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Maura Banim, Youth and Policy
PO Box 10, Blaydon, Tyne & Wear
NE21 5DD

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# PRO-SCHOOL PUPILS:

*A case study on 'boffin' girls and boys inside and outside school.*

**SHANE J. BLACKMAN**

## Introduction

There is little empirical work upon so called 'conformist' school students, because they are generally believed not to represent a problem (Hammersley and Turner 1980). This paper attempts to fill a gap in our understanding of pro-school pupil behaviour by addressing the question: 'What is a culture of conformity?'

We shall focus on two fifth year pupil groups, one female and the other male, who are located in the upper ability band in a comprehensive school. The paper is taken from a comparative ethnographic study on cultures of resistance and conformity, inside and outside the context of the school. The priority of the research method is to observe the informants though participation in their activities - to create and experience a relationship within which the groups display their structures, relations and communications in action in different situations and contexts.

My attention will be on two conformist pupil groups called 'boffins'. I shall focus upon their school-based practices in relation to social aspirations, and the management of their pro-school image within the pupil community. Finally I shall look at how these girls and boys deal with their perceived sexual vulnerabilities.

## Research Site: Marshlands School

The school selected was a large comprehensive in the south of England, with over 2,000 pupils. It was co-educational and predominantly white and housed a large sixth form. The streamlining system was a combination of banding and setting. There was quite strict discipline.

Regarding employment, the surrounding area was quite dependent on agriculture and the seasonal tourist trade; the nearest large town 15 miles away provided a wide range of jobs. There was a high degree of youth and adult unemployment in the area.

## Groups Studied

This paper is taken from a comparative ethnographic study on cultures of resistance and conformity (Blackman 1990).

## The Five Major Groups

a. Youth cultural groups, mod boys and new wave girls
b. Pupil groups, boffin boys and boffin girls
c. Delinquent group, criminal boys.

The other smaller fifth year groups at Marshlands Comprehensive included:

a. Youth cultural groups, punk boys, rock-a-billy rebels (boys and girls), rockers (including headbangers and heavy metal boys and girls), rude boys, soul girls.
b. Pupil group, square boffin boys, square boffin girls, straight boys, straight girls, remedial boys, remedial girls.

The five major groups were able not only to define their own relations and positions in the school but could define other groups and individuals. A group's ability to define other groups in the context of the school, reveals who controls the status and meaning of social, academic and territorial practices. Certain groups would not accept the label and status location assigned to them by others. The capacity of a group to determine their status (outside their own group) is in part dependent on the strength of the group's internal division of labour and collective solidarity.

Here we are going to look at two of the groups studied: Boffin Girls and Boffin Boys.

## Fieldwork

Fieldwork began in Winter 1980 and finished in Autumn 1982. The last piece of fieldwork was to go on holiday with one of the resistant groups - a group of mod boys - to a scooter rally on the Isle of Wight in September 1982; also fieldwork continued on an informal basis till 1986 with friendly visits.

The method employed was ethnographic; I shared the experiences of the various groups, both inside the school (classroom and leisure spaces) and outside the school (leisure and family spaces). The majority of recorded discussions whether inside or outside school,

stationary or on the move were on a group basis, with from four to eleven students present. The methods employed in this case study are not those traditionally applied in the sociology of education. But the techniques do follow in the Manchester qualitative tradition of Lambart, Lacey and Hargreaves, further developed by Stephen Ball, Paul Willis, Glen Turner and Lynne Davies and more recently by Philip Brown, Peter Aggleton and Sue Lees. However, in this study, the fieldwork techniques used were closer to that of an anthropological understanding of ethnography rather than a sociological one (MacDonald 1988).

My role during recorded discussions was dependent on two factors: firstly, the shared experience gained with each group inside and outside school, secondly, the type of cultural apprenticeship to each group that I experienced.

Thus, the different groups necessitated differing field roles according to their particular socio- cultural background and expectations. Some shared experience was a prerequisite before making any recorded discussion. This meant I had a sense of their lived practices and promoted an insistence on lived meanings. In practical terms being present at the original event discussed during the interviews, meant that I was able to concentrate upon the meaning and interpretation, rather than ask questions on facts which would interrupt the speakers. In this sense it became possible to play a dual role to encourage and to interrogate. The discussions in this paper represent the surface data built upon a carefully constructed ethnographic base. These discussions could not have occurred unless I had made close and personal contact with each of the different groups, on their own ground and in their own time. The foundation of these discussions was friendship, namely shared experience and common interests.

Ethnographic discussions took place in numerous locations both inside and outside the school, only a limited number were recorded. However, the transcripts are also enthnographic events in themselves. In other words, the purpose of group interviewing was not to gain a specific type or category of information, although this could be achieved, but to create or experience a relationship where the groups in different situations and contexts would talk: so offering the possibility of showing group structure, relations and communications.

The format to each interview was to engage upon the meaning and interpretations upheld within each group. The recorded discussions chosen are those where the pattern of group communication is first hand and in a naturalised context. This record of exchange within a group is a moment of action not representation. (Blackman 1990).

### On the term 'Boffin'

The term Boffin derives from the groups studied, the label is not my invention. 'Boffin' is RAF slang for a scientist employed by the armed services. In the context of Marshlands Comprehensive, 'Boffins' are those pupils who specialise in academic superiority; for such pupils this is the major and crucial achievement and prestige marker. Depending upon who was using the term and for what reason, the term 'boffin' had a dual function, both as a label of status and abuse. The boffins themselves would accept the name in the presence of an all-boffin gathering, but where other groups or individuals were present the boffins were reluctant to regard themselves in this way. This suggests that, in the wider school sense, the term boffin refers not only to academic skill but also specifies 'inferior' social and sexual attitudes.

### Boffin Groups

The boffin groups were pupil groups shaped through the process of streaming and significantly sustained by individual competition to succeed in formal examinations. From the boffins' perspective it was important that they were understood by all non-group members as being supportive of the school system and values. The boffins cannot be adequately compared with Jackson and Marsden's (1962) 'respectables', Lacey's (1966) pro-school pupils, Willis' (1977) 'earholes', Turner's (1983) or Brown's (1987) 'swots'. The boffin boys and girls were not subcultures. They denied all association with expressive groups as this may draw adverse attention and affect their aims in school.

The purpose of the boffin identity was to mobilise and incorporate the school examination system into their own school image. The boffin groups would respect and obey school regulations and authority, especially when this would be visible to other pupils. They were reluctant to initiate collective actions unless these were in support of the formal school process.

Both groups were in the upper-ability band of the streaming system and were taking 'O' level examinations. A majority of the girls and some of the boys had passed from one to four 'O' levels a year early in the fourth year.

### Boffin Girls

The boffin girl group contained thirteen individuals who could be divided into one core and two smaller

groups; additionally there were eight close marginal members to this group. The core boffin girl group had been able to create a space within school which the members of the two other boffin girl groups could occupy. The creation by the core group of a territorial location in the fifth year made possible a social geography by means of which all other members of the boffin girl group could either be found or traced. Owing to its size the group was readily identifiable and could also provide sanctuary from sexist attacks by boys. This territorial space was often utilised by the marginal members of the boffin girl group, in an attempt to gain acceptance into the group.

The parents of the boffin girls were mainly middle and lower-middle class. Parents expected that their daughters would enter the sixth form and prepare to go to college or university and then begin a career. The majority of the boffin girls did not have part-time jobs, but some worked occasionally in shops. The only regular work the girls did was baby-sitting. This was their only access to an independent income to enable them to buy clothes and commodities outside their parents' control.

One of the main strengths of the boffin girls' group was that it was large and could be used as a site for refuge and exclusion of others. They spent most of their time, both inside and outside school, within their own group(s) or with the boffin boys. The girls did not have contact with any other groupings except other 'lower status' boffin groups.

The boffin girls did not have any regular boyfriends. They were closely chaperoned by their parents in all of their out-of-school activities. They spent a substantial amount of time in the home doing homework, but unlike the boffin boys, they were expected to do some domestic labour chores (Griffin 1985). However, the girls then developed a strategy of 'having to do school work' to combat excessive domestic demand.

**Boffin Boys**

The boffin boy group studied contained three central members within an overall group of eight. The three core members of the group, Howard, Gary and James, are a closed male friendship group. In school it is essential for all aspiring boffins (male) to be known or in some way associated with these three individual pupils, or the eight marginal members who are in close proximity with their core group. In the fifth year at Marshlands there were many pupils who claimed friendship with the overall boffin boy group of eleven. However, the three core members maintain an aloof independence primarily through their out of school contact. Inside school all the boffin boys share a common pedagogic position but it is through their shared social identity outside school that Howard, Gary and James keep the (close) marginal members at a distance, and other boffins at a further distance.

The boffin boys always insisted upon the existence of a boffin hierarchy within school with themselves at the top. Other 'pro-school' groups were subject to the boffin boys' academic authority. However, their capacity to control the social relations inside school for the 'conforming' groups did not apply to the boffin girl group. The boffin girls refused to accept the boffin boys' territorial claims. The girls rejected the boys on both pedagogic and social grounds; denying their intellectual claims and rejecting their love aspirations.

The majority of the boffin boys' parents were middle and lower-middle class, although some were working class. All received encouragement for their school work and sometimes practical help from their parents. None of the boys had part-time jobs, although some would occasionally collect golf balls or caddie at the local golf-course, but most of their time was spent on homework and this excluded them from work in the local labour market and importantly, from domestic labour in the home.

**Examinations :**
**One element of a pedagogic practice**

Here I shall concentrate upon the boffin girls who had already passed a number of 'O' levels a year early in the fourth year. They were familiar with examination processes and procedures, and they were confident - perhaps slightly arrogant - about revision and examinations. They had reduced considerably the fears usually associated with sitting formal examinations.

*Rose:* *When you have got other examinations you cannot spend ages working on one exam, you've got other examinations.*

*Kerry:* *Like the mocks we have just done. We had all the subjects in a week.*

*SJB:* *Did you do much revision?*

*Kerry:* *Couldn't. You could do about two or three hours on each examination.*

*Rose:* *Unless of course you revised before.*

*Ellen:* *On all 'O' levels they want to give this extra homework to get us ready.*

*Kerry:* *'You have got to have a Biology weekend' or something, 'this weekend'. And then everyone (teachers SJB) says that, so you have got piles of homework.*

*Ellen:* *We have got three Sociology essays (this weekend SJB).*

*Kerry:* *It just depends which subject you put as your most important, that you do the work first and spend the most time on.*

*Rose:* *I mean I spend all my time doing History because it is assessed.*

For the Boffin girls revision is just a process of preparation for the examination. They agree that there is a considerable amount of work to do but that they simply divide the time by the number of exam subjects and work out a schedule. There are favourite subjects and priorities i.e. assessment, but all subjects for examination are simply there to be taken. As we see, they can be rather dismissive:

*Rose:* *I cannot stand statistics. I mean, I could pass it if I work. But it's just so boring. I cannot bother working. It does not bother me if I get it because it is just - sort of - to me, it's an extra 'O' level.*

The usual fuss of taking examinations has been inverted into an ordinariness. However, the girls do not underestimate the importance of passing them. The crucial difference between their approach and that of other pupils was that the boffin girls were able to define the whole process as mundane, and easily rationalised into stages.

The boffin girls' common concerns and rather insular position in the school provided them with maximum opportunity to share their resources.

*SJB:* *Do you swap your homework?*

*Rose:* *Shall we answer that one? (Joke SJB)*

*All:* *(Laughter) We do*

*Rose:* *We do copy.*

*SJB:* *I saw some of Sarah's homework round Alison's house that was being copied out.*

*Monica:* *Oh yes.*

*Ellen:* *You need to copy alone in the fifth year. Because it is more important than somebody who is doing both 'O' level and CSE ...*

*Rose:* *We do not copy. We pool our resources, that is how I put it.*

*Kerry:* *Yes.*

*Rose:* *But I tend when we have tests and things - I tend not to revise because I think then you can work out what you know and what you don't know. A week later you have forgotten it all, because you have just learnt it the night before and I - it is just the stuff you remember for a couple of days and not much longer. For the mocks I revised some but not much because I wanted to see what I know.*

Here we learn that the girls swap their homework, or rather 'pool their (academic) resources'. The right to swap homework within the group was based on one principle, which was that each boffin girl was expected to conform to the group work ethic; otherwise there would be no access to the group's intellectual resources.

Rose describes in detail the boffin girl approach to tests, revision and examinations. This process is understood as a method whereby the pupil gains access to just as much knowledge as they require to pass an examination. The test is interpreted mainly as an opportunity for the pupil to evaluate her ability, rather than an imposition by the school. Rose chooses to interpret the examination in the light of the boffin girls' established pedagogic practice; she argues that the subjects are learnt, revised and then mostly forgotten, as the boffin girl moves on to her next pedagogic challenge. Even though the boffin girls are dominated by formal schooling, they exploit it instrumentally to achieve their aims (Fuller 1980, Holland 1985).

**Problems in management of the Pro-School Image**

There is an acceptance by both boffin groups of the opposition between completing school work and 'going out' in the evening. The home is an important leisure space which also functions as a site where they can discuss school relations and exchange homework.

The boffin boys did take part in under-age alcoholic drinking, but this was not in local pubs or discos.

*Gary:* *It is not as though we go up the pub or anything.*

*James:* *See we don't go up the pub.*

*Howard:* *If you go to someone's house you use their stuff.*

In fact, their alcohol consumption took place sometimes in the home but usually at boffin parties. Such activities by these pro-school pupils were largely unknown by the other pupils and teachers in the school, but it would be incorrect to assume that these pupils were entirely conformist, either in school practices or attitudes.

**SJB:** *What are some of the main things you find interesting in some of the subjects?*

**James:** *I don't find anything, I find it is too boring. I cannot find anything interesting.*

**Howard:** *I mean certain subjects are just boring but you have to do it, because it is the subject you chose.*

**James:** *I cannot - I don't mind doing Photography on Wednesday afternoon. I do not like doing PE.*

**Gary:** *I fucking hate PE.*

**James:** *The rest of them - I am not interested in any subjects I do, but I am not disinterested in them.*

**SJB:** *Gary?*

**Gary:** *Chemistry, Physics, Maths are interesting, but History and Geography are just - they are the rest to pick because it widens your qualifications.*

**James:** *They give- they do not try and make it interesting.*

**Gary:** *You know some of it I find interesting.*

**James:** *With certain teachers of subjects. One teacher does not mark anything, I mean, he had about - how many units have we done? - about sixty.*

**Gary:** *I don't know.*

**James:** *He marked only the first one. You think, there is no incentive to do more. He is not going to mark it, so why should I finish it on time? And it is your own loss when it comes to revision.*

The assumption that conformist pupils show a 'genuine interest in school subjects' is not borne out; they are not presenting an attitude of acceptance towards the school, but are discussing their experience of resentment and the problems of sustaining an active interest in learning. James' remark illustrates that they are dependent on the teachers to make the subjects interesting, to provide incentives, and to develop motivation. However, the boffin boys' general conception of schooling is that it is up to the pupils to identify their own interests, and come to terms with the means available to achieve success. Their commitment is not to school but to school work: not to school values but to an ideology of individualism upheld in the family and by the school institution (Bourdier and Passeron 1977).

An essential part of the boffin identity and behaviour towards other pupils is their apparent detachment and ability to use rules to 'see through' the process of schooling. This is why both boffin groups demanded a set of relations from teachers which could be described as providing a structured learning environment. When this pupil requirement is not met the boffin boys' motivation is reduced and this possibly affects their preparation for revision.

As we have seen, the boffin boys did not consider it prudent to take part in explicitly deviant behaviour against school rules. But on one occasion I was with the key members of the boffin boy group when their behaviour during break time became oppositional, and by what they described as an 'unfortunate incident' the Headteacher caught them and cautioned them, not only for misbehaviour but for their dishevelled school uniform. Further, Howard, James and Gary were required to visit the Head's office, later in the day. As the Head delivered his warning in front of the other pupils, the boys were somewhat ill at ease; this was a significant problem causing momentary damage, both to their pedagogic goal and to their public identity in school as conforming pupils.

However, from the boffin boys' perspective, because it affected the core group rather than highlighting an individual's class impropriety, they were able to redefine their vulnerability in terms of the success of the group in negotiating with the Head. Thus, in the eyes of the other conformist pupils, they were able to raise their status to that of 'rebel' boffins, through an instance of reprimand otherwise unknown in boffin circles. In contrast, the other major non-conforming pupil groups considered this issue of boffin deviance a non-event (Weiner 1985).

**Critical Conformity?**

During the last two periods on Thursday morning I would usually sit in the Humanities Block with the boffin girls who had 'free time', when they would sometimes work but generally talk. One particular morning the girls abandoned school work in favour of a discussion on the purpose of examinations. The

debate was fierce, with voices raised and everyone making a contribution. On the far side of the Humanities Block a classroom door opened and a teacher came towards the girls. She stood over them and shouted that they were misbehaving, abusing the trust placed in them to work alone. She commented further that their work was 'not up to standard' and that their behaviour was 'nothing short of childish'. The boffin girls made a couple of 'cheeky' comments concerning the pressure they were under to complete work for numerous 'O' level courses, and then the teacher returned to the classroom. After she had left they called her an 'old cow' and agreed to disregard her opinion; they assessed her as being of low formal status and of making unfounded statements. One girl said 'I only need 35% for an 'A' grade at 'O' level', and others said they needed less to gain that grade because their assessment work had been so good. The teacher had broken the educational paradigm.

Here the boffin girls display a local form of dissent towards a teacher, what Aggleton and Whitty (1985) describe as an 'act of contestation'. The girls are not directly hostile to the teacher, although once she is out of sight they do challenge her authority (Aggleton, 1987). These comments within the group context are acts of internal resistance; they are private to the girl group (Anyon, 1983). Acts of this kind were unknown to many teachers and other pupils. Not doing work or the correct work is a challenge to the teachers' control and power relations in school (Bernstein 1977). This is another example of the boffin girls' use of their superior pupil position to support their aspirations in ways which operate against local principles of control.

Throughout classroom observation there were occasions where the girls' behaviour became more explicitly deviant:

*Kerry:* *In our music lesson with Mr. Epstein - we got three kids in our class - none of us like him. He can't teach we don't think. He is not that much older than us, he is twenty three, I think. And he has got no sort of authority over us. He had a tantrum the other day and he - it was all our fault - we were provoking him because we don't like him. Everyone started to get him angry, so he had a tantrum and then afterwards he slung a chair across the room and then he came up and apologised and said 'I'm sorry, I should not have done it.' But if he had said 'You stupid kids, you made me angry on purpose. I am going to punish you for that', then that would have been - he should have done that, so we would have respected him in the future and got things across. But he apologised to us because he sort of let off steam and we had been annoying him on purpose, and that is the sort of thing a teacher should do.*

Phrases such as 'We were provoking him', 'Get him angry' or 'Annoy him on purpose' do not square with the boffin girls' public image as the pro-school pupils. What underlies nonconformity? The nature of their actions is closely related to their school aim of examinations success; during the fieldwork we identified the girls' demand for an adult and structured pedagogic setting for learning, with explicit rules for transmitters and receivers of knowledge. In this instance they question the teacher's adult status and formal position. Where reciprocal relations in classroom teaching are not forthcoming, the girls are deviant (Stanworth 1981). The basis of their deviance in the classroom is the desire to restore an optimum learning environment. Where their preconditions are not met they increase their application to work. Teacher who do not offer an adult relationship and who treat the girls like children do not receive full co-operation from the school's top examinees. For example, during my observation of one History lesson, the teacher continually refused to acknowledge the boffin girls' demands for an equal/adult pedagogic relation; one of the girls was dismissed from the classroom - something completely unheard of - and told to sit outside. In this case the boffin girls and boys decided to do other work during the lesson, and further displayed their disapproval by sustaining persistent murmur. This teacher had failed to establish the correct learning environment and this precipitated the school's top examinees into an act of deviance. The problem for the teachers here is that their expectation of these pupils does not fit their actual behaviour. And if they admit to colleagues that they are unable to teach the school's acknowledged top pupils, their future employment and career may be open to question. The teachers' and pro-school pupils' expectations clash in a hostile demand and denial situation.

## Sexual Vulnerabilities

The boffin girls acknowledged that their sexual vulnerabilities stemmed from a shortage of information on, and a lack of experience of, sexual relationships. The girls' uncertainty was understood by them as an important gap in their knowledge.

At Marshlands Comprehensive the female pupils from the first to the fifth year were given sex education talks after assembly or registration. All the girls were subjected to these regular programmes. Boys were not present during these talks, nor did they receive a similar separate programme. The girls had their own interpretation of the school sex talks:

*Mary:* *So in the lower school, in the lower school, um, sort of, the girls were sort of taken away at registration and things like that and after assemblies and given a GOOD TALK.*

*Kerry:* *TALK*

*Ellen:* *TALK*

*Rose:* *TALK*

*SJB:* *What was the talk?*

*Mary:* *All about growing up and how we were different.*

*Rose:* *They - the boys were not allowed to hear. But they always found out about it, didn't they?*

*Mary:* *Yes, but they sort of never -*

*Rose:* *They talk to you in general.*

*Mary:* *They mention - they might have told the boys as well. They sort of kept it separate. They made you think of it as something to be hushed up and kept quiet.*

*Ellen:* *I REMEMBER. What they talked about - Urgh. (Disgust SJB).*

*Mary:* *I think it should come out into the open. You should be able to talk about it between boys and girls and not get embarrassed about it.*

The boffin girls appear critical of the school's belief that the discussion of the female body has to occur in a separate all-girls setting, as if there was something shameful about it. The separation encourages the girls to think of their bodies as unnatural : not a proper or worthwhile subject of conversation. (Spender and Sarah, 1980). Further the formal exclusion of boys from these talks (and the lack of equivalent male sex-education talks) is assessed as one factor which promotes the boys' celebrated 'horror show attitude' towards female sexuality and desire. The boys' 'nastiness' was thought to be partly a result of their having been excluded from these talks. The boffin girls' social activities came under detailed surveillance from parents. For example, to go to a party or disco, a girl had to tell her parents which boys would be present. Then the parents would decide whether such male company would be suitable and whether they would allow their daughter to attend (Mac and Ghaill 1988).

Overall, they were restricted in terms of the range and type of sex information to which they had access (Llewellyn 1980). The school's formal position on female sexuality in the 'talks' presented one perspective, whilst the girls' parents enforced a moral regime, which left the girls' peer group as the only available source of alternative views upon sexuality. However, within this group, relations were most divisive with respect to sexual and bodily information because access was not open to all; the basis of access to peer group knowledge on sexual matters was a function of a mature/immature division inside the boffin girl group - the mature boffin girl had access to high status body news (i.e. sexual information), while the immature boffin girl received only low status rumour news (i.e. stories, gossip).

These three sites of sexual and bodily knowledge (school, parents and peer group) provided the boffin girls with the resources with which they were either able or unable to deal with different forms of sexist behaviour of male groups (Mahony 1985).

**Bodily Contact**

All pupils who began heterosexual relationships gained considerable formal and informal status, both inside and outside school. Form within the pupil community, to establish a relationship conferred a degree of maturity on the partners, and functioned to curtail the use of certain abusive sexual stereotypes which flourished in school (Blackman 1987). Within the boffin groups, an individual's unsuccessful relations with the opposite sex revealed the group's collective vulnerabilities. In a discussion, Gary is singled out by the other boffin boys for his inappropriate mode of address to one of the boffin girls at a party:

*Davey:* *Yeah I talked to Sarah about you, she goes 'You always go up there and take the mickey' or something.*

*Gary:* *Yeah.*

*James:* *She said you are always saying nasty things. Yeah, she goes 'Howard was alright because he comes up and asked me to dance.' I do not something .....*

*Gary:* *I went up to her and called her nasty things? (denial, SJB).*

*James:* *Yeah.*

*Davey:* *No, that you always ....*

*James:* *No, she said 'Whenever Gary sees me, he is always saying nasty things about-'*

*Gary:* *BULLSHIT I don't ever talk to her.*

*Davey:* *Bullshit !!*

*Gary:* *I did not even talk to her. Honestly I said 'Was-*

*Davey:* *No. It weren't just - was not just on Saturday night. She meant all the time.*

*Gary:* *I'm never nasty to her.*

*James:* *You are.*

*Gary:* *The last time - I do not hardly talk to her. When you started talking about - you remember. I do not talk to her now unless she talks to you.*

*James:* *It is probably because you were doing this (mimes sexual intercourse SJB) when we were dancing.*

*Gary:* *Well that is not taking the piss, is it really, that is not being nasty to her?*

We shall infer here a set of rules which applies to the first stage of establishing bodily contact, that is: the dance. Not every dance will lead from public to private bodily contact, but the possibility may be present. James explained that Howard obeyed the accepted rules of approach in his social contact, so that when he asked Sarah for a dance she accepted. However, Gary breaks the accepted convention, because he approaches the girl, but instead of asking her to dance, he succeeds only in 'saying nasty things to her'.

Why does Gary receive a reprimand in this way? They assert that he lacks skill in social contact with girls, saying that he is inconsistent and that from the girls' perspective he appears to act 'nastily'. The boys maintain that this incident is merely a further instance of Gary's habitually inappropriate behaviour, resulting in a violation of the rules of address.

The inference is that Gary's behaviour towards other girls is similar, and it threatens the boffin boys' attempt to move from successful social contact to establish public bodily contact. They now go on to argue that Gary's behaviour at the party was also damaging to the group; James claims that when he was dancing with Sarah, they both saw Gary make rude gestures. Here, Gary has not violated a rule of sequence himself, but through a fantasy display of private bodily contact his behaviour is inappropriate to James and Sarah who are engaging only in public bodily contact.

Inside the boffin boy group there is a growing acknowledgement of their failure to establish public bodily contact with girls, and even to achieve adequate social contact. They return to the discussion to seek a rational explanation of their failure.

*James:* *Monica kind of, right, ignored me all week. Do not take any notice of this lot right. (Embarrassed giggling and facial expressions from the other boys SJB) I went round (her house SJB). She says 'I have got too much homework tonight' so I went home. And I thought if she has got too much homework tonight, you know, she might have it tomorrow night. So I am not going round.*

*Davey:* *Might have what tomorrow night?*

*James:* *OH SHUT YOUR MOUTH, RIGHT? And so, ur, ur, you, yeah. Because she did not want to see me for the rest of the week. Well, I went round on Wednesday and she said, oh, she has got too much homework. I mean Wednesday night. You can always leave it till next week, the homework, you know. If she is that enthusiastic she might as well stay in for the night.*

To retain dignity James must publicly admit that he has been rejected; but he manages to minimise vulnerability by invoking a rational pedagogic argument : direct competition with homework for Monica's time. The boys choose to accept the priority of homework over social and personal relationships, reasoning that if they had been in the same position as Monica, they would have said the same thing : too much homework. The boffin boys thereby reduce their vulnerability through the assertion of a pedagogic unity.

But - as the boys deride James for his inability to move from public to private bodily contact, he is forced to elucidate further, and the ritual instinct ('Might have what tomorrow night?') finally forces him to be inconsistent and to reveal the contradiction that the boffin boys have always feared : namely, that to establish and maintain a female relationship might prove harmful to their pedagogical practices.

In the conclusion I shall attempt to draw together some of the cultural and pedagogic practices of both boffin groups, to move towards a wider understanding of their sociological actions.

**Conclusions**

We can identify three sites of the origin and continuity of the boffin girls' official pedagogic practice : school,

family and peer group. Each site shows the girl's social class relations to education. These relations, acquired in the school and in the family are mediated through the expressive interpersonal peer group love relations. The school and family combine in the promotion of middle class individualism with competitive relations and explicit rules for achievement, but in the peer group these relations also become relations of support, collaboration and affirmation. The clarity of the structured pedagogic practice of the school and the family denies and attempts to exclude the ambiguities, contradictions and tensions which the boffin girls have to face as a consequence of the normative definition of their age and gender relations, social class position and contact with other pupil groups, in particular sexist male groups (Holly 1989).

The boffin girls exploit schooling for their own requirements, but at the same time they accept the neutrality of pedagogy and school authority. Thus, it may appear that the boffin girls are subordinate to the school. But such a simple conclusion would be misleading because it fails to investigate the means whereby the girls work within the school processes (Wolpe 1988).

The boffin boys' unity is embodied and celebrated in their pedagogic instrumental solidarity. This allows these boys to enforce the correct type of approach to learning based upon a regulative framework, where rules are also applied to indicate improper or inconsistent social class practices; the boffin boy must respect the pedagogic project and its future objective if he wishes to retain the status of belonging to the male boffin group.

The boffin boys encounter a variety of problems in trying to deal with and resolve their sexual and bodily vulnerabilities. Firstly, pedagogy has priority over pleasure. The social dominance of school work serves to make the boffin boys' masculine identity more uneasy because of the importance they (like other male groups) attach to female intimacy which their studies preclude. The boffin boys' middle class practice of deferred gratification supports their middle class form of masculinity but causes problems of sexual identity in relation to other male groups in the larger pupils community.

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# WHY PARENTS CHOOSE PRIVATE SCHOOLS FOR THEIR CHILDREN:

*Case studies of Parental Decision-Making in Education*

**DR. DEBRA ROKER**

**Introduction: choice in education**

This paper explores the issue of why some parents choose to pay for their children to be educated in private schools. This information is important both in providing a greater understanding of the private sector in education, and in developing a greater understanding of parental decision-making in education generally. These issues are of current importance and relevance in light of the Conservative government's continuing policy of increasing parental choice within the education system. Understanding how parents make the decision to educate their children in the private sector may therefore help in understanding parental decision-making in other areas of education.

Throughout the thirteen years of the Conservative government, the concept of *choice* in education has been a constant theme, matched by the promotion of choice in a number of other areas of public policy such as health provision. The introduction of market oriented, competitive elements into education has not, however, met with universal agreement: *'arguments for and against parental choice have been the focus of controversy for at least the last fifteen years.'* (Adler, 1991, p 442).

For many individuals, however, and notably those on the political right, the existence and development of parental choice in education is both a right and an issue of principle. Woodhead (1988) for example cites the Universal Declaration of Human Rights to support his claim that 'Parents have a prior right to choose the kind of education they want for their children' (Woodhead, 1988 p4). A similar view is expressed by Mason (1983) who suggests that parental choice in education is a key feature of almost all Western democratic cultures. Reflecting these views, the Conservative administration in the 1980s and 1990s consequently introduced a number of reforms that aimed to increase the degree of choice available to parents in education (Pring 1987, Johnson 1990, Walford 1990). A series of legislative changes, and in particular the 1988 Education Act, strengthened the autonomy of schools and the rights of parents; for example by enabling parents to choose between schools in their local area, allowing schools to 'opt out' of Local Education Authority control and manage their own budgets, and increasing the powers of the governing bodies of schools (Johnson 1990, Walford 1990, Adler 1991). These considerable changes have led not only to a greater degree of choice in education but also to a much greater diversity of educational provision in Britain. Walford (1990) further comments that many of the changes in education undertaken by the three consecutive Conservative administrations are now largely irrevocable; he proposed that 'Parental choice is here to stay' (p17). Johnson (1990) similarly comments that 'Parental choice is now an important consideration in all plans made by schools and local authorities' (p3).

Whilst the promotion of parental choice has been a fairly recent policy development in state sector schools, this aspect of Conservative educational philosophy has long been evident in their support for, and promotion of, the *private* sector of education. The availability of a private sector of education is viewed by the government and its supporters as the ultimate level of choice for parents, enabling those sufficiently well off to pay for the kind of education they want for their children (for a discussion see Edwards, Fullbrook and Whitty, 1984, Walford 1987, 1990). Empowering less well off parents to exercise this choice was attempted by the government's introduction of the Assisted Place Scheme (APS) in 1980. The APS provides free and partially funded places for children from less well off families to attend private schools (Edwards, Fitz and Whitty, 1989). As a result of this, and a number of other factors, the private sector of education has grown steadily throughout the 1980s. Private schools currently educate over half a million children and young people, 8.4% of the school-age population. (Department of Education and Science, 1991). The private sector and its pupils, however, are often neglected by researchers, despite the contribution that such studies may make to a greater understanding of the processes and outcomes of education more generally.

Researchers and educationalists have mainly investigated a limited number of aspects of private education. These areas have included the politics of the private sector (Edwards, Fulbrook and Whitty, 1984; Griggs 1985; Johnson 1987), life in the public schools (Walford 1986), and the investigation of differences in outcomes

between young people educated in state and private schools (Eglin 1984; Halsey, Heath and Ridge 1984; Roker 1992). In contrast, relatively little work has been undertaken exploring *why* parents choose to send their children to a school outside of the state sector. As suggested above however, this information is particularly important at a time of renewed attention to the opportunities for, and processes of, parental decision-making in the state sector of education. It is not yet clear whether parents use the same considerations in choosing schools within the state sector, or what factors lead some parents to consider a private education for their children when other parents do not. Earlier work undertaken on why some parents choose to pay for education is now largely out of date, with much of it undertaken in the 1960s and 1970s by Marsden (1962) and Lambert (1975). Not only may much of this work be out of date, but a considerable amount of it has focussed only on parents who had chosen prestigious *boarding* schools for their children. Further, the majority of these studies focussed almost entirely on schools for *boys* only; moreover, these were often studies of boys boarding schools. Many later researchers also continued this trend, with Fox (1984) interviewing parents whose sons were attending a number of prestigious public schools for boys. There is thus very little information available on why parents choose private education for their *daughters*. Johnson (1990) concludes that overall, research on the private sector of education has 'paid little attention to parental choice' (p89).

This paper aims to contribute information in the area of parental decision-making in the private sector of education, by presenting a small number of detailed case studies of parents with daughters at one large private school for girls. These case studies are based on individual, unstructured interviews which the author conducted with parents of a number of private school girls. The interviews were one part of a larger research study which was comparing the experiences of girls in private sector and state sector schools (see Roker, 1991; 1992 for details of this study). The private school involved (which will be referred to as 'Elmlea' in this paper) was a selective, all girls day school in the north of England, with a good academic reputation and a large sixth form. A number of the *parents* of the pupils at the school were also interviewed as part of this research in order to better understand the backgrounds and experiences of the pupils interviewed in this study, and these interviews were conducted over a three month period in 1989. Each interview was arranged with the help of the private school pupil involved in the main study, and with their express permission; they were all held in the parents' homes, and each lasted between one and three hours. Three were held with both parents, one with the father only, and one with the mother only (a single parent).

The interviews with parents proved to be extremely revealing and interesting in their own right, each demonstrating a complicated history and process of decision-making leading up to the parents' decision to pay for education for their child(ren). In particular these interviews appeared to refute the views expressed by many of the young people and their parents in the study who were in the state sector of education: this was that private schools are mainly used by very rich families, with parents who were themselves privately educated and who never even consider using the state sector. The case studies also demonstrate the diverse range of influence on parents' decisions, and in particular the importance of both parents' own educational experiences and the local education situation in affecting the decision to pay for a private education. It was consequently decided to present the interviews with parents independently of the results of the main study. It should be stressed that the case studies are not in any way intended as representative of all private school parents; they are, rather, intended as aids to understanding the often unacknowledged complexity that is involved in making such decisions.

Note that a number of details have been changed in order to protect the anonymity of both parents and pupils, and all names of persons and schools are fictional.

## Case Studies of Five Families

### *John and Mary Brown*

Both John and Mary Brown had been educated in the state sector of education, although both had attended well known grammar schools. Mary Brown had trained as a nurse after leaving school, and had worked in nursing until having Cara and her younger brother; she was not working at the time of the interview. John Brown worked as a senior business manager and partner in a large manufacturing company, having left school and joined the same firm's accounts department as a clerk. He described the family as '... comfortably off, though certainly not rich ... '. The Brown's daughter Cara was 17 years old at the time of the interview, and had been at Elmlea for six years. She was taking three science A Levels and planned to go to University to study medicine, hoping eventually to specialise in paediatrics.

The Browns first considered paying for a private education for their daughter towards the end of her primary

schooling. Cara had generally been unhappy at school, not having ever really settled in there after the family had moved from another part of the country; she had made few friends and had occasionally refused to go to the school at all. The Browns had contacted the school several times about their daughter's problems, and also with their concerns about her academic progress at the school, which they felt was poor despite the fact that Cara was '...a bright and capable girl ...'. They felt, however, that both Cara's teacher and the school's Headteacher were dismissive of their concerns; Mary Brown described the Headteacher's attitude as one of irritation with them for interfering. There were also problems relating to funding and discipline at the school, which many of the school's parents were concerned about at the time, and this added to their worries. It was at this point (when Cara was aged 11) that they began to look, '... reluctantly ...', into the possibility of finding a private school for their daughter. There were few other state primary schools in their area, and many were quite some distance from their home. Mary Brown described the process of deciding on a private school for Cara as follows:

> *Well, we'd never considered sending our children to a private school before. We'd both been to state schools and had had a pretty good education there, but things just seemed to have deteriorated by the time Cara and her brother were at school. As I said, her primary Head was really dismissive when we said we were concerned about Cara's progress. And ... well, we were worried about the secondary schools that she would go to. There were only two in the area and both had a pretty poor reputation. Then there were the strikes by teachers as well, and the lack of proper funding. Eventually we felt we just had no option but to look privately.*

John Brown stressed the difficulty of this decision for him and his wife. They were both what he called ' ... pretty left wing ...' and had always been opposed to the idea of people who are able to 'buy' education for their children. 'But,' he added, 'what can you do when it's your own children who may suffer?'

The Browns eventually settled on Elmlea for Cara because it was close to the family home, and also because it was a single sex school; they believed that she was likely to receive a better *science* education in an all girls school; science was an area that Cara was particularly interested in. Cara passed the entrance exam and started at Elmlea the same year. Her older brother also later transferred to a school in the private sector, even though he was ' ... quite happy ... ' at the local state secondary school. Mary Brown explained that they felt it was only fair that the advantages they believed Cara was receiving in the private sector should be provided for their son too. Both parents however, commented several times in the interview that had the state sector been better at the time, and had Cara been happy there, they would never have chosen a private school for their daughter or for their son. It was, Mary Brown commented, '... a matter of circumstances that were current at the time .' It is of note that at the time of the interview (1989), the Browns viewed state secondary schools in their area as having improved to the extent that they would probably have sent their children to them if they were making the decision then.

*Mary and Peter Parker*

The Parker's process of deciding to pay for a private education for their daughter was in stark contrast to that of the Brown's above. The Parker family had a long tradition of private education, and they saw no reason why they should consider anything else but a private education for their children. Both Mary and Peter Parker had been educated at prestigious boarding schools, and it was this education, they believed, that had enabled them to achieve their current employment and material success. Mary Parker was a Consultant in a large hospital, and Peter Parker a senior partner in a legal practice; they described themselves as being ' ... very well off indeed. We have everything we want.' Their daughter Melanie, 16 years old at the time of the interview, had been at Elmlea since the age of four. She planned to stay on at the school to do A Levels and then apply to University to study law. Her long-term aim was to qualify as a barrister.

In discussing their decision to educate Melanie (and her younger sister) privately, the Parkers suggested that it ' ... was never really a decision as such ...'. Mary Parker described how she and her husband had always assumed that their children would go to a private school, as they themselves had, and as did the children of almost all of their friends and relatives. As Mary Parker explained,

> *Sending the children to a state school was never even considered. We wanted the best for our children and you can only get that at a private school. Better standards, better discipline, and well ... a better group of people. Everyone would choose that for their children if they could afford to wouldn't they?*

Peter Parker described state schools as ' ... inevitably second rate ...', and never an option they would have considered. He added that ' ... no amount of changes ...' in the state sector of education would have persuaded him to educate his children in a state school.

*Jane Stevenson*

Mrs. Stevenson was a single parent who worked in the health service. Sally, her only child, had been at Elmlea since the age of 12. Currently in the final year of A Levels, Sally had a place at University to study languages. She was uncertain about what she wanted to do after this, but at the time of the interview was considering television journalism.

Mrs. Stevenson, like the Browns earlier, had never considered paying for a private education for her daughter. 'For a start I certainly would never have been able to afford it ...' she said '... but also to be honest I didn't want it. I believe that it's the government's responsibility to provide education for everyone.' Sally had been doing well at the local primary school she attended, and Mrs. Stevenson was happy for her to move on to the local state school for her secondary education. When her daughter was aged ten, however, her mother was approached by Sally's teacher. The teacher explained that Sally appeared to be particularly able academically, and that she felt she would benefit from attending a school with higher academic standards and more competition. She added that she was aware that Mrs. Stevenson was unlikely to be able to afford private school fees, but mentioned that there were a number of private schools in the area which offered assisted place (the APS), with reduced or no fees charged for those on low incomes. Mrs. Stevenson described what happened then as follows:

> *Well, I didn't like the idea of it to start off with. Sally seemed happy at the school she was at, and she seemed to be doing well there. But I contacted one of the private schools in the area and had a look round, and I admit it was impressive. There were excellent facilities and resources, and so I thought well if Sally gets through the entrance exam and we get offered an assisted place then I'll take it. Well, she got the place and I thought how can I say no? If Sally hadn't wanted to go, then she wouldn't. It was always her decision. So she started there when she was eleven and has done really well there. I'm really pleased with the decision. She's really happy there.*

As Mrs. Stevenson, readily admitted, the circumstances which led to Sally attending a private school were purely chance ones:

> *Well I suppose it was funny really, because if I hadn't had the chance conversation with her primary school teacher it would never have happened.*

She added that, politically, it was still difficult for her to accept the notion of private education, but she commented ' ... when it's your child's future what can you do?'

*David Smith*

David Smith was interviewed on his own as his wife, a training manager, was away at that time. Mr. Smith worked as an engineer for a local engineering firm. His wife Katherine had been educated at a state school, whilst David Smith had himself attended a private school. Their daughter Amanda had been at Elmlea since the age of eleven, and was currently in the final year of A Levels. She had a place at a local Further Education College to do an arts foundation course, and eventually hoped to go on to one of the major arts colleges and pursue a career in fine art.

David Smith described the process of choosing the type of education for their daughter (and her brother) as a ' .. very difficult one ..'. Whilst he had always been keen on sending Amanda to a private school, believing this to be a virtual guarantee of a successful education, his wife was opposed to sending Amanda to a private school. She believed that state education should be supported from an ideological standpoint, and also because she believed that state secondary schools in the area were able to provide a perfectly good education for their daughter. As a result of the different views of David Smith and his wife, there were what Mr. Smith described as a number of '.. colourful arguments ..' about Amanda's education. These arguments were particularly heated, David Smith said, during periods of industrial action by teachers. They eventually agreed, however, that Amanda would stay in the state sector.

When Amanda was eleven, however, her best friend from school was moved to a private school by her parents. Good reports of the school's high academic standards and excellent facilities led Mr. Smith to again suggest to his wife that Amanda be sent to a private school. By this stage Amanda herself was keen to go to Elmlea to join her friend, and eventually his wife, as Mr. Smith described it ' ..succumbed to their pressure ..'. Amanda subsequently passed the entrance exam for the school, and had been at Elmlea for seven years at the time of the interview. A year after Amanda started in the private sector, her brother was also sent to a private school. Like the Browns earlier, David Smith said he did not feel comfortable about paying for education for one of his children and not for the other.

*Mark and Sarah Carson*

The case of Mark and Sarah Carson was distinct from the other families above, in that whilst their older

daughter Emma was being educated privately at Elmlea, their two sons attended state secondary schools. Both parents had themselves been educated privately, but did not believe that their education had necessarily been any better than that provided at the time in state schools. Sarah Carson had worked as a civil servant since leaving school, and Mark Carson worked for a small advertising company. Mark Carson described their attitude to their children's education as follows:

> *Well, we wanted them to go to ordinary state schools. We thought that if they're clever enough they'll do well whatever type of school they're in. We both went to private schools, and they were very good academically, but neither of us really enjoyed our education and I think children should. We wanted the children to be happy at school, to enjoy their education. It was all work you see. It was really sheltered as well, we hardly met anyone who wasn't well off and clever.*

All three children consequently attended local primary schools before moving on to the local state secondary school. Their sons enjoyed being at the school, but their daughter Emma (a year older) became increasingly unhappy there. Quiet and insular, she made few friends, and was bullied by a number of pupils in her year. Primarily because of their concern about the bullying, the Carsons began to look for another school for Emma. Sarah Carson described how they eventually settled on a private school:

> *Well we looked at two other state secondary schools, but they were both a long way away from here and both were, well a bit rough and had a pretty bad reputation. So we really didn't want to, but we started to look at private schools, because we knew that those would be a bit more sheltered and secure. That's what Emma needed you see, something sheltered and easy going. That's what private schools are like.*

Emma consequently transferred to Elmlea when she was 13, and at the time of the interview was taking GCSE exams, hoping to pursue a career in teaching. Sarah Carson, looking back, said the move had been '.. enormously beneficial..' for Sally and ' .. just the right environment for her ..'.

**Parental decision-making in education**

The five case studies presented above, although small in number, do demonstrate the diversity of personal factors, views and motivations which may influence parental decision-making in choosing private schooling for their children. In particular they demonstrate that the stereotype often presented - of middle-class parents, themselves privately educated, inevitably choosing private education for their own children - is not always true. In fact, in the current research it was only the case for one of the families - the Parkers. For each of the other four families, the decision to use the private sector was made on the basis of other factors. For the Browns, it was a general dissatisfaction with the quality of state schools in their area at the time. For Jane Stevenson it was the offer of an assisted place for her academically able daughter. The Smith's decision was primarily a result of the experience of her daughter's friend, whereas for the Carsons it was their daughter's need for a particular type of school environment. In each of the last four cases, it became clear that there was very little real commitment by the parents interviewed to the private sector of education. Rather, it was primarily the circumstances of the family at the time that led them to choose private education. This finding reflects the conclusions drawn by Johnson (1987; 1990) who, during interviews with a number of families who had chosen private sector education for their children, also found a diverse range of factors and reasons involved in the decision. These factors included, for example, parents alienated by some aspect(s) of both state primary and secondary education; families who wanted a boarding education; those looking for a school for a problem child or a child with special needs; and those believing private education was 'bound to be better'. The small number of case studies reported here also showed a wide variety of individual needs that were satisfied by private education. It is also of note that in a number of case studies above the *children's* views and preferences had clearly had a marked effect on parental decision-making.

It is also worth pointing out that in the case studies presented above, the majority of the parents interviewed were very involved in their children's education. Although choosing private education for a variety of reasons, they were all clearly very thoughtful about their child's educational future. This suggests that the parents interviewed were what Whitty et al (1989) call 'educational families', those families who actively involve themselves in decisions about their children's education. This type of involvement would clearly be strongly supported by the current Conservative government, whose aim in increasing parental choice in education is to encourage and allow parents to become more involved in their child's education, and to make informed decisions about it. A better understanding of how parents make decisions between the private and state sectors of education is likely to be of relevance also to understanding how parents make decisions between schools in the state sector.

There is currently considerable interest in the decision-making process of parents who are choosing between schools in the state sector of education. Research in this area has, so far, also demonstrated that a diverse range of factors are involved in parental decision-making. Bastow (1991) for example, demonstrates that a number of school characteristics are particularly important to parents in choosing between schools, in particular whether the school is single-sex or co-educational, and its degree of closeness to the family home. Surprisingly, the academic results of the school were not found to be ranked highly by parents. Similarly Coldron and Boulton (1991) demonstrate that parents generally describe the importance of their child's 'happiness' in the process of selecting a state school, with the academic reputation of the school given less emphasis. In many of the interviews with private school parents described in this paper, the happiness of their children was also clearly a primary consideration of parents. It may well be, therefore, that the processes of parental decision-making in choosing whether to use a school in the private sector reflects much of the decision-making process that takes place in the state sector. Many parents thus clearly consider their individual child's needs, and try to match these needs to what educational options are available.

It may be possible that, in the future, a greater emphasis on parental choice by the current Conservative government leads to a larger number of parents considering schools for their children in *either* the private or state sectors; this is particularly likely if the Assisted Place Scheme is further developed. This is an increasing possibility also for parents who have no strong ideological commitment to either sector. As a result of the government's encouragement of parents to become more involved in, and thoughtful about, their children's *place* of education (in terms of individual schools), may also therefore lead them to think even more widely about which *type* of school (in terms of private or state) they want for their child. As parental choice in education thus becomes a central political and educational issue, understanding further the process of parental decision-making in education is increasingly important, both in the private and state sectors. Detailed studies of parents decision-making in education are therefore needed. It is hoped that the case studies presented here have provided some initial information for future work in the area to build upon.

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# BULLYING IN COMMUNITY AND YOUTH WORK

**LIONEL VAN REENEN**

### Introduction

This paper draws on the findings of a pilot study on bullying as experienced by workers and users of social welfare agencies in general, but community and youth work in particular. Bullying occurs in a variety of forms amongst adolescents and adults. The study's objective is to analyse bullying practices as a product of cultural reproduction in informal social education,[1] an experiential learning process that underpins much of community and youth work. Giddens (1989) refers to the term cultural reproduction as the transmission of cultural values, norms and practices from one generation to another, and the mechanisms by which cultural experiences are reproduced and sustained over time.

An analysis is made about the nature of bullying, the contexts in which it occurs, who the bullies are, the victims, community and youth workers' response in terms of routine practice and policy development.[2]

### What is meant by bullying?

Bullying is not easy to define, but most of us can recognise it when we experience it in practice as it impacts on many aspects of our everyday lives. In a recent study (Tattum, 1990), the language of bullying is discussed as 'mobbing', 'harassment', and 'victimisation'. A variety of definitions are explored but the one that has the ring of authenticity to the findings of my study is:

> *a form of social interaction in which a more dominant individual (the bully) exhibits aggressive behaviour which is intended to and does, in fact, cause distress to a less dominant individual (the victim).*

The assumption which underpins this definition is the ability of the bully, intentionally or otherwise, to exercise power over and dominate, humiliate, hurt, isolate and damage the victim psychologically and physically. My theoretical interest is to describe and explain why bullying occurs in community and youth work and the allied helping professions. Also, to analyse the social and organisational contexts in which bullying tends to thrive.

I am concerned about the strategies professional workers adopt (or fail to adopt) to help victims to 'cope' with, or 'overcome' bullying. By a 'coping' strategy I mean the defensive reactions of professional and other workers who adjust to bullying to survive in the job, and in so doing often maintain the status quo. By 'overcoming' bullying I mean the methods workers and others use to empower victims to challenge bullying in a way that enables them to gain some control over their lives and *not* become bullies themselves.

### Bullying in the workplace

My experience as a trainer and fieldworker suggests that a great deal of an effective worker's energy is spent on dealing with being bullied, or countering others bullying. There are cases where professional workers bully, or collude with bullying often not recognising this, and situations where workers consciously choose to bully to survive. These aspects of bullying occur in youth club work and detached work with young people on the street. At a community level serious bullying occurs in playgrounds, on streets and in housing estates, eg racist attacks are common in certain parts of London such as verbal and physical assaults on Asian families. Gay men and lesbians experience serious forms of bullying in all spheres of their life. Bullying is also common in tenants' associations and other community groups. It occurs in more formal contexts like staff meetings, managerial supervision sessions, management committee meetings of youth clubs and public meetings. Bullying is also experienced by both sides of the professional/client relationship in social work practice on family visits, interviews in the Department of Social Security, in residential homes, nursing homes for the elderly and Intermediate Treatment Projects.

Professionals and volunteers who work in organisations because of a personal commitment to the welfare of others, have to deal effectively with bullying as prerequisites to good practice and their personal survival in the job. They need to know how to create and use support structures constructively to deal with bullying, otherwise they are likely to collude with bullying practices or vote with their feet.

## Methodology

The study was a pilot where qualitative methods were used in ten different work agencies in London which are listed at the end of this paper. Quota sampling was applied to create a representative frame of social welfare work agencies, but with a special focus on community and youth work. The aim was to identify and explore possible explanations of bullying based on the following questions:

1. In what form does bullying occur?
2. In which contexts does bullying take place?
3. What are the causes of bullying?
4. Who are the bullies?
5. Who are the victims?
6. What are the consequences of bullying for the victims and bullies?
7. How do workers and agencies respond to bullying in terms of routine practice and policy development?

The research methods involved the use of semi-structured interviews based on the above questions. Young people, local residents and workers were interviewed in small groups. When individuals were unable to express themselves in groups, individual interviews were arranged where possible. Interviews were taped and transcribed, and participant observation fieldnotes were taken which provided an alternative method of data collection. In total twenty two interviews were undertaken.

The material gained from these interviews is summarised in the following sections which examine why bullying occurs and the form it takes. The comments about bullying experiences by many young people and adults were stark and unequivocal.

## We are a society of bullies

People bully because we are a society of bullies:

> *Wherever you look, the TV, newspapers, radio, playgrounds, our streets, housing estates, schools, work, football terraces the message is the same ..... if you don't push, you'll get pushed over.*

To survive you:

> *can't stop to think about others, you can't care too much. It is only after you feel secure and wanted that you can help others.*

The implications of these and many similar comments are whether, in a highly competitive and enterprise culture a case can be made for the legitimate bully? Are the people who make the grade, get things done, successfully impose their will and ride roughshod over others (except perhaps ourselves), those we admire most as good political leaders and efficient captains of industry? Is there a role for the legitimate bully in the personal service or helping professions (Halmos, 1978) like community and youth work, or does bullying fundamentally compromise the integrity of workers who claim their job is to empower others to exercise some control over their lives? These are questions that emerged at different stages of the analysis suggesting a cultural context where bullying appeared to be accepted as *normal*. Although these questions are not fully addressed in this small study, it provided a broad framework in which the data was analysed.

Certain types of bullies, their practices and contexts in which these occur were identified.

## Cowardice and sadism

Bullies were referred to as 'cowards' who try to 'show off' and enjoy inflicting:

> *pain, embarrassment and whipping others, especially those who are weaker or the underdog.*

These bullies were at the extreme end of a continuum, unpredictable and often violent. They tend to bully anyone who obstructs them from achieving their goals, or people they feel must be kept down. Respondents claimed this is learned behaviour from parents (and other adults) who use mental bullying to make children feel guilty, and physical bullying to punish and coerce them to conform, 'to keep you in your place'. These practices were regarded as a form of sadism, a cultural reproduction where the bully learns from parents who apparently enjoy the process of demanding conformity and dominating their children.

Individuals and groups who match negative stereotypical images accepted as 'normal' in society, were the target of some bullies' sadism. A young man's comments about Asian people was expressed as a great joke, poking fun within hearing distance of other youth club members, some of whom were Asian:

> *because they eat so much curry kit-e-kat they breed like pussycats and take up all the fucking welfare, housing and jobs.*

Sadistic bullying emerged as a product of parental socialisation, a cultural reproduction based on a deeply

ingrained prejudice and fear in the psyche of some young people. They expressed derogatory views with apparent relish, enjoyment and complete disregard for the feelings of the victims.

**Insecurity**

Some individuals bullied to make themselves 'look better' as a defence mechanism against feelings of insecurity. These bullies are not 'thick and stupid' but intelligent with an astute understanding of informal power relationships. Victims are manipulated and dominated always on the *bully's terms* who pick on victims with qualities the bully desires: good looks, success, education, wealth, social status and an ability to be articulate. One young man felt insecure because he was unable to express himself clearly in his youth club members' committee. He threatened the chairperson of the committee, a fellow club member, that his agenda item; the football team's new strip must be the only one requesting club funds at the next meeting or else 'blood will flow'.

**Bullying as a means to material ends**

Bullying was described as a means to redistribute simple material goods in favour of the bully. This was achieved through extortion from victims, e.g. money, sweets, comics, food and cigarettes - 'demanding freebies from the youth club canteen'. A young male developed a 'fag run' where his minders, fellow club members, went around all the smokers in the youth club demanding cigarettes 'as a protection racket'. They stipulated which brand of cigarettes the bully preferred and the process kept the bully and his minders supplied with cigarettes. These practices beside benefiting the bully materially, also legitimated his power.

**Bullying as a means to control**

Bullying was also described as means to control others. These practices emerged as an act of the rational bullies some of whom invested time in gratuitous violence to maintain their reputation as 'hard nuts' and to 'keep control'. This aspect of bullying took varying forms:

> *booting arses, punching and kicking heads in of those who did not do what the boss said, and nutting people who needed a good lesson.*

This form of bullying occurred in youth clubs, residential homes and Intermediate Treatment projects. Some workers were good at spotting these practices and would intervene to prevent them from happening. Other workers regarded this as a part of the process of 'becoming men':

> *who had to learn and grow up the hard way, and where a bit of outward bound or military training would not do some of our lot any harm.*

**Positive functions of bullying**

References to the positive functions of bullying came mainly from young men. They claimed that people who are able to 'fight back and look after themselves will overcome bullying'. This helped one victim to learn and transfer his learning to other struggles in his life and, as a result 'I'm a nicer person now'. Young women were less convinced about the positive functions of bullying. They were more concerned with those who could not cope, 'whose lives are a living hell'.

**The pecking order**

There is a 'pecking order' where individuals who have been bullied learn how to cope, then adopt a role model where they bully other individuals who have less status and power than themselves. A common feature in youth clubs and residential homes was older youths who bullied their younger counterparts. In turn younger men bullied young women 'to get their own back' to 'show them girls are inferior to boys'.

**Acting Out**

The spectators of bullying - those indirectly involved as observers of the practice, described bullying as a form of 'acting out' - playing to an audience where the bully coerced others to witness bullying practices. Unsuspecting onlookers did not always realise the effect of their passive collusion with bullying. A youth worker claimed:

> *There is quite a bit of teasing and innocent horse play in the showers after football practice. The same ones tend to get it in the neck and the rest of the lads stand round and cheer. It is all taken in good fun.*

The riposte from a young person to this worker's comment was 'this is no innocent fun, they don't cheer, they jeer', a hurtful and humiliating experience for the victim. Some victims who are currently not being bullied, colluded with the bullying of others. One young man claimed:

> *some of my best friends are bullies, and at any rate when they are getting at others, the heat's off me. That's all part of the game in our residential home where the actions of the young people appear to be aimed at sustaining a form of solidarity amongst ourselves to deal with the harsh life in this institution.*

### Self-fulfilling prophecy

Some victims 'set themselves up' to be bullied or scapegoated to seek acceptance by their peer groups. For the victim this was said to be a better alternative than being an isolate or outcast. A young woman interestingly described how she had learned to accept bullying by her brothers when she was young. She wanted to be in their company and 'was hassled in the normal way fellas treat girls'. She felt it 'Ok when pushed off the pool table by the fellas' whose company she sought in her youth club. It was only since her views were recently challenged by the youth worker, that after fifteen years of her life accepting being bullied by boys as normal, she realised 'things need not be this way'.

### Racist bullying

Racist bullying emerged as one of the more serious forms of bullying in community and youth work. Ironically, black young African-Caribbean youths did not see themselves as victims of bullying on an inter-personal level. They had learned to deal with racist name-calling and physical violence, how to defend themselves and 'give as good as I get .... they don't bother me no more'. On the other hand, a black young women said 'senior members always bully me for my subs, while others get away with it.'

On the group level much racist bullying occurred in the form of taunting, patronising attitudes and physical abuse by groups of white peers. White youth groups bullied Asian youths who had a separate club night with comments such as:

> *we should boot out the Pakis who want to come in and take over our club.*

Authority figures like youth workers who regard bullying as a 'normal part of growing up', proved to be a serious dilemma for some young people. A Cypriot youth who challenged the worker's collusion with racist jokes as 'innocent fun' was reprimanded by his father. Confronting authority figures openly was considered to be 'disrespectful' in Cypriot culture. The young man's actions revealed a generation gap and cultural lag with his parents. However, challenging the youth worker was strongly supported by his peers.

Black young people's encounters with the police emerged as a traumatic form of racist bullying. Many claimed they suffered from being picked on, bullied and intimidated:

> *the police always seem to want to demonstrate their white power over black people.*

African-Caribbean young people said they bullied other young children when they were young as a coping strategy to survive in a racist society. A black young man who came from a poor background bullied to obtain those things society advocated he should enjoy, but 'denied me everywhere I turn'. This forced him to become:

> *very hard, cool and street wise. I had to suppress any feelings of guilt, do anything I could to survive in an extremely hostile environment.*

### Sexist bullying

Sexuality and the assertion of masculinity by men over women emerged as significant form of bullying. Sexual harassment by men in the form of verbal abuse e.g. creating pejorative labels of young women as an 'easy lay' or 'one night stand' was regarded by young women as a daily occurrence, a serious, degrading and a very hurtful form of sexist bullying. These attitudes reflected a form of practice by men who wanted to maintain the status quo of male dominance.

Many young men expressed sexist views of young women regarding them as:

> *catty and jealous of good lookers who often become bitchy engaging in malicious gossip .... and as slags or whores who cock tease.*

Men claimed that women 'stretch out' bullying 'because they spend most of their time nattering' to make victims suffer over a long period. Men boasted they used physical violence to bully others over a much shorter period than women:

> *boys spend less time gossiping and more time doing .... quickly giving someone a good bashing, getting things over with.*

A reaction to sexist bullying adopted by a small number of young women 'to get your own back', was to bully physically weak boys - 'wimps'. They would also beat up their women peers 'who stole my man'. They did not attempt to bully their 'ex-boyfriends' who jilted them because of a fear of physical reprisal.

Most women's response to bullying appeared to take the form of copying with bullying by men which often left women victims feeling powerless, frustrated and degraded.

### Parents, social class and bullying

Only tentative conclusions can be drawn from the

findings about social class and bullying as this was not specifically addressed in the study. Most working and middle class young men and women tended not to see much point in approaching their parents for support when they were bullied. Those who did ask for help experienced a variety of 'unsatisfactory' responses. Middle class parents wanted 'to solve the problem' on behalf of the young person which only exacerbated the bullying. Working class parents said bullying was part of growing-up 'and only sissies whinge about being bullied'. There were parents who encouraged their children 'to cope' by ignoring the bullies and walking away from bullying situations. Others advised their children to 'hit back'.

These coping strategies were not regarded as helpful by several young people, especially young women. The first, where parents acted as 'problem solvers' proved highly embarrassing and painful for the victims. The second where bullying was viewed as normal to growing up, failed to understand the distress bullying caused the victim. The third, merely suspended bullying transferring it from one situation to another. The final piece of advice often turned the victims into bullies themselves.

Working class young people claimed their middle class counterparts had skills 'to talk their way out of a jam and persuade the bully to become a friend'. This coping strategy was used by some women and Asian young people where spoken English was not a difficulty. Many youth workers advocated 'talking your way out of a situation.' This was only viable where the victim was confident and articulate; for others this merely intensified the bullying process where victims were ridiculed. Working class males were more likely to counter bullying with physical aggression, a riposte that was claimed to be quick and effective in halting bullying practices.

**Bullying amongst professionals**

Bullying amongst workers in staff teams and in relationships with managers was common. Work tasks were allocated on status, gender and racial lines. Full-time staff claimed they were bullied by managers who warned them not to become involved in work that was 'too political'. Often this was an arbitrary judgement and counter to what some workers were required to do in their job descriptions, e.g. 'advocate on behalf of young people to advance their rights'. These workers developed coping strategies based on counselling and advice work which reduced interference from managers to a minimum, and maximised the autonomy and control workers had over their practice.

Men bullied women workers to take on routine tasks like writing minutes at meetings, carrying out basic tasks when decisions were made and follow-up action was required such as 'booking the train seats for the conference', letter writing, catering, washing up and office administration. The men took on the more glamorous management roles, advocating ideas for new developments, policy-making, meeting senior managers and public relations tasks. Women workers were bullied in that they were allowed to contribute in staff meetings but were often 'not heard' by their men colleagues. Men had 'favourite' women colleagues who colluded with men's sexist bullying practices and in return received 'all the perks' and where 'incompetence was overlooked'. Men became very defensive and aggressive when challenged by women. Women claimed much of their work and emotional energies were spent on countering men bullying women colleagues.

Part-time staff claimed they were bullied by their full-time counterparts. They were allocated the worst jobs and full-timers took the credit for work without acknowledging the contribution of the part-timers.

Black workers were expected by their white colleagues to do the 'policing' work in youth clubs and residential homes such as the 'roving eye' at discos, dealing with fights, sorting out arguments between the young people, being the 'door keepers', 'sub collectors' and 'bouncers'. An interesting form of professional bullying became evident for women and black workers employed in hierarchical work structures like the Youth Service and Social Service Departments. White male workers were more likely to support the appointment of black female workers whom they could manipulate and bully, especially where these workers' roles were sandwiched between white senior and junior workers. This type of work structure enabled senior white and junior workers to use sexist and racist practices to control, sabotage and undermine black workers 'trapped as piggy in the middle'.

Many senior workers were white males who subjected female colleagues to sexist bullying. Women felt very vulnerable to sexual innuendo and advances from their senior male bosses and were caught in a serious dilemma about how to respond. The outcomes of various forms of professional bullying were the tendency for black and women workers to accept the agenda set by senior male workers and try to work creatively within this framework. This invariably proved counter-productive. It undermined workers' confidence and professional integrity and led them into undertaking practices they considered did not serve the best interest of the communities their work was supposed to benefit. An important aspect of professional bullying emerged as

'intellectual oppression' imposed on workers (especially on women) by senior workers to be cost effective (respond positively to cuts) and generate income for the agency. The bullying took many forms but none more daunting than through the use of language in the written word (copious memos and work reports), and in responding to performance indicators that were often alien to routine practice and the principal areas of the work stated in workers' job descriptions. This type of bullying was not exclusive to men in senior positions. Women in senior roles adopted similar tactics to control, cope and survive. The effect of this form of bullying had a very negative impact on practice filtering down to the lower levels of hierarchies of many Youth Service Departments. The outcome was to impose a variety of negative constraints on full and part-time workers. Most of their time was spent filling out numerous attendance and other forms at the expense of drawing workers away from the face-to-face work with young people, which was the most creative and enjoyable aspect of their work. Workers were literally bullied into being mini-managers and controllers of young people, marionettes for their bosses.

**Professional responses to bullying: training of community and youth workers.**

A distinction between *overcoming* versus *coping* strategies in response to bullying emerged as the key to professional training for good practice.

1. In the majority of cases, but notably women, the emphasis was on coping strategies, a defensive reaction to being bullied by men. Sexuality was a key factor underpinning bullying, a daily occurrence by men asserting their masculinity. Race was another significant factor which underpinned coping with bullying.

2. Contrasting the notion of coping was men's comments about the positive functions of bullying. This was described as overcoming, a legitimate form of counter-bullying. However, the findings suggest the outcomes for many men overcoming bullying was that they became bullies themselves. An explanation why victims become bullies is that they experienced bullying as an exercise of power over themselves as losers in a zero sum game. Power is regarded as a fixed quantity where one person only gains power at the expense of others. An alternative view which could have radical implications to the practice of overcoming bullying, draws on the notion of joint-power. People who work collectively and co-operatively can enhance their joint-power to the benefit of everyone involved. There need not necessarily be losers. The learning process can be liberating and empowering to all participating parties.

3. Developing joint-power informs much of the work done by women on assertiveness training which is essentially how to cope with, and overcome bullying without becoming a bully yourself. In this context, empowerment occurs where the *victim* is liberated and learns to share power with others through collective action to gain more control over their lives. The bully can benefit from the process through discovering new ways of exercising power, learning not be feel threatened by victims and finding common ground with them. This in essence is the raison d'être of social education and good professional practice.

4. Much bullying is learned from parents and adults as a part of cultural reproduction. Young people then act out role models of bullying which are extremely difficult to unlearn, especially where this is regarded by a work agency and its workers as part of the *normal* pattern of power in society.

5. Because bullying appears to be widely accepted as *normal*, workers collude with ***a culture of bullying*** in their routine practice. Future research could usefully focus on how to develop workers' competences to recognise when they unconsciously bully, when others are bullying and when they need to bully to survive yet work constructively in the job. Workers also require skills to create appropriate support structures to enable them to take risks and apply their skills to counter bullying.

6. Serious consideration should be given to removing the victim or bully from a setting where bullying occurs as frequently advocated by parents and professionals. Attempts to solve bullying in this way legitimate the power of bullies. This defers to their ability to dominate others and accept workers' limitations to prevent this from happening. There are, however, extreme cases where removal of the victim or bully is a valid short-term measure, but on its own this does little in helping the victim to overcome bullying.

7. Youth and community workers (and other personal service professionals) enjoy the advantage of working in employing agencies where they have a degree of control over organising their work practices and structures. However, women and black workers need separatist training to develop management and other skills from a women's or black perspective to overcome sexist and racist bullying. Working only to the agenda imposed by bosses (mostly white middle class men) could in many cases mean working counter to the interests of the communities for whom workers wish to provide a service.

8. Group work and counselling skills can be used

creatively to involve young people and adults in ***negotiating the work agenda*** to address issues and practices like bullying which are relevant to their lives. This type of involvement and participation is central to the process of social education and empowerment.

9. Training people to deal with the language of bullying - name calling, sexist, racist and homophobic jokes, and the more subtle bullying encoded in everyday language opens many vistas for workers to develop anti-bullying practices.

10. At an institutional level, the understanding and meaningful implementation of equal opportunity policies can have a major effect on bullying practices. Organisations that adopt equal opportunity policies can easily link these to bullying and provide victims with a formal framework to counter bullying, and give bullies a clear signal that their practices will not be tolerated. The absence of policies specifically related to bullying was a notable feature in the findings.

11. Bullying behaviour is counter-productive and confusing to bullies themselves who develop an unreal vision of their power. The tactics they develop in face-to-face situations are based on ability to impose their will on victims due to the physical closeness of informal personal relationship. Officials in bureaucracies have formal roles of power and are 'distant' from the bully. Unless bullies can deal with formal power they will experience feelings of rejection and powerlessness which they normally impose on others. This can lead to bullies becoming very frustrated, disruptive and potentially violent.

**Conclusion**

What general conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing analysis? First, it is important to restate that the study was a pilot and that a much fuller one is needed to examine the various findings in greater depth. However, the data clearly indicate that many community and youth work organisations currently operate under conditions that sustain practices where bullying is legitimated as normal, reproducing ***a culture of bullying***. This 'culture' is becoming increasingly influential in the informal social educational processes in community and youth, and other social welfare work agencies.

Whereas most responses to bullying were in the form of a defensive reaction of coping, the data suggest workers can be trained to develop a professional imagination and acquire skills and knowledge to enable victims to overcome bullying in a manner where they do not end up as bullies themselves. Furthermore, bullies can gain from a process of empowerment based on developing joint-power relationships. This, however, requires recognising that bullying is in the main damaging, disruptive, self-destroying and insidious, often part of a hidden agenda in informal social education processes and not easy to detect.

The question whether there is a case for the legitimate bully in community and youth work to survive in a market place of fierce competition for resources and power remains unanswered. The findings did not provide clear evidence that workers were able to sustain their integrity and legitimate their right to bully with those who traditionally hold little power, nor with workers' colleagues or bosses. The whole area of how professionals bully, the training for anti-bullying practices is a challenging one for future research and professional development.

Professional workers have to deal with a whole stratum of people increasingly referred to as the 'underclass' (Galbraith 1992), who are the daily victims of personal and institutionalised bullying. A jaundiced view held by many pundits who 'blame victims' as the main cause of their problems, has recently been dramatically exposed on our television screens. The vivid, traumatic scenes about bullying practices of frightening proportions by professional law officers which led to the inner-city riots in Los Angeles in Spring 1992, testifies to what can happen when a judicial system (or any other system) turns a blind eye to bullying. It demonstrated what the consequences can be when institutions try to legitimate bullying as the use of 'justifiable force' against allegedly violent victims. Many other current examples of bullying in Britain have been recently uncovered such as 'pinning' in Staffordshire residential homes, cases of child abuse in Cleveland, incidents in the prison service in Feltham, the army, the police and public schools. Racist bullying in the London boroughs of Tower Hamlets and Newham is reported regularly, and the suicide of a young girl in Worcester school upon whom a national campaign has recently been launched, gives some indication of the magnitude and pervasiveness of the problem. Are we indeed 'a society of bullies' and increasingly becoming more so?

Almost all of us can understand and identify with bullying as a central aspect of our life experiences, whether we are the victim, the spectator or the bully. Bullying is a reality for most people about how they are controlled, dominated, managed and oppressed at home, in school, at work, where they live and by society in general; in short people's experiences and feelings of being powerful and powerless. There is a growing need

to advance the frontiers of knowledge, skill and competences for workers to help themselves and others to overcome bullying as a basic requirement to empowerment, and as the linchpin to good professional practice.

### Notes

1. Social education is a process whereby learners are encouraged to adopt a practical, critical approach to learning based on everyday issues and practices relevant to their lives. Learners are encouraged to take responsibility in negotiating their own educational curriculum. Other principles that underpin social education include personal growth and development of individuals through acting and reflecting on their own or collectively, to gain more control over their personal lives and the communities where they live and work. The role of the worker as an intervener in this learning is crucial. Workers have to start from a point that endorses the cultural values of the learners but not in an uncritical way. Workers take the role as a learner in the social education process, encouraging the sharing of experiences to help analyse how power, powerlessness and empowerment can restrict or enhance their own and others' life chances. Through acquiring competences to develop joint-power relationships, people learn how to create more social justice in their own lives and their communities. (See Booton, F. 1985, Jeffs, T. and Smith, M. 1990).

2. I am thankful to Peninah Karioki an undergraduate student from the Polytechnic of North London attached to the Community and Youth Work Course at Goldsmiths' for 1990-91 who undertook a large proportion of the research fieldwork on which this paper is based.

**Type of agencies involved in fieldwork of the study**

Detached Youth Project - Chinese Youth Organisation
Youth Club - mixed gender and race
Girls' Project
Youth Advice Centre
Residential Home
Council for Racial Equality
Elderly Home
Children's Home
A Community Centre - A Tenants' Association
Intermediate Treatment Project

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# MODELS OF OPPRESSION IN YOUTH WORK

ANDY NELSON

This paper aims to highlight some of the complexities that youth workers face in conceptualising and addressing the very real oppressions that confront young people. It challenges a number of orthodoxies that have dominated youth work theory and practices. It is clearly *not* the intention to underestimate the extent of exploitation and oppression in society. Rather, this article seeks to contribute to the formation of more appropriate models that can enable youth workers, and others, to understand the nature of different oppressions, their interrelationship to one another and how to tackle them effectively.

One of the reasons why issue based youth work can be criticised by those who wish to perpetuate inequalities is because the models of oppression which are generally employed tend to be simplistic and inconsistent. These models are at best problematic and at time positively damaging in their failure to relate to the actual lives of the particular young people with whom we work. Unfortunately, there are some youth workers, and academics, who regard any criticism, or discussion, of these areas as heresy, and those who *do* wish to examine the issues are condemned as conscious or sub-conscious contributors to the right wing backlash. It is my firm contention that *not* to confront the difficulties and concerns that exist will provide the opportunities for the enemies of equality to criticise. A failure by those of us on the left of the political spectrum to confront the complexities, contradictions and dilemmas involved is moreover to patronise the very oppressed young people with whom we work.

This article also seeks to draw connections between different strands of discussions that have taken place in the pages of *Youth and Policy* during recent years. Specifically it explores particular themes I developed in an article that was published in Issue 28 entitled 'The importance of class in the youth service Curriculum' (Nelson 1989) and an article in the same issue by Jeffs and Smith entitled 'Taking issue with issues' (Jeffs and Smith 1989). The last section refers to a wider debate in social theory and its connection with issue based youth work. The interviews quoted in this paper are taken from taped recordings with youth workers in Manchester as part of research concerned with social theory and conceptualisations of oppression.

In the 1989 article I concluded that,

> *Good youth work recognises that young people are different with different experiences and needs that cannot be simplistically categorised or predetermined. Good youth work also recognises the need to challenge oppression in society, including class, and seeks to unite young people in an understanding of oppression, their own and others, their differences and what they have in common. (Nelson 1989, p.15)*

These views were also regarded by many as heretical to much of the prevailing orthodoxy at the time and there was some hostile reaction from colleagues. Not surprisingly, however, at around the same time and subsequently, a number of other writers were expressing similar views concerning the importance of focussing upon the issue of class within youth work (Jeffs and Smith 1990, MacDonald, 1991, Sawbridge 1991). Indeed Sawbridge reminds us of her concerns some years before. In *Young People, Inequality and Youth Work*, edited by Jeffs and Smith (1990) there are repeated references both in the introduction and in the individual authored chapters to class inequalities. The chapter written by Jeffs and Smith bearing the same title as the book, in particular, offers a step by step guide to the importance of class inequality and its relevance to youth work practice. The attention devoted to class merely seeks to underline its previous invisibility and that fact that 'class has been largely absent from the forefront of practitioner and policy thinking within youth work'. (Jeffs and Smith 1990 p.224).

Those of us who argued for the importance of class can take some satisfaction for example from the Statement of Purpose agreed at the second Ministerial Conference on the Youth Service held in November 1990. It states that the purpose of youth work is to readdress all forms of inequality and to

> *promote equal opportunity through challenging oppressions such as racism and sexism and all those which spring from difference of culture, race, language, sexual identity, gender, disability, age, religion and class. (Quoted in Sawbridge 1991).*

The absence of class has not been confined to youth work, however, its invisibility is symptomatic of a wider confusion. Other local government practices and policies, such as those concerned with equal opportunities also often excluded class (Nelson 1990). The recent sources of this exclusion can be identified with the 'new urban left' within the Labour Party (Gyford 1983) who are viewed as partly a product of the ideas of the generation of 1968. Other influences have been the growth of Euro-Communism, the specific emphasis on separatism in tackling womens' oppression, racism and homophobia, as opposed to class (Nelson 1990).

The decentring of class is part of the confusion that concerns Jeffs and Smith in their article 'Taking issue with issues', in which they criticise issue based youth work for lacking an intellectual, political and conceptual base (1989, p.17). The authors also maintain that issue based work wrongly focuses on

> *discreet areas of disadvantage such as, for example, those associated with racism, at the cost of developing an understanding which locates such experiences within a comprehensive appreciation of the dynamics of social division as a whole. (Jeffs and Smith 1989 P.18)*

Additionally, issued based work, they argue, has been wrongly 'juxtapositioned in flattering terms to alternative models' such as 'ameliorative' or 'problem centred work.'

This emphasis on discreet areas of disadvantage can be clearly seen in youth work practice. In preparation for this article, I interviewed a number of youth workers in Manchester. One youth leader in South Manchester described how when she took up her post in 1990 she discovered that the young women's needs were regarded as substantially separate to young men's and that this analysis led to the Girl's Night being divorced from the rest of the Club. Similar points have been made about another Manchester youth club (Nelson 1989 p.14). The compartmentalisation of oppression described here arises out of a failure sufficiently to relate theory to the lives of young people. In other words, instead of looking at the needs of individuals or groups with whom we were working, we tended to look at the 'girls' needs or the 'black members' needs. Of course, young people have socially constructed needs partially based on their 'gender', 'class' or 'race' and these may need to be addressed collectively. However, what youth work has failed to do is to develop a model that allows for appropriate differentiation whilst avoiding the collapsing of an individual's needs into some predetermined category. It is this absence that has also contributed to the false juxtapositioning of issue based and problem centre work.

**Appropriate and Inappropriate Differentiation of Young People**

The appropriateness or otherwise of differentiating one individual's needs from those of another individual, or one group from another within youth work, is best illustrated with a number of examples. In one centre in Manchester there was a student Asian and Afro-Caribbean group which had been meeting for some time. The young black youth worker working with the group had been encouraged by full-time workers to support this project exclusively for black young people. He became concerned when the group, of its own accord, admitted some white students to their sessions and he asked the leader of the club for advice. The leader explained that just as it was the right of black people to meet separately and organise themselves if they felt the need to do so, it was also their right to choose to meet with white students. The youth worker who had previously been encouraged by other full time workers to maintain a separate black only provision at first found this difficult to come to terms with.

The youth leader quoted in the above example also told me how on another occasion she had explained to a white volunteer youth worker who regarded black only groups as divisive and anti-collectivist that they were appropriate in the right circumstances. These substantially depend on how the young people concerned wish to organise. The worker's role therefore, she thought, is critically to assist young people to identify their needs and to help them assess the appropriateness or otherwise of separate provision. Decisions, however, should not be imposed on young people and the appropriateness or otherwise cannot be separated from the context and the specific needs of the young people concerned.

The second example concerns a women's project which was successfully established in Wythenshawe, a working class housing estate in Manchester. The project's success can be measured, not only by the number of years it lasted, but also by the numbers of women who used it as their first stepping stone to take up jobs, access courses and significantly for some, higher education. Initially the women had argued and 'fought' with their male partners for their right to attend the women's group without obstruction. This entailed, as the paid worker explained, talking to the men at some length;

> *We won the arguments not by saying this has got nothing to do with you but by saying it has got something to do with you. (Recorded interview, Wythenshawe Youth Worker)*

Students from a college, where they were training to be full-time youth workers, however were critical of the project's policy towards the male partners. In particular, they said it was inappropriate for the men to be allowed to come into the centre fifteen minutes before the official end of the session. The men, who were mainly unemployed, were also fed up with being at home, and they wanted a walk or to go out after the session with their partners. The women had agreed to allow the men in just before the session finished for a cup of tea. The students thought that this undermined the nature of the women only group. However, in the opinion of the worker the opposite was true in this case. The decision to let the men in had been carefully considered by the women themselves. The women knew the situation, they knew the men concerned and it was their choice.

The orthodoxy of radical issue based work sought (as in our examples) to substitute preconceived notions of need justified according to essentialised categories of race and gender. This process undermines what Davies sees as some of the cornerstones of youth work practice, that is

> *.... starting from where young people are 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 the process of their experience - its social context. (Davies 1991, p5).*

Indeed the opposite occurred as Jeffs and Smith identified regarding issue based work.

> *In other words, there is a drift towards the attempted imposition of the practitioner's viewpoint rather than an exploration of the young people's.... It is the contemporary equivalent of the character building tradition of Baden-Powell and his ilk. (Jeffs and Smith 1989 p.18).*

This drift was compounded by workers assuming that the needs of a particular individual or group could overwhelmingly if not totally be predetermined by their category of oppression. The context and the specifics including individuality and the ability to make decisions in order to gain greater control over one's own life were devalued. For example, it can be stated that black women are doubly oppressed as a result of racism and sexism in society. For black women as a whole this is the case. However, if in a room with a number of white women in it and only one black women we cannot deduce that the black woman must be the most oppressed. She may or may not be, depending on the women concerned. The assumption that the black woman is inevitably the most oppressed can have the affect of 'victimising' her. Some black women through their own efforts have achieved a great deal and in the process have become less oppressed that some white women or men. There is clearly no avoiding looking at the specifics of the situation. Equally we cannot expect to adequately defeat racism by merely focussing on the personal advancement of individual black people. To do that is to compound the underestimations of the depth of the inequality. (Jeffs and Smith 1989 p.16).

**The Importance of Specificity**

Davies, in the article quoted earlier, is critical of the assumptions underlying the moves towards a core curriculum as outlined by the Government (Davies 1991). This initiative, and aspects of radical issue based youth work start from a preconceived notion of young people. Both result in the reification of young people, that is they are made 'thing like'.

In March 1990 I attended, with a large number of other experienced youth workers from Manchester, a residential organised by the Manchester Youth Service. The aim of the residential was to assist in the establishment of a new portfolio training scheme for part-time youth workers. One of the tasks we were required to carry out was to identify core-competences in youth work and to outline a method of assessment. An example offered illustrates the confusion that preconceived notions of young people can lead to.

The example of a core-competence chosen was that of establishing a relationship with a young person. This could be tested, it was explained, by observing the youth worker on the training scheme, at work. If there were, for example, two young women standing outside a club, the trainee could be asked to approach them and establish a relationship. This would demonstrate whether the worker was able to carry out the core competency. A number of questions however were not asked about the specifics of the situation. For example, did all the people listening to that example have the same picture of what the two young women were like. If after talking to the youth worker for some time the two women storm off swearing at the worker, what does that demonstrate about the trainee's competencies? If on the other hand, the young women immediately strike up a conversation with the worker and establish a relationship, is it reasonable to interpret that as the worker having demonstrated the ability to carry out the core-competency? Without knowing the specifics of the situation, significant problems are encountered. Of course one would hope that in any evaluation of the

worker's competency those factors would be fully taken into account. However, the assumption was that this whole process was relatively simple and easy to 'set up', observe and evaluate. I would dispute this. It may or may not be depending on the specifics of the situation.

It is this attempt at over-simplification to reduce the complexity of human beings to being 'thing like'. The failure to contextualize events and to appreciate the importance of specificity has contributed to theory being uninformed by the lived lives of real people and to the development of both poor theory and practice. Davies rightly criticises the viewpoint that 'outcomes can be thought about and defined separate from real situations and relationships in which youth workers meet and work with young people'. (Davies 1991 p.6)

It is the separation of the general from the specifics that has also contributed to the artificial distinctions drawn between issue-based work and person-centred approaches. This separation is not peculiar to youth work. It is also evident in much of contemporary social theory. It has its roots in a failure to conceptualise an appropriate relationship between agency and structure and for much of the post-war period by a decentring of the subject.

## Agency and Structure

The contention in sociological theory concerning the relationship between agency and structure is an absolutely fundamental one:

> *The debate revolves around the problem of how structures determine what individuals do, how structures are created, and what are the limits, if any, on individuals' capacities to act independently of structural constraints; what are the limits in other words on human agency. (Abercrombie 1984 p.6)*

This debate in the context of the issue based youth work concerns questions such as how far is it possible to assume that the needs of a young person or young people in general are determined by their gender, race or class? That is, what limits or enhances an individual's ability to be empowered?

The rigidity attached to aspects of issue based work, illustrated in some of the examples given in this paper, stem in part from the lack of an appropriate conceptual model with which to be able to answer these questions accurately. Attempts to reduce the richness and complexities in order simply to answer such questions can have serious consequences as have been made clear in the enquiry into the murder of Ahmed Ullah at Burnage High School in Manchester (Macdonald 1989, Nelson 1989, 1990).

The starting point for youth workers who wish to examine the issues raised in this article should not necessarily be textbooks on social theory that cover agency and structure. A more appropriate starting point would be the lives of young people with whom they work, and a comparison between the models of oppression subscribed to and the opinions of the young people themselves. Currently, however, much of youth work practice is based upon second hand assumptions with origins and inconsistencies that are significantly unacknowledged.

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# HELL'S ANGELS IN HOLLAND;

*Motor of youth cultural emancipation?*

**JAN LAURENS HAZEKAMP**

***Summary***

*The Hell's Angels of Amsterdam seem to have contributed to a youth cultural expression of a prolonged stage of youth or 'post-adolescence.' Two decades of youth debate have held that well-educated young people (political activists and hippies) were the pioneers of post-adolescent youth cultures. But the Amsterdam Hell's Angels, though a working-class group, are predecessors of post-adolescent youth cultures as well. The Angels established a life-style which combines elements of working-class culture, the motorbike culture of the American Hell's Angels, dominant leisure time activity and hippie protest culture.*

## Introduction

Since the 1950s the number of youth cultures has increased rapidly, such as Teddy boys, Hippies, Hard rockers, Punkers, Rastafaris and Discos. New youth cultures arise every year and old youth cultures continue to exist. However, although there is an abundance of youth cultures the individualisation of youth cultures in recent times cannot be ignored. Only a minority of young people are fully involved with one youth culture. Most of them keep at a distance and choose elements they like for their own cultural expressions (Jansen & Prins, 1991).

It can be stated that youth cultures after the second world war fulfilled a significant role in youth emancipation. A historical review of post-war youth cultures reveals that the Teddy boys (Great Britain), the Halbstarken (West Germany), the Blousons noirs (France) and the Nozems (Netherlands) can be seen as precursors of the growing youth cultural emancipation of young people. Working-class boys in particular have set the standard for weaning youth away from the leisure time educational and recreational activities imposed by adults. They demanded a lifestyle of their own, which, from the mid 1950s broadened into a teenage culture based on leisure time activities. This teenage culture gave young people relative autonomy as compared with adults and their leisure time (Krüger, 1983). During the 1960s youth cultural emancipation continued and eventually crossed the boundaries of leisure culture. Emancipation took on political connotations. In their words and actions higher-educated young people were in search of something new, something different from the established bourgeois culture. Hippies and politicised students were seen as messengers of prolonged youth status: 'post-adolescence' or the phase of 'youth'. A youth cultural reorientation in the relation between the 'I' and society arose, further prompted by the need for more extensive education, the declining labour market and the demand for more skills in post-industrial society (Kiniston, 1968; 1971).

The Teddy boys and other identifiable working-class youth groups were ignored at first by contemporary social scientists. While they were studied particularly in terms of criminological theory, it took some time before justice was done to their contribution to youth emancipation in leisure time. In the youth debate of the early 1970s groups such as the Hell's Angels and the Skinheads were seen as regressive youth cultures which fell somewhere in the tradition of delinquent and neofascist groups and gang cultures. Positive attention went to 'progressive' youth cultures which symbolised the social emancipation of youth and social renewal (Schwendter, 1974, Brentjens, 1978). After about 1975 the 'new wave' sociologists shed new light on the spectacular working-class youth cultures. They interpreted them as manifesting proto-political behaviour aimed at coping culturally with incisive shifts in social class relations (Springhall 1983/84). It was especially the scholars of the Centre of Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham who paid attention to the symbolic meanings of youth cultures (Hall & Jefferson, 1976). Willis studied a group of motorbike boys stressing the homology between the nature of their group life and their preference for hard rock music (Willis 1978).

During the early 1980s I studied groups of boys and girls who spent much of their time out in the streets (Hazekamp 1985, 1989). I was struck by the fact that these street groups continued to be fascinated with the Hell's Angels of Amsterdam. For instance, it was considered of great interest if, during a Herman Brood concert - a famous Dutch hard rock musician at the time - , they managed to stand very close to them, or if somebody had a cousin in another group who, at some time, had actually been inside the Angels' clubhouse. They would speculate about how the Angels lived and

what they really were. The group referred to is the Tuingroup (Gardengroup) mentioned in Hazekamp, 1985 (p44). The core of this group consisted of ten friends, eight boys and two girls. The group existed for a period of twenty months.

Up to now, the cultural image of the Hell's Angels of Amsterdam, is still prominent amongst young people, even though the group was small in number. Nevertheless, historical reviews remain silent on the possible contribution of groups such as the Hell's Angels to youth emancipation beyond the boundaries of leisure time, and, hence, to a lifestyle for working-class young people who also experienced the same trend of prolonged youth. I formulated the hypothesis that the Angels have contributed to and paved the way for lifestyles for post-adolescent working-class youth (mainly boys), just as the Teddy boys helped prepare teenage youth emancipation in leisure time and shaped it through their actions.

The aim of this article is: firstly to demonstrate the prejudice of youth researchers towards depicting middle class youth, such as hippies and political activists as the pioneers of post-adolescent youth cultures and secondly to show how the Hell's Angels, a working-class group, seem to have played an important role in this respect too. For this I will draw on my own research based on interviews and participant observation in Amsterdam in the 1970s and the literature about post-adolescence which was mainly written in the 1960s and 1970s.

## Adolescence and Post-adolescence

Adolescence is the period of identity-formation and can be described as coping with developmental tasks. At any rate adolescents have to perform three developmental tasks: 1. completing school and making the transition to the labour-market 2. learning how to develop a satisfying intimate relationship and 3. choosing a philosophy of life or ideology. In the Netherlands, a self-evident phase of adolescence for all youngsters is but a recent attainment. Compulsory education was extended to the age of sixteen towards the end of the 1960s, thereby marking a relatively long period between childhood and adulthood. From then on the status of adolescence was officially institutionalised and generalised (Meeus et al., 1990, p.117, 121).

Such institutionalisation of adolescence is the necessary condition for the rise of ideas about a prolonged youth phase. In the second half of the 1960s Keniston pointed out that for young people a phase of life between adolescence and adulthood was emerging. He was thinking primarily of the 'young radicals', the students who protested against the Vietnam War. He looked upon these politicised youngsters and the hippies as an active vanguard of young people giving content to a new stage of youth in the context of post-industrial and post-modern society.

Keniston does not think of them as young adults. Entering into and conforming to the traditional adult world is the very thing 'youth' do not want (Keniston, 1968; 1971). The concept of 'youth' or 'post-adolescence' was introduced to explain the protest culture of well-educated young people. This new transitional phase was not the result of the unfolding of the natural human life-cycle; rather, it arose in the interaction between psychological make-up and changing sociopolitical relationships. Post-adolescents experienced tension between their expectations and aspirations and the predictable route as adults in society. This caused them to feel absurd and disconnected with respect to the 'normal' people around them. Compared to their contemporaries who did integrate in social life as young adults, they adopted an individualised stance. They expressed their solidarity with contemporaries who, like themselves, were seeking to blaze new trails as older young people in creating youth-specific identities such as 'political activist' or 'hippie'.

More than a decade later Zinnecker pointed out that when young people cease being students, an increasing number of them do not immediately assume the status of 'adult'. Socially, morally, intellectually and politically these youngsters are autonomous, but are dependent social-economically. He referred to this expanding tendency towards a preadult phase as 'post-adolescence' and defined it as extension of the period of youth which is precipitated by social developments such as prolonged education, involuntary unemployment, and the existence of recognisable youth cultural 'scenes' in big cities (Zinnecker, 1981). The concept of post-adolescence refers to the empirically perceivable life-styles of young people who seek to circumvent conventional adulthood. And although Zinnecker recognised that post-adolescence had a different meaning for working-class and middle class young people, he too, observed the prolonged youth phase primarily among the well-educated, dissenters, squatters, and nuclear and environmental activists. He did not elaborate on the meaning of post-adolescence for working-class young people.

## A Close-up of the Amsterdam Motorbike Group

The Hell's Angels culture was established in California by the World War II veterans. These young men, who had difficulty readjusting to the normal American way of life, developed a motorbike culture of 'outlaws'. They

used the German military paraphernalia as a symbol of victory on their outfits (Thompson 1966). Hell's Angels live in 'chapters' and observe strict rules on group life. Especially at the end of the sixties and the first half of the seventies Hell's Angel groups flourished in Holland, West Germany, Great Britain, Switzerland, Belgium, Austria and France.

In the first half of 1970s I managed to make close contact with the Hell's Angels of Amsterdam. As junior researcher I was introduced to the Hell's Angels via a foundation for street corner work (Stichting Streetcornerwork). From 1973 to 1977 they allowed me to participate in their group-life and to interview them on various themes. In 1973/4 the core of the angels was composed of some twenty boys (average age 23 years) and five girls (average age 20). The in-depth interviews and the data from participant observation have been compiled in a manuscript, arranged according to the lay-out of the description of the Skinheads in London by Doyle et al. (1972). The leader and the secretary of the group agreed to publication of the manuscript only on the condition that it met with the approval of every male member of the group. By the time that I presented the manuscript to the group, after having consulted the leaders, the group had been recognised as a 'chapter' of the American Angels and had acquired approximately fifteen members aged 18. These new members opposed publication, since the text did not fit in with their own preferred macho Angel 'image'. Now, in the nineties, the core members of the group are still living together and they do not oppose publication of the manuscript, either itself or as a historical treatise. A reconstruction of the insights from many interviews and participant observation provide me with arguments on which to base the proposition put forth here. To this end I emphasise their perceptions of themselves, of each other and of the environment associated with their image. These views demonstrate that the Angels were very consciously out to create a lifestyle different from the culture of their parents and from 'ordinary' youth culture.

**The Image**

The official history of the Amsterdam Hell's Angels, began in 1970. Eighteen, nineteen, and twenty-year-old boys came together and focused on the motorbike as symbol of macho power, at a period in which the Skinheads in London were concentrating on soccer and obligatory fighting. The Dutch Angels learned about the Hell's Angel culture mainly via the neighbourhood cinemas in the east of Amsterdam.

In the summer of 1970 the media made the existence of the Angels known outside of Amsterdam for the first time, at which point they became known nationally. This precipitated a series of violent incidents. Places were visited and sometimes 'renovated' : a cafe, the auditorium of a school complex, the student fraternity H88, and especially clubhouses and youth centres. There were repeated arrests; the Angels were apprehended on charge of violence, rape, theft and disturbance of the peace. Press coverage was extensive. Panorama and the Nieuwe Revue (monthly pulp magazines) offered sensational stories in full colour with headlines such as: 'Panorama revelations about the New Huns: Exciting Pictures! This Information Was Obtained in the Face of Danger, but you can read the story in all safety — in the New Panorama — Today!' (Summer 1973).

The Angels manifested themselves with impressive boldness in a period when violence was a dominant issue in the public's mind. There was violence everywhere: Indo-China, the Third World, abused women and children, traffic casualties, structural violence, breaking up of student demonstrations, 'hooliganism' on the soccer fields. The Hell's Angels stood for the brutality of violence. The public was convinced that 'violence was getting worse all the time'.

A conference on criminology was held at the Free University, Amsterdam in 1975. The theme was 'violence'. Professor Hoefnagel of the Erasmus University, Rotterdam, tried to put the situation into perspective. According to the statistics, the incidence of physical violence against persons had remained on roughly the same level in recent years. Aggression against property, on the other hand, had increased sharply.

That same year the Hell's Angels staged their customary parade during the Motor Rai exhibition in Amsterdam. This was a collective demonstration, an annual tradition, a presentation to the outside world. On Rai days all members rode. Failure to do so led to withdrawal of membership, even if the member had been with the group for ten years. 'Costume'-riders were permitted to enter the exhibition but the Angels were refused admission. This fitted in with the image they sought to portray: after all, the American Angels called themselves the 'one-percenters' of American society; the riders not accepted by the American Motor Association. The Amsterdam Angels looked down on all these 'slick' riders in their fancy suits and their white/green bikes with red balls. They rode 'choppers' with raised handlebars and angled forks. Passers-by gathered around them, boys awed by the glamour of the bikes and ordinary citizens keen to see them up close. The police hovered around and many press cameras zoomed in. The image was enticing, even though the group had

kept itself in check for over a year by then. They had reached the top among all those who would have loved to wear 'the colours' (the Angel-emblem), but did not dare to sew them on their jackets. The Angel's reputation was secure. They did not plan any disruptions on the Rai square but did have the attitude that, if a guy got too pushy, moved in too close, it was okay for one of the boys to haul off and to wallop him in the face.

**Previous History**

The most prestigious of the boys' groups from which the Hell's Angels emerged was the K.P.O., or the *East Kreidler* Gang. The second half of the 1960s was the time of *Kreidler* hustling (a *Kreidler* is a moped shaped like a light motorcycle). The neighbourhood soon took to calling them by the World War Two meaning of the initials: Underground Battle Unit. These fourteen and fifteen-year-old boys knew each other from early childhood. This was typical tradition in working-class areas: groups of boys in the street, fighting, street against street, streets against schools, and 'running around on the *Kreidlers*'. And just as in the cases of the College boys against the Corner boys (Whyte, 1955), the Mods against the Rockers (Cohen, 1972), and in Amsterdam the Pleiners against the Dykers (Bernard 1990), the K.P.O. streetboys picked their fights with the hippies in down-town Amsterdam.

> *You had to fight somebody. Hippies and blacks, well, you just took them on. I was 13 or 14, wore a white Levi's suit and a sweatband. It was cool. We'd all go downtown to fight hippies, maybe ten or twenty of them at the time.*

In 1964 Panorama announced a new rage: America's Hell's Angels. A number of Amsterdam Angels recall it vividly, as they do Marlon Brando in *The Wild One*. It fanned the fire of their longing for a motorcycle of their own and to become a motorbike demon. The group started with second-hand bikes, the light DKWs, and cruised back and forth between clubhouses and cafes.

**The Origin of the Hell's Angels.**

In a cafe, the K.P.O. boys encountered somewhat older boys who owned real motorbikes and had already donned the Hell's Angels' colours.

> *You know, it didn't take long before we joined. We moved right up to the Hell's Angels, one after the other.*

Next, other small groups of boys, hailing from disbanded youth groups in nearby Amstelveen and Diemen, from Santpoort and The Hague, and even from England, came to augment the group in a process of fusion. Strict rules were observed. Newcomers seeking to join the group were given 'prospect' status. They had to prove themselves.

> *Look, if he's gonna ride with us, and we stop at some pub and a fight breaks out, well, you keep an eye on him. See how he acts. We start smashing things up. If he takes to his heels he's had it. He has to kow-tow, do what he's told, clean up or fetch beer.*

The point was that membership had to be earned. Brotherhood, the knowledge that the other guy was trustworthy, was at stake.

In spite of this process of fusion the transition from 'battle unit' to the Angel period was a difficult time. The boys had become older and started to 'go steady'. Many of the girls were less than enthusiastic about boys' groups. There was a great deal of worry that 'going steady' would cause the group to fall apart. A realistic fear:

> *Suddenly they run into a girl, and they think: well, once I have a woman I'll make a little love nest in a flat and to hell with the rest.*

Still, the group remained intact and became a close-knit older youth group. Some girls became part of it, a few of whom were repeatedly presented in glamorous press photographs. But their feelings were ambivalent.

> *As a woman, you don't choose. No. A woman can't say: I want to join. It doesn't happen just like that. You don't even get a chance to say something like that. You join because your boyfriend says it for you.*

But they too were proud of adopting a 'daring' way of life. One of the girls expressed her aversion to the idea of having a husband who worked in an office, but was bothered by her say in the group.

> *If he says, you stay home, I have to stay home. It doesn't do any good to insist because I wouldn't be allowed on the bike anyway .... Putting our heads together is no help either. There are twenty boys and five of us. Her friend added: 'It's a man's world, you know.'*

**Shifts in lifestyle**

After the first wild years, violence was kept under visible control. The group turned explicitly to finding

a non-bourgeois lifestyle. They refused to live like their parents. The traditions in their own neighbourhood provided no standards upon which to model group-life for young people over eighteen.

*You come home in the evening, watch TV, and your mother-in-law might come over for coffee etc. An on Saturday nights there are a whole bunch of visitors. Nothing more. Most people's faces just ooze dissatisfaction.*

They were in search of an ideology of their own and wanted to shape their own group culture. The image of the American Angels was an inspiration, but was not completely copied.

*We don't just copy. You have to give things your own interpretation. But something has to inspire you.*

One source of inspiration were the hippies they encountered. The 'scene' in the Vondelpark was fascinating. There might be some fights, but on the steps of the Zandpad (a school near the park occupied by some angel squatters) they would laugh, and joke with each other as well. They represented two cultures, each seeking to go in a direction other than that taken by the average person. Although the hippies were considered soft they felt they could learn something from them.

*In vondelpart, well man, you were part of it, of living. You shared in dealing, blowing and drinking, and meeting girls. You were right in the middle of it. I don't mean that we felt we were all one group. Maybe you could put on Pink Floyd, but not the Stones; too rough for them. Sure, we beat up a hippie now and then, just because he was a hippie. But some of them were all right. You accepted them and they'd come in.*

These encounters occasioned doubts about hitherto self-evident views on daily living and working.

*I couldn't understand any more what the sense of working was, always the same grind. You know, I hadn't really thought it would be like that, you finished school and get hired by some boss. You take some further training. Well, I thought: is that all there is to it? But then you see these hippies, the love-scene in the Vondelpart. Well, I liked that.*

It made them want to remain young:

*Come to that, we aren't really a youth group any more. But I like it, acting immature, and I'll keep doing it as long as I can.*

All the boys said that this was a conscious choice of theirs. They realised that you cannot maintain an alternative way of life all by yourself. The macho image of the Angels conferred on each of them individual strength against the outside world:

*Look, what it comes down to is that you wear a kind of armour, it protects you from the outside and nobody can touch you.*

The boys needed each others company to remain standing and to maintain their culture.

*I have to see some of the boys every day: I call them twice a day. About eight I get this feelin in my gut: I've just got to call them. I wouldn't want to be gone for two days, it would drive me crazy.*

Behind the macho image there appeared to lurk developments which sharply deviated from the social relationships and views of traditional working-class (youth) cultures. Squatting was no longer rejected; they established themselves in a number of empty houses in east Amsterdam. The taboo on experimenting with drugs was lifted: coke was as much accepted as alcohol. The rigid division between work and leisure was questioned. Gradually, traditional working hours from eight to five, were abandoned and they tended to move into commerce and temporary jobs. Marriage no longer meant that the 'rough' life had to be given up; the group took on the characteristics of a commune. Marriage was subordinated to group culture. The group did no longer limit itself to the neighbourhood and city but sought to establish a national and international network with similar groups.

### The Hell's Angels: A Post-adolescent Motorbike Group?

Towards the end of the 1960s Keniston expected that the new life-phase called 'youth' would spread widely. While adolescents were out to wean themselves from their parents, post-adolescents were seriously asking if they were prepared to live life as their parents had. They tested their parents' lives in a telescoped enactment. The outcome was that attempts were made to free themselves from the culture of the parental milieu and to organise social life in a new way. Keniston noted a non-dogmatic attitude in these post-adolescents' search for new forms of adulthood. The hippies did this by turning away from society and towards cultivation of the inner self. The young radical aimed at actively changing society and went about this quite fervently. This exploration, subsequently resulted in distinct youth cultural identities (Keniston, 1968, 1971).

The description of the Hell's Angels allows us to conclude that they can be seen as a youth cultural variant of a post-adolescent lifestyle. They refused to conform to the bourgeois forms of blue-collar existence. They sought no social mobility in established society. What they wanted was a life on the margin of society, so that they could remain young longer and postpone adulthood. They neither tried to change the world, nor meant to withdraw into their own consciousness. They created a lifestyle which geared towards the 'here and now', a social existence of their own in which a new relationship was sought between amusement, living conditions, work and marriage. Typically, they were no different from groups such as the young radicals or hippies; they only differed in their approach. There certainly were similarities between the young radicals, the hippies and the Hell's Angels with respect to their post-adolescent youth cultures and in their attempts to recast their relation to society.

Nevertheless, I do not agree with Keniston's view. Keniston saw in these groups a vanguard of a post-adolescent phase which stood for a new structural coherence in the social development of young people amongst each other and implied an attitude based in individualism and participation, prefiguring a post-industrial social constellation. I would agree with Baethge that the theoretical-empirical problems encountered here require closer study. We cannot side-step the question of whether or not it makes sense to continue thinking in terms of the logic of development and phasing schemes and to keep refining these (Baethge, 1989). For the time being, it seems to me less speculative to use the concept of post-adolescence to refer to expressed lifestyles of a prolonged youth phase, either developed or offered, as Zinnecker does. In this way we avoid the implication that post-adolescence is a developmental phase in the social evolution of humankind.

During the 1960s certain groups of working-class young people, such as the *Teddy boys*, the *Halbstarken* and the *Blouson noirs*, paved the way for eventual generalisation and acceptance of teenage culture. These young people based their youth culture on elements of traditional working-class youth cultures (street corner societies) and elements of the rising leisure-time industry (Krüger, 1983). The Hell's Angels built their post-adolescent youth culture from elements derived from working-class youth cultures, the dominant leisure time activities, the image of the American Hell's Angels and also from hippie protest culture.

This material content of a post-youth culture rooted in the tradition of working-class youth cultures reminds us of the street cultures of young workers *en rupture* in France. In Paris the *Loubards*, successors to the *Blouson noirs*, came into contact with the student-protest movement in 1968. The *Lourbards* were anti-left and anti-student -'moi, personellement, je ne peux pas discuter avec un étudiant' - (personally, I don't want to talk to a student). However, they were influenced by the lifestyle and views advocated by the dissenting young intellectuals. The *Loubards* were attracted by the fact that students moved into the street (traditionally the domain of the street gangs) to express their dissension and obviously did not shun fights. So they joined the skirmishes 'for the hell of it', just as the Angels did during the Nieuwe Markt revolt in Amsterdam. It led to a number of friendships. Life as an oppressed working class began to be questioned. They came to reject the situation in which part of their lives was spent giving 'oui madame, oui monsieur' lip-service while part of it was spent rebelling against society in excessive ways. The right to stay idle and 'go where one pleased' became an important value. Inspired by the fear that this re-orientation would start to characterise working young people, politicians and youth researchers took on the task of trying to tackle the theme of 'allergie au travail' (allergy to work).

The post-1968 *Loubards* refused to look upon marriage as the end of youth. The ideal became to live in a commune in the Ardéche or the Dordogne, in barracks paid for by themselves, living in complete independence (Mauger & Fossé, 1977). It was a dream shared by the Angels, who made it partly come true in their clubhouse, Angel Place, subsidised in part by the Youth Policy Programme of the Municipality of Amsterdam.

Remarkably, in these youth cultures the traditional relationship between boys and girls remain completely the same. Among the *Loubards* and the Angels the search for a new relationship with regard to themselves and to society did not lead to a re-orientation in gender relations. Nor did the protest cultures of the elite youth inspire them on this score: for a long time the women stencilled the texts produced by the young men!

The mask of maleness, the masculine parade, was an important and reassuring attribute for the bearers of the new popular nonconformism (Hazekamp, 1989). In experimenting with prolonged youth these young people sought refuge among their own kind, reassurance in relation to the other sex and in relation to their own group culture. Among the Angels the youth cultural emancipation of working-class young people beyond the boundaries of leisure time was characterised with an extreme macho culture. Ostentatious power and dominance of young men over young women underpinned the experiments with the new nonconformism.

## Conclusion

In the course of the 1980s prolonged youth was a widely recognised phenomenon. This extended youth was considered to last even up to the age of thirty. Transformations in the world of paid labour created the social conditions to make this possible. Competition and increased demands required longer periods of training. Forced unemployment led to continuation of formal education and re-education. Better-educated young people profited more from all this than the others. The less-educated were confronted with disqualification as the labour market became more fragmented and flexible. It was they who ran the greatest risk of having to search for an identity in the extended youth phase (Zinneker, 1981, Beck, 1986, Hazekamp, 1989). It is in this light that we must assess the spreading phenomenon of the close association with peers throughout a longer period of non-adulthood, and especially the expansion of popular non-conformist youth cultures in the big cities. To postulate 'post-adolescence' in the sense of 'youth' without further qualification is hazardous theoretically, and blurs insight into the disproportional spread of social opportunities and restrictions faced by the post-adolescent generation. If the Hell's Angels of Amsterdam can be regarded as indicative of post-adolescent culture of working-class young people (i.e. popular non-conformist youth cultures in the 1980s), then they demonstrate that active shaping of a post-adolescent lifestyle is not the prerogative of highly educated young people alone.

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# Classic Texts Revisited

*The Social Education of the Adolescent*
*Bernard Davies and Alan Gibson*
*University of London Press 1967*

**TONY JEFFS**

It was the initial session of the Borough's first Bessey training course for part-time youth workers. The newly appointed Youth Officer started the proceedings by waving a red book, with an exceedingly dull cover, above his head. He simultaneously informed us that 'this has just been published and if you all read this and no other book on youth work you won't go far wrong'. It should be added that he was a man way ahead of his time. He looked like Ross Perot and possessed amazingly similar social and political attitudes. Not surprisingly his recommendation was sufficient to ensure that I did not rush from the room and acquire a copy. Neither I suspect did any of the other students. Eventually my prejudice was put aside and, almost a decade after it was published, I picked up a copy of *The Social Education of the Adolescent.* It took no more than a few minutes to realise what a serious error of judgement I had made in earlier dismissing the book. At the time I rapidly concluded this was the best book I had ever read on youth work. It possibly still is.

**Setting the Book in Context**

The book was written at the mid-point of a remarkable decade in the historical development of the youth service.

It followed closely publication of the Albemarle Report (Ministry of Education 1960) and preceded the Fairbairn-Milson (DES 1969). The former provided, at least publicly, the impetus for unprecedented growth. New funding, new centres, new opportunities for full and part-time training, new LEA departments, new initiatives and above all new appointments seemed to be advertised daily. For those who did not experience the prevailing climate of optimism and expectation it is now difficult to convey it but there was abroad a genuine belief that for the Youth Service things were happening. After being in the doldrums for well over a decade the Youth Service was again on the move. It appeared to be making up for lost time and catching up fast with the rest of the welfare system. Becoming self-confident and professional at last. Practitioners felt it was perhaps finally going to be properly resourced and accorded it's due status.

At the vortex of many of these changes were the authors of this book. Both had taught during its formative years at the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders (Leicester) opened in 1961. A college established specifically to spearhead the training of a cadre of youth workers for the revitalised service. Set up almost overnight it was virtually unencumbered by any tradition of what had gone before. Its emergency role was to provide, as quickly as possible, a core of professional workers capable of running the new centres, which were in the process of being built, and to manage the rapidly expanding local authority sector. By the time the book appeared both Davies and Gibson had left the National College. Alan Gibson to become Head of the Youth Service Information Centre, the forerunner of both the National Youth Bureau and its replacement the National Youth Agency; Bernard Davies to teach at one of the many Colleges of Education which were then establishing youth work options. Courses designed to train teacher-youth workers. Few of whom were expected to remain in full-time youth work for long; three maybe ten years at the most. The majority, it was assumed, exhausted by their travails would gracefully withdraw into the more 'tranquil world' of the school, FE or County College (these had been proposed in the 1944 Education Act and were still on the stocks but were never actually set up). There most would settle down to teach social or liberal studies. Others it was hoped would find work in innovative educational settings; these included the developing of community schools; school-based community initiatives of the type that were to be encouraged and endorsed by the Plowden Report (also published in 1967); and the guidance, counselling and community service programmes linked to or integrated within secondary schools. It was assumed that the training and experience of the dual teacher-youth leaders would make them eminently suitable for employment in these settings and areas of work. All these initiatives along with the Youth Service, it was widely believed, would flourish in the coming decades. This book must be seen as responding to those changes as much as to those taking place within the mainstream Youth Service. Indeed the emphasis upon the concept of social education within it, which is discussed later on, can only be understood with reference to that context. One which saw not only an expanding Youth Service but one that was organically linked to wider educational movements. With staff moving freely between the formal and informal sectors,

often retaining a part-time foothold in one whilst being employed full-time in the other; LEAs becoming not only the dominant providers of youth work but also the pace-setters and innovators; and a growing synthesis between the ways in which teachers and youth workers managed the learning of young people via, for example, the use of group work. Youth work it was being forcibly argued was increasingly an educational service, no longer predominately a rescue or leisure one.

As has already been suggested *The Social Education of the Adolescent* is clearly in style, tone, layout and structure a textbook. It was written with a student audience in mind, albeit one located in two significantly different types of institution - the College of Education and the monotechnic youth work training college. Both of which were at the time undergoing rapid growth but which have now almost completely disappeared. Although written for a lost age it significantly remains the only post-war textbook prepared specifically for students training for full-time youth work. Astounding as it may be, the subsequent wholesale expansion in both the number of youth and community courses and students on them has not stimulated the appearance of a textbook to replace it. Why this should be the case is a question that cannot be answered, even partially, here but is something that will be addressed in a future article on training (Jeffs and Smith, forthcoming). However, the absence of a replacement is remarkable and worth reflecting upon. If only because what it tells us about the culture and orientation of the new generation of courses which have emerged to replace those Davies and Gibson taught on and wrote for.

**A New Approach to our History**

One of the tasks the authors set themselves was to acquaint their readers with the history of both youth work and the Youth Service. At first glance it is a somewhat superficial introduction. None of the pre-1960 histories are cited. A number of key writers and practitioners are left out of the account and any reader new to the subject is offered scant guidance as to where they might find out more. Nevertheless this is an important contribution to the literature for a number of reasons.

First because it deliberately eschews the temptation to simplistically recount the story of British youth work. Instead here we find an attempt to provide a critical overview. The 'founding fathers' are not given an easy ride. In particular their high moral tone and altruism is in no way taken at face value. Their contribution and strengths are acknowledged and recognised but the paucity of their vision is unremittingly exposed. In a not atypical passage we are told that the 'founding fathers', like those who continued to follow them, possessed aims which were

> *largely emotional, non-intellectual and unverbalized, affected often unconsciously by the unquestioned and self-interested assumptions and values of their class and by events of their time (p 33)*

As the above passage indicates what we encounter in this section of the text is a new and important perspective being added to the reading of youth work history. The previously unspoken narrative of class-based analysis is being brought to bear in a way that had been absent for far too long. In doing this their brief history did much to shatter the old consensus within the literature of youth work. Subsequent youth workers were to view class in a far more problematic way than those who had gone before them. For many whose life experiences had previously been dismissed or patronised within the discourse of youth work, here at last was an academic voice that helped to sustain their challenge to the then dominant orthodoxy.

Second, although the analysis owes a great deal to Musgrove's seminal *Youth and the Social Order* (1964) it is not simply a resume of the central thesis of that text. Largely because it more rigorously relates his analysis of youth work, as an often crude attempt at the social control of the young, to the practice of youth workers and the lived experiences of young people. These were not outsiders looking in shaking their heads with disapproval at what they saw. Although as already noted they certainly questioned the value of much earlier practice on the grounds that it 'started from an unqualified and unselective condemnation of large areas of the society around them' (p 48) it was not left at that. This was a historical account designed to show that an alternative could and did exist to the traditional forms of youth work. Yet as with so much of the book there is a clear desire to jettison as much as possible of the baggage of the past. This comes across in the determined advocacy of social education, without a seeking out of the origins of that concept, as well as in subsequent sections on management and training. There is a barely hidden fear that if great care is not taken deference towards earlier forms of youth work will prevent workers taking advantage of a unique opportunity to create something new and more relevant to the needs of young people. I have chosen to view this approach as a strength. My reason for doing so is that at the time such a historical polemic was desperately needed if new and more visionary forms of practice to emerge. However a heavy price was extracted. As much as anyone Gibson

and Davies encouraged the development of an unthinking rejection of much that was laudable and worthwhile within earlier youth work. A generation of practitioners emerged from the training programmes, both full and part-time, who either directly from their own reading of the text, or as a consequence of being fed a superficial translation of it by lecturers and tutors, assumed that pre-Albemarle practice was largely beyond redemption. It has taken a long time to acknowledge that legacy of prejudice and to begin the slow and painful task of re-discovering our history.

**Doing Something Different - Social Education**

Many assume that the Albemarle Report introduced the concept of social education to the vocabulary of youth work. They are wrong. Although mentioned it is only passing. A plea that schools should in the future show greater concern for social education via the sponsorship of 'clubs and societies, foreign travel and social service ... in which the pupils are encouraged to undertake a fuller responsibility' (Ministry of Education 1960: 21). Evans (1965) devotes in her text for 'men and women entering the youth service as leaders and helpers' a full chapter to social education. It is a bizarre offering which makes no attempt to define the term. In fact apart from using it as a chapter heading she actually fails to employ the term again. What she describes in the chapter are an eclectic collection of instances where youth workers use friendship and personal example as a vehicle for the education of young people in both structured and semi-structured settings. The main purpose of which it seems is to teach young people better behaviour and social graces. Evans' use of the term is close to that employed by many earlier writers (Smith 1988). It is significantly different from how it was appropriated by Davies and Gibson two years later.

I have already argued that this book substantially altered the way in which a future generation of youth workers related to their history. The second major change it wrought flowed from the way *The Social Education of the Adolescent* dramatically reformulated the vocabulary of Youth Work. Davies and Gibson placed at the heart of the book the concept of social education. Youth Workers were no longer to be trainers of the young, or even leaders, but were henceforth to be social educators. The authors show a strange but perhaps understandable reluctance to define what they mean by social education. They do tell us what the central aim of it should be: 'to help young people acquire the social skills of cooperation, of membership of and contribution to a common effort, of sociability, of colleagueship' (p 92). They also subsequently offer a pithy guide to their thinking with 'social education - the education towards maturity for the society in which young people will live' (p 150). Elsewhere we learn the 'social educators will see themselves as practitioners in human relationships' (p 197). Yet social education is not always described in a positive light. In a memorable section the book launches into an absolutely devastating attack upon those who use the youth work setting to proliferate a particular model of what young people should become, those workers 'whose satisfaction comes from when young people take up particular pursuits or beliefs' (p 137). This style of intervention is designated 'model-centred social education' and juxtapositioned to what they view as the far more acceptable and desirable 'client-centred practice'. This in a sense gives the game away. For Davies and Gibson social education is a process. Social education becomes something that social educators do, hopefully well but often badly and sometimes even dishonestly. Good social education they tell us will be client centred and not model centred. It will also require workers to ' deliberately articulate what they know or believe to be good or proper conduct in their work' (p 143); and to acquire an 'appropriate theoretical framework ... enriched .. by the accumulated experience of practitioners and by the work of the human scientists' (p 139-40). Sadly neither they nor anyone else has subsequently sought to undertake this task. As a consequence social education, as Smith (1988) notes in his overview of the use of the term within youth work, degenerated rapidly into nothing more than a rhetorical device (p 89). Davies and Gibson cannot be held responsible for that failure and lost opportunity. Rather they deserve recognition. First for providing those who followed with a framework from which we can still usefully proceed. Second for laying an emphasis upon the educational role of youth work.

**Conclusion**

At this late stage it is impossible not to be aware that I have failed to convey much of the richness of the text. I have not for example provided an account of their valuable discussion of the importance and limitations of group work as a methodology within youth work; or their plea for youth work to address the specific needs of young women. Perhaps more than anything I have failed to convey the extent to which it is imbued with a warmth and humanity which seeks to persuade workers of the need to understand, interpret and respond to the expressed needs of young people to, in a memorable phrase, 'free themselves from the assumption that adolescents are enemies' (p 54).

Davies and Gibson never produced a second edition which may or may not have been a mistake. It is obviously now too late to attempt such a task. Both

authors subsequently made important contributions to the development of youth work but in very different ways. Alan Gibson became an HMI, and having entered the world of the 'undead' published nothing further of note. Bernard Davies on the other hand proceeded to become the most important and creative writer on youth work and policy of his generation. It would be impossible to measure the scale of his contribution over the last 30 years. Amongst his writings mention should be made of his book on group work (1975) which still remains an essential text. Also of his two pamphlets on the role of the MSC which were perhaps the most trenchant critiques of the values and policies of that organisation to appear in print (1979: 1981). They were also incidentally the last publication to emerge from the NYB/NYA that openly attacked central government policy. After they appeared the voice became muted, the subject matter safe and NYB/NYA meticulously eschewed criticism of their funders. Their failure to commission Bernard Davies to write and research for them is perhaps the surest indication we have of the extent to which both became the catspaw of government policy. His most recent book is *Threatening Youth* (1986) arguably the best yet to appear on youth policy.

Any book published over 25 years ago must inevitably have been overtaken by events. The life chances and experiences of young people have radically altered since 1967, as also have the career profiles of youth workers. Yet *The Social Education of the Adolescent* remains, I believe, an essential text. One capable of enriching the thinking of any practitioner. Worth revisiting by anyone who has not done so recently and of being studied by those who have not yet had the opportunity to do so. I can only hope that my enthusiasm for it will not be as counter-productive as that of the individual who first sought to persuade me and my colleague to read it.

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ISBN 0 7005 1261 6
£16.95 (pbk) pp 193


I suppose it is inevitable ... only to be expected ... but it still annoys intensely. Is it de rigour that virtually every book or pamphlet on community education has to commence from an identical point? For those not overly familiar with the literature it goes something like this. The reader is told that community education is extremely difficult, well nigh impossible, to define. That the term combines two of the most vexatious words in the English language. Singularly the delineation of each has taxed some of the finest minds. Did not Hillery (surely the most quoted but least read article in the literature of sociology) way back in 1955 discover 94 alternative meanings for community alone. Nobody has yet, to my knowledge, tried a similar trainspotter approach regarding 'education'. If, heaven forbid, they do it is to be assumed that a similar figure will emerge. All this creates, we are invariably advised, a 'lexicologist's nightmare'. With much wringing of academic hands by way of denouement we are informed that it would be helpful if the Gordian Knot was unravelled. That an agreed definition secured so that everyone might at least learn what was and what was not community education. Then, in most cases, brushing aside all that went before we are then offered a 'resume' of good practice and top down accounts of 'successful' schools.

Apart from being exceedingly tedious, predictable and futile the opening gambit does reveal something of significance, albeit fairly predictable, regarding the state of community education as a discipline and arena of welfare practice. Namely that it remains, after decades of supposed implementation, an ill-defined ambiguous area of practice and that scant consistency is to be expected regarding the usage of the term.

The booklet under review provides a good example of just such selective usage. Fundamentally, although the author(s) avoid as usual any precise definition, it requires a little more than a cursory reading to grasp what they are both describing and advocating. It amounts to little more than a liberalisation of classroom practice and an extension of the role and function of the school. The diversification of the school's remit, for them to become centres of and a coordinating agents for the provision, organisation and management of adult education, educational outreach work, community development and youth services within a neighbourhood or locality. As the author(s) acknowledge this is not a new policy option but one that can be confidently traced back to the pioneering work of Henry Morris, who established the first Village College in Cambridgeshire nearly 60 years ago to provide just such a cradle to grave range of social, welfare and educational services. Based, as he argued, upon the one fixed entity within any community - the school. The case for such an expansion is sustained by the author(s) on the basis of a number of remarkable claims for the effectiveness of this form of provision. These are that the community school can:-

- *improve pupils' attainment through active and conscious policies of parental involvement;*

- *offer accessible and attractive routes to further education, qualifications and retraining;*
- *result in highly effective and efficient use of resources;*
- *make a valuable and positive contribution to the delivery of the national Curriculum, especially in terms of parental support, curricular resources, cross-curricular themes, and preparing pupils for adult life;*
- *be important in the effort to improve staying-on rates.*

In this text (and elsewhere) these claims are made but are supported by little more substantial than anecdotal evidence. Indeed the author(s) themselves rely upon a number of visits undertaken by the working party to support their case and little else. For example, no hard data is provided to sustain the assertion that community schools achieve improved staying on rates. Or that those LEAs which have predominately located adult education and youth provision within community schools have secured higher take-up rates or the affiliation of groups who elsewhere feel excluded.

There is a case to be made for the community school but surely the time has arrived for it to be presented in a much more rigorous, empirical and balanced way. One that recognises the limitations increasingly placed upon such schools by the need to comply with the requirements of the National Curriculum whilst balancing the LMS budget. One that eschews the sort of high-blown rhetoric and new age mysticism that seems to be the trademark of so much of the current literature. Would you buy an educational package from someone who tells you that 'By prefixing, for example, school, education, art or leisure services with "community" what is in effect happening is that a utility, service, or institution is being "opened" ' (p 21)? Really? unfortunately like the pronoun 'new' on a detergent packet, 'community' is all too often prefixed as a marketing ploy and little else. Adopted to convince the unwary that the old school down-the-road has been transformed into something different; the timeworn curriculum is fresh and original; or that the local youth service or youth centre that has just had its budget slashed is actually doing more rather than less.

***Looking at Community Education*** does provide, in part, a useful summation of the case for the community school. However it in no way helps to clarify our thinking about what community education is or might be. Annex B (pp 32-39) in particular is recommended for the overview it offers of the impact of the 1988 Act and other legislation on the funding and management of such schools. Unfortunately the value of this is limited as a consequence of the enactment of the 1992 Act which has transformed the legislative framework within which FE and Adult Education is to be funded and administered post April 1993. The author(s) can in no way be held responsible for that omission. What is less forgivable is the avoidance of any consideration of how many individual schools and LEAs have responded to the new environment created by the earlier legislation. How, for example, a number of LEAs have begun to dismantle their network of community schools by the removal of specialist youth and community staff and the transference of funding to leisure departments or free standing units in order to 'protect their investments'. Also how some schools have used LMS as an excuse to ditch 'unprofitable' youth and adult education programmes replacing them with higher income generating activities and lettings. Or how others have perceived growing independence from the LEA as an opportunity to replace full-time youth and adult education tutors with part-time staff, qualified and unqualified. Or how others have ditched the use of community or 'village' in their titles in order to highlight the more elitist college. Using their enhanced facilities as a selling point, less for the benefit of the community than as a means of putting the neighbouring schools out of business.

***Building Bridges*** is based on a three year DES funded study of parental involvement in schools. It offers both an account of how a number sought to extend involvement and an assessment of the effectiveness of such policy initiatives through follow-up interviews with both staff and parents. Unlike many previous studies this does include secondary and middle schools rather than restricting itself to the primary sector. The findings will surprise few. Like earlier work on this topic it finds that the benefits far outweigh the disadvantages, that both parents and pupils in the main welcomed the attempts by the school to keep them better informed and encourage their involvement. It also reminds us that the majority of parents had no contact with the school system between the end of their schooldays and the onset of those of their children. Here we find a much more mundane, yet far more honest assessment of how the school might link with the community beyond the school gates. Not least because the community is perceived as comprising an identified group - the parents. Also in part because a clear sense of purpose underpins the activity.

Home visiting and the creation of links with parents are likely to be given far greater priority in the future. As units compete more energetically for pupils, and the cash they bring with them, so more and more schools will eschew their traditional isolation. Already some either have or are looking at the financial viability of employing community workers rather than teachers to develop this area of work. Along with the self-funding school based youth worker, adult educator and community development worker we are likely to see more rather than less associated professionals working from school sites.

It says a great deal about the inherent conservatism of so many of our schools that these books, with their simple, not to say simplistic, messages are likely to be considered by many who read them as both radical and challenging. The community school despite predictions of its imminent demise will not disappear. However it will in many respects radically alter. The question is how many will retain some affiliation to the cultural values and historic traditions of social service espoused by Henry Morris and his followers. And how many will opt to embrace the ethics of the market place and view the community outside as something to exploit and manipulate for short-term gain and benefit.

*Tony Jeffs*

**R Shaw (Ed)**
**PRISONERS CHILDREN**
**Routledge**
**ISBN 0 415 06067 2**
**£30.00 (hbk) pp 270**

Prisoners' Children provides a varied collection of articles whose authors are drawn from a variety of backgrounds, connected by their involvement in different parts of the Criminal Justice system. Such diversity of backgrounds and styles is intended to make the book accessible to academic and practitioner alike.

A recurring theme throughout the book is the invisibility of the plight of prisoners' children. It is therefore intended that the book, with its inter-disciplinary approach, will raise awareness of this plight, and place it on the Criminal Justice agenda. The first section highlights the issues connected with prisoners' children, while the second half considers what should and is being done to address the problems identified.

In his introduction, Roger Shaw sounds a cautionary note by emphasising that not all children whose parents are in prison suffer as a result. Clearly for some children, imprisonment of a violent, abusive parent is a welcome relief. However, research confirms that they are in the minority, and Prisoners' Children is premised on the belief that imprisonment of a parent invariably has a deleterious effect on a child's emotional and physical well being.

As a practitioner rather than an academic, I found Prisoners' Children accessible and mostly readable. It certainly raised my awareness of the issues and proposed solutions, some firmly practical, others demanding a more fundamental reshaping of our Criminal Justice system. Martin Richard's article, written from a psychological perspective, convincingly draws an analogy between the experience of children who lose a parent through imprisonment and those who experience other kinds of domestic upheaval, notably divorce. Drawing on such parallels Richard suggests a number of proposals that would help to lessen the effects for prisoners' children, including more regular contact in the form of visits, phone calls and letters, but perhaps most importantly, clear information, appropriate to the child's age, about what is happening in order to reduce the child's often unarticulated fears and anxieties. This is important information for those practitioners working with the families of prisoners.

Liza Catan's research-based article explores the effects on the development of those babies who remain with their imprisoned mothers in special mother and baby units, compared to a sample of similarly aged children cared for by extended families or foster parents. She rightly draws attention to the frequent absence of discussion of child care issues when considering the merits of a custodial or community based disposal in social enquiry reports, usually prepared by the Probation Service to assist sentencers. This is perhaps a small point that has potentially important consequences on report writing practice in the future, particularly when it is widely known that the majority of female offenders commit property related offences and therefore do not need to be locked up to protect society. In short, the findings conclude that prisons are not built with babies in mind. Liza Catan concludes by broadening the debate, suggesting that it is not maternal imprisonment per se that places children at risk of future delinquency or offending, but rather the 'culture of poverty' that characterises the lives of so many women in prison, which renders good parenting well nigh impossible, and which therefore increases prisoners' children's susceptibility to future delinquency.

Jane Woodrow picks up the theme of imprisoned mothers, the majority of whom are themselves young with young children, often single parents, whose imprisonment therefore deprives the children of their principal carer. She argues compellingly they are the most deprived of the deprived. Their needs are unrecognised due to a collusive silence between indifferent Governments and inmate mothers and substitute carers, too frightened of losing their children to articulate their needs. She concludes by arguing for greater use of bail and alternatives to custody for women.

Roger Shaw attempts further quantification of the problem for children of imprisoned fathers in England and Wales, considering also the situation in Scotland, where the use of imprisonment is higher, a fact so graphically portrayed by a quote from a teacher from an inner city school with a poor catchment area: 'we have got more kids who have had their dad in prison some time than we have "O" level successes. Kids with families with no prison tainting are as rare as hens' teeth around here.' Prisoners' children may suffer more than their fathers, or in some cases even the victims of crimes. They are the 'Orphans of Justice', whose plight raises fundamental questions about our Criminal Justice system, supposedly founded on principles of right and wrong, acquittal of the innocent and the punishment of the guilty.

The chapter by McDermott and King is particularly useful for practitioners, describing vividly the hardships that must be born by prisoners' partners and children, left to struggle on inadequate benefits that take no account of their extra expenditure, and subject to the vagaries of a largely hostile system. Professional help is woefully inadequate in the face of the magnitude of their daily problems; mere 'oases in a desert landscape in which most have to find their own way to survive'. The prison system relies on the unwritten Rule 102 - 'stand by your man' - which sustains laudable, though in the final analysis, emptily rhetorical Prison Rule 32, and the Guidance on Prisoner Throughcare published in its 1987-88 annual report.

Ann Davies provides further evidence that ... 'male imprisonment sentences most women and children to lives of considerable poverty', with no acknowledgement from the DSS of their special needs. Women are left to juggle inadequate incomes, and often deprive themselves to provide for their children and imprisoned partners.

Ya-el Amira reminds us that the differing needs of the children of black prisoners have not been researched. They experience all the hardships of the white prisoners' children, but structural racism serves to stigmatise and disadvantage them further. Their plight is vividly drawn by liberal use of quotations from both children and parents. This brief extract illustrates both the similarities and special problems black prisoners' families face. 'He is alright in there; a big man. He can't cope out here where he is no-one. In there he can work the system, and do "easy time" - we are the ones doing hard time. I don't know what to think. He says he won't go in again but there is nothing out here for the black ex-con' (Ann, aged 24).

The second section of the book is about the response of society to prisoners' children, a response that is shown to be piecemeal and generally inadequate. From a legal perspective, Richard Vogler contrasts the concern extended to children involved in family proceedings, where the 'best interests of the child' prevails, compared to the indifference to their needs when one of their parents is imprisoned. Vogler provides a useful comparison with other countries, revealing we are neither the worst nor the best.

The chapters dealing with the role and responsibilities of the Prison Service in England and Wales and the role of the Probation Service are disappointingly bland, offering little new thinking in comparison with the collaborative chapter on the Scottish system, which is positively inspiring. The Scottish Consultative Group (SCG) combines membership from SACRO, and various voluntary groups, the Health Education Board for Scotland, the Open University, the Scottish Office and other professionals working in the Scottish Prison Service, and coordinates initiatives designed to address the needs of parents and children affected by imprisonment. The chapter describes in clear detail some of the work of SCG and shows how imaginative thinking, coordinated and sustained effort and proper training can mitigate some of the worst effects of imprisonment for both parents and children. It has ideas and is well worth a read, as is the very different chapter about long term prisoners and their children in Northern Ireland. W. James Hughes reminds us that the prison population in Northern Ireland contains a very high proportion of prisoners serving indeterminate sentences, and offers a poignant account of the 'long empty years' that families must endure. He argues convincingly that the best course of action for everyone involved is to release these lifers as early as possible, on the basis that they are needed in society (none of those released so far have been reconvicted).

Although peculiar to Northern Ireland, the issues he raises apply to the circumstances of all lifers and their families. In a more pragmatic vein, but nevertheless highly informative and readable, Eva Lloyds' chapter on the role of the Prison Visitors Centre clearly addresses children's needs, and demonstrates how effective inter-agency action can achieve results. She describes the establishment of Visitors' Centres at Belfast, Norwich and Manchester, spearheaded by Save The Children and the obvious benefits that accrue to partners and children; she makes an undeniably strong case for their establishment at every prison. She is one of the few contributors to articulate the need to reduce the use of imprisonment and consider the growing problem of foreign nationals. Finally, the chapter that had perhaps the greatest impact on me was Steven Moore's on the role of the school. As a special needs teacher he seems best able to get to the heart of prisoners' children's special and neglected plight. His evidence may be anecdotal but it is powerful, and highlights both how ill-equipped and unprepared most schools are to deal with these special needs particularly under local management, and yet how vital a role they could assume given adequate resources and time to devote to these needy children, so often excluded from schools, ignorant of the causes of their often difficult and aggressive behaviour.

Prisoners' Children is a valuable and stimulating book which should be useful for both practitioners and students within the Criminal Justice system. Its contributors confirm that imprisonment imposes unacceptable suffering upon the children of prisoners. This is only the beginning of a debate that must continue so that the plight of the 'orphans of justice' is no longer ignored. These arguments on their behalf must contribute to the debate about the efficacy of high rates of imprisonment, and begin to turn the good intentions of the 1991 Criminal Justice Act into reality. Prison must be a last, not a first resort.

*Deborah Marshall*

**Michael Banks, Inge Yates, Glynis Breakwell, John Bynner, Nicholas Imler, Lynn Jamieson, Kenneth Roberts.**
**CAREERS AND IDENTITIES**
**Open University Press**
**ISBN 0 335097146**
**£10.99 (pbk) £35.00 (hbk) pp 219**

At the depths of the recession in the early eighties, Paul Willis concluded that 'the young unemployed had been thrust into a new social condition'. (*The Social Condition of Young People in Wolverhampton in 1984*, Wolverhampton Borough Council, 1985). This he saw as characterised by their 'suspended animation between school and work', resulting in the traditional adolescent transitions from childhood to adulthood being 'frozen or broken'. What was at risk here, he projected, was not just their ability as teenagers to earn and use their leisure enjoyably and productively. Also threatened were their longer term opportunities to establish independent lives, households and families.

In the early nineties, another generation of young people are being ground through a destructive and demoralising 'economic downturn'. The context for this now is a ruthlessly constraining national youth policy deliberately targeted by three Conservative administrations on working class young people, especially if they are Black or in any way 'deviant'. All means available have been used to impose this policy; a narrow 'technicalist' schools curriculum, increasing control over further education (especially by employers), a brutal application of the social security system, and a burgeoning of police powers and of the policing powers of other state agents such as social workers and education welfare officers. Any updating of Willis' thesis for the 1990s is therefore to be welcomed.

For doing this, this book has one unavoidable limitation; the research on which it is based was done between 1987 and 1989 - that is, before the present recession began to bite. Another and - even for an academic study - less excusable shortcoming is its rather cursory delivery of its promised 'pointers for policy and practice'.

Nonetheless, this book does offer an in-depth examination of the impact of the Thatcherite years on young people. It throws a fascinating and penetrating light, for example, on the extent to which the wealth of the much trumpeted Lawson 'boom' trickled down to young people, and on the pursuit by Lord Young's Manpower Services Commission of an ambitious 'training revolution'.

The book's aims are actually broader than this. The research it reports set out to discover 'how young people find their niche in the economic and occupational structure and how they form political judgments and make political choices.' It thus 'examines ... careers and identity formation in the spheres of education and work, domestic and social life, and politics.'

In pursuing these aims it also adopted a varied range of research approaches. It focussed on two cohorts (nearly 5000 young people in all), initially aged 15-16 and 17-18 and drawn from four contrasting locations; Kircaldy, Liverpool, Sheffield and Swindon. Each cohort completed questionnaires three times, sub-samples were interviewed twice in greater depth, and ethnographic studies were carried out with smaller groups in two of the geographical areas. The results are thus multi-layered. They also assume that, far from just passively absorbing external influences, each individual young person, was 'an active "agent" (making) purposive choices and actions'. The study was therefore centrally concerned with self-esteem and how this contributed to the values and responses it identified.

The result is a complex and sometimes rather dense array of cross-referenced findings reflecting both the researchers' 'objective' perspectives and young people's own perceptions and interpretations of their situation. From time to time this generates some less expected conclusions. For example, in contrast with findings from some previous studies, 'the process of acculturation (from working to middle class), was incomplete and relentlessly ongoing', perhaps particularly for young women. The data did not confirm 'the assumption that a "domestic career" is for girls a higher priority than an occupational career, with the converse being true for boys'. And they sketched a more complicated picture of sexism (and indeed racism) generally amongst young people than some of the cruder stereotypes usually suggest.

Nonetheless, when all allowances have been made for the fine-tuning of the findings and the researchers' careful gloss on them, for someone whose practice with young people reaches back to the sixties and to the research of that period, the overwhelming message of the book remains; 'Plus la change ...'

Take, for example, the stranglehold of the local labour market on young people's job choices. In the short-term and pragmatically, social engineering may help to ameliorate this, as the Sheffield LEA's commitment to providing youth training for unemployed young people seems to demonstrate.

More fundamentally, however, the free market accidents of local opportunities still seem to decide where most young people end up. In Swindon this meant that a mid-eighties boom economy produced a pseudo-sixties scenario, with high paid jobs being so plentiful that young people indulged in the kind of job-changing employers and policy-makers found so

distasteful twenty years earlier. In the process, the MSC's and the government's high-sounding rhetoric on the need to train all 16-year-old school leavers was rendered irrelevant.

Much less emphasised however is another, perhaps more serious, set of consequences of this dictatorship of the local employer; the block it imposes on the liberation of individual young people's more personal hopes, interests and above all talents. And so - to use a vivid example from this research - in order to adjust their students to the routinised jobs of pattern-cutter or machinist which were available in the local fashion industry, teachers in one of the areas had constantly to deny or devalue their students' creative aspirations and potential to become designers. How much else of the person dies, one wonders, at the moment that this embryo of an occupational self-identity is aborted.

Unfortunately the book fails to follow through a brief initial interest in the impact of race on such processes, even though in at least two of the study areas this must have been crucial to the career and identity of those studied. However, as well as offering some new insights into young people's subjective experience of these transitions, it does convincingly highlight and confirm the extent to which class and gender continue to determine so much of what happens to individual young people.

What then has all the MSC huffing and puffing from Youth Opportunities Programme to one-year YTS to two-year YTS and finally to TEC-controlled YT actually *achieved*? On the basis of these findings, we must conclude, very little. Clearly, the deep rooted social divisions of our society continue to shape how young people find their fundamentally unequal way through the school system. And this in turn then crucially affects their subsequent movement into and through a range of 'career' routes - domestic, leisure and political as well as occupational.

None of this means 'however' that young people are simply passive recipients of these controlling and manipulative influences on their adolescent transitions. Where they start with some realistic hope and material advantage, and then enter routes which reinforce these - where for example they stay on at school or get 'real' jobs when they leave - they are likely to come closest to asserting some control over their lives, and also to feel that they are doing so.

Unsurprisingly however, the young people in this study who went into YTS schemes or who became unemployed suffered most from 'reduced feelings of self-efficacy and heightened estrangement'. That is, inequality and oppression did not only damage their life chances in real and concrete ways. They were also liable to damage their view of themselves now and their self-identity in the longer term.

However, this study also gives some fascinating insights into young people's tactics, not just for coping with but sometimes for actually *triumphing over* these pressures. After a century or more of refinement, for example, forms of resistance to a schooling system incapable of providing 'really useful knowledge - openly disruptive behaviour, absenteeism, dumb insolence and the rest - are now clearly being transposed to the latest state imposition; "youth training'."

At the same time, deliberately and often astutely, these same young people are distilling from what is on offer what *they* define as useful. This includes not just the measly cash allowance, but also practical on-the-job experience; social relationships with other young people; and as ever some good laughs. For the rest, they keep themselves untouched, never for a moment being taken in by the providers' assurances that what they are getting is real vocational training capable of opening up to them good - that is secure and well paid - jobs.

More broadly, many of these young people seem also to be finding their own ways of restructuring some of those transitions about which Willis was so concerned nearly a decade ago. The young mothers in this study, for example, both before and after their children were born, apparently felt no more alienated than the rest of their peers. Motherhood, it seems, was for them 'an alternative career with rewards and status of its own', suggesting that at worst what they might be experiencing were transitions into adult roles which were *protracted* rather than broken.

If that is the case, it can hardly be because of what collectively our society has most recently been saying about them or providing for them. It surely must owe most to the 'nouse' and resilience of so many of them - qualities to which, and by implication, this book so often bears witness.

*Bernard Davies*

**Nicholas Dorn, Karim Murji and Nigel South**
**TRAFFICKERS. DRUG MARKETS AND LAW ENFORCEMENT**
**Routledge 1992**
**ISBN 0 415 03537**
**£10.99 (pbk) pp 235**

'Goddam the pusher' sang Steppenwolf in 1968, with the (easy/) rider: 'I'd declare total war on the pusher'. But not on the dealer; in the song dealers were okay, pushers evil. By the late 1980s, however, such nuances of language had disappeared. Pushers and dealers (and indeed users) had been transformed into all encompassing illicit drug traffickers. And by then a 'war' against drugs was in full swing.

Dorn, Murji and South's excellent book is about this so called war. It provides a well researched and dispassionate account of traffickers, the markets in which they operate and the responses by law enforcement agencies in Britain, and, to a lesser extent, the United States.

As the authors point out, aside from corporate crime, drug trafficking is probably the fastest growing area of international crime. Indeed, the profits generated show just how well a market economy can function when suppliers are dealing in a commodity in high demand, this in spite of prohibitions on drug use. Nowadays only the value of armaments exceeds that of illicit drugs. Annual revenues from drugs worldwide are estimated at $300 billion; in Britain about £1,800 million worth of drug-related money is sloshing around. Law enforcement, too, is big business; the United States alone spends around $20 billion annually.

As this book recognises in passing, there is no easy answer to the question should drugs be legalised? An interesting feature of recent debates is the extent to which opinions regarding legalisation do not easily correlate with left or right wing politics. Milton Friedman, for instance, has argued that prohibitions are an unacceptable interference in what should be a free market. Although Dorn et al.s book is not about this debate, early on they do briefly address it within the context of trying to explain what their aims and assumptions are. In their view there are two main difficulties with the pro-legalisation argument. The first is that legalisation would lead to the introduction of big business-dominated plantation systems in Third World countries, and this would not aid their development. The second, more pragmatic difficulty, according the them, is that legal prohibitions on trafficking are here to stay, 'as far as anyone can see into the future'.

The book approaches drug trafficking chronologically, looking at developments (mainly in this country) since the 1960s. This is achieved by dividing the book into three parts: traffickers, enforcement strategies and key issues in enforcement. Fieldwork data were gathered by interviewing individuals who are, or have been, involved in trafficking/drug use, individuals convicted of trafficking offences and enforcement personnel. This produced a great deal of descriptive material. The authors are well aware of the limitations of this sort of research, especially in such a sensitive area, and they discuss the hazards frankly at the beginning of the book. Anyone teaching a methods course in sociology will find this study to be a useful exemplar.

The first part of the book, on traffickers, convincingly demolishes a number of myths. The most important of these myths is that drug trafficking in Britain is based upon a highly organised, pyramid-shaped business operation, with a 'Mr Big' sitting at the top. In fact, in the words of the researchers: 'We began this research with no more than a nagging suspicion that, contrary to mythology and media presentation, domestic drug markets might not be organised as neat, top-down hierarchies controlled by a "Mr Big".' This is within a British context. They accept that the nature of trafficking in different regions of the world has to be seen as a product of particular social and political circumstances. Thus, for example, Latin America and Europe represent different arenas.

At the beginning of their research they posited a typology of traffickers/organisations, giving them seven categories in all. These ranged from small-scale user-dealers uninterested in profits, to profit-seeking criminal networks, to law enforcement tactics involving collaboration between police and others. Even this typology, they found, failed to adequately capture the fluidity and messiness of ilicit drug markets. Their conclusion is that these markets change and develop continually, with individuals moving from one category to another according to a complex of circumstances. Of particular importance in this respect is the behaviour of drug enforcement agencies: 'Interactions between traffickers and enforcement agencies are one of the principal stimuli to change'.

In Part Two they illustrate how the view that trafficking is essentially based upon a hierarchical, pyramid-shaped organisation strongly influenced the organisational structure and enforcement strategies of anti-drug agencies. The policing of drugs is arranged in a three-tier system, with national/regional, city/county and local levels. This way of conceiving of trafficking has been underpinned by various Home Office policy documents, as well as by the Association of Chief Police Officers' Working Party on Drugs Related Crime (the 'Broome Report', 1985). This ACPO report has been highly influential, and extracts are reproduced in the Appendix to this book.

Dorn et al chart the adjustments made to law enforcement strategies and tactics over the years, showing how the emphasis has changed from the big drugs 'bust' to chasing the money being laundered in the labyrinths of the Western banking system, and then attempting to squeeze demand through street-level operations. A major problem faced by anti-drug agencies, however, is that participants in trafficking wise-up to the latest mode of operation, and their activities are then either simply displaced, or the nature of their activities modified. Faced with a seemingly inexorable growth in drug markets, the most recent idea, apparently, is to 'randomise' law enforcement, to supplement current practice with enforcement activities of an unpredictable nature. This would cast the social control net much wider and, along with other recent developments, raises the crucial issue of police/customs accountability and has profound implications for civil liberties.

These debates are taken up in Part Three, and it is here that the real strength of the book emerges. While not playing down the reality of the drug-crime connection, the authors argue that the state has constructed a misleading image of traffickers, and that this has been employed to legitimise increasing surveillance and control. These structural changes in policing have been further helped along by a perceived threat from terrorists and traffickers in a new frontier-less Europe. Thus, in recent years we have seen an increasing emphasis on drugs intelligence, with this being incorporated into more general criminal intelligence. This has been accomplished through the introduction of sophisticated undercover techniques and intrusions into citizen privacy via intelligence databanks. For Dorn et al 'This could be considered as being in the general interest if the system works fairly, for example hunting down corporate criminals and environmental polluters as eagerly as tin-pot drug traffickers'. It is worth noting that in 1992 the present National Drugs Intelligence Unit will be absorbed into a National Criminal Intelligence Unit 'whose capability to direct intelligence development operations make it a de facto national detective agency'. Financial intelligence gathering, facilitated by legislation passed in this country during the 1980s, is an important part of all this. Legislation pertaining to financial disclosure has been in existence in the United States since the 1970 Bank Secrecy Act. This Act 'places an obligation upon banks to notify the US treasury within fifteen days of any deposit of money in excess of $10,000.' In Britain there is a voluntary system whereby banks and other financial institutions are expected to disclose to police, customs or the NDIU instances where 'suspicious' transactions occur in a customer's account. The very severe penalties handed out to traffickers by the British courts are also discussed in the book.

As this informative study by Dorn et al shows, there have been significant developments in law enforcement as a response to drug trafficking in this country, and yet these developments have been subject to little public debate. Some will judge these developments simply on a technical level, in terms of their effectiveness and efficiency in controlling drug trafficking. For the authors of this book, however, they represent a widening of the social control net. The emphasis now placed on intelligence gathering and a centralised storage and retrieval system - concerned with actual or potential crime in general - has been legitimised by reference to particular images of drug traffickers and their markets. These images, according to the authors, have been misleading. This clearly raises the issue of the constitutional position of law enforcement agencies, but it should also direct our attention to the political climate in general - with all its manifestations, including specific forms of legislation. There are serious concerns here relating to the narrowing down of areas of freedom.

*John Tierney*

**Scottish Health Education Group**
**POSITIVE STEPS**
**Scottish Health Education Group**
**ISBN 0 909323800**
**£2.00 (pbk)**

***Positive Steps*** illustrates the value of collaboration between agencies as a response to addressing problems facing individuals, groups and committees. In this instance the Scottish Health Education Group, the Scottish Community Education Council and the Standing Conference of Voluntary Youth Organisations have come together to share many of the projects and initiatives designed to educate people and to mitigate against the problems of drug and alcohol misuse. The publication gives an insight into the many projects and initiatives planned and implemented by local community and

youth groups operating throughout Scotland. Clearly it would seem that this inter-agency approach can be very effective in acknowledging the uniqueness and diversity of local needs, enabling intervention specifically targeted at groups on the ground. I particularly found it refreshing to see acknowledged the need to combine preventative initiatives with harm reduction, minimisation strategies.

The presentation of the material is well laid out and very accessible, with the individual pieces of work leaping from the pages to confront the reader.

A number of items certainly caught my attention. The apparent energy of Fast Forward project enables the reader to focus on all that is regarded as good community youth work practice; on participation in terms of those young people both receiving and delivering the initiatives. In addition, the use of reflection and evaluation to determine future initiatives, constantly realising the need for a developmental approach is to the fore. Fast Forward also suggests the importance of realism and honesty in relation to outcomes and possible change for individuals and groups involved in their initiatives. Of specific significance is the move towards peer group educators, these are groups of young adult volunteers offering themselves for training in order to support the work of the Fast Forward team. As a youth worker I feel that the use of peer group educators offers a potentially best resource of energy and expertise yet to be tapped. Another aspect well featured was the need to balance educational, awareness raising strategies with attempts to offer programmes to promote self esteem, confidence and the acquiring of social and personal skills. To this end many of the initiatives and projects illustrated displayed innovative and creative methodology. Most youth and community workers encounter the problem of underage drinking and alcohol abuse. The section called 'Booze Busters' offers an insight of an alcohol education programme which I found very relevant and will be attempting to incorporate into my own existing alcohol education programme.

Gender issues relating to the use of alcohol by girls and young women aptly titled 'Thunderbirds and Snakebites' offer an opportunity to focus on work with girls only groups. This obviously opens the door for much in depth discussion and exploration of many other 'issues' confronting girls and women.

The variety of drug/alcohol education initiatives in *Positive Steps* covered a large spectrum of community and youth work situations and I would imagine has some relevance to most community youth workers wanting to operate drug/alcohol programmes.

*Positive Steps* also contains an account of a project relating to HIV/AIDS advisory initiative. Given the concern regarding the spread of this disease through shared needles this project, run by the YMCA in Dundee, offers a positive and meaningful model for a community based drugs/AIDS project. The section on the training of staff to implement the delivery of drugs/ alcohol programmes highlights the need for individuals operating in this area to identify and understand their own value systems and attitudes to drugs and alcohol.

One aspect of this training which caught my eye and merits wider consideration was the distance learning initiative which enabled part-time youth and community workers who operate in rural areas to participate in and benefit from drug and substance misuse training programmes. This training was modelled on the Open University Drugs Training Course, but modified to take account of the needs of workers in rural areas. Again with this initiative we can see the benefits of positive interagency cooperation, in this case between the Clydesdale Association of Youth Workers, Personnel from Strathclyde Open Learning Experiment and Funding from the Scottish Health Education Group.

Contained at the back of the publication is a host of names and addresses of possible resources and contacts in the field of drugs, alcohol, education and information and the addresses of support groups. All relate to Scotland but I was very impressed with *Positive Steps* and its attempts to illustrate some of the drug, alcohol work undertaken in Scotland.

What is apparent is the value in the development of links between groups and organisations as a response to social problems. Many of the packs used relate primarily to Health Education in school settings and need to be modified and adapted to suit many other informal education situations. This suggests, in my opinion, the need for youth and community work elsewhere in the UK to devise resource material specifically for use in informal developmental work with young people. *Positive Steps* points the way and at £2.00 is a good purchase.

***Patrick Jordan***

**General Synod Board of Education & Board of Mission**
**ALL GOD'S CHILDREN? Children's Evangelism in Crisis**
**National Society/Church House Publishing 1991**
**ISBN 0 7151 4808 7**
**£5.95 (pbk) pp 108**

The back cover and publicity material for this small but substantial report states that in England in the 1990s only 15 children out of every 100 have any direct contact with a Christian Church. Understandably, therefore, the report is subtitled 'Children's Evangelism in Crisis' and described as ... 'a hard hitting report which no church and no Christian can afford to ignore'....

The report, which was commissioned by the Church of England General Synod's Boards of Mission and Education, is the result of the 2 years work of an ecumenical Working Party composed of members from the Anglican, Roman Catholic and Free Churches, together with representatives from the voluntary societies. Its purpose is to explore the types of children's evangelism appropriate to combat the critically low percentage of children presently in touch with the Churches, and to outline these in the words of the Working Party, in a 'brief, readable document for wide circulation that would alert the churches to the seriousness of the situation, suggest some of the theological and pastoral issues and indicate considerations that need to be taken in mind as the churches attempt to move forward'. At £5.95 for 108 pages I'm not sure how wide the hoped for circulation will be except for and within those particularly committed to Christian Education and related concerns.

The first part of the report highlights what the Working Party sees as the current highly disturbing state of affairs, with chapters on the death of the national custom of Sunday School going (eg ... 'we are now seeing children born to the second generation of non-Sunday School parents ...'); an examination of other sources of influence that may, but seemingly rarely do, witness to Christ such as folk religion and the nation's Christian heritage, young people's uniformed organisations, and Church schools; and a critical exploration of other non-church sources of influence that impact on the lives of children and young people in the vacuum left by the decline of the churches, such as the home, school, television, and commercial targeting via toys, clothes, pop music, computer games, role models and fantasy games.

Thereafter the report moves from a defensive to a rather more offensive stance with a challenge to the church as to how it can

or should respond to this decline, through a consideration of the theological, biblical and ethical basis for the evangelism of children, clarification of what the term 'evangelism' actually means (ie 'evangel' means good news while 'ism' refers to procedures, systems, actions in relation to the main part of the word; so evangelism means 'activities designed to help people discover the good news'), and concerns about the place of children and this exercise within a multi-faith society as the UK undoubtedly now is. A variety of strategies and concepts for evangelism are subsequently presented and evaluated including that through parish or holiday missions or within the Christian community, through 'epilogue' type formats, in the classroom and in school assemblies, and in clergy and teacher training practice. Finally the report outlines a number of events, activities and schemes it received in response to advertisements in the church press for 'new', successful ways of reaching children outside the normal life of the church such as the importance of clearly defined aims, mid-week children's clubs, holiday clubs, coffee bar projects, special event parties, camps, preschool groups, missions, collaboration with local schools and the use of church buildings to promote spirituality with children and young people. Needless to say, the use of the adjective 'new' seems to have been somewhat loose!

The report concludes with a useful 8 page summary of the findings of the Working Party paraphrasing the main themes and posing questions for local churches to consider such as: what is the percentage of the child population in your area that has connections with local churches? - what patterns of family life are in your area? - how do local children spend their free time? - where are the children who do not come to church? - how important is evangelism among children in your church? - what ought your approach be to children of other faiths in your parish? - what relationships exist between the church and schools in your area? - what are your strategies for linking children in clubs and groups with your worshipping community?

I cannot say that reading 'All God's Children?' was that easy an experience since much of its language and themes, especially in the latter part are directed towards Church oriented communities and, by definition if not intention, exclude non-members.

Similarly, I felt distant from the sense of urgency that permeates the report, possibly because I do not share the Working Party members' pessimism about the future place of children and young people in our society. I also felt that some of the obvious attempts in the report to be 'hard hitting' were over the top and unsubstantiated; not least the suggestion of a link between the demise of Sunday Schools and the breakup of a moral consensus in the nation; or that TV is to blame for children's' disdain for authority; or that 'elements in our society are combining to create for today's children a prematurely adult and somewhat lonely world that accustoms them to materialism, hedonism, selfishness, sexual amorality, the unseriousness and even normality of violence, the possibility of spiritual power through an openness to the occult ....'!!

I also have an in-built reaction to such statements as 'I was converted to Jesus at a beach mission when I saw Christianity walking along in jeans', which I am sure are sincerely meant and felt but trivialise for me both the 'Jesus' and ' jeans'!

Despite this the brief analysis of the social history of the Sunday School was interesting though all I can remember of my attendance many years ago was the taste of the glue on the sticky pictures of biblical scenes one got each week for one's scrapbook!

Clearly the Churches have a crisis on their hands and this report should help to stimulate those inclined to want to do something about it. It may be that no Christian can afford to ignore it - sadly I suspect many can and will.

*Neil Kendra*

**Dawn Gill, Barbara Mayor and Maud Blair (eds)**
**RACISM AND EDUCATION**
**Structures and Strategies**
**Sage 1992**
**ISBN 0 8039 8578 9**
**£10.95 (pbk) pp 326**

This is part of a series of three books published to accompany The Open University course 'Race', Education and Society. The other two books in the series are *'Race', Culture and Difference* (edited by James Donald and Ali Rattansi) and *Racism and Antiracism* (edited by Peter Braham, Ali Rattansi and Richard Skellington). They have a wider focus than *Racism and Education* as they are concerned with how ideas about 'race' and racism have been constructed within Britain and affected the organisation and practice of the institutions of the state. As a series, they provide a wide range of material, both specially commissioned and selected from previously published sources, for people who are engaged in the struggle against racism in Britain, whether they are workers in the field, students, teachers or just interested.

*Racism and Education* focuses on issues in education as they affect primary and secondary schooling because 'this is the arena in which most of the key debates and most of the related research has been conducted'. There are sixteen articles divided into five sections: Experiences of Racism, National Agenda Setting, The Local Level, Institutional Policy and Classroom Practice. With the exception of the section concerned with Classroom Practice which comprises reprinted material only, there is an even spread of new and reprinted material (and the earliest piece is from 1986), as a result, all the material can be said to have been written within the context of the widespread development of local policies on 'race' equality and in the context of a shift within academe away from a focus on 'race' to one which focuses on the role of racism within society. The intention of the collection is to answer a series of questions posed by the editors in the Introduction: 'Who sets the priorities, defines the questions, provides the funding? What are the characteristic blocks to change? How effectively are policies generated, translated into action and monitored? Are there gaps between policy and practice, or inconsistencies and omissions within policies which limit their effectiveness in the face of real incidents?' The collection helps to clarify some of the ambiguity in the debates which have taken place in education around the following terms: multicultural - antiracist, underachievement, and the resulting confusion because of their very different use by writers and politicians of the left and the right.

In the first section, Experiences of Racism, Cecile Wright's 'Early education: multiracial primary school classrooms' vividly reminds us that the processes by which racism is reproduced within British society mean that young children not only think about 'race' but they also can reproduce racism. She also shows how early processes of exclusion by teachers of black pupils takes place, whether it is Asian girls by omission, i.e. they are perceived as not significant to the processes in the classroom; or Afro-Caribbean boys by intent, in that they are seen to threaten the established order within the classroom. Her contribution is complemented by Mairtin Mac an Ghaill's study of the same processes at secondary level. He also reminds us that discussion of underachievement can easily shift from the institutional processes which deny black young pupils opportunities to one which locates underachievement in the attitudes and behaviour of the young people and their families.

In looking at how the National Agenda has been set, Barry Troyna in 'Can you see the join? An historical analysis of multicultural and antiracist education policies', asks how far has antiracist education policy ever managed to go beyond the view that black people in Britain create problems for educa-

tion policy-making and for schools; but problems defined as being capable of solution through various processes of realignment in such policies but always focussed around concepts of black people's 'special needs'. The realignment or shifts in policy which then take place do so without reference to any consideration of links with other inequalities such as class and gender. In this contribution, Troyna is clearly moving to a position in which he perceives 'race', class and gender not as separate and conflicting entities but entities which are all 'integral to the way society is organised, structured and legitimated'. Also in Part 2 is a reprint of a piece by Bhiku Parekh which reminds us that in political terms, in Britain, the Afro-Caribbean community is more coherently organised than the politically splintered Asian community.

Part 3 on The Local Level, I found less satisfactory perhaps because it seems to me that the Hermann Ouseley model is not one which has proved to be transferable outside of certain specific circumstances. It has worked in Hackney, because the political conditions are favourable and because there is a numerically large black population which is well-organised and able to command both local political power and access to the main institutions of local government. My view is that Hackney can be reproduced in only a limited number of situations, and that the failure to critically assess where such situations can be made to occur has led to the high level of frustration of many workers in the 'race' equality field within local government. Similarly, whilst appreciating an 'inside' view of the much maligned 'Development Programme for Race Equality (DPRE)' in Brent, nevertheless in the light of Troyna's critique of the national agenda, Robin Richardson seems to see more to be optimistic about his Berkshire experience than would seem justified.

There is a second contribution by Barry Troyna in Part 4: 'Institutional Policy'. In this, he and Richard Hatcher explore the Flashpoints model of David Waddington, Karen Jones and Chas Critcher and its usefulness in providing a framework to make sense of situations such as Darren Coulborne's murder of Ahmed Iqbal Ullah at Burnage High School. In line with Troyna's earlier view that there have not been real major shifts in policy on education and the incorporation within it of black people, they suggest that opposition to policies of multicultural/anti-racist education based on mutual valuing of each's experience sits unhappily with the white working-class experience of the devaluation of their experience.

Part 5 is the only section composed exclusively of reprinted material and focuses on Classroom Practice. I also assume that the sections on Experiences of Racism and Classroom Practice were deliberately placed at the beginning and the end of the collection as a means of illustrating the gap which exists between what students experience and the policies and practices of local education authorities although I feel that they might have been better placed next to each other.

Although the articles included examine pupil/student experiences, classroom practice, curriculum policy and development, and the structures and management of schools, there is no reference to either the role of the local authority Youth Services or voluntary youth organisations. Whilst the editors state that the aim of the volume is to focus on 'policies, practices and experiences of schooling, and their implications in sustaining or challenging racism', it seems to me that local education authorities often assign their work on antiracism to the Youth Service. Consequently, I feel it would have been useful to have included a contribution which examined the role of Youth Services in providing a resource for local education authorities to develop more explicit antiracist work albeit outside of the mainstream. This is the only criticism of omission about the collection I have. It and its companion volumes ought to become a valuable resource to all of us who are interested in the way 'race' works in British society.

*Kay Adamson*

# Working Space

*Civil Disturbances - A Church Perspective*

**BOB LANGLEY**

In the aftermath of the disturbances on Tyneside last September, there was no shortage of comment on their causes, not least from members of the churches. The Archbishop of Canterbury, shortly before paying a visit to the affected areas, was quoted as saying that human wickedness and social deprivation are inextricably linked. Others disagreed strongly with such a statement on two grounds. First, it was not the business of the church to make social and political comment. Second, it seemed to offer an excuse for what they believed to be sheer individual human wickedness. The Church's task, they urged was to be much more forthright in telling people what is right and what is wrong.

Unfortunately media attention focussed on this disagreement between two schools of thought within the church, in the process losing sight of the complexity of the issues and of any concern for the people who were suffering, and obscuring the patient and dedicated work actually being done by the churches on the ground.

The fact that such an argument between church leaders about the responsibility of the churches to comment on society was newsworthy, however, is due in no small measure to the publication in 1985 of the Report of the Archbishops Commission on Urban Priority Areas - Faith in the City. It provided a comprehensive account of the issues surrounding the life of inner city areas and outer estates. Labelled by a government minister of the time as 'Marxist', it was perceived to be highly critical of government policies and their effect on those with least power in our society. Its strength lay in the careful way in which Commission members had listened to people living in Urban Priority Areas throughout the country, and had been able to set what they had heard into a broader analytical framework. Many were able to say that it gave expression to their feelings, their hopes and despairs. Whilst it concentrated on the plight of communities in UPAs, its central message was much wider. It emphasised the interdependence of the whole of society and world, it stressed the need to stand with the powerless, not just out of compassion but as a matter of justice, it recognised pluralism with its potential for both conflict and enrichment, and it urged working in partnership of all kinds to build a more whole society.

In making these points, it was reflecting central aspects of the Christian Tradition. It is a tradition which is built on the idea of a promised future always being held before us. It is a promised future in which there will be a sense of balance about the whole created order, people, their environment and all human activity and relationships. It is an order characterised by justice and by every element being allowed to flower to its full potential. It is also a future which remains a promise, not yet an actuality, but whose signs are to be glimpsed here and now, and whose realisation depends on the innovative creativity, which all the rich variety of human beings made in the image of God possess, worked at throughout history, and in the world as it is now.

There is no doubt that Faith in the City raised the profile of the churches in the general political and social life of the country. It reminded people that the churches are present in every local community in the land. Very often clergy and ministers are the only 'professionals' living in some of the most deprived areas. Social workers, doctors, police, youth and community workers and teachers usually commute into the area to work. The Report recognised the authority which this gave to the church to speak about these matters at national level, and their effectiveness in speaking may be judged by the reaction of some of those in power at the time. The regular meeting with government ministers and officials which began after the publication of the Report have been maintained. The work of the Church Urban Fund has been an earnest example of the Church's commitment to actually do something, and has so far helped on their way more than four hundred different pieces of work in UPAs which seek to give those who live there more power over their lives.

In the section on Youth Work, the Report (Faith in the City 1985) provides a reminder of our failure to effect any improvement in the last seven years. In fact many would say that things have become worse since then:

> *The overall impression is clear. It is that there are sizable groups of young people who are trapped in UPAs, who only gain attention when they become a threat, who are denied equality of opportunity and life chances, and with whom the churches have little or no contact (Para 13.94).*

*It is difficult to exaggerate how **alienated** these young people are: from adult ideas of how young people should behave; from their peers of different social classes; from agencies they think of as acting on adult's behalf and not usually in the interests of young people. (Para 13.95).*

*Elsewhere in our Report we examine the symptoms and causes of the apparent breakdown of order in UPAs - such as the changing patterns of family life, the anonymity of the large city, the design of local authority housing estates, the conflict between the pressures of advertising and the reality of having little cash in your pocket. Alienation - the making of people, not least young people, to feel themselves to be outsiders - is from a particular **order** that is felt to be unresponsive and uncaring (Para 13.98).*

Thus in 1985 were the well-known arguments rehearsed. In 1991, in Meadowell, Elswick and Scotswood, they were still too relevant. In too many places things have become worse, the degree of alienation is deeper, with memories of parents or even grandparents in work receding further into the past, and affecting younger and younger age-groups. I hear of parents speaking of having lost their children to the 'street-culture' at the age of six. Someone commented to me the other day about a particular estate - 'the first thing you must remember about this estate is that it is a criminal sub-culture'. He stressed that he was not being judgmental by the use of the word criminal, only descriptive of a situation in which life is governed by a different set of rules from the rest of society. Nor is that set of rules adopted out of any necessarily conscious desire not to conform, but more because in many ways it is the one which makes most sense out of the situation.

Someone expressed the hope a day or so after the first disturbances on the Meadowell estate, that the lives of the people there would soon return to normality. It raised for me very sharply the question of what is normal in that context or who defines normality in our society? Is eighty percent unemployment normality?

A colleague who observed the disturbances at first hand was conscious himself of a curious sense of excitement - a world, drab in the extreme for most of the time was suddenly alive. A young person was reported by a newspaper as saying that there was a moment when he had this tremendous sense of power, as if he could do anything. And one of the first uses of this new-found power was to hit out at the police as representatives of a society in which the everyday world denies them any power, and whose task is to control them on behalf of that society.

None of that is in any way to condone the violence. Evil was certainly present in those events. Evil in individuals, but evil too which is the result of too many years of poor housing, of stressed living conditions and haphazard family life, and evil in the rest of us for allowing such conditions to prevail.

The Church's presence in the most deprived areas of our cities, whether through the traditional parish church or through community projects, meant that it found itself very much involved in supporting and caring for people affected by last September's disturbances. There were many comments however to the effect that what had happened then was only like compressing the normal events of a week into twenty four hours. In that sense while the media circus has moved away, little has changed for the people concerned, and the work with those people which was going on before continues day by day.

But while the churches have always had this presence, the above quotation from Faith in the City is a reminder that nevertheless large numbers of the population, especially young people, have remained alienated from the Church. In the last seven years since the publication of the Report, a number of initiatives have been taken which reflect some of the principles of the Report itself.

First, there is a strong emphasis on finding ways of getting alongside people in UPAs in order to build confidence and enable people to speak for themselves and help themselves. Second, there has been encouragement to the churches to work in partnership with others. Third, there has been the recognition of the need to work at different levels, using the experience on the ground to speak with those locally, regionally and nationally whose decisions affect the lives of those in UPAs.

The Cedarwood Centre on the Meadowell Estate is a good example of the first two of these strands. In fact it predates Faith in the City by some five years. It came into being as a partnership between North Tyneside Council and the Diocese of Newcastle. Its main thrust was to establish a presence on the estate from which the church and to some extent other local agencies had become alienated. Four council houses knocked into one provided a home initially for two workers, who were to live on site, and offered a meeting point for people in that community. Although there were many rough periods in the earlier years, the Centre is now an established part of the life of the Estate, the three workers well integrated into its networks. Over the years it has been engaged in a variety of activities, credit

union, food coop, and womens writing group being three of the most notable. One consistent strand has been work with parents and children, while in the last eighteen months one of the workers has been wholly engaged with young people on the estate.

This last piece of work now claims significant contact with ninety children and young people a week, aged from five to eighteen. The base of the work is activity of various kinds, much of it involving taking young people off the estate in mini-buses. They would say that these activities achieve two main objectives. In the first instance they are allowing young people to see different places physically and to help them to use the different gifts and abilities which are locked up in them. It is trying to help people to see what is possible and what they are capable of. Secondly, the sessions provide a context for forming relationships between young people and the workers. Because of the rootedness of the Cedarwood Centre in the community, the workers are at pains to communicate that this is not just a job to them, but part of what their lives are. There has been a growing involvement of parents in the work, mainly so far around the younger children, with mothers and fathers going on residential weekends as helpers. Sessional workers also, have been largely from the estate, and another important element is the development of a training scheme in playwork to try to encourage people on the estate to take more responsibility for their own young people. The growth of relationships between workers and young people has led to an increasing amount of one-to-one work, and to advocacy for young people in times of difficulty. The latter has not always been accepted with open arms by social services, though in other aspects of its work, the development of alternative to custody packages, for example, the project has worked closely with social services.

This work illustrates well the first two of the principles referred to above. It is concerned not only to get alongside people in this situation, but to understand the sub-culture from the inside without being judgmental about it, so as to best see how to help people cope with its pressures and use the resources which they possess to the best advantage. It is a process full of tensions, for by showing people different possibilities and different value systems, there is the danger of alienating them from the culture out of which they grew without providing the capacity to leave it behind. It is also about encouraging a style of working collaboratively, across generations and between different agencies and groupings. A distinctive contribution of the churches is that they can claim a certain neutrality and independence. They are not the servant of any particular interest group, whether that be the local authority, or social services or the local community. Of course that often means living with difficult tensions, but it can be a useful tool in helping groups to stand in the shoes of those whom they feel to be in opposition to them.

In the last five years, often with the stimulus of money from the Church Urban Fund, a number of pieces of work on Tyneside, and hundreds throughout the country based on similar principles, have developed.

Excellent though much of this work is, and its effect on the lives of those individuals which it touches must not be underestimated, the message of the disturbances of last September is that it is powerless in the face of the huge economic and political forces which shape our lives. No amount of new community centres or provision for young people replaces the need for employment, and for finding ways in which everyone can take more responsibility for creating a more just society in which all feel they have some share. This is why it is of crucial importance for the churches to continue to address these issues with government at local and national level.

There are two closely related areas, around the words regeneration and partnerships, where I believe particular questions should be pressed. First, regeneration. Increasingly over the last decade, a consensus view has emerged which sees the problem of our cities as fundamentally an economic one (Robson 1988 p 60). It is a view which, as I have indicated above, I believe to have some force behind it. But on this view social regeneration is inevitably secondary to economic regeneration, distributing the cake which has already been baked. Some feel that the trickle down theories linked with this approach are discredited by the growing divisions between rich and poor in our society and world. It is also the case that the alienation which is experienced in places such as Meadowell or Scotswood is as political in its content as it is economic. While therefore it is very clear that without economic solutions nothing else can happen, we also need to give much more attention to the development of the quality of life and sense of shared responsibility for society in all local communities. Long term economic effectiveness may only prove possible if more of the people feel that they are involved in it and deriving some benefit from it. This may mean putting much more energy into devising better means of consultation and participation by people in communities than exist at the moment.

The churches, alongside others, need always to ask questions about who stands to benefit, and who to lose out from any proposed programme of regeneration.

Secondly, partnership. Partnership is in danger of becoming a fashionable slogan, which obscures the really hard work which has to go into building the understanding and trust which is essential in true partnerships, and the willingness to accept the vulnerability which is often demanded. The concept is often linked with economic regeneration. Phrases such as in tune with business and community needs and aspirations trip off the tongue, but they need careful scrutiny. Can business and community be linked in that way? Which community are we talking about, who identifies the needs and aspirations, which community is listened to? Further, if participation by local people in the decisions which affect them is one of the marks of democracy, partnerships can bypass that process. If it is said that the local community is represented on a partnership body, what reality does this representation have in relation to the variety of local communities? Where does the existence of such a body place the elected representatives?

Collaborative working, working in partnership, addressing issues in an integrated and coordinated fashion is from the churches point of view an important principle. The growing trend in this respect, the Meadowell Initiative, Scotswood Area Strategy, and the City Challenges are to be welcomed in this respect. But there are a number of questions to be asked in practice, if their full potential is to be realised, and the voices of all parties, which must include young people, are to be heard and valued.

There is a final point to be made in this area about being realistic. Being down to earth, being prepared to work with what is in front of you in order to seek to renew it, is a crucial aspect of the Christian vision to which I referred at the outset. When the urge to generate economic confidence slips into unrealistic optimism, it needs to be tempered by an approach which is based on reasonable hope, absolutely realistic about the situation in which we find ourselves, and intent on finding a properly sustainable development which takes as many people with it as possible.

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# POPULAR FRONT

*Why is popular music so popular?*

**JOHN ASTLEY**

In 1979 I wrote a study on 'The Beatles Phenomenon'. My aim was to write something on popular music that broke out of the stranglehold of existing forms of texts. On the one hand there were academic writings of social scientists and ethnomusicologists which were worthy but invariably boring. These were not usually charac terized by the enthusiasm of 'the fan'.

On the other hand there was pop ephemera; glossy, superficial and trivialising books about 'the greats' their life and times. This latter category of books perpetuated the idea of the impenetrable myths and mysteries surrounding popular music and musicians.

My study fell somewhere between the two. What I wanted to explain, or at least establish an explanatory framework for, was how a socio-cultural phenomenon like 'The Beatles' could actually happen in Britain in the early 1960s. In order to develop this explanatory framework, I sketched a contextual picture of post-war Liverpool, of debates on British youth culture and considered other 'cultural products' of the post-war years which self-consciously articulated a view of what 'our lives' were like.

This has been a familiar theme in other writers on culture in post-war Britain. (Williams 1958; Hoggart 1957; Seabrook 1985).

The main inspiration for my writing was the work of Raymond Williams. This was particularly evident in my adoption and adaptation of his ideas about the role of human cultural creativity as a means of deflecting the undesirable aspects of social life, of making a statement about individual and collective identity, and pointing to ways in which things might be changed.

Since 1979 the influence of the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies in Birmingham, along with the International Association for the Study of Popular Music, has had a beneficial and liberating affect. The effect of some of this type of activity has been to put sociological theorising firmly at the centre of writing, but within a context that has acknowledged the writer as fan and the audience for this writing as literate, musically sophisticated and self-consciously engaged in an on-going debate about the semi-autonomy of culture from the routines of everyday life and our conformity to role performance etc.

Recent writing has tried to make 'the text' accessible to non music or social science specialists, while at the same time attempting to lift the level of discussion above the mundane and patronisingly low brow.

Popular musics are important to human beings both individually and collectively. People engage in creating, producing, performing and listening to musics because they have meanings for those people. Musics and associated lifestyles are encountered, interacted with and engaged in part because people want to join an identity group and/or create it. We turn to music, in an endless variety of ways with considerable diversity in the processes and products of that action and creativity, because we think *and feel* that it is of value.

The social structure of everyday life over time is a formation that reflects social differentiation and inequalities in power. The social institutions that go to make up the social structure; including community; are essentially creators and carriers, representations and reproducers of this inequality. Culture, the lived experience and creative activity of human beings is both pro-active and reactive in regard to the social structure. Indeed culture can be regarded as the way(s) in which social groups, and individuals within these groupings, come to account for their place in the social structure and realise their hopes, aspirations and expectations.

Modernism has always contained within its project the emancipation of the individual from the constraints and limitations of such group memberships, which in turn has encouraged human beings to develop culture in order to say something about their needs and transcend their problems. Modernism and modernists have always reflected these contradictions while keeping firmly in place the utopian aspirations to change things and transform social relations into an equitable condition. Postmodern thinking and action seeks to heighten the contradictions inherent in the modernist project and point to ways in which culture has in fact become autonomous, or semi-autonomous from social structure.

Culture, especially 'popular cultures'; or the culture of the great heterogeneous masses of people living in all their diversity; has become increasingly the vehicle via which reconciliations and confrontations with social structure are realised. Neither a simple conflict in everything, nor consensus in everything conceptualisation of everyday life is an accurate assessment of how people live today. The pessimism of some analysts about the lack of consciousness about oppression, repression, alienation or dominance is as equally inappropriate as the idealist utopianism of those who say that a world dominated by ideology, fantasy and myth has come to an end.

Postmodern thinking is essentially a focus upon the regenerative value of culture that does in one way or another, heighten the tensions in the social structure, in society. It is in analysing these ways and forms of cultural action that our analysis should progress so that we may both understand social action and measure its success and/or failure in transforming society in order that fundamental human needs are addressed.

To conceptualise culture in this way refers to the lived experience of people, it is the creative, created, worked-on product of our existence and our reflection upon that existence. However, it is important to stress that people do not usually regard this culture in an abstract way; it is in fact normal life (even 'natural'), everyday 'culture', routine, taken for granted. We tend to only recognise 'culture' as specific products. For every cultural 'product', we must in turn ask questions about the conditions of its formation over time in relation to other developments and in relation to the social structure which itself of course is changing, moving through historical transformations.

Culture is a process. It can be regarded as the field of interaction between i) people's social relationships and conventions, ii) the symbolic form available to them for focusing on and coordinating experience and iii) their systems of belief, values and action.

Within sociology it is common-place to discuss 'youth' as a social construction. What people thus conceptualising and acknowledging here is that the idea of youth has been created via the inter-relation of changes in the social structure (especially since 1945) and cultural action by many agents, not least actual young people themselves. However, what is particularly interesting here is the existence of a youth culture that has endured throughout the ebbs and flows of the social structure. Young people themselves (and in some measure those that advocate a more socially just life for the young) constantly return to the idea of a youth culture as a way and form, through processes and products, of opening up discourses about human needs in the face of persistent inequalities of both material resources and power. Yes of course the actual material conditions of each new generation of young people produces alienation and the conditions for praxis, but both cultural inheritance and cultural creativity, embracing as they do the 'idea' of youth and youth culture, drives that political process.

One key aspect to many debates regards the commercial exploitation of popular music. We live in a society, a world, where the growth of means of communication has given us considerable access to a vast array of cultural products. However, we may have doubts about the motives of entrepreneurs, we may be cynical about musicians use of commerce for their own engrandisement, we may feel that while half of us is 'stuffed to death', the other half of us is 'starved to death'.

As a sociologist I am orientated to the study of popular music in a number of ways which reflect the general sociological agenda. For example, I am interested in social and cultural groups, the reasons for their existence and the nature of group membership. We live in ends and means societies. Life in modern society is characterised by a more specific identification with aims and goals, with ends. Individually and collectively we seek means to achieve the ends we desire. Human beings organise themselves in various ways that we feel will enable us to achieve the ends we want. By and large human beings know about the necessity to engage in these social activities as part of their learning about life. Their socialisation experience leads them to comprehend the means that are available or might be devised to achieve ends. Musics are firmly part of these social and cultural processes. We seek membership of certain social groups in order to develop some aspects of ourselves or pursue some desired goal. We help create or shape social groups when necessary in order to achieve this. Such membership can and does confer identity and allows us, individually and collectively, to express something of who we are, and what we desire.

Our motivations are invariably demonstrated through our musical sociability. We are at one and the same time, carriers, reservoirs even, *and* creators, of music cultures. These cultures are an aspect of our way of life-style. Our engagement with these social and cultural groups may not be the sole activity of our lives; our roles in everyday society are far more diverse than that amidst the complexity of modern life. But the significance of our engagement with such cultures will be considerable, for example it could clearly affect our presentation of self, the basis for our encounters and interactions with others and the extent to which we feel truly human.
However, it is quite apparent that the value placed upon the existence of certain social and cultural groups organised for musical aims, or importantly associated with music, varies considerably. The value of such

social and cultural activity is contested. Indeed one factor that is a key to understanding these contested terrains is the inequality of power in our society which confers on some people the ability to apportion value to human activity that may elevate or denigrate.

One of my aims as a sociologist is to understand why and how people come to *celebrate* certain musics very existence and their engagement with it. One sociological perspective on this would be the idea that culture as a process and product of human creativity is an antidote to alienation. Alienation is the sense that our own abilities as human beings are taken over by other, powerful, entities. This is crucially seen in relation to individuals and social groups securing their physical and spiritual survival and prosperity. The concept has been developed very much in the shadow of Marx's arguments about the loss of control on the part of workers over the labour task and over the products of their labour. People labour by hand and by brain in order to survive and prosper, but control of this personal and collective aspect of humanity was/is appropriated by others for their own ends.

There are questions here about the way ideology represents the nature of human affairs as if these were the only ways to organise labour and stratify the population.

Human beings do use musics to say something about their condition; physically and spiritually; musics are used as a means of reflecting upon and speculating about everyday life and possible routes to salvation, freedom, happiness etc. Part of our cultural activity is to demonstrate to ourselves and others that life is hard and sweet and that utopias are a necessary goal that are bound up in the myths and realities about ourselves and others.

One concern here is the set of relationships that exist around the properties and the qualities of the popular musics conventionally used in modern Britain. For example, many more people listen to music, than buy 'records'. Many more people listen to music than make music. Music has always been made by human beings, it has been part of an oral and aural tradition and even since musical composition has been noted-down, allowing for greater circulation, the increase in music composers and 'readers' has been small relative to our population. It is certainly a set of skills that are very class based. In general terms the working classes in Britain have composed or 'read' music (for performance say) more than they have written 'literature' or 'drama' - although quite clearly their consumption of the latter has increased enormously. For the vast majority of people their engagement with music takes the form of actions related to listening, buying, discussing the music, dancing to it and increasingly, performance.

But even here, performance is a minority activity. Schoolchildren 'learn' music, mainly performance and appreciation, just as they learn drawing and painting and reading and writing. But in all of these creative activities the learning and doing stops for most people well before adulthood. Youth led involvement with popular musics has always been very much a 'do-it-yourself' phenomenon. Even here though a high proportion of middle class young people have shaped the music, lifestyles etc. (Frith, 1987). Fortunately some people are able, or encouraged, to develop their creativity.

One of the most socially challenging aspects of popular musics in Britain since the 1950s has seen the notion that musical creativity was accessible to 'anyone'. I say challenging because it is clear that continued control over musical production and dissemination is still an important issue in modern Britain. One of the cultural strengths of successive generations of post-war British youth (as elsewhere) has seen their desire to create and consume their own musics, often 'outside' of the aesthetic norms and commercial nexus of their time. The debate about 'grounded aesthetics' is important here. The idea that processes - the doing - is as or more valuable than the revering of established, acceptable music.

Power and values certainly enter into our musical lives. If we usually consume popular music in particular ways - say by listening to recordings or via broadcasting, is this more or less likely to encourage us to 'make music' ourselves? The evidence would suggest not. Most people seem content (?) to consume music in these conventional or even commonsense ways, without taking any action that would make them creators or performers of music. Indeed, per head of population, we are less engaged in creating and performing music in modern society than were our preindustrial ancestors. Why is this? Is it perhaps because, like so many other aspects of human creativity, the role we have been allocated and taken has inexorably shifted from production to consumption? Is it directly in the interests of powerful forces in our society to keep most of us away from production or at least committed to consumption?

One thing is clear here and that is the cultivated role of 'fan' has an essential part to perform in the maintenance of consumption. What fan would deny eagerly embarking on the process of consuming the latest product from their favourites?

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Frith, S. and Horne, H. (1987) *Art into Pop.*
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# ... IN SHORT ...

*BENEFITS*

Up-ratings for most Social Security and NI benefits occurred in April 1992. A major change involved the replacement of Mobility Allowance and Attendance Allowance with a new benefit called Disability Living Allowance (for people under 65 in the case of AA). A change also occurred in the amounts deducted from housing benefit awards where non dependents live with the claimant.

### *Disability Living Allowance*

The qualifying time for DLA is 3 months with special conditions to ease claiming for the terminally ill. The waiting time for Attendance Allowance was 6 months. Transitional arrangements for people who claimed between February and April 1992 are in place but CPAG has reported some adverse decision against claimants who were worse off under the old regulations but who could not claim under new regulations until April 1992. Top allowances are available. Payments for children who qualify for the new benefit have also changed since the new benefit awards the care component to children in their own right. *(Source: Rights Guide to Non Means Tested Benefits 1992/93, CPAG, Eds R. Poynter and C. Martin).*

### *Housing Benefit*

Four scales for non dependent deductions were brought into force in April 1992. The four scales replace two which were in force 1991-92 and earlier. The scales relate to the non-dependent's income and not to the income of the claimant.

| New Scales | | Old Scales | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *Incomes of:* | | | |
| £130+ pw | = £18.00 | Gross £62.15+ | = £13.50 |
| £100-129.99 | = £12.00 | Less than £62.15 | = £5.70 |
| £65-£99.99 | = £8.00 | | |
| under £65 | = £4.00 | | |

*(Source: Welfare Rights Bulletin, No 108, June 1992, CPAG)*

### *Social Fund*

A report from the Social Security Advisory Committee (SSAC) has yet again criticised the operation and nature of the Social Fund. The SSAC has argued for reform consistently since the Social Fund was introduced. The report sets out criticisms concerning scale rates, targeting and maintains that a need exists for more non-cash limited budgets. Although the SSAC does not reject the principle of retaining cash limited budgets where appropriate, payments under the Social Fund should be excepted. *(Source: The Social Security Advisory Committee. The Social Fund: A new Structure. HMSO 1992).*

### *Social Fund Inspectorate*

Decisions by Social Fund Inspectors suggest that claimants who persist with reviews ('Appeals') stand more than a 50% chance of winning. *(Source: Welfare Rights Bulletin, No 108, June 1992, CPAG, ISSN 0263-2098).*

*CENSUS*

### *1991 Census (Small Area Statistics)*

1991 Census statistics will be going out to most regions by August/September 1992. Met Boroughs and some counties are gearing themselves up to produce bulletins or other accessible forms of local statistics.

*CCT*

A report by the Institute of Public Finance discusses the success of competitive tendering. Contracting has increased in local authorities since it was first introduced in 1988. One fifth of local authorities have contracted out at least 3 services. Private sector contracts are now worth £2 billion a year. However, the report shows that private companies were most successful bidding for smaller contracts. *(Source: Guardian, P 18, June 2, 1992)*

*CHILDREN*

### *Child Support Act*

Under the new Act, to be phased in from 1993, couples going through divorce must make maintenance payment arrangements for children. At present there are no fixed rates. Rates will be assessed by a child support agency within the Department of Social Security. *(Source: The Independent, p 22, 30 May 1992)*

### *Children with Disabilities*

A report by Robinah Shah for the National Children's Bureau shows that children with disabilities in Asian families are not receiving the services they are entitled to. The report examines the experiences of Asian parents whose children have special needs but where the perceptions of service providers about other cultures mitigate against children's equal access to services. *(Source: The Silent Majority: Children with Disabilities in Asian Families, Robinah Shah, National Children's Bureau, 1992, £10.95).*

*COMMUNITY CARE*

From April 1993, local authorities (Social Services Departments) will be responsible for assessing the needs of mentally ill, disabled and elderly people and for arranging care packages. More money has been pledged by Secretary of State, Virginia Bottomley. *(Source: Guardian, EG, 12 May 1992).*

### *Care - Girls in Care*

A report by Leeds University of 183 young people from 3 local authorities shows that Councils are failing to provide sex education and family planning to young people in residential care. One in ten young mothers are homeless and about 75% of care-leavers have no educational qualifications compared to a national average of 11%. Ten thousand young people leave care every year. *(Source: The Times (News in Brief) July 6, 1992).*

*EDUCATION*

### *Conflicts in Opt-Out Schools*

A Leicester University survey of heads, governors and teachers of the first 100 grant maintained schools suggests that governors are more powerful than teachers and heads had anticipated. The new Association of Heads for Grant Maintained Schools is calling for a code of guidance to protect heads. The report will be published next Easter. *(Source: The Times, July 6, 1992).*

*EUROPE*

### *Benefits*

France is finding its unemployment benefit system, Unedic, under strain because of rising unemployment. Employers and trade unions are currently trying to reach a compromise to avoid the system collapsing completely. France is the latest of the member states to be experiencing this problem. *(Source: Financial Times, 24 June 1992, p 3)*

### *Education*

An Overseas Students Trust report, published on 12 June, states that the education and training implications of the single European market have not been prepared for.

Provision for language learning and training needs to be begun in primary school and fluency in another European language should be given priority at university level and in business. *(Source: Times Educational Supplement, 12 June 1992, p 14)*

*Presidency*

Britain's six month presidency of the European Community commenced on 1 July. Britain has an enormous strategic advantage argues the Times. *(Source: The Times, July 1, 1992, p 15)*

*Voluntary Organisations*

A report published by the NCVO sets out the problems which will face the voluntary sector as a result of the processes of the single market. The biggest threat involves an EC draft Directive to curb unsolicited mail. For voluntary organisations this includes mail shots. Tax relief on 'give as you earn' schemes may also be affected. *(Source: Changing Europe, Challenges Facing the Voluntary Sector and Community Sectors in the 1990s, S Baine, J Bennington and J Russell, NCVO 1992. £7.95).*

The European Commission is preparing a questionnaire for governments and voluntary sector networks across the EEC to identify the needs of voluntary organisations and barriers that affect them in the single market. *(Source: Guardian, 18 June 1992).*

*Women*

WISE, Women's International Studies Europe, is a recently founded European network which aims to facilitate exchanges amongst students and staff engaged in women's studies throughout the EEC. *(Source: Local Europe, No 2, 1 July 1992, p 3, London Research Centre).*

*HEALTH*

The British Dental Association voted not to accept any new NHS patients after threats by the government to cut fees. Virginia Bottomley, Health Secretary, indicated that the government would go ahead with plans to cut fees to dentists for NHS patients by 7% and that it would hire more 'salaried' dentists if necessary. *(Source: The Times, July 7, 1992).*

*HOUSING*

*Avoiding Homelessness*

A Housing Education Worker will be appointed in Yorkshire to work across the county's schools. The objective is to provide young people with information on the perils of homelessness. The new worker will be based at Sheffield Polytechnic, Department of Urban and Regional Studies. *(Source: The Times, July 3 1992)*

*Rural Homelessness*

Research by Bristol University's School for Advanced Urban Studies for the Rural Development Commission, provides the best indications so far of the extent of homelessness in the British countryside. At least 14, 590 people are officially homeless in rural areas. The report emphasises that the actual figure is likely to be much higher since evidence exists of extensive hidden homelessness. *(Source: Homelessness in Rural Areas: Rural Development Commission, 1992. £12.95).*

*Stamp Duty*

Despite pleas by Tory MPs, stamp duty will be re-introduced on 19 August 1992. *(Source: The Times, July 8, 1992).*

*LAW*

*Plea Bargaining*

John Taylor, newly appointed parliamentary secretary to the Lord Chancellor's Department, said in an interview with the Times newspaper that plea bargaining would be acceptable as part of a package to cut Legal Aid costs to the taxpayer. Other measures could include standard fees, extending franchising, introducing national standards for magistrates courts and more pretrial reviews. *(Source: The Times, July 1 1992, p 2).*

*Rights of Young People*

A teenage girl lost her High Court battle to refuse force feeding. The judges heard arguments under the 1969 Family Law Reform Act which inferred that young people between 16 and 18 could refuse medical or surgical treatment. John Samuels QC, for the local authority which has care of the girl, asked the judges to declare that the act confers no rights per se on adolescents. *(Source: The Times, July 2 1992).*

*SPORT*

The British Medical Association agreed to seek a ban on schoolboy boxing at its conference on July 7. The BMA has been trying to end professional boxing since 1982 after evidence emerged that boxers suffered irreparable damage. Amateur boxing is now being viewed by doctors in a similar way. *(Source: The Times, July 8 1992).*

*TRAINING*

The British Government plans to spend £2.7m on training/enterprise and vocational education in 1992. Employers are estimated to spend around £20b a year on training and development in addition. Over 85% more employees received training in the spring of 1990 compared to a similar period 6 years ago. *(Source: Social Europe. First Report on the Application of the Community Charter of the Fundamental Rights of Workers, Commission of the European Communities, 1/92, 1992, Luxembourg.)*

*WAGES COUNCILS*

Ministers will introduce measures to abolish Wages Councils which set the pay rate for 2.5m workers. A new employment bill will be debated in the Commons after the summer recess. *(Source: The Times, July 1 1992)*

*YOUTH WORK - Judicial Review Attempt Fails*

Warwickshire Council's decision to go ahead with budget cuts to its youth service was upheld by High Court Judge Mr. Justice Pill. Youth worker, Leonard Mackin, was denied leave to take his case against the Council to a higher court for a full judicial review. His case rested on the alleged breach by the Council of its statutory duty. Judge Pill agreed that the cuts were, however, 'substantial'. Warwickshire intends to cut the youth service budget from £1.42m to £758,000.

*BILLS IN PROGRESS*

**Community Care (residential homes) Bill** - Committee Stage - House of Commons.

**Finance Bill** - remaining stages - House of Lords

**Civil Service (Management Functions Bill)** - Committee Stage - House of Commons.

*Other Parliamentary Business*

*July 6 1992*

(H of C) **Debates on Labour motions on recession in industry and government failure to contain BSE.**

(H of L) **Debate on runaway children.**

*July 10/11 1992*

(H of C) **Private member's motion on education of people with special needs.**

# YOUTH AND POLICY

## CONTRIBUTORS

***Kay Adamson*** teaches Sociology at the University of Sunderland.
***John Astley*** is Lecturer in Sociology and Social Policy at Oxford College. He is acting chair of the Youth Council for the East and South of Oxford.
***Dr Shane Blackman*** is currently a Research Fellow in the Department of Educational Studies, University of Surrey. He has published papers on youth culture and style, youth training and vocational education.
***Bernard Davies*** is Youth Officer (Training) with the Sheffield Youth Service and author of Threatening Youth: Towards a national youth policy (Open University Press).
***Jan Laurens Hazekamp*** teaches at the University of Amsterdam.
***Tony Jeffs*** teaches in the Department of Applied Social Studies at Newcastle Polytechnic.
***Patrick Jordan*** is a youth worker at the Waveney Youth Centre, Ballymena.
***Neil Kendra*** is a member of the Community and Youth Studies Dept at St Martin's College, Lancaster.
***Bob Langley*** is a Canon at St. Nicholas' Cathedral, Newcastle upon Tyne. He works throughout the diocese of Newcastle encouraging links between the church and their communities.
***Deborah Marshall*** is a Probation Officer with Northumbria Probation Service.
***Andy Nelson*** is presently External Relations Officer for Manchester Adult Education Service. He has a background in youth work, neighbourhood work and teaching.
***Lionel van Reenen*** is a tutor in Community and Youth Work, Goldsmiths' College, London.
***Debra Roker*** is a Research Associate at the Social and Applied Psychology Unit at the University of Sheffield. She is currently working on a study which is comparing the outcomes of private and state education.
***John Tierney*** is Director of Studies (Criminal Justice), New College, Durham.

Youth and Policy would like to apologise for the omission of *Chris* ***Philpps*** name in Issue 37 of Youth and Policy. Janet Ford *and* Chris Philpps co-wrote the article entitled 'Young Adults Use of Credit' published in that issue.

## SUBMISSION DETAILS

Material for the journal, including correspondence, is welcomed within our stated editorial aims.

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