underclass of white Wigan. British culture is an imposed and foreign culture to them. If we can work with them to distance themselves from the ideology as well as the culture, then the need to cling on to racist jingoism will clearly be reduced. In this respect we may be able to promote affinity and alliances with the anti racist cause. Maybe they will feel able, as I do, to identify themselves with the following extract from a song from Johnny Clegg and Savuka:

THIRD WORLD CHILD

It's been a long long time
Since they first came
And marched thru' our Village
They taught us to forget
Our past
And live the future in
Their image
They said
You should learn to
Speak a little English
Don't be scared of a suit
And Tie
Learn to walk in the
Dreams of a foreigner
— I am a third world child
They said I should
Learn to speak a little
Bit of English
Maybe practice birth
Control
Keep away from
Controversial politics
So to save my third world
Soul

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Unemployment among young people: social and psychological causes and consequences

M. MURPHY

Introduction

In recent decades, the employment prospects of young people have declined both in absolute and relative terms. The number of young people in Great Britain aged under 20 (excluding school leavers) registered as unemployed increased from 13,000 in 1955 to 339,000 in 1981 and the officially constructed July 1988 figure for the United Kingdom was 224,000 (D.O.E., 1988, pp. S20 and S28). Comparisons in the last decade have become much more problematic because the 24 adjustments which have been made to the unemployment statistics since 1979 together with the introduction of various Special Measures and Training Schemes since 1980 have not had the effect of substantially reducing the numbers and rates recorded as unemployed (Wells, 1983; National Institute of Economic and Social Research, 1985; Unemployment Bulletin, 1986, pp. 14-17 and 1988a, p. 1). The effects of the change in employment opportunities can be illustrated by noting that in 1974, 61% of 16 year olds were working, whereas 10 years later this figure was only 18% (D.E.S., 1985; see also Unemployment Bulletin, 1988b, p. 4).

Of course, the likelihood of unemployment does not fall equally on all groups. At the international level, a number of the Western industrialized countries have managed to maintain low rates of unemployment, low rates of inflation, and relatively high rates of economic growth. Table 1 shows that Britain's recent performance has been poor relative to the major economies of the Federal Republic of Germany, Japan, and the USA and especially when compared with countries such as Austria and the Scandinavian ones (OECD 1987). For example, in 1987 the youth unemployment rate (under age 25) was 18% in the U.K., but it was 8% in the Federal Republic of Germany, and 5% in Sweden. On the other hand in 1988, the inflation rate was higher in Britain than in these countries. British government economic policy would appear to have been more successful at squeezing young people out of the labour force than inflation out of the economic system.

As young people are, by definition, entering the labour force, they are particularly vulnerable to worsening employment prospects because employers are likely to reduce or suspend recruitment and possibly use a 'last in first out' redundancy policy. Moreover, this problem was exacerbated since there were considerably more entrants to the labour force around 1980 because the peak number of births occurred 16 years earlier, and the 1960's as a whole had large numbers of births. Their position relative to the rest of the workforce has indeed deteriorated in recent decades. For example, the registered unemployment rate for males under 20 fluctuated around the value for those aged 20 and over until around 1970, but since then it has risen to be about 50% higher than the older group by 1981 (Wells, 1983, Tables D11 to D16). As noted earlier, more recent comparisons are made more problematic because of the changes in the construction of unemployment figures and the introduction of various schemes which have the effect of reducing the numbers recorded as unemployed, without providing them with a 'proper' job, and the tendency for 'discouraged' young potential workers to remain in the education system. An extended discussion of the relative position of young workers is given by Hart (1988, Chapter 2).

The probability of unemployment does not fall equally on all young people: those with poor educational qualifications; those born in and living in the depressed parts of the country (especially in certain parts of Northern Ireland), and those from less advantaged groups such as ethnic minorities all fare less well (Buck and Gordon, 1987; Hart, 1988; Richardson, 1983).

Of all the factors associated with youth unemployment, the most influential and obvious one is probably the time period when one enters the labour force. However, since time trends in youth unemployment and their labour market aspects have been discussed by a number of authors, they will not be considered here (Casson, 1979; Hart, 1988; Jackson, 1985; Wells, 1983 etc.). Many of the factors associated with unemployment are largely outside the control of individuals although not outside the control of governments if they had the will to tackle these sorts of issues as has been done in Scandinavia. Rather here, attention will be given to individual or family level variables which affect one's chances in the youth labour market —factors such as social class background and both the individual's own and familial attainment and also to the social, demographic and psychological effects of the unemployment suffered by young people in the past decade, based mainly on the analysis of large scale social surveys.

In one sense, to compare the unemployed with the permanently employed may overestimate the effects of

unemployment since in the absence of unemployment (or with the very much lower figures of earlier decades). Those who are now unemployed would probably have been relatively disadvantaged compared with the general population: For example, their family incomes would have been likely to be below-average and their housing conditions to be inferior. In order to control for such factors, a number of statistical multivariate analyses were undertaken, although the results are not presented here (details are available from the author on request). These further analyses show that unemployment retains strong independent effects even when other variables such as family, social class, educational and housing background factors are simultaneously controlled for, and that the results presented later do represent true effects of unemployment.

Youth unemployment now and in the past

Before considering the circumstances of today's young unemployed in detail, their situation may be compared with earlier periods: the obvious time to compare unemployment now is with the depression of the 1930s. However, it should be stressed that the magnitude of youth unemployment rates in England and Wales in 1931 were only one half of those found half a century later: for males in 1931, the unemployment rate for 16 and 17 year olds was 7.6% and for females 6.8%, It was 11.5% for males aged 18 to 20 and 8.2% for females. In 1981, in Great Britain the figures for 16 to 19 year olds were 20.2% for males and 17.9% for females (Hart, 1988, Table 2.5).

As now, the distribution of hardship was very uneven in the 1930's with the older industrial areas and their workforce suffering disproportionately. Nevertheless, a large-scale survey of 21,000 in Lancashire in 1932 (Jewkes and Winterbottom, 1933) found that even in this depressed cotton area, 80% of 14 and 15 year olds had obtained employment within three months. However, they concluded that unemployment among 16 year olds was much higher since young people tended to be dismissed when their employers became eligible for unemployment and health-insurance. Eichengreen (1987, p.ii), on the other hand, found that their unemployment rates were not substantially higher: indeed, he emphasised that youth unemployment rates were dramatically lower relative to adult ones in the 1930's in contrast to today when youth unemployment is higher than the average for all ages.

Some aspects of youth unemployment have changed over time, such as the much greater growth in the rate of youth unemployment compared with adult rates. In other aspects the major impression is of continuity in youth employment patterns, for example, unemployment is disproportionately common in the older industrial areas. Eichengreen (1987, page 12), found that in the 1930's socio-demographic factors such as large household size, low household income and a missing parent increased the probability of a young person being in the labour force, but they did not significantly affect the probability of unemployment for a young person actually in the labour market. The option of deferring entry into the labour force by more advantaged groups until prospects improve still remains.

Data for the analysis of youth unemployment

The relative paucity of large-scale data sources for the analysis of recent youth employment trends has been commented upon (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, p. 37). In the first instance, it is tempting to look for information among a sample of the unemployed. A number of valuable studies have done this, especially those which have then followed up the unemployed to see how their conditions and prospects change over time (Daniel, 1974 and 1981; Daniel and Stilgoe, 1977; White, 1983; Molyn *et. al.* 1984). However, such studies do not permit the conditions of the unemployed to be compared with the rest of the population, either employed or out of the formal labour force due to reasons such as childrearing, or disablement. There are a large number of small-scale studies, including anecdotal evidence, of youth unemployment which provide valuable information on a wide variety of special topics, but Smith (1987, p. 137) has commented that many are 'small and rather poorly designed'. In particular it is not clear how far findings from the *ad hoc* nature of groups selected can be generalised to wider populations, and comparisons with the employed population are often missing.

Until recently, the numbers of young unemployed people in nationally-representative surveys has been too small to permit detailed statistical analysis, not only because the numbers of young unemployed people are relatively small but also because the very rapid changes which happen between the mid-teens and early twenties require very fine detail analysis if misunderstandings are not to occur[1]. However, unfortunately, lack of sufficient numbers of young unemployed people in surveys is no longer the case. In the special case of unemployment among young people, there has recently become available a particularly valuable source of data, those from interviews with 13,000 23-year-olds from the National Child Development Survey (NCDS) which has interviewed a sample of children born in one week in March 1958. This has involved interviewing at birth, seven, 11 and 16 as well as age 23. It not only includes information about labour market experience but also on a whole range of demographic, housing, health, educational and attitudinal data at various times, which permits the analysis not only of those factors which are consequences of unemployment, but also factors which may lead to disadvantage, including disadvantage in the labour market. This will be the major data source which is used here.

Because it could be argued that current unemployment status at age 23 may be a poor indicator of experience in the youth labour market as a whole, and that current employment status at that point is a consequence of what has happened since leaving school and therefore gives no useful indicators of the consequences rather than the causes of unemployment, the whole of the intervening period's experience was used. In order to compare unemployment experience, four classes of labour market experience between leaving the educational system and age 23 were formed.[2] The first comprised those who had been unemployed for at least six months up to age 23, and this period had accounted for at least 10% of the time in the labour force (the 'hardcore' unemployed). The second comprised others who had experienced some unemploy-

ment (the intermediate unemployed). The third comprised those who had worked but had experienced no unemployment by age 23 (the permanently employed group). The fourth comprised a small number who had never been in the labour force. In cases where a 'hardcore unemployment rate' is given, it refers to the proportion of hardcore unemployed as defined above, divided by the ever-economically active, by analogy with the usual definition of the conventional point-at-time unemployment rate. Roughly similar proportions of men and women were in each of these categories (see Table 2).

In virtually all the analyses undertaken, the intermediate group's situation was found to lie between that of the hardcore unemployed and permanently employed group, so comparisons may be restricted to these two polar groups without any major loss of information. The numbers of permanently economically inactive persons is small and the reasons for their non-participation in the labour force are diverse and specialized so they will not be considered in detail.

The NCDS will be used as the main source of information in this paper unless otherwise noted.

Youth unemployment and family background

The family background of a young person is a powerful influence on the probability of unemployment both directly in that current unemployment of other family members is likely to increase the probability of a young person also being unemployed for a variety of reasons including the operation of the benefits system which aggregates family income for some purposes. The relationship between the employment statuses of family members has been discussed by a number of authors including Rimmer (1981), Popay (1984) and Payne (1987). There are also indirect family influences on unemployment in that those from relatively disadvantaged backgrounds such as those from lower social classes or families with a history of unemployment are also likely to experience difficulties in obtaining or keeping employment. One indicator of such background factors, is that the hardcore unemployment rate was 12.3% for those living in an owner-occupied dwelling at age 11, but 20.0% for those living in the local authority sector at that age. These data tend to reinforce the generational inequalities in the housing as well as employment careers as pointed out by McDowell (1983).

Turning to their fathers' (or male head of household) employment when the child was aged 11, the hardcore unemployment rate was 22.3% for those from social classes IV or V compared with 11.5% for those from the non-manual social classes; I, II and IIIn. For educational level of the sample members, the main factor associated with membership of the hardcore unemployed group was lack of formal qualifications obtained: 44% of this group, but 23% of the permanently employed group had no qualifications.

The family's employment background during the child's upbringing is also associated with higher subsequent rates of unemployment. For example, those whose fathers were not working at age 11 were more than twice as likely to be in the hardcore unemployed group as those whose fathers were working at 11: the position of those who had no father (or male head of household) at age 11 was, in fact, closer to that of the working than the non-working group. Since family continuities are so persistent, they will be considered in more detail.

A question which arises is whether these differentials are reflecting a single axis of disadvantage, or a number of different ones: for example, whether the housing tenure differential shown above is simply reflecting the social class distribution. To elucidate this topic, and because housing and family background rather than production sector factors are the main focus of this paper, some information will be given separately for two of the major housing groups, those in the owner-occupied sector at age 11 (47% of the total) and the local authority sector (42% of the total). To take the example of educational level discussed above, when the two tenure groups are compared, only 23% of the hardcore owner-occupied group have no qualifications compared with 57% of the local authority group: indeed the proportion of the local authority permanently employed group without qualifications (32%) is a higher figure than the hardcore unemployed owner-occupier group. Unemployment is associated with a number of background factors such as housing which tend to reinforce each other in order to produce the observed differentials.

Family circumstances

One of the problems in assessing the link between family circumstances and unemployment is that unemployment may be a cause or a consequence, or a part of a lifestyle package which is determined by a range of additional factors. Some aspects of life of the unemployed are obvious — for example, they are less well off. Others are less easy to forecast, such as whether or not they are likely to be living at home. In some cases, living at home may be the only option but in others the operation of the benefits system or family tensions associated with unemployment may tend to encourage the young unemployed to leave home.

Table 3 gives an overview of the distribution of living arrangements of the hardcore and permanently employed groups. Of course, the patterns of men and women differ substantially because around age 23, there is a major difference in living arrangements due to the earlier average age at marriage or cohabitation of young women (the phrases 'partnership' will be used subsequently to include both marriage and cohabitation). Comparing the two employment history groups, the main difference is that the unemployed are more likely to be living with a partner and children, and the permanently employed group to be living in a partnership without children.

By the age of 23, marginally more of the hardcore young unemployed than the others were still living with their parents or other relatives, and they were also slightly more likely to be living alone or sharing with others. However, the characteristics of those living at home or away from it differ between the two groups with respect to cohabitation and marital history, factors which will be considered next.

Marital status and co-residence patterns of the young unemployed

Table 3 shows that the hardcore unemployed group were

less likely to be living in a partnership by age 23 than the permanently employed group. This was especially so for men, where the percentages were 35% and 43% respectively; for women, although 62% were in a partnership, among those in a partnership, the difference between the groups was smaller at 2.5%. Table 4 shows that among those in a partnership, the unemployed were more likely to be cohabiting even though the numbers involved in a partnership of any type are lower among the unemployed.

The relationship between marital status and unemployment reflects a varying pattern over the life cycle. At early ages, those who are married are more likely to be unemployed but there is a cross-over by the mid-20's and at later ages the single population is found to be more vulnerable (Murphy and Sullivan, 1986, Table 5 gives information for men). In the NCDS sample the hardcore unemployment rate for the single population was 18.8% but only 13.8% for the married group at age 23. This pattern, however, reflects a variety of factors, since by that age the process of entry to marriage will have been very different, see Table 4. Those who started a partnership before age 21 had much higher rates than those who started later but before age 23, the survey age: those who had not started a partnership had intermediate values.

If unemployment is analysed by age at marriage, there is a clear pattern of increasing unemployment with lower age of marriage (Murphy and Sullivan, 1986). The direction of causality is unclear and probably not uni-directional. However, there is no evidence that the overall effect of unemployment is to precipitate marriage while it may be so that in some cases, in others the reverse may be the case —indeed more detailed analysis shows that unemployment is more likely to lead to postponement of marriage. What is clear is that marriage and unemployment are related in that if one partner is unemployed, the other is particularly likely to be unemployed as well, in part as a result of the benefits system which tends to penalize a working partner, especially if the partner is on relatively low wages (and the unemployed are drawn disproportionately from the low paid sector).

Analysis of unemployment experience among single 23-year-olds is complicated since this group consists of the late marrying group (disproportionately drawn from the advantaged higher education participation groups) and the never-marrying group who form a rather heterogeneous group but one which contains an above-average proportion of socially disadvantaged groups such as the disabled who also have difficulties in obtaining employment. If the highly-qualified are excluded, so that only those with 'A' levels or below are considered, then it becomes more clearcut that single people, both men and women, tend to have worse unemployment experience than those living in a partnership. These data suggest that unemployment does tend to inhibit partner formation, except for a relatively small proportion of the hardcore unemployed who started early (and, of course, they might have done so in the absence of unemployment). The idea that unemployment has led to a movement towards 'love on the dole' is not confirmed by these findings: rather the effect seems to be the opposite, that is to delay or prevent marriage, a point made also by Popay (1984), Smith (1987, p. 129-307), Wallace (1987) and MacRae (1987, p. 86).

Given the earlier-than-average age at marriage of the young unemployed who are married by age 23, the low risk group is the stereotypical one of those who marry in the central age ranges, with higher risk among the young age at marriage and never-marrying group.

The young unemployed are likely to start childbearing earlier although as stressed before, the composition of the young high risk unemployed group is such that they would be expected to have started childbearing earlier on average even if they weren't unemployed. The differential, however, is fairly substantial, with both men and women who have had children being about 50% more likely to be in the hardcore unemployed group than those of the same sex without children. Childbearing rather than marriage is the main aspect of family formation associated with excess unemployment. (This confirms the findings of Murphy and Sullivan, 1986). These data also throw light on a topic which has recently drawn some political interest, namely whether there is a growing problem of 'young single girls who deliberately become pregnant in order to jump a housing queue and get welfare payments' (Margaret Thatcher quoted in The Times of October 1988). Looking at these data, of the 6,268 women in the sample analysed here who might even be possible candidates for this syndrome, 502 reported themselves as having been a lone parent at some stage. However, of these only 96, or 1.5% of the women in the sample were single women who had had their first child below age 20. Of this small group, under half at the survey date lived in a local authority home of their own (or with a partner). The magnitude of this effect if it existed at all is very small (these data refer to the late 1970s) and trivial in numbers compared with the additional number of young people having to rely on benefits as a result of government policies in the 1980s. The postponement of the achievement of full independence and the satisfactions arising from a partnership, an independent life, and a home of their own has affected far greater numbers of young people.

The reasons for the particular childbearing patterns of the young unemployed are likely to involve a variety of factors, but the implications are more straightforward to set down. Children of young parents are disproportionately likely to be brought up by unemployed parents with the attendant problems of financial hardship and psychological trauma which accompanies this, some of which will be considered in the next section on comparison of attitudes of the young employed and unemployed groups.

While partnership and childbearing patterns may react to employment opportunities in various ways, the same is true for the residence patterns of the young single people which are likely to be influenced by the income (both current and likely future income) and the operation of the benefits system. Of course, the latter has been changed substantially for the young unemployed in recent years especially with respect to the regulations and benefit levels for those aged under 25 and most particularly for those aged under 18.

In the past, the benefits system had not discriminated so much against the young unemployed and this group had been more likely than the employed group to be able to live

independently from their parents. Although the proportions who have left home are similar for the employed and unemployed groups, (Table 3) the reasons for leaving home are very different. For women, about two thirds of the permanently employed group gave marriage (or cohabitation) as the main reason, whereas under half of the hardcore unemployed did so. The latter group were more likely to give reasons such as to set up on own, poor accommodation, unhappiness and — perhaps surprisingly in order to take up a job. Similar trends are seen for men, (Table 5). The tensions in family life associated with unemployment have been documented by a number of researchers (Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985; Fagin and Little, 1984; Cusack and Roll, 1985; Marsden and Duff, 1975; Hutson and Jenkins, 1987). Thus the finding that the hardcore unemployed were more likely to give negative reasons for leaving home is not unexpected. However, the finding that they were more likely to leave for employment reasons is more surprising given the political rhetoric which is sometimes expressed that the unemployed are reluctant to move to pursue work opportunities — a view that would be clearly rejected. However, it may be convenient to blame the unemployed for their misfortune by disseminating the view that today's unemployed will not 'get on their bike' as a way of legitimating the current high levels of youth unemployment.

Unemployment and housing access

Leaving home, forming a partnership and, for some people, moving in order to find a job are all affected by, and themselves affect, access to housing. The first point in the housing chain that will be considered is when the sample was aged 16. Subsequent employment experience of young people has been found to be very different. Even at age 23, the employment status varies substantially with housing tenure at age 16, (Table 6). At age 23, 14% of the hardcore unemployed group were owners, compared with 36% of the permanently employed group, whereas they were twice as likely to be in their own council home (roughly similar proportions, about 8 or 9%, were in the privately rented sector).

There are a number of reasons why this relationship between housing and unemployment might be found. One is that the socio-economic composition of the groups is different, so the observed difference is reflecting the relatively greater disadvantage in the rented sector (i.e. that housing per se has no effect, but is merely acting as a proxy for other more fundamental social relations). A more direct effect is that housing factors may affect life chances in that their locations, opportunities for mobility and, perhaps, discrimination among potential employers for addresses in, for example, particular areas or council estates.

These are explanations at the ends of the continuum of the direct influence of housing, especially housing tenure, on employment opportunities. This topic has been investigated by Sullivan and Falkingham (1986). Their analysis confirmed that the presence of children and a local authority tenancy were strongly associated with a higher chance of unemployment, and they also found that those who were married were less likely to have experienced substantial periods of unemployment than those who were single at age 23.

Young hardcore unemployed people tend to be more mobile than average: 40% of them had lived in four or more places since age 16, compared with 28% of the permanently employed group (although it will be remembered that the unemployed group were in fact more likely to be living at home than the others). However, greater mobility does not mean that they obtain more satisfactory accommodation, 12% report themselves as being dissatisfied or very dissatisfied, compared with 7% among the permanently employed group at age 23. Once more, the view that the young unemployed are able to obtain attractive accommodation does not square with the facts.

One of the most extreme forms of housing disadvantage is homelessness. Once more the hardcore unemployed come off badly, 11% of them reported having been homeless compared with 4% of the permanently employed group.

These facts would appear to confirm the view that the young unemployed have particular difficulties in obtaining and keeping satisfactory accommodation. These data, however, refer to the relatively advantaged times of the late 1970's. Since then access to housing has become more difficult for unemployed young people due to reductions in public sector housing provision and in the privately rented sector, the impossibility of them being able to purchase, local authority practice which has often become less sympathetic to young people as pressure from homeless families increases, and reductions in social security benefits.

The role of youth unemployment in personal development of young people

Adolescence is associated with a number of tasks (Hendry, 1987):

i. developing self-identity (and gender identity).
ii. gaining independence from parents and forming one's own family values.
iii. developing an occupational (or unemployment) role.
iv. developing and extending friendships.

Relevant to the achievement of these tasks is the change from the world of education to that of work, one of the major life course transitions undertaken by young people. Work provides a number of psychological benefits such as: a structure for the use of time; shared experiences outside the family context; linkage to wider goals and purposes other than the individual's own ones; and a way of defining personal status and identify (Jahoda, 1979). It also provides more tangible benefits such as income which facilitates social interaction with friends and the other major transition, that of moving from living with parents to living in an independent household, formerly overwhelming as part of a married couple, but now increasingly young people are living on their own or with other unrelated young people —sometimes in a cohabiting union. Historically, the process of household formation has only been possible if the young person (or couple) was in a financially independent position: indeed this has been a major mechanism which regulated population growth over a number of centuries in England

(Wrigley and Schofield, 1981). A widely-held view is that young people should not marry unless they are able to form an independent household, which essentially means adequate employment. Net family income for the permanently employed group in 1981 was £99 per week, compared with £67 for the hardcore unemployed. Even if allowance is made for the background characteristics of the unemployed group, the income differential due to unemployment would still be about 90 per cent of the overall observed difference of £32 per week.

If employment, the traditional requirement for independent living, is no longer available to many young people, another alternative method of obtaining the means of acquiring a home must be found, or the unemployed will be forced into remaining at home or into homelessness. These alternatives are, of course, being encouraged by the present Social Security regulations which *inter alia* have reduced the level of income support for single people under age 25 by restricting housing benefit for short stays of two, four or eight weeks in the April 1985 Board and Lodging regulations, and withdrew it totally from those under age 18 from September 1988 (Unemployment Unit, 1988b). (Current legislation may also lead to severe restrictions in the cost payable to hostels).

Psychological aspects of youth unemployment

The idea that unemployment is likely to have substantial psychological effects is of long-standing (Jahoda *et al.*, 1933 and 1972). A pattern of psychological deterioration associated with **long-term** unemployment has been found in most studies. The number and description of these phases differ slightly from author to author, but the general pattern is the same. They involve periods of resignation, adaptation, relief and despair and apathy.

Most studies of unemployment have looked at either middle-aged or older workers, usually male. However, for the young unemployed, these effects are often assumed to be much less important for a variety of reasons. They have not been socialized into the idea that work is one of the major purposes in life, that financial problems are less pressing than for, say, unemployed former breadwinners (financial problems are the best predictor of psychological stress among the unemployed and they are assumed to be the major factor in stress) and, at present, the pervasiveness of youth unemployment means that the unemployed are less likely to feel that their state is their own fault. Relatively little work has looked specifically at young people (see Kelvin and Jarrett, 1985, pp. 54-5 and Smith, 1987, pp. 70-2): however, Banks and Ullah (1987, p. 52) tend to support this conclusion. Cherry (1978) analysed a group of young people which might be thought to be similar in composition to today's unemployed, namely frequent job changers. In general, young unemployed people do report themselves as being much more depressed and alienated than their employed contemporaries both in general surveys and special psychometric ones.

About twice as many who were currently unemployed (including a small number on TOPS schemes) at the NCDS survey date in 1981 at age 23 were 'depressed' on a grouped score malaise index as those who were employed. Of course, care should be taken in interpreting these data in a simple unidirectional way: earlier psychological problems can be a cause of, or contribute to, unemployment (although the ability of such factors to contribute to unemployment are clearly much greater today than a quarter century ago, when the numbers unemployed were about one twenty-fifth of the 1981 figure). However, the harmful effects of unemployment *per se* are not in question: 'research has clearly demonstrated a significant deterioration in psychological health caused by unemployment' (Warr, 1985, p. 302) — this refers to men only since relatively little similar work has been undertaken on women's unemployment, Warr (p. 307-8) concluded that for young single women, the effects are the same as for men whereas mothers showed no association between employment and psychological health. (This latter conclusion has been disputed by Popay, 1985).

Moreover, those who had experienced a history of unemployment (the 'hardcore' group) were even more depressed on this generalised malaise score than those who were currently unemployed at the survey date, suggesting that these effects may be relatively long-lasting, (Table 7).

Attitudes and expectations of the young unemployed

Since a major focus of this paper is on family structure, particular attention will be given to attitudes in this area. In terms of attitudes to childbearing, there was comparatively little difference between the employed and unemployed groups, given the very substantial differences within these groups, 59% of the permanently employed group opted for a family size of two children, compared with a figure of 52% for the hard core unemployed group. In some cases, however, the attitudes did differ. For example, the hardcore unemployed reported both higher proportions wanting no children and large families of four or more children. (This latter finding was confined to those in the local authority sector at 11, while those in the owner-occupied sector at 11 had a slightly lower proportion than either of the two permanently employed groups, indicating that unemployment is not the only or possibly the primary factor involved). Overall, attitudes to desired numbers of children are very similar. However, when asked about the best time to marry and to start having a family the hardcore unemployed group tended to emphasize delay more than the permanently employed group. For example, 8.8% of them said that the best age to start childbearing was over 30 or that they had no intention to have children, compared with 5.0% of the employed group. Twice as many of the hard core unemployed group said they had no intention to marry (6% compared with 3% for the permanently employed group for men and 4% compared with 2% for women). There were also slightly higher proportions who favoured early childbearing among the hardcore unemployed group, 19.9% compared with 16.3% favoured ages below 22. This, however, would be expected since they are disproportionately drawn from social groups who historically have early marriage patterns, and most of this difference at younger ages disappears when this fact is allowed for, but the patterns at the older ages remain substantial. Once

more, these data do suggest that it is a myth that many young unemployed people rush into early childbearing. The young unemployed are more likely to report themselves as wishing to postpone or forego childbearing rather than the reverse[3].

In other areas differences in attitudes are very different among the young unemployed, for example political attitudes as reflected by voting behaviour. In this case, the difference between the employed and unemployed groups is particularly marked with massive reported preferences for the non-Conservative parties, in terms of both voting in 1979 and in reported preferences at time of interview (although, of course, this refers to the position at 1981). One factor which is noteworthy is the relatively small proportion of the young unemployed who opted for parties outside the three/four party hegemony. The hardcore unemployed were slightly more likely to support non-mainstream parties of the extreme right or left in 1981, but the proportions involved, 1.4 per cent, are still small, Table 8. However, these data mask the extent to which the young unemployed show political disaffection (except implicitly to the extent that the unemployed group are less likely to vote as is the case with the NCDS sample). Banks and Ullah (1987) investigated this topic and found that the young unemployed people were significantly more likely to be politically disaffected than their employed respondants.

Does unemployment matter?

The reaction to the increase in unemployment has differed. At one extreme, some ideological economists would deny that there is a problem at all in that the unemployed are assumed to be exhibiting rational choice in opting for unemployment rather than work (Minford, 1983). In such cases, the answer to unemployment is to reduce the level of benefits (this would cause the unemployed to opt for employment, according to the rational choice model), and to 'liberalize' the economy by reducing employment rights, controls on minimum wages and safety, and restrictions to entry etc. (often associated with reductions in the role of the trades union movement). The attitude that unemployment does not have substantial personal and demographic effects pervades the economic literature, explicitly or implicitly. For example, de Cooman et al (1987, p. 244) suggest that couples may treat periods of high unemployment with equanimity as a rational time to have a birth 'a higher unemployment rate could reduce income prospects, but it could also make it a less costly time to have a child'. A host of observational studies over the last half century produce a much less sanguine view of the effects of unemployment on health, physical (including its most extreme form, that of mortality) and mental (Smith, 1987 Chapters 5 and 8 gives a useful review, see also Burgoyne, 1985). Wallace (1987, p. 14) concluded that:

> motherhood seemed to offer more status than a low status job or than unemployment, but less status than a 'good' job. It would appear that marriage and motherhood 'caught up' with girls despite some initial resistance, rather than being an actively espoused status

Of course, such behaviour can be interpreted as 'rational' but what Wallace does is to describe how the former option of a decent job and motherhood have ceased to be realistic options for many young people today — as Duesenberry (1960, p. 233) said: 'economics is all about how people make choices, sociology is about how they don't have any choices to make'.

Some of the main consequences of the extremely high level of unemployment suffered by young people entering the labour market since the mid-1970s will not yet be apparent in terms of long-term physical and psychological health, and life-time economic circumstances. There are some well-developed theories that suggest that such early experience is likely to lead to life-time disadvantage for some earlier cohorts (Easterlin, 1980). However, in this paper only the effects of prolonged unemployment up to the age of 23 is available from the NCDS, but they do serve to stress major disadvantages suffered by young people who were entering the labour force in the last decade.

Footnotes

(1) This may be illustrated by the elaborate economic model developed by McElroy (1985) which was based on data for 18 to 24-year-olds in the USA. They appeared to show that the unemployed were more likely to be living at home among this age group as a whole. Murphy and Sullivan (1986) found that for each year of age within this band the relationship was the reverse — but that if the age group had been treated as undifferentiated the relationship would appear to have been reversed since, of course, younger people within this age-band are both more likely to be unemployed and to be living at home than the older ones. Any survey which presents broad age-band data, such as McRae (1987) is liable to similar problems of interpretation.

(2) Another reason for doing so is that it makes it more reasonable to combine men and women since the majority of both sexes have had relatively similar labour market experience by age 23, whereas many women are out of the formal labour force due to childcare responsibilities at age 23, and because this group of women who remain is atypical of women, comparisons would be complicated. The interested reader is referred to sources such as Griffin (1985) and Popay (1985).

(3) One problem which it is not possible to address here in detail is that of non-response in the survey. Between the contact at age 16 and age 23, 15 per cent of the sample who were interviewed at the former point were not in the latter sweep. In some cases the reasons may be unavoidable such as death or emigration but others may include non-contact or refusal to respond after contact. To the extent that responses from the estimated 85 per cent of the sample who were contacted may disproportionately include or exclude specialised subgroups, the above figures may underestimate or overstate certain characteristics of all 23 year olds. The difference, however, is likely to be relatively small, and the general conclusion remains that the young unemployed are less inclined to settle down and start families.

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Note added in proof: a recent useful publication which also addresses itself to the topic of this article is: Bruce Penhale **Associations between unemployment and fertility among young women in the early 1980s,** Working Paper 60, February 1989, Social Statistics Research Unit, The City University.

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Table 1 Selected Economic Indicators: Major Economies and Britain.

	Youth Unemployment Rates[1]		Annual rate of inflation	
	1980	1987	1978	1988[2]
United Kingdom	13.5	17.75	8.3	5.8
USA	13.3	11.25	7.6	3.9
West Germany	3.9	7.75	2.7	1.2
Japan	3.4	5.75	3.8	0.7

Sources: OECD Economic Outlook 42 (1987) p. 33., OECD Main Economic Indicators, October 1988, and OECD Economic Outlook Historical Statistics 1960-1986.

Notes: 1 Under age 25
2 August to August

Table 2 Sample sizes by employment experience: NCDS 23 year old sweep in 1981

	Hard core unemployed N	%	Other unemployed N	%	Permanently employed N	%	Never in labour force N	%	Total (=100%)
Men	904	14.4	1758	28.0	3511	56.0	95	1.5	6268
Women	1100	17.5	1835	29.3	3253	51.9	80	1.3	6268

Table 3 Living arrangements by employment experience and sex

	Men		Women	
	Hardcore unemployed	Permanently employed	Hardcore unemployed	Permanently employed
Living with parents	47.6	42.9	22.2	21.0
Living with partner				
without children	10.1	26.4	22.6	34.7
with children	20.5	14.2	33.7	26.4
Alone	6.6	5.2	4.4	4.0
Other with partner	4.9	2.9	4.9	2.9
Other without partner	10.3	8.4	12.1	11.0
Sample size = 100%	1078	3178	892	3458

Table 4 Hardcore unemployment rates by sex for (a) current partnership status (b) age at first partnership

	Men		Women	
	Unemployment rate	Sample size	Unemployment rate	Sample size
(a) Partnership status				
Single				
— not cohabiting	19.2	3632	15.5	2173
— cohabiting	23.5	307	18.7	366
Married	14.0	2177	13.7	3412
Widowed/ separated/ divorced	27.9	147	14.7	314
(b) Age at first partnership				
20 or under	21.4	1491	17.0	2160
21-23	14.6	1678	12.6	1681

Table 5 Main reason for first move since age 16 by employment experience and sex

	Men		Women	
	Hardcore unemployed	Permanently employed	Hardcore unemployed	Permanently employed
Live as married	29.7	44.3	42.2	56.8
Set up on own	9.9	9.2	11.2	7.8
Begin studies	16.2	20.8	12.6	17.8
Take up job	22.4	16.4	14.4	8.3
Unhappy so left	10.6	3.6	12.9	4.9
Made to go/ can't remain/ accommodation poor	11.2	5.7	6.7	4.3
Sample size = 100%	767	2121	759	2920

Table 6 Hardcore unemployment rates at age 23 by tenure at age 16

Tenure at 16	Unemployment rate	Sample size
Owner-occupier	12.2	4819
Local authority tenant	20.0	3749
Private sector renter	17.6	453

Table 7 Percent 'depressed' on grouped score malaise index by employment history and current employment status and sex

	Employment History		Current Status	
	Hardcore unemployed	Permanently employed	Unemployed/ TOPS	Working
Men	11.7	4.0	10.6	5.3
Women	25.4	13.2	23.5	12.6

Table 8 Voting in 1979 and party preference in 1981 by employment history

	Voted for in 1979		Preference in 1981	
	Hardcore unemployed	Permanently employed	Hardcore unemployed	Permanently employed
Conservative	26.8	43.9	9.5	22.6
Labour	57.7	39.6	42.7	28.3
Liberal/SDP	10.6	13.5	21.5	30.7
Scots/Welsh nationalist	3.7	2.2	3.0	1.5
National Front/ Communist/ WRP/SWP	.4	.5	1.4	.6
Other	.9	.3	.7	.4
Spoilt paper/ won't vote	—	—	21.3	15.8
Sample size = 100%	1122	4553	1886	6156

Radical Intermediate Treatment — Some Views from the Field

STEVE ROGOWSKI

Although intermediate treatment (I.T.) practice has changed significantly since its introduction by the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, strongly influenced by David Thorpe and his colleagues at Lancaster University (Thorpe et al 1980), I have argued (Rogowski 1985) that essentially it is still a conservative practice in that it serves as an element of social control perpetuating a capitalist society, which in turn is at the root of crime and delinquency (Taylor et al 1973 and 1975; Quinney 1980). A question that arises is whether a radical practice is possible. That is, a practice which sees crime and delinquency as being inherently and inextricably linked to the inequalities of wealth and power in present society, aims to address young people's immediate needs and which aims towards a more just and equal society based on socialist lines.

Such a practice is arguably more vital than ever because of the triumph of Thatcherism over the last decade and the increasing domination by 'law and order' ideology. This has even made I.T. itself unfashionable in some social work circles with practitioners for example now resorting to calling themselves 'juvenile justice workers'. These workers fail to understand that their preoccupation with the justice model of work with young people in trouble coincides with Thatcherite, ideological concerns (Hudson 1987) though this debate cannot be pursued further here. Instead I will concentrate on research I undertook last year into the possibilities of a radical I.T. practice, a practice which, to say the least, does not fit in with Thatcherite ideology. The research consisted of discussions I had with twenty people who are involved with and interested in I.T. They included practitioners and managers, mainly in local authority social services departments (S.S.D.'s), but also in probation and voluntary agencies, as well as academics with a particular interest in the subject. I did not try to obtain a representative sample, but rather to gain some idea of what some people in I.T. think about the possibilities of a radical practice. To this end, contact was made with various local authorities and agencies, mainly in the North of England including both shire and metropolitan borough S.S.D.'s, but also one inner London S.S.D. Interview schedules were used, the interviews lasting approximately one and a half to two hours.

The aim of the discussions as indicated was to discover whether the respondents thought radical I.T. was possible and if so what it might look like on the ground and how it might differ from more orthodox I.T. practice. There were questions about which theories of delinquency causation were considered to be of importance, and how these related to individual cases or how the practitioners and/or their agency dealt with young people in trouble. The theories mentioned in the schedule were not meant to be comprehensive but rather illustrated some of the main explanations of the phenomenon. Furthermore, it can be argued, though I would disagree, that rather than there being one grand theory which attempts to account for the entire range of delinquent behaviour in terms of some simple unifying causal process, there are instead multi-factoral explanations (West 1982). This is a point I will return to.

Before outlining some of the information gleaned from the interview schedules it is important to note that a key question related to my main point about a radical I.T. By this I meant an I.T. practice which views delinquency as having its antecedents in the inequalities of wealth and power in capitalist society, and which, rather than aiming at individual change or adjustment, aims towards external change, some understanding of the societal, structural factors which lead to delinquency and towards possible means of confronting them.

It will probably be of no surprise to learn that there was unanimous agreement that biological factors were of no significance in the causation of delinquency, though interestingly one respondent pointed out that some research suggested that if one was 'physically attractive' in court you would be more likely to receive a more lenient disposal and presumably the physical advantages would also come into play during the stages leading to the court appearance.

Learning theory was more 'popular' with fifteen respondents seeing it as having some significance, typically referring to 'inconsistent parenting' and one referring to the need for a 'respectable father figure'. There was more ambivalence about psycho-analytic theory with only eight seeing it having some significance, with little elaboration although one commented that defective relationships with parents can 'come out in later life as delinquency following feelings of insecurity'.

It was the sociological theories that were considered to be of more significence. Six thought anomie was very significant and eleven that it had some significance. One said it had a powerful intuitive appeal and that many people were influenced by this especially in relation to the links between crime and unemployment. He argued that self report studies showed that more crime is self-reported and more crime is actually discovered when people are unemployed. Others said that cultural goals of status, money and excitement were obtained through delinquency while another argued that 'a society geared to consumer addiction, with great stress on material success and power' can likewise lead to crime. As for sub-cultural theories, seven thought they were very significant and eight of some significance. One preferred the term 'youth groups' arguing that these groups have features of association and belonging where delinquency is the norm — football hooliganism with its emphasis on macho-ness and territoriality being cited as an example. Another pointed out that there are areas and estates where it is normal to commit offences and if someone actually managed to stay out of trouble they would be considered abnormal.

Deprivation and situational factors were both considered to be important with eight saying they were very significant and ten that they were of some significance. These figures apply to both categories but, of course, with different respondents in each group. The need for easily accessible and appropriate youth facilities, not those that merely reflect agency structure but which meet the real needs of young people was frequently suggested. One noted that this is an area which I.T. can get 'sucked into' as it did in the 1970's. As for the situational perspective, it was pointed out that remedies for this, such as target-hardening and surveillance techniques were merely dealing with symptoms of delinquency and were in danger of merely displacing the problem either to other areas, or from property to violent crime.

Labelling theories were seen as the most important. Eleven respondents saw them as very significant and eight seeing them as having some significance. One enthusiastically said she 'quite liked this theory'. She added that she dealt with working class young people and that they are more likely to acquire the delinquent label than were middle-class young people who were dealt with differently, either by the police taking no further action and leaving the parents to deal with it or at most a caution being given. 'Our kids end up in court, in the system, thus being labelled which leads to secondary deviance . . . the delinquent identity is taken on, they mix with like kids and they reinforce each other'. Another also said middle-class young people were treated differently quoting as an example her nephews who attended boarding school and were involved in serious shop-lifting offences. The police however, became involved only reluctantly and a mere caution resulted. She contrasted this with what would happen to working class young people at local comprehensives. Others rather graphically described the labelling perspective in terms of saying 'if you give a dog a bad name, it will be kicked by everyone and react' or, more soberly, if 'you're treated like an offender you're likely to act like one'.

Nine thought radical criminology was very significant and seven saw it having some significance. An elequent respondent said that 'the level and type of offending are strongly determined by the economic and social structure of any given society . . . there is a connection between the ideology of acquisitive individualism and theft, and between the ideology of masculinity and violence, aggression and some sexual crime.

The more unchallenged this ideology is, goes some way to explaining the **exceptional** crime in the U.S.A. 'Social inequalities are a big factor (and the) social structure operates to differentiate policies and responses vis-a-vis crime (focussing on the) young, working class, black, etc.' Another said that 'capitalist society has an investment in labelling people delinquent — it keeps people under control'. Or the 'very clear and apparent inequalities in this society, lead some youngsters to the point where the only way to balance these inequalities is through crime'. Or, again, 'if people are not fulfilled and are under economic pressure, there will be crime'.

Despite these comments which firmly relate crime and delinquency to present capitalist society, one respondent said that radical criminology was of no significance because although 'present society provides a framework for delinquency . . . individual kids don't recognise and appreciate this'. My immediate thought here is that one aspect of radical I.T. practice would be an educative role precisely in relation to this.

Finally, in relation to 'other' theories of delinquency, many of the factors mentioned could be included under the aforementioned theories — broken homes, low incomes, lack of internal control of parents, school problems, a normal transient part of adolescence, etc. However, one purposely made the point that there are a 'constellation of factors . . . there are many complexities — nature/nurture, issues of race and gender, labelled delinquents and other delinquents etc.' This is no doubt true and is close to the multi-factoral approach mentioned earlier but I would argue that these multi-factors or constellation of factors can all be accommodated within a Marxist, radical criminology, as I hope to show.

Turning to case studies, most respondents found it difficult to relate them to the delinquency theories. Statements like 'this doesn't seem to fit any of them' or 'it is difficult to relate the study to any theories' were common. It was only when prompted rather forcibly that tentative links were made. Instead of linking the cases with specific theories, there was tendency to pick out various factors that could relate to delinquency — schooling problems, inconsistent parenting, influence of peers etc. Superficially at least there seemed to be a disjunction between the theories the respondents considered important and what occurred or influenced them in their dealings with specific cases.

Perhaps, after all, the multi-factoral explanation or, as the respondent put it, a 'constellation of factors', were perceived as more relevant than the actual delinquency theories. Or looking at the situation from another angle perhaps the knowledge or theories that the respondents used in their day to day practice, was used implicitly and remained rather unarticulated as 'pratice wisdom' (Curnock and

Hardiker 1979). Perhaps though it is simply true to say that the respondents, or at least most of them, were atheoretical, that is, well able to tell you about a case, **what** has happened etc., but not **why** such a thing occurred, **why** such and such a plan of action has or is taking place etc. This is an ongoing area of debate in social work but unfortunately it cannot be pursued further here.

I will however, comment on the view that multi-factoral/constellation of factors are the key explanation of delinquency. There is no doubt an element of truth in that, for example, lack of recreational facilities, inconsistent parenting, schooling difficulties, etc., all have a bearing on delinquency causation. But if one looks behind these basic causal factors, to a causal process, then ultimately one arrives at the present structure of society and all the inequalities that are involved. To take one of these factors, inconsistent parenting or lack of parental supervision, one must ask why does this occur. This might be because of the stresses and strains of living in poor housing conditions, this in turn because of the poverty of the family, as a result of unemployment, and because of current housing policies. Why unemployment and current housing policies? Because of the change in the political economy over the last decade and the need to restructure capital and labour in favour of the former. This is, of course, very simplistic but it is possible to argue that all the causal factors referred to by the respondents can be traced back to the present structure of society, i.e. capitalism.

I will now turn to the response of the agencies/respondents to delinquency. It is important to note the influence of David Thorpe and his colleagues in all the agencies I contacted. All but one were either in the process of developing or had already developed diversionary systems management strategies aimed at keeping young people out of the juvenile justice system, together with alternatives to incarceration (euphemistically called alternatives to care and custody) aimed at heavy end offenders. It might be useful to outline what a typical agency response based on these lines looks like, though variations and differences exist between them.

A cautioning panel made up of representatives of the police, social services, probation and education considers new offences with a view to increasing the number of cautions, including second or third ones, so as to prevent young people appearing in court. It is also hoped that no further action will take place thereby avoiding cautions wherever possible. Sometimes there is 'cautioning plus' which means that social services undertake some sort of work with the young person and/or his family in order to obtain a caution. This could involve for example a simple letter of apology to the victim or reparation or advice and guidance. If a case has to go to court then a social inquiry report (S.I.R.) is not normally provided on a first appearance. If one is required it will be prepared by social services for all those under fourteen years old, and by the probation service for those over fourteen, unless they are already known to social services, in which case the latter prepares the report. As far as social services are concerned recommendations have to be made after consultation with an I.T. officer and if consideration is being given to, for example, attendance centre or anything further up the tariff, the S.I.R. has to be approved by a gate-keeping panel consisting of I.T. officers and senior social workers. In deciding on recommendations the aim is to ensure minimum intervention with a view to 'down-tariffing' as far as possible. There is a policy not to recommend care or custody. It should be noted, however, that probation officers continue to stress their professional autonomy, and gate-keeping is a less important element in their work. Only if care or custody is seen as a possible decision by the court is intervention in the form of supervision recommended. A short supervision order might simply involve advice and guidance by a social worker or perhaps a programme of group activities and discussions. A further court appearance again has 'down-tariffing' as the aim as far as possible, but could result in a supervision order with an I.T. requirement, the requirement being a more structured level of intervention in the form of two group-work sessions a week, one focussing on the correctional curriculum (Thorpe et al 1980; Denman 1982) or some version of it, the other offering recreational activities. Yet another court appearance may result in a supervision order with a specified activity clause (S.A.) which specifies two group work sessions as in the I.T. requirement but two further individual sessions a week focussing on, for example, more correctional work and personal and family problems. The supervision orders, I.T. and S.A. are specifically aimed at alternatives to incarceration. Other features of such alternative to incarceration schemes include: bail support, for example, reporting to an I.T. centre on a number of occasions a week; remand fostering as an alternative to being placed in a children's home; and an emphasis on appeals should sentence of incarceration be imposed.

As mentioned there are variations in these alternatives to incarceration schemes. For example, in two areas tracking had been introduced as a possibility for young people facing youth custody. A twenty-eight day bail assessment period is requested from the court and during that period the young person is in daily contact with a tracker who offers help, advice and, of course, surveillance. Should these prove successful the S.I.R. recommendation would be for a supervision order (S.A.) which would involve versions of the groupwork programmes already outlined. Another variation is that the supervision order (I.T. and S.A.) could involve 2½ days at an I.T. centre with the other 2½ days being spent at school, work, Y.T.S. or whatever. The period at the I.T. centre would again involve many of the groupwork components mentioned. Finally in some agencies the supervision order (S.A.) consists of a reparation or junior community service component.

A possible worrying trend in some of the schemes is the move away from groupwork to more individually based programmes. The justification for this is usually stated as being the lack of young people coming through the juvenile justice system, although it has to be pointed out that in one area where this was happening there had been a recent increase in the incarceration rate! Of particular concern though is that when a programme is individually based there is an increased danger of concentrating on individual pathology.

The rationale for such alternative to incarceration schemes is usually that there is no evidence that early social work intervention has any positive effect in terms of reducing or preventing delinquency, but rather has the effect of up-tariffing young people when they do offend and hastens their incarceration. In a more theoretical vein the respondents again found it difficult to articulate what happened to the young people they dealt with in terms of the delinquency theories, though when prompted there was reference to labelling theories and the need to avoid 'deviancy amplification'. However one respondent, even when pushed, could only refer to the fact that 'we've always worked like this here, it's our philosophy'.

Interestingly there was little conviction that heavy end I.T., that is essentially the correctional curriculum, would influence offending behaviour. One referred to it having been an 'American import' which had 'taken us down a blind alley'. Yet both he and others thought it justifiable because it was 'sellable' or 'credible' to magistrates and could thus be used to manage offenders in the community and avoid incarceration. As young people literally grow out of crime, the curriculum 'buys time' and allows the maturation process to take its course.

As one said 'the worst you can do is buy time and aid the maturation process, and the best you can do is develop insight into what happened (regarding the offence) . . . the actions and reactions'. Yet, it can also be argued that such I.T. can hardly be less successful than incarceration in terms of re-offending, it is more humane and it is cheaper.

As stated, many of the agencies were at various stages of the process of developing heavy end I.T. as an alternative to incarceration. Some schemes had been in existence since the late 1970's while others have been developed with government money provided under D.H.S.S. Circular LAC 83(3) but are now being taken over and funded by local authority S.S.D.'s. One respondent certainly wanted his agency to go in the general direction just described but steps had yet to be taken to create the inter-agency co-operation needed for the cautioning stage and adequate gate-keeping in terms of S.I.R. recommendations. He was meeting resistance from the police and social work colleagues. The social workers wanted to retain 'professional autonomy' with the unfortunate result that, for example, supervision orders were being made on ten year old first offenders! Another pointed out that his agency performed disastrously in terms of incarceration rates and numbers of cautions and had no heavy end I.T. yet preventative I.T. survived. Fortunately his senior management had recently taken steps to remedy this by implementing diversionary systems management strategies, developing heavy end I.T. and, hopefully, abandoning preventative work. And finally, one respondent spoke of the dominance in his agency until last year of preventative I.T. For example, there was a big (so-called) I.T. Centre with elaborate facilities including launderette and hair-dressing which had catered for eight year olds and upwards! In fact, many of the day care facilities that existed were referred to as 'schools' and this so called preventative I.T. had taken on the responsibilities of the education department! However, policy was now to move towards alternatives to incarceration, though admittedly there was still a way to go.

However, one agency, and by no means the only one in the country, did not focus and target its work specifically at the heavy end. Indeed, the respondent specifically stated that his centre was not an alternative to incarceration but rather its remit was to provide a range of services to children and families including, for example, groupwork for young people who were under-achieving at school. He thought preventative work per se was of value. He argued, despite all the evidence to the contrary, that the timing of help was important and that a little help early could help avoid a delinquent career. Despite this emphasis on preventative work there was an acknowledgement that alternatives to incarceration were needed and to this end individual programmes using the correctional curriculum were in operation.

Having, albeit briefly, looked at what actually happens to youngsters in trouble who come to the attention of the agencies I contacted, it might be useful to locate this in terms of the typology developed by Bottoms (Bottoms 1987). He is carrying out research into I.T., phase one of which includes a national survey of I.T. provision. On the basis of this he has developed a fivefold typology of I.T. First, there is 'prevention pure' which is predominantly needs based, within a preventative/rehabilitation ethos and has little concern with the young persons status in the juvenile justice system. There is no recognition of the importance of systems intervention or of possible un-desirable outcomes from welfare intervention, and no attempt to compete seriously with incarceration. Second, there is 'prevention plus' which is still needs based within a preventative/rehabilitation ethos but with some interest in the juvenile justice system and alternatives to incarceration, the latter taking place though within the preventative ethos. Third, there is 'alternative to incarceration pure' in which I.T. is exclusively for those at serious risk of incarceration. The programmes are offence not needs focussed, and a systems approach is adopted. Preventative work may take place but is never called I.T. because of the danger of 'up-tariffing'. Fourth, there is alternative to incarceration plus which is similar to the pure model, but there is a willingness to work with medium range offenders and sometimes those non-offenders appearing before court for care proceedings. Prevention is not allowed within the I.T. programme. And fifth, there is 'broad-based I.T.' which involves: a recognition of targetted provision for the heavy end offender as an alternative to incarceration, this being seen as independently important not simply subsumed within prevention as in prevention plus; and a wish to maintain preventative work with non-offenders as part of I.T. Bottoms found that over half the I.T. schemes he examined were alternative to incarceration pure or plus. The agencies I was in contact with were, with one exception, in these two categories, the exception being one which used prevention plus. Bottoms notes a move to broad-based I.T. — possibly a worrying trend in that it can lead to I.T. taking over the responsibilities of the education and youth service and subsequent dilution of its heavy end commitment. This was not apparent in my, albeit much more limited, study.

Nevertheless, his typology is useful and I await the publication of his research in due course.

I will now turn to the last question in the interview schedule namely whether a radical approach to I.T. is possible. That is an approach or practice based on the view that delinquency is a reaction to capitalist society.

All the respondents who considered that radical criminological theories were a very important factor in relation to delinquency also thought that a radical I.T. practice was possible, but interestingly so did two respondents who thought that such perspectives were of some significance. Thus, eleven thought a radical practice possible, but, before dealing with their comments, I will deal with those who thought such a practice was not possible or even irrelevant.

Typically, they referred to their role as being one of enabling young people to make the most of what is available at present. They clearly saw their role as agents of social control, assisting young people and families to survive in their current situation. Some even admitted that there was an element of expecting them to cope with the intolerable. To the extent that they acknowledged that external factors of deprivation and poverty were related to delinquency they were perhaps involved in some limited individual work in relation to housing and welfare benefits, but there were no attempts to relate these problems to the wider political and economic sphere. This was seen as being beyond their remit — there is 'no political role' for the I.T.or 'the political dimension is not the job of the social worker'. To others, to the extent they would engage with such matters it was restricted to 'proper channels', for example, the social services department hierarchy, or through their professional organisations. They may talk about, for example, unemployment with young people 'informally over coffee' but then only if asked because of a concern about 'ramming views down people's throats'. In short, it seems that I.T. was being implemented as though it were some sort of neutral, technocratic activity, aimed at helping young people conform to present society, without recognising that this is in itself a political activity in that at the very least it tacitly supports present economic, social and political arrangements. Those who subscribed to the more psychologically orientated theories of delinquency, could perhaps argue that their dealings with young people reflected their theoretical stance, but for those more sociologically orientated then, apart from some acknowledgement of the labelling perspective early on in the young persons career, again there was an apparent disjunction between theory and practice.

For those who thought a radical I.T. practice was possible, there was reluctant recognition that most of their face to face work with young people was geared to individual change or adjustment by the latter or at most their families. Some saw a radical I.T. in the limited terms of the various systems management strategies which were seen as a way of educating other agencies about the reality of delinquency — its petty transitory nature, the fact that it does not require a vigorous response etc. Others who saw wider possibilities made the point that the first priority was to develop genuine alternatives to incarceration and it was only then that a more truly radical I.T. practice of, for example, 'politicisation' and 'consciousness raising' could take place. Even these respondents were very hesitant. Numerous and obvious difficulties were referred to including that of working 'in and against the state'. At one level this was put rhetorically — 'if the system is so bad, what are you doing working in it and propping it up?' Another said that I.T. practitioners had to relate to a number of society's institutions — schools, police, courts, etc. — and that if they want to be good advocates on behalf of young people and their families, they have to be credible and avoid being labelled left-wing troublemakers and written off. Taken a step further, it could lead to dismissal. Notwithstanding these problems a radical practice was seen to be possible although it was again articulated, by and large, in a restricted form.

'Politicisation' and 'consciousness raising' as stated was referred to by the respondents as being an aspect of radical I.T. Some saw this as, when discussing the various youth training schemes, outlining the drawbacks and disadvantages but at the same time the schemes themselves would still be sold to young people because that is the 'political reality' and there is nothing else. However, another said she had referred, in one of her reports, to the fact that the young person concerned would not participate in such schemes because of the poor pay and conditions. She was reprimanded by her boss who argued that as there was nothing else she had a duty to persuade the young person, whereas she saw her duty to argue for improvements in pay and conditions, and one way was to reflect young people's views. There was also talk by her, and others, of putting young people in contact with, or even facilitating, protest marches and demonstrations against such schemes.

Mention was made of discussing the broader Thatcherite policies of the last ten years but it was argued that a 'delicate balance was needed otherwise you make yourself vulnerable to charges of indoctrination'.

Reference was repeatedly made to how crime was discussed but not just simply in terms of working class crime but also white collar, middle-class crime including, for example, social workers using telephones for personal calls! One referred to how the juvenile justice system was examined in a critical way pointing out that it is poor working class and, especially, black young people who are drawn into it.

Another spoke of how when she heard comments such as 'all blacks are bastards' and 'a woman's place is in the home' she would expose such 'myths and assumptions', presumably by using anti-racist and anti-sexist strategies. These are perhaps more common in youth work and, indeed some respondents did suggest that much of what a radical I.T. would consist of could be found in some aspects of youth work.

On a practical level one respondent spoke of how the young people he was dealing with continually complained about the 'crap' youth facilities and, as part of their I.T. programme, they reviewed the services for youth in their area, prepared a report and submitted this to the local council.

At what might be considered a more extreme level the

youth riots of the early eighties were discussed with a question being whether there was a role for I.T. practitioners in terms of agitation. There was unanimous agreement that violence could never be condoned or advocated but that young people should be helped to use official channels, such as local councillors and M.P.'s, for their complaints, and that perhaps as a last resort they should be encouraged to use the tactics of civil disobedience.

As well as face to face work with young people, most of the respondents also made the point that they also had to work with their trade unions, professional organisations and the Labour Party.

All these small, tentative steps towards a radical I.T. were undertaken on a very ad-hoc, irregular basis, usually informally and separate from the formal I.T. programme, which consisted essentially of the correctional curriculum. Only one respondent, while accepting the necessity for property systems management strategies and alternative to incarceration schemes involving the correctional curriculum, spoke of the need to move forward and to look at the 'powerlessness' of young people on such schemes. He spoke enthusiastically of the need to explore the problems faced by young people, as defined by them, with a view to attempting to alleviate these difficulties by giving them 'contacts and opening up channels' i.e. local councillors, community groups, trade unions etc.

In all these discussions there was frequent reference to the dangers of imposing one's views on young people or, as one put it, 'intellectual imperialism'. Such a view was also put to those who did not think a radical I.T. practice was possible. However, although it is essential to work alongside young people, the point can be made that it is possible to exaggerate the so-called dangers of imposing one's views, of indoctrination. By the very fact of meeting, being with and talking to young people, I.T. practitioners aim to influence (otherwise why be there?). The key question it seems to me is not whether one imposes or transmits views but what these views are and what is the aim/objective. Radical I.T. practitioners aim at addressing immediate needs as well as raising consciousness about the injustices of present society, thereby making a small step towards a more just and equal future.

To conclude then, it can be argued that at one level with the exception of labelling theories and perhaps some of those respondents subscribing to the psychological theories, that there is a disjunction between the delinquency theories felt to be important by the respondents and the actual practice they adopted — a gap between theory and practice. Part of the explanation lies in the practical difficulties of implementing the sociological theories at least on an individual basis.

At least those committed to radical criminological theories seem to be aware of these problems, but do see the possibilities of a radical practice, with limited examples having just been given. However, there does not appear to be a coherent radical I.T. practice as such. Even attempts to develop a more radical I.T. (Beresford and Croft 1982; Ward 1982; Holt 1985) fail to provide an adequate model for face to face work with young people in trouble. In concluding my research I attempted to outline a tentative way forward (Rogowski 1988) and this will be published in due course.

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Towards the integration of anti-racist and multicultural educational policies

OLIVIA FOSTER-CARTER

Black children have under-attained, or under-achieved, in British schools since the first generation arrived partly in response to the need for labour. Black migrants passionately wanted educational qualifications for their children especially in the light of the racism that they, themselves, experienced in the general society. As recently as 1985 the Swann Committee Report found these academic results:

'O' Levels (5 or more, Grade A-C)

West Indies	**Europeans**
6%	19%

'A' Levels (1 or more)

West Indies	**Europeans**
5%	14%

As usual, in academic research evidence about black girls remains invisible (Mirza, 1986; Carby, 1982; Bhavnani, 1986; Bryan et al, 1984). There are well documented theoretical and methodological flaws in Driver's (1980) research (Williams, 1980; Fuller, 1984). Despite this, Driver found that West Indian girls achieved results, in the schools that he examined, better than those of all other categories, in 'the subjects that matter' (i.e. especially English and Mathematics).

There have been intermittent proposals for the monitoring of the academic results of all pupils in schools. This is a politically and ethically sensitive issue. Some researchers in educational policy assume no difference in attainment and/or believe in the 'equality of approach' to all. Others fear 'apartheid recording' i.e. that 'full statistics might be used to the detriment of minorities' (Little and Willey, 1981). So, while I have reproduced Swann's stark figures it is impossible to draw overall conclusions from these. For example, there is often no variability of uniformity in the categories, or classifications, that are used in research in this area (Commission for Racial Equality, 1982). These figures ignore the possibility of class difference or distinctions in attainment in differing geographical locations. Are there for example, women, or minority members or working class or black people in the category 'majority group'? The basic question is 'Are we in a state of phenomenological bliss not to be disturbed by empiricism . . .'? (Pumfrey, 1988, p.33).

There has long been an optimistic practical response to the educational under-attainment of black children in British schools (Coard, 1971; Rose et al, 1976; Tomlinson, 1983; Rampton, 1981; Swann, 1985). These are some authors who have analysed the development of varying educational policies over time. Briefly, the policies which were initially implemented tended to be **assimilationist**. They assumed that minority members should adapt and change so that they could be absorbed into the majority society.

In the 1970s policies mainly had an **integrationist** perspective. Researchers were calling for the recognition of difference and movement away from the 'colour-blind' approach to education. The 1980s has seen the rise of the **cultural pluralist** approaches. These stress respect for cultural diversity and the maintenance of aspects of minority cultural identities, faiths and languages. Roy Jenkins, 1966, had proposed the development in society from a flattening process of assimilation to 'equal opportunity, accompanied by cultural diversity in an atmosphere of mutual tolerance' (Jenkins, in Patterson, 1966). The 1980s policies move beyond concepts of 'tolerance', with its implicit bias, to ideas of 'equality' and 'justice'. Most recently, particularly since the publication of the Rampton Report (1981), anti-racist strategies are often being built into multi-culturalist policies nationally, including in 'all-white' areas.

The educational policies above reflect the changed and changing nature of British society. Therefore, they are of value in multi-racial schools but also have relevance for education as a whole. No child in any school is isolated from the influence of the images of the general society contained, for example, in the parental, or teacher attitudes, texts or the media.

The Need for Anti-Racism

Troyna's (1987) table on the following page shows the result of his survey of seventy-one teachers' attitudes to multi-cultural and anti-racist policies.

TABLE 5

Responses to: 'What do you consider to be the essential features of multicultural education approaches in school?'

(Respondents were allowed to mention up to 3 features).

Features mentioned	% of respondents	Number of mentions
LANGUAGE		
E2L	1.4	1
Mother Tongue Provision	1.4	1
CULTURAL PLURALISM		
Acquaint pupils with other cultures/insert other cultures into formal curriculum and assembly	85.9	61
Promote tolerance and respect	60.6	43
Expunge racist textbooks	11.3	8
ANTI-RACISM		
Anti-racist/political education	8.4	6
DO GOOD BY STEALTH		
Avoid confrontation	7.0	5
Avoid focus on racial differences	9.9	7
Assimilation	7.0	5
TEACHER EDUCATION/ INITIATIVES		
Appoint more black teachers	1.4	1
INSET Courses	2.8	2
OTHER	8.4	6
DK	1.4	1
N of Responses		147
N of Respondents		71
Mean Response per person		2.1

Unfortunately this reflects the ideology of many, including teachers, researchers and educational policy makers, that 'anti-racism' = 'political' education. They are more comfortable with what they would define as 'multi-cultural' or 'cultural pluralist' policies.

Educational policy makers in the area of multi-culturalism or cultural pluralism fail to recognise all the problems raised by its implementation. For example, many critics stress **racism** rather than **ethnicity**. Allen (1979), wrote that cultural pluralist perspectives emphasise culture, cultural difference, and stress the exotic, rather than racial prejudice, racial discrimination, and the entrenched influence of racism or racialism in society.

Similarly, the Rampton Committee (1981) focussed on West Indian children and concluded, 'Racism, both intentional and unintentional, has an important bearing on the educational performance of (West Indian) children in British schools'.

The impact of racism, prejudice and discrimination in the general society is clear in pupils' responses. The widespread effects of continuing poor employment and unemployment of minorities are financial hardship, lack of individual motiviation, and possibly frustration and humiliation (Louden, 1977).

Educational research which relies solely on achievement, motivation, withdrawal, levels of aspiration, or self-esteem of children or parents is methodologically flawed, or of limited explanatory value, in the analysis of the roots of under-attainment. It all has to be perceived in the general socio-structural context. This was pointed out in the late 1960s by Allen who wrote

> It is not deviant not to be employed . . nor is it unrealistic to leave school before completing the course, if continuing education makes only a marginal difference to your occupational choice as seems to be the case for working class youth in Britain and the United States. (Allen, 1968, p. 326)

There have been numerous criticisms of the implementation of multi-cultural policies. Stone (1981), found that in practice, West Indian culture especially has been stereotyped. It is reduced to little more than music lessons, sport, and, at the most, Black Studies. Similarly, multi-culturalism has been derided as the 'steelband, sari, and samosa' approach (Troyna and Williams, 1986). This is not surprising as Carby (1982), points out that multi-culturalism generally excludes the concept of dominant cultures interpreting subordinate cultures, whether indigenous or migrant.

There are similar points to be made about racial, class, gender and ethnocentric bias in the attempts to examine cross-cultural difference (cf. Phoenix, 1987). For example, multi-culturalists often propose that there are **universal** elements in culture. However, the very definitions of 'culture' share the same biases (see Foster-Carter, 1987). Honeyford, for example, perceived West Indian music as an 'ear-splitting cacophany'.

It is impossible to approach the teaching of other cultures without examining the racism of one's own (Sivanandan, 1982). Black minority codes and 'repertoire of languages' have been described as 'mumbo jumbo', 'jungle languages', 'inadequate', 'inferior', 'restricted' or 'restricting'. Ethnocentrism of this kind is often comfortably contradictory. One objection to introducing West Indian dialects or Urdu for example into 'O' or 'A' level examination systems, is that black pupils may be advantaged in these subjects!

The Bullock Report concluded in the mid 1970s, that, 'No child should be expected to cast off the language and culture of the home as "he" crosses the school threshold, nor to live and act as though school and home represent two totally separate and different cultures that have to be kept firmly apart'. (Bullock Report, 1975)

Perhaps partly in response to this, multi-culturalism has been defined, interpreted and implemented in a variety of ways. In general it hopes to cultivate unity while promoting; '**intellectual curiosity**, i.e. a sympathetic understanding of (and respect for) cultural diversity e.g. folklore, lifestyles, languages, literature, religious customs and aspirations'.

Swann sums up his image of a culturally pluralist society as involving both the majority and minorities equally. Educational policies would include: 'The preservation of separate identities in a framework of (commonly accepted) shared values (practices and procedures). This supposedly moves away from one-sided change in minority identity. However, could ethnic minority groups maintain their separate identities in this structure? Who would actually define the common framework of values, practices and procedures? There would be little difference from the policies of previous decades if it is still the minority groups who assimilate in order to integrate into the common whole of

the general society. Carby (1982) criticises multi-cultural education policies as **'interventionist'**. In other words, the transmission of black cultural forms would be taken from supportive parents and communities. Thus, in many cases in practice, multi-cultural education has been dismissed as, '... simply a sham, a cheap education, by which the oppression of black children is compounded'. (Stone, 1981).

The multi-culturalists see prejudice as arising from 'misinformation' about racial and ethnic distinction. Extreme prejudice has been found in areas where there was no inter-racial contact. One child in an 'all white' school, was told that economic exchange is fair 'We give them motor cars and they give us bananas' (Foster-Carter, 1986). Multi-culturalists, generally, believe that replacing ignorance with sympathetic understanding on the **facts** of racial and cultural diversity will reduce prejudice. However, Parekh (1988), describes a society's view of itself as ideological, subserving the interests of the dominant class, a form of false consciousness, and sincerely held by the bulk of its members. The imperialist era saw the intensification of the distortion, exaggeration, and stereotyping of cultural difference. Racially biased, or ethnocentric, images remain residual in contemporary Britain.

Books for example, remain tragic in their implications of who is important and worthwhile and, by contrast, who is worth less (Foster-Carter, 1986). The media mainly reproduces images of black people as clowns, jokers or 'baddies'. 'Rapping' has become generally acceptable as a form of black youth music. One record company recently promoted a 'rapping' pig thus subtly derogating a musical mode. Images in the media affect attitudes of teachers, parents, pupils and authors and their texts. Their images influence the media output. The most effective biased images reflect a 'kernel of truth' in reality. Change needs to take place both at the symbolic level and in reality. The process is interactive.

The political and economic context

Williams (1984), wrote that whenever minorities demand equal status 'the politicians anguish over **POWER** the purse holders anguish over **PRICE**'. The very next year the Swann Report (1985) was published. It pointed to the:

> Structures and Spirals of racism that have to be dismantled at the levels of (a) individual **prejudice**, (b) discriminatory **practices** and (c) unequal distribution of **power**.

They then describe the:

> Structures and Spirals of Racial Equality and Justice that have to be built including (1) mutual **respect**, (2) **fair practices** and (3) **equal participation** in Education, Society and Economy.

It is the implementation of Swann's proposed policies that lead to the greatest problems. Although his table touches on the structural framework in which racism exists, Swann rejects education about power and the powerful as 'miseducation'. Such education would not lead to his image of a pluralist society. Racism, sexism, class and cultural prejudice are deeply entrenched in capitalist, partriarchal societies. Racist attitudes, practices and assumptions exist for political, social and economic reasons. They pervade society at the institutional and ideological levels (see Parekh above). The dominant group generates, maintains, modifies and appropriates discourses to retain privilege (see Foucault, 1977).

The idea of pluralism incorporates the assumption of **equality**. Therefore, cultural pluralism **is** a threat to powerful, dominant cultures, groups, classes, or individuals in demanding equal status of minorities with the majority at all levels and in all spheres.

A genuinely culturally pluralist society could only develop from a social context in which racism, sexism, class and cultural bias, prejudice and discrimination was eradicated. Prejudice and discrimination to retain benefits, opportunities and power either in the national or international context, involves the derogation of the other (see Husband, 1982; Milner, 1983; Sarup, 1986).

Educational policy about the **injustice** and **immorality** of inequality, is one possible starting point. However, education about power relations (in their complexity) disadvantage and differential access to resources, which reproduce privilege, is an essential further stage in education for equality.

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Youth Enterprise and Local Economic Planning

MIKE NEARY

This paper examines youth unemployment and the notion of Youth Enterprise as a means of dealing with it within the context of Local Economic Planning and explains why the concept is so popular on all sides of the political divide. However, it argues that the positions that underpin this popularity are flawed and that, therefore, the concept of Youth Enterprise is itself undermined. The paper uses the tools of Critical Theory to analyse and deconstruct youth unemployment and youth enterprise. In this way, by using the notion of totality, youth unemployment is addressed as a theoretical construct. That is to say, this paper argues that policy associated with youth unemployment and enterprise arises out of a particular view of reality, based within the functionalist paradigm. For example, from within this paradigm youth unemployment is viewed as an empirical problem, divisible from the mass of surplus labour. However, this paper, arguing from the structuralist position, will maintain that to divide the problem up in this way, as the empiricists do, is to fundamentally misconstrue the nature of the problem of unemployment and to collude with the diversionary functional analysis.

If then, as is argued, unemployment and youth unemployment in particular can only be adequately addressed by a more rigorous theoretical analysis, the paper calls for a return to ideology and idealism. Not an ideology and idealism based on oppression, domination and exploitation, as is currently the vogue; but, rather, an ideology and idealism based on the objectivity of material development and on the consequent principles of social justice.

The notion of Enterprise plays a central role in the approach of Local Economic Planning to the problem of youth unemployment and to the regeneration of local economies. Within the concept of Enterprise particular attention is paid to the idea of Youth Enterprise both as a way of encouraging self-employment among the 16-25 year olds and also as an approach to training and education that claims to empower young people politically, socially and economically by encouraging them to learn what it refers to as enterprise skills[1]. In this way self employment is regarded as an economic form of enterprise activity. Indeed, the Youth Enterprise small business 'industry' has become big business. It is estimated that total UK funding, both private and public, was in excess of £60m[2]. That money manifested itself in a number of ways. In an attempt to encourage youth self-employment, there has been a proliferation of managed workspaces, collectively known as Youth Business Centres, which through complex funding arrangements with Local Authorities, MSC/TA and the private sector utilise run down property in areas of urban decay[3]. These spaces, which are often converted manufacturing establishments, are made available at a reduced rent for a limited period, usually between 1-2 years. These Centres also provide support in the form of information, advice and back up administration facilities.

The fashion for youth self employment has meant that what often began as 'kitchen table ideas' have, with the support of the MSC/TA, local EDUs and the private sector, become national corporate empires. This is certainly the case with 'Instant Muscle', a project that offers advice to would be young entrepreneurs. Indeed, the private sector itself has set up free standing schemes to encourage enterprise. Shell UK runs a competition: 'Livewire', where young people compete in various entrepreneurial categories for sums of up to £5,000. Indeed, Charitable Trusts, championed by the market leader The Princes Youth Business Trust, are falling over themselves to give grants and loans to young people on the production of a viable business plan.

In schools, colleges, universities and on government training schemes courses and modules are being set up to encourage young people to be more enterprising. Evidence for this can be found in the new TVEI and CPVE initiatives in schools, the mini-enterprise programme developed by SCIP and the Entrain Quango set up by the MSC/TA for YTS.

Yet, despite the high profile and the massive amount of money that is injected into Youth Enterprise, there is little evidence to suggest that young people, particularly those most at risk from the effects of youth unemployment are successfully employing themselves. Indeed, there is evidence to suggest the contrary. Sue Lelliot, in her publication 'How Enterprising' concludes that: 'the self employment option is of little value to the majority of the unemployed'. A survey of the Enterprise Allowance Scheme by The Small Business Research Trust shows that the average age of those achieving on the scheme is 39. Nor, is

there any evidence to suggest that young people, as a result of enterprise training in enterprise skills, are being more personally effective.

Therefore, pushing the self-employment ethic with the provision of grants, loans and managed workspaces; and claims of youth empowerment, through the acquisition of so called enterprise skills, must be of limited and dubious value.

Yet, the concept of youth enterprise endures and becomes more popular. There are a number of reasons for this.

The popularity of the concept can be explained by the way in which it can be applied within a number of different paradigms. These paradigms include the Thatcherite neo-classical right; the Social Democratic, Post Industrial school, and the Marxian 'New Times' analysis, with its concentration on flexible specialisation.

For the Thatcherite right, enterprise, or rather the lack of it, fits into their social pathology models of explanation for urban and inner city decay. It is a classic case of blaming the victim. In this way DIY capitalism, in the form of enterprise activity, stimulated by an 'enterprise culture', is to be encouraged, with no reference to the socio-economic context in which it is supposed to take place. This approach to local economic planning has its roots in ex-colonial economic development, particularly in India and Nigeria, in the Post War years[4].

While the Right's position with regard to enterprise is not surprising, it is not so apparent why the concept should appeal to opposing paradigms. The answer to this lies in the changes in the process of production as perceived by the 'New Times' Marxists and the implications that this has for the type of education and training which such a restructuring necessitates. The 'New Timers' argue that training and education for young people is based on the mass-production model of Fordism and the doctrines of scientific management. That is to say, schools, colleages, YTS schemes and colleges replicate the factories of post war Britain with teachers as the workers and students and trainees as the raw materials. Young people are being rolled off one production line onto what is expected to be another production line structured around a society organised on the principles of full employment and the support structures of the Welfare State. That is to say, the utilitarian values and structures of education provided employees for the Fordist mass production process.

However, they argue that this mass production process is under threat and is being dismantled. Employers in all sectors are introducing new working practices to restore profitability. These practices are moving away from the Taylor-Bedaux doctrines that have dominated work organisation since between the wars, to a flexible systems approach. The Taylor-Bedaux system emphasised dynamic deskilling, formalised job boundaries, formal monitoring systems, decollectivisation, incentive payment systems, complete substitutability of workers and work teams and a minimum of interaction relationships. Flexible systems, however, stress the development of generalised semi-skilled workers, job flexibility and lack of boundaries, collectively orientation promoted by small group co-operation and pressure, leading to such devices as quality circles[5].

Advocates of the New Times claim that such work practices are being forced on producers by the introduction of a new stage of capitalist production . . . It consists of applying computer technology not only to each stage of the production process, from design to retailing, but also to the integration of all stages of the process into a single co-ordinated system. As a result, the economies of scale of mass production can now be achieved on much smaller runs, whether small batch engineering productions, or clothes, shoes, furniture or even books. Instead of Fordisms specialized machinery producing standardised products, we now have flexible, all purpose machinery, producing a variety of products[6].

They also argue that producers in their attempt to regain profitability are looking at the range of factors that influence their competitiveness, no longer concentrating solely on the price of goods. C. Littler in 'The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies' writes that when: price ceases to be the exclusive factor in exchange, and non-price factors (for example, design, reliability and quality) assume a larger significance, then this is likely to result in a structural shift in work organisation and an ideological shift in management theory. The organisational impact of output is no longer the sole principle of the capitalist production process which it was in the new dawn of Detroit in 1914.

Therefore, enterprise training, with its concentration on particular enterprise skills that emphasise autonomy, creativity, independence, team work, decision making, responsibility, and use of initiative conform to the requirements of the flexible specialisation labour process in a way that the Fordist control, obedience and conformity model never could.

The concept of enterprise and enterprise training fits in neatly with the Post-Industrial paradigm. The skills emphasised would seem to be particularly appropriate to Bell's 'service sector'[7], Gershuny's 'self service economy'[8] or Kumar's vision of 'wageless work, casual employment relations and the politics of small business'[9]. Indeed, the concept of enterprise training is close to the centre of the Post-Industrial libertarian traditional as exemplified by Illich[10] and Gorz[11]. There is little point in having autonomous time if you have no idea of how to organise it, or are used to having it organised for you, as is the case in Fordist factories.

The Social Democratic paradigm, that claims legitimacy in debates about the future of work from its trend spotting activities, is a committed supporter of youth enterprise training. D. Grayson, a leading exponent of youth enterprise, calls on Alvin Toffler for support in his pleas for a youth enterprise strategy:

> Alvin Toffler in his book, The Third Wave, foresees a nation of 'prosumers' who work part-time for themselves and part-time for others . . . These more varied patterns of work in the future will put a premium on people who are adaptable and resourceful: who are enterprising in other words[12].

Charles Handy, the leading advocate of the Social Democratic view on the future of work, argues that future

organisations will be federal in character:

> They will have small component parts, loosely linked together in a large whole to get economies of scale . . . People will be working in gangs again, not in lines . . . growing out of the collapse of the old economic order . . . we must *empower* the individual . . . we need to help people to market and organise themselves, so that they will not be exploited in the anarchic fringe of the large organisation.[13].

It is enterprise training, so the social democrats argue, that will provide the basis for that pluralistic notion of empowerment.

There are, however, a number of problems associated with these approaches. The neo-classical liberal, right wing position that is characteristic of most of Youth enterprise provision exemplified by Young Enterprise, PYBT and Livewire, fails to take into account, in its promotion of youth enterprise, the contradictions within the accumulation process that undermine the hegemonic 'enterprise culture'. For example, it was the private sectors' enterprising behaviour, in responding to forces within capitalistic world markets, that has been responsible for many of the economic and social problems associated with young people. Indeed, with the promotion of youth enterprise right wing ideology is compromised by the distortion of free markets that occurs when the State intervenes with soft loans, grants and subsidised workspace.

The 'New Times', Post-Fordist approach, that is characteristic of the fashionable thinking on the left, is, with regard to production and its associated labour process, too stereotypical and generalised to base any meaningful mass training or employment initiative on[14]. Indeed, their optimism for small scale production bears little resemblance to the 'sweated' experiences of many young people existing by 'informal' activity in UK cities[15]. Nor, does their functional solution take into account the structural limitations preventing an 'escape' of these small scale production units from subsistence level to businesses that could survive regulation under State control[16]. The over simplification of the advocates of flexible specialisation also fail to confront the complex economic arrangements by which many young people survive, nor the particular role that such a production process consigns young women to[17].

The position is similar with regard to the one dimensional Post Industrial school that pervades much of the thinking within YBCs and, to a certain extent, in Business in the Community. While much of the most influential thinking within this paradigm may assist middle aged managers facing a mid-life crisis, not helped by a threat of redundancy, it is of limited value to young people seeking employment nor to the types of jobs they get. That is to say, the technology has not yet been developed to clean offices by telecommuting. Nor do all Post Industrial employers want their employees to display 'enterprise skills'. Indeed, visual display unit technology now makes it easier for employers to know exactly what the work force is doing and less easy for the workers to 'make out'. So far as the sweat shops of East London are concerned the only autonomous planning of time that is required is remembering to set the alarm so you don't sleep in.

Most LEPU, however, does not even get involved in these debates. Rather, it adopts a functional approach and advocates the 'superficiality of traditional pragmatism'[18]. This approach is rooted in positivism: where policy is thought to provide practical solutions to practical problems. It is imposed within a corporate, organisational framework and encompassed within the methodology of systems theory. The State is perceived as a pluralist benefactor, that will assist young people in their enterprise activity through the provision of loans, grants and subsidised workspace. The process of Local Economic Planning is, therefore, perceived as a rational one, although there may be limits to that rationality.

However, all this approach achieves, if it can be said to achieve anything is 'generate monotony in the name of diversity'[19]. It is, therefore, of limited value to Local Economic Planning and to provision for young people. What is required is a Structural approach, to point out contradictions and suggest more appropriate approaches, using the tools of Critical Theory i.e. the notions of totality, consciousness, alienation and critique[20].

In this way, policy with regard to young people would not be based solely on the figures produced by the local Careers office. Youth unemployment would not be regarded as an empirical problem, that could be problematised or explained away by the functional accounting of statistics. Rather, by locating the problem within the totality of the economic base of society, it can be shown that youth unemployment is, in fact, a theoretical problem. That is to say, the way in which youth unemployment is conceptualised and addressed is based on a particular view of reality that can be located within the functionalist paradigm. The dominance of this paradigm, of which traces can be found in Post-Fordism and Post-Industrialism, explains much of the current 'mainstream' Thatcherite local economic development activity. If, as has been shown, there are limitations and constraints to this paradigm, and its resultant models, then another view of reality is required that is more able to deal with the problems of youth unemployment. Therefore, the battleground of youth unemployment should not be fought over the numbers of those out of work, or the quality of jobs, or whether the figures represent full or part-time work; but, rather, over what theoretical concepts are to be adopted. In this way, quality, amount and hours of work will be dealt with more comprehensively within the framework of a more appropriate theoretical concept. This is not to suggest that the debate gets bogged down in arguments between non-compatible versions of the real world, but, that, by the use of Critical Theory we move away from the superficiality of appearance to the essence of the problem and a more fundamental cognition of what is required.

So far, we have dealt with youth unemployment as a separate category, detached from the main body of surplus labour. However, from a Structuralist approach, young people would not be isolated and marginalised from the rest of the 'unemployment problem'. Indeed, the whole concept of youth unemployment, as currently understood,

is a fundamental misconception of the nature of the problem. Young people do suffer greatly at times of high unemployment, but their unemployment can only be properly conceptualised by relating it to unemployment generally. Therefore, any meaningful policy to alleviate youth unemployment must take into account the totality of the process of capital accumulation; be seen as an expression of class relations and not just of age, and particular attention should be paid to the role of the State as manifested in Economic Development Units. Therefore, the functionalist approach adopted by most EDUs, of treating specific groups for example the young, women, the long term unemployed etc. as if they were separate divisible entities within the accumulation process, would be abandoned. This is not to say that these groups do not have specific needs. However, these needs would be addressed with relation to the processes of production and reproduction having regard to the specific position of those people within those processes. In this way, the conflict and contradictions, that lie at the heart of those processes, and which are responsible for many of people's needs and difficulties would become more apparent, be understood for what they are and, therefore, dealt with more adequately and effectively.

When viewed in this way, Youth Enterprise promotion is deconstructed and seen as a policy to mystify and divert attention from the more fundamental issues in our society. Thus, enterprise becomes not a means of empowerment but a strategy for oppression and exploitation, with the only flexibility it encourages is the flexibility to work unsocial hours in the 'Have a Nice Day' industries. 'Enterprise Culture' is, therefore, intended to maintain and legitimise capitalist social relations. Indeed, Enterprise plays a crucial role in this process of legitimation because it is an expression of those social relations, having been 'produced' under a given mode of production in a particular period of history. It is, therefore, used extensively as a hegemonic device to maintain a state of consciousness that is 'broadly supportive of the existing structure of production in society'[21]. Also, more particularly, Enterprise is encouraged among the most vulnerable members of society to ensure that they, through their own self-exploitation, bear some of the costs of capital restructuring and, in so doing, facilitate the process of decentralising production[22].

This argument does not deny a role for charitable and voluntary organisations involved with young people. However, their reasons for existence are based more on the principles of 19th Century liberalism, comprising the notions of philanthropy and altruism, than they are on economic development. They should not, therefore, be used as the front line of EDU strategy, nor should they claim that role for themselves. Nor should voluntary organs underestimate the extent to which they are being used as hegemonic devices to espouse the virtues of the 'enterprise culture', and as distributors of a kind of welfare, in the guise of training, that is more socially acceptable to Capital[23].

This paper has argued that the categorising of various sections of the labour force, and in particular the young, by the State, as a means of rationalising and dealing with the crisis of unemployment, has served to divert attention from the more fundamental issues of class, exploitation, the role of the State itself and the conflicts and contradictions within the capitalist process of accumulation. If these issues are to be adequately addressed it can only be from a different theoretical construct. In this way the needs and aspirations of young people are dealt with as they relate to the process of production and reproduction and not just because they are young. From this Structuralist paradigm youth unemployment and Youth Enterprise are deconstructed. This allows us to ask the more fundamental question of what is the role for the mass of surplus labour: labour that includes the young, women, people from ethnic minorities, redundant middle managers etc., in an economy that no longer requires them to be economically productive in ways that it used to, nor, in many cases, no longer requires to be economically productive at all.

The answer to that question for local economic planning lies not in the rationality of functionalism, in number crunching or the technical problems of ET or YTS; but, rather, in the adoption of a more adequate theoretical construct and a return to idealism based on the objectivity of material development and the principles of social justice.

Notes and References

1. A full list of Enterprise skills can be found in 'Entrain: the new force in enterprise training' by S. Plant in *Initiatives*, the journal for the Centre for Employment Initiatives, Vol. 5 No. 2 April 88. These skills include organising time and energy, seeking information and advice, carrying out agreed responsibilities, coping with stress etc. Entrain, originally set up as a quango by the MSC in 1987 had its funding withdrawn in 1988.
2. *Initiatives* Vol 4 No. 5 'Time for a youth enterprise strategy' by D. Grayson.
3. There are now 30 Youth Business Centres, employing over 200 staff. For further information see *The Link*, the newspaper for the youth enterprise network, printed by Livewire.
4. See Gerry 'The Working Class and Small Enterprises in the UK Recession', in *Beyond Employment* edited by Mingione and Redclift Blackwell 85.
5. Littler *The Development of the Labour Process in Capitalist Societies*.
6. Murray R. 'Benneton Britain' *Marxism Today* Nov. 85.
7. Bell *The Coming of Post Industrial Society* Heinemann 74.
8. Gershuny *After Industrial Society? The Emerging Self Service Economy* MacMillan 76.
9. Kumar *Prophecy and Progress — The Sociology of Industrial and Post Industrial Society* Penguin 78.
10. Illich *Tools for Conviviality* Fontana/Collins 73.
11. Gorz *Farewell to the Working Class* Pluto 82.
12. Grayson *Initiatives* Vol 4 No. 5.
13. Handy *The Future of Work* Blackwell 84.
14. *Economy and Society* Vol 16 No. 3 August 87 'The End of Mass Production'.
15. See Annual Report of Wandsworth Youth Development 1988.
16. Wandsworth Youth Development 1988.
17. Murray F. *Flexible Specialisation in the Third Italy* Capital and Class.
18. Mingione *Social Conflict and the City* Blackwell 81.
19. Harvey 'Down Town' *Marxism Today* Jan. 89.
20. Burrell and Morgan *Sociological Paradigms and Organisational Analysis* Heinemann 79.
21. Harvey *Social Justice and the City* Arnold 73.
22. Murray F. 'The Decentralisation of Production — The Decline of the Mass Collective Worker' in Pahl *On Work — Historical, Comparative and Theoretical Approaches* Blackwell 88.
23. Connolly 'The Politics of the Informal Sector — a critique' in *Beyond Employment* edited by Mingione and Redclift. Blackwell 85.

On the Town; Drink and the 'New Lawlessness'

LES GOFTON

Young drinkers are the most recent 'folk devils' in the popular press. From the 'animals' who caused the Hysel Stadium tragedy, and 'urinated' on the rescue services at Hillsborough[1], the riots surrounding English matches in the European championships, to the crowds of hooligans fighting and attacking the police on Saturday nights in the centres of provincial towns — there is, most people agree, a grave problem surrounding the disorderly behaviour of young people in public, and further, that it has a great deal to do with alcohol.

The present government states that it is caused by declining moral standards and individual wickedness. Douglas Hurd (1988) recently characterised the culprits as young people with 'too much beer in their bellies, and too much money in their pockets', devoted to 'designer violence'. His junior, John Patten, has taken the opportunity to attack 'left wing' views of what causes crime (which he characterises as 'poverty and deprivation') and points out that even Labour politicians have said that the 'new lawlessness' has nothing to do with lack of money. Much criminal behaviour, he argues, seems to result from 'declining standards of self control and respect for others', from a group enjoying the fruits of the 'economic recovery' (Patten, 1988).

Who could argue that self control and respect for others are not 'good things'? Present Conservative ideology, of course, sees these as **personal** characteristics, passed on by 'the home' and 'the family' background, and does not relate how these standards arise and how they are learned and sustained, to any broader cultural and economic setting.

Given the importance which this government attaches to material prosperity, and the much vaunted 'success' of its economic policies and 'enterprise culture', the relation between general mores of social conduct, and the heavily promoted values of individualism and consumer materialism growing from an open commitment to 'laissez faire' is clearly important. If, for instance, 'active citizenship' is seen essentially as a matter of social power, based on resources (time, money, cultural capital) available for both investment and also consumption, the attitude that 'I consume therefore I am' would seem to follow, since social worth and participation seem so strongly linked if life is reduced to competitive consumption how does this affect the social values and norms which relate to behaviour in public, our attitudes towards both the 'rights' of others, and those who enforce rules and laws which protect these rights?

While the 'party of law and order' takes every opportunity to float new schemes to deal with violence and hooliganism, including compensation to victims, 'tagging' offenders, forcing football clubs to implement dubious membership schemes and encouraging public house licensees to issue ludicrous identity cards, it simultaneously **extends** pub licensing hours, seemly content to allow market forces free rein in a huge expansion of drink retailing and leisure provision in the city centres, while specifically targetting younger consumers with high disposable incomes, and creating even larger crowds of potentially disorderly drinkers for the police to manage.

Nick Dorn (1983) has argued that the historical development of policies towards drink has been based on dual motives of economic exploitation and social domination — on a tension between the exploitation and manipulation of working class drinking by governments and entrepreneurs, and periodic repression of drinking habits and drinking places for fear of the freedom and licence which they represent.

There is certainly a deep ambivalence in governmental attitudes, and this has been there for at least three hundred years. The market for alcohol is immensely profitable, but alcohol consumption, particularly by the lower classes, has always been seen as socially corrosive, although this attitude has been more marked during periods of dramatic social and economic change: The enclosure of common lands forcing large numbers of impoverished and landless peasants into idleness and vagrancy (Chambliss, 1971) during the 'reform' of the country villages (Wrightson, 1984), and also, in the mid-19th century, with the rise of the new urban working classes. (Harrison, 1971; Thorne, 1985; Dingle, 1980; Delves, 1984).

As most commentators have pointed out, drinking divides the social classes; most perceived 'drink problems' arise from the need of the dominant class to control the behaviour of the lower classes, and the assumed inability of the lower classes to control their appetites and regulate their lives. Social order, in this view, rests on the ability of those in power to regulate the behaviour of those who are intellectually and morally inferior. 'By the 1850's' writes Brian Harrison (1971 p.56) 'No respectable Englishman would dream of going into a public house', and the Victorian Bourgeois saw spending on alcohol and drunkenness as symptomatic of the 'natural' inferiority of

the lower orders, and also as a major cause of the social problems which afflicted them.

Yet this view, of drunkenness as inherently evil, and an all but inevitable consequence of any consumption of alcohol, itself depends on an assumption, that an individual's drunken behaviour is simply the consequence of the 'disinhibiting' effects of the drug upon the central nervous system. This central myth of the alcohol problem underlies much of what politicians have said recently. It maintains that uncontrolled or irresponsible overconsumption of alcohol leads to a loss of self control, and that problems of violence and disorder stem from an **individual's** failure to regulate the amounts of drink consumed.

This is, in fact, highly questionable. McAndrew and Edgerton (1967) have argued that drunken comportment is socially structured, and that even heavy alcohol consumption will have quite different behavioural consequences in different social contexts. A review of how different societies drink (see for instance, Heath, 1975, 1976, 1978, 1987) reveals that there is no simple correspondence between gross alcohol consumption and the incidence of drink related social problems.

In most alcohol using groups, social norms influence individual behaviour even under the influence of alcohol, and individuals seem broadly to respect fundamental normative boundaries even when heavily intoxicated. How boundaries are crossed during drunkenness seems, mostly, to involve structured behaviour. Further, tolerance of drunkenness varies between social groups; some societies see drunkenness as acceptable in certain sub groups, but deviant in others[2]. Thus, drunken university students are less likely to be perceived as hooligans than the young unemployed.

The key to understanding differences in drunken behaviour lies in grasping the rules and boundaries which apply here, rather than simply assuming that pharmacological effects determine individual behaviour irrespective of social factors. Our research in North East England (Newcastle, 1983, 1985; Gofton, 1983, 1985, 1988; Gofton & Douglas, 1986); suggests that recent changes in drinking behaviour and public house usage are a consequence of broader social and economic change. It suggests: that the relation of drink to disorderly behaviour is more complex than is usually assumed, and can be seen as a consequence of changes in the way in which leisure drinking is **organised** within the community. If the moral code, sense of responsibility and self control of young drinkers today is indeed different, that this is a consequence of changes in the ways in which drinking and alcohol use are organised, and in the ways in which the culture of drinking, and the social structure of drinking groups transmits, creates and sustains a framework of rules and meanings which order this social institution.

Our research is based on interviews with drinkers of various ages, and on surveys of drinking and public house usage. In addition, a study was carried out on the incidents of disorder which occurred in Sunderland central area over a twelve month period.

Patterns of Drinking in North East England

We distinguish two patterns of usage; what we call the 'traditional' pattern seems to have developed over a long period of time, and can be related to specific aspects of the economic and social history of the region. The other is a recent development, and appears to be the result of changes which have taken place over the past ten or fifteen years. It is strongly associated with younger people, although there have also been related changes in the ways in which the older generation drinks and uses pubs.

The traditional pattern arose from industrialisation and the growth of urban communities in the 19th century. Pubs and drinking became major leisure pursuits for the new urban working classes partly because of lack of alternatives in the overcrowded poverty of the new towns and the slums which made them up, and partly as an extension of the social tradition of the rural alehouse (Wrightson, Harrison, 1971). The new working class wage earners formed a mass market for alcohol, and during the 19th century, policies were formed which dictated, first, that ale would be the main drink which they consumed (since this was the major product of the originally landowning interests which dominated English brewing in the 19th century; and that they would consume it in small, neighbourhood locations which were easy to establish, and strictly controlled by licensing laws. The Public House is the product of *social control* policies which dictated where products were to be consumed, and shaped the kinds of activities which took place in working class leisure venues, of *economic policies* which protected the interests of brewing and agricultural interests against foreign competitors, and of *commercial* policies which formed the unique production, marketing, retailing and distribution system of the UK drinks industry.

Because of the form of industrial work, and the division of labour which it created, men became the main consumers (particularly in areas, like the North East, dominated by heavy industrial work such as mining, shipbuilding and engineering, although less markedly in other parts of the U.K. See Pahl, 1984, for a divergent view, and note also Marsden, 1963). Since men earned the wages, they controlled the household budget and also enjoyed the right to leisure time (Harrison, 1971; Harrison, 1940; Meacham, 1977; Dennis, Henriques & Slaughter, 1959). Social norms which developed over the course of the 19th century saw drinking in public houses as a coarse and immoral pursuit of the male manual worker, from which women and children had to be protected (see B. Harrison, 1970; T. Harrison, 1940; for another perspective on the 'invisibility' of women, see Powell and Clarke, 1975).

Within the working class, however, an alternative view developed. Drinking was a masculine pursuit because alcohol is 'strong', and so are men. Pubs became 'masculine republics' (Harrison, 1970) the preserves of working class men, who share common experience and background. Entry to drinking 'companies' and pub life is reserved for those who 'belong' and those who learn to drink and behave in accordance with rules and conventions which the group recognises. Young men are socialised into this culture, and acquire both a taste for drink (a 'palate'), and a set of rules and meanings for drinking behaviour and comportment as members of drinking 'companies' which

are formed around work, neighbourhood, friendship and kinship ties.

The account which our older respondents offered suggests that drinking behaviour was highly structured within these groups, with members subject to strong influence as to what products were consumed (ale was the only appropriate drink for a 'real' drinker, with strong loyalty to particular brands), how it should be consumed (the importance of appearance, of the 'head', the type of container, drinking in pints, drinking in 'sessions') and in the rules governing responsibility to other drinkers (round buying, drinking comportment and 'taking' one's drink, norms about behaviour and conversation). Distinctions between acceptable and unacceptable consumption and behaviour were widely recognised and enforced by the informal sanctions operated within the drinking group. Those 'plonkies' who could not take their drink were marked off clearly from 'real drinkers' who could consume beer in volume and still stay within conventional bounds.

Public Houses and Social Clubs were the focus of group sociability for working class men, and drinking practices a source of status and pride, the vehicle for transmitting important values, such as social solidarity, reciprocity and responsibility towards others. Drinking rituals bound working class men together, and marked them off from other age, class and gender groups. Drinking was a mark of masculinity, adulthood, and membership of a social group associated with particular neighbourhoods and occupations.

Crucially, the culture of drinking groups enforced both a standard notion of 'real drinking' which entailed high volumes of strong alcohol consumed over long, regular and frequent drinking sessions, and also fairly rigid rules about comportment during and after those sessions, in which the central criterion of acceptable behaviour was the ability to 'take' the drink which was to be consumed in the course of a session.

'Real' traditional drinkers did not see themselves as being 'overcome' by drink. A central tenet of drinking culture was precisely that members should **learn** how to drink, and could only be counted as 'real drinkers' (their term) if they had gone through this learning process. Most people agreed that beer was not naturally pleasant tasting, and that you had to both acquire a liking for the taste, and also learn to appreciate and regulate its effects. The obvious parallel here is with the process of becoming a marijuana user, famously described by Howard Becker (1963) which involves precisely the same kind of learning process.

A usual drink, our respondents told us, would be selected on the grounds that it 'suited the palate' of the individual concerned, and this seemed to mean that it could be consumed in volume without deleterious effects. Thus, a miner would select a drink which enabled him to participate in afternoon sessions and still go down the pit on night shift. Only the most hardened drinkers (seen typically as older, unmarried manual workers) would select the strongest types of ale as a usual drink. The most 'social' drink, (and the most popular in terms of market sales) is Scotch Ale[3] selected as a usual drink by those who want something not too strong, nor yet too weak. Drinkers associated particular social characteristics with the type of beer consumed, the strongest ales were for the heavy manual workers, the weakest for the poor, the pensioners and those who could not afford, or were physically incapable, of sustaining a 'normal' taste.

Thus, although traditional drinking involved high consumption levels, the cultural rules surrounding drinking resulted in surprisingly tight regulation of behaviour during drinking sessions, and closely related drinking behaviour to the life of the individual in his community. Drinking was confined to the pub; pubs and clubs were reserved for men, and entry restricted largely to those from the local community. Young men would be socialised into membership of the drinking group, and would be subject to the informal rules which governed the general behaviour of all members. The practice of drinking was highly restrictive. Sessions would take place in a single pub or club, regularly used by participants. Although customers would be various ages, they would usually be from the same neighbourhood, would be working class, and would be entirely male. Drinking sessions were, then, closed, intimate social occasions restricted to those who spent years working and living together in the community. Adherence to conventions about what was drunk, and how, were seen as import expressions of a particular social identity, as manifestations, in Pierre Bourdieu's memorable phrase, of a 'practical philosophy of living' (Bourdieu, 1984). Ale (always called 'Beer') as a usual drink was invested with values including masculinity, a sense of continuity in working class life, a particular status division (being a 'man's drink'), the possession of cultural knowledge, and cultural capital, of sociability itself (as a medium of exchange, and a way of cementing ties of friendship and so on), as a card of identity in establishing commitment to the social group.

Thus traditional drinking was fundamentally social and sociable, and the consumption of high volumes of beer cannot be understood without relating the behaviour of the individual to the complex cultural and historical nexus within which it took place. The fundamental satisfactions of traditional drinking were social rather than pharmacological, and the aim of individuals was to 'have a good drink' rather than get drunk.

Changes in Drinking Patterns

Younger drinkers are the cause of great concern amongst the older generation in North East England, but interestingly, this concern relates to the ways in which the usage of alcohol, and of pubs, has changed, rather than simply worry about over consumption. The old pub, and the community within which it existed, is gone. It may be that the continuities underlying both traditional and new patterns of drinking afford the best clue to understanding the changes which have taken place.

Traditional drinking was reserved for men because of their social and economic power. They controlled the budget of the household as wage earners, had the time to spend in pubs because of their 'entitlement' to leisure, and could enforce rules which reserved social space for their use (they still keep women out of **full** membership of their social clubs, for instance — see Anderson, 1983, and Hey, 1986). Leisure drinking rested fundamentally on control

over time and money.

It is precisely because the young of both sexes have acquired stronger control over these resources that they have come to dominate drinking and leisure provision. With the break up of the old working class communities in the centres of the towns and the cities, older working class householders are likely to find that they have much weaker links with their neighbours on the housing estate. Work ties are weaker with the decline of traditional occupations, and the household budget is far less dependent on the male wage earner. Also the neighbourhood actually possesses far fewer pubs within which drinking companies can form. Coupled with the rise of attractive alternatives within the home, and greater involvement in household activities, much leisure has become domestic and private for the working class family man.

In contrast, younger people find themselves with relatively high disposable incomes, and with time to spend. The depopulated town centres, in which licenses to retail drink are heavily concentrated, have responded to this by moving to cater for younger drinkers (see Hope, 1979). Commercial logic has dictated that the form of the pub itself should change dramatically, from the names which they are given (self-consciously striving for American, or cosmopolitan imagery, and dispensing with the Victorian/Edwardian inheritance of English History, royalty and the fake-inn tradition, see Hobsbawm & Ranger, 1985). The layout and decor of bars has changed as has the products they sell and the entertainment which brings in the trade (music, live and canned, lightshows, quizzes and cabaret).

Pubs have changed because of market power of the young. Crucially, this involves not just disposable income, but also time and mobility. The ways in which they are used, however, is radically different. The young of both sexes drink mainly at weekends. Friday nights in Newcastle and the other towns in the North East are for single sex groups, Saturday is couples night. Groups of between three and twenty will gather together from the outskirts where they live at the beginning of the night and move systematically around a circuit of premises within the town centre. Each visit will last about twenty minutes (publicans call this the 'one drink' visit). All the pubs in the town centre will be full, and groups will struggle to buy their drink, stand to consume it, and then move on to the next place on the circuit. Few will be drinking draught beer. Partly this is because it is regarded as old fashioned, but also because cans or shorts are quicker and more convenient to consume (harder to spill, and the cans may be taken out of the pub, while glasses cannot). A drinking session, then, involves a circuit of perhaps eight or nine pubs in the town centre, and a large amount of time spent moving from place to place. Although the main reasons for taking part are social, the attractions are quite different. Sex and courtship are very important. Young men will expect that there will be 'talent' in the places they visit, and so will the girls in their groups.

Young women are a very important part of the new drinking pattern, and many of the new drinks which have been generally taken up owe much of their success to the influence of women — for instance, many of the new 'liquid confectionery' products ('Malibu', 'Tequila Sunrise', 'Taboo' etc.) are targeted at young drinkers of both sexes, but appeal particularly to women. As a consequence, the figures for drinking (and indeed, drink abuse) amongst young women show steep rises in the north east, although traditionally, women in this area have had one of the lower per capita levels of alcohol consumption. (Rostadt et al, 1983; Hope, 1983; Coffield et al 1985). As well as being lucrative customers in their own right, however, women are important to the new pubs because sex and courtship are major attractions — the sociability of working men has given way to the 'on the town' package of 'posing', 'laffs', lightshows, loud music and 'tapping'[4].

Our research showed that, although younger women are such a vital part of the new drinking, their involvement is severely curtailed by marriage, and more strongly still by the arrival of children — while their husbands' leisure drinking is only slightly affected in comparison. In a survey which we conducted (University of Newcastle, 1985) 'difficulty with getting children taken care of' was the main reason which women gave for not using pubs more often. In interviews, women of all ages said that there were still marked differences in the ways in which they were treated in pubs and clubs — older women felt that there was still an implication of 'immorality' or sexual availability in the presence of a woman in a pub by herself, while even younger, unmarried women said that they would not, generally go into bars by themselves, and would be treated in a hostile fashion by the staff of some places if they did. Women are, it seems, welcome in the new pubs as an attraction for the men, as customers for high priced drinks and services, but still represent some kind of threat to the moral order/status hierarchy if they try to take an assertive, independent role. (Rogers, 1984; Hey, 1986).

We interviewed one group of young women who went out together every week, and it was noticeable that they were far less aggressive and assertive than the groups of young men, tended to favour quieter, more up-market and fashion conscious places and seemed more concerned with keeping a reasonably decorous appearance (although for both sexes, leisure drinking represents 'time out' from the everyday norms of behaviour and self-presentation). It is important that the places should be extremely crowded, this is regarded as a mark of popularity, and a virtue. Young drinkers will queue for entry to the most popular spots, and accept rigid dress regulations, enforced by doormen employed by these places, and even entry charges.

The decor, lights, music and atmosphere of these new pubs are regarded as important attractions by drinkers. All are seen as important image characteristics. Since perhaps the main reason for going to pubs in the town centre is to see, and be seen by, other young people, pubs provide the setting for a staging of self, in Goffman's (1969) sense, in which clothes, hairstyle, comportment, and drinks consumed are the fabric of an image which blends with music, lights and design in the current argot of popular mass culture. If beer served as a symbolic medium for expressing a *social solidarity* in which region, neighbourhood and class were key ingredients, the drinks and

activities of the new pubs are the medium for expressing both the emancipation of this generation from the past, and also distance from its values, and form the arena in which images of individual style, paradoxically furnished from the lexicon of mass consumerism, can be staged. A major complaint of the older drinkers is that the young do not learn to drink, and attach no importance whatsoever to the traditional drinks. The market for ale is declining fast; the major drink for the young is lager, which is potent and easy to drink (cool and thirstquenching), and also heavily marketed as young and fashionable. At the moment, cans of foreign lager are regarded as chic — how the drink 'looks' seems very important to younger, as it was to older drinkers, although very different criteria are employed. Many cocktails or mixtures are invented by the drinkers themselves, rather than the brewers, and horrify the older drinkers (for instance, the 'snakebite' a mixture of lager and cider, is thought to be both highly potent, and also grotesquely unattractive, by older drinkers).

The main complaint, however, is that the young can neither 'take' what they drink, nor behave properly when they are 'on the town', whether drunk or not. Our younger respondents certainly seem much less concerned with staying 'in control' when they are drinking. They accept that violence and disorder are common during weekend drinking sessions, although they do distinguish between the degree of 'trouble' which takes place in different parts of the town centre. In Newcastle, there are certainly distinct groups of young drinkers, who have their own circuits and their own areas within the town centre, and 'hooligans' are thought to be a reasonably distinct group in their own right[5], largely confined to pubs in the 'top end' of the town, as a result of entry policies which keep them out of the more up-market places. Nevertheless, even within the more mainstream young drinking groups, attitudes to drunken comportment are very different from those in traditional drinking groups. Many see alcohol as a major mood-altering drug, and both seek and expect to get drunk in the course of a weekend session. There seems to be considerable usage of other drugs, such as 'poppers' (amyl nitrate) and marijuana, alongside alcohol. Indeed, older drinkers said that one of the ways in which young people abused drink was by treating it simply as a means to get drunk — treating it, in other words, as they would other (illegal) drugs.

The range of drinks consumed, and their manner of consumption indicates clearly that young drinkers see it in this way. Many said that they drank 'for strong effect', and that they would choose a drink because of its potency. Amongst one drinking group which we interviewed, a 'round' at one point in the previous week had been a bottle of wine per person.

Being drunk, some argued, was the only way in which the crowded, noisy and potentially violent town centre was actually enjoyable. If you were sober in the midst of a drunken crowd, you felt anxious and threatened — drink made you more relaxed and less paranoid.

Clearly, this is a different notion of what drinking in leisure involves. The differences lie in the context of drinking. For the traditional north east drinker, the pub visit is a social occasion in which relationships between men, their status as workers and wage-earners, and their identity as members of a working class community are celebrated and reinforced. Drink is used to express social values, and as a medium for communicating the values and order of the community itself. It is an extension and a material expression of the distinctiveness of that community.

For young drinkers, leisure also functions to mark them off as a distinctive group. Their tastes and lifestyles are, however, the products of commercial, mass consumption leisure industries, rather than a property of a local community with its own history, culture and economic organisation. Leisure here is seen as transformative and magical, rather than an extension of social relations in the community. The identities staged in the leisure rituals of the young reflect styles derived from TV, and popular music. Drink is a means of making a shift from the constraints of normal everyday life into a fantastic world of heightened sensations of light, colour and sound in which the everyday self is given, in McAndrew and Edgerton's phrase, 'time out'. Social controls, operating at an informal level amongst traditional drinkers to regulate drunken comportment, are shifted largely to the formal institutional level of pub management, bouncers and the police, because drinking occurs in mass, rather than small groups, because the clientele for the new pubs is fluid, and there is neither stability in the pubs used, nor familiarity with other pub users, and because the crowds are based on a single age group, with constantly changing membership.

Drink is commonly used to mark what Joseph Gusfield (1987) has called the 'passage to play', the shift from the formal, everyday world of work and the home, to an alternative set of social conventions about social relationships and acceptable behaviours. Amongst the new drinkers, however, leisure has a different significance. Social relations in the traditional working class pub, as many analysts have noted (Harrison, 1971; Dennis, Henriques and Slaughter, 1959) were largely an extension of workplace relationships, dominated by male wage earners.

As the economy changes, and the division of labour which results in social dominance by older men is replaced by more varied occupational careers and greater equality for women, this has resulted in new forms of household and varied forms of earning and provisioning strategies. The unmarried young have emerged as a powerful group of consumers, with the command over time and money which was previously reserved for the male head of the household. (Pahl, 1983).

At the same time, the *socially integrative* factors which provided the old working class with both status and identity are missing — occupational careers are unstable and shifting, and social relationships are no longer sustained by long term employment and strong links with particular communities.

Status and identity are rather to be derived from leisure and consumption. Consumerism and materialism emphasise *individual enterprise* as the underlying dynamic in shifting and competitive local and world markets, and identify working class conservatism and traditions as major

factors in our national decline. Its central models for success are the Gradgrinds of the modern era, the 'self-made' speculators and merchandisers who embrace the challenges of innovation and competition, heedless of anything but the judgements of the market.

As Mary Douglas (1976) has argued, moral categories do not stand by themselves. They are constructed and sustained in the course of everyday life through the social actions and interactions of people in groups living together, making plans, decisions and choices to negotiate the large and small problems of their lives. They rest not just on the ways in which words are used to analyse the meaning and purpose of such actions, but also in the deployment of material resources, and in the allocation of time and effort into everyday activities such as eating, drinking, resting and leisure. The ways in which such goods are used can, she argues, itself be seen as a coded expression of morality and values, a systematic expression of relationships and social order. New patterns of drinking amongst the young, then, can be seen as just such a material manifestation of social values and relationships between people. They tolerate what is perceived as anti-social and disorderly behaviour to a greater degree, and are seen to promote ways of using alcohol which are more likely to lead to dangerous abuse precisely because new patterns of drinking subvert the cultural meanings associated with drinking practices amongst the older generation, and challenge the relationship between these everyday practices and the general social order which they reflect.

These new patterns have developed as a result of changes in the social and economic structure of north eastern communities, a shift from an order based on strong class and gender divisions, with work (production) role as the key to distinctions of power and status, to one in which age and leisure (consumption) are more important for social distinctions, and social status and identity derive from market power expressed in consumption style.

The disorderliness of young drinkers reflects another dimension of changing social values. In our study of drink related disorder in Sunderland town centre (see Gofton & Douglas, 1986), we found that trouble occurred in a fairly concentrated area (with large numbers of incidents in the streets in which pubs were concentrated) at particular times (with massive peaks of disorder around weekend evening closing times) and that those arrested were overwhelmingly male, working class and below the age of 25. Most came from the poorer housing estates. That this is an age-related phonemonon is evidenced in the complete absence of young people in the drunk and incapable arrests; invariably, younger drinkers were charged with disorder offences, while the 'D & I' offenders were a small group of older social inadequates who were regularly cautioned a number of times before finally being arrested, usually after making a nuisance of themselves in a shop or cafe in the middle of the day.

The critical factors in generating drink related disorder were, first, the sheer volume of people involved in weekend drinking (traffic studies indicate that the population of the town centre increases by a huge number during these peak periods), second the fact that these are almost entirely young people who have come in from the outskirts for their leisure drinking (almost all of the drinking venues in the town centre now concentrate on providing for younger drinkers, older drinkers from outside the town centre no longer come in), and third the fact that pubs were now used in drinking 'circuits' rather than in single location sessions (with the consequence that there was constant movement on the streets rather than being confined to the pubs themselves). Other factors included the use of doormen, and the application of dress regulations to control entry (which resulted first, in trouble between patrons and 'bouncers', and second, in the concentration of those who were denied entry because they were likely troublemakers into particular (downmarket) pubs).

While the police recognise that the key issue concerns the sheer numbers of people moving around in the town centre, and policies target specific locations as regular 'flashpoints' (for instance, taxi ranks, bus stations, crowded corners), these policies must respond also to public perceptions of the 'problem', and those perceptions emphasise the noise, rowdiness, aggression and violence of the crowds involved, rather than particular delinquent individuals. As with Stan Cohen's mods and rockers (Cohen, 1970), the present moral panic over 'lager louts' has been generated by the challenge to familiar ideas of how public houses and public spaces should be used (and by whom) which their apparent contempt for pre-existing standards of public comportment seems to represent, coupled with a concerted campaign of horror stories in the local and national press (struggling to find 'news' in the link with yuppies, rural towns and villages, soccer violence and so on).

The new lawlessness is, of course, simply the latest version of a perennial problem. As Geoff Pearson (1983) has argued, the Hooligans, rather than the poor, are always with us, but as with any other manifestation of social change, we must be concerned with investigating what is really happening, rather than simply accepting accounts which decry the wickedness of a new generation, and the collapse of social order. As any historian or social researcher knows, people, as well as summers, were much warmer when the world was young.

References

1 According to 'The Sun', at least — the report was later shown to be total fabrication.

2 This also changes overtime; thus, as Wrightson (1984) points out, tolerated drunkenness as a consequence of participation in 'Bid-Ales' becomes unacceptable as the emergent puritan ideology legitimates its control over 'reformed' villages, and the institution itself is finally outlawed.

3 Interestingly, the name 'Scotch' in the context of the ale has nothing to do with Scotland. An 'Ale' in old English, was a drinking session, and not a drink. A 'Scot-Ale' (from the word 'Scoetan' to pay or contribute) was a drinking session organised, unlike other kinds of 'Ales' (such as Bid-Ales, Bride Ales, Bede Ales, Whitsun Ales, and so on) so that each member contributed to the cost. The expression 'scot free' derives from the tradition of inviting the local squire to take part without contributing to the cost. Wykes, 1979, p.36.

4 Establishing a romantic or sexual liaison — also 'scoring' (more strongly sexual), 'getting fixed up'.

5 Bouncers identify them by either age, general appearance and deportment, or by specific features such as visible tattoos.

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ESG XXX — a personal view from a former adviser

BY MARY ISSITT

By the beginning of 1990 the majority of schemes funded by the government under ESG XXX 'Youth Leaders for the Inner Cities' and 'Youth Leaders for the Valleys', will have recruited workers-in-training who will be embarking upon their apprenticeships in youth and community work. In this article I would like to share some observations and questions arising from my work as Development Adviser with the programme.

The ESG initiative, the subject of consultations and discussions since 1987, culminated in government funding of 17 schemes to be run by 25 authorities, to the tune of approximately £4 million per year for three years from April 1989. The initiation of the schemes was the result of a successful lobby by a number of different interests in the sphere of youth and community work. These represented concerns to address an anticipated shortfall of trained personnel by the 1990s, to bring into the profession a younger cohort of youth and community workers than the output of full-time courses, and to recruit young people from groups who are currently under-represented in the youth service. As well as being a major training intervention it was envisaged that the two hundred and twenty young people employed through the scheme would develop innovatory approaches to youth work within the Inner Cities and the Valleys.

The apprenticeship model of training, which has developed as a successful training route in youth and community work, was seen to be particularly appropriate to the ESG as it is predicated on the assumption of participants being recruited from their local communities, wherein they undergo their training, and once qualified, hopefully will be motivated and enabled to continue working. At the local level the expectation was that schemes would be set up in consultation with relevant communities and interests, develop imaginative and far reaching recruitment procedures to contact as many young people as possible with the potential for professional employment as youth and community workers, and involve local authorities not only as employers, but also as trainers.

At the national level the significance of the initiative for the youth service was marked by the creation in February 1989 of a National Steering Committee to oversee and guide the whole proceeding. Both directly, and through its officers its role would be to assist with the development, monitoring and evaluation of the schemes, issue guidance, and co-ordinate training events for project leaders and workers-in-training. The whole enterprise, including the workings of the NSC itself, would be the subject of an evaluation to be externally commissioned by the DES.

When the ESG bids were made in the autumn of 1988, none of the successful authorities could have anticipated the complexities of setting up and delivering a scheme with the threefold objective of providing employment and training leading to the professional qualification of trainee workers. An ESG conference in January 1989, gave the officers and training agencies involved with successful bids, the opportunity to examine and discuss the apprenticeship model as it had been applied and refined in youth and community work with Turning Point, Interface and the Sheffield Community Work Apprenticeship Scheme, and to devise action strategies to enable them to make the plans outlined in their bids a reality.

It became alarmingly clear to the majority that implementation of the apprenticeship model with its emphasis on positive action in all aspects, community consultation and involvement, and negotiated learning, required a massive development exercise if this was all to fit within the ESG timescale. For many there was a salutory realisation that existing apprenticeship schemes had developed organically over several years, whereas they would be required to undertake the developmental process within a matter of months with schemes 'up and running' and workers-in-training in post by the autumn of 1989. A focal point was the drawing together of a course document and the successful negotiation of the CETYCW endorsement process, to the point where INTEP found a scheme to be endorseable albeit with conditions. This vital work could not wait until project leaders were appointed after funding became available in April 1989. A few authorities dealt with this problem by seconding workers to the scheme's development or by hiring consultants to assist in the process. However, for the majority the reality was that officers had to form scheme planning groups and undertake what they could of the development tasks on top of already crowded job descriptions. Apart from one or two instances, the result was that when project leaders were finally appointed they found themselves either in a situation where important decisions about the scheme had already been made, or faced with having to put together submissions at breakneck speed in order to meet the deadlines required by the endorsement process.

Whilst beginning to grapple with the general task of local authorities becoming the designers and deliverers of initial professional training, for the most part for the first time, the realisation hit scheme planning groups that it was not possible to systematically deal with only one aspect of the ESG at a time. Course content and curriculum, management and organisational structures, arrangements with training institutions, consultation within the field, and recruitment and selection could not be separately hived

off. They were all interlocking issues that had to be dealt with simultaneously. For example when consultation took place in the very early stages of the development process, scheme planning groups had to present a view on all of these issues which whilst it was not fixed, was sufficiently well thought out to engage the interest and commitment of local fieldworkers and communities, in a way that enabled them to own and contribute to the shaping of the scheme.

Since the January conference, a major factor that has overshadowed activity at both the local and national levels has been uncertainties about funding. In many respects the resource base for this particular training route compares very favourably with the straitened circumstances experienced on most full-time courses. The ESG funded apprenticeship schemes have good staffing ratios (in some instances one project leader to 5 workers-in-training), flexible budgets through which visits, exchanges, external training and carers support can be financed. However, the question was soon raised that if a three year training period was to be offered to the apprentices, and the scheme required both a development phase and a winding up period after workers-in-training had finished, could finance be guaranteed for a fourth financial year given that the ESG system normally funds projects for a maximum of 3 years? Attempts to resolve these financial uncertainties have consumed a considerable amount of the energy of those working at both the national and local levels during this crucial development phase when attention needed to be devoted to getting the schemes off the ground. The situation was further compounded for local youth services working to close financial margins, by an announcement through a DES press release in May that from March 1990 the level of support from central government for this and a number of other ESGs would be reduced from 70% to 60%.

The National Steering Committee made direct representations to the Secretary of State for Education and Science seeking additional finance and explaining that funding uncertainties were having a negative effect on the scheme's progress. As authorities looked to alleviate financial problems by shortening the proposed training period, the NSC suggested that this should not be reduced below 42 weeks per year over 3 years excluding all holidays. Funding uncertainties dragged on throughout the summer. In some instances project leader appointments were delayed, extending the direct involvement of hard pressed officers. Scheme planning groups felt inextricably bound into the critical path of the endorsement process, after all, submissions had to be written stating the proposed length of each scheme. At the same time, as a result of consultation and advertising processes, expectations were mounting amongst young people, fieldworkers and their communities. Having reached the point of no return, most authorities decided to continue with the scheme with the hope that funding would be forthcoming to meet the costs of three years' training or to 'play Russian roulette with the government' as one principal officer put it. Although the Secretary of State found additional funds to meet development costs in 1989-90, with the encouragement (but no guarantees) that scheme management groups' applications for funding for the fourth financial year would be considered, this could not prevent casualties occurring. One scheme was forced to substantially reduce its training period to below the minimum suggested by the National Steering Committee; for one authority too little came too late, and it was forced to withdraw altogether.

As I write (November 1989) CETYCW has received submissions for the remaining apprenticeship schemes but all have not yet been endorsed. Project leaders have been appointed to all but one of the now 16 schemes, although many did not take up their posts until this autumn. In all except for one scheme workers-in-training have started later than anticipated and the majority will not start until January. Thus funding in the fourth financial year becomes even more crucial if workers-in-training are to finish their qualification.

Even though the ESG is only three quarters through its first year's funding there have already been significant outcomes. Some of these are:

★ a national initiative has been developed that prioritises equal opportunities and positive action in both recruitment and training for youth and community work;

★ a number of new higher education institutions have entered the arena of youth and community work training for the first time;

★ new training consortia of colleges and local authorities have emerged;

★ organisational structures that clearly address the similarities and tensions between the management of employment and the management of learning have been constructed and will be tested out over the next three years;

★ the apprenticeship model, which in youth and community work, has developed as a 'bottom up' approach arising from grassroots training and education needs in local communities, is being applied 'top down' through this central government initiative in twenty four local authorities.

However, the whole initiative will raise a number of questions. Some of these are as follows:

★ What lessons will be learned from an initiative that is costing around £20,000 per year per trainee, excluding additional costs such as the National Steering Committee, the external evaluation, and contributions already made by local authorities over and above their 30% (40% after April 1990) commitment? If present policies continue and the overall funding base for the Youth Service becomes increasingly impoverished, can a scheme that will rely upon the good will and good practice within the profession succeed in giving a realistic training and work experience?

★ What expectations will be raised within the Inner Cities of England and the Valleys of Wales about training for the youth service? Having put in all the work and effort to develop this three year programme, will the government continue to support local authorities who wish to continue after the ESG finishes? What effect might such support have on other areas of training?

★ What will be the long-term effects upon training and the youth service generally? Will employer led training become the norm, and what effects will this have on

individuals' freedom to choose training that is appropriate to their needs and aspirations, and enabling them to extend their practice through taking risks rather than choosing the safe option that will not upset employers.

★ Will the youth service be able to find jobs for the young people undergoing this training along with their peers who will become qualified in 1992?

★ Even if they will be able to find youth and community work posts, will the young people qualified want to continue working within their localities, or will their horizons have been extended by the experience and the whole initiative have been been a very expensive 'access' course. Although this would be a valuable outcome in itself, it would not have achieved the policy and practice objectives set for the ESG.

★ How will the apprenticeship model have been applied in practice? How thorough have local authorities been in consulting communities and maintaining their involvement and commitment, and will this affect the schemes?

I am heartened, by the fact that many people working on the ESG at local and national level share my concern and interest in these and many other questions raised by it. It will be interesting to see how far the evaluations conducted locally and nationally will be able to address these issues and the eventual outcome in respect of youth and community work in the UK

This article contains the personal views and reflections of the author. It in no way seeks to represent the views of the National Steering Committee or its officers.

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YOUNG PEOPLE IN BRADFORD: Survey 1987
The Bradford Youth Research Team
Bradford and Ilkley Community College 1988. (Copies may be obtained from, Department of Applied and Community Studies, Ilkley Campus, Bradford and Ilkley Community College, Wells Road, Ilkley LS29 9RD, West Yorkshire)
ISBN 0 947851 10 0
£4.00 pbk, pp 99

The study by Paul Willis and colleagues entitled The Social Condition of Young People in Wolverhampton in 1984 (Wolverhampton Borough Council, 1985) is proving to be a bench mark in contemporary research into the needs of young people. Commissioned by the borough council the review critically analysed the town's services that affected young people and then provided a number of far-reaching recommendations for developing a range of services and institutions that would be sensitive to the varying needs of young adults and the young unemployed. One of the outcomes of the study was the establishment by the council of a youth affairs unit.

The 1987 Bradford Survey was inspired by the Wolverhampton Review and although its researchers could not call on the same sort of resources available to Willis's team it does provide a very credible and useful report. The Bradford study in many ways is attempting to replicate the work of the Wolverhampton team. For instance both aimed to achieve a 1% sample of young people in areas experiencing economic decline and high unemployment. Likewise both areas have a history of black and Asian immigration and both sets of research teams came up against the issue of race and racism.

One of the main features of the Bradford survey was that it used student researchers and the report is refreshingly honest and open about the accompanying difficulties in the research process. The report believes that students on professional courses benefit from being treated as researchers although there is an unresolved tension between doing research and training. The students work was treated as an assessed placement which meant they stood to fail should their performance prove to be unsatisfactory. There was also conflict between students which stemmed from the research process. This meant that the aim of collaborative working was occasionally set back as individualism took over. Notwithstanding the problems the Research Project was a rich learning experience for the staff and students.

The survey recognises that the category youth can only be fully understood if related to class, race and gender divisions. The 291 young people were interviewed using a questionnaire that explored these divisions by focusing on work, school and training; home and family; neighbourhood and leisure; and the young people themselves.

Taking gender first the survey confirms existing research relating to life patterns for male and females. The survey shows, for instance, that the young women interviewed were likely to be undertaking work which was low paid and often related to domestic and caring roles. Consequently they were drawn further into low paid work as 'second' or part-time jobs such as bar work and waitressing. The survey also found that young women were less likely than the young men to move on to higher education and whilst at school were less likely to receive work experience or training. One of the most interesting points from the data collected is the relatively high levels of expenditure by both groups on commercial leisure such as tapes, records, clothes, discos and alcohol consumption. The survey found that most of the respondents contributed small amounts of money to household budgets leaving them considerable sums of disposable income. Overall the survey found that the young men and women interviewed were more characterised by their similarities than their differences with both groups sharing a dependency on close-knit networks of family and friends.

Reflecting the multi-racial nature of Bradford 11% of the survey respondents were Asian, 1.7% Afro-Caribbean and 6% described themselves as 'mixed race' or 'don't know'. The survey confirms the Wolverhampton study of Asians' strong commitment to education although the Bradford survey shows that there are clear hierarchies within educational opportunities and resources with some low status courses in schools being predominantly 'black' and higher status ones 'white'. As to be expected racism was found to be an explanation for the leisure patterns of black young people. Whereas white youth tended to pursue leisure in pubs, wine bars and discos, black youth tended to use the home or local provision that was relatively safe from white racism.

Of the young people interviewed 11.3% were unemployed and 6.2% were on Government Schemes. Most of these would vote Labour and expressed an interest and involvement in a range of political issues like animal rights and nuclear concerns.

The above are only snap shots from the study and if the reader wants to have a clearer picture of the social conditions of young people then I recommend this excellent work to you. We still know very little about how young people experience a whole range of institutional settings most of which are mediated through localities. This work will add to our knowledge for although it is specific to one geographical area its results provide insights into how individual young people in Britain come to terms with structural relations.

Unlike the Wolverhampton profile this study was not sponsored by the local authority and was not charged with the responsibility of drawing up recommendations for implementation. The Bradford study had other factors like student's

professional training and college staff development to consider. However the result is a study that warrants serious attention by Bradford Metropolitan District when developing its future youth policy.

Keith Popple

UNEMPLOYMENT, CRIME AND OFFENDERS

I. Crow et al
Routledge
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£25, pp 162

Using two sets of research data, Crow et al set out to look at the impact of unemployment upon offenders, and the effectiveness of training schemes upon feeding offenders back into employment. Neither set of data is included in this publication, and although the research criteria and model are outlined in the text, the bulk of specific data is published elsewhere.

The problem of unemployment and crime is initially tackled by a review of some of the many studies that have been undertaken in recent years. These lead the authors to conclude that whereas much of the research indicates a relationship between crime and unemployment, the strength and nature of the relationship shown up is inconsistent, and dependent upon a number of other factors particularly age. They also review briefly, some of the research linking imprisonment levels and unemployment, and find that in this area a direct relationship is more easily demonstrated. They postulate that this is not necessarily from an increase in repressive sentencing by the courts to contain a section of the population that are seen as a potential threat, but rather that it is a response to a reduction in the options available to the court. Thus financial penalties are seen as a less appropriate means of dealing with unemployed offenders.

Having set the scene by a review of previous research the authors proceed by detailing the results of research undertaken between 1984-6 by the NACRO Research Unit. This research aimed to examine the effects of unemployment on the way in which offenders were dealt with in the Magistrates court. Six courts were studied, and the courts were paired according to their previous sentencing patterns. Thus within a geographical area two courts were selected, one with a history of low levels of custodial sentencing, and one with a history of high levels of custodial sentencing. The three geographical areas were selected to reflect areas with, high unemployment, low unemployment, and areas of previously low unemployment in transition to areas of high unemployment. The research looked at the ways in which the courts used the sentences available to them, and how/if the sentences imposed were affected by the employment status of the offender.

The results of the research as described in chapter 3, went some way to support the hypotheses raised, but also reported that the impact of unemployment upon the passing of custodial sentences was much less than might have been expected. They did however show up a change in the use of different sentences. As had already been suggested there was a decline in the use of the fine as a disposal for the unemployed and an increase in the use of orders such as the Community Service Order and Probation Orders for the unemployed. There was also evidence to suggest that offenders in employment would be less likely to receive custodial sentences in an area of high unemployment. This change in the use of sentences particularly the reduction in the use of fines for the unemployed, and the increased use of the Community Service Order, are seen by the authors as of particular significance in times of high levels of unemployment. As the authors point out the CSO was introduced as a last resort alternative to a custodial sentence, it's increasing use at an earlier stage in the justice system may well lead to an acceleration in the passing of a custodial sentence on an individual offender. The work in relation to fines, and the possible consequences of a move away from financial penalties for the unemployed may already have had an impact on policy, and may have influenced recent experiments in certain courts related to the setting of the level of fines in accordance with the offenders ability to pay.

At this point the focus of the text moves on to the training schemes for the unemployed, specifically those run by NACRO which have a particular emphasis on attracting offenders onto the schemes. There follows a fairly lengthy description of the evolution of the current YTS schemes from their origins in the YOP schemes. This is followed by a similar description of the evolution of the Community Programme from the Community Enterprise Programme. The purpose of the description seems to be to highlight the move away from the less specific schemes which attempted to tailor themselves to the needs of the individual, to the more recent schemes aimed more specifically at fulfilling the needs of business and the market economy. The NACRO schemes with the intention of catering for the offender and the more disadvantaged in society have not always been in sympathy with the need to cater to business interests. The gateways into the NACRO schemes and the change in the pattern of referrals to the schemes showed up a reduction in the number of offenders joining the schemes in some areas. The research results show that the NACRO schemes had limited success, which in a climate of high unemployment was not unexpected. Crow et al suggest that there is a real danger of a cyclical scenario with the disadvantaged and offenders spending periods on CP followed by casual work or unemployment until they are again eligible to join a further CP. They also talk of the reemergence of an under class who have little or no stake in society. The offender is particularly vulnerable to unemployment at any time and during periods of high unemployment the potential for offenders to become so isolated from the rest of society through a combination of unemployment and poverty is very real. The authors suggest that the way forward is to anchor the offender in the community by providing them with worthwhile work within and for that community but they acknowledge that this is not possible without a real swing in the available resources in deprived areas, and there seems little hope of this.

In the concluding chapter there is an attempt to draw together the different threads of the book, and it is acknowledged that this is not a particularly easy task. The areas covered whilst all being connected with offenders and unemployment have few demonstrably clear links. The jump from the research relating to the courts to that dealing with NACRO training schemes is an uneasy one, and whilst the discussion and implications of the research into both raise issues of interest, the two do not fit easily together.

Julia Moller

CONTROLLING CRIME: THE CLASSICAL PERSPECTIVE IN CRIMINOLOGY

Bob Roshier
Open University Press 1989
ISBN 0 335 15873 0 (pbk)
£8.95, pp 146

On first impressions, a book which sets out to re-examine the value of 18th century classical criminology may have a specialist academic audience, but perhaps have less relevance to those with a practical or policy interest in crime. In this case, first impressions would be misleading. Many issues raised by classical criminology (rationality, choice, responsibility, punishment) are of central importance to modern criminal justice policy. Roshier's study assists us in the examination of these difficult topics, too often left unexamined in contemporary theory and practice.

Roshier begins with Beccaria (1738-94), a central figure in the development of the classical perspective. For the classicists, criminals were held to be free, rational individuals, either choosing crime or being deterred through punishment. Beccaria's philosophy is generally held to be 'humane', (although Roshier has some doubts about this) insofar as it sought to replace arbitrary and informal handling of criminals by consistent forms of punishment. The classical criminologists were rationalists. Punishment is rational in the sense that it is a rational response to criminal behaviour (an implicit social contract model of individual and State), and also in the sense that it appeals to the rationality of criminals (and others) in acting as a deterrent. The aim of punishment is deterrence, and the type/quality of punishment should be proportionate to the objective harm resulting from the criminal act. For Beccaria, punishment was not retributive.

Our first problem here is that, in a pure 'classical' form, rational punishment is bound to be unjust. As Roshier points out, the classical perspective has had considerable influence on criminal justice systems throughout the world, but invariably in a form which departs from Beccaria's model in two important respects: punishment, in practice, has had to take account of the circumstances of the offence and the circumstances of the offender. If it did not, it would seem to most of us to be at variance with natural justice. So, in Roshier's words, there may have been '. . . a retention of the assumption of free will, but with an allowance that it is sometimes freer than at other times . . .' (p.10).

The second problem raised by the free-will stance of classicism, is its relationship to the determinist theories of positivist criminology which followed in the 19th century. Put crudely, as classical criminology declined, 'crime as chosen' was superceded by 'crime as caused'. Roshier is quite correct. 'The positivists' rejection of free will was fundamental to their position' (p.21) Roshier's discussion of the varying forms of positivist explanation, ranging from biological to sociological

theories, is useful and detailed, and will be the point at which readers who have non-specialist social science backgrounds will recognise the theoretical debates. Although free-will and determinism and logically mutually-exclusive, Roshier is right to point out that a 'neoclassical' view of crime (free will modified to some degree by circumstance) and the less rigid forms of positivism such as those of American sociology in the 1950s begin to come together: free-will and determinism are not so incompatible after all. Multiple factors, 'causes', unknown variables act upon individuals, who are constrained or free to greater or lesser degrees, and crime is, above all else, unpredictable. This unfocussed sort of thinking is, of course, one of the main features of common-sense reasoning about crime, reflected also in the frequently incompatible assumptions of criminal justice policy.

The questions raised by Roshier are not confined to criminological theory. The political dimensions of these questions are not far beneath the surface. The correctionalism of the classical criminologists and the emphasis on responsibility are highly compatible with a political conservatism (then and now) as Roshier makes clear, and subsequent positivist theories were no less conservative in their implications. Roshier finds a radical interpretation of essentially classical ideas in the New Deviancy theories of the 1960s, where we encounter deviants apparently choosing their life-styles and also have a capacity to take action against forces which oppressed them. Although much of 1960s deviancy theory now seems to contain only, at most, a Left idealism (the State rarely made any appearance), I think Roshier is justified in finding something of classicism in the non-positivist sociological perspectives on crime current in the 1960s. Roshier's claim that there is still an unexplored potential within classicism is more contentious but should not, in the currently fairly arid conditions of crimological theory, be ruled out.

Roshier clearly wishes to conform and extend current debates by re-investing them with theoretical rigour, including a re-appraisal of figures usually consigned to an historical footnote. In this sense, the book is far from being a dry examination of 'the classical perspective in criminology'. It has a potential relevance to all those working in this area. For instance, I think there is no doubt that a fairly vague determinism has often characterised Left thinking about (some) crime — a crude notion of social causation. It remains worthwhile to examine where such a determinism leads us in policy terms. It is also useful to consider why individual responsibility and freedom of choice have been hi-jacked as parts of Right-wing vocabulary.

Are there not other discourses into which we can place some of these crucially important terms, and invest them with new meaning? If Roshier's study precipitates a rethinking of some accepted ideas, it will have served an important purpose.

Although it seems to me that rediscovering the work of Beccaria is not in itself an especially exciting event, it can lead to further work which contributes to the development of both theory and practice. So far as theory is concerned, Roshier could have perhaps drawn his net more widely: if he is interested in freedom, rationality and responsibility, why not refer to the existential philosophers, who examined precisely these issues, and who set up interesting affiliations on both Right and Left? In terms of practice, readers who come to this book primarily as practitioners will find the chapters dealing with gender, the family, the school and race to be interesting in their analysis of 'control'. Whatever one's own interest or involvement, this is certainly a book to provoke further debate, rather than to provide answers. That is, of course, quite legitimate.

John Fenwick

WORKING WITH CHILD SEXUAL ABUSE
Keiron O'Hagan
Open University Press 1989
ISBN 035 15597 9
£8.95 pbk, pp 168

Since the Butler-Schloss report following the Child Abuse crisis in Cleveland, Social Services Departments throughout the country have attempted to introduce more adequate policies and procedures enabling workers to deal effectively with the emotive problem of Child Sexual Abuse cases. Yet in his book, two years after Cleveland, O'Hagan highlights deficiencies still found in present theories, practises and training. He does so by referring to actual cases (that workers in the field will recognise), without reference to the ideological theories which as most Practitioners will agree, have little relevance in dealing with such cases.

By beginning with a case the author was himself involved in he allows the reader to dissect the case along with him thereby identifying where he, along with the reader in similar situations, may have gone wrong. He points to the question of — in the removal of a child from the home — whose presense does the most damage? Is the damage inflicted by the perpetrator in deceiving the child and creating a life of misery worse than the deceit and misery caused by the worker, who in order to fulfill his own ideal of 'protecting' the child, removes him/her from the home? O'Hagan indicates perhaps not. With reference to his case he takes us through step by step, concentrating upon the range of feelings felt by himself, the child and the parents which accompany such a move. This leads him to examine the purpose of his book and develop the, at present, little used procedure of categorisation. He moves forward to successfully categorise Child Sexual Abuse and thereby demonstrates that each case is unique and has its own set of unique circumstances. All of the factors surrounding the case need to be assessed before steps are taken in dealing with a client.

He then goes on to deal with the issue of resources, re-inforcing that it is not enough that Social Services Departments go all out to identify Child Sex Abuse, they must also provide their workers with appropriate resources to deal with such cases. There is a detailed chapter on the training of Foster Parents for sexually abused children and procedures for their subsequent role as primary carers. However, he does not broach the subject of the resource of residential care nor the difficulties and lack of training faced by residential staff. However, training is scrutinized thoroughly in the book, the author once again points to the inadequacies in the present training programme and includes the adjoining issue of research. The reader is made to doubt and question the relevance of the training they receive, most of which has its roots in disclosure work and treatment of the child. Gathering the threads of his ideas elsewhere in the book, O'Hagan indicates the needs of the social worker lie in dealing with the family as well as the child and the socio-economic circumstances surrounding the family as a whole.

When mentioning research in relation to training O'Hagan makes the valid statement that much of the research and statistics available to us are of American origin, and that more relevant research into the problems surrounding abuse and its causes in this country, is needed. He also questions the relevance of retrospective study, however, he does accept that this type of study gives examples within a cross-section of society, whereas present day study would show an over-representation of the poorer sections of society. O'Hagan further identifies a lack of research regarding perpetrators, which leads to a chapter concentrating on the issues associated with the perpetrators. He tackles issues of the relevance of imprisonment, believing this is often seen by the professional as the easier option. He raises, and attempts to answer, questions of perpetrators Social Workers will most often encounter and which offence they are most likely to commit.

An underlying theory O'Hagan introduces throughout his chapter on the Perpetrator is that the permissive society, developed in the 1960's is at the root of the problem of the increase in the numbers of perpetrators coming to the attention of the professionals today. O'Hagan maintains that the 1960's allowed people to focus on their sexuality and their need for sexual gratification. Yet there were those who, although they were aroused by the expression of sexual freedom around them felt inadequate in comparison to their peers. This developed into a sense of powerlessness and led them to seek a victim over whom they could exercise power. Whether this theory would survive closer scrutiny is left to question.

The chapter on Perpetrators is one of the most valid of the book, if only because its length is equal to that allotted to other issues, unusual in most British Sexual Abuse literature to date. Throughout the book as a whole O'Hagan has taken the first steps in developing realistic practices related to Child Sexual Abuse. It is a no frills account of the serious deficiencies found in Social Services Departments when dealing with sexual abuse. The book examines each issue clearly and concisely and in dealing with categorisation O'Hagan succeeds in fulfilling, what he claims, was his task in writing the book that is to identify a category which poses the greatest challenge to the worker. This he achieves by giving examples of actual cases and producing diagrammatical frameworks to assess each case and then prioritizing them. This then introduces to the worker the idea that he/she must accept that at times, regardless of their own needs to protect the child, intervention may not be appropriate. O'Hagan's achievement in writing the book is that he produces a relevant framework of practices and principles with little reference to previously accepted theories and ideals and in doing so produces an essential book for all professionals dealing with Child Sexual Abuse and in particular trainers in this field.

Susan Atkinson

SNIFFING SOLUTIONS: YOUNG PEOPLE, DRUGS AND SOLVENTS

Richard Ives (editor)
National Children's Bureau 1989
ISBN 0 902 81740 X
£5.95 pbk, pp 121 & vi
available from National Children's Bureau, 8 Wakley Street, London EC1V 7QE

Glue is an abuse of the past. How do I know this? The newspaper hardly mentions it. The closest is problems with gas: otherwise it's all crack now. Glue is just a phase young people go through. How do I know this? It says so in a health education leaflet. Popular belief is that young people have grown out of glue by growing into adulthood — they're now integrated into legal drugs like alcohol, caffeine and tobacco.

Such statements are very pertinent to this book. **Sniffing Solutions**, a collection of fourteen essays, reminds that sniffing and use of solvents has not only been around for some time but is still around (it undoubtedly still is even though papers for the book seem to have been written about late 1987/early 1988 and publication completed only in 1989). The ISDD had some 30-100 press cuttings on solvent misuse in 1976 which increased to 4,000 in 1982, two-thirds of the total drug cuttings which thereupon diminished as the press took up heroin. A recorded interview with a 24 year old recalls ten years of sniffing.

The problem does not disappear with the press reporter. Sadly one of the consistent issues in this book is the general failure of the media, especially the local press, to be of real assistance in any work with solvent users and often through misreporting, stereotyping and jingoistic campaigning to have an adverse effect. There is also the problem noted by Sutherland (p34) that a high media profile helped create popularity of sniffing.

The book as a whole is thought-provoking and well constructed. An introduction by the editor lays out some of the issues, followed by four essays on Users and nine on Action. The core of the book is the first nine papers on users and work with them; the last four essays are ancillary to the main thrust but flesh out other approaches, especially Cripps' look at the history of drug education. The last of the four 'user' essays, written by a parent about the death of a 'sniffer in the family' provides a powerful and brilliant pivotal ending to the first part of the book, demanding that the second section on action should be read.

The first eight or nine papers are worth reading in sequence, constantly reinforcing each other. With this in mind and rather than picking out or over individual contributions, some common themes will be discussed drawn from throughout.

The initial problems are clearly stated — 'young people do not simply try drugs without reason' (Ives p.4), the complexity of peer group influence, the importance of family circumstances, the 'need to see drug and solvent use as a social issue with medical implications rather than as a medical issue with social implications' (Robertson p.88), and the need to offer 'appropriate alternatives to drug use' (Ives p.7 and noted throughout).

In regard to many of the issues raised and working approaches presented, the youth service overall comes over as a failure. Deeply antagonistic to work with sniffers in one area, it has generally failed to offer 'appropriate alternatives' or to properly develop self-esteem of young people, a factor commonly identified as important in the work with young 'sniffers'. Further, as illustrated in a paper by two young people and indicated elsewhere, the youth service has not sought to fully empower young people;

> the money spent . . . on providing even more resources for adults to interfere in the lives of young people would be better spent by giving it direct to organisations **controlled by young people** themselves (Murray and Murray p.20, my emphasis)

What comes over is the importance of a multi-approach offering a range of activities including, for example, music and outdoor activities, providing choice, properly involving young people, and dealing with issues such as sexism not only with young people but also within workers attitudes and practices. If the counselling and group work is done by consent, with participation and the ultimate decision — to give up — being taken by young people themselves, then this needs to be reflected in other areas. The crucial importance of young people's own self-esteem is made clear in the various approaches described and experiences of users. Also demanding great attention is work with families and the difficulties associated with this. However, the complexities of use of drugs, including solvents, and the range of background circumstances require a variety of provision enabling choice to be made on style of approach from different agencies.

Several controversial issues are aired, particularly peer counselling and casualty/harm reduction. The importance of young people working with other young people in ways as important, as competent and perhaps as similar as that of 'professionals', with support, is highlighted. One author refers to the aura or haze of mystique built up around 'counselling', although he himself is committed to a Rogerian approach: 'counselling is a swanky word for caring' (O'Connor p.89). The other issue concerns the giving of information on how to sniff safely, accepting that some users cannot give up at once and for them reducing 'harm' or 'casualty' is most important. Such an approach, however, depends on a basic premise of valuing human life and is wide open to misinterpretation by the media, as in 'X voluntary group or Y youth worker tells young people to sniff' type headlines. We're back where we started.

Generally this is a stimulating book although the thrust of it weakens toward the end. It has a much wider application than work with sniffers because many of the issues raised, about the types of approach, provision of alternatives, the social and economic context, are common to a range of work with young people and dependencies. The case studies of work undertaken are important although it would have been useful also to read about the failures: where, when and possible whys. The editorship is clear in providing some commonality to style and an easy read. An index would have been welcome (as it stands it is necessary to read the whole book and annotate or depend on essay titles); so too would a bibliography at the end. But this is a useful introduction to essential issues and work practices and worth the somewhat expensive cover price for its size.

Andrew West

JUVENILE OFFENDING: PREVENTION THROUGH INTERMEDIATE TREATMENT

Sarah Curtis
Batsford 1989
ISBN 0 7134 5782 7
£8.95, pp 197

I remember Joan Cooper, a colleague of Derek Morrell the civil servant who coined the term 'intermediate treatment', describing the history and fate of intermediate treatment as lying somewhere between Hope Hall and Misery Mile. Perhaps it is as well to bear in mind that in some parts of England and Wales the term intermediate treatment is viewed as something of an anachronism. a distraction from the serious business of the management of juvenile justice.

In fact, as Sarah Curtis points out, the term 'intermediate treatment' is no more than a literal description of the kinds of programmes for young people 'in trouble' which were expected to grow up, intermediately, between custody and the community, in the wake of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act.

Sarah Curtis has written a straightforward book which illustrates the variety of current intermediate treatment practice. She adopts the formula of presenting half a dozen case studies of schemes from different parts of the country — Lambeth, Kirklees, West Sussex, Berkshire, Surrey and Sunderland — sandwiched between a brief introduction and a concluding chapter.

The style is accessible. The approach enables each case study to speak in some detail for itself. We see in each chapter something of the context in which each scheme arose, its structure and operation. Each scheme is allowed to speak in some detail about the sorts of documentation which is used and this helps to give a flavour of the process and the procedures of the work.

The case study approach is used at the level of work with young people and families as well. We get the feel of the Juvenile Offending Resource Centre in Surrey, for instance, by considering in a fair amount of detail what happens to 'Jim' and 'Gary', two sixteen year-olds. This way of presenting material helps to 'earth' the subject matter of the book and bring it to life.

As anyone who has attempted to capture the variety of practice in the field of alternatives to custody for young people will know, it is difficult to identify illustrations which are both few in number and representative. Sarah Curtis has chosen the six schemes well. They range from what is called 'the heavy end' of diversion from custody, through work linked with education authorities, tracking, non-statutory work and work linked with volunteers and youth workers.

It is noteworthy that whereas issues of race have a high profile in some of the work described, from the statistics provided by the schemes in this book, the profile of women in intermediate treatment activities seems on the surface to remain as marginal now as fifteen years ago. In two schemes alone, the totals of young people involved in a given period totalled 67 boys and 3 girls. This is despite the fact that, as the chapter on the Juvenile Offender Resource Centre notes, girls probably comprise 10% of the total figures of those at risk of custody.

Sarah Curtis writes with the clarity of the good

Continued on page 54

Analysis

Young, Gifted and Broke

Young people are out of fashion. Today everyone is talking about — if doing little for — women returning to work after having children. The problems of young people at work have been hidden behind the screen of 'falling school rolls'. Yet they show few signs of abating.

Bargain Britain

Barry Curnow, newly elected President of the Institute of Personnel Management, visiting Newcastle recently said that British workers, particularly in the North East, will be attractive to foreign employers: 'A 21-year old in the North is half the price and more educated than the equivalent in Germany or Holland. The flexibility of labour in the North also makes it attractive to employers'.

While many might query Mr. Curnow on our educational standards, he is spot-on about selling our young short. Arguing that the lower the wages bill, the more jobs will be created, the government has consistently pressed down young people's wages.

Elizabeth is a 19 year old hairdresser who works a full week without a paid lunch break. When she wanted to go on holiday, the owner said she could have one day's paid holiday a year.

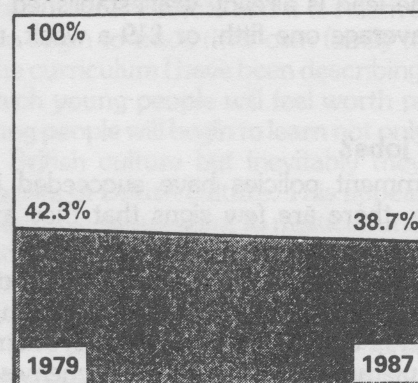
Before July 1986 someone like Elizabeth was entitled to 15 days paid annual holiday. Young people in certain industries — shops, hotels, restaurants, pubs, clubs and clothing factories — were shielded by the Wages Councils which set legal minimum rates of pay and conditions.

The 1986 Wages Act ended all that, stripping half a million people under 21 of wage protection. Britain pulled out of the International Labour Organisation's convention on minimum wage protection for the most vulnerable workers. Britain is now the only country in the world with a minimum wage system that excludes young people. When the single European market opens in 1992, this government hopes to undercut our neighbours by underpaying our workers.

Companies lost no time responding to the 1986 Wages Act. The very next pay packet, a local baker sliced the wages of a nineteen year old from £2.20 to £1.20 an hour and cut a week's holiday. Such instances quickly showed in the national statistics. Rates for men under 18 in selling, the biggest wages council sector, slumped from 45% of adult earnings in 1986 to 37.4% in 1987.

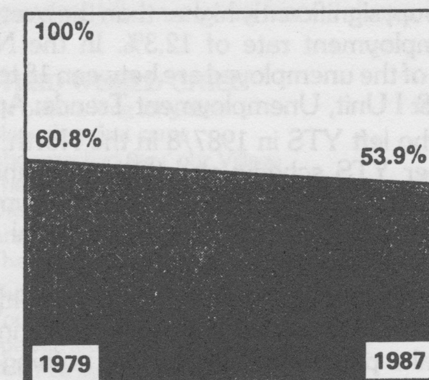
Nor has the drop stopped at Wages Council industries. Over the past decade unemployment and YTS have helped widen the gap between youth and adult wages right across the economy — despite the young being as productive as adults on many a salesfloor or production line:

Earnings of 16-17 Year Olds as a Proportion of Adult Earnings. 1979 and 1987.



Source: DE New Earnings Surveys 1979 and 1987

Earnings of 18-20 Year Olds as a Proportion of Adult Earnings. 1979 and 1987



Source: DE New Earnings Survey 1979 and 1987

A quarter of all enquiries to the Low Pay Unit are from people under 21. A seventeen year old who rang us is earning 62p an hour, totalling £25 for a full week's work. Frequently YTS trainees are offered jobs for little more than their training allowances. An assistant who started in a newsagent on a YTS got taken on earning £50 for a 50 hour week.

With such rates common, many young people no longer expect more and £2 an hour is now generally considered a good wage. When the West Midlands Low Pay Unit asked over 3,000 school leavers at what level they would set a minimum wage for 16 and 17 year olds, the overwhelming majority opted for £25.50 per week.

Young Women, Old Handicaps

Young women quickly fall behind their opposites in the wages stakes. Few YTS trainees go on schemes in non-traditional jobs: for example, 33% of all women YTS trainees are in office work compared to 9% of men. Likewise, while 26% of men go into construction placements, only 1% of women do.

Even in the same occupations, average wages for women YTS leavers are less than for men. By the age of 18-20 men's lifetime lead is already well-established with them earning an average one fifth, or £19 a week, more than women.

Priced into jobs?

While government policies have succeeded in holding wages down, there are few signs that they are moving employment up.

At first sight, youth employment does appear to be falling. But much of that may be due to the declining numbers of school leavers; the 24 changes to the unemployment count; the plethora of government schemes; and the exclusion from benefit, and so from the records, of all those under 18 not in a job or a YTS scheme. How many new jobs are being created is far from clear and with a recession looming on the horizon, the prospects are not rosy.

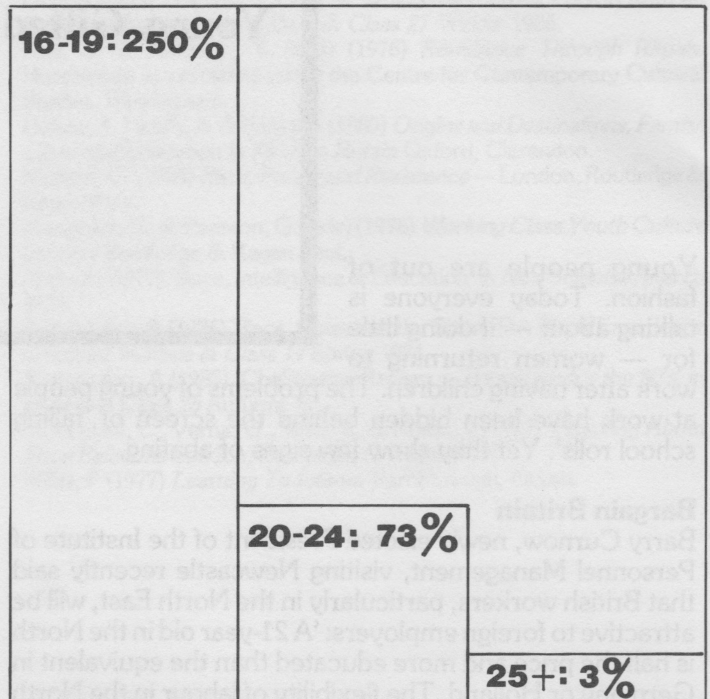
In April 1989 there were 19,616 unemployed people aged 18 to 24 years in Tyne & Wear. That is equivalent to 18.6% of that age group, significantly higher than the overall Tyne & Wear unemployment rate of 12.3%. In the North as a whole, 29% of the unemployed are between 18 to 24. (Tyne & Wear R & I Unit, Unemployment Trends: April 1989).

Of those who left YTS in 1987/8 in the North, 14% went onto another YTS scheme and 29% were unemployed. Only 46% went into a fulltime job or self-employment — the lowest percentage in the country. (Central Statistical Office, Regional Trends 24 1989).

Four percent went into part-time work. With 'flexible' working the order of the day, young people are increasingly having to take part-time jobs because nothing else is on offer. Between 1979-85, the number of part-time workers aged 16-19 increased by 250%, compared to 73% for those aged 20-24 and 3% for those over 25. And while in part-time work overall women outnumber men by nine to one, among 16 to 19 year olds the ratio is only two to one. (Pilcher & Williamson, Youthaid 1988).

Part-time work is often also temporary. In 1985 around half of part-time jobs held by 16-19 year olds were temporary. Generally low paid, low skilled and outside the scope of most employment rights, these jobs offer young people neither security nor skill training.

% Increase in Numbers of Part-Time Workers by Age Group. 1979-85



Source: Pilcher and Williamson page 29 Youthaid 1988

Minimum Needs

Young people deserve a better start of their working life. Employers and the economy would also benefit from proper training and proper pay for young workers. At present, only 34% of the UK workforce hold occupational qualifications, compared to 79% in West Germany, skill shortages are restraining the economy and productivity is the lowest in the industrialised world.

The CBI has woken up to firms' problems and is proposing a reform of YTS to improve vocational training standards. They are suggesting that instead of receiving government subsidies for employing teenagers, employers would pay a market wage rate and claim government funding only when training was carried out.

Disquiet with the government's low wage strategy has also seen momentum gathering behind the campaign for a national minimum wage. This would guarantee everyone a living wage with annual paid holidays; 16 and 17 year olds could receive 80% and 90% respectively. The young in France already enjoy that protection. Low pay and unemployment have been the constant companions of the young throughout the eighties. Britain cannot afford to let that continue into the nineteen nineties.

Young Workers — What Price? (50p) is available from the Northern Region Low Pay Unit, PO Box 3, Jarrow, Tyne & Wear NE32 3NT. Tel: (091) 489 5515. Also available from the Unit: **Young Gifted and Broke** a poster exhibition of photos about young people and work.

Popular Front

Popular Front is a section of the journal devoted to aspects of popular culture and the media

Aspects of the Film: Teenagers in Horror (with particular reference to 'A Nightmare on Elm Street')

The aim of this paper is to offer an introduction to theoretical analyses of the horror genre and to examine what lies beneath the surface of one teenie-kill pic — **A Nightmare on Elm Street**, using psychoanalytic critical methodology. Before this, however, it may be useful to confront some of the more commonly held perceptions of cinematic horror.

1. Attitudes to Horror

> In a mere 90 minutes, this horror film . . . casts serious aspersions on the integrity and social responsibility of its Pittsburgh-based makers, distributor Walter Reade, the film industry as a whole, and exhibitors who book the picture, as well as raising serious doubts about the future of the regional cinema movement and about the moral health of film-goers who cheerfully opt for this unrelieved orgy of sadism (**Variety** review of George A. Romero's **Night of the Living Dead** — a film now considered to be a classic — quoted in Derry, C., **Dark Dreams**, 1977, p.65).

> We've got your basic demon baby, a girl sliced in half, a man with his head cut off, a zombie with glowing eyes, a zombie with one eye poked out, a zombie with a burned face, a couple of people with daggers through their hearts, and a woman in a totally tasteless scene who rips herself open and gives birth to the demon baby . . . It's not a splatter film though . . . (Roger Evans, describing his film **Forever Evil** in **Fangoria**, No. 68, Oct. '87, p.10).

Cinematic horror, particularly the overt violence of post-classical (i.e. from 1960) low-budget American horror, often provokes extreme, polarized reactions. Responses tend to be wholly dismissive or wholly celebratory, like the two views quoted above. While the political Right campaign for censorship in order to, as Tory M.P. Graham Bright declared, 'protect our young people', many feminists have also protested against the portrayals of violence against women, by far the largest group of cinematic (and social!) victims, Brian De Palma's **Dressed to Kill** (1980) receiving especially virulent opposition.

Yet, horror remains big business. From such films as **Frankenstein** (1931) and **King Kong** (1933), to **The Exorcist** (1973), **Jaws** (1975), **The Omen** (1976), **Halloween** and **A Nightmare on Elm Street** the horror genre has provided major box-office successes. Additionally, a vast array of less familiar, low budget horror movies stare menacingly at us from the shelves of most local video libararies. With few exceptions, however, cinematic horror is rarely taken seriously, and the slasher-film and teenie-kill pic are considered especially unsophisticated, a mire of gore and taboo into which audiences must descend.

> At the very bottom, down in the cinematic underbrush, lies — horror of horrors — the slasher (or splatter or shocker) film . . . Drenched in taboo and encroaching vigorously on the pornographic, the slasher film lies by and large beyond the purview of the respectable (middle-aged, middle-class) audience . . . respectable criticism (Carole J. Clover, 'Her body, Himself' in ed. J. Donald, **Fantasy and the Cinema** B.F.I., 1989, p.91).

Despite the well-publicised moral panic over 'video-nasties' during the mid-1980s, (which led to the withdrawal of such films as **I Spit On Your Grave** (1978) and **Driller Killer** (1979) in new video certifying and labelling restrictions) this genre enjoys continued popularity. Fuelled by critical apathy in the media mainstream, a whole industry of fanzines (like **Fangoria** quoted above), clubs, conventions and promotional merchandising has grown to meet the demands of an ever-hungry (largely teenage and young adult) audience — the 'gore-hounds' of 'splatter movies' who view the explicit violence and outlandish (though paradoxically, highly ritualised) narratives of such films, with knowing humour.

Yet in one respect these polarized views of the horror film are not dissimilar. Both seem to celebrate or dismiss the surface gore of the films and not their thematic content. In order to discover what anxieties are provoked/reawakened by horror, we must adopt a more stringent theoretical approach.

2. A Theoretical Framework: Genre and Sub-genre

To begin by stating the obvious, the Horror genre is defined by the presence of a Monster, usually either supernatural or possessing supernatural (and/or psychotic) power. Though this genre's boundaries (as with all filmic genres) are hazy (bleeding into both sci. fi. with such films as **The Thing** (1951 and 1982), **Alien** (1979) and thrillers with psychological murder-mysteries such as **Psycho** (1960) and **Dressed to Kill**), most of us are easily able to recognise a horror film.

Until relatively recently, serious analyses of filmic horror have been sparse. The histories/encyclopaedias of the genre and biographies of its stars rarely encourage authors beyond basic plot description. One way of mapping the

horror genre has been to classify films into sub-generic groups.

Stephen King's **Dance Macabre** (Futura, 1982), for example, explores the development of three recurring archetypes of monster — 'the Vampire, the Werewolf, and the Thing Without a Name' (p.66) — whose popularity he traces from three famous 19th century novels: Bram Stoker's **Dracula**, Robert Louis Stevenson's **The Strange Case of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde** and Mary Shelley's **Frankenstein** respectively. Their descendants may not seem obvious at first glance, but King argues that the vampire strand extends to the predatory flesh-eating zombies, and that the traits of the Werewolf can be seen in such psychotic monsters as Norman Bates (Anthony Perkins) of **Psycho** and Jane (Bette Davis) of **Whatever Happened to Baby Jane** (1962), and the horrific results of aberrant science as seen in **Frankenstein** also dominate the narratives of such films as **The Thing**.

Similarly, in **Dark Dreams: A Psychological Study of the Modern Horror Film** (A.S. Barnes & Co., 1977), Charles Derry offers three comparable categories of horror, but he relates their prominence at specific historical moments to contemporary social anxieties. Derry defines 'The Horror of the Personality' as 'the fear of the possible innate insanity and violence of man' (p.47), and includes such films as **Psycho** and **Whatever Happened to Baby Jane** in this category. While King traced the roots of this form of horror to the werewolf/Jekyll and Hyde tradition, Derry draws the link between the predominance of such films during the early 60's and the spate of shocking assassinations which occurred in the U.S. at that time (J.F. and Robert Kennedy, Martin Luther King, Malcom X) and which were deemed to be the work of crazed individuals.

Derry's second category is 'The Horror of Armageddon' which he associates with an 'ultimate confrontation' with a powerful, yet not inherently evil, adversary. Examples of this sub-genre include films where nature suddenly becomes random and perverse, like **The Birds** (1962), the sci.fi. horror of **The Thing, The Day the Earth Stood Still** (1951) and the Japanese **Godzilla** films (from 1954). Again, we could argue that the roots of this genre can be seen in **Frankenstein**, but Derry also relates this theme to a more contemporary fear of the atomic bomb/nuclear warfare.

'The Horror of the Demonic' is Derry's third category and is manifest in such films as **Rosemary's Baby** (1969), **The Exorcist** and **The Omen**. The central concern of this sub-genre is the destruction/corruption of innocence within a framework of Christian mythology and therefore would incorporate King's remaining archetype of Vampire films. Derry relates the increasing prominence of this genre during the 1960s and 1970s to the then heightened public interest in both Catholicism (J.F. Kennedy and his family were prominent Catholics, and there was a Papal death and election of a new Pope and a Papal visit to the U.S. in the years 1964-5), and the occult (the hippy-movement proclaimed an 'Age of Aquarius' while religious cults grew in popularity, from such Christian groups as 'The Children of God' and 'Jesus Freaks', to the even more extreme case of the ritualistic murders committed by Charles Manson's followers).

To add to Derry's list, such critics as Phillip Brophy and Pete Boss have noted the recurring motif of 'Body Horror' in more recent horror films (see special issue **Screen**, Vol. 27, No. 1, January-February 1986). The representation of the body as a site of uncontrollable, malignant horror in such films as **Alien** (when the alien burst from the stomach of one of the characters) and in the graphic (seen) transformation of characters into monsters in **American Werewolf in London** (1981) and **Cat People** (1982), plays upon anxieties associated with disease and old-age and of a loss of our individual subjective control. This thematic motif is particularly potent in this overtly health conscious era. David Cronenberg's films (including his recent films, **Videodrome** (1982), **The Fly** (1987) and **Dead Ringers** (1989), as well as some of his earlier works) offer paradigm examples of Body Horror.

So, sub-generic categorisations can be traced back through the history of the Horror genre, and can be linked to contemporary social anxieties. Yet to understand their connotative richness (and visceral power) we must also explore the latent content (i.e. that which lies beneath the surface).

3. A Psychoanalytic Approach

Noel Carrol has argued that 'As a matter of social tradition, psychoanalysis is more or less the *lingua franca* of the horror film and thus the privileged critical tool for discussing the genre' ('Nightmare and the Horror Film: the Symbolic Biology of Fantastic Beings' **Film Quarterly**, Spring 1981, p.17). Certainly, the recurring themes of the horror genre (disturbed sexuality, sadism, fascination with death/taboo), seem to lend themselves to psychoanalytic interpretation, and indeed, many theoretical discussions of Horror to proceed within a Freudian analytic framework. Further, as Freudian concepts have entered popular consciousness, some horror films are purposefully structured around psychoanalytic themes. If films are analogous to dreams (the produce of 'dream factories'), then horror films are our cultural nightmares.

In his highly influential essay 'An Introduction to the American Horror Film', Robin Wood combines aspects of Freudian psychoanalysis with Marxist social critique in order to explore the ideology of the Horror film (in ed. Wood R. and Lippe R., **The American Nightmare** Toronto Film Festival Programme, 1979, also reprinted in some film-study anthologies). Following the tradition of psychoanalytic criticism, Wood takes up Freud's concept of repression (i.e. the process of excluding unwanted, inappropriate or unpleasant wishes or impulses from the conscious mind), interpreting the manifestation of the monster within horror films as the Return of the Repressed. Wood distinguishes two forms of repression; Basic (i.e. the repression of hostile impulses in order to allow us to co-exist as human-beings) and Surplus (i.e. the internalisation of our specific cultural requirements). It is not necessary for our survival as human beings to encourage heterosexuality, monogamy or bourgeois attitudes, for example, but Surplus Repression helps to do just that. Thus Wood emphasises the link between psychological repression and sociological oppression:

One might say that the true subject of the horror

genre is the struggle for recognition of all that our civilisation represses and oppresses: its re-emergence dramatized, as in our nightmares, as an object of horror, a matter for terror, the 'happy ending' (when it exists) typically signifying the restoration of repression (Wood, ibid. p.10).

Wood also sees the relationship between monster and normality (i.e. the family/society status quo) as an ambivalent one. The monster, however gruesome, generally provides the emotional charge of the film, and in some cases (**King Kong** (1933), **Frankenstein** (1933) and **It's Alive** (1973) spring to mind) engenders outright sympathy in its potential destruction of the repressive and oppressive family/society. The monster is, in one sense a target — i.e. an Other — upon whom we project the characteristics/impulses/thoughts we deny within ourselves. Wood gives the example of the relationship between the early American Puritan Settlers and the Native Indians to illustrate this:

> The Puritans rejected any perception that the Indians had a culture, a civilisation, of their own; they perceived them not merely as savage but, literally, as devils or as the spawn of the Devil; and since the Devil and sexuality are inextricably linked in the Puritan consciousness, they perceived them as sexually promiscuous, creatures of unbridled libido. The connection between this view of the Indian and Puritan repression is obvious: a classic and extreme case of the projection onto the Other of what is repressed within the Self, in order that it can be discredited, disowned, and if possible annihilated (Wood, ibid., p.9).

So, horror films can be read as 'cultural nightmares' featuring the return of that which, in our culture, we are encouraged to repress and the Monster can be interpreted as a figure of Otherness, an external manifestation of characteristics we wish to disown/destroy. Hence, Wood's basic formula for the Horror genre — 'normality is threatened by the monster' — allows for our ambivalent relationship to both elements.

4. Teenagers in Horror: A Nightmare on Elm Street

One of the most popular forms of the horror film in recent years has been the 'teenie-kill pic'; i.e. a recurring narrative structure which features the sequential slaughter (usually by an explicitly male monster) of a series of teenagers, of which one (often a young woman) survives by outwitting the monster. Like its close-cousin, the 'slasher movie' (in which women, rather than teenagers of both sexes, are killed), the teenie-kill pic is gorey, ironic, and its narrative structure is highly formularised. This sub-genre includes such films as **The Texas Chainsaw Massacre** (1974), **Halloween** (1970), **Friday the 13th** (1980), **The Slumber Party Massacre** (1982) and one of the most popular teenie-kill pics of recent years (spawning a continuing production of sequels) which is discussed in some detail below, Wes Craven's **A Nightmare on Elm Street** (1984).

Since the fragmentation of the family-audience in the mid 1950's, many films (along with other mass-media markets, including popular music and fashion) have been aimed at specific groups, one of the most lucrative being the teenage and young adult sector. Not surprisingly, the rise of the teen-rebel movie of the 1950s (**The Wild One** (1954), **Rebel Without a Cause** (1955)) coincided with the release of an initial group of teenage monster films (**I was a Teenage Werewolf** (1957) and **I was a Teenage Frankenstein** (1958)). In the newly intensified generation gap of the post-war era, rebellious adolescents must have seemed like monsters to the more conservative, traditional adults; or conversely the nice-guys underneath-it-all who are simply victims of adult misperceptions!

A broad structural opposition which recurs in many horror films is between The Family; symbol of the status quo, repressiveness and oppressiveness; and Sexual energy, particularly feminine or non-phallic, which is disruptive, powerful and frightening. The adolescent fictional character thus provides an especially potent image within this conflict; the site of awakening (adult) sexuality, the transition from child into the power-structures (strictures) of the patriarchal social order. As well as being associated with gaining adult power, the transition also denotes a loss of freedom, and is therefore, often ambiguously portrayed.

Though it is important to emphasise that such adolescent conflicts are not always represented literally by teenagers. The uncontrollable (primal) urges of werewolves, which occur at night following their horrific bodily changes (i.e. the lengthening of their teeth into fangs and sudden outgrowth of body hair) is just one example of images which can be interpreted as a horrific representation of (male) puberty and awakening sexual needs. Moreover, this sense of ambivalence is potent even for the adult spectator who has repressed his/her experience of adolescent conflicts.

The sub-genre of teenie-kill pics has been among the most sustained within filmic horror during recent years. In the final section of this paper, I now want to turn my attention to the underlying themes of one particular teenie-kill pic, Wes Craven's **A Nightmare on Elm Street**.

5. 'One, Two, Freddie's Coming for You . . .'

A Nightmare on Elm Street is, in many respects, typical of this sub-genre. It features a male killer, Freddie Krueger (Robert Englund), whose power and menace derives from tactile, phallic weapons: his extended razor-blade finger nails (which spurt liquid when opened by Freddie and, at one point, Freddie waves hugely extended arms). Indeed, with his gnarled face and, in the later sequences, bald head, Freddie's appearance is monstrously penile! In **A Nightmare on Elm Street**, a quartet of teenagers are attacked by Krueger — two couples: Nancy (Heather Langenkamp) and Glenn (Johnny Depp), Tina (Amanda Wyes) and Rod (Nick Corri). One of the teenagers, Nancy, survives to outwit the monster, becoming, like Laurie (Jamie Lee Curtis) in **Halloween**, what Carole J. Clover has termed 'the Final Girl' (see ibid. 1989, above).

The narrative is portrayed very much from the view-point of the two female adolescents; we do not share the nightmares of the male adolescents perhaps, as Clover suggests because women are culturally more able to demonstate the heightened responses to fear demanded by the genre (ibid.); but also if Freddie is, connotatively, a monstrous phallus, he is more threatening, and potent, to

the young females.
Yet Krueger is also associated with a more general notion of childhood fear; he is, at a manifest level, a child-murderer, and is the 'bogey-man' of a young girls' skip-rope song: 'One, two, Freddie's coming for you; three, four, better lock your door . . .' (here again, there is a striking similarity with **Halloween**). As well as being visually phallic, Freddie's appearance/presence is also suggestive of waste, decay and excrement (a taboo developed in early childhood). His territory is a labyrinthine, decrepid, underground, steamy boiler-room (the heat of the furnace additionally underscores the connotation of sexual energy); his appearance is tattered and his glove is made from scrap. The eruption of a deluge of blood from Glenn's bed during his death, and the trail of blood left by Tina's body at the school is also connotatively excremental. Indeed, when Nancy is no longer afraid of Freddie, she tells him: 'You're nothing, you're shit'.

Additionally, Freddie is, within the diegesis, a fantasy-figure and, more specifically, a figure within sexual-fantasy. Following Tina's initial nightmare confrontation with Freddie, she wakes with a feverish scream to find her mother standing in the bedroom door. Seeing Tina's shredded nightdress about her abdomen, her mother presumes the scratches to have been self-inflicted: 'You got to cut your finger-nails or stop that kind of dreaming, one or the other'. The implication is that Tina has been violently masturbating. Additionally, when Tina is describing her nightmare to Nancy and Glenn, Rod boasts that he woke with a 'hard-on', then after mimicing Freddie's screeching finger-nails, admits that he too has had bad dreams: 'guys can have nightmares too, you know'. Prior to his death, Glenn tells his mother that he is staying awake to watch 'Miss Nude America' on television (the portable T.V. set positioned phallically upon his lap). The association of Freddie with sexual fantasy is portrayed most graphically, however, when Nancy is lying in the bath, her hand lowered to a masturbatory position and her legs open (the camera framing her relaxed expression in a mid-shot from between her legs), as Freddie's razor-glove rises from beneath the surface of the water.

The presence of Michael, the bogeyman/killer in **Halloween** is associated with active sexual transgression — it is the promiscuous teenagers who are killed, while the virginal Laurie survives. in **A Nightmare on Elm Street**, however, though Nancy refuses Glenn's sexual advances, she is not as (sexually) repressed as Laurie. Moreover here, sexual fantasy seems to be enough to bring about the killer's presence. Thus, on one, more latent level, Freddie can be seen as a cruel, subconscious (super-ego) punishment for sexual fantasies — a monster whom the adolescents literally dream-up in order to punish themselves! Indeed, Freddie's final threat to Nancy, 'I'm going to split you in half', is fraught with horrific sexual connotations. Yet, Freddie is not only a creation of the adolescents, he is, centrally, a result of parental repressiveness.

The adults within the film (Nancy's parents, Glenn's parents, Tina's mother and her disinterested boyfriend, the sleep-disorder-consultant, the policemen and school-teacher) are all to some degree inadequate, failing to protect the youngsters (who in turn, lie to their parents) and realise the true nature and severity of the threat posed by Freddie. Nancy's mother, Marge (Ronnee Blakely), is especially unable to cope with the changes in her daughter. As Nancy becomes more self-reliant, she physically ages (looking into a mirror she remarks 'I look twenty years old', then, following a nightmare, she develops grey hair). Marge, in contrast, becomes increasingly child-like in her alcoholic haze, being disciplined by her daughter ('that's enough'), and then allowing herself to be tucked-up in bed (Nancy sitting vertically over her mother at this point, offering a visual representation of the reversal in their roles).

Marge's unsuccessful attempts to protect/help Nancy repeatedly backfire. Nancy is injured at the sleep disorder clinic and is almost trapped behind the bars Marge erects in order to fortify their house. Marge initially (guiltily) conceals the truth about Freddie, trying to hide his hat and prevent her daughter seeing the T.V. report of Tina's death when Nancy enters the room. Yet, protecting Nancy from the outside world is simply denying the fact that the threat is inside! Significantly, it is Marge who possesses the horrific razor-glove, having hidden it in the cellar (a recurring metaphor for the subconscious).

The climactic scene in which Nancy finally discovers Freddie (in flames) sitting atop her mother, in Marge's bed, connotes another aspect of developing sexuality, that of the Primal Scene fantasy. The Primal scene, as defined by Freud, is the fantasised or actual witnessing (or hearing) of parental sexual intercourse by a very young child, who is unable to cope with this shocking information. Within the child's mind, the two central, crucial figures in his/her life are combined in a mysterious and perceptively violent act, and so s/he develops the perception of sexual activity as forbidden, monstrous, frightening. The confusion of mistrust, violence and sexuality arising with the primal scene experience may remain with the individual after s/he reaches adulthood, and though the initial shock is repressed, it can return in an exaggeratedly monstrous, distorted form.

In **Through a Freudian Lens Deeply: A Psychoanalysis of Cinema** (The Analytic Press, 1985), Daniel Dervin comments upon some of the characteristics of primal scene fantasy in cinema, which include:

> An association between sex and danger . . . attraction leading to imminent loss of life; often the monstrous is a visual signifier of the dangerous . . . Plots that turn on the uncovery of secrets . . . Emotions of envy, betrayal, desertion, and loneliness, especially when they cluster around a scene of sexual witnessing . . . (pp16-17).

I would argue that Wes Craven's **A Nightmare on Elm Street** (whether knowingly or not) plays upon primal scene anxieties, and associates the adolescent's emotional entry into sexual relations with a confusion arising from parental repressiveness. Indeed, though Nancy finally tries to simply turn her back on these fears (i.e. repress them), they are not destroyed and Freddie is once again victorious in the final moments of the film.

The conflation of sexual fantasy and danger; the way

Marge initially tries (and fails) to conceal everything connected with Freddie from Nancy; the betrayal of Nancy by her father (in order to trap Rod); and the climactic scene of Nancy's discovery of horrifically distorted sexual activity in her mother's bedroom, are all indicators of primal scene anxiety. Significantly, Nancy's father (though separated from Marge) is also present at the moment of Nancy's discovery, and following her mother's death Nancy turns to him: 'Now do you believe me?'

6. Conclusion

The sub-text of **A Nightmare on Elm Street** concerns the horrifically distorted perception of sexual activity held by adolescents and strengthened by adult repressiveness and concealment, and taboo. Its horror does not arise from outside the home but from within the family, within the mind. I must emphasise, however, that I am not suggesting that all teenie-kill films share this facet, yet the anxieties associated with adolescent (sexual) entry into the adult patriarchal order (itself portrayed as inadequate from the teenagers' view-point), provide this film's emotional charge. Our ambiguous response to Freddie (he is both feared and desired) is highlighted in the fact that in the sequels of **A Nightmare on Elm Street**, the promotional merchandising and television specials, it is Freddie who is celebrated.

At one point in **A Nightmare on Elm Street**, a school-teacher lectures her students about Shakespeare:

> Hamlet's responses to this end and to his mother's lies, was to continually probe and dig, just like the gravediggers, always trying to get beneath the surface.

It is apt advice!

ELAYNE CHAPLIN

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POPULAR FRONT REVIEWS

WILL YOU STILL LOVE ME TOMORROW? Girl Groups from the 50's on . . .
Charlotte Grieg
Virago Press 1989
ISBN 1 85381 002 9
£9.99 pbk, pp 224

There are surprisingly few good books about rock 'n' roll/pop music (which for the sake of brevity I will hereinafter refer to as rock music). Ever since I suffered Simon Frith's excrutiating 'The Sociology of Rock' in the 70's I have approached 'serious' books on the topic with some trepidation. It could be argued that a 'serious' book about rock music is a contradiction. Some excellent volumes do come to mind: Charlie Gillet's 'The Sound of the City', Griel Marcus' 'Mystery Train' and Gerri Hershey's 'Nowhere to Run'. What these three successfully combine is thorough historical research, prose which is neither condescending or pretentious, and a fundamental love and understanding of rock music which pervades every line. I would certainly rank Charlotte Grieg's book with those three as essential reading for anyone with a real interest in rock music.

The book offers a feminist oriented, historical perspective on the role of female groups in rock music. It begins in the 50's with doo wop harmony groups such as The Chantels; continues through the 60's with The Shirelles, The Crystals, The Ronettes and (my personal favourites) The Shangri Las; covers Motown and groups such as The Supremes and Martha and the Vandellas; looks at the 70's, an era dominated by black female soul groups typified by The Three Degrees; and ends in the 80's with, inevitably, Bananarama and the rise of female rap outfits such as Salt 'N' Pepa.

Charlotte Grieg argues that girl groups are not the empty headed sex objects manipulated by rock Svengalis which many male rock critics have dismissed them as. She suggests that the great strength many of the individual women involved appear to have found in middle age is a direct result of their experiences in the rock industry as young women. A quote from Mary O'Leary, better known as Reperata of Reperata and the Delrons, is fundamental to the tenet of the book:

> The very fact that we're performing says to me that we are feminists. Most of the time we're the only women on an all-male bill. We share the hardships with the men, the travel, the rotten dressing rooms and no sleep the night before, but we do our job and we hold our own with them, and they don't have the responsibilities at home that we do . . . So we're feminists. I believe truly in the feminist movement. I think for many years girl groups were seen as empty-headed; look pretty, smile, wear your wig. Now, as in every other area, we are taking control of our business, our material, our producers. And if we knew then what we know now, things would have been a lot different . . .

Wisely, Ms. Grieg allows the interviews to do the talking for her, linking them with solid, succinct arguments that only occasionally lapse into over-generalisation. She is particularly perceptive on the relationship between gender and class. In a chapter reviewing the 60's British scene there is a remarkably revealing section on the Beverley Sisters which, believe it or not, convincingly portrays them as working class heroines who stood up to the male chauvanism prevalent in the entertainment industry at that time. Less convincing is her assessment of the relationship between race, gender and class; for example, the institutionalised racism of record companies is mentioned only in passing.

One fundamental dilemma contained in her argument I feel she never really comes to grips with is that the words sung by girl groups she carefully argues reflect a strong feminist perspective were often written by male writers (Ellie Greenwich and Carole King were two notable exceptions). The role of creative chauvanists such as Phil Spector and Berry Gordy is also somewhat glossed over, and there is a strange dismissal of late 60's women rock performers such as Janis Joplin and Grace Slick which seems to reflect personal bias rather than sound feminist argument.

The first two-thirds of the book are thoroughly engrossing in that they are well-researched, convincingly argued and contain excellent interviews which throw up many interesting anecdotes and facts a phenomenological approach tends to. The final third is less convincing and, for some reason I cannot quite put my finger on, the book gradually fizzles out after The Three Degrees! It also ends rather abruptly — after completing the final chapter I turned the page fully expecting a conclusion pulling together the many interesting divergent strands presented in the book. There is a useful bibliography but no index and, inexcusably, no discography. There are many records Charlotte Grieg describes which I am sure most readers would want to listen to. It would be useful to know what is

available, on which compilations and from where. As John Peel's publicity blurb on the front cover states, 'Reading this book gave me an irresistable urge to go out and listen to the records' — that's what a good book on rock music should do.

Malcolm Jackson

OUT OF HIS SKIN The John Barnes Phenomenon
Dave Hill
Faber & Faber 1989
ISBN 0 571 15472 7
£4.99 pbk, pp 196

This is a book about football — but not likely to sit easily on the bookshelves next to the 'Here We Go, Here We Go — My Life In Football' type of biography ghosted by some sports writer on vacation from the popular press about the latest so-called soccer 'personality'. It is also a book about racism — but not likely to appear on the approved reading list of many sociology departments amongst the 'Ballwatching: A Game Observed' style of quasi-reference books.

So who will the book appeal to and why should it be read?

Those who find the game of football boring and irrelevant will find this book hard work. The references to personalities in the game, both current and historical, and the different styles of play of various teams are taken as prerequisite. This is a book for the football FAN. Not the partisan zealot behind the home goal at any of the 92 League grounds, but any person who can understand and share in the passion and spectacle generated by the game itself, regardless of the teams involved, because this is not really a book about Liverpool F.C. particularly, or even about John Barnes especially. Obviously, most of the detail (and the book appears to have been very well researched) is about Barnes and Liverpool, but this is used as a vehicle to examine the position of black players throughout professional football.

Barnes chose not to co-operate with the author and you cannot help but wonder if the players and management of Liverpool F.C. who did, now wish they had followed his example. Barnes has chosen a particular style and method to deal with his situation and his personal charm and diplomacy are much in evidence throughout the book. Neither I nor the author, as white people, are in any position to pass judgement upon how John Barnes faces the barrage of racism, both on and off the pitch, that is documented here. But other black footballers also feature strongly in the book, particularly Howard Gayle, and it is impossible not to compare and contrast their reactions to similar examples of provocation, prejudice and bigotry as endured by Barnes. Liverpool F.C. and the city of Liverpool itself do not emerge with much credit from the saga and, indeed, the 'success' of John Barnes as a Liverpool player is quite openly attributed more to the uniqueness of the man himself than to any change in the 'Red Machine', or in the conservatism and prejudice of the Football League, or in any improvement by the quite mind-numbing bigots still spitting and howling on the terraces. John Barnes may have been accepted due to his personal attributes, both as an exciting player and as a nice bloke, but the question remains as to whether this is despite being black, and whether that welcome and acceptance extends to other black players. The book does not paint a very reassuring picture of that fond hope.

Taking the well argued view that 'football has become a microcosm of society in general', the author concludes that 'English football has been allowed to become an area where the vilest instincts of the nation are let off the leash. Racism is just the most virulent of a dozen foul varieties that flourish virtually without censure on Saturday afternoons'. Note 'English', not just Liverpool football. Those of us who are football fans will need little to remind us of the hate-charged atmosphere in most football stadia, and televised matches bring the obscene racist chanting and mock ape grunts into millions of private homes. The final horror of the demonstration of the culpable inability, or unwillingness, of those directly concerned with the game to even accept there is a problem, let alone challenge and change it. The players, trainers and managers of the clubs who deliver the game; the authorities who organise and administer it; and the media who report it and do so much to elevate it to the point of national and international importance appear, almost uniformly, to be doing nothing about the cancer within our so-called national game.

The anecdotal nature of much of the 'evidence' in this book, and the journalistic, often florid style of its presentation should not be allowed to detract from the gravity of the underlying message. It is easy to read and and hard to forget and should be prescribed reading in every football boardroom, dressing room, press box and terrace in the country.

John Bell

Continued from page 46

journalist and without obscuring everyday realities with theory. Therefore, this is a book for practice, and not a book which presents any new visions of the complex networks of social help and social control which constitute our juvenile justice system.

Nevertheless, everyone working with young people should read this book. Specialists working with young offenders may take issue with it in details, but enough general help can be gleaned from it to make it an invaluable reference book.

Robert Adams

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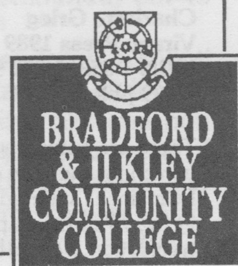

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