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Whose Youth Service Curriculum?

BERNARD DAVIES

The purpose of this article has changed in the writing. Or rather it has been changed by the appearance,

just as I was completing it, of the Ministerial Conferences Steering Committee's recommendations for the development of a Youth Service 'core curriculum'.

The article set out to be a critical review of the policy imperatives behind the whole thrust for such a curriculum, set within the context of Thatcherite politics; and to analyse the implications of this for Youth Service practice.

These aims are still central to what follows. But what may now also be possible is to trace the public development of this policy initiatives over a year or more; consider how this has changed and been changed; speculate on what has influenced these changes; and confront what still needs to be done if more 'progressive' policies and practice are to survive and maybe even prosper within the Youth Service.

POLICY

Changing institutions, constant ideologies

Let me start on a personal note, and with a quotation:

By the mid-1980s, even the limited government attempts, primarily via the MSC, to put... at least some parts of the Youth Service to new and more relevant uses were apparently being abandoned. In the main, as the radical right strove to implement a more coherent and focused national youth policy, youth work did not merit even this amount of planned intervention. Its irrelevance — indeed its actual unreliability — meant that, for the radical right, atrophy was by far the best policy⁽¹⁾.

It is now five years since I wrote that paragraph. In the run up to a second Ministerial conference, and with promises of at least two more to come, 'atrophy' hardly seems to be the word to describe state policy towards the Youth Service. Indeed the whole paragraph now looks pretty fragile.

Perhaps the least expected, though certainly not the least significant, of its misjudgements is what it assumes about the Manpower Services Commission (MSC). Today, I can almost hear people 'out there' saying: 'The what? Yet in 1985 a powerful and continuing role for the MSC was simply taken for granted. Indeed to most youth workers it was a

looming central presence — the unstoppable engine of transformation for

almost all youth policies.

By 1987 the MSC had disappeared. Only months later its successor, the Training Commission, was replaced by the Training Agency. Last September this too was abolished, leaving behind only some residual roles within the Department of Employment and locally based, business-dominated 'training and enterprise councils' (TEC's).

This example of rapid change in state institutions contains a warning with more than a passing relevance to the Youth Service's current pre-occupation with defining a 'core curriculum'. In present conditions, such shifts — even major ones like this — do not necessarily mean significant change either in political style or of underlying political ideology. Rather they indicate that alternative means have been adopted to winning the same (Thatcherite) battles. (For a much fuller and very challenging analysis of this proposition, see Tony Jeffs and Mark Smith's article in *Youth and Policy* 31⁽²⁾).

Certainly the *process* of the curriculum debate in the Youth Service contains some crucial continuities.

In this context, for 'Manpower Service Commission' we need to read 'National Youth Bureau'. However throughout the government's torch has been carried — indeed, some of us suspect, actually lit — by a so called 'non-governmental agency' spuriously claiming high degrees of 'independence' and 'objectivity'.

At no point has the debate been about whether such a national curriculum is needed or whose interests it is meant to serve. Instead the focus (often set in very simplistic and functional ways) has been on what it should contain, for which 'categories' of young people. (For supporting evidence, ask participants at the first Ministerial conference who tried to question its given brief). In the best traditions of Thatcherite policy-making, the terms of the debate were thus single-mindedly pre-empted. Anyone wanting to introduce into it some, even mildly critical perspectives, has therefore been forced onto the defensive. 'It's going to happen anyway', we've (often impatiently) been told, 'so let's go with it and see what we can make of it!'

Rebalancing the Thatcherite priorities

These continuities of style and ideology notwithstanding, the question still has to be faced: why did that 1985 prediction of reducing central state interest in the Youth Service turn out to be wrong? How come we have moved in three or four short years from ministerial indifference to what it could contribute to their grand design for youth, to active ministerial involvement in a series of national conferences?

One policy shift seems to have particularly destabilised my predicted Youth Service scenario. In 1985, and indeed throughout the early eighties, it was social policy's *economic* pay-off which was given overwhelming emphasis. Education, social security, trade union legislation, the role of the professions, even housing and health: increasingly one major test for all of these was how effectively they could help 'free up' the labour market and prepare people for their given roles within it.

For youth policies, this meant that 'vocationalism' — moulding young people into 'skilled' and 'productive' workers — was all, though always unmistakably backed up by 'law-and-order'. Certainly this had major implications for young people's *social* relations — both with each other and with 'the wider society'. In particular, 'skill' came increasingly to mean, not hard craft skills but 'social skill'. This was usually very narrowly conceived, was rooted in a 'deficiency' model of young people and was used to justify some very constraining, not to say harsh, ways of dealing with them.⁽³⁾

Vocationalising youth policies in this way was meant to ensure that, even when the working class young could not immediately be put to productive work, they could still be 'trained' into compliant and conforming workers. And when they *were* employable and sometimes even employed, the value they placed on themselves and especially on their labour was systematically and substantially eroded.

The fall-out from the Lawson boom may force a further rethink. However the third Thatcher administration made determined attempts to supplement (though not of course wholly supplant) these economic policy objectives. The Thatcherite goal of radical social, cultural and above all moral regeneration was pursued much more directly and single-mindedly.

In 1988, Mrs Thatcher gave her own 'keynote' address on this theme to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland. In it she confronted 'the morality question' head on — though without ever stepping outside a Christian frame of reference or once reminding her audience that the country she governed and to which they minister is multi-racial and multi-faith.

Starting from the premise that 'we are a nation whose ideals are founded on the Bible', she restated her position — as fundamentalist as any she or others might attribute to other cultures and religions — on individual responsibility. She also reasserted her view that 'the basic ties of the family are at the heart of our

society and are the very nursery of civic virtue.

Major legislation and other policy initiatives since 1987 have been rigidly underpinned by these values. On the very night of her election victory, Mrs Thatcher talked excitedly of doing something about the inner cities. By this she clearly did not mean initiating radical state intervention to tackle their chronic material neglect and powerlessness. Rather what she seemed to have had in mind was reaching the hearts and minds of all those unconverted inner city dwellers so that they came to appreciate and accept an 'up-by-your-bootstraps' Thatcherite vision of salvation.

Another example: new state machinery is currently being put in place to force separated fathers to support their children — and this by a government ostensibly dedicated to *eradicating* state intervention in individuals' lives. This move has again got little if anything to do with overcoming the poverty and exclusion of so many single parents, most of whom are of course women. Rather, it is concerned almost entirely with preserving and indeed reinstating that male-dominated version of 'the family' which the government apparently sees as in critical danger.

Other examples of this shift in social policy priorities are not hard to find. Both Clause 28 and the proposal to limit the rights of unmarried women to in vitro fertilisation are in their different ways designed to reassert highly conventional (sexist and heterosexist) views on personal and sexual morality. So too are key parts of the 1988 Education Act, which has also and much more directly reinforced Christianity's privileged place within schools (through for example an insistence on morning assemblies having 'a broadly Christian character').

At the same time, and in many ways even more ambitiously, the national curriculum for schools — and in particular the development of specific syllabuses such as that for history — have given renewed impetus to 'white British' conceptions of 'national identity'. For economic and maybe even political reasons, the government now seems reluctantly to have accepted that we can't now get rid of all those Blacks living in our midst. To fulfil its destiny, it therefore has used all the public (and not so public) institutions at its disposal to safeguard the truly 'pure' bits of the nation's heritage.

Rediscovering the Youth Service — on conditions

Within this overall strategy the Youth Service is apparently seen once again to have a potentially worthwhile role. As long ago as 1951 Sir John Maud, a senior civil servant at the then Ministry of Education, noted its usefulness for developing young people's 'personal resources of body, mind and spirit' and for turning out 'responsible members of a free society'. These again became key items on the post-1987 Thatcherite agenda.

The Youth Service has another potential advantage: a rather more direct and reliable line than the schools (or indeed the colleges) to some of the more threatening sections of the youth population. Maybe, the argument seems now to run, it should get one more chance to prove it can contribute to a national youth policy concerned — indeed obsessed — with ‘remoralising’ this litmus-test group within society.

This *is* probably the Service’s last chance, however. Buried deep in the keynote address which he gave to the first ‘core curriculum’ conference, the minister himself, Alan Howarth, dared to put into words the question: ‘In terms of the outcomes, is there really a need for a separate service?’ And he concluded:

I cannot repeat too strongly what I have said about the importance of this conference achieving some consensus. Publicised agreement by the youth service about its curriculum... will help funders, including the DES, to allocate resources as effectively as possible.⁽⁴⁾

Of course none of this means that the MSC bequest has been forgotten or, in Thatcherite terms, squandered. Throughout the early ‘official’ papers on the ‘core curriculum’, ‘market’, considerations and economic priorities remained very much in evidence. In his address, Howarth chose deliberately to describe the Youth Service’s approaches in ‘commercial terms’: ‘finding a gap in the market, identifying the service needed, assessing consumer demand or need, finding backers and providing evidence of effective delivery’. Almost incidentally he also revealed what he understands youth work to be. One of his concerns was those young people or their families (sic!) who can afford to pay for commercial *leisure* opportunities. Is there then, Howarth pondered, ‘really any justification for the youth service to provide subsidised, *identical* opportunities?’ (Emphasis added).

Nor did ‘vocationalism’ disappear. As this could result in some users of Youth Service facilities finding more satisfying or at least decently paid jobs, not unreasonably youth workers have been urged to help young people make ‘informed choices about... vocational training’.

However the prominence and slant of these vocational goals has been striking. The only attempt in the early papers to illustrate Youth Service *practice* concerns ‘a six week computer module’ (that is a class) designed to prepare a group of young women for entry into an FE college.

Annex A of the programme papers for the first conference — headed ‘types of provision for young people appropriate for Youth Service involvement’ — explicitly labelled photography, car maintenance and cookery as ‘*vocational*’ activities. And a forum arranged at this conference on ‘The future positioning of the Youth Service and its relationship with other agencies’ included three (out of five) contributors from settings centrally concerned with ‘Vocational’ outcomes, with (significantly) one of the others coming from a ‘law-

and-order’ agency.

The *absences* from this forum line-up also said something about what was *not* seen as part of the new ‘moral’ and ‘social’ curriculum. The Youth Service, it would seem, had no need to ‘position’ itself in relation to the DSS in order to deal with young people’s poverty; nor in relation to housing departments and housing associations in order to deal with their homelessness; nor (of course) in relation to helplines and similar services for gay and lesbian young people. What the Youth Service’s new curriculum *was* to be concerned with, though not at this stage precisely spelt out, was however ‘trailed’ by Alan Howarth in a long quotation from Herbert Spencer’s essay *On Education*, published in 1859:

How to live — that is the essential question for us. Not how to live in a merely material sense only, but in the widest sense. In what way to treat the body; in what way to treat the mind; in what way to manage our affairs; in what way to bring up a family; in what way to behave as a citizen; in what way to utilise those sources of happiness which nature supplies... (Emphasis added).

Not only did this passage state the overall Thatcherite social policy priorities rather succinctly. Within it too were more buried ‘indicators’ of outcomes assumed by the minister.

For Spencer was one of the most popular (even populist) mid-Victorian prophets of individualism. For him, progress and ‘evolution’ required the application of scientific principles to all areas of life — but the limiting of state intervention to the absolute minimum. He also apparently assumed that this same evolutionary process would lead to the ‘natural’ grading of superior and inferior groups and their allocation to the proper station within society.

Policy into practice

Teasing out in this way some of the key policy objectives and values underpinning the early stages of the push for a Youth Service national curriculum does *not* mean that these are bound to win out. Despite the initial attempts by the Department of Education and Science (DES), NYB and the Ministerial Conferences Steering Committee to hi-jack the terms of the debate, considerable resistance has been mounted to its more threatening and outrageous proposals. What is more, as I will argue later, if the papers for the November 1990 conference are any guide, this resistance seems now to have had some effect.

However, analysis of policy will need to remain a highly developed practice skill — the essential basis for resisting oppressive and controlling pressures. It will demand a clear and hard-headed understanding of the interests exerting these pressures, what they want and why *they* want it.

For Thatcherite policy-makers continue to be dominant where it counts most: in the corridors of power, including the civil service. For some time, they have

been asserting their right to control the detail of both the content of the curriculum and its delivery. This represents a determined bid to bring their view of the world, run through as it is with deeply racist, sexist, heterosexist and narrow class perceptions of issues, into the very heart of practice.

PRACTICE

The early moves: a Youth Service in its own right?

Frequently in the early stages of the debate, a Youth Service curriculum has been defined, at least by implication, as merely supplementary, complementary or compensatory to the curricula of almost every other service. For example, when reflecting at the first conference on what the Youth Service age range might be, Alan Howarth explored at some length what was obviously for him an important question:

Does the youth service provide a safety net for schools, to put it crudely, or does it provide something complementary to formal education, either in the sense of reinforcing the work of formal education, or in the sense of adding something which schools cannot hope to provide?⁽⁵⁾

Later he followed a similar line of thought on the Youth Service's role in relation to youth training. Only when he came to consider 'young people seriously at risk' and 'young people in distress' did he see the Youth Service as 'a first point of contact' — though even here, it seems, only via detached or outreach work. Needless to say, it did not occur to him to define schooling or vocational training as complementary or compensatory to youth work — though this could in fact be how these institutions and the relationships between them are actually experienced by many young people.

Throughout the curriculum debate therefore the case has had to be made for Youth Service practice to be understood and conceptualised in its own right and not just as an adjunct of what is done with young people elsewhere. Becoming much more explicit in this way about the distinctiveness of what we do has been important for other reasons, too.

Firstly, for ourselves and especially for our confidence, this has been a vital launch pad for countering the more threatening versions of Youth Service practice being mooted. Secondly, some of the most powerful contributors to the debate — including some who, given their positions, ought to have known better — have clearly needed to be reminded of two things:

- That what constitutes the essential 'core' of the Service's contribution to work with young people is not 'content' but method and process.
- That these come together as 'youth work' — and that this still gets its most thorough-going and effective expression within Youth Service settings.

The processes and relationships between adult and young person which youth work makes possible thus represent the essential base line for any definition of a Youth Service curriculum.

It is true that the most recent paper from the Ministerial Conferences Steering Committee does start to address this issue. However those writing some of the early papers apparently did not know, or wanted to overlook or deny, that a distinctive Youth Service practice does exist and that that practice is called 'youth work'!

Take for example the consultative paper's 'case study' on the young women being introduced to computer skills, referred to earlier. As it was presented, the practice being described could have been carried out by any good school following up some of its ex-pupils, by an FE college with a lively publicity and outreach programme, or even by an Intermediate Treatment (IT) project run by social workers.

Two almost throw-away phrases — 'quality small-group work' and '16 young unemployed women reached' — cast some light on why this might count as a piece of Youth Service practice based on a youth work approach. However, these required, and at the very heart of the discussion, substantial 'unpacking', focussed on questions like:

- How were these young women first recognised as in need of some adult intervention? Who were these adults? How were the young women first approached and contacted? By men and/or women? Where did these contacts take place?
- Had the young women ever before sat in front of a wordprocessor?
- If not, were they already confident about doing this?
- If not, who did what work, using what methods, to help build up their confidence?
- Were they already motivated to taking some wordprocessing training?
- If not, who did what work, by what methods, to help increase their motivation?
- Indeed, how was the idea of wordprocessing broached, by whom, with what balance of influence between workers and young people?
- And why was wordprocessing chosen (rather than, say, data processing or desk-top publishing or indeed bricklaying or plumbing)?
- In particular, how far did ideas about what they might train for come from the young women themselves, from the workers, from others? And how far were the minds of any of these people already made up because these were young women?

The centrality of 'youth work' to a Youth Service curriculum

These questions are important because underlying them are a set of principles which, in combination even if not separately, define what is distinctive about a youth work approach. They therefore express in a

more concrete form the essential ingredients of a proactive and indeed assertive statement about the Youth Service's practice. Quite apart from being long overdue anyway, such a statement begins to do one of the things for which, as we have seen, Howarth called quite early on: clarification of what the Youth Service can deliver that justifies its separate existence.

As a minimum these principles would seem to include:

- Working in a setting which young people *choose* to come to, not least because it promises them a chance to relax, meet friends and have fun.
- Starting from where young people are and seeing them (rather than, say, parents or even 'community') as 'the clientele'.
- At the same time, working as close as possible to their peer and also other influential social networks in the lives, including 'family' and 'community'.
- Setting aims for practice which arise from a concern for, and appreciation of, the young person as a person.
- Giving major attention to their view of the world and to their accounts of what is relevant to their growth.
- Within the unmovable limits laid down by the resources and organisations within which young people and 'youth worker' meet, seeking to tip the balances of power in young people's favour.
- Giving weight and attention to how young people feel and to the process of their experience — its social content — as well as what they know and can do.
- Within these experiences, seeking to go beyond where young people start, in particular by promoting and positively endorsing critical and not merely conformist responses to the world and their experience of it.

In recent years, too, one other key working principle has been given increasing emphasis — for example in work done by women with young women, by Black workers with Black young people and by gay and lesbian workers with gay and lesbian young people, as well as in some work done with unemployed young people:

- Helping young people to achieve a stronger collective as well as personal (individual) identity and strength.

To have any chance of being implemented in anything like a comprehensive way, these principles require a Youth Service setting. Amongst other implications, this means challenging the view, expressed in some of the earlier Steering Committee papers, that other services have now so successfully adopted youth work approaches that we may no longer need a Youth Service.

Some schools, colleges and intermediate treatment projects *have* incorporated some elements of a youth

work *style*. None of them however have adopted, or indeed have even claimed to adopt, the overall configuration of principles outlined above. How could they? For what they are ultimately set up to do with young people, and the institutional structures and processes which these societal 'sanctions' impose, often conflict fundamentally with some of youth work's essential 'rules of engagement'.

Of course, all that has gone on 'on the ground' in the name of 'youth work' has by no means reflected all or most of these principles. Though that is a problem of application and delivery which certainly needs to be tackled, it does not in itself invalidate the principles. No doubt, too, other principles could be identified and articulated which are as much defining features of youth work as the ones proposed here.

What is crucial however is that principles such as these, and the method and process of work which flow from them, are clearly identified as 'the core' of any *definition* of a Youth Service curriculum.

Outcomes and/or process

Because of the way the terms of the whole debate were pre-empted, this struggle for 'youth work' has so far needed to be carried on in the context of a sub-debate on the relative importance of 'outcomes' and 'process' — that is, of ends, means and the relationship between them.

The first sets of ministerial conference papers suggested that 'outcomes' (often with the word 'specific' added to it) had become the new watchword:

. . . by curriculum I mean . . . the outcomes which you as planners design your services to achieve to meet the express needs of young people which cannot be met appropriately in other ways. (Alan Howarth).⁽⁶⁾

In developing a youth work curriculum it should be possible, if at times difficult, to develop detailed descriptions of the specific outcomes of learning in a range of youth work settings.⁽⁷⁾

What is required . . . is a set of examples of learning outcomes from the spectrum of youth service settings, and some views about what outcomes are appropriate to the youth service.⁽⁷⁾

As 'outcomes' were increasingly talked up, 'process' was systematically (and at times quite disparagingly) talked down or simply ignored:

The difference in the process by which you hope to help young people is not, in itself, sufficient to justify, in funding terms, offering separate or different provision. (Alan Howarth).⁽⁶⁾

. . . other services have learnt from youth service experience and are adopting the more young person centred approach which was once seen as (its) primary preserve. (Alan Howarth).⁽⁶⁾

The youth service has always emphasised the importance of the learning process . . . It is proper to emphasise the process of social education, but process alone is not enough.⁽⁷⁾

Indeed, according to one report the Minister saw the problem as merely one of words:

You are saying that process is as valid as outcome, I am saying that outcomes are at least as valid as process.⁽⁷⁾

What follows should in no way be read as suggesting that outcomes are unimportant. Clearly process is not all. What young people take away from their contacts with the Youth Service for use in other situations is crucial — the acid test of the *educational* purposes of youth work.

What is more, youth workers cannot see themselves as free-floating agents who, self-evidently, must be achieving 'good' and 'progressive' things simply because they get on well with young people. That kind of optimistic liberalism — so characteristic of the sixties and early seventies — has left too many flanks exposed to the devastations of the radical right. Youth workers must be and must remain accountable, not least to young people themselves.

Nonetheless, the devalued view of 'process' embodied in the quotations reproduced above represents a major threat to Youth Service practice.

1. *It implies that 'outcomes' is a value-free term* — which clearly it is not. Constantly we need to remind ourselves that its wider context has been that Thatcherite agenda discussed earlier.
2. *It also implies that 'outcomes' can be thought about and defined separate from the real situations and relationships in which youth workers meet and work with young people.* The message seems to be: decide what 'specific' results you should be seeking before you know who you are working with, where, through what activities and 'vehicles', by what methods. Indeed, insofar as it is possible to work out what Alan Howarth's final quote means, it seems that he is also requiring youth workers to decide what is more important: what they do or how they do it. Clearly all this is in direct conflict with some of those essential practice principles outlined above.
3. *The statements quoted above also seem to suggest that 'outcomes' and 'process' can be separated from each other* — that *the way* you work need have little or nothing to do with what young people and youth workers achieve at the end. Yet to a very great extent in Youth Service practice the medium is the message. Or, to put it another way, much that is part of other services' 'hidden' curricula is the Youth Service's *declared* curriculum; other services' unintended consequences the Youth Service's intended outcomes. Comparisons with other 'youth agencies', by being competitive, can be unhelpful: 'being different' does not necessarily mean 'being better'. They can also be difficult, not least because the practices in different settings inevitably shade into each other. Thus, though most secondary schools seem to treat peer group

networks as conspiracies to be broken, some clearly do try to work with and even through them. Similarly, though most social work intervention, perhaps as a statutory requirement, has to make the family the primary focus of what they do even when working with young people, some do seek at least to make the young person their primary 'client'.

What is at stake here however is not whether some schools or social work projects work to these kinds of 'youth work' principles in responding to these issues. Nor, to take other examples, is it whether some of them seek to nurture young people's collective identity and strength or to shift the balances of power between adult and young person.

The key question here is: are these *process* 'outcomes' (no doubt valuable and valued) *by-products* of other central requirements — or, as in the youth work of the Youth Service, are they *the raison d'être* of the practice?

4. *Alan Howarth — in common with other 'opinion leaders' in the debate so far — has also seemed to be suggesting that if youth work cannot distinguish itself from other work with young people by its outcomes, then it doesn't and shouldn't exist at all.* Yet if the Interim Mission Statement (now reworked as a Statement of Purpose) is to be our marker for what these unique 'outcomes' should be, the Youth Service is on a hiding to nothing. For here is a listing of desired and intended outcomes which could be (and usually are) claimed by every other group of workers with young people in the 'caring' services.

Via process to outcomes

The reality is that, in any measure of its distinctiveness, the Youth Service stands or falls by how effectively it defines, applies and delivers a *youth work process*. Only three years ago this view was officially endorsed in very forceful and vivid ways by no less a group than Her Majesty's Inspectorate. Now, belatedly and indeed by (at least passing) reference to the HMI's work, this is beginning to be acknowledged, too, by the Conferences Steering Committee.

The HMI report called, significantly, *Effective Youth Work* was published by the DES itself in 1987⁽⁸⁾. It is based on a number of inspections of Youth Services and Youth Service projects. About 50 per cent of it is made up of descriptions of face-to-face practice.

Uncompromisingly the report endorses, implicitly and explicitly, a number of basic positions about Youth Service practice:

- That youth work is distinctively what the Youth Service offers.
- That what is distinctive about youth work is its process.
- That it is neither possible nor desirable to

prioritise between 'content' and 'process'.

- Indeed that the two cannot be separated from each, nor from 'outcomes' — the achievement of the stated goals of the work.

The following quotations give just a flavour of how 'youth work' was understood by the Youth Service inspectorate just before NYB, the Conferences Steering Committee, the DES civil servants and the minister himself seized the terms of the curriculum debate.

Young people choose to be part of the youth service principally for its means rather than its ends.

... as regards the curriculum of youth work... the programme of activities... is merely the medium through which experience which leads to personal and social development is offered.

Judgements about the quality of youth work essentially are judgements about the quality of the learning experience offered to young people and not about their relative success or failure in undertaking particular activities.

... an approach often found useful in youth work... consists in offering young people a variety of experiences, encouraging and enabling those involved to reflect on these experiences and to learn from them... While, in essence, this is the process by which we all learn throughout the course of our lives, the process can be accelerated and heightened by a skilful youth worker.

Even in a five-minute interchange with a young person a youth worker may be working towards youth work's basic goals.

Sometimes the youth worker cannot plan the interventions to encourage the achievement of (her/his) goals but has to take opportunities 'on the wing'...

The importance (of decisions which will not have lasting significance for the people involved) lies not in the outcome itself but in the learning about decision-making processes; weighing the factors involved; coming to terms with being argued with and confronted; coping with the others involved and with one's own feeling about being rejected.

In its early stages, the national curriculum debate was carried on as if the HMI report had never appeared. Perhaps as clearly as anything, this illustrated, not just how far the actual content of the youth policy agenda had moved on. It showed, too, how strong the official pressure had become to define, not so much a *Youth Service* curriculum, but a *young people's* curriculum, to be implemented by all youth-serving agencies.

SO WHERE ARE WE NOW?

Rewriting history — and learning some of its lessons?

The latest papers from the Conference Steering Committee, and in particular its comments on the

summary report of its consultation with the field⁽⁶⁾, certainly represent a significant shift, at least of emphasis and perhaps even of more fundamental commitment. It is true that some rewriting of history seems to be going on:

- 'Youth work', we are at last assured, 'is the primary form of practice of the youth service'. And again: 'The establishment of open, trusting and honest relationships with young people is sought because it is the intention of the work as opposed to a by-product of it'. And: 'these features contribute to (though note, they still do not *define*) the uniqueness of the youth service' (page 2).

- Though 'priority outcomes' still need to be identified 'in concrete terms' (page 2), their presentation as 'shopping lists' which are limitless' (as for example in Annex A for the programme papers for the first conference) is no longer seen to be useful (page 8).

- Nor is the pre-setting of curriculum content which seemed to be so deeply embedded in earlier papers and in particular in Alan Howarth's contributions. 'The importance of spontaneity' now gets explicit endorsement (page 4), as does judging 'type of provision and method of work... in relation to particular groups of young people, aiming to achieve particular outcomes for a particular purpose' (page 9).

It is important, though, not to be churlish. The Steering Committee's responses and recommendations now at least provide useful leverage on some ministerial and civil servant positions which, as I shall argue below, remain deeply entrenched. This leverage clearly now needs to be used to the full in defence of 'progressive' practice.

Here again — and this time positively — 'absences' are very significant. The term 'vocational' does not seem to appear at all. Though there are coded phrases like 'helping young people avoid being harmed, or harming themselves or others', preoccupation with law-and-order outcomes has also now been substantially reduced.

Some key purposes and processes, too, are now positively legitimated:

- Not only is the Service no longer to be committed to a 'mission'. The proposed 'Statement of Purpose' if anything gives even greater prominence to equal opportunities, empowerment and participation and specifically highlights 'the challenging of oppression and the celebration of difference', including those springing from sexual identity and class.
- In this sense 'nationally agreed frameworks' of purpose and responses are envisaged. However these are explicitly conceived 'in general terms' (page 3), and they are not to be 'funding-driven' (page 3).
- As a clear corollary, repeated endorsement is

given to local determination of needs, priorities and specific ways of making provision. It is also seen as important that this is appropriately delegated to different 'levels' of the Service (unit, authority, organisation) (page 8).

- The Service is to remain 'open to all young people'. Local services and specific organisations are to be encouraged to identify priority groups, including a priority age group. Again, though, this is to be done on the basis 'of ensuring equality of access and opportunity and challenging oppression' (page 7).

So have those of us who started off wanting to oppose or at least distance ourselves from this whole doubtful enterprise been proved wrong? That, as they say, remains to be seen. In fact in *real* terms — that is, in terms of the values, direction, content and style of what young people actually get from the Youth Service — all surely is still to be played for.

Given that we are now going to be required to have something called a 'national' or 'core' curriculum, things might at this stage have been much worse. However, anyone committed to the Youth Service as *the* arena of youth work should remain fundamentally sceptical about why and whether it needs a 'national curriculum' at all.

For, as I write all we have are comments and recommendations from an 'advisory group' — a set of words on paper. These may stop short of undermining the essential nature of Youth Service practice, as they threatened to do initially. And they *could* be used to support more liberating practice. However, the gap between even this rhetoric, welcome though it is, and actual policy remains large and could prove to be unbridgeable.

What *could* happen has — by coincidence — become clearer even as I write this. In his latest intervention, (an 'open letter' to the Service), Alan Howarth has declared:

I can assure you that I recognise the need to secure an adequately and appropriately trained force of youth and community workers, whether paid or volunteer, to deliver a curriculum for young people's personal and social education, and (of course!) to manage the available resources effectively.⁽¹⁰⁾

Yet at that very moment, he and the same civil servants who no doubt penned these fine words for him must have been party to policy and procedural changes within the DES which will probably end up decimating training within the Youth Service. At the moment this relies very heavily on 'local priority' money allocated to LEA's through the Training Grants Scheme (LEATGS). Next April, when this is amalgamated with the Educational Support Grants (ESG) Scheme into the Grants for Education and Training Support Scheme (GEST), the 'local priority' category is to be withdrawn.

Did anyone in the DES, one wonders, and in particular in its Youth Service Unit, even consider a possible connection between this major policy shift and the

'promises' being made as part of the Youth Services's 'core curriculum' debate? Or — and given the blatant *disconnection* between these two processes — must we adopt a conspiracy rather than a cock-up theory of history? Perhaps GEST indicates actual *policy* priorities against which the Steering Committee's rhetoric needs always to be measured.

Within all this, however, there lurks a deeper danger. In his open letter, Alan Howarth goes to considerable lengths to catch us all in his embrace. Constantly he writes as if already there exists 'wide support' for what is being done. (As well as using this phrase very early on, in two short columns he also manages to introduce the word 'consensus' at least three times).

The ground is thus clearly being very carefully laid for claiming that future DES policies (including GEST?) are being introduced because we not only have agreed to them but have actually worked them out! And this by a Service which is at best a loose coalition, and at worst a ramshackle collection, of organisations adhering to value positions which span the whole pluralist spectrum of British society.

The tension between these organisations, and especially between the statutory and voluntary sectors, may at times act as a valuable dynamic for innovation and change within the Service. And self-interest — the knowledge that if they can't survive together most of them will almost certainly disappear separately — may continue to act as some kind of glue to their continuing association. The idea that a *consensus* exists amongst them on such things as desirable outcomes and clear indicators of achievement is, however, little short of laughable.

Even more serious in the long run is what, it would seem, Howarth hopes to use this consensus *for*. Take for example this:

If we can use the conference mechanism to . . . achieve a consensus about priorities for action, we can determine how to apply any direct funding applied at national level in the most appropriate way,

And again:

It (is) important for the youth service to agree on its main purposes and priorities and how to achieve them both to improve the service it offers to young people and to clarify its role for those funding it . . . locally and nationally.

Not funding-driven indeed! Much more likely is a scenario in which a supposed 'consensus' around a Youth Service curriculum will be used by the DES to justify both the earmarking of its own funds and pressure on local authorities to focus their funds in similar ways.

As I've already discovered, predictions can be foolish. Nonetheless, I am prepared to risk one more. Precisely because ministers are *not* leaving the Youth Service to atrophy, the need for vigilance — and continuing resistance — is as great as ever.

This article was written September 1990.

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Custody for **Juveniles - from Elimination to Abolition?**

ROB ALLEN

The Woolf enquiry into April's disturbances in the prisons looks set to take a broad view of the problems which beset our penal system. Whether it will assume the proportions of a quasi Royal Commission is not yet clear, but Lord Justice Woolf himself has indicated that his work will not in Harold Wilson's phrase, take minutes and waste years. A report is promised by the end of the year, which should give time for its recommendations to impact upon the progress of the Criminal Justice Bill, whose progenitor, the White Paper, 'Crime Justice and protecting the Public,' was published in February. It is unlikely that the enquiry will look in any detail at sentencing policy although it cannot easily avoid questions about who is in our prisons and why, and most importantly, whether they need to be there. Given that Lord Justice Woolf has already identified the issue of overcrowding as important, and the White Paper marks a major attempt to reduce our reliance on imprisonment, it is possible that the enquiry may look at excluding particular categories of offender from imprisonment. The White Paper has already asked for views on abolishing the sentence of detention in young offender institution for young women under 18 on the grounds that numbers are small and alternatives are available. It may be tempting for Woolf to judge that those grounds apply not only to young women but to 14 and 15 year old males too, and thereby give a major impetus to the cause of phasing out custody for all juveniles, at both the remand and sentencing stage.

Should custody for juveniles go, the reasons will stretch far beyond the precipitating trigger of prison unrest. During the last ten years prison department custody has come to play an increasingly marginal role in the workings of the juvenile justice system. The numbers sentenced to custody have fallen by more than half. Despite the introduction of the unified custodial sentence in 1988, the prison department has been faced with low occupancy levels in young offender institutions which prompted a review of the young offender estate earlier this year. A number of centres are planned to close or change their function as a result. The role that prison has had for juveniles has been much criticised. The Juvenile Courts Committee of the Magistrates Association noted in the Association's 1988-9 report that 'concern was expressed by members about the poor quality of regimes for

juveniles in certain Young Offender Institutions'. Boards of Visitors in a number

of Institutions reported that juveniles were not held separately from young adults and were thereby open to contamination and bullying. Inspector's reports at Feltham (1989) and Hull (1989) described the unacceptably poor quality of life for the juveniles held there. The governor at Hull invited Panorama's cameras to film the plight of remanded juveniles on B wing in December 1989. In his report for 1989, the Chief Inspector described the number of juveniles who continue to be held in penal establishments as 'probably the most disturbing aspect to emerge from our inspections'.

There has been no shortage of calls for the abolition of custody. In 1988, the Childrens Society Advisory committee on Penal custody and its alternatives for Juveniles, under the Chairmanship of Virginia Bottomley M.P. produced its report, 'Penal Custody For Juveniles, the line of least resistance'. (Bottomley 1988). The committee was set up 'to review the evidence concerning penal custody for juvenile offenders, to identify those who do require to be removed from the community, to consider existing provision and to make recommendations about appropriate provision.' The first recommendation of the committee was that 'the court should no longer be able to sentence juveniles to Prison Department Custody.' It went on to recommend detailed measures which could enable this to happen. A year later, NACRO's Juvenile Crime Committee produced its first policy paper 'Phasing out Prison Department Custody for juvenile offenders.' (NACRO 1989a). Not surprisingly, the recommendations were very similar. Later in the same year, the Penal Affairs Consortium, a broad alliance of organisations and interest groups concerned with the Criminal and Penal system produced a briefing 'Juveniles on Remand' which set out in detail the case against remanding juveniles to prison service establishments.

These ideas are in one sense nothing new; what marks them off from previous calls for abolition are their concern not simply with the question of why custody should be abolished but also the question of how this can be achieved. They reflect a renewed optimism in juvenile justice, not seen perhaps since the heady days of the 1960s when very different values and profession-

al ideologies underpinned work with juvenile offenders. These became enshrined in the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, whose partial implementation ushered in a disastrous decade for juvenile offenders which saw huge increases in the numbers sentenced to care and custody.

Between 1971 and 1979, reformers, academics and professional interest groups called periodically for the implementation of key parts of the Act, in particular section 7, which would have raised the minimum age for borstal training to 17 and abolished the detention centre order (see e.g. evidence of NACRO, BASW to expenditure committee 1975 on the workings of the 1969 Act). Notwithstanding serious efforts in the mid 70's to limit the practice of remanding juveniles into prison, (which led to the construction of more secure facilities in community homes from 1975 onwards and the revised unruliness certification procedure in 1977), the calls for the abolition of custodial sentences for juveniles were increasingly made more in hope than expectation. The election of a Conservative government in 1979 and the publication of the White Paper 'Young Offenders' a year later held the unwelcome promise of a yet more punitive era in juvenile justice. The Criminal Justice Act of 1982 formally revoked the unimplemented sections of the 1969 Act and appeared to move prison department custody firmly into the centre of the juvenile justice stage.

In particular, the powers given to magistrates to make the new determinate sentence of Youth Custody, rather than commit to Crown Court with a recommendation, by no means always accepted, for borstal training, and the reduction in the minimum length of the detention centre order to 3 weeks were seen as providing a structural framework for the significant *increase* in custodial sentencing. The Prison department were planning for a 40% increase in receptions. From June 1980, New Hall and Send Detention Centres piloted much vaunted tougher regimes which although sharper and more shocking were no shorter than before, until that is the provisions of the 1982 Act. By increasing potential through put by a factor of five, the Act appeared to give to those devotees of the 'Clang of the prison gates' approach on the bench an opportunity to give a larger number of criminally less sophisticated juveniles a taste of custody, and in a phrase also redolent of the times, to 'catch 'em young.' As far as the conference of Chief Probation Officers were concerned:

The proposals if implemented could create a situation where in a generation's time, a significant proportion of the population, particularly the male population of certain groups of society, will have had an experience of custody in their early years; an outcome to be viewed, on any reckoning with serious concern.

The Prison and Borstal governors' Branch of the Society of Civil and public Servants also feared that the Act's effect,

May actually increase numbers in the custodial system. There is a real danger that the courts will seize their new powers with enthusiasm and make considerable use of detention. If our worst fears turn out to be correct and the White Paper's proposals lead to an increase in the young offender population in custody, the entire strategy of this and previous Governments to reduce the prison population will have been undermined. (Quoted in Cavadino 1982).

The history of juvenile justice has clearly confounded expectations; there have, in the words of the Chairperson of the Howard League, been 'curious happenings'. (Rutherford 1989).

This paper will look at what has in fact happened to the custodial sentencing of juveniles in the 1980's, identify some of the factors that have brought about the changes, look at issues involved in phasing out custody, and offer some speculations about the future.

Juveniles in custody

The number of juvenile offenders receiving custodial orders in England and Wales has fallen dramatically since 1981. 3,200 males aged 14-16 were given custodial disposals in 1988, less than half the number of these in 1984 and under 42% of these in 1981. The fall is shown in *Table 1*, which also gives the numbers of male juveniles in custody under sentence on 30th June each year. About a third of these on 30th June 1988 had been there on the same day in 1981. Provisional figures suggest a further significant drop in 1989, with 2130 14-16 year old males received into prison department custody under sentence. (H.O. statistical bulletin 12/1990). As a proportion of these sentenced or cautioned, the proportionate use of custody fell for males from 7% in 1983 to 4% in 1988. The number of females age 15 and 16 receiving custodial sentences is given in *Table 2*. Although the pattern differs from that for males, the numbers are so small as to make generalization difficult. The article will concentrate on males.

Alongside this substantial decline, there has however been a sharp increase in the numbers of juveniles sentenced to detention under section 53.2 of the 1933 Children and Young Persons Act, having committed 'grave crimes'. *Table 3* gives the figures and offence groups; although numbers are small, they suggest in part that as far as sentencing is concerned, the picture is one of bifurcation or in Home Office terms, the successful implementation of dual or twin-track policy. According to this, a distinction is drawn between non-serious and serious offenders. Whilst ever encouragement is given to criminal justice agencies to divert the former from custody, the latter are to be dealt with severely, on grounds of retribution and incapacitation. Turning to remands in custody, the picture is less clear. Before the 1982 Criminal Justice Act gave magistrates the power to make youth custody orders of up to a year, most juveniles committed to Crown Court with a

recommendation for borstal training were held between remand and sentence. Since the Act's implementation in May 1983, the numbers of those convicted unsentenced has fallen off each year; not so the numbers of untried juveniles held in custody during this period however (Table 4). Since 1981 the practice of remanding juveniles into custody has been restricted in application to 15 and 16 year old boys. Despite widespread agreement that the practice of remanding untried boys into prison should end, there has been no further restrictions since then.

The national figures for sentencing and remands contain important local variations. Figure 1 shows the percentage of males sentenced in the juvenile court who received a custodial sentence by Commission of the Peace Area. Whilst some areas show a negligible use of custody, others continue to be high users. Figure 2 which shows the actual numbers, suggests something of a North-South divide; almost 70% of those receiving custody in juvenile courts in 1988 lived north of the line between the Wash and the Bristol channel, more than one in five in the North West. Overall however, the 1980's have been a major trend away from using custody as a response to juvenile offending. This trend has both resulted from and contributed to a changing climate in juvenile justice, which has brought the dinosaur of penal custody to the verge of extinction. The major determinants of that climate change will be outlined below.

Young people in the 1980's

There is no doubt that the fall in the numbers of juveniles receiving custody in the 1980's reflects the fall in the general population of juveniles. The population of males aged 14-16 in England and Wales fell by 17.6% between 1981-88, enough to explain about a third of the decline in custodial sentences. As well as simply reducing potential candidates for custody a falling juvenile population has perhaps helped to lessen the visibility of juvenile crime as a social problem, thereby allowing a variety of constructive, local and low-key approaches to flourish. There has not been the kind of 'moral panic' around juvenile crime which calls forth 'no-nonsense' i.e. punitive responses. What 'moral panics' there have been in the eighties have as far as crime is concerned, centered on older-age groups. Urban unrest in 1981 and 1985, football hooliganism and 'rural rioting' of lager louts' in 1988 (by the Home Office as non-metropolitan violence) have tended to focus attention on the 17-25 age group. Significantly, until the latter part of the eighties, rates of imprisonment for this age group remained stable and high (AYC 1988).

As for the younger age group, the eighties has been notable for the re-discovery of child abuse, which has helped to characterize children as potential victims, rather than offenders. The corresponding pressure for children's rights to be taken seriously has called into question a whole range of traditional attitudes and

approaches towards young people. It is perhaps no coincidence that the foremost pioneer of children's rights in this country, the Children's Legal Centre, has been responsible for uncovering and publicising alleged abuses within penal institutions for juveniles (see below).

What is certain, is that the amount of crime that is known to be committed by juveniles has fallen substantially during the eighties. For 14-16 year old males the fall has been 22.6% between 1981 and 1988. Whilst the 'true' level of crime committed by juveniles can never be known, it is clear that there has been no explosion in crime as a result of diversionary measures. What evidence there is supports the argument that keeping juvenile offenders out of courts and out of institutions actually helps reduce crime, a powerful string in the bow of those who wish to see custody abolished. The latest criminal statistics (1988) show that the peak age for offending rose in 1988 to 18, after being at 15 for many years.

Disillusion with Institutions

By 1987 the fall in the use of detention centres for juveniles had been particularly striking, resulting in the administratively embarrassing position for the prison authorities, of presiding over some almost empty units within an otherwise massively overcrowded penal estate (Shaw 1985). In 1981 almost 80% of custodial sentences made on juveniles were detention centre orders, in 1987 66%.

This led to the introduction of the Criminal Justice Act 1988 of a single custodial sentence for young offenders, enshrining in legislation the accumulated disillusionment of magistrates, judges and the public with the existing arrangements. This has come about for two main reasons. Firstly, the government's evaluation of the tougher regimes in Detention Centres found no difference in the re-offending rates between the 'tougher' and 'ordinary' regimes and exposed the fact that trainees were made up of 'a disproportionate number of temperamentally difficult and unhappy individuals', one in ten of whom were illiterate and over half of whom had been in care (HOYOPU 1985). Although the negative findings of the evaluation did not prevent the regimes being introduced into every centre, Home Office gloss did little to impress sentencers already thoroughly critical of what they saw by comparison with the more constructive community based alternatives to custody set up in their own area. Even before the report of the Home Office Young Offender Psychology Unit was published in June 1984, Lord Denning, by then the elder statesman of the judiciary, said that the short sharp shock had 'proved a disappointment. I am afraid that some youngsters came out worse than they went in,' (Denning 1984) and for the Monday Club it was 'a trivial but potentially damaging intervention in their lives'. (Quoted in Shaw 1985).

The nature of the damage was disturbingly suggested

by a series of allegations of brutality in Detention Centres, published by the Children's Legal Centre. (Childright 1984, 1985). The new regimes had been modelled on those at Glenochil, the Scottish young offender complex which had seen the death of seven inmates between 1981 and 1985. Interviews with trainees who had served sentences in Send, Blantyre House, Eastwood Park and Haslar (Guardian 24.11.86) suggested that violence and bullying by staff were not uncommon in England and Wales. Although cases were difficult to substantiate and criminal proceedings against prison officers at Eastwood Park thrown out by Magistrates, the Chief Inspector of Prisons confirmed in 1985 that the highly disciplined routines inherent in aspects of the regimes could 'slide into unacceptable practices' (Home Office 1987). It is difficult to assess the effect of the bad publicity other than to suggest that it may have been grist to a magisterial mill which placed less faith in purely punitive, deterrent and retributive values than had been assumed by the government.

Since the introduction of young offender institutions in October 1988, juveniles in custody should have been subject to regimes 'designed to promote self-discipline and a sense of responsibility' through purposeful activity, positive relationships and through care. Evidence as to how far this has happened is mixed (NACRO 1989c).

Legal limits on custody

Despite the misgivings expressed by observers about the likely effects of one 1982 Criminal Justice Act, there is no doubt that by the time the law was enacted, a series of restrictions had been placed on the making of custodial orders on young offenders which were designed to limit their use. The White Paper 'Young Offenders' had been based on the 'twin-track' approach; it was left to amendments at the committee stage of the Bill to introduce 'criteria for custody' which could be used to distinguish offenders for whom custody was appropriate from those for whom it was not only inappropriate but unlawful. Section 1.4 placed limitations on the discretion of sentences by requiring that for a custodial sentence to be made, either the offender 'is unable or unwilling to respond to non-custodial penalties, that a custodial sentence is necessary for the protection of the public or the offence is so serious that a non-custodial sentence cannot be justified.' They required that the reason be stated in open court and entered in the register.

There has been disagreement as to the effectiveness of the criteria in limiting custody. Early research (Burney 1985, Reynolds 1985) concluded that these safeguards were loose, subjective and toothless and were seen by magistrates simply as articulating existing practice.

In fact it seems that as time has gone on legal representatives and welfare professionals have found the criteria a valuable focus in appeals against in

appropriate sentences, and magistrates and their clerks have become aware of the necessity of giving serious consideration to whether a case meets the criteria. Their introduction stimulated a large increase in the number of appeals between 1983 and 1985 (from 2348 to 3985 on young offenders as a whole). The vast majority of these were successful in resulting in a lower sentence. In Kent for example, between 1984 and 1987 some 234 custodial sentences were imposed on juveniles by Magistrates, of which 41 were appealed (18%). 36 (86%) of the appeals resulted in a lower sentence and 5 confirmed the original sentence. 31 of the 36 successful appeals led to a non-custodial sentence. (Stanley 1988). While there has been a decline in the number of appeals in Kent and nationally since then, this may be the result of fewer inappropriate sentences being made because of magistrates' increasing acceptance of the need to apply the criteria.

The growth in appeals has also produced a number of detailed guidelines from the court of Appeal which have helped to 'operationalise' what constitutes 'seriousness' what is necessary for the protection of the public and what kind of record makes an offender unwilling or unable to respond to a non-custodial penalty. In general, this process has served to restrict the types of cases for which a custodial sentence is unavoidable; for example *R v Bates* (1985 7Cr App R(s) 105), in which the Court of Appeal ruled that although burglary was a serious offence, the circumstances of the case did not warrant custody, confirmed that the criteria must apply to the particulars of the individual case, thereby considerably restricting deterrent sentencing policies by magistrates and judges. Although the practical guidance derived from criteria appear to have had some effect, particularly in borderline cases (Ashworth 1989), it seems likely that the amendments in the 1988 Criminal Justice Act which tightened existing criteria have begun to bite even more (NACRO 1990). The 32% reduction in receptions into prisons of 14-15 year old males between 1988 and 1989, together with the 16% fall for 17/20 year old males, suggests that the impact may have been very significant indeed.

In addition to introducing statutory criteria for custody, the 1982 Act (2(2)) required a court to obtain a social enquiry report in every case in which custody was being considered in order to determine that there was no other way of dealing with the offender. Offenders also had to be offered an opportunity to be legally represented.

The role of social enquiry reports is discussed below. As far as legal representation is concerned, it seems likely that the 1982 Act has given impetus to a pre-existing trend towards on increased level of representation in the juvenile court. Evidence of the effect of this on outcome is hard to come by. Early research on the workings of the Act found that preparation and presentation of cases left much to be desired and that

legal protection was 'very fragile' (Burney 1985). The Annual report of the Legal Aid Advisory Committee in 1985 found a 'low standard of representation in the juvenile court. Nevertheless, the growing effectiveness of the S1(4) criteria in restricting custody has in part been due to the willingness of legal representatives to make use of them in the courtroom.

The Role of welfare agencies

Under the powers of Criminal Courts Act 1973, no court could pass a custodial sentence on a young offender unless it considered that no other method of dealing with him or her was appropriate. The 1982 Act strengthened this by requiring a court to consider a social enquiry report (S.I.R.) before imposing a custodial sentence. This requirement gave Social Services and the Probation Service an important handle on proceedings in the juvenile court which has allowed them to exercise considerable influence on them.

There is no guarantee that the provision of S.I.Rs per se will serve to keep a juvenile out of custody. Indeed, it had been suggested that a significant part of the rise in custodial sentencing in the 1960s and 1970s had been due to the interventions by social workers who had used S.I.Rs to recommend highly interventionist disposals on the first or second time offenders, inadvertently propelling their clients 'up the tariff' and make them high risk candidates for custody in the event of reoffending. (Thorpe et al 1981).

By the 1980s, a consensus was beginning to emerge amongst welfare professionals that rather than being solely an objective assessment of an offender's needs and circumstances for the use of sentencers, the reports which they produced, should aim to be 'effective negotiating documents which secure the best possible deal for the offender' (DHSS 1981), one of several inputs into a process which had increasingly predictable outcomes. The gradual recognition and acceptance amongst welfare agencies of a 'system approach' to justice, stimulated by work at Lancaster University and its offspring Social Information Systems, resulted in important changes in both the way S.I.Rs were produced and in what was included in them. Many Social Services departments began to formulate an explicit juvenile justice policy based on the aims of minimal intervention, maximum diversion and justice rather than welfare based decision making.

The development of these kinds of strategies by Social Services departments designed to reduce the custody for juveniles were given encouragement in 1986 by the publication of the 'manifesto for management' — The Elimination of Custody by Norman Tutt and Henri Giller (Tutt and Giller 1987). The authors' claim that 'by Autumn 1986 it seemed quite clear that there was a broad consensus amongst all those agencies which form the juvenile justice system that custody must go' was premature and their objective, the elimination of all prison custody for young people under 17 years of age by 1989 over ambitious. None the less, their

identification of the steps that could be taken by the Social Services departments to cut off the supply of candidates for custody locally has played an important role in expanding upon earlier initiatives aimed at eliminating custody.

The DHSS I.T. Initiative

Along side the introduction of legislative structures designed to increase the use of non-custodial penalties, the period under review also saw a major government initiative designed to increase the availability of intensive intermediate treatment schemes, considered to be patchy prior to the Act. 110 Projects offering 3,389 places were set up by voluntary bodies in 62 local authority areas between 1983 and 1987, using the £15m seedcorn funding made available by the DHSS. A small development team was funded at NACRO to monitor the initiative and to ensure projects achieved effective diversion from care and custody. The monitoring, undertaken by means of a 6 monthly census completed by projects has found that (i) the rate of custodial sentencing in initiative areas has been below the national average: in the second half of 1986 it was 7.7% compared to a national average of 11.4% and although it had risen to 9.3% in 1987, this was still over 2 percentage points below the national figure. (ii) young people sentenced to attend project programmes have been similar, in terms of the type and number of previous disposals and of the type of offence committed, to those previously receiving custody. (iii) Three quarters of those directed to attend projects have successfully completed their programmes.

As well as succeeding in setting up direct provision for sentenced juveniles, the initiative has had a wider effect on the way in which juvenile offenders are dealt with. The circular LAC 83(3) which announced the initiative stressed the need for a multi-agency approach to the management of serious and persistent offenders, just at the White Paper 'Young Offenders' had proposed three years before. In practical terms there was a requirement that projects were overseen by inter-agency committees. Research undertaken by NACRO has shown that these committees have generally involved the appropriate local agencies together with a surprisingly large involvement by magistrates (NACRO 1989b). The report commented that 'the forming of partnerships among agencies, which included the participation of sentencers, was possibly the most important achievement of the initiative and the first step towards a more integrated system of juvenile justice.' At central level too, the support given to the development of initiative I.T. Schemes by successive chairmen of the Magistrates Association, Douglas Acres and John Hosking has played a role in ensuring that non-custodial penalties have retained a high profile nationally.

The growth in effective local inter-agency approaches prompted by the initiative and catalysed by the lead

role taken by the voluntary sector has also embraced wider matters of juvenile justice. Despite widespread fears that projects would not be refunded after the expiry of central grant by financially hard pressed local authorities, the vast majority of schemes have continued to operate as alternatives to custody. Some diversification has taken place but this mostly has been within the field of juvenile justice, with projects providing a range of services including crime prevention diversion from prosecution and middle range I.T. as well as offering alternatives to care for non-offenders. Whilst net-widening and tariff hoisting are a possibility (Bilson 1986), awareness within the field and the fact that Magistrates have in many areas been brought within the sphere of influence of welfare agencies may make this less likely than in the past.

The development of alternative to custody projects has not been confined to areas with initiative projects. Section 21.1 of the 1982 Criminal Justice Act placed on all local authorities a 'duty to provide facilities for carrying out of supervisors directions and requirements included in supervision orders by virtue of Section 12.3c'. Section 12.3c was the part of the Act which allowed courts to specify the kind of activities in which offenders would participate, one of several measures introduced in order to strengthen non-custodial penalties and give sentencers confidence in using them.

At first glance criminal statistics do not show that the decrease in custody has been due to an increase in supervision. The number of males 14-16 sentenced to supervision has declined since 1981, although as a proportion of all sentences made, supervision has increased from 17-18%. Looking at the type of supervision order suggests that the introduction of the specified activities requirements has had an impact. It has been used increasingly since 1983; in 1987 over 11% of supervision orders were made with such a requirement. It could be that magistrates and judges simply chose to make the more demanding sentences on more juveniles who would previously have received straight supervision orders or supervision orders with discretionary intermediate treatment. It could also mean that the new orders have been effective in replacing custodial sentences. Monitoring of the DHSS I.T. projects has consistently shown that those receiving sentences to attend have been very similar to those receiving custody. Probation statistics show that throughout the eighties, supervision orders have become a 'higher tariff' disposal. Between 1981 and 1987 there was a rise in the proportion of juveniles starting supervision who had committed a serious offence (burglary, violence) and who had experienced high tariff disposals previously (custody, supervision). Although not conclusive, the evidence suggests that attempts to bolster community penalties have been successful. Steadily increasing use of the community service order, introduced as a disposal for 16 year olds in 1983, also suggests this.

The alternative to custody movement

The success of the initiative and the effective reduction of custody for juveniles in many parts of the country has been due in no small part to the energy, enthusiasm and commitment of practitioners and managers 'on the ground' — the 'alternatives to custody' movement has developed an almost crusading zeal, articulated most strongly in practitioner led groups such as the Association for Juvenile Justice and the National Intermediate Treatment Federation. This 'anti custody ethos' has recently been described by Rutherford (1989): 'in sharp contrast to the situation less than ten years earlier when social workers routinely recommended care and custodial dispositions, the new ethos takes the form of an absolute dissent from sentencing juveniles to custody.'

Voluntary organisations such as NACRO and the Children's Legal Centre as well as the voluntary organisations involved in the I.T. Initiative have also played a role both in disseminating 'technical information about practical aspects of the juvenile justice system', and organising working groups, holding conferences and producing written material on issues relating to policy. This has served to hold the high intellectual and moral ground in the debate on the role of custody for juveniles such that very few arguments are put forward in its favour. Increasingly, the most that can be said for it is that it is necessary as a last resort.

Abolition — the government view

Despite the falls in custody and the increasing calls for its removal from the statute book, government ministers in the Department of Health and Home Office have not so far crossed the rubicon of abolition. The Criminal Justice White Paper expressed the formal Home Office policy position that 'so far as possible, young offenders should not be sentenced to custody since this is likely to confirm them in a criminal career'. The Department of Health discussion document on secure accommodation in community homes (1989) referred to 'policies designed to reduce the number of juveniles entering prison department custody, both whilst on remand or following sentence'. The government has gone further on remands; during the passage of the 1982 Criminal Justice Act in the House of Lords, Lord Trefgarne confirmed that 'we remain committed to a policy of trying to make sure that unconvicted or unsentenced juveniles are not held in custody'. Attempts to limit custodial remands to the most severe cases have recently been dropped however and a fresh proposal promised later in 1990. This has been given added urgency by the suicide of a 15 year old boy remanded at Swansea Prison in July. Reluctance to take the necessary steps to phase out custody is usually attributed to fear of upsetting public opinion, particularly in the Tory shires, where attitudes on law and order are not thought to be progressive. As far as juvenile offenders are concerned, the progress described above in the elimination in custody has

taken place all over England and Wales, irrespective of political complexion. There are still important variations in sentencing practice but these do not seem to be linked with anything else. As indicated above, magistrates have played an active role in managing replacements for custody on a local basis; until recently they have not as a group, had a reputation for liberal attitudes on crime and punishment.

This is not to deny that there are still strong conservative views expressed on juvenile justice. When questioned about the failure of the 1988 Criminal Justice Act to remove 14 year olds from the custodial net, John Patten, Minister of State at the Home Office expressed a view 'based on the clear need to maintain the possibility of custody for 14 year olds, some of whom do commit dreadful crimes'. (The Childrens Society 1988). It should not be forgotten that amendments were put by Conservative backbenchers during debates on the 1988 act to re-introduce corporal punishment and the penalty of detention in stocks. Such atavism has fortunately no role in criminal justice policy on the front bench however. The abolitionist cause was given a fillip in 1989 when Mrs Bottomley, erstwhile chair of the Childrens Society Committee which proposed the phasing out of custody for juveniles became a Minister of State at the Department of Health with responsibility for juvenile offenders. Thus far the measures proposed by her committee have not been taken on board by her department let alone the Home Office, which has increasingly called the policy tune in juvenile justice matters.

The Labour Party in its alternative White Paper on Criminal Justice 'A Safer Britain' produced in January 1990 has included plans to end the remanding and sentencing of offenders under 17 to prison department establishments (The Labour Party 1990 P.22). Where such measures would feature on a list of legislative priorities in the event of the Labour government remains an open question.

The future

There are many important issues which are likely to arise in any serious discussion of the abolition of custody. The Criminal Justice White Paper suggests the possibility of phasing out detention in a young offender institution for girls and young women under 18, but retaining detention under Section 53 of the 1933 Act 'for the more serious female offenders under 18 from whom the public need protection'. The Bottomley committee, NACRO's Juvenile Crime Committee, the Association for Juvenile Justice and other observers of the juvenile justice scene have accepted that security will be needed for a small number of serious and persistent offences in the child care system. They argue that the Section 53.2 sentence, which is currently available for all offenders carrying a 14 year maximum sentence in the case of an adult, casts its net too wide. It will clearly be important that the phasing out of prison department custody as a

sentence does not bring about unnecessary incarceration in the child care or indeed other systems, the phenomenon of 'transinstitutionalisation' (Childrens Society 1990).

At a more practical level, there is the question of who makes the decision about placement. Much of the difficulty in ending custodial remands has stemmed from conflict between courts and Social Services departments about the availability and use of secure accommodation. Currently Social Services departments have the power to make such placements; courts can only authorise them to do so. If such a power were given to magistrates, it is feared they would use it more than is necessary.

There is also the question of funding. Prison department custody is funded through the Home Office. Currently local authorities are required to provide programmes of specified activity as an alternative to custody. A High Court judgement in 1989 confirmed by making an order of mandamus on the London Borough of Brent, that all local authorities should have such a scheme. There is no similar obligation to provide 'bail support schemes' however; these have proved important in keeping remanded juveniles out of custody. There is therefore a good argument for some transfer of funds from the prison department to local authorities via the Department of Health to support the establishment of comprehensive community based provision throughout England and Wales.

These are some of the nitty-gritty issues which need to be resolved both at a local and central level, by magistrates, clerks and Social Services departments, by the Home Office, Lord Chancellors departments and Department of Health. Sooner or later a decision will have to be taken however. For practitioners in juvenile justice, the model for imitation is Massachusetts, where in the early 1970's, Jerome Miller, Director of the Department of Youth Services abandoned a policy of gradualism and closed down the states institutions for delinquents in a matter of weeks. The time is ripe for that kind of bold, imaginative leap in England and Wales.

TABLE 1:
Males 14-16 sentenced to custody 1971-88 and in custody on 30th June 1981-88

Year	No. sentenced to custody for Indictable	No. in Custody on 30th June
1981	7,700	1,637
1982	7,100	1,500
1983	6,700	1,397
1984	6,500	1,274
1985	5,900	1,078
1986	4,300	767
1987	3,900	788
1988	3,200	547

Source — Criminal Statistics and Prison Statistics

TABLE 2
Females aged 15 and 16 receiving a custodial sentence
1981-1988

1981	52
1982	47
1983	71
1984	101
1985	103
1986	71
1987	59
1988	60

Source — Prison Statistics 1988

TABLE 3
Juveniles sentenced under Section 53.2 1981-1988

	1981	1982	1983	1984	1985	1986	1987	1988
Violence against the person	18	17	15	26	19	28	29	21
Sexual offences	10	15	8	13	11	18	11	16
Burglary	10	4	6	10	31	25	24	32
Robbery	28	29	27	36	60	69	68	84
Other	7	19	13	24	33	16	22	24
Total	73	84	69	99	154	156	154	177

Source — Criminal Statistics 1988

TABLE 4
Numbers of untried juveniles remanded in custody
1981-1987

1981	1,766
1982	1,544
1983	1,507
1984	1,436
1985	1,479
1986	1,568
1987	1,704
1988	1,500

Source — Prison Statistics

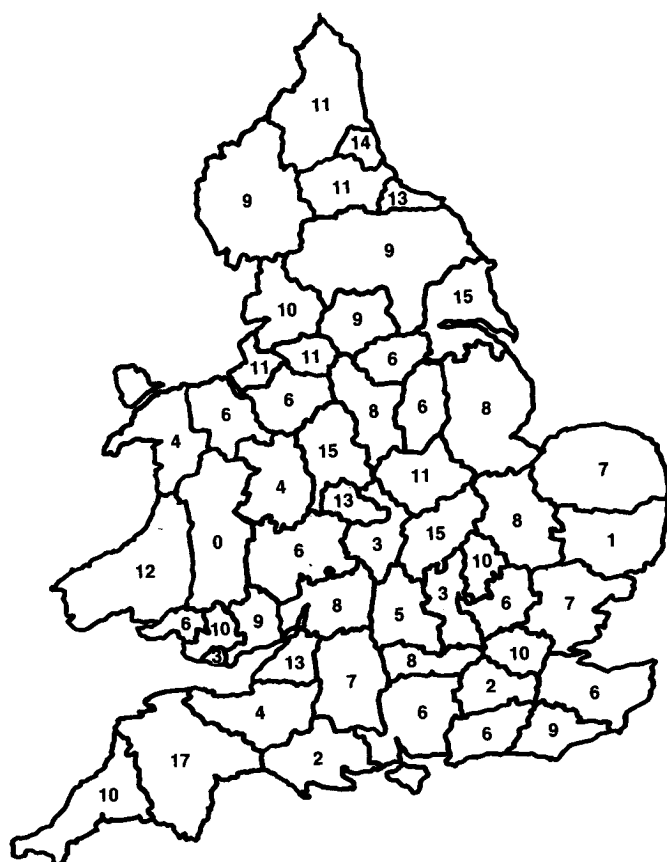


FIGURE 1:
Males 14-16 sentenced to custody by Magistrates Court
as a percentage of those sentenced, by Commission of
the Peace Area.

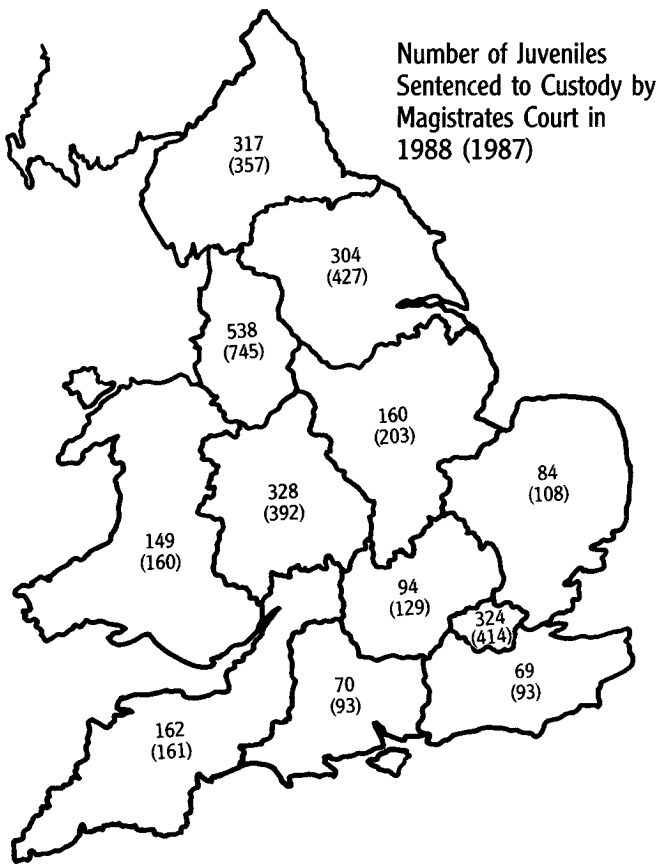


FIGURE 2:
Regional use of custody for juveniles from Criminal Statistics 1988

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The cost of living in the parental home

GILL JONES

Government policy over the last few years has stressed the role of the family as 'the building block of society'

and the home as the production centre of honest hard-working citizens. Policies have been introduced on the basis that they will uphold traditional family life. Within this ideology, the family is the foundation of traditional (and thus meritorious) values, in which married adults care for their young, their sick and their old with the minimum of help from the state. Dependence is acceptable in a child, but independence is required from an adult. Unfortunately, definitions underpinning the ideology are confused, and policies apparently intended to uphold family life may in practice be working against it.

According to current government policies, young people who are single and childless are now apparently expected to be able to live in their parents' homes and be at least partly dependent on their parents until they are 25 years of age (Finch, 1989a). Yet within this overarching framework, there are two strands to policies affecting young people (Cusack and Roll, 1985). According to employment and social security policies, young people on Youth Training Schemes (YTS) or unemployed are deemed to have no housing costs if they are living in the parental home. It is assumed that their parents will subsidise them. On the other hand, according to housing benefit regulations, young people in employment are assumed to be paying a proportion of the household rent, and this is duly deducted from the parent's housing benefit entitlement. These policies conflict. As the Social Security Advisory Committee (SSAC) pointed out, the housing benefit legislation of 1984

... works against the other aims of social policy such as the cohesion of the family unit, and the better exercise of control by parents over young people. (SSAC, 1984).

Overall, this pushme-pullyou approach of policy makers means that in the real world, in which young people may move between job, scheme or unemployment, no one knows where they stand. Roles of dependence and independence, adulthood and childhood are presumably expected to be picked up or dropped at will. It is hard to imagine how young people can cope with the shifts in identity which policies can impose.

Policy tends to be based on an image of the family which is essentially static, as Finch has recently pointed

out (1989b); it needs therefore to be informed by research which examines the

dynamics of family life and individual life courses. Policy makers lack a conceptual framework for defining adulthood and the processes of transition which lead to its attainment. Consequently, there is no sense in policy of the prospect of movement from a state of dependence to one of independence, nor any comprehension of transitional states of half dependence and half independence which must then occur. Young people do not in practice become adult — magically — at the age of 25 years.

Apart from lacking any sense of process in the transition to adult independence, the policies are based on a model which stresses 'the family' and denies the existence of 'society' (Thatcher, 1986). A homogeneous, unstratified view is adopted and applied to the whole population. This seems to be the case with policies relating to the economic lives of young people. Yet the experience of becoming an adult is not just a matter of change at a generational level or even during an individual life course; it varies considerably between social groups.

While some young people, mainly those of middle class origin, have an extended education, leave home to go to college, and marry in their middle to late twenties, most young people leave education and enter the labour market at sixteen and begin household and family formation in their teens or early twenties (Jones, 1987a, 1988, 1990c). Students leaving home to go to college may remain economically dependent on their parents until they leave full-time education; young workers, though they may live at home with their parents, may yet be relatively independent of them in economic terms. There can therefore be no hard and fast rules about how and when adult economic independence should be gained, and there is certainly no justification for using the fact that a young person is living with parents as a criterion for assuming they are dependent. Policy based on concepts of dependence and independence needs, therefore, to be aware of variations in patterns of becoming adult — variations associated with the characteristics of the family of origin as well as those of the individual.

The SSAC (1984) recommended research to ascertain what contribution young people actually make to their parents housing costs, since there was no way of

determining whether the housing benefit deductions then proposed were 'fair and realistic'. This article describes research on the payment of board money to parents which takes account of both process and cross-sectional variation.

Recent research

After a rather long fallow period in which studies of youth economics were rare, there has recently been valuable research on the economic relationship between young people and their parents, notably in local studies in South Wales by Hutson and Jenkins (1989), and the North East of England (Allatt and Yeandle, 1986; Allatt and Benson, 1989). These studies contrast with earlier research in focusing on financial responsibilities in youth. The payment of board money by young people to their parents is highlighted as an important locus on the attainment of economic adulthood.

The studies mentioned have added greatly to our understanding of the meaning of income and money relations in youth, but being based on small local samples, their capacity for the study of either cross-sectional or longitudinal heterogeneity has been limited.

This article aims to provide a skeletal framework which can both house and be informed by the data-rich qualitative research published elsewhere. In the following pages, I shall be examining the financial cost to young people in Scotland of living in their parental homes. Variations in the amounts paid and patterns of payment will be explored in the socio-economic context of individuals and their families. Then, I shall consider the payment of board money as a part of the process of transition to economic adulthood. Finally, I suggest one way in which data such as these can contribute to the study of the causes of homelessness among young people.

The issue of economic transitions in youth is far too complex for a single research article. In discussing board money here, I am dealing with just one element in a complex network of a family economic interactions. Elsewhere, I have described the payment of board money in the context of other parent-child economic exchanges both in cash and in kind (Jones, 1990a). A longer version of the present article, containing more extended analysis and more discussion of the dataset, was presented at the Social Policy Association Annual Conference in 1990 (Jones, 1990b).

The dataset

The Scottish Young People's Surveys (SYPS) include a series of longitudinal cohort datasets. The research described in this article uses data from the first of these cohorts, a 10% sample of all pupils in their fourth year at secondary school in Scotland during 1983/4. They were first surveyed in spring 1985 (when their average age was 16.75 years) and subsequently in spring 1986

and in autumn 1987 (average ages 17.75 years and 19.25 years respectively). At the first sweep of the cohort in 1985, response was 81% of the target sample of around 8,000 cases. There has since been some attrition but by the third sweep, in 1987, response was still 60% of the 1985 target sample (Ritchie, 1989). The cohort dataset thus provides a large, representative sample of young people in Scotland, allowing comparison according to the basic social divisions of social class, employment status and gender, and additionally allowing the study of change with age.

The analysis makes use of data from the first and third sweeps, when respondents are described for the sake of simplicity as being aged sixteen or aged nineteen years. All associations commented on in the text are statistically significant unless otherwise stated.

The policy context

With policies changing rapidly in the last few years, it is important to locate this study within the framework of current legislation. At the first sweep of the cohort, in Spring 1985, when they were sixteen years of age, they were entitled to supplementary benefit, for example, they were unemployed; however, the right of sixteen and seventeen year olds to claim an extra allowance for their housing costs (the non-householders' rent addition of £3.10) was withdrawn in 1983 if they were living in their parental home. Respondents who were living at home in 1985 and on supplementary benefit therefore received no recognition of their housing costs. Similarly, the basic YTS allowance contained no rent or board element. Those who were living away from home and on supplementary benefit were to have their right to claim restricted by the board and lodgings regulations of April 1985, which limited both the amount paid and the time period for which people could claim. These changes resulted from press publicity about abuses in the board and lodgings system, and it became the government's expressed intention to discourage young people from leaving their parental home if unemployed (Roll, 1990). There were no compenstory policies to help families care for young people in the parental home, however. The third sweep of this cohort took place in October 1987. By 1984, the 'non-householder's rent addition' had been withdrawn from 18-20 year olds as well. By the third sweep, the cohort (then aged nineteen) would be affected by the 1985 board and lodgings regulations which restricted the freedom of young people under 26 years to live independently of their parents. The cohort was thus caught by both pieces of legislation, and they were to be caught again, in the year after this survey. The new 1986 Social Security Act had not yet been fully implemented in 1987 and in any case, the cohort was by then too old to be directly affected by the removal of benefits from most of those under 18 years. The effect of the 1988

changes, which in many respects were to make twenty-five the age of majority, would however be likely in the following year to affect adversely those members of the cohort who were still living away from home, and those still living in a parental home where the household income was low or there was unemployment of other family members (Roll, 1988), especially if the family was in a poverty trap and not receiving housing benefit. It was not only members of the cohort who were affected by the changes in legislation. Apart from the loss in household income which resulted from the withdrawal of the non-householders' allowance under the social security regulations, there was also the direct loss sustained by other household members. Though the housing benefit regulations had previously assumed that working children (other than those on YTS) would make a contribution to their parents' housing expenses, and the prescribed amount was duly deducted from the parent's benefit, this 'non-dependent deduction' was greatly increased in 1984. Parents were now expected to collect rent of £3.30 from all employed sixteen and seventeen year olds, and £8.80 (a full adult rate) from each employed adult child over 18 years, living in the parents' home, (Cusack and Roll, 1985).

Poorer families were therefore caught in a cleft stick of conflicting policies which appear to be insensitive to actual household circumstances or needs. Some families, particularly those on low incomes but not receiving housing benefit, would become very much poorer if their adult children became unemployed. When adult children were unemployed and living at home, their parents were expected to subsidise them. The policy changes were part of a gradual whittling away of the right of many adult children to live independent lives. The introduction of the 1984 regulations meant that parents seeking housing benefit were obliged to ask their working children for a greatly increased contribution towards the household budget. Young workers were thus, in a sense, penalised for their luck in getting jobs (as the Low Pay Unit pointed out at the time). Cusack and Roll (1985) describe the conflict which can occur in families as a result of the financial hardship caused by the regulations — conflict which sometimes resulted in the young person leaving home. The SSAC too warned of the possible consequences of the new regulations, pointing out that if a young person failed to pay their proportion of the housing cost

... in this event the householder either has to bear the cost himself or force their 'non-dependent' son or daughter to leave. (SSAC, 1984).

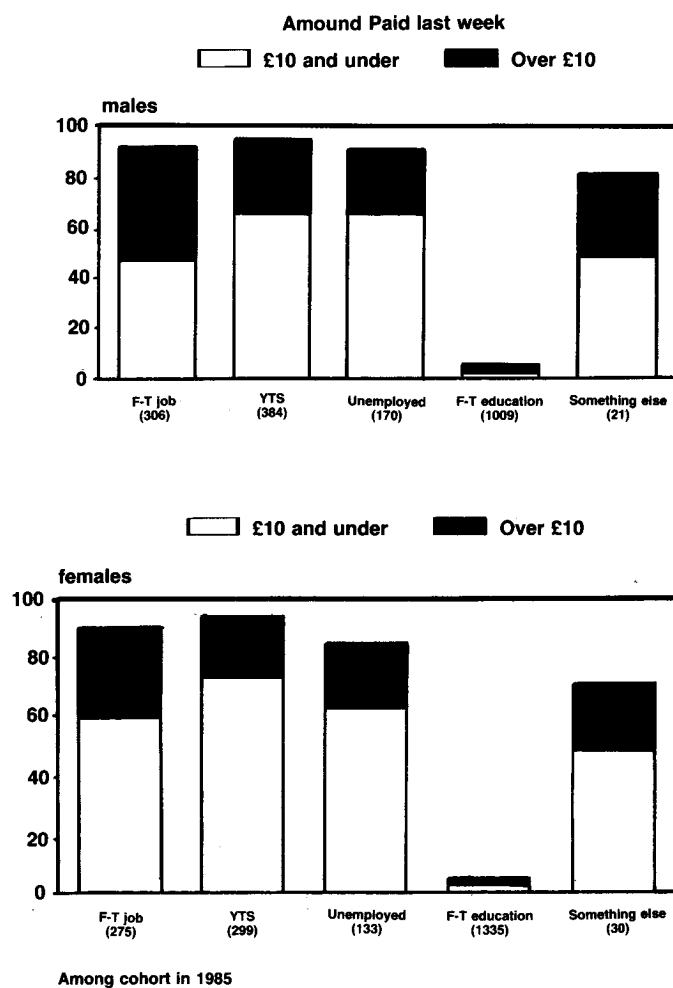
This warning did not persuade the Secretary of State, who argued that it was nevertheless 'not the role of a benefit scheme financed by the tax payer to shield households from the consequences' if an adult non-householder failed to meet the cost (Secretary of State for Social Services, 1984).

Patterns of paying board among 16 to 17 year olds

In the following analysis, I examine patterns of paying board to parents. It is not clear whether the amount paid includes an element for the household rent, or whether it is intended purely to cover the cost of food, laundry, etc. We simply asked the same respondents in 1985 and 1987 how much they gave 'towards board and keep ("dig money")' in the previous week.

When the cohort was surveyed in 1985, at sixteen years of age, nearly all were living with their parents. Of these, 50% of males and 40% of females said they had paid board money in the previous week. These figures are, however, misleading. It is important to consider differences in economic status when considering differences in economic outgoings. Figure 1 shows that paying towards board is associated with an income, whether from a job, a YTS allowance or supplementary benefit. Those who were in the labour force were paying board to their parents. Those in full-time education were not.

Fig 1: Paying board in 1985 by sex and economic status



According to our data, 92% of men and 90% of women who had left full-time education paid towards their board and keep in 1985, when they were nearing 17 years of age. These proportions are similar to those found in studies of young workers in England (Ashton and Maguire; Berthoud, 1984). Since girls were more likely to continue longer in full-time education than boys (in this subset, 64% of girls and 53% of boys were in full-time education at the time of the 1985 survey), this figure explains the background to the gender differences observed before.

In general, proportions paying board vary little by gender within economic status groups (though slightly fewer unemployed women than unemployed men pay board). The gender difference which is apparent here is that women are less likely than men to pay more than £10 per week. The figure shows that among those in full-time employment, 46% of men, but only 30% of women, paid over £10 board money in the last week. This will be seen to reflect gender inequality in earnings.

Research in Sheppey, Swansea and the North East of England have all suggested that in recent years there has been a standard rate of board money of around £10 per week and this has been confirmed for almost half of our cohort at age sixteen. Wallace (1987a) describes this as a nominal sum, usually regulated by and paid to the mother. She found this standard amount not to vary according to employment status of the respondent, though the amount might be reduced by more affluent families if a younger person became unemployed. Having the advantage of a larger sample, the SYPS data tend to suggest more systematic patterns. Though the proportions paying board money vary little by economic status (when full-time education is excluded), the proportions paying over £10 per week do vary by economic status. The unemployed of both sexes were less likely than those in employment to be paying more than £10 (30% of men and 23% of women). Even this percentage is high when one considers the consequences of the regulation introduced in 1984 to prevent those under eighteen from claiming the cost of their housing if they were living at home. Behaviour does not necessarily change at the same rate as social security regulations, however, as Finch (1989) has pointed out. Though the unemployed may have paid less board money, they still paid (and at a rate considerably higher than the non-householders rent allowance of £3.10 which had recently been abolished). Social security policy makers have seriously underestimated the housing costs of young people living at home.

It has been suggested that by paying board money, young people may be able to buy a degree of independence from their parents (Hutson and Jenkins, 1987). Wallace too (1987a:97) comments that 'unemployment led to greater dependence on, and domination by, parents'. In such circumstances, it may be important to the self-esteem of the young unemployed

that they should pay their way, just as their peers in employment do, and thus be treated in a more adult way by their parents. Compared with young workers, though, the young unemployed pay a relatively high price for this honour.

The contribution which a young person makes to the family budget will clearly vary in significance according to the economic circumstances of the family. In a wealthy family, if board money is paid at all, its economic significance may be small; where the family income is low, board money of even £10 per week may make a crucial contribution. Larger payments may be needed in particular circumstances: one of these is likely to be reflected in the economic status of other family members.

The level of assumption made by the government about families' ability to subsidise their young is revealed in the following statement:

A young person of this age with a job should pay his due share of the household costs. A young person without a job on supplementary benefit will often be living in a household with parents who will not need to look to him for a contribution towards housing costs. (Secretary of State for Social Services, 1984).

Parents who are applying for housing benefit are either on a low income from work or are unemployed and in receipt of income support. The following analysis examines the patterns of paying board first according to the father's employment status and then according to the occupational class of the father in his current or last job. Both occupational class and employment status of mothers are difficult measures to work with in this context, because of gender segregation in the occupational class structure and because employment status among mothers is hard to interpret. Figure 2 considers the economic status of fathers, therefore, distinguishing between those in full-time jobs and those who are not, being unemployed, retired or unable to work. The small number of fathers in part-time work are excluded. The analysis is further restricted to respondents who are living with their fathers (whether or not mothers are also present) and who are not in full-time education.

Fig 2: Board money in 1985 by father's employment status

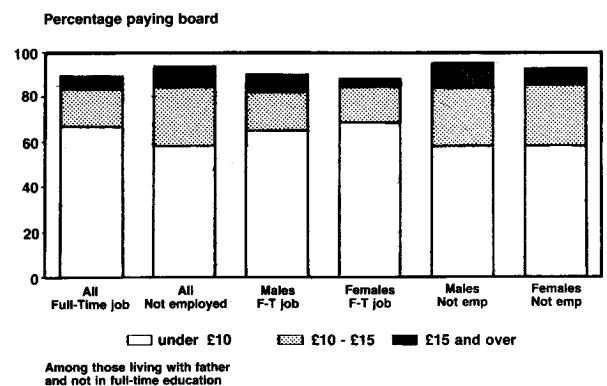
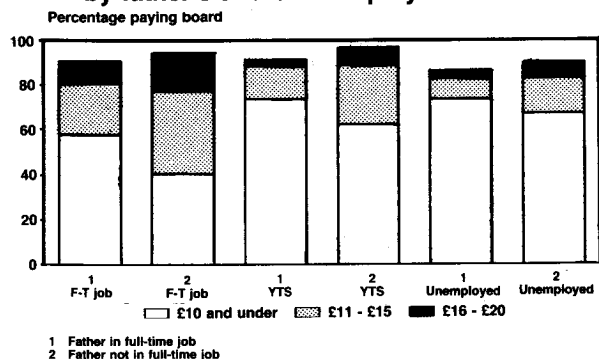


Figure 2 shows that young people are more likely to pay board money, and more likely to pay more, when their fathers are not in full-time employment. Ninety-four per cent of those whose fathers were not in full-time employment and 90% of those with fathers in full-time jobs, paid for their board. Board money of more than £10 per week was paid by 36% of those whose fathers were not in full-time employment, compared with 23% of those with fathers in full-time jobs. Ten per cent of the former group paid over £15 per week, compared with 6% of the latter. Some of these percentage differences are small, though statistically significant, but the overall pattern seems plain. Young people pay board money not only in the context of their ability to pay, but also in the context of family need. The previous figure shows that young people with jobs paid more board money. This table shows one aspect of the varying family context in which such patterns occur.

The figure also points to some gender differences, but suggests that where respondents are living with a father who is not in a full-time job, these gender differences are decreased: though male respondents tend to pay more in board money than females, the gender differences are smaller than those observed earlier in Figure 2. Thirty-seven per cent of men and 34% of women paid over £10 per week when their fathers were not in a full-time job, compared with 35% of all men and 25% of all women (from Figure 2). Overall, this tends to suggest that family hardship tends to affect patterns for women even more than for men. Daughters may be more likely than sons to have to increase their contribution to the household budget when their father becomes unemployed.

In some families, the parents may become even more dependent on their children's earnings. Instances have been reported where a young person may take over the role of breadwinner when the parents become unemployed (Jamieson and Corr, 1990; Millward, 1968). The ability of a member of the younger 'dependent' generation to step into the breach in this way will depend to some extent on their own position in the labour market. In the following analysis, the economic status of both respondents and their fathers is considered, where the respondents are living in their parental home.

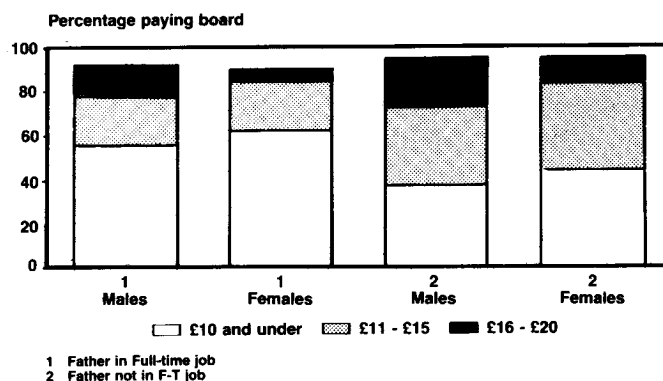
Fig 3: Paying board in 1985 by father's and own employment status



Consistently, research has shown that unemployment tends to run in families (see, for example, Payne, 1987). In the case of young people this is partly because they may rely on other family members being in employment for access to information about the labour market. There is thus some polarisation between families who are in employment, where information is available and shared, and those who have no contact with labour market information. In the SYPS data analysed here, 38% of unemployed respondents had fathers who were not in full-time work, compared with 25% of those on YTS and 16% of those with full-time jobs themselves.

Figure 3 shows that when fathers are not employed, young people pay more towards their board money even when they are in receipt of a low income themselves. Both those on YTS and those in full-time jobs paid more board money when their fathers were not in full-time jobs. Fifty-four per cent of those in full-time jobs paid over £10 per week when their fathers were not in full-time employment, compared with 33% when their fathers had full-time jobs. More surprisingly, considering their income, 34% of those on YTS paid over £10 per week board money when their fathers were not in employment, compared with 17% respectively when fathers had full-time jobs. Even where respondents were unemployed, they still paid more board money when their fathers were not in full-time jobs. Though these data are cross-sectional, they do suggest that young people aged sixteen and seventeen may respond to economic problems in the family by paying more towards their board money and thus helping out with the family budget even if they have limited resources themselves.

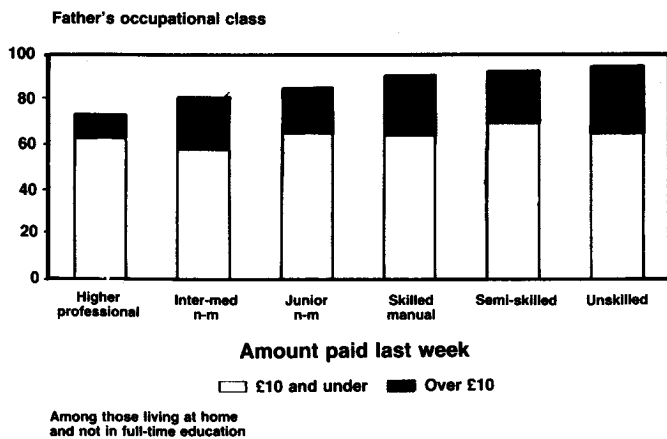
Fig 4: Paying board in 1985 by gender and father's employment status among respondents in F-T jobs



Both sons and daughters tend to pay more board money when their fathers are not in full-time employment, as Figure 4 shows. Though women do not pay as much as men, nevertheless the amount appears to increase according to family need. Thus when fathers are not in full-time jobs, 22% of men and 13% of women paid over £15 board money in the previous week, compared with 14% of men and 5% of women

whose fathers were in full-time jobs. Again, the lower income of women in the labour market may be the factor which affects their contribution. Both sons and daughters may have to 'become the breadwinner' if their parents are unemployed.

Fig 5: Paying board in 1985 by father's occupational class



Even where fathers are in employment, there are differences in patterns of paying board according to occupational class. Figure 5 examines variations according to the OPCS socio-economic grouping of the father's current or last job, recoded into six categories. The father's class is a more appropriate measure of individual class for this age group than their own occupational class (Jones, 1987b), and indicates the position of the family in the social structure. It should be remembered that leaving school and starting work at sixteen are not typical of the young middle class. Most are still in education and not paying any board money at this stage in their lives.

The analysis is restricted to those who are not in full-time education and who are living in parental home with a father present. The figure shows that payment of board money is inversely related to occupational class. The lower the occupational class of the father, the higher the proportion who pay board, and the more board money is paid. Ninety-five per cent of the children of unskilled manual workers paid board when they were sixteen years of age, compared with 73% of the children of professional non-manual workers. Children of the unskilled were about three times as likely as the children of professional workers to be paying over £10 per week. The class difference would of course be even more striking if those in full-time education were included here. This re-emphasises the earlier finding. It means that young people contribute more to the household budget in poorer families. These are also the families which are most affected by

changes in social security legislation.

The above analysis was limited to households containing fathers. Further analysis not quoted in detail here showed in fact that on several other poverty indicators which were not dependent on the presence of fathers, young people tended to pay more for their board where there appeared to be greater family need for them to do so. This was the case in larger families, but was particularly noticeable where a young person was living with a lone mother (31% of men and 43% of young women paying over £10 per week to lone mothers. In comparison with 28% and 23% respectively, when both parents are present).

Change with age

As young people grow older, they begin to leave their parental homes. By 1987, nearly one in three of the cohort had done so (Jones, 1990c). Among those still living at home, weekly board money is likely to increase, taking account both of their earnings and of the higher costs of the household with inflation. Responsibility for helping out in the family may also become greater if a son or daughter is in employment and other members of their family are not. However, increases in responsibility may be mitigated by longer-term hardship factors — the experience of being unemployed in the past may be almost as important as current unemployment in determining a young person's economic role in the parental household (Wallace, 1987a). Thus, while it is important to consider the changing relationship between young people and their families as the former grow up, one should also remain aware of continued variation within basic patterns of transition.

Fig 6: Paying board in 1987 by father's and own employment status

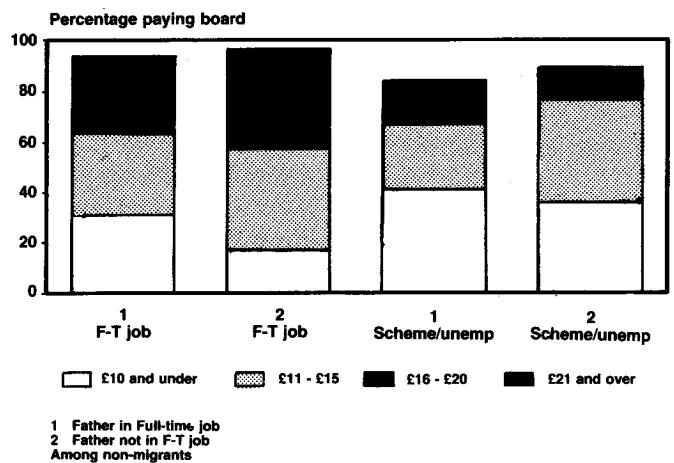


Figure 6 shows how the basic patterns observed earlier continue into young adulthood. The analysis shown in

Figure 4 (board money according to own and father's employment status) is repeated for the cohort at nineteen years, and is again restricted to those who were living with their parents (see Jones, 1990b for a fuller discussion of this analysis). New payers of board money are included in this figure (that is, people who were not paying board in 1985). As before, adult children living in a home where their fathers were not in full-time employment are seen to have paid more board money. Among respondents in full-time work, 79% paid over £10 per week and 40% paid over £15 per week when their fathers were not in full-time jobs, compared with 63% and 30% respectively, when their father were in full-time jobs. Young people at nineteen are just as likely as those of sixteen to help out when the family is in financial difficulty, especially if they are in a position to do so.

The findings so far have indicated that the proportions paying board vary only slightly between social groups, and that the major variation is in the amounts of board money paid. So, how much did they pay?

TABLE 1:
Amount of board money paid in 1985 and in 1987
Column percentages

AMOUNT PAID IN 1987	AMOUNT PAID IN 1985			
	None	Under £10	£11-£15	Over £15
	%	%	%	%
None	13	5	3	8
Under £10	31	38	9	18
£11-£15	30	36	38	13
Over £15	27	22	51	62
ALL (= 100%)	(508)	(364)	(103)	(39)

Note: Among respondents in 1987 who were living in their parental home in 1985, were non-movers and were not in full-time education or married.

Table 1 examines payment in 1987 in relation to payment in 1985, and includes respondents who were paying board on both and only one occasion. The table shows clearly the increase in payments with age, among those who paid board at both times. It also shows that new payers of board money in 1987 pay the same rates of board as existing board payers — when non-payers are excluded, 35% of new payers paid up to £10 in the last week, 34% paid £11 to £15 and 31% paid over £15 (compared with figures of 32%, 36% and 32% of existing payers, respectively). This suggests that as people start to pay board money, generally on entering the labour market, they tend to pay according to the standard rates for members of their age group who are already paying board, rather than receive any preferential treatment as 'novice' payers.

Fig 7a: Board as percentage of earnings among all earning and paying board and living in parental home, 1985

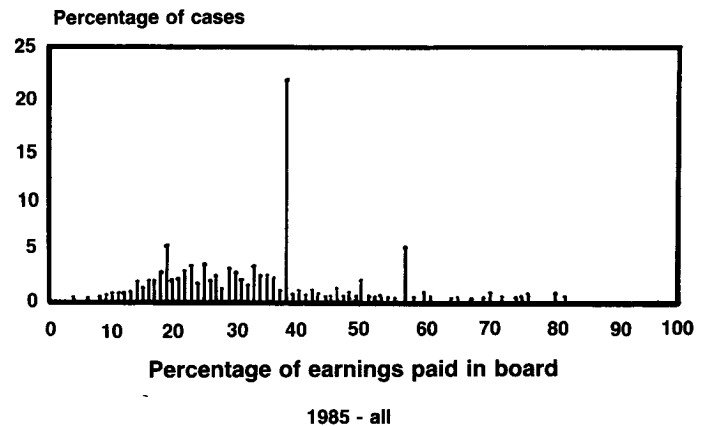
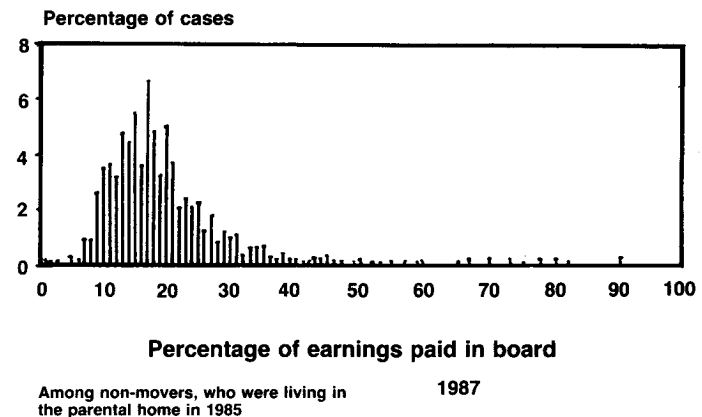


Fig 7b: Board as percentage of earnings among all earning and paying board 1987



Finally, how does this relate to their incomes at the time? The data shown in Figure 7 indicates that the social economic meaning of board money changes as people get older. The figure shows the amount of board money paid as a proportion of gross earnings in 1985 and again in 1987. The picture for 1985 is not at all clear. Though there is a low curve to be seen, the picture is dominated by three individual peaks at 19%, 38% and 57% which confuse the overall pattern. There is in fact a simple two-part explanation. First, there are common patterns of paying £10 or £15 at the age of sixteen, with few people paying amounts in between; other studies have shown similar figures for board money (for example, Hutson and Jenkins, 1989).

Secondly, 61% of the subset shown here were on YTS and received a gross income of £26.25 in the previous week. Among YTS trainees in 1985, 34% were paying 38% of their income in board money, while 9% of YTS trainees were paying as much as 57% of their income in board money. This accounts for the peaks observed. When YTS trainees are excluded from the analysis, the pattern for 1985 is much clearer. Among 16 year olds in full-time jobs, the median percentage of earnings paid in board in 1985 was 23%, with lower and upper quartiles at 18% and 30%.

The data for the cohort at nineteen in 1987 show a fairly smooth distribution which rises steeply up to a peak (which in practice represents the median) at 17% of income and then drops more gently away again. Most people at this age paid between 10% and 20% of their gross earnings in board money. The payment of board money appears therefore not to keep pace with the increase in earnings associated with age. At sixteen years, board money was a higher proportion of earning from employment than at nineteen years, a median of 23% in 1985 and 17% in 1987. Variation around the median was also greater in 1985 than in 1987.

Earlier in this article the variation by gender in the amounts paid in board money was noted (Figure 2) and it was suggested that the variation reflected variation in their earning ability. I suggested that women paid less board money because they earned less and that gender differences in board money reflected gender inequalities in the labour market. When the findings of Figure 7 are broken down by gender, it emerges that women paid the same proportion of their earnings in board money as men, at both sixteen and nineteen years. Overall, in 1985, the median percentage of earnings paid by men was 31% and by women was 30%, while in 1987, the median percentage of earnings paid in board by both groups was 17%.

There is therefore no obvious need to search further for reasons for gender differences in paying board, though earlier studies have suggested that women feel they should be paying less board if they do housework instead (Jamieson and Corr, 1989) and that paying board may mean (for men) exemption from housework (Wallace, 1987b). The SYPS data, reported elsewhere (Jones, 1990), suggests that for most women practices reflect their double disadvantage in the labour market and in the domestic division of labour: they do housework as well as, rather than instead of, paying board money. It seems to be only in middle class households that housework can take the place of a financial contribution for board.

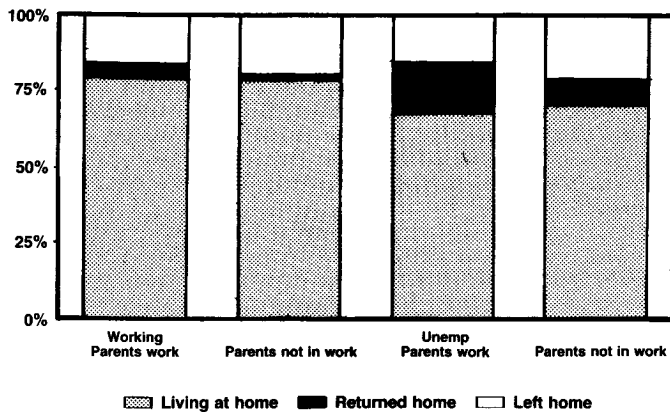
The 'option' of living at home

At the time of our surveys, as indeed currently, young people who were unemployed were being discouraged by social security regulations from leaving home. They did not, however, receive any active encouragement to

stay at home, since if they were on YTS or unemployed their families were expected to be subsidising them. The cost of having adult children (over 16 years) at home was becoming prohibitive for many poorer parents. It seems clear from our data that unemployment among the young puts particular strain on many families since they were likely to pay less in board money and since the families might already be experiencing unemployment of another family member. Hutson and Jenkins (1989) suggest that the families and individuals concerned were forced to adapt and take this strain. Unfortunately, a sample of young people living at home does not show instances where the young are forced out of their parental homes by economic hardship (Cusack and Roll, 1985). Those observed both in these data and in the Swansea study were the ones who were 'taking the strain'. The ones who fail to take the strain tend to get lost from view. Even a postal survey can, however, throw some light on the relationship between homelessness, unemployment and parents' economic circumstances. The data presented in Figure 8 form part of a study of household formation among young adults in Scotland (Jones, 1990c). The study confirmed earlier research findings that leaving home is not necessarily a one-off event: the move to independent housing can be complex and may involve occasional returns to the parental home again. Here, Figure 8 shows patterns of leaving home and returning home among the same cohort of young people in Scotland.

Those who have left home to go away to college are excluded from this analysis. In all, around one-third of the cohort had left home at some stage, though some had returned again. The stated government policy is to encourage young people to stay longer in the parental home and to return home if they run into problems having left it, rather than risk homelessness. Two relevant points can be made from the findings in the figure. First, young workers are equally likely to have left home whatever their father's employment status, but those with fathers in full-time work are far more likely to have returned home again. I would suggest that this relates to my earlier finding that young workers have an increased financial obligation to their families when their fathers are unemployed. If this is the case, then housing benefit policies may deter young workers from returning home even if they have housing difficulties. Secondly, many young people leave home to look for work or take up a job. If they fail to find work or become unemployed, they are twice as likely to return home to their parents if their fathers are in full-time employment. So, if a young person becomes unemployed and loses their income support, they may still not return home if there is unemployment in the family — the obvious implication here is they may become homeless instead. This pattern may well be an outcome of social security regulations. Further research may help to confirm whether or not this is the case.

Fig 8:
Living at home and returning home
by own and parents' employment status



While government policy is supposed to be encouraging young people to stay longer in the parental home and to return home if they get into trouble, these findings provide a further indication that families cannot always provide the shelter that they are assumed to. The outcome of policy failure in this respect is that the young people who are at risk of homelessness are not only those who have been in care or who came from 'problem families' (the groups on which much attention is already centred) but also those who come from poorer families who either simply cannot afford to care for them, or put financial demands on them that they simply cannot meet.

Summary and discussion

The payment of board money is prevalent among young people who are living in the parental home and are in the labour market. There seem to be rates of payment which are fixed at a symbolic level when young people begin to pay board, but there is a danger in assuming that the payment of board money is entirely symbolic. In some families, paying board may be considered educationally desirable, a way of teaching the value of money and developing a sense of responsibility and independence (Hutson and Jenkins, 1989), but this may be the case mainly among middle class households. There seem to be two sets of circumstances in which the symbolic significance of paying board becomes decreased. One is as young people grow up, and there is a suggestion here that with age and increased earnings, payments become more related to the ability to pay. The other is that payments are also related to family need. In both these situations, the social and psychological symbolism of paying board is overtaken by its economic significance. Paying board becomes rooted in the adult world of resources and commitments, of personal independence and responsibility for others.

The findings show clearly that highest amounts of board money are paid by young people in work, that is by those most able to in the poorest families,

measured by both father's position in the occupational class structure and in the labour market, and by the size and composition of the family. Most board money is paid in households containing lone mothers or unemployed fathers, large families and lower social classes. These are the families most affected by any changes in social security legislation. There are indications that there may be many cases where neither the young people nor their families can take the strain of the obligations imposed on them by social policies. In such cases homelessness could result.

With the community charge ('Poll Tax') now introduced in England and Wales as well as in Scotland, young people over 18 years living at home with their parents are expected to pay additional housing costs. In Lothian, where poll tax is high, this currently represents over £9 per adult per week. It remains to be seen whether young people will be able to pay charges such as this, and whether they will be able to continue to pay board money and rent to their parents if they do so — even if they get a poll tax reduction. Early findings suggest that young people in Scotland are finding it hard to pay their poll tax even when they want to (Corr, Jamieson and Tomes, 1990).

The housing costs of young people living with their parents could now contain three elements:

- Board money
- Rent contribution
- Poll Tax.

Some young people (those over 18, those in work with parents who claim housing benefit) may be expected to pay all three elements. Even a combination of two elements could be prohibitive. If young people cannot meet all their housing costs themselves, then poor families will become even poorer. Some young people may live away from home because of such financial pressures, and despite the shortage of housing for young single people. This will result in a further increase in single homelessness. The intended consequence of government action is that the family should be strengthened. The unanticipated consequence of policy which is uninformed and takes no positive action to help families survive may be the destruction of the very institution it seeks to promote. Policies to encourage young people to stay longer in the parental home would do well to use the carrot rather than the stick.

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Youth policies and young people in West Germany

CLAIRE WALLACE

The training system in West Germany is often referred to approvingly in this country, but far less is known about other youth policies in the Federal Republic. Policies relating to young people need to be seen in terms of the way in which youth have been constructed as a 'problem' at different periods of time and the ways in which youth have been targeted as a site of social intervention. The material presented here reflects the concerns of the 'youth debate' in Germany but aims to set this within an historical context.

Youth and the Development of the Welfare State in Germany

The early development of the welfare state in Germany can be traced back to Bismarck's reforms at the end of the nineteenth century and the idea that the role of the state should be to overcome class, religious and regional differences in a newly unified country and thus ensure social stability. The most significant reforms with regard to young people can be traced to the 1920's when the foundations of the modern apprenticeship and education system were laid and the 'jugendwohlfahrtsgezet' (youth welfare) — laws which established an infrastructure for youth welfare — were passed. Hence, in Germany youth were identified from an early stage as a category for intervention. This was partly due to the fears about social dislocation because of migration of young people from the countryside to the towns and partly because there had been a strong tradition of autonomous youth organisations to represent them (Gillis 1981).

From 1933, after a period of economic crisis during which time many of the youth organisations became radically politicised, the National Socialists consolidated their positions as the sole political party and their youth organisation — the 'Hitler Youth' — took over or annexed all the others. Membership was compulsory for all young people between the ages of 10 and 18 (Koch 1975). The National Socialist youth organisations were strongly — and deliberately — divided by gender. The Hitler Youth itself was designed to train young men to become future soldiers and sacrifice themselves for the new social order of the Third Reich whereas girls joined the Bund Deutscher Maedchen (League of German Girls) where they were trained in feminine service to family and community. A conscious programme of indoctrination involved filling

their lives with activities even at the expense of formal schooling and dis-

couraging temptations to join in popular American consumer culture, which was considered decadent. Youth were therefore identified as a crucial part of the National Socialist regime but youth activities were strongly state directed, intended to replace other bonds of family, class or neighbourhood. The Hitler Youth were used as part of the war effort in rescue work with the civilian population and in some cases troupes of 'Hitler Youth' were even used in armed combat. Under the Third Reich youth were seen as agents of transformation so that control of the hearts and bodies of young people became an essential part of the fascist project (Koch 1975).

The ending of the war left a situation of despair and economic collapse with mass homelessness, unemployment of around 28%, famine and large numbers of people displaced or dead. Even as late as 1949 it was estimated that there were as many as 80,000 young vagrants with no homes or jobs, often having lost their families, leading a hand-to-mouth existence and spending periods in jail (Kersten 1985). Little in the way of an education system remained and there was no training.

From the early 1950's this situation started to change dramatically. The post-war reconstruction involving the injection of American aid and reform of the currency meant that the West German economy began to expand rapidly creating jobs and possibilities of consumer spending undreamed of previously. This became known as the 'economic miracle'. Unemployment all but vanished so that by 1955 Germany had a labour shortage and began importing migrant workers to fill the jobs at the bottom end of the job market — mostly from Southern European countries such as Turkey, Greece and Yugoslavia (Bendit and Steinmayr 1985). A crucial element of the post-war reconstruction was to create a stable social democratic welfare state and in order to do this the earlier legislation of the 1920's was used as a basis for new youth policies. Once more it was important to win the hearts of young people and enable them to build a capitalist economy which would be an ideological alternative to the Communist Eastern bloc just across the border. Reforms in education and training included attempts to re-establish the apprenticeship system in order to

give young people some stake in the system. This got off to a series of bad starts culminating in the early 1960's with strikes and marches of protest by young apprentices complaining about being simply used as cheap labour.

Furthermore, there were problems in encouraging young people to join such schemes when their appetite for consumer goods had been whetted by the 'economic miracle' and they could get more money by simply going straight into 'dead end' jobs. Hence, many of the early problems of the apprenticeship system were reminiscent of those in Britain.

With the coming of affluence new problems were discovered amongst the young. The presence of US troops was blamed for the introduction of teenage fashions and youth cultures and in the 1950's there appeared the 'Halbstarke' (rather like Teds) who engaged in confrontations with other gangs and with the police. The sorts or moral panics associated with these were more reminiscent of the fears about Teddy Boys or Mods and Rockers in England (see Cohen 1972) but given the history of political instability in Germany and the role young people had played in this, there was correspondingly greater concern. However what was emerging was not organised or politicised youth cultures but rather spontaneous confrontations based upon cultural and generational differences. Since then, skins, football hooligans, punks and so on have all come and gone, reflecting the international character of youth cultural styles and music.

Extensive educational reforms were introduced between the mid 1960's and early 1970's which were far more wide-ranging in their impact. Education became compulsory until the age of 18 (although the last two years can be 'day release' as part of an apprenticeship) and this helped to institutionalise the 'Dual System' of apprenticeships involving education in conjunction with vocational on-the-job training. From this period those under the age of 18 almost universally became 'students' or 'apprentices', but this also tended to increase the demand for education and more young people remained in schools or colleges to improve their qualifications. For example, the mean age of entering an apprenticeship was 16.5 years in 1980 and by 1988 it was over 18. As well as the influx of young people into education, the intake into vocational schools went up by one third between 1960 and 1985 and more people remained in education beyond the age of 18.

The education system in Germany resembles the 'tripartite' system which existed in England and despite the introduction of Comprehensives in the 1960's only a small number attend them. The consequence of the increasing demand for education is that more and more people are entering the upper tiers of the system and fewer and fewer the lower tiers as is illustrated in Table 1. Those in the lower tiers are increasingly socially disadvantaged (Rademacker 1985, Bargel 1985)

Table 1:
Changes in school population between 1960 and 1985 in the Federal Republic of Germany

Percentage of population in:	1960	1985
Basic School (Hauptschule)	66%	39%
Middle School (Realschule)	13%	27%
Grammar Schools (Gymnasium)	20%	28%
Comprehensives (Gesamtschule)	—	6%

Source: Federal Ministry for Education and Science, 1987.

Note: Pupils in these schools are aged between 10 and 19 but people can leave from the age of 15 or 16 (depending upon the region).

Matriculation from a Gymnasium automatically entitles the bearer to a place in Higher Education and indeed 95% of people with this certificate take advantage of the opportunity which is reflected in the percentage of those between 19 and 26 in Higher Education rising from 4.3% in 1960 to 18% in 1985 (the equivalent figure for 18-24 year olds in the UK in 1986/7 was 10%).

The world recession of the 1970's hit West Germany industry as well and resulted in the contraction of employment. The State response was to avoid youth unemployment by further expanding the education and training system. More short courses were introduced and young people often trained for another apprenticeship after finishing their first one, generating a problem of 'second stage' transitions — that is, the transition between training and work. The further growth of the economy and the dramatic fall in the birth rate which will affect school leavers from the end of the 1980's mean that the situation of mass youth unemployment which occurred in Britain and other less interventionist states has been avoided.

Although there are still strong class differences in the access to different types of school and the children of migrant workers are the ones least likely to obtain a school leaving certificate or an apprenticeship place at any level (see Bendit and Steinmayr 1985), these structural disadvantages are no longer seen as the main problem in the Federal Republic. Rather, there is concern that the reform of the education and training system had led to an increasing stress and anxiety associated with a preoccupation with individual success and betterment (Pettinger 1985). Parents see it as important for their status to secure a good educational place for their children, and children are under pressure to pass examinations and secure a good post through training. Those who find themselves at the bottom of the system are increasingly seen as failures (Rademacker 1985). The education and training system is constructed in such a way that there are a

number of routes through it and a person could carry on moving in and out of school, college and work until they are well into their thirties in order to construct a career.

These reforms took effect however, at the same time as unemployment began to rise and there was a squeeze on public expenditure as the Social Democrats lost power. The effect was to intensify competition for training and education places and introduce the possibility that the training may not lead to a job at the end. Furthermore the general movement of people up the system resulted in increased demand for University places and the imposition for the first time of quotas on popular degree choices such as Medicine and Psychology. By the end of the 1970s the system was characterised by increasing competition, uncertainty and anxiety. Hence, young people are in a state of transition — a period between school and work — for longer and longer periods and some have characterised this period as one of 'post adolescence' (Shell 1981, 1985). If they enter higher education they cannot expect to leave until they are 25 or so at the earliest, and if they are in the apprenticeship system they then go on to qualify for a series of examinations after their apprenticeship leading to a 'Meister' certificate and beyond into a Polytechnic (for further details of this see Chandler and Wallace 1990). This is exacerbated by conscription for young men — either for fifteen months in the regular army or even longer in the alternative social service duty. This has recently been reduced to a year.

This atmosphere of reform, and seeing youth as the focus of reforms extended to the Youth Service too. The independent youth organisations (organised by Trades Unions, Professional Associations, Churches, Political Parties and Sports Associations as well as the usual Scouts, Guides and their equivalents) were incorporated as a semi-autonomous part of the welfare state in which youth workers were often employed. In the educational reforms of the 1960s, youth work was identified as the 'fourth learning field' alongside education, the family and training system, and hence even the leisure activities of young people have been identified as an important site of intervention. This strong focus on youth is also reflected in the creation of a Federal Ministry for Youth Health and Family which has recently been extended to include women. Following the 1960s reforms, this Ministry has commissioned extensive reports on different aspects of youth every couple of years — reports to which academics contribute a considerable part and which draw heavily on academic research (much of the information here is drawn from these reports).

Young people in Germany however have responded with their own sub-cultural forms and these are not dictated by those wishing to intervene in youth, although they are a response to social circumstances of which policies form an important part. I have already mentioned the appearance of the working-class 'Halb-

starke' (a bit like Teds) in the 1950s. The dizzy and unfamiliar affluence of the times encouraged a view of youth as 'fun' involving a hedonistic pursuit of pleasure — something which was seen as a reaction against the austere period of reconstruction (Linder 1985). They were superseded by the more middle class hippies and a variety of protest movements. These were rebelling against the consumer oriented Germany of the 1960s and their influence is still important in movements such as the Greens. They were superseded in turn by the punks, reacting against the 'Reform euphoria' which had merely ended in increased competition and uncertainty for young people.

It is evident therefore that there were similar youth movements to those in Britain but they need to be explained in terms of reactions to social and political conditions in Germany, particularly generational reactions against various kinds of parental conservatism. The 'generation gap' could be said to exist between the experiences of war time and post-war generations, especially with the rejection of National Socialism and the collapse of fascist values under which the war-time generation had been raised — and indeed indoctrinated.

The Current Debates about Youth Issues

Social policies reflect the kinds of discourses surrounding youth and it is evident that given the rather dramatic history of Germany, youth have played an important part and have been targeted as important agents of social transformation whether to fascism or to social democracy. In Eastern Germany the Communists took over the National Socialist Youth organisations and used them to create a new generation of communist supporters (not, it seems in retrospect, with great success). There is still concern about the political affiliations of young people whether to the Greens or to the Red Army Faction or neo-fascist groups as these have in various ways been seen to threaten the political stability of post war Germany and young people have played an important part in at least the first of these two movements. This may be partly the reason why so much research is carried out on young people and their values — but most are not politically aligned.

Whilst class has not been seen as a very relevant concept for studying young people, regional differences have and the differences between the declining and industrial north of the country and the affluent and conservative south are considerable. Likewise rural areas have traditionally been seen as deprived in terms of educational and training opportunities with the young people there more integrated into adult community organisations whereas in metropolitan centres they were able to develop more autonomous youth

cultures. The aim of most young people was therefore to move to an urban centre although there are problems in finding accommodation without a guaranteed income (Gaiser et al. 1985). Whilst differences between urban and rural areas may be declining in the 1990s with improved transportation, new regional differences will emerge with the unification with economically deprived areas of Eastern Germany.

Gender has been raised as an issue by German feminists and there is now more attention paid to what girls think and do (Seidenspinner and Burger 1985). This has highlighted the fact that although the training system expanded enormously and now has some 400 recognised trades eligible for training, girls are concentrated in just a few of them. The traditional focus of youth work has likewise been on male youth. Surveys such as that by Seidenspinner and Burger in 1982 indicated that girls see their future in terms of work in the labour market and are not content with a domestic role. This has come to official attention through the production of one of the Government Youth Reports devoted specifically to young women.

The changes wrought by the combination of education reforms and restructuring of the labour market have meant that the idea of the 'normal biography' has had to be reassessed. The normal biography for men had been to leave education and start a working career through training. For women it had been to be employed until children arrived and then to become a full-time home-maker. These stereotypes no longer fit young people's aspirations or behaviour. Instead, new patterns of transition into work and biography are emerging and these have been the target of much research activity and public debate.

What developments are there for the future? One of the main factors shaping current policies in both the Federal Republic and in Great Britain are demographic changes. There is a considerable drop in the birth rate and hence a more 'top heavy' age pyramid even than in Britain and this is causing some concern.

New patterns of family formation are becoming evident — the dissociation of sexuality and childbearing from traditional institutions of marriage, the postponing of childbearing and marriage and the increasing numbers of young people wanting to leave in order to live independently or in communal living arrangements rather than the parental or spousal home — are topics of some debate. The protracted transition into family life which is taking place, coupled with the protracted transitions into the labour market have given further impetus to the notion of 'post adolescence': a period of experimentation and transition taking place after the traditional teenage years and before full entry into adult roles as worker and family member (this assumes of course a rather functionalist idea that founding a family and becoming a full-time worker is the end goal of most people's transitions!). However conceptualised, it is evident this long period of extended orientation has been introduced and this has implications for young

people's view of themselves. Lacking a full adult income they are not able to become fully independent in the traditional way and many are dependent upon parents, benefits and temporary jobs during this period. They have difficulty too, without a regular source of income, in finding accommodation separate from parents. Consequently, new roles and life-styles need to be found.

This has been the subject of a number of research projects currently taking place in West Germany and some of the most important research has been carried out at the German Youth Institute in Munich. The author of the next article, Wolfgang Gaiser, is one of the permanent staff of researchers there who has been monitoring these changes over a number of years. Here he reports on this most recent research.

Conclusions

It is evident that Germany has had a variety of political and economic upheavals over the last hundred years, but throughout this young people have been seen as an important site of intervention and have played a strong part in Germany's history. I have tried to show in this review of issues how youth have been constructed as a problem and the forms that state intervention have taken. The current youth debates, no less than those in the past, help to construct a discourse of 'youth' which influences the kinds of policy initiatives which take place — especially in a country where the 'Ministry of Youth' or regional governments actually commission much of the research and draw upon academic expertise in constructing policies.

The fact that the Federal and regional governments are actually interested in the sorts of issues raised by Gaiser's article implies a very different relationship between social science and social policy than that found in England over the last twenty years. It also attests to the continued importance of monitoring young people, their problems, values and attitudes in the Federal Republic.

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Prolongation of the **Youth-Phase in the Federal Republic of Germany. The Life Situation and Coping Strategies of Young People and the Consequences for Youth Policy**

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Heide Funk and Hans-Ulrich Mueller**

The transition of young people from school to working life in the Federal Republic of Germany has changed considerably over the last twenty years. Changes in the demand for young people's labour, in industrial organisation and the increasing importance of qualifications in securing a job have resulted in the prolongation of the youth-phase, particularly the period between the end of compulsory schooling and the beginning of a secure occupational career. This has led to the erosion of what is called the 'normal biography' involving transition from education through training into work for males and from education and work into family roles for females. New forms of social status have had to be developed following new paths of transition. The Deutsches Jugendinstitut (German Youth Institute) in Munich, financed by the Federal Ministry of Youth, Women, Family Affairs and Health is the largest research institute in this field and has funded projects to examine the implications of this for young people in urban and rural areas, particularly the impact upon: the social status of young people; their patterns of transition from youth to adulthood; the implications for relationships between generations; the importance of peer groups and social networks; the management of partnership relations.

In the first stage of the research various qualitative methods were used to explore these ideas in a range of urban and rural settings. In an earlier study, 150 young people were interviewed in 1976/77 and followed up later in 1982. This was supplemented with a quantitative study of 1,600 respondents. The present study which has been going on for three years used interviews, group discussions, participant observation, and action research and is longitudinal. The next stage of the project planned to take place will consider the relationship between the structure of social opportunities and individual coping strategies in the transition from adolescence to adulthood.

Concepts and theories

Our project began by exploring the concept of 'post adolescence' derived from theories of socialisation which argue that this is an extended period of learning in the youth-phase (Jugendwerk Der Deutschen Shell 1981). According to this theory, post-adolescence (stretching from 18 to 25 or so) is a time when young people are in a state of prolonged preparation before

taking up a full time job and which reinforces tendencies towards the postpone-

ment of family formation and the emergence of new household arrangements — such cohabitation or single living — which precede transition into a new family. We argue that this idea in its most simple form is not applicable. Whilst we acknowledge the existence of this phase, we argue that the social, political and cultural meanings of this biographical stage are more complex. Thus, we found that this extended youth-phase is characterised by contradictory tensions between earlier social and cultural independence on the one hand (young people feel mature and able to take responsibility for their lives at the age of 18 if not before) and a prolonged economic dependency upon parents on the other. In order to conceptualise this better, we have developed the idea of 'Lebenslage' (life situation) which originated in the German science of social policy. The concept describes the site of production and reproduction, including factors of education, work, income, opportunities, neighbourhood, housing, social networks and participation in public life. The concept of Lebenslage (life situation) encompasses the idea that these conditions are partly determined by the degree of political recognition — or the lack of it — in state policies. It is bisected by gender dimensions.

The Lebenslage (Life Situation) of young adults

In general, the Lebenslage of young adults can be characterised by the fact that due to changes in the organisation of work and the extension of the period of education and training, school leavers remain below the socially acceptable level of autonomy. In other words, that they are no longer able to become economically independent as they leave school and get older; they are stuck in a dependent status for longer periods than in the past. This means that adolescents must find coping strategies for orienting their lives, new ways of coming to terms with this new social status. They have to find ways to connect their psychological and social development with the available forms of career and educational development in society. It may be necessary however, to disconnect these two processes, since the transitions in the employment system are less and less able to offer

stable long-term personal identities. The idea of what constitutes a 'normal biography' for females and males is changing and the family and employment patterns over the life-course are shifting.

Another factor is the housing market, which does not at present offer suitable accommodation of the type sought by young people. Therefore, leaving home — previously important in the step from youth to adulthood — is either difficult or impossible for many young people seeking to be less dependent upon their families. They remain at home for longer periods. The daily challenge for adolescents in this situation is to cope by developing a lifestyle which can match their real situation. The interaction patterns of adolescents during this phase should therefore be interpreted as ways of managing the complicated and problematical situations which are typical of this life-phase.

The following data substantiate some of these changes in West Germany over the past two decades:

- Young adults attending schools for general and vocational education: 78% of the 18 year olds were in the education system in 1985 as opposed to 28% in 1960. For 21 year olds this proportion increases from 7% in 1960 to 25% in 1985.
- Termination of the first vocational training: the mean age of young adults in vocational training has changed. Today 37% are older than 18; this figure was only 10% in 1960.
- Employment of young adults: the proportion of 21 to 25 year old males outside the employment system has increased from 7.7% in 1957 to 29.9% in 1980. The proportion of young adults (male and female) who cannot earn their own living by gainful employment has risen for the 20 to 25 year olds from 26% in 1970 to 28% in 1980. For young male adults this proportion has changed from 16% to 23%.
- Income: the percentage of youth whose main income source is parental support has increased during the past decade. Only 32% of the 18 to 20 year olds declare that they can earn their own living; the same is true to 68% of the 21 to 24 year olds. 40% of the 18 to 20 year olds have an income over DM 600 per month, while 75% of the 20 to 24 year olds do.

Coping strategies and the steps to adulthood

The trends described above along with the search for more qualifications and training create new conditions for the transition from school to work. In general, people enter the labour market older today than in the past and they have benefited from longer and better periods of schooling. The contraction of the labour market has forced many school leavers into further schooling, pre-vocational courses, training schemes or even joblessness. The journey out of school is no longer a one-way street; rather, there are now a range

of different routes with detours, roundabouts, side-roads and dead-end streets. The situation however for school leavers varies according to the type of school which they have attended, the region in which they live, their family background and their gender.

A further result with far-reaching implications is that this biographical phase is not simply a transition to the world of work. As the search for work became more protracted, difficult and requiring more personal sacrifice, the value of work itself was questioned. Young people see the vocational content of education and occupational training as considerably less important for life as a whole than used to be the case for previous generations. It seems that individuals look at occupation as only one area of experience among others. Thus, for example, there are indications that decisions about housing or about partnership may become as important for the patterns of transition into the world of work as occupational decisions — especially for young women.

Nevertheless the completion of vocational training and entry into secure employment were still prime goals in life. There were no radical criticisms of the basic political framework or of the organisation of vocational training and employment.

On the basis of their practical experiences of working life during the time of their apprenticeship, young people showed increasing scepticism towards the notion that high achievement motivation and levels of performance were the sole guarantees of professional and social success. They were ambivalent about both of these things. This took the form of two contradictory ideas. On the one hand, their faith in the principle of a just meritocratic allocation of opportunities based upon achievement declines through the period of apprenticeship. On the other hand, *personal* aspirations for success through achievement are unaffected. Qualifications and further education are still considered very important at a personal level.

This contradiction is one aspect of the erosion of the 'normal biography'. As the result of the far-reaching changes in industrial society, the phase of youth has been extended and diversified, so the clear-cut transition from training system to employment and the predictability of future careers and prospects has become blurred. The structure of the 'normal biography' is collapsing at the same time as there are increasing demands being made on young adults in terms of the need to cope with daily life. Consequently, the role played by the processes of *reproduction* — such as social space, housing and social networks — have all become more important. The post-school adolescent phase is gradually turning into an autonomous stage of life, the quality of which will vary with the degree of social policy and political recognition.

The resources needed for these coping strategies also vary between regional contexts. Although urban areas offer undeniable advantages, they also entail definite risks of marginalisation. Young people can become

closed off and ignored in their own sub-cultures. The forms of confrontation between young adults and the structure of opportunities gives rise to a range of coping strategies which we explore in our previous research.

Gender divisions

Sex discrimination in vocational training can be demonstrated in a number of ways. Female trainees are largely restricted to a small number of occupations requiring vocational training which are often characterised by poor training quality and limited job opportunities afterwards. This reflects an even more constrained set of training opportunities available to women generally.

There is also a gender-specific division in vocational on-the-job training. On-the-job vocational training for women usually leads to employment in areas characterised by relatively low income, limited opportunities for promotion, great psychological and physical stress and limited security of employment. Conditions are such that women are more willing to return to the 'alternative' of being a home-maker. Interrupted careers of this kind, however, do not necessarily make firms lose interest in female workers, as is often assumed. In many cases it may even fulfil a firm's requirements — for example in employment that is physically demanding so that only young women would be considered and even then for only a limited number of years. After this time the firms prefer to hire 'fresh' employees possessing the necessary qualifications for the job — in this case 'youthfulness'.

Regional differences: postadolescence in urban areas

The city has traditionally been seen by young people in West Germany as the place where training and careers can be best pursued and where there is a better cultural life for this age group. However, we found that this idealised perception of the city as a place for career advancement and for the fulfilment of social and cultural goals is diminishing. The multiple difficulties of the job and housing markets are being more realistically assessed by young people. They find that there is a widening gap between the cultural opportunities offered by the city and their own reduced ability to pay for them on lower incomes. The increased phase of dependency means less access to housing and commercial facilities. Finally, young people clearly perceive the problems of social integration in the city. There are some consistent aspects to be considered here:

- Above all, young women encounter more obstacles in opening up resources of life management for themselves in both their professional and their private and social lives. More than young men, they must rely on lower paying professions and jobs, and the urban 'scene' for adolescents and young adults is by no means unconditionally

accessible to single women. In many public places, for example in subway stations, parks, on certain blocks and in bars, women frequently feel insecure and threatened. They also experience more pressure to adjust with respect to their autonomy and their growing-up.

- Secondly, we observe in young adults a generally low inclination to concern themselves with long-term plans for their future. A strong sense of the here and now and a concentration on the short-term goals of life management seem significant. This attitude, however, is not at all hedonistic, nor does the short-term orientation exclude perspectives. The time concepts are simply narrower, and the present claims priority over the future. Young adults reported how time-consuming it can be to co-ordinate and integrate into normal life the demands of their professional work and studies, the search for jobs, the integration of their jobs into their daily and weekly routine, the realization of their own lives and their independence, their indispensable input into communication with, and maintenance of, social networks and, finally, the obligations in relationships and friendships. A great deal of energy, creativity and also money is needed in order to create a lifestyle which corresponds to their desire for autonomy and independence as well as enabling them to take advantage of their urban environment.
- Another general aspect is that every day is at least influenced, if not dominated, by specific economic calculations. On the one hand, there is the question 'what do I want, what can I afford, which things do I need in my life?' and, on the other hand, the problem of obtaining sufficient financial means. Even though prosperous regions present a large variety of temporary, substitute and seasonal jobs, these types of income are earned outside of the traditional job market and therefore outside of the state — and union — regulated security and benefit system. These circumstances require that the individual be prepared to deal with short-term, sometimes parallel and intertwining phases of work, achievement, income, qualification, training, further education, leisure, travel and consumption. The resulting complex structure of demands affects the self image of young adults, who oscillate between optimism and a positive self-perception and insecurity and scepticism in regard to the future.
- A last general aspect is the relation between generations. Economic support from parents is considered a normal part of the mandatory support system into the late twenties, for example, in the form of a financial contribution to the costs of independent living, justified by the expensive urban housing market. The topic of communication between the generations is less

the young person's striving to gain independence from the parents than both parties co-operating in solving difficulties together. The young adults describe quite nonconflictual relationships with their parents. They make use of the urban possibilities to create physical and social distance by choosing different geographical and social areas, and the friction between members of different generations is therefore reduced.

Regional differences: postadolescence in rural areas

In rural areas young people were traditionally integrated more closely into the adult community and were dependent upon parents to a greater extent than in the cities. They did not form such distinctive subcultures as in metropolitan areas. However, we found that the prolongation of adolescence has created a new social status for young people in rural areas as well. There is not the same kind of subcultural separation of young people inside the local community as was found in the urban environment, but there is an increasing tendency to look outside the boundaries of the village and towards the region in terms of personal orientation. This new orientation is promoted by the regionally organised education system, by high mobility through access to motorised transport at an early age and by the spread of a specialised youth-oriented leisure industry. There is thus a new cultural scene connecting villages with urban cultural styles so that young people can have a lifestyle beyond the traditional social control of their community. At the same time they still have a marked allegiance to their home village where they see their future social integration as lying. In everyday life the young people's attitude is to combine both ways of life: to act as a subcultural group in the regional scene and to adjust to the expectations of the local community. At the same time they use the facilities of their parental home. In addition, young people and adults have a similar attitude as consumers, which is not the case in the city.

A special situation in which tension or conflicts emerge is the search for decent job placement in vocational education. Young people in rural areas were traditionally oriented to the professional and occupational status and biographical experiences of their parents. Due to the fact that the regional labour market has become much more complex and imponderable, this orientation has become obsolete. At the same time, young people lack adequate cultural support which might enable them — as is common in urban areas — to find their way through the maze of the labour market. Without such a social network outside the traditional network of the neighbourhood, young people in rural areas experience pressure from their parents: they are pushed to take the nearest job at hand and not to wait for a better job career. Therefore, these young people cannot take advantage of the positive aspects of postadolescence.

Policy implications: youth services and youth policy

As the ways of attaining adulthood have become less predictable, more complicated and more differentiated, so a new role is required of the youth support service. This can be achieved by introducing the concept of life-context-oriented youth services as a part of the regional and local infrastructure of services. This would mean, among other things, the need for an evaluation of housing and labour markets by the youth services and the ways in which these marginalise young people. Since young people suffer increasing structural disadvantage in housing and labour markets, youth services need to offer counselling and support which seriously aims to change their situation. Local policy should be aimed at not just vocational education and work-projects — which are also needed in urban and rural areas — but also living accommodation which young people can afford, particularly in the big cities. A wide range is required to reflect different life-situations, from emergency sleeping places to accommodation for single people and starter homes for young families.

In several West German cities, integrated models combining vocational education, work and the creation of living accommodation, which were used by the young people themselves later, proved to be successful.

While the extension of formal schooling has tended to reduce the differences between social classes, in postadolescence these differences and the related privileges and disadvantages reassert themselves. Therefore, a youth policy which aims at equality of opportunities must not cease its efforts when young people reach full age (in the FRG age 18) but maintain them until they reach an adult status. This aspect is reflected in the new German law for 'child and youth welfare' which comes into force on 1st January 1991 and has a lot of specific regulations for the 18 to 27 year olds.

In view of the diversification of biographies which develop during socially defined phases and status passages, it is important to offer stabilizing support in the local environment. And on the uncertain path which young people must tread, a place to live can be a home base, a starting point or a staging post.

Concurrent peers and the network of social relations take on new functions, which are often indispensable for life management. Some adolescents and young adults become the compensating agents for a lack of institutional services in the process of growing up. At the same time they maintain their functions of emotional support, providing partners, recreation, and offering a frame of reference for the confrontation and experimentation with generation-specific norms and values. In the context of the sociopolitical function of peer groups as elements of 'Lebenslagen', a youth policy is required that aims to support and expand the action, scope and resources for the life management

of adolescents and young adults. In concrete terms it would have to improve housing, opportunities for professional qualification, employment and income, as well as the social infrastructure in a complex sense, including the supply of youth-related social work. An acceptable kind of infrastructural design would have to respond to the specific functions of the peer groups of adolescents and young adults.

Conclusion

Our study began by tackling the concepts of youth and adolescence currently used in West German research and found that reality was more complex and contradictory than had been hitherto described. The prolongation of the youth-phase through extended education and training to age 25 and over is accompanied by insecure economic and social status and the questioning of old certainties. Therefore, there is a need for support and assistance to be provided and the youth services need to adapt their remit to be able to cater more effectively for the needs of young people in a changing world.

As well as these general aspects relating to the more complex and differentiated ways of growing up, there are two aspects which seem to us to go beyond the national context.

One point is the need for multi-cultural education. As youth is a time of openness and demarcation, a time of intensive use of different social and cultural experiences, there are excellent opportunities to reconsider social prejudices and to learn from foreign cultures. Multicultural projects as well as multicultural meetings at a local and international level should be promoted. The second point is the disadvantage of girls and young women or, in a broader context, the construction of gender roles. Girls and young women not only have specific problems on the labour market and in

private relationships but are also restricted in using public places. In recent years, a number of projects for girls were set up, including special counselling facilities and what were called 'Women's Houses' (Frauenhaeser). The creation of places where girls and young women can meet and be a small counterweight to the dominance of young men in public places.

At an institutional level, the co-operation between all those who work with young people should be advanced. In particular, there should be a network of schools, youth services, vocational guidance, housing counselling and a subsidised housing sector aiming to help young people and offering new opportunities for them. Such kinds of collaboration require an institutional as well as an individual framework.

In the wider horizon of an integrated Europe young people have to find ways of integrating their individual biography with the context of where they live, pursue vocational training and develop personal relationships.

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Classic Texts Revisited: Baden-Powell's Scouting For Boys

The bible of the Boy Scout movement remains Robert Baden-Powell's classic youth work text *Scouting*

for Boys: A Handbook for Instruction in Good Citizenship, the last scouts' edition of which, published as late as 1963, was reprinted in 1983. Baden-Powell was widely known to boys, in an age before film stars and football heroes, as a glamorous Boer War general, the famous defender of Mafeking. His *magnum opus* first appeared on the bookstalls from January to April 1908 in six fortnightly parts at fourpence a copy, then cloth bound at two shillings a copy, published by Harold Cox. Later, C. Arthur Pearson Limited issued their own cheap cloth-bound edition at one shilling which sold over 5,000 copies per month (the 1909 revised edition of which I have before me).

Sales fluctuated from year to year subsequently but more than 50,000 copies were sold in Britain alone in 1948, the fortieth anniversary of its first publication, so it was clearly one of the steadiest best-sellers in the history of publishing. Indeed, *Scouting for Boys*, translated into many languages, may rank third after the Bible and Shakespeare among the world's best sellers. All over Edwardian England, thousands of boys collected the fortnightly parts as they appeared on the bookstalls, formed themselves into patrols and persuaded sympathetic adults to become their Scoutmasters. Clearly, the impact of the Scout handbook on boys over eighty years ago was far-reaching but it also achieved as much as any other contemporary work in transforming the attitudes of adult youth workers towards the training of the young. For example, Scouting's emphasis on a more gang-centred approach, based on the patrol concept, was an innovation in current youth work practice.

The famous Scout handbook arose out of a suggestion from William Smith, founder of the Glaswegian church-based Boys' Brigade, that Baden-Powell rewrite his army scouting book, *Aids to Scouting for N.C.O.'s and Men* (1899), to suit boys. Smith's proposal was made in April 1904, while Baden-Powell was inspecting the Brigade's annual Glasgow parade, yet it took two more years before he sent a paper on scouting to the *Boys' Brigade Gazette*, not long after first meeting Liberal Minister R. B. Haldane, the new Secretary of State for War and founder of the Territorials. Another influence on *Scouting for Boys* was Ernest Thomson Seton's *The Birch-bark Role of the Woodcraft Indians*

(1906), setting out an adventurous scheme for boys that invited them to iden-

tify with Red Indian braves. Seton and Baden-Powell met for luncheon at the Savoy Hotel on 30 October 1906 and the latter was particularly impressed by what he was told about the Woodcraft Indians' scouting games and their numerous non-competitive badges awarded for personal achievements, still one of the most attractive features of Scouting. Seton later accused the founder of Scouting of plagiarism. Tim Jeal, Baden-Powell's most recent biographer, believes that in his heart Seton (for a few years chairman of the Boy Scouts of America) must have known that *Scouting for Boys* created a world entirely different from that of the Woodcraft Indians; not only because of the famous 'good turn', the Boy Scout name, the uniform and the emphasis placed upon chivalry and patriotism, but also because the whole Scouting scheme drew in material from every conceivable sphere which could interest a boy, from Kipling's Kim and the Mafeking cadet corps to knights in armour and espionage. 'The world of the Red Indian was a restricted place in comparison with the vast region over which the Boy Scout's imagination was invited to wander', writes Jeal persuasively.

The very first Scout camp was held on Brownsea Island, off the Dorset coast, in the summer of 1907 with twenty-two boys in their teens drawn from either the Boys' Brigade in Poole and Bournemouth or the public school sons of Baden-Powell's friends and acquaintances (only the latter were patrol leaders). After this, he was committed to taking over as commander of a territorial division in the North East and to giving a nation-wide series of lectures on Scouting to fulfil a contractual obligation to the publisher Arthur Pearson. 'If we are to make a success of the scheme', wrote Baden-Powell to Pearson's managing director Peter Keary, 'we want the first part of the book published as soon as possible in order to catch the public when they are still hot and keen from my lectures'. Press interest in the lecture tour would sell the serial parts of the handbook; publicity arising from the sale of these instalments would in turn sell *Scouting for Boys*, which in due course would create a market for *The Scout* newspaper, and for any other Scouting publication Pearson's ingenuity might suggest. Between November 1907 and February 1908

Baden-Powell gave over fifty lectures on his Boy Scout scheme, mainly at Y.M.C.A. halls up and down the country. By late December he had finished writing the first two parts of *Scouting for Boys* and completed most of the remaining four while he was on the road lecturing, returning to Wimbledon Common, where he had rented a cottage next door to the Windmill, to complete his writing. Part One of *Scouting for Boys*, with its famous John Hassall cover, appeared on British bookstalls on 15 January 1908.

Edwardian boys, denied any recreation apart from sport, bought the little fourpenny pamphlet by the thousand. Arthur Pearson had seen to it that Baden-Powell's lectures received massive publicity and the public had been eagerly awaiting the appearance of the parts. The subsequent cloth-bound edition of *Scouting for Boys* was originally divided into ten chapters, covering topics such as scoutcraft, campaigning, camp life, tracking, woodcraft, endurance, chivalry, life-saving and patriotism. These chapters were further sub-divided into twenty eight 'Camp Fire Yarns', thus chapter four on 'Tracking' (popular with boys) contained Camp Fire Yarn No. 11 on 'Observation of "Sign"', No. 12 on 'Spooring' and No. 13 on 'Reading "Sign" or Deduction'. The most controversial chapter removed from later editions, was chapter nine on 'Patriotism, or Our Duties as Citizens', including Camp Fire Yarn No. 26 on 'Our Empire', No. 27 on 'Citizenship' and No. 28 on 'United We Stand — Divided We Fall' ('Remember, whether rich or poor, from castle or from slum, you are all Britons in the first place, and you've got to keep Britain up against all outside enemies').

Scouting for Boys was written in a readable, pithy style, pitched at an easily-understood level, and cleverly illustrated with Baden-Powell's own pen drawings. The brusque, matter-of-fact tone of his advice on how to cut down a body, in a case of suicide by hanging, signifies both the book's general style and assumes a greater juvenile familiarity with death than would be the case today:

A tenderfoot is sometimes inclined to be timid about handling an insensible man or a dead man, or even of seeing blood. Well, he won't be much use until he gets over such nonsense; the poor insensible fellow can't help him and he must force himself to catch hold of him; when once he has done this his fears will pass off. And if he visits a butcher's slaughter-house he will soon get accustomed to the sight of blood.

What on the surface appeared a hotchpotch of unrelated topics, interspersed with anecdotes and bits of instruction, was in actuality a skilled blend of practical information, moral exhortation, political treatise and woodcraft training. A boy could easily skip what did not interest him and move on to what did. No wonder it has been compared to a boy's version of the *Reader's Digest* formula.

In recent years, *Scouting for Boys* has received more

than its share of textual analysis from historical and literary scholars. Canadian Professor Robert MacDonal has been looking at how Scouting developed its own mythology to sustain and validate its ideological base, focused on the ethos of the individualistic frontiersman and the conforming good citizen, a contradiction expressed in Baden-Powell's own personality. New York Professor Michael Rosenthal has written an entire book, *The Character Factory* (1986), exposing this mythology, emphasising how Scouting developed out of the trauma of the Boer War and the anxieties it unleashed concerning the racial deterioration of Britain's young manhood. He argues that one of the ways Baden-Powell sold the scouts to the nation was by stressing the critical role they could play in preparing the rising generation for the next war. As B-P cautions at the start of *Scouting for Boys*, 'every boy ought to learn how to shoot and obey orders, else he is no more good when war breaks out than an old woman'. Learning to shoot in order to be able to defend one's country was not an end in itself, claim Scouting's apologists, as much as a single, albeit essential ingredient in a wider good citizenship. As will be seen, a debate concerning how far early Scouting's military intentions were paramount over civil ones has long preoccupied historians. Rosenthal also drew attention to Baden-Powell's blurring of the thin line between creating a healthy pride in genuine achievements of one's country and inducing instead a smug sense of the superiority of the true Briton. Not surprisingly, a movement as explicitly a product of the English public school system as Scouting (B-P was at Charterhouse) shared both the ideology and also the prejudices of that system.

Tim Jeal's exhaustive biography of *Baden-Powell* (1989) conducts a running skirmish with Rosenthal, alerting readers to the superficial nature of many of the latter's judgements, particularly the idea that Scouting was above all else an agency of social control. According to Rosenthal, the continuance of the privileged life of Britain's élite was a natural objective for an army man possessing Baden-Powell's deeply conservative social ideas. Although Baden-Powell was indeed conservative and often worried lest a shift in power might one day leave the nation too divided to defend itself, he was basically a paternalist who believed that landowners and country gentlemen had a duty to protect the working man from capitalist exploitation. The Chief Scout was not indifferent to the well-being of the working-class boys he hoped to attract into the scouts and remained entirely in sympathy with socialists in their desire to 'get money more evenly distributed so that there would be no millionaires and no paupers, but everyone pretty well off'. But his fear that in practice socialism might 'make life a kind of slavery for everybody' persuaded him to drop this passage from the handbook's third edition. He was also 'entirely in sympathy with socialists in their desire to give any man a fair start in life'. Such remarks are cited by Jeal

as inconsistent with the idea that Baden-Powell pioneered the Boy Scouts as a device for indoctrinating working-class boys into support for the established order.

Several scholars who have studied the early Boy Scout movement for evidence on the vexed issue of whether it promoted military or citizen training have argued that Baden-Powell's overriding aim was to make efficient future soldiers and that his interest in good citizenship was secondary and cosmetic. In 1986 Allen Warren of York University published a long article in the *English Historical Review* claiming that whereas previous historians have placed scouting firmly within the context of military and imperial values, often associated with an ideology of social control, a revisionist reading of *Scouting for Boys* would suggest that the movement was much more pluralistic, part of 'a whole spectrum of opinion which had the ideal of citizen training at its core and of which the (pro-conscriptionist) National Service League was the militaristic end'. His foremost point was that the ultimate aim of the Boy Scouts was individual character training for 'practical good citizenship', whereby scouts could be identified as contributing to the education of the future citizen rather than to the training of the future soldier or territorial.

In a reply to Warren's article, the present author argued that militarism and imperialism did not represent merely inessential dimensions of Scouting, part of the 'envelope of socio-political attitudes and fads' which Warren believed had distorted the true bias of *Scouting for Boys* in its first edition, but fundamental instigators behind the launching of the Scout movement, central to Baden-Powell's conservative ideology. In the years during which Baden-Powell was preparing his Scouting scheme, ideas of national efficiency, racial deterioration, and social Darwinism were much more central to intellectual debate than the amorphous concept of citizen training. Arguably, Scouting is better placed within the context of preparing the next generation ('Be Prepared') of British soldiers, volunteers and conscripts to be more efficient, characterful and self-reliant than their Boer War predecessors, however much official Scouting rhetoric may have proclaimed 'good citizenship' as its ostensible aim.

Tim Jeal applauds Dr. Warren's efforts to redress the balance, and thinks him right to try to rescue the civil aims of the movement in the pre-1914 period, but believes he has weakened his argument by ignoring most of the contradictory evidence advanced by his opponents, such as the lengthy correspondence in the Scout Archives between Baden-Powell and Sir Francis Vane, the first Scout Commissioner for London, dismissed late in 1909, who went on to organise the National Peace Scouts. Ronald Hyam also thinks Warren has been effectively refuted, arguing in his entertaining and informative *Empire and Sexuality: The British Experience* (1990) that 'despite a recent abortive challenge to the orthodox view of the origins of Scouting — the revisionism that failed — its

fundamental purpose still seems to have been that of providing a militaristic insurance against a recurrence of the political and military incompetence of the Boer War'. Hyam cites the stress on Marksmanship in *Scouting for Boys*, and reference to the Japanese bushido ideal, as well as to the bush training of the Zulu and Swazi, feeding images of frontier manliness back into the metropolis.

On the other hand, Jeal believes that the 'anti-militarist' historians, myself among them, have overstated their case. He is convinced that, although *Scouting for Boys* resonated with fear for the future of the British Empire, the kindness and generosity advocated as the basis for good behaviour was not simply included as an expedient facade to conceal the movement's true purpose from nonconformist and liberal parents. Only a biographical approach, he argues, puts one in a position to observe how Baden-Powell's interest in good character and in the educational purpose of Scouting began in South Africa as something quite separate from his later involvement with cadet corps and miniature rifle shooting. Thus the famous passage from *Scouting for Boys* beginning 'every boy ought to learn to shoot and obey orders . . .', and the instructions on how to use scouts' staves as dummy rifles, can be contrasted with the passages about 'good turns', 'chivalry', 'saving lives' and 'camping'. Through the influence, direct and indirect, of men as different as William Smith, Ernest Thompson Seton, Arthur Pearson and R. B. Haldane, the two previously indistinct strands were finally brought together in *Scouting for Boys*.

Perhaps, as Jeal suggests, a synthesis of the two opposing views comes closer to the reality of Scouting's early years. Much of Dr. Warren's most telling material is taken from 1911-20 by which time Baden-Powell was stressing the educational and civil aims of the movement in order to fight off the threat of compulsory cadet training. The years from 1902 to 1909 give a more reliable indication of Baden-Powell's original purposes and there the balance between civil and military aims is far more finely balanced than Dr. Warren would seem to concede. In contrast to Baden-Powell's later statements highly critical of cadet training, to which Warren draws our attention, between 1909 the hero of Mafeking praises the potential contribution of cadets to the defence of Britain. Many such pronouncements, reflecting fears of invasion, racial deterioration, imperial decline and the consequent need for military preparedness, could be selected from the first edition of *Scouting for Boys*. Yet to focus on twenty five pages out of three hundred as representing the hidden agenda of the scout handbook is to distort the real contribution Baden-Powell made to youth work practice. Much more attractive to his earliest boy readers, roaming the countryside in search of adventure, were the famous Scout Law, patrol signs and calls, emphasis on woodcraft, knowledge of animals and nature, and knightly chivalry. Yet it was

this generation of Boy Scouts, patriotic Empire Day celebrants, readers of G. A. Henty and jingoistic boys' papers, who rushed eagerly to the colours in August 1914, once war broke out with Germany, as Baden-Powell had so often predicted it would.

Only in 1967 did Pearson's admit that *Scouting for Boys* was 'possibly on a declining market'. By the 1980s, marginally relevant to contemporary youth work practice, it had become an historical curiosity. An edition of 10,000 copies was printed in 1979 and is still largely unsold. Very much of its time, *Scouting for Boys* was an effective blend of inspiration, indoctrination, and information, providing a total system of moral education and character training. In Edwardian England it was just the book that the new movement required, resulting in countless eager boy scouts forming their own patrols and running around the

countryside looking for spoor signs. It is still worth the serious attention of anybody interested in early twentieth-century British society in general and obviously essential for an understanding of the present-day Scout movement in particular.

Further Reading

The 1963 scouts' edition of *Scouting for Boys* is obtainable for under £2 from Scout Headquarters; Tim Jean, *Baden-Powell* (Hutchinson, 1989) is a fair-minded, comprehensive biography; John Springhall, *Youth, Empire and Society: British Youth Movements, 1883-1940* (Croom Helm, 1977), has a chapter on scouting; Michael Rosenthal, *The Character Factory: Baden-Powell and the Origins of the Boy Scout Movement* (Collins, 1986), is a sometimes over-emphatic indictment of Baden-Powell's ideological assumptions; Allan Warren, 'Sir Robert Baden-Powell, the Scout Movement and Citizen Training in Great Britain, 1900-1920', *English Historical Review*, Vol. CI, No. 402 (April 1986), pp. 376-398; John Springhall, 'Baden-Powell and the Scout Movement before 1920: Citizen Training or Soldier of the Future?', *ante*, Vol. CII, No. 405 (October 1987), pp 934-942.

THE CHARNWOOD PAPERS

Fallacies in Community Education

Edited by Bob O'Hagan

Contributors: Paula Allman, John Bastiani, Tim Brighouse, Colin Flecher, Tony Jeffs, Gerri Kirkman, Tom Lovett and Mark Smith.

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RADICAL SOCIAL WORK TODAY
Mary Langan and Phil Lee (Eds)
Unwin Hyman 1989
ISBN 0-04-445321-3
£10.95. pp 332

Radical social work has, to say the least, been in the doldrums of late. Over a decade of Thatcherism with a corresponding ideological move to the right has resulted in major changes in the political economy and attacks on the welfare state itself. Social work has been on the defensive and in the areas I am particularly interested in — child abuse and delinquency, for example — a more controlling, authoritarian attitude has emerged. All this seems to be far removed from the ideals of the radical social workers of the 1970's, influenced by such classic texts as Bailey and Brake's 'Radical Social Work' and Corrigan and Leonard's 'Social Work Practice Under Capitalism: A Marxist Approach'. Radical Social Work Today may not quite be a classic but nevertheless it is a timely book, reminding us that the theory and practice of radical social work, though changed from the 1970's, is as relevant as ever.

The editors provide a useful introduction to the development of radical social work. They point out that radical social work of the 1970's provided a critique of existing patterns of social provision and challenged individualistic explanations of social problems, seeing clients as casualties of an unjust political and economic system, i.e. capitalism. The importance of class was recognised but unfortunately issues of race and gender were largely ignored. The context of social work has not changed because of Thatcherism and, as indicated above, social work has been forced to assume a more coercive and interventionist role in policing deviant families. Despite this Langan and Lee write that 'never has it been more important for social workers to act in ways that minimise the worst effects of current state policies and maximise the potential of resistance of the underclass'. I wholeheartedly agree.

As usual Geoffrey Pierson writes an interesting and lucid piece, this time on social work and unemployment. He notes though that there is a danger that social work with the unemployed is actually helping people to adjust to their situation rather than challenging that situation.

Nigel Parton and Neil Small provide a stimulating chapter on violence in social work. They note that in the field of child abuse, or child protection as it has now been renamed(!), the notions of dangerousness and bifurcation are important. The former relates to the predicting of those individuals within society who are dangerous, and the latter relates to the process whereby those identified as dangerous are dealt with in a tough way, while others are dealt with leniently or even left alone. Thus social work in the child abuse arena increasingly involves recourse to the use of law and the courts in order to remove children from their families, and then the parents have to undertake therapeutic work in order to be reunited with their children. Current child abuse social work largely consists of this with little effort put into prevention by, for example, relieving the material stresses and strains that can lead to child abuse.

Other chapters cover feminism and social work, race and social work, decentralization and social services, radical social work with elderly people, health and social services, community work, and residential care. Concerning the latter it is argued that it is possible to have a progressive, radical practice starting from changes in organisation structures. There should be a move away from a hierarchical, top down and bureaucratic management style, which involves controlling, monitoring and surveillance, towards a more participative, democratic style which allows initiative, autonomy and responsibility to be taken by residential social workers. Involved in this will be a move towards such workers being more accountable to their clients and colleagues rather than remote managers in the hierarchy. Incidentally, these points, it seems to me, apply equally to field as well as residential social workers.

For me the highlight of the book is Paul Senior's chapter on radical probation. This begins with his entry into the profession in the 1970's when the seeds of radical probation were planted in an optimistic climate. At that time although probation operated in a case-work orientated way, new critiques came to the fore and offered ways forward: interactionism questioned the probation officer's role of simply being an agent of social control, and also exposed the problems of working uncritically from official definitions of crime and criminals; empirical research of the time pointed to the ineffectiveness of treatment and rehabilitation methods; and the structuralist critique pointed out, for example, that probation clients were over-whelmingly working class, all of whom suffered the structural problems of unemployment, bad housing, poverty, inadequate education, etc. The structuralist critique in particular helped develop radical probation/social work practice, notwithstanding the difficulties involved, using, for example, Friere's concept of 'conscientization'. For Senior, and I agree, it is important not to lose sight of one's own radical/socialist/Marxist agenda, and one has to be continually aware of the theorization of long-term goals and their relationship to short-term activity. He goes on

to cover the domination of 'law and order' ideology throughout the eleven years of Thatcherism and notes that it is easy to become pessimistic about the possibility of radical practice. For example, 'punishment in the community' is welcomed by many probation officers and social workers because they hope it will lead to reductions in the use of custody. However, what is more likely is that tracking, electric tagging etc., will lead to *alternative custody* rather than *alternatives to custody* being developed. And, of course, the roots of crime and delinquency, the structural factors which intensified under Thatcher, remain untouched. Even so, the chapter ends on an optimistic note arguing that radical probation/social work is possible using anti-racist and anti-sexist strategies, as well as notions such as politicisation and conscientization.

Like all radical social work literature, this book is stronger on theory and analysis rather than actual practice in terms of face to face work with social work clients. A radical practice is obviously needed and perhaps an example from my own experience would be helpful. Traditional approaches to allegations of child abuse involve a 'blame the victim' stance whereby the focus for social work intervention is the intra, or at most, inter-psyche processes of the actors involved. There is little, if any, attention paid to the structural, material factors that, as stated above, can lead to child abuse. I was involved with a group of parents where there was a genuine attempt to redress this balance by focussing on structural issues. There was involvement of a welfare rights officer, a local housing manager, and there were attempts at politicisation and consciousness raising, whereby the group were encouraged to examine their predicament in terms of the present structure of society with all the inequalities of wealth and power this entails. Possible strategies for confronting such issues by becoming involved in claimants unions, tenants associations, political parties, trade unions, etc., were discussed and advocated. All this is not to suggest, of course, that the group provides a blue-print for radical social work practice but at the very least it suggests some tentative ways forward.

Overall then, 'Radical Social Work Today' is a welcome addition to radical social work literature. It is interesting, readable and helps take us forward into the 1990s, a decade which, at least compared to the 1960s and 1970s, is likely to provide a hostile climate for radical social work thinking and practice. Nevertheless attempts have to be made, and this book will help all radical or would be radical social workers, whether they be students, practitioners, academics and, dare I say it(!), managers.

Steve Rogowski

BEYOND STEEL BANDS 'N' SAMOSAS

**Vipin Chauhan
National Youth Bureau**

This book is about Black young people and the Youth Service, it covers every aspect of the experiences Black young people encounter daily in this Society. The book was written in order to present the information collected by an investigation carried out by the National Youth Bureau. This investigation used interviews with Black and white workers from six towns and cities around Britain.

The book starts by presenting a general view of what Racism is and how Black young people are affected by it, using the historical background of Racism and clearly explaining why they are discriminated against on the grounds of colour. It considers the lack of understanding and provision that the predominantly white Youth Service has to the individual and group needs of Black young people, particularly through their individual needs such as: different religions, genders, classes, languages, historical roots and origins. The book qualifies the term 'Black' by listing who and how they are oppressed. It also explains the imbalance of power which causes Racism to exist.

'In Britain white people individually and institutionally exercise power — or have the potential and capacity to do so — through means which are only partially accessible to the Black Community. Individual Black people in certain situations and group interactions may exercise a degree of power, but the critical issue here in relation to racism is how power as a collective force is the monopoly of the white community (or parts of it) and constitutes "the white power structure".'

The book goes on to use examples of institutional racism and individual racism to show how they legitimise each other and operate against Black young people. The book covers every aspect of Black young peoples lives including: Unemployment, Education, the criminal justice system, Racist attacks and racial harassment, and many others.

The book then goes on to analyse key reports written about the needs of Black young people over the last 30 years. Using these reports, the writer makes comparisons between what has been discovered in the past and what has or hasn't improved. One of the main issues, which remains relevant today is that of separate provision versus integrated provision, this has for many years been the cause of Youth services throughout the country providing nothing for Black young people.

'Amongst the various strands which surface the debate about separate versus integrated provision seems to be one which can now be buried once and for all. If the youth service can recognise that racism exists and has to be tackled, and if it recognises that Black young people have specific needs, then it has an obligation to meet them through whatever form of provision is appropriate, including separate provision. Otherwise, the needs of Black young people will continue to be undermined and their access to youth service

provision will continue to be restricted.'

From the survey carried out the book goes on to look at the way institutions have responded to the needs of Black young people. It highlights issues such as policy making, Black staff recruitment and resource allocation as key issues which the youth service needs to recognise.

'To date, the youth service has demonstrated a limited understanding of the needs of Black young people. It has attempted to respond to the presence of Black young people by making untested assumptions about needs making reactive — and sometimes panic — responses or generalising about needs.'

The book then looks at the responses of each youth service covered by the survey and discusses the key issues above, expressing the areas of concern from the workers and officers interviewed.

Having looked at the youth service on an institutional/organisational level, the book looks more closely at the face to face work done with Black young people at a unit level. The workers interviewed within the survey are Black and white, full-time, part-time, volunteers, some work in predominately Black communities, some work in predominately white communities, all of them encountering problems, not from the Black young people themselves but from the communities they work in, from other workers/officers and from the youth service.

The penultimate part of the book gives examples of initiatives developed by different youth services responding to the needs of Black young people.

It aims to highlight examples of positive action and stimulate other youth services to examine their own practice. The book shows four models of youth work with Black young people, these are: Colour — Blind Model, Multicultural Model, Anti-Racist Model and Black Community Development Model. Each model has an Aim, a Belief and an Assumption followed to Action Taken and Likely Consequences. The Models are practical ways for practitioners and policymakers to develop work with Black young people in their own areas or to enable them to look critically at their own practices.

It also covers the various ways of implementing work with Black young people such as: Consultation and participation process, Policy declarations, Recruitment and employment practices, Training opportunities as well as others which will be useful guides to workers and officers who have been heard to say that there is nothing written to tell them what to do. This book covers every conceivable problem that workers and officers come up against, if they are trying to assess or provide for the needs of Black young people. It is a necessary teaching aid to youth services around the country and should be read by everyone who has anything to do with young people.

White workers will find it more useful than Black workers as it gives white workers clear ways forward in their work with young people, particularly in a mixed setting. What is done for Black workers is to, at last, validate the Black

youth work they have been doing for many years. Individual Black workers have been struggling for a long time to be heard and taken seriously by the youth service, they have had to prove to all concerned that the work and the methods used are valuable, this book does just that.

Ruth Charlton

ACTIVE COLLABORATION — Joint Practices and Youth Strategies
Kevin Gill and Tim Pickles (Eds)
ITRC (Glasgow) 1989
ISBN 1-85202-0113
£5.95. pp 82

'Collaborative practice with young people in trouble' is the starting point for this book. It notes that collaborative practice has taken place in the field of child abuse, for example, but also in the less publicised area of work with young people in trouble, especially in Scotland. However, it is also worth stating that south of the border inter-agency panels, made up of representatives of police, social services, probation and education, are common. They meet, though it may be stating the obvious, to consider new cases with a view to increasing the number of cautions, thereby diverting young people from the juvenile justice system. Nevertheless Scotland is alone, as far as I am aware, in that several authorities have developed inter-agency initiatives leading to 'youth strategies'. These, it is argued, lead to improvements in the way services are provided to meet the needs of young people.

Chapter 1 sets the context for the 'youth strategies' that have emerged. There is an examination of the wider context of local government systems, and identification of the political constraints to the development of effective collaborative work with young people. The book is then divided into three parts.

Part 1 'Policy Frameworks', provides three different case studies which examine joint strategies operated at policy level. Those in Lothian and Central Region are similar in that they aim to ensure that young people are only removed from families and local communities as a last resort and only after extensive collaboration between, for example, education and social work professionals. The Strathclyde case study was of more interest to me as it has a wider focus acknowledging the structural problems of unemployment, housing, poverty, etc. which affect young people, and it also emphasises community development approaches in meeting their needs.

Part 2 'Practice Development' gives examples of collaborative practice created at the grass roots by fieldworkers. For example, the Mobile Action Resource Service (MARS) in Tayside aims to offer alternatives to young people in danger of being removed from home. A key point is made that an obstacle to inter-agency co-operation is a lack of knowledge by professionals about other agencies' roles and re-

sponsibilities. Often, for example, the young persons problems are simply seen in terms of each agencies' objectives, and then in turn in terms of the failure of other agencies — teachers blaming social workers and vice versa. Inter-agency collaboration in MARS certainly helped overcome such difficulties.

Part 3 'Training Initiatives' describes two innovative approaches, in Strathclyde and Central Region, to inter-disciplinary work through training and staff development. These helped break down barriers to collaborative practice thus ensuring that the workers do not substitute the needs of their agency for the needs of young people. I was particularly interested in the use of the social action approach adopted in Strathclyde, which stemmed from the work of David Ward and colleagues in Nottingham. Incidentally, I have found this approach helpful in outlining a model for a radical intermediate treatment practice though this is not the place to elaborate on that.

The conclusion draws together some themes from the previous chapters. It refers to inter-agency collaboration being a process rather than a task or objective and thus any form of joint practice is understood within the context of 'how' it is done rather than 'what' the job is. It also asks what are the benefits of inter-agency collaboration? There are non-proven ones such as less time in total being spent on problems, better use of limited resources and notions of shared responsibility. As regards the latter, it seems to me that in the field of child abuse, for example, what actually occurs is an attempt by all agencies to absolve themselves from responsibility although admittedly ultimately it is always the Social Services Department, or more usually, the individual social worker who carries the can when things go wrong! Nevertheless, individual young people do benefit from inter-agency collaboration as they did in the MARS project when they resumed progress in their lives with tailored forms of support from the various agencies concerned. The book ends with the statement that collaborative practice 'may be an important step towards de-professionalising our agencies' approach to their tasks and awarding power and influence both to colleagues in other disciplines and to the customers of our service themselves'. This sounds quite radical but brings me to my main criticism of the book.

Arguably 'Active Collaboration' seems to see inter-agency collaboration as a possible panacea for all the problems that confront young people, their families and communities. Admittedly, early in the book there is an acknowledgement that such collaboration can be seen as a liberal con — lack of co-ordination is not a result of organisational dysfunction but of the gross imbalance between the power of deprived communities and self-seeking professionals. Therefore, the argument goes, the objective should be to confront these differences of interest rather than to seek to bring them together in some form of mythical alliance for the benefit of the powerless. This is alright as far as it goes, but the argument is rather glossed over. Furthermore, there is little ack-

nowledgement that the problems confronting young people are largely the result of the ideological move to the right over the last decade, the changes in the political economy and the resulting questioning and now dismantling of the welfare state. Thus, there have been cuts in, for example, education and youth work provision while on the other hand there has been a massive growth in resources devoted to the police. Young people today are increasingly subject to surveillance and control while their welfare is largely neglected. At least the inter-agency collaboration as outlined in the book does aim to tackle the welfare aspect of young people's lives, but I think that the ideological context should have been addressed. In addition, there is also a need for truly radical practice whether it be in terms of face to face work with young people or with colleagues, and even with managers. Concepts such as politicisation and Friere's conscientisation are obviously important here. The difficulties in pursuing such work have to be acknowledged, not least because the individual concerned can be seen as subversive and risks being disciplined(!), but possibilities do exist and must be taken up. Overall though I do not want to be too critical about this book. It is well written, concise and easy to read. Although, I presume, primarily written for a Scottish audience, I think it will also be of interest to readers in England and Wales whether they be politicians, managers or grass roots workers such as teachers, youth workers and social workers.

Steve Rogowski

UNDERSTANDING TROUBLED AND TROUBLING YOUTH

Peter E. Leone (ed)

Sage Publications 1990

ISBN 0-8039-3443-2

Hbk £29.95 Pbk £14.95. pp 317

Ten of the fourteen papers which form the body of the book first came to light in a seminar on 'Troubled and Troubling Youth' held in May 1989 at the College of Education at the University of Maryland, U.S.A. All are avowedly American in context. Checking the list of contributors and their academic expertise gives a fair idea of the range of disciplinary frameworks in which the book is set. Backgrounds in psychology and special education predominate. Their primary research interests include identity development, judicial administration — mental health system interactions, clinical intervention models, educational policy, causes of delinquency, influences of single parenting on child psychopathology, the social ecology of troubled behaviour, applied behaviour analysis, behavioural disorders, behavioural family therapy.

These attempts to understand young people in contemporary American society are weighted towards positivist forms of analysis in which

the young are seen as being propelled towards deviant behaviour through a variety of personality, subcultural and familial pressures. Thus a need to generate treatment or control programmes to respond to such behaviour. This book is as much a reification of professional intervention as it is an elucidation of the problems currently facing young people. The forms of 'understanding' that are offered are located within the discourses of those professionals and allied academics who have emerged to contain troublesome behaviour. Nevertheless, the editor is able to identify three major levels of analysis around which the book is structured. Part 1 person centred, Part 2 social ecological and Part 3 cultural perspectives on what is termed 'disordered' behaviour. The claim is thus made that the value of the collection lies in its bringing together of different disciplines to promote 'interdisciplinary collaboration', 'divergent thinking' and to overcome a 'lack of utility of professional knowledge', to address the 'overwhelming complexity' of the problem of youth's deviant behaviour.

After a short scene setting introduction from Leone which stresses the need for knowledge sharing and lauds the benefits of a multi-disciplinary approach, the book opens with Warboys and Shauffer's recording of the tensions between legal and treatment interventions and between attorneys and social service professionals in defending the rights of children. Reflecting the 'attorney's perspective', the values of procedural rights and due process are cited as progressive in tempering the unfettered discretion of treatment professionals. The practitioner in Britain will easily recognise in their account current disputes between welfare and justice based interventions. The piece though does not dwell on their competing philosophies or indeed on justice models of intervention, but merely notes points of divergence in practice and simply concludes that efforts should be made to 'overcome the adverse effects of their differences without eliminating them'. In short it does not take us far in the debate over whether intervention should be directed towards needs or deeds, or both.

The following paper by Nelson and Rutherford, both Professors of Special Education, similarly laments the status produced by professional boundaries, this time drawn between the 'seriously emotionally disturbed' and the 'socially maladjusted' child. Here they lament that respective eligibility to receive special education is contingent on such definitions. Again, professional co-ordination and multi-disciplinary planning and intervention is the order of the day.

However, the following paper by Fink reports that those defined in need of special education are more prone to delinquency and Casey and Keilitz argue that there is a prevalence of learning-disabled and mentally retarded juveniles in the offending population. In what appears as a thinly veiled attempt to define and seek out new client groups, Casey and Keilitz estimate that 35.6 per cent of juveniles in detention, correction or shelter institutions can

be considered learning-disabled and 12.6 per cent as mentally retarded. Such estimates are for them the 'critical first step' towards the development of new effective policies and the re-emergence of rehabilitative programmes for the incarcerated.

Collectively these four chapters form the promised micro or person centred perspective. They are less concerned though with understanding individual beliefs, perspectives and meanings, than with disputes between professionals over definitions of those in need of treatment and accordingly what forms such treatment should take. The dispute in essence concerns who is eligible for treatment.

And so we move to Part 2 of the book which contains five papers which explore social ecological perspectives. Roughly speaking these are all based on social interactionist approaches focusing on relationships between individuals, groups of individuals and social contexts. The purpose here is to design interventions that focus on 'individual-setting transactions' rather than on individuals only.

Following an introduction which introduces varieties within the ecological orientation — described as relatively unelaborated but gaining momentum in psychology and special education — this section deals with peer groups, drug and alcohol use, the role of the family and the benefits of working within a holistic or personal construct psychological paradigm. Dishion, a child and family therapist at the Oregon Social Learning Centre, discusses his own research which suggests that rejection by a conventional peer group increases the likelihood that the troublesome will develop networks with deviant peers as measured by Proportion Antisocial Qualifier Scores. Maybe this is something new to psychology, but I thought numerous sociological studies of subculture had established similar some sixty years ago, but without recourse to PAQ scores. The pay off appears to be the ability to predict a child's behaviour at school according to the influence of particular peers. Either way research is currently being carried out to estimate how far clinical interventions with parents and peers can reduce the influence of deviant peers.

Allison et al's paper on substance use is essentially a review of existing literature from which few conclusions can be drawn about correlations between drug and alcohol use, school performance, behavioural difficulties, family and peer contexts. Nevertheless, further research is presumed to be helpful so that practitioners can focus on 'well defined communities and develop local knowledge useful in designing treatment and prevention programmes'. The latter though remain unspecified. Moving to the impact of family socialisation on troublesome behaviour, Snyder and Huntley put forward a parent-child interactional model to account for child development in which parental development and family relations are presumed to be the pivotal contexts of a child's 'competence of pathology'. Supporting such a premise that the family is a central agent in the development of child psychopathology, family based therapeutic in-

terventions are viewed as the way forward. The next three chapters of the book are heralded as structural and cultural perspectives designed to shed light on the effects of organizational features, (such as schooling) and, cultural factors (such as race and ethnicity), on troubling behaviour. Gottfredson and Everhart separately examine the effectiveness of differing school reform efforts to prevent dropping out and delinquency. McAdoo examines structural barriers that prevent African-American teen fathers from seeking conventional rewards and which may propel them to other rewards through crime, dropping out of school, or becoming involved in a peer culture in which parenting at an early age is positively valued. For that latter, more advice on care skills and job training are seen as essential. The book concludes with a brief summation by the editor which again acknowledges the need to pull disparate theories, approaches and interventions together and argues that investigations should be broadened to include not only 'traditional person-centred perspectives, but also studies of the social environments in which adolescents experience difficulties and the organizational structures and cultural forces associated with current responses to troubling behaviour.'

Whilst it is difficult to condemn such aspirations, I doubt whether this collection of readings will set the practitioner world alight with new innovations in America, let alone in Britain. I agreed to review this book with the hope that it might forward our theoretical and empirical knowledge of the problems facing young people in contemporary society. Alas, I believe I learnt (inadvertently) more of the troubles afflicting the supporting and caring professions and their ideological discourse. The book predominantly reflects psychological interpretations of deviance. Terms such as maladjusted; the psychopathological are often unquestioned. The promised wider scenario of structural perspectives is limited to educational reforms and support schemes for the young Afro-American father. In all the book has no clear purpose or core, other than the desire to promote a multi-disciplinary approach. At best, it promotes an eclectic vision of youth studies research, but without being brave enough to pinpoint priorities. All is presented as useful knowledge in the mish-mash of academic and professional discourse. The organizing principle of different levels of analysis is clear enough, but the included papers clearly do not do justice to each. Certainly a section on cultural and structural variables which ignores questions of political ideology, social control, the role of state agencies and economic structures; addresses race only obliquely; and fails to systematically introduce class and gender divisions can hardly claim to be truly multi-disciplinary. Above all there is no questioning of the category of youth or of the need for intervention. Young people are commonly referred to as a homogenous group who present problems to others and that the professions are needed to put things right. The book essentially reaffirms that for the care and control professionals, and their academic au-

xiliaries, the business of expansion and classification is alive and well.

John Muncie

SANE NEW WORLD: Replacing Values
Colin Francome
Carla Publications
ISBN 0-904804-97/6
Pbk £4.95. pp 160

Colin Francome possesses many talents. He is an academic with an international reputation for his work on Abortion. He is also renowned as a talented juggler, and London Marathon runner. In this book he breaks new ground, combining his undoubted academic skills with his ability to communicate and entertain, in order to produce a serious and committed piece of writing aimed at a popular audience. The book takes an idealistic 'green' stance — but green in the German sense of seeking an alternative society rather than the weaker English sense of environmental concern. Rejecting what he sees as the arguments of the political Right and Left, he calls for 'radical changes throughout the whole of social life... moving beyond the old goals of wealth and property... to move towards a different kind of lifestyle where people's lives are far more interesting, where they can develop their talents... , where crime is diminished, where health care is available for all and is carried out for the benefit of people and not the pursuit of profit' (page 1). As an educator himself he is particularly concerned to develop the theme of 'double alienation'. People in rich countries are educated to develop wealth rather than their own potential for creativity, and at the same time are alienated from the realities of life for people in the poorer countries.

In chapter 1, he sets out his argument in terms of a number of issues — wealth versus the quality of life; quality rather than quantity as the focus of production; health, environment and medicine; crime and violence; world poverty. Each of these is then addressed in more detail in a subsequent chapter. The final chapter, entitled 'What can I do?', details action at the local, national and international level, which he believes will replace the values of the present world with a new perspective to produce a *sane new world*.

The attraction of this book is that it is serious, full of information and examples, yet aimed at a popular audience. It would make an excellent basis for anyone concerned with running discussion groups about contemporary problems or current affairs. It will, I believe, particularly appeal to a teenage audience in that it is relevant, different, easily comprehensible and offers them lots of the precise detail on contemporary political concerns which can really get adults' backs up.

David M. Smith

FRIENDSHIP: DEVELOPING A SOCIOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVE

Graham Allan
Harvester/Wheatsheaf 1989
ISBN 0-7450-0610-8
Pbk £8.95. pp 158

In a rather understated way this book is something of a revelation. Graham Allan explores friendship sociologically and reveals the surprising neglect of an important dimension of social life. This neglect has resulted in friendship being left in the sphere of natural and the private — a sphere from which the family has already been pulled, at least sociologically if not politically. Two main reasons are given for this lack of sociological interest in friendship. First, there is a major difficulty in specifying the focus of study. Our definitions of friendship are highly subjective and somewhat romanticised by the language of 'best', 'real' or 'true' friends. We are simply not talking about the same phenomena when speaking of friends. The second reason given by Allan for this neglect is that friendship is not at all institutionalised in the way that the family is. No particular rituals are attached to friendship. No economic responsibilities are expected. Friendship obligations do not receive state endorsement in the way that family ties often do. For these reasons sociological interest has concentrated on the personal qualities of friendship rather than the ways in which these apparently voluntary relationships are constrained by, and contribute to, social and economic structures. Why do such relationships develop? What social and economic functions do they fulfil? What kind of social control is exercised over them and perhaps through them? The revelation of the book is that it alerts us to these kinds of questions. In much the same way as we have been jolted out of our taken for granted truths about family life and about gender relations, we are asked to scrutinise our perhaps rather cosy, home spun views about friendship.

Allan's book does not attempt to provide answers, rather to set an agenda for further research. No new empirical findings are offered. Instead he draws together the findings of recent sociological research particularly from Britain and America and indicates areas which invite further enquiry. It is an extremely competent book. He begins with an examination of the concept of friendship. Some significant characteristics emerge from the definitional fog. Perhaps the most important of these is that friendship is for the most part a relationship of equality. Friends treat each other as equals. There is a careful balance of give and take. Of course friends do help each other but people are worried about asking too much of friends of making demands or becoming too dependent. Help given must be repaid at least at some future date or the friendship may break down. For this reason friends usually occupy a similar social position, have similar domestic circumstances, the same gender and similar class and ethnic background. This pattern cuts across the notion of friendships as freely chosen. While there are undeniable elements of choice these are shaped by

material and social constraints. These concern not only opportunities for meeting potential friends but the content of friendship; what friends do together, how often they meet and the emotional depth of the relationship. There are often structural constraints on free time and 'personal space' — a concept taken from leisure studies to mean areas of relative freedom within people's lives. These constraints affect the friendship patterns of different social groups. From these starting points of equality, balance and the idea that there are structural constraints as well as choices within friendship, Allan goes on to explore particular themes. Attention is given to gender and friendship; to friendship in later life; and friendship and change — specifically those changes which accompany life crises. These last two offer good examples of the potential rewards of a sociology of friendship. Old people are often seen as a burden for the state or their relatives and it certainly seems from the research that friends are no substitute for family when it comes to providing care. For old people as well as young, equality between friends remains important, so that asking for, or giving, help is often taboo. Nevertheless friendship is of great importance in terms of the quality of life experienced by elderly people. For example a number of studies indicate that there is very little correlation between the morale of old people and visits from their offspring. Contact with friends on the other hand positively affects morale. Interaction based on personal liking rather than framed by duty is important in maintaining self esteem and a sense of identity. There are enormous variations amongst elderly people however in their opportunities for making and maintaining friendships. For some, old age brings more personal space and opportunity. For others, illness and disability can drastically reduce friendship networks. It is clearly important for welfare agencies to put friendship rather than just family on the agenda in thinking about the well being of elderly people.

The chapter concerned with change and friendship is perhaps most challenging in terms of our ideals about 'true' friendship. Although friends do offer help in times of trouble this is usually short term and friendships often do not survive major life changes like divorce. Allan sees this as a two way process. Those whose life has undergone major change move onto other social groups rather than simply being 'dropped' by former friends. Although this sociological insight into friendship is not so murky as revelations about family life it similarly pours cold water on another romantic ideal. One of my few criticisms of the book arises from the way this material is presented. I described the book as understated and this is particularly evident in this area of friendship. My concern is that the subdued style does not capture the meaning of friendship — it is all rather tidy. There is no mention of 'enemies' for example, or the passion and disappointments of these breakdowns in friendship. Sociologists should not leave this to psychologists and novelists. There is much more drama around friendship than

suggested here and this needs to be part of sociological analysis. My other criticism is that the book conveys the social world of white people and of heterosexuality. To a large extent this is a product of the limited research on friendship but these additional limitations should perhaps have been highlighted and explored. For example it is important to recognise that friendship isn't always perceived as benign. Some friendship groups are seen as threatening particularly those involving young people, black people and gay men and lesbians.

Despite these criticisms this book achieves its purpose of providing an introductory text to this developing area. It is very readable and packs an amazing amount of material into a small space. I'm sure it will provide inspiration for further research particularly small scale projects which can be conducted by welfare practitioners.

Pam Carter

IMAGES OF YOUTH; Age, Class and the Male Youth Problem 1880-1920

Harry Hendrick

Clarendon Press 1990

ISBN 0-19-821782-X

£32.00 (Hbk only). pp 298

This is a work of genuine scholarship, detailed and meticulously researched. Without question it is an important addition to the literature. Yet it is never less than accessible and will as a consequence appeal as much to the general reader interested in the development of youth work and policy in Britain as to the historian. *Images of Youth* is a study of the way in which working-class boys during the period 1880-1920 emerged as a perceived problem. It seeks to account for the origins of that perception, the means by which it was explained in the discourse of the period and the policy options that were both implemented and suggested to deal with it. In contemporary parlance it is the history of moral panic, one based on fears regarding the indiscipline of young men, the collapse of the traditional market for their labour and doubts about their capacity to become good citizens and adaptable employees. Themes no doubt familiar to the contemporary reader.

Although not directly concerned to chart the emergence of youth work as a distinctive activity this text nevertheless provides much that adds to our understanding of the early history of club work. First it offers a detailed account of the intellectual origins of adolescence. The work of influential writers such as Hall and Clouston is discussed at length. Importantly what is also provided is a contextualisation of their work which seeks to extend our understanding of the reasons why their theories gained both prominence and the capacity to shape practice and policy. It reminds the reader that as the author stresses

'adolescence was a handy image; a set of compressed references which enabled certain groups of adults to persuade themselves that they understood young people'. Few who read this chapter will again treat the concept with the reverence it has traditionally been accorded within youth work circles.

Second Hendricks demonstrates the link between economic concerns regarding the integration of young men into the labour market and the attraction of 'youth clubs' as an antidote to 'loafing habits'. Obsession with character remains, often in a disguised form, a dominant frame of reference for much contemporary youth work. What Hendrick helps to explain is the material origins of that tradition.

In relation to youth policy the book looks in detail at three areas: youth organisation, the youth employment service and Day Continuation Schools. For the majority of readers of this journal the first of these might initially appear to be the most attractive and relevant. Yet for the reviewer this was not the case. What the chapter on youth organisations offered was a brief and not especially original history of the early development of the uniformed organisations and the boys' clubs. Useful and accessible it nevertheless provided little that will take readers, familiar with the history of the Youth Service, by surprise. Far more exciting is the detailed study of the early development of the Youth Employment Service which emerged as a consequence of the growing realisation that 'youth organizations could not solve the boy labour problem'. In particular the work of the Apprenticeship and Skilled Employment Association is rescued from relative obscurity. The individual casework approach of that organisation with its network of volunteers and imaginative use of home visiting and 'after-care' will surprise many youth workers who have not previously encountered its history. Each young apprentice in touch with the organisation being provided with a 'guardian' whose prime responsibility was to supervise the indentures, to befriend the young person and their parents and to make monthly home visits to ensure their overall well-being. It draws to our attention an approach to youth work which is now almost totally ignored yet which has considerable potential. This chapter and the subsequent one on Day Continuation Schools also serve as timely reminders of the extent to which national policy initiatives flowed from the work of local authorities. Further Education provision and Careers Guidance were both areas of activity that central government was eventually obliged to engage with as a consequence of the pioneering work of local authorities and voluntary organisations. In the context of a growing determination on the part of central government to set the agenda for youth work it is important to continually re-visit our history if only to remind ourselves that it was the now despised local authorities and the marginalised voluntary sector that provided, in large measure, the impetus for growth and the test-bed for effective practice.

As already noted this will, I am certain, become a standard text amongst historians of youth

work and youth policy. Hopefully many practitioners will also find the time to read this book; I would be surprised if they did not consider it a worthwhile investment of their time.

Tony Jeffs

STEPMOTHERING

Donna Smith

Harvester/Wheatsheaf 1990

ISBN 0-7108-1208

Pbk £6.95. pp 146

The day after being asked to review this book my daily newspaper carried a full-page DES advertisement inviting graduates to consider teaching as their future career. To show just how taxing, demanding and wholly satisfying the profession could be the advert invited prospective candidates to consider 'difficult children' and the ways in which the teacher could affect change in their behaviour. The example used to excite the interest of the potential teacher cites the case of a pupil who is portrayed as being disinterested in anything. In the shopping list of her possible problems the first is that there's a new step-parent she doesn't get on with.

Stepmothering is a study which will prove invaluable for workers in the personal social services, teaching and youth and community work. While at first glance a study of stepmothering doesn't appear to be a particularly exciting topic, it is potentially a subject matter that is almost guaranteed to touch all of us. The vast majority of those reading this review will, at some point, come into contact, personally or professionally, with relatives, friends, colleagues or clients who express negative views about being a step-child or step-parent. Worse, in a professional capacity, many will, without undue consideration, make assumptions regarding neglect or deprivation about young people who have the 'misfortune' to be cared for by the ubiquitous step-parent. It seems that where there is a step-parent too many professionals axiomatically assume that there must be an absence of affection, love or concern. This book will help to challenge the myths, stereotypical attitudes and enhance our understanding of step-parenting.

From the onset, Smith lays out her stall in 'An open letter to a stepmother' when she asks 'What do women need to know when they become stepmothers?' I am not so sure that at the end of the book women will feel wholly equipped to confront this challenge but the study will have contributed greatly to their understanding of a social and domestic role that has few advocates. As the author asks in a pointed opening gambit 'Has any woman ever aspired to be a stepmother?'

Smith also aims to 'liberate stepmothers from their "wicked" fairy tale image'. To do this she explores the mythological and literary portrayal of the step-mother. It is one where commonplace and popular stories such as Cinderella, Snow White even Hansel and Gretel have

helped to keep alive the stepmother stigma '... the universal fairy tale, used without referent to mean abuse, neglect and even ridicule. Every child know it; its popularity has existed for centuries...' (p.33). To be fair she also identifies alternative positive images of the stepmother such as the Victorian authoress, Mrs Alexander, writing in the late 19th Century who used the role to challenge male authority and projected step-parenting in a positive, almost saintly, light.

Overwhelmingly, however, the dominant cultural message is that stepmothers nearly always appear in both literature and folk-tales as negative, problematic and ambiguous characters.

In subsequent chapters Smith relies heavily on interviews with thirty stepmothers and her own personal experience as a stepmother to explore the various forms the experience can take, what society expects of the role and most importantly, what they expected of themselves. A recurrent theme is the tendency of society to counterpose the wicked stepmother with the myth of perfect mother.

I was fascinated with the discussions that surround the age-old crisis of stepmothering when the woman hears that plaintiff cry from the child that 'You are not my real mother'. This, to Smith and the many women quoted, represents the mutual insecurity between child and adult and maps out a hazardous path of rejection and uncertainty for each. Smith concludes that there is no easy answer and that any stepmother possessing a ready-made response to this challenge is fortunate indeed. The most common form of stepmothering in contemporary society is part-time and evidence suggests that women faced with this role are considerably disadvantaged. It is the absence of a legal relationship which according to Smith both heightens and contributes to the social and cultural ambiguity of steprelationships. It is hardly surprising then to learn that for women the experience of part-time parenting throws into sharp relief many questions about financial responsibilities, option for career choices and mobility. Whilst most significantly, it also distorts and intrudes upon choices regarding biological parenthood and complicating even more a woman's assessment of her worth in each role. As Smith puts it, the fundamental difference in measuring success as a stepmother as opposed to assessing that of a biological parent, is that for 'women as mothers, their reward is universal, social approval, even sanctification. The stepmother had no public reward, hers will be private satisfaction'. Often without any due public recognition of the sacrifices and contribution made.

Smith sees a way out of this morass by suggesting that since family shape and structures are changing so rapidly — to the extent that step-families and one parent families will outnumber 'first' families by the early 1990's — then the myth of wicked stepmothers must be swept away without installing the myth of the perfect mother in its place. The author suggests that a stepmother could become a form of sponsor to the child. I'm not so sure

about that. However the value of the book remains not least because it provides a real addition to the literature and a ready-made introduction for the general reader to the issues that surround the task.

Jacqueline Apperley

CARE AND CONFLICT

Kenneth Leach

Darton, Longman and Todd 1990

ISBN 0-232-51898-X

Pbk £7.95. pp 175

It is rare to read a book where care and conflict are not only described but also expressed in the style. The description on its own would be interesting enough: Leach helped start Centrepoint for homeless youths in 1969, helped invent Rock against Racism in 1978 as well as being used as an expert on drug use and spirituality. The book engaged me by its rigorous analysis from many disciplines applied to experience. But above all Leach tackles the questions of where do workers, with voluntary projects trying to express a counter-culture, get their vision and motivation from? I continue to wrestle with funding authorities on behalf of a project which tries to tackle class and policy issues around unemployment as the funding of youth work becomes more and more targeted on care of individuals. In this situation Leach's feelings are shared: 'My own... experience... has been a painful saga of seeing one's own values and commitments violated, and one's own work consistently undermined and damaged by political decisions and policies... It has all been swimming against the tide.' (p.107).

You may regard this as an invitation to despair. The book is a rigorous search for what is true, just and hopeful. For me, the book offers useful insights into how those who swim against the tide of policy survive, find support and develop their work.

The book contains four lectures given in Durham in 1988 (modified to include more detail), a fifth chapter exploring issues arising out of discussion following the lectures; three appendices include pieces of work from 1968 on homelessness, 1969 on amphetamine misuse and from 1973 on Anglo-Catholicism. Kenneth Leach draws on his experiences of living and working in the East End of London and Soho. He argues, with feminists, for the incorporation of the personal into the political, with Gramsci, that we need to be organic intellectuals, with Thomas Merton, that Christianity is about the uniting of contemplation and activity. He argues that experience and analysis need to be tied together, best by his own descriptions.

'On the Edge' draws out aspects of 'marginal life'. He is clear that this isn't simply a matter of the working class and draws attention to Marx's rejection of these people as the lumpen. Leach includes young people migrating to London (from the north p.6, 18, 107, 143),

involved in the drug culture, part of the gay scene, and the homeless. The description is of the 1960's but each description is updated to demand comparison with the present. The change in the gay community is discussed in terms of overcoming the need for secrecy and the response to AIDS. The barriers of horror, thrill and acceptable groupings to appropriate work with these groups are identified. There is the beginning of a recurrent theme in the book: what motivates Christians, especially to tackle work like this.

'Opium of the People' is about the drug culture. It is the clearest, most concise description of drug use and the way in which supply became criminalized I have read. Leech is clear and detailed about historic use of substances, interpretation and effects. His main point that the needle culture has a distinct character reinforces the overall concern of the book: how can work be carried out with acutely separated parts of broader society?

'The Midnight Hour' is about spirituality. He describes how spiritual questing is alive and well among individuals. He is clear that spirituality is about encountering the darkness, the unknown. He sums up Thomas Merton's insights: this encounter in contemplation unmasks illusion, and results in the service of Christ in the poor and lowly. He asks: how do people who continue a living tradition of spirituality see their place in the world? It is no longer possible (Alistair MacIntyre) to say that everyone is warmly disposed to Christianity in this dark age 'the barbarians are not on the frontier they are in our midst.' Networks need establishing and maintaining with a distinct character.

'The Mark of Cain' is about racism. It describes clearly specific local incidents Leech experienced. He goes on to show how Thatcherism and an increasingly right wing press have made the National Front redundant in the South East. He describes the ineffectual efforts of the Church of England to address its racism and the related move of church membership (90% mainstream denominations in the Caribbean) by black British Christians (90% in 'sideways' black led churches). He is critical of the 'coat of paint' approach that sees racism as a problem to be dealt with by education or therapy. He argues that 'racism manifests in specific and visible ways fundamental injustices and contradictions within the social structure.' (p.104). Disturbing the racial balance disturbs the system and those involved in that struggle will be led onto other issues.

The final chapter is an argument about the place of criticising policy. He argues for a way of thinking to do it, how the Bible offers help to do it, and the need for the Church of England to be changed in its class connections if it is to be done. It is fascinating that this is the extra chapter in response to hearing the lectures received in Durham. Criticism of policy has become so superficial, contact with those outside mainstream society is so rare for policy makers, clergy in training and academics that the basic process of recoding this work and the ideas that spring from it needs justifying.

Kenneth Leech does not represent most vicars (who prefer to encourage 'a sickly pietism... more concerned with changes in the liturgy than with changes in the world (p.129)'). He does speak for some who try to respond to their local situations with a grasp of wider issues. He also speaks for youth workers, community workers, local activists and organizers. People who are struggling with democratic oppression, ideological change, and working with those who are outside will find it stimulating. Workers with young people likely to migrate to London will find their agendas widened.

Jonathan Roberts

UNEASY TRANSITIONS: Disaffection in Post-Compulsory Education and Training

Jenny Corbett (ed)

Falmer Press

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£9.95. pp 216

This book is part of the Education and Alienation series produced by Falmer Press which has arisen from work being carried out in Oxfordshire in the Disaffected Pupil Programme. The book is a compilation of twelve articles covering a range of groups and settings. The central theme of the text is young peoples' experiences of training or other forms of schooling after their initial period of compulsory schooling. As the title suggests, the interests of the authors lie in the disaffection of recipients from the various programmes described.

The book is divided into two parts, the first entitled *Coping with Disaffection* whilst the second is *The Challenge of Change*. I admit to being somewhat puzzled by this division, because there did not seem to be any real justification for it in the content of the various chapters. In other words it was difficult to see why particular chapters had been placed in either the first or the second part. There was a vague rationale for this division in the introductory chapter which suggests that the early part related to the experience of practitioners, whereas the second part was more clearly related to regional and national policy.

I must say that I found that unconvincing, and feel that the division ended up being a distraction rather than a help.

The introduction by Jenny Corbett raises a number of interesting and important questions for examination. These relate to the marginalisation of different groups of young people and adults in the transition from compulsory schooling. She outlines the way in which the post compulsory sector of the education system is attempting to deal with the problems and contradictions which are thrown up for disadvantaged young people. Not the least of these are the ways in which those who work in the sector are themselves caught up in, and feel able to confront and change the circumst-

ances which they define as oppressive for others.

These contradictions and problems are amply illustrated by the contributions from Jenny Corbett herself and also from Brendan Major, Colin Carnie and Anne Wilkinson. Anne Wilkinson's article *Complicated Lives* is a particular contribution here. She poignantly fleshes out the reality of the lives of students defined as having Special Educational Needs. Her writing emphasises the significant features of the lives of many of these young people, such as the unyielding impact of poverty, and the consequent dependence of the family unit on the possible income of all family members.

Jenny Corbett's study of a YTS workshop illustrates the difficulty of pointing a finger of blame solely at the staff of various agencies who, with meagre resources, are unable to address adequately the educational needs of many young people. At the same time she also clearly argues against complacency in the face of the institutional or personal discrimination that young people have to endure. In her study of a YTS workshop, the staff exhibited a form of paternalism which the author terms *affectionate patronisation*:

It is a programme which cares, supports and fosters self-esteem. It is also one which fails to be honest with the young people, treating them like children who are unable to face the facts. (p.106).

Apart from questioning whether children ought to be treated in this way, this analysis points to a significant difficulty in engaging in a critique of many educational or welfare programmes. That is that a criticism of the practice of the staff involved can be perceived by them as a criticism of their commitment.

David Hutchinson also writes about the education of young people defined as having Special Educational Needs. In this case he describes a programme in operation at North Nottinghamshire College of Further Education which has been specifically designed to meet the needs of disabled young people whom he describes as exhibiting passive disaffection. Here he is referring to the outcome of a process of institutionalisation which has taken place during the early part of the young persons life. This consists of the creation of a sense of dependency by the young person through having consistently been treated as a dependent object rather than a subject by the professionals with whom young disabled people come into contact.

In his article Hutchinson alludes to the complex network of professionals in which a disabled person may be embedded, and which itself can contribute to feelings of powerlessness by the disabled person...

The system of service delivery post-college can be characterised by ambiguity and overlap of services with professionals motivated by self interest engaging in power politics and vying to serve the needs of clients... (p.67).

Paul Jeffcutt's article about 'second-chance' education for women is a fairly powerful indictment of the ideology underpinning

courses intended to prepare women for, or return them to waged work. He argues that some of the discussions about disadvantaged young people and post compulsory education have the same flavour as the discussions about compensatory education in the 1960s and early 1970s. I think that a paraphrase of Basil Bernstein's remarks about that debate have a large degree of applicability here. Rather than raising questions about the requirement for some form of compensatory education we ought to be ensuring that young people get a decent education in the first place.

This touches upon a significant element in the debate about disaffection. That is the extent to which the post compulsory sector is engaged in the task of providing rehabilitation work for the damage to young people during the period of compulsory schooling. A number of the contributors do allude to this issue, but few of them deal with it as a central question.

One of the real issues it seems to me is the question as to whether *education* is at all possible at any level of the schooling system, whether compulsory, F.E., Polytechnic or University. There does seem to be a dreadfully pragmatic instrumentalism at all levels of the system, which no longer has any feeling for, or sense of the liberating possibilities of education. The focus is directly on the incorporation of young people into the dominant culture.

Wheeler's article in this collection is a good example of this, although by many standards it is not the worst available. This chapter focuses squarely on the labour force requirements of industry and commerce in the face of developing demographic change. The chapter is written in a clear and open style and it does make some interesting comments on this subject. However the chapter at no time raises questions about whose responsibility it has been for the present condition of the education system.

In my view the collusion of the business community with Thatcherism removes any rights that they might once have had to make claims on the purposes of the system. In addition, business in the UK has an appalling record in relation to providing any form of post compulsory education even in terms of its own needs. I therefore think that it not only has no moral right to lecture to educationalists, I also believe that it actually has little or no expertise in the matter.

In relation to instrumental views of education, all shades of political opinion are guilty here. The Right and elements of the Centre (and some on the Left) have argued for an intensification of the relationship between schooling and work. Writers on the Left have been concerned to identify the repressive and ideologically dominant elements of schooling and thus ironically reflecting the concerns of the State. Where on the left is the discussion of the transcendental elements in education? To even ask the question causes embarrassment in many quarters, or the production of a smirk.

This leads me indirectly to quibble about the title of this book, particularly in relation to the

use of disaffection in relation to education. I tend to agree with a number of philosophers of education in that if people find the experience of any form of institutional schooling negative, then it cannot really be described as an educational experience at all. In other words a more appropriate title for me would have been 'Disaffection from post-16 schooling'.

Overall the book is not consistent in quality, I think that some of the contributions might have been profitably subjected to a critical revision. In addition it is not one of the most exciting texts that I have read recently. However there are some significant points made, and certainly a number of interesting chapters. On the other hand it is difficult to read without becoming depressed since the text does paint a fairly gloomy picture of the plight of young people in various institutions. There is little here that encourages a positive image of the possibilities of education for people and to that extent I found it disappointing. However given that the focus of the writing is disaffection, it is not surprising that there are few laughs.

I suppose that one final uncertainty that I would like to voice is over the use of the term 'disaffection' at all in the subtitle to this book. It has a particular flavour to it which indicates that the agenda being addressed is really that of the institutions. It is the kind of term which itself has been used in various institutions to marginalise and undermine the legitimate concerns of the young people who attend them.

Don Blackburn

MANAGEMENT CHALLENGE FOR THE 1990's. PERFORMANCE MANAGEMENT, THE CAMBRIDGESHIRE EXPERIENCE

**Deloitte Haskins and Sells
Training Agency 1989
ISBN 086-392-316X
pp 39, 20.**

A favourite topic of many involved in youth and community work is management, its the flavour of the year. The introduction of a core curriculum with a requirement for clarity in explaining the unique contribution that the Youth Service is making, and clearly defined outcomes and performance indicators will require careful management. A frequent cry of youth workers is that they need management training, both to manage their own time and to manage the change which is, and should always have been, a feature of youth and community work. Perhaps the urgency of the demand is not only related to the pace of change but also to the increasing requirement for staff to be accountable for what they are doing. The demand for management training has been met by an increasing number of courses in management. These two publications from the Training Agency seek to contribute to the debate on Management Education and Training. *Management Challenge for the*

1990's traces the milestones in the debate about management training which recognised the paucity in training compared to our competitors in the rest of Europe, the USA and Japan. Various reports published between 1984 and 1987 led to the establishment of an organisation called the Council for Management Education which in 1988 launched a Code of Practice which committed employers to management education for their employees, in both the private and public sectors. *Management Challenge* explains that much of the move towards management education has come from the recognition that there is an increasing rate of change in the markets and a need for managers who can respond flexibly to that change. There has been a recognition, particularly so in local authorities in recent years, that services need to be responsive to the needs of customers, and to achieve this management has been decentralised and decision-making devolved. Although the book is written with an emphasis towards industry and business much of the content could be applied to youth and community work and the definition which is given of the manager of the future could well apply to a Youth Officer.

The stated aim of the book is to assist those who are responsible for Management Education and Training to understand the issues involved and the main areas of activity. The book does give a clear over-view of the history of management education and an outline of the management qualifications available. It raises some useful questions which may help an officer responsible for staff development to consider what approach to management education is most suitable for their service at its particular stage of development.

Perhaps not surprisingly there is no consideration of issues such as positive action in relation to management training which might begin to increase the numbers of women and black people in management positions. Having recently returned from the 2nd Ministerial Conference on the Youth Service which largely comprised white men, equal opportunities in relation to recruitment to management, is an issue which any management training in the Youth Service needs to urgently address.

Performance Management — the Cambridgeshire Experience is a much more readable document partly because of the layout but also because it deals with an organisation and it is easy to transfer the ideas. The report is based on developments in Cambridgeshire during the past thirteen years. The process started as a result of increasing financial constraints and an organisational structure which had arisen from the amalgamation of four County Councils and needed streamlining. There was a move from a more bureaucratic model of management to a more private sector style. The strength of the scheme is that it recognises not only organisational goals but the need for self development of managers. The system which is clearly described in the book, provides a model which could work very effectively in a youth service, and may provide a useful framework for managers to use where there is a requirement to set priorities and

measure performance.

Included in the model is performance review which involves appraisal by the line-manager and in the case of the most senior officers, elected members as well. This performance review, which is held annually, is structured so that staff can look back on what has been accomplished and look forward to what needs to be accomplished. It identifies how individuals can be helped to improve their contribution to their present jobs and a clarification of the job-holders future career prospects, aspirations and intentions. The performance review meetings are supported by regular progress reviews. The system of management supervision which is well developed in the youth and community service provides a good and well tried basis on which a supportive appraisal system might be developed if required.

In considering how well the scheme in Cambridgeshire has worked it is evident that there was initially some resistance but it suggested that this has reduced over the years. This has been achieved because the staff have seen the

scheme as being developmental and not punitive. Perhaps this is one of the most important elements to emerge and links directly with the previous publication on management education. The scheme provides a clear direction for managers, an opportunity for them to get direct feedback on their performance and opportunity for self development to extend the skills they need to do their job effectively. *The Management Challenge* suggests that the full potential of training and development is released by those organisations where it is intrinsic and occurs continuously, driven by the goals of the organisation and needs of the individual. The achievement of this on-going training for management can perhaps be best achieved where there is a performance management structure like that developed in Cambridgeshire. Anyone who is considering models which will enable greater delegation of decision-making and mechanisms which ensure accountability would find both documents helpful to read. Both need to be considered in the context of the value-base of youth and community work

which sets equal opportunities practice as central and includes accountability not only to the organisation but also to the young people and adults with whom it engages.

It is easy to be critical of books about management schemes and practices which do not account for some of the qualities which are valued by youth and community workers and particularly when they are published by the Training Agency. What is really needed is a document which describes models for the management of youth and community work which not only demonstrate the best elements of management practice but also place at the centre the value base of youth and community work. Perhaps someone, having read these two publications, will feel inspired enough to write about the management styles required, and increasingly being practised, which will take youth and community work into the 90s and through the inevitable changes which the introduction of a core curriculum will bring. I look forward to reading it!

Ann Melville

Working Space

The National Curriculum for Youth Work: Trainee Workers' View

**BARBARA LALLY
KANEZ GHANI
DAVE YOUNG**

Poem

ANONYMOUS

Generally, the National Curriculum could have some positive aspects that would benefit both workers and

users. The Curriculum outline provides a good basis for stating what the Youth Service is and gives some clarity as to what it sets out to provide by recognising clear aims and objectives that can be used effectively for the benefit of young people. The Curriculum would assist in defining the role of Youth Workers more clearly and the *process* used in the delivery of Youth Work. The process is crucial in terms of showing those outside the Youth Service, particularly funding agencies exactly what workers set out to do and what is being achieved. It is possible to see the Government's plans to introduce a Curriculum as a 'show of support' for the Service as it emphasises its position as an important part of education provision and does not see it as a leisure service.

After identifying the positive aspects, it can be seen that there are many reservations about the Core Curriculum that could be to the detriment of the Service.

The first main area of concern was over the *control* the Government would be gaining over those involved in the Service.

Youth Workers — Many workers are concerned about the Curriculum and feel it is being imposed upon them by being given very defined roles and extra responsibilities to carry out i.e. being told 'how they should do the job'. We felt that this could result in workers losing individuality, competing against each other, and that the service would lose the uniqueness and ability to deal with various individual and group needs.

Local Authorities — The Youth Service is still a voluntary aspect of local authorities and control in this respect is centred around funding. The Government are obviously targeting finance to young people which could save money in the long run by ceasing aspects of community work e.g. womens work/unemployed, and Youth Service cost-cutting in the future. The Government are in a strong position to apply their policies locally therefore increasing their overall *central* control.

Young People — There are strong reservations regarding the effects of a National Curriculum on young people. The curriculum maps out what should happen to young people by pre-empting their needs, thus changing the Service to be pro-active instead of reactive. It does not pay attention to the varying needs

of young people in different parts of the country. As with most new Govern-

ment legislation, research is done in the South and assumes that everyone is white, middle-class and able-bodied and part of the '... family unit.'

The Government intend to restrict the age range for the Service to say 14-25 year olds and will use its control over Youth Workers to *control* young people. 'Social Control' appears to be at the heart of the National Curriculum. The Government are adamant that both young people and workers will be consulted prior to implementation but their existing structures for consultation are ...

Another issue is cost. Funding will certainly be affected but the costs involved in implementing a National Curriculum and the amount of training that will be necessary for the workers is bound to be large. It is clear that vast sums of money will be required to train the workers, produce literature, promote the curriculum etc., and this training must include part-time workers and volunteers, who are a vital and integral part of the Service. The Youth Service will change and those working in it will need to be up to date on what is happening and what is expected of them as Youth Workers.

A major concern is the effects a Youth Curriculum will have on Community Education Services. Community Education is a *life-long process* of personal development... i.e. it is accessible to all ages. This raises the question, will workers be expected to concentrate nearly all their energies on Youth Work therefore shelving development work with other groups like women, unemployed, black groups, disabled groups, adults, juniors, aged persons and so on? This is not to denigrate the importance of work with young people but it is also important to recognise the credibility of specialised work with other groups. It may be that funding to this type of work will not be available any longer and will need to be sought from other agencies e.g. charities. This is difficult enough as is the present situation.

A large section of our discussion centred around measuring the success of work done under a National Curriculum. All parties involved see the importance and value of education but it is already obvious that evaluation will be viewed differently from different sides. The Government intend to use Performance

Indicators to measure the success of the Curriculum. These are somewhat ambiguous and can be interpreted differently by different bodies. For example, workers feel that they will be more accountable for their work i.e. they are being inspected rather than assessed or evaluated.

There is little reason to doubt that the Government will measure success by playing the 'numbers game' and will compare Quantity (i.e. attaching... to large numbers attending centres) to Quality (i.e. small group development).

Another important question raised is from whose perspective will evaluation be made:- the Department of Education and Science, local authorities, youth officers, youth workers and young people? All of these parties have different perspectives and interests. How can the DES evaluation be relevant to young people? It is imperative that evaluation is undertaken but in relation to each parties' interests and does not become a tool of accountability or inspection.

Overall many pros and cons have been highlighted about a National Curriculum. Many questions have been asked and still many more practical questions are raised like: will workers be assisted in applying the curriculum alongside their day to day work? Will workers have to submit curriculum development plans to secure funding or will they have to be seen to be implementing an efficient curriculum for funding to continue? Will the curriculum be flexible enough to work in the Youth Service or will there be adaptations to be made as with the Education Curriculum?

None of us are totally opposed to the idea of a Curriculum but we were concerned about the change in the Youth Service, the provision for other community groups' finance and the question of increased 'Social Control'. These are still unanswered questions. The Government are adamant that a Curriculum will be a core or skeleton that will be adapted to suit local needs. These needs can only be addressed and catered for if Youth Workers and young people have a mechanism to articulate their needs. After all it is their lives we are dealing with, therefore they have the right to have some say in what is happening to them in their youth organisation which, after all, they attend of their own free will.

*I'm not ashamed to say I couldn't cope
I'm not ashamed to admit I made mistakes
I am neither old nor wise
Nor am I very strong or very stupid
I am a young boy*

*I had a normal family life
Normal for my area
A father, when not inside
A mother who did her best
Although she never had enough*

*My sister and her child
Live not far away
She is happy
She is married
Her husband has a job*

*Our Billy is an Army man
He's been in for eight years now
He won't leave
To live at home
An Army man but no fool*

*In the evenings at the hostel
We eat baked beans
And burn the toast
And laugh a lot
Then we watch TV*

*In the mornings I talk to staff
Ask them questions
Ask them for help
They do good work
But some only I can do*

*I've wasted many years
At school, at home and on the street
I have the staff
I have the hostel
I hope I'll waste no more*

October 1990

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YOUTH AND POLICY

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