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IMPORTANT NOTICE

YOUNG WOMEN AND COMMUNITY SAFETY

JENNY PEARCE AND E. STANKO

Introduction

This paper argues that the role young women play in creating or alleviating the fear of crime has been overlooked within community safety discourses leaving gaps in established theory and practice on the gendered nature of the fear and control of crime.

Most community safety initiatives either assume young women to be victims in need of protection from male abuse and violence; to be a stable influence on disruptive boys, or assume a convergence between male and female crime, seeing offending girls as behaving like boys. The complex ways that young women maintain or disrupt community safety remain unidentified, leaving gaps in the development of practice initiatives which aim to create safer neighbourhoods that are inclusive of young women. The requirement specified within The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 that local councils work with the Police and others to conduct and publish an audit of local crime and disorder within their area is part of a recent focus on the relationship between crime prevention and community safety. As The Act embraces, rather than excludes 'disorder' within crime prevention discourses, crime reduction and community safety strategies are seen as synonymous (Hough and Tilley 1998:5). If these strategies perpetuate gender blind policy and practice, young women will continue to be excluded from or misrepresented by community safety audits and their resulting interventions.

Gender and Community Safety

During the 1990s Britain has seen a burgeoning community safety industry with initiatives developing under the umbrella of 'crime prevention'. A growing security industry accompanies these developments with a plethora of surveillance cameras, locking systems, high rise fencing and specially trained security guards being sold to 'protect' private and public domains. Running in parallel to these developments there has been an increasing awareness within policy and practice of the importance of preventing 'at risk' groups of young people from committing offences.

This onus on prevention comes from a disillusionment with punitive treatment methods such as the 'prison works' ethos of the 1980s and early 1990s, and through a recognition that the experience of crime and disorder permeates beyond the binary oppositional categories of victim and offender (Pitts 1998). Findings from British Crime Surveys note that irrespective of the actual crime rate, many people's fear of crime has a significant impact on the way they live their lives (Hope 1996, Mirrlees-Black et al 1998). Acknowledging the impact of the fear of

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crime on the community, The Home Office Standing Conference on Crime Prevention made overt the need for 'local' arrangements to include local people through partnership arrangements with agencies representing all sections of the community. 'The Morgan Report 1991' saw Local Authorities as having a central role in co-ordinating this multi-agency work to prevent crime within their communities. In respect to youth crime, the concentration on local consultation was reflected in the Audit Commission Report (1996) 'Misspent Youth' which advocated that agencies work together to focus not only on the behaviour and attitudes of young people who had offended but also on the circumstances, both personal, educational and social, of those who may be 'at risk' of offending or who are in the very early stages of their criminal careers. Multi-agency work between those in touch with young people at risk of offending was to be a key strategy within the youth crime prevention endeavour. It was to focus on broader community issues such as family factors, problems at school, use of leisure time, housing, training and employment opportunities as contributors to the way young people behave within their community. The ethos behind this work, and that of Graham and Bowling (1995), a similarly influential Home Office Study of the time, was that the environment within which young people live impacts on their feelings about their community, and that this in turn has an impact on their tendency towards criminality. In line with a large body of research, the argument places weight on the need for improvement of the environment and opportunities for youth as a means of deterring them from crime and for enhancing the overall feeling of community safety. The work of Hope (1997) and Pitts (1997, 1998) supports the argument that crime, and the fear of crime is more concentrated in pockets of inner city areas that are characterised by poor employment and training opportunities for the unskilled workforce; high numbers of school exclusions; recent demographic change; and poor housing. In such areas, petty and violent crime implodes upon its own local neighbourhood. Analysis of the British Crime Surveys shows that it is indeed those who are most likely to be victims of crime who are living in close proximity with those most likely to perpetrate crime (Hope 1996, Mirrlees-Black et al 1998), the latter of whom remain within a criminal career for longer than expected as they find few alternatives for 'growing out of crime' (Rutherford 1992).

Without wanting to excuse the young offender, and while still placing importance on youth taking responsibility for their actions, the work of Graham and Bowling (1995) and Misspent Youth (1996) argued that interventions directed towards preventing crime and enhancing community safety must consider environmental, personal and social pressures alongside individualised cognitive and behavioural therapies. These arguments have informed much of the thinking behind some of

the initiatives outlined within The Crime and Disorder Act 1998 that Local Authorities work in partnership with local agencies to undertake an Audit on Local Crime and Disorder. However, these interventions still tend to rely on statistical evidence which perpetuates distinct binary oppositions between victims and perpetrators of crime, with more young men committing offences than young women (NACRO1997), and more young women running away from home because they have been victims of violence and abuse (Barter 1996, Centrepoint, 1997). This re-enforces a popular image that boys act out their troublesome masculinity on the street, while girls watch passively or run away (Pearce 1995, 1996). While highlighting the essential need for an increase in support for the many young and adult women who are experiencing violence both in and out of home (Stanko 1998), and for appropriate interventions to support 'marginalised, disaffected and disadvantaged young men' (Edwards 1998: 12), the apparent binary opposition between passive female victim and active male perpetrator needs questioning. The distinction is problematic because it fails to accommodate the complex ways that the face of the male perpetrator is constructed and because it underestimates the role that young women can have in creating or upholding public order and disorder.

While we need to be cautious of underestimating the roles that young women can play in creating or disturbing community safety, we similarly need to be wary of overestimating the impact that they can have, attributing them with having control over community safety and stability. Campbell's insightful study of the inner city riots of the early 1990s argues that women can be central to facilitating the smooth running of everyday lives on and around the streets and estates (Campbell 1993). In her analysis of 'women on Merseyside' Campbell quotes a local woman who aimed to prevent the escalation of trouble that was being caused through boys and men joy riding on local streets and estates.

It's only women who do things. Very few men ever come to meetings, anything that gets done round here is done by women (Campbell 1993: 144)

Campbell goes on to analyse the role that women played in helping to restructure the communities that were disrupted through the riots, showing that women have an important role to play in keeping a cohesive community together. The intricacies of such work reveal the knowledge that women do hold of local community politics, politics which invariably start within the home and extend out onto the street. To ignore the fact that women, and young women do hold such knowledge, information, power and responsibility would be naive and insulting. It is easy however, to romanticise about adult and young women as stable consolidators

who are ready and able to resolve conflict. The fact that young women are attributed with the dubious privilege of creating a stable influence which helps boys to 'grow out of crime' (Rutherford 1992) can idealise young women as peace makers and crime breakers. Through such imagery and romanticism, the young woman herself is lost as an individual capable of disturbing as well as consolidating family and social relations.

As suggested above, if young women are recognised at all within community safety debates, they are either seen as victims, polarised against the male perpetrators of crime, or as stabilisers able to correct community conflict. While both analyses may be accurate within some contexts, they are too simplistic to be applied literally, and can underestimate young women's sense of agency and the role they can and do play in creating safe or unsafe neighbourhoods. Before moving into a description of three examples from ethnographic research which aim to illustrate this point, it is important to identify one final consideration: that young women who do offend or who disturb community safety should not be seen as adopting a male persona: acquiring 'masculine' traits. As feminists have already argued, when young women do offend or present as a public nuisance they are invariably condemned, not only for the offence but for transgressing from the passive, peace keeping feminine role expected of them (Gelsthorpe and Morris 1990). This prevents a detailed analysis of the established important work of writers such as Bakare-Yusuf (1997); Butler 1998; Campbell (1991); Dwyer (1998); Griffin (1993); McRobbie (1994); Ruddick (1998); Walkerdine (1990,1997) amongst others, which show the distinct and varied cultures, subcultures and behaviours upheld by young women. Feminist work has argued that young women's needs, interests and activities can be accounted for in their own right. This is not a new argument. Campbell's ethnographic research into the 'girls in the gang' in the 1980s shows that some young women do engage with organised street life, not in a way that mirrors or copies young men but in a way that meets their own needs and interests which may involve an intricate consideration of dependant children, caring roles and financial responsibilities (Campbell 1991: xi). Her thesis is that girls are not simply copying boys, and that to reduce explanations of their behaviour to this level minimises the lessons that we can learn. Within the criminal justice system, such minimalist responses result in the young woman receiving a double penalty: she has trans-gressed from law abiding behaviour as well as from her expected gender specific behaviour. The punitive treatment of the superficial image presented by the young woman as opposed to an open listening ear for her stories of trouble fails to allow her to emerge as separate from gender specific oppositional categories which narrow the vision of each of our own daily lives.

Images of young women in the public domain

This failure to listen to young women's own stories has been long accounted for as resulting from a lack of awareness and acknowledgement of the various and multi-faceted ways young women live their lives and express their developing sexual and racial identities (Back L, 1990, Back, Cohen and Keith 1999, Gilroy 1997, Lees 1986, 1993, McRobbie 1994, Prendergast and Forrest 1997). The fear of the expression of a hidden female sexuality and the resulting threat that this may bring to a 'stable' masculine world is powerful (Walkowitz 1992, Wilson 1991). At the same time, there is a reticence to appreciate the changing and shifting racial identities that cannot be condensed into simplistic 'sameness' with others (Woodward 1997). Such fears of diversity and difference contribute to constrained analysis of young women's role as actors with a potential, if not realised, sense of agency that can be exhibited on their own streets and estates.

Through spending time on many of the local streets around estates and parks it is clear that 'street activity' involves participation from young women and is more than a flow of anonymous strangers passing each other by (Keith 1995, Back, Cohen and Keith 1999). The streets that we refer to in the work described below are not places for fast moving traffic but are the stage for monotonous repetitions of daily routines. Family arguments and disputes extend themselves from within the home, onto the street and back again, with both girls and boys being active players in the daily routines. The streets or pathways within and around the local estate become an extension of the indoor hallway; but while the suburban garden prides itself on its scope for privacy, for not being 'overlooked', the city street as playground is exposed to public view and criticism. The street becomes a location for expression of difference within and between families or groups reliant upon it. Those who are 'street wise' are not only those who can hold their own against aggressors within the traffic of the public world, but are those who have gained an insight into their dependency on the street for a range of social activities: negotiating love as well as hate, looking after dependants and siblings, running messages, collecting shopping and relieving overcrowded bedroom spaces. It is this relationship with place and space that those studying the geographies of youth cultures and ecology of youth have worked to reveal. For example, Katz (1993, 1998) and Watt and Stevenson (1998) give helpful insights into the impact that young people's access to the spaces available to them can have on their developing sense of self, agency and safety.

The inner city location where the young women live

The incidents that are described below refer to three young women living on an inner city estate where the demographic make up and social and economic cir-

cumstances of the area underwent rapid change over the last decade. It has 'typical' characteristics of high crime areas as identified by Hope (1996), Pitts (1997) and Mirrlees-Black et al (1998) explained above. The area has faced particular housing problems, with overcrowding in rented accommodation being a reality for many local families. A survey completed in 1995 of 1,017 students from 14 secondary schools within the borough showed that 68% of students live in Local Authority accommodation, with three quarters of the students participating saying that they would like to move out of the area, 53% saying that they would like to move because of poor housing[1]. The education department clarifies that poverty is a constant reality for the majority of pupils attending borough schools, with 63% of pupils qualifying for free school meals.

The particular estate where the young women referred to below live has remained predominantly white, while the proportion of Bangladeshi students, housed mainly in neighbouring estates rose in the secondary schools from 16% in 1981 to 54% in 1984.

The three young women are a part of the indigenous white population who lived on this predominantly white housing estate. In 1988, the local authority began to move Bengali and Somali families onto the estate, but in small numbers so that by 1992 0.04% of the 940 dwellings were of non-white families. At the same time, in an attempt to relieve the problem of diminishing housing stock, the local authority was rehousing a number of 'disruptive' or problem tenants onto the estate (Pitts and Smith 1995:11, Pearce 1994). The few Bangladeshi and Somali residents became prime targets for expressions of anger and envy and the estate became renowned for having the highest level of recorded racial attacks in the borough (Sampson and Phillips 1992). Much of the local disturbance was attributed to one group of white boys who lived on the estate. The three young women had each been girlfriends to some of these boys and were known locally to be 'trouble makers'. The particular piece of youth work from which this material originates started in the summer of 1995 and continued to 1998. The work was then collated and written up during 1998. Although the incidents discussed below refer to events between 1996 and 1998, work continuing in the area reflects similar themes and issues emerging amongst the new generation of 15 and 16 year olds.

After identifying some of the personal and financial issues facing each of the three young women we explain how and why they were perceived to be trouble makers and how their behaviour had significant impact on feelings of safety within the area. It is important to note that these three young women are not being proposed as representative of all youth on this, or any other estate. We do, however, draw

on their experience to identify emergent themes about how young women can be involved in both disturbing and creating a feeling of community safety.

Three young women noted officially as 'Trouble'
The three young women had been identified both by the school and by local youth workers as disruptive trouble makers. They had a reputation of holding racist views, of being difficult and out of control, both within school and within local shops which often excluded them from entering. During 1994 and 1995 the school identified a concern about the three young women as their attendance was dropping off and was having a noticeably negative impact on their academic performance. The school was also concerned about the effect that the three had on other school students who either felt intimidated by their presence or who came under their 'influence': being equally disruptive and difficult towards students and staff when with them. Tactics such as separating them from each other alleviated the problem in the short term, but failed to correct their poor attendance or their actions together in the playgrounds or on local streets at break times. The three had little, if any, money of their own but saw the ownership of popular consumables such as new clothes, perfumes, personal CD players and CDs as important.

There was a pressure on the young women to have and hold a boyfriend, both to increase their access to money which was shifting between the white young men on the estate and also to illustrate conformity with the heterosexual status that was created through having a boyfriend. The young women rarely spent any of their time with the Bengali youth from surrounding estates, consolidating their own estate as territory for white youth through an allegiance with their white male 'boyfriend', counterparts. As the three young women were all failing to attend school on a regular basis, the need for status and identity outside of school became more prominent to them. They spoke of having nothing to do but wait to 'go out', 'meet my boyfriend' and 'hang around with mates'.

Qualitative research with young women
The research work involved engaging the young women to make a video which recorded where they spent their time: capturing where they go and what they do on film. The young women took the camera through the local streets and the estate, into the local shop that was the central stop off and meeting point for many of the local youth, and into the local park. Although it would be naive to have pursued objectivity within the research process (Stanley 1990), the existence of the camera provided an intermediary between Pearce as the researcher and the young women as researched. The camera became the object through which pictures of the local area were recorded. Instead of telling Pearce about the local area, the young women used the camera as the central recipient of their story. The scenes

and discussions recorded on the video were transcribed by a research assistant who had not been involved with the work until this point. Pearce then selected transcripts of conversations connected to events that she identified as of interest.

Many discussions also took place in one of the young women's bedrooms, where music was played, make up put on and different clothes tried on. Pearce recorded notes in a diary recording her own memories from conversations and activities that took place during the visits.

The contact continued intermittently over a three year period. It varied in intensity depending upon the three young women's specific circumstances and changing interests. Throughout the time of working with them, each of the three were excluded from school and subsequently intermittently attended an off site unit. Eventually they stopped attending any educational provision altogether. All spoke of youth clubs with disdain, preferring to spend time in local pubs, the local cab office and off licence.

A range of methodological questions emerge from this qualitative work. How can the validity of the material be assured as the accounts could be fabricated by the young women and do rely upon interpretation by the researcher? What impact would Pearce, seen as a 'professional' white research worker with a youth work and youth justice background have on the young women's desire to be open? Such questions about qualitative research methodologies are commonly discussed, particularly in the long standing debates regarding feminist research methodologies which challenge empirically proven objective truths, Alcoff and Potter (1993), Flax (1993), Nicholson (1990), Stanley (1990). These authors have argued that in rejecting the pursuit for absolute truths, which are themselves subjectively influenced by a dominant masculine hegemony, feminist research methods can provide valid subjective descriptions of varied and different lived experiences. Collins (1990) explores, in her discussion of subjugated knowledges of black feminist thought, the ways that narrative experience can stand on its own, being as, if not more, valid a source of knowledge than that given from statistical overview.

The concentration on individual experience need not fall into a pool of unauthorised relativism but can provide detailed insight into what Haraway has called 'situated knowledge': knowledge which recognises different perspectives from marginalised lives. Haraway argues for a 'vision' that is embodied in individual experience as opposed to one 'objectified' through an external gaze (Haraway 1991:188). The aim of recounting these narratives below is to provide some insight into the embodied experience of some young women whose behaviour has the capacity to stir or calm local trouble. Recent work taking place within the Centre for New

Ethnicities Research based at The University of East London also stresses the importance of a wide range of different ethnographic research methods for 'eliciting first person and peer group narratives that put the means of representation in young peoples own hands' (Back, Cohen and Keith 1997:7). Within this and the work outlined below there is an appreciation of the need to produce observations and questions about changing and shifting worlds which are themselves open to various interpretation, as opposed to discovering absolute truths.

Individual issues for each young woman

While identified together as three trouble makers on the estate, the young women each had very separate concerns facing them. Natalie, who comes from a large extended family made much of enabling the others to feel secure and welcome within her home and family, all of whom had lived on and around the estate for generations. The family had a history of being involved with petty crime. The young men within the family were significant players in the local street activities and are 'not messed with'. Natalie had had the same boyfriend throughout the course of the work: a friend of one of her brothers. A self composed young woman, Natalie had always said that she had wanted to get some exams and hold a job of her own. Keeping this ambition, and despite dropping off the school register and failing to engage within the off site unit, Natalie enrolled at the local college to study for some GCSEs when she was 16, and is working to gain some qualifications.

Jane expresses an envy of what she perceives to be a secure and supportive family life for Natalie. Jane lived with her grandparents from the age of 7, until 16 when she moved back to live with her mother with whom she had maintained regular contact. Her grandfather, a powerful figure who had enjoyed an amateur boxing career, used to work on the local docks. He had a reputation for being strict and controlling. Jane had a difficult relationship at home with her grandparents, spending time escaping to her bedroom for privacy or out on the street. Seeing boyfriends as both a status symbol and as a potential source of money, she had a number of different boyfriends, all of whom were very important to her at the time. Being quick witted and defensive of her freedom, she often grew tired of 'being owned and bossed about'. Jane had a number of minor offences for theft and disturbing the peace. For her, the reoccurring theme of being bored and frustrated that 'nothing exciting ever happens' remained a continuous theme. Once excluded from school, she began to spend more time with an older cousin known locally to have a drug problem. While Natalie has remained in contact with Jane, Liz, the third young women asserted that she will have 'nothing to do with Jane' until she stops 'acting stupid' (Liz 1997).

Liz, who presents as the quieter of the three, lived with her mother but spent most of her time in her grandparents flat where she had most of her meals and regular pocket money. Her family had also lived on the estate for generations but the more mobile, financially secure family members had recently moved away from the area, leaving Liz's mum to 'struggle on her own' (Liz 1994). Liz had one relationship with a boyfriend from outside the local male group which ended after three months when the boy's family moved away to an estate about 20 minutes walk away. Despite telephone calls and notes to each other it was not possible for the two to sustain the friendship over this distance. Once excluded from school, Liz started to work with her mother on the local street market. Working for five days a week, her day started at 7.30 am and continued through into late afternoon. As she was helping her mother, she did not have her own separate wages but got given enough to relieve her grandparents from having to pay her any pocket money.

Each of the three young women spent time on the local streets when playing truant from school. To them, the streets are the place where everything happens. As noted from their conversations,

> 'I spend all time on the street, know it well because it is close to home' and 'I live on the streets' (Jane), 'Its like your home', 'You know every corner' (Natalie), 'you have a laugh on the streets, 'cos that's what you're used to and there's like all your mates are out and you don't get bored. It might be every night that you're going to the same place with the same people, but there's always something different to talk about, not every day's the same, there's always something different to laugh about' (Liz).

The following examples are described because they illustrate the impact that the three young women can and do have on either maintaining or disrupting the feeling of safety within their immediate local area. Although they are events that may appear to an outsider to be trivial and meaningless, to the young women concerned they are significant events within essential day to day routines.

Keeping a calm on the estate

The first example illustrates that the young women know the local estate and those who live and spend time on it. It reveals how they use this knowledge to gain access to and quiet time with their boyfriends.

The young women reveal a detailed knowledge of which children from within the estate play out on the street, where they live, who plays out with whom, where and when, and who their friends and enemies are. This intricate and changing information is shared between them providing an up to date source of communication on the major comings and goings of the estate. One of the ways that they gain time with

their boyfriends is through preventing distractions from occurring that would pull the boyfriends away from providing them with attention. The young women know that if the younger boys on the estate are kept occupied, they are less likely to 'wind up' the older boys in attempts to make something happen. An acknowledgement of the way that younger children can 'wind up' a disturbance was explained.

> *Its like little ten year olds come up to you and start giving you mouth. You can't really hit a ten year old, can you? It's like my mates, when I stay at their house and there's this pub there and there's this chip shop, so if you go down the chip shop or off licence, you have to walk past this pub and there's all these little twelve and eleven year olds, and they're right mouthy. And like you think I want to hit em, don't want them thinking they've got the better, but then they go running in the pub and they've got big brothers like 18 and 19. So you can't do nothing really. (Jane)*

The young women know that if they can distract the younger children on one part of the estate, entertaining the youth so that they do not become bored, they can temporarily prevent the escalation of any inter-gang warfare or trouble within the particular area and the boyfriends will be more available to spend time with them as girlfriends. As said by Jane 'it's like, keep them (the younger children) occupied and we get the time we want with them (the boyfriends)'. (words in brackets mine)

One of the ways of doing this was to organise a rota where one of the three young women were available in an identified private place to be with their respective boyfriend. The place was either a section of the local park secluded from view, an archway on one of the ally ways on the estate, or one of the bedrooms of one of the flats, if access could be negotiated. As explained by Natalie when she identified the archway used to meet boyfriends 'you can sit on if you want to mooch. That's the arch, that's the bit over there where you just doss'

While one of the three young women was with the boyfriend, the remaining two would purposefully entertain the younger children on the estate, preventing them from provoking fights or disputes between the older boys. The entertainments varied from games of catch, card games to 'innocent' disturbance games such as 'chase' : the game where you run away after pressing a door bell.

> *Like if we're just having a laugh like, we just knock on people's doors and just run off, or do whatever, whatever we do (Jane)*

Once the allocated time was up with the boyfriend, the second of the three would go with their respective boyfriend to the spot while the remaining two would continue to occupy the children on the estate. This rota system would sometimes

extend over an evening or weekend until each of the three young women had time with their boyfriends. They would then discard any notion of working to keep peace on the estate and would either hang around and wait for the inevitable activities to take place between the small groups of youth, or would return to one of their homes to swap stories of their activities.

Before extracting themes for consideration from the practice described above, we explain two further examples of the impact that young women can have on maintaining or disrupting peace on the estate.

The School Disco

The local secondary school was preparing to hold a Christmas disco during the year that the young women's attendance was beginning to noticeably drop off. The three young women were familiar with sharing their wardrobes so that they could swap clothes between them to create a varied choice of clothes without having to each purchase new clothing. They had one pair of over the knee boots which fitted two out of the three. The three spent two weeks preparing outfits for wearing to the school disco. Two outfits were completed, and they tried to pool enough money between the three of them to buy one cardigan on the local market to make up the third outfit. The three informed their boyfriends of the needs for the wardrobe, making sure that any financial contributions were made if possible. Although the young women wanted to create an image of having an up to date wardrobe it was evident that there was a constant struggle to have enough money to buy new outfits. When looking in the window of a clothes shop Jane notes,

> And as you can see its quite pricey, and I ain't got the money to buy, I ain't got none of that.

When asked how they get money to buy clothes Liz said 'I ponce money off me Mum' and after noting that she would not get any money from her mother, Jane confirms 'I ask me nan for money'.

As the disco event drew closer, it was clear that the dispute about which of the two should have the boots, and how the extra money to buy the cardigan was to be found was becoming a problem. The three started to say that they did not want to go to the disco, and were aggressive towards the idea of the school organising a public event. On the evening before the disco, the school announced that it had to be cancelled because of threats from local white youth of violence. Jane, Liz and Natalie were relieved that they did not have to show up in what they felt would be inappropriate clothing. The common concern that many youth, if not adults, have of 'what to wear' to a particular event resulted not in them deciding that they could not go themselves, but in them using their reputation locally to stop the

whole event. Although it is was not clear whether the threats of violence had come from either the young women or from the boyfriends, when asked why the school had cancelled the disco, Jane noted, 'cos they think, they think we're going to start trouble'.

The Cab Office

The third example again originates from interplay between the three young women and their boyfriends. During the winter months it became evident from working with the young women that they spent long periods of time in the local cab office. The cab drivers and workers in the office allowed the young women to sit at the back of the office during the cold evenings as long as there was not trouble. The young women spent increasingly long periods of time in the office and became friendly with the drivers, often negotiating lifts round the block to their homes at the end of the evening. In the discussion with Pearce below about how the office was used, they noted,

Jane: *Yeah, we go in the cab office, we used to...*

Natalie: *But it used to be, like, the back of the cab office, like there used to be a cafe and pool table you know*

Jane: *yeah, we used to go in there and skin up wacky baccy*

Pearce: *was getting a cab involved with the cab office, or was it just to go in?*

Jane: *well, you know, we used to hang out with people that used to smoke pot like*

Natalie: *cannabis*

Jane: *like cannabis, illegal substances. And they didn't want to do it on the streets in case they was caught, get caught, nicked and that, and they didn't want all the hassle. So they used to go to the back of the mini-cab office in a room at the back, and they'd sit there and skin up and that, and it was like a private place where you wouldn't get in trouble by the police, cos not even the police knew it was there but I didn't like it cos it made my eyes sting where everyone was smoking drug*

Natalie: *And you'd go out, and you used to stink of smoke*

Liz: *Yeah, my mum used to say to me 'where you been? You smell like smoky Joe's cafe'*

As the young women became more entrenched within the office, they became aware of their potential to 'wind the boyfriends up'. The office was a space for the

young women to be without their boyfriends, and they were aware that if they wanted to provoke envy or jealousy, they could mention the friendships with the drivers that they had developed within the office. If they didn't want to do this, they kept quiet. Eventually, one of the three felt that a driver had over stepped his mark by making a direct pass at her, and within 24 hours the office was raided and vandalised. The young women explained that the office had been 'done over'.

Discussion

In achieving their overall aims and objectives, community safety strategies must take account of the specific dynamics operating within the communities to which they are to be applied (Evans 1998: 181)

This paper opened by asserting that community safety strategies targeted at reducing the threat of crime and disorder needed to move beyond reductionist and simplistic understandings of young women which place them as either victims of crime, unassuming passengers watching boys create disorder or simply girls acting like boys. We argue that the work carried out by Pearce described above would suggest that young women can, and often do, take an active role in either disrupting or stabilising the feeling of safety and order within communities. In support of Evan's statement we ask two questions. Firstly, how does the material above provide an argument for encouraging local authorities to move beyond the popular and simplistic images of young women within the crime prevention discourse, and secondly, how do community safety and crime prevention audits reach into the politics of youth and gender on the street to discover the extent of the detail asked for?

Firstly, the work described above does suggest that there is a need to probe beyond the 'facts' provided by local crime statistics and beyond a popular representation of youth troubles as male troubles divorced from gender relations. As the three examples illustrate, young women can have an impact on when there is peace on parts of the local estate; determining whether a local social activity such as a school disco can go ahead, and on the operation of a local resource such as a cab office. When the young women want quiet, uninterrupted access to their boyfriends, a means of building relationships, status and power within their own networks, they organise a rota to entertain younger provocative youth so that their part of the estate remains quiet. The school disco, an important event for maintaining good relations between the school, its students and the local community is abandoned because the three young women do not have enough money to each have an outfit that will stand up to comment from friends and enemies. The cab office, an important resource to the local estate is rendered inoperable following a young woman disclosing that a driver had acted inappropriately. These three

incidents are only part of a number of ongoing negotiations taking place on the street and estate every day and evening of the week.

This scrutiny of the local micro politics reveals a micro detail which is increasingly being asked for in the study of youth, racial politics, gender relations and community safety (Back, Cohen and Keith 1999).

As noted earlier, when considering findings from the British Crime Survey 1998 it is clear that isolated pockets of marginalised youth who feel excluded from the mainstream opportunities for educational, social and economic growth take out their boredom and frustration on their own community within which they feel trapped (Pitts 1998). An 'other': an oppositional category based on age, race, gender, class, ability, sexuality and other identifiable differences within the community, becomes the target against which frustrations and fears are vented. These frustrations are experienced by a range of socially excluded white and black young men and women from a range of backgrounds who are peripheral to formal mainstream institutions such as school, youth service provision and employment opportunities. They experience a poverty that has insultingly been labelled as the property and fault of an 'underclass' (Murray 1996). The young women described above live, to all intents and purposes, in an isolated village, unable for example, to sustain relationships which extend beyond a twenty minute journey. They are a part of a working class residuum which remains outside progressive global economies. Subsequent frustrations, envy and anger are acted out in daily routines that rebound on the very local neighbourhood that is home.

So secondly, if we do accept that young women are an essential component to the 'specific dynamics operating in communities' (Evans 1998), we need to address how to access, and make use of the contributions that they can make to enhancing a safer community. In the chapter 'Putting the community into community safety', Khan argues that when consulting the public we need to be clear about who we are consulting, why we want to consult, at what stage in the policy process consultation takes place, and what method will be used (Khan 1998: 33-37). In order to reach out to young women who are marginalised from mainstream, malestream provision yet who are simultaneously, and it could be argued consequentially central to 'life on the street', local authorities need to employ outreach detached workers and to target specific times for consulting young women who may be known to be out of school and disinterested in mainstream youth work provision. This consultation needs to be based on the premise that young people within small, local areas, which can themselves be identified through Geographical Information Systems commonly used for crime and disorder audits, hold relevant and important

information. This information can be identified at the early stages of the development of a community safety strategy so that the objectives and outcomes carry contributions from marginalised youth, including young women. Although legislation specifies that the audit be carried out once every three years, the process of consultation could be an ongoing one offering older young women the opportunity to contribute their knowledge and experience into subsequent audits, possibly even training and employing them to carry out aspects of consultation themselves. And finally, there is Khan's question of why we want to consult. Is it just so that an audit demonstrates its representation of token marginalised groups, or is it a genuine attempt to direct resources to improve community safety? If we are consulting to achieve the latter, we not only need appropriately funded practice interventions but a genuine attempt to continue to scratch beyond the surface of crime statistics and popular masculine images of disorder.

Jenny Pearce *is a Principal Lecturer at The School of Social Science, Middlesex University. She is currently involved with an action research project enquiring into young women's use of the street within inner city neighbourhoods.*

E. Stanko *is a Professor at the Department of Social and Political Science at Royal Holloway, University of London. She is Director of the ESRC Violence Programme.*

Note

1   Education Strategy Group, Policy, Quality and Equality 1995 London. The name of the borough is withheld for reasons of confidentiality. Similarly, the names used for the three young women are fictitious.

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CHILD EMPLOYMENT:
Filling the research gaps

JIM MCKECHNIE AND SANDY HOBBS

Introduction

The 1990s has seen child employment re-emerge as an issue of public concern in Britain after a gap of almost twenty years. In 1972, the report of a study of work by school children undertaken by Emrys Davies and sponsored by the then Department of Health and Social Security was published. The Davies Report concluded that child employment was having a negative impact on education. Soon afterwards, Parliament passed the 1973 Employment of Children Act. However, this act has to date not been brought into force. Thus the regulation of child employment still centres on the 1933 Children and Young Persons Act and the equivalent Scottish act of 1937. Parliament saw these acts as out of touch with the reality of children's lives in the 1970s. Their relevance is even more questionable now.

There was little research on child employment in Britain in the 1970s and 1980s, one notable exception being a study published by the Low Pay Unit (MacLennan et al., 1985). However, that situation has now changed, starting with two reports from the Low Pay network (Lavalette et al., 1991, Pond and Searle, 1991). This new body of research was timely since political attention was focused on child employment because of the European Union Directive on the Protection of Young People at Work (1994). It has been argued that the then British government's policy towards the draft Directive was based upon a set of myths about child workers in Britain (Lavalette et al., 1995).

In February 1998, partly in response to a private member's bill introduced by Chris Pond MP, the government set up a committee to review child employment legislation. This body was expected to report by April 1999. At the time of writing, the committee's report has not been made public and the government has made no further statement on possible changes to child employment legislation. The present paper is based on evidence given by the authors to the committee.

Although the recent upsurge in research on child labour is welcome, at first sight it is limited in a number of ways. First, the primary focus has been upon the nature and extent of employment as opposed to the effect the work has on the child. Secondly, questionnaires and interviews have been the main form of data collecting. Thirdly, the information has been collected by questioning children within school settings, which may bias the outcome because the children are restrained in what they say about their experience of work. Fourthly, the majority of the studies rely upon opportunity

sampling. If children who work are more likely to miss school, the proportion of school pupils reported to have experience of work may be underestimates.

A further problem which must be faced when trying to compare the outcomes of these studies is the fact that they have varied in terms of the definition of employment and the age groups used. However, Hobbs and McKechnie (1997) demonstrated that it is possible to identify common conclusions emerging from these studies. First, the majority of children will have experience of paid employment by the time they reach 16 years of age. Secondly, children work in a wide range of jobs, extending beyond the stereotyped notion of 'children's jobs'. Thirdly, the present legislation is ineffective in that it does not lead to effective monitoring and regulation of children's work. Forthly, unlike Davies's essentially negative view of children's work, many studies acknowledge that such employment may include both costs and benefits for the individuals involved. In addition, as Hobbs and McKechnie (1998) seek to show, results from a rare representative sample study from the Department of Employment (Hibbett and Beatson, 1995) are consistent with conclusions from the other apparently less representative samples.

Only a small number of studies exist which have moved beyond consideration of the nature and extent of children's work. These include studies into children's perceptions of work through to studies considering the link between work and education (see, for example, Mizen, 1992; McKechnie et al., 1996, Save the Children, 1998). Reviewing child employment in the United States for the International Working Group on Child Labour, McKechnie et al. (1997) have raised a number of issues that need to be considered within a British context. The rest of this paper focuses on what we believe to be key areas for consideration within any policy debate of this issue. In some cases limited evidence is currently available. In others we draw attention to the main questions still to be addressed. We have divided the discussion into two sections. In the first, broad research issues are highlighted. In the second, the focus is narrowed to highlight what seem to be areas crucial to the present policy debate.

Broad Research Issues

Debates about the causes of child employment have tended to take place at the international level and to be dominated by examples drawn from the developing countries. It is common to find discussion dominated by the 'poverty model' according to which children are involved in work out of economic necessity. While poverty undoubtedly plays a major role in explaining children's employment in the developing economies, it is not the sole cause, nor is it a suitable explanation for child employment in the developed economies (see White, 1994; McKechnie and Hobbs, 1998a).

In Britain some authors in this field have argued that there is evidence that poverty accounts for some child employment at present and that children contribute their earnings directly to their family (Pond and Searle, 1991; Middleton et al. 1998). Others have argued that to some extent all children's earnings contribute to the family budget by a process of 'substitution' (the child buying goods which would normally have to come out of the family budget). However, poverty cannot be regarded as the main cause of employment in Britain. There is no evidence that children from poorer families are more likely to work than the more affluent. The likely role of consumerism as a cause of child employment needs to be acknowledged (White, 1994; Hobbs and McKechnie, 1997).

That such debates cannot be resolved at present testifies to the need for some consideration of the causes of employment and an understanding of the disposal of the income earned. This may also provide some insight into the economic power of working children. We would also suggest that any study in this area should not focus solely on the supply side of the equation, i.e. why children seek work, but also needs to consider the demand side. 'Why do children work?' should be matched by the question 'Why do businesses employ children?' To date there are no detailed studies of why employers employ children.

Researchers have made use of a number of different definitions of employment. Such variation are acceptable as long as researchers provide clear operational definitions of their variables. However, it is also important to look at why specific definitions of employment are used. For example, our own research team at the University of Paisley has focused upon 'paid employment outside of the family'. Unlike other studies, such as Pond and Searle (1991) we did not exclude babysitting, because to do so understates the diversity of paid employment relations in which children are involved. (Pond and Searle considered babysitting outwith the scope of current legislation.) In looking at work outside of the family, we are nevertheless aware that many children work for their own families. This is worthy of study in its own right. The employment experience may vary between family and non-family settings.

There is a need for research to consider the range of employment experiences in which children participate. This would involve consideration of both paid and unpaid employment as well as family and non-family employment. Such material would allow researchers to consider the concerns raised by some commentators regarding homeworking and children's employment in agriculture. We would also suggest that children's domestic chores could be considered within this framework as well. Goodnow (1988) has demonstrated that this is a potentially rich topic for study. Although some forms of work are not covered by legislation, if we are to

properly understand child employment then it needs to be placed in the broader context of children's lives.

Only a little research evidence is currently available on ethnic and gender differences in child employment. A number of studies of variations in employment between minority ethnic groups (Jolliffe et al., 1995; Lavalette et al., 1996; Pond and Searle, 1991) have tested the stereotyped image of certain ethnic groups employing their children within family businesses. However, it has been argued that at present the data is not sufficient to clarify this issue (Hobbs and McKechnie, 1997).

Gender differences in child employment are similarly in need of more detailed consideration. Typically studies have tended to look at gender as 'another variable' without any detailed consideration of the implications of any differences in employment. There is now evidence that researchers are beginning to attend to this (Hobbs and McKechnie, 1997; Lindsay, 1997; O'Donnell and White, 1998). Gender differentiation in the adult labour market and recent concerns about career aspirations of females both testify to the need to explore the possibility of any link between early employment gender socialisation and later employment profiles. Existing research methods may have led to the underestimation of gender differences in child employment. Most studies up until now have tended to make use of rather broad job categories such as 'shopwork'. In the future, gender differentiation studies will need to look more closely at the activities carried out by males and females within the same job category. For example, shopwork for girls may typically involve dealing with customers face-to-face, whilst boys may usually be shelf-packers. That such differentiation does exist is supported by anecdotal information and by some preliminary research (Leonard, 1998).

Implicit in many of the attitudes toward child employment in the developed economies is the view that such forms of work are beneficial to children. It is claimed that employment encourages the development of independence or autonomy, that it leads to an awareness of the value of money or that it introduces children to the 'real world' of work. Such views appear to have been at the heart of the 1933 and 1937 Acts, where work combined with school was viewed as potentially beneficial and, if properly regulated, would not be harmful. We readily accept that work can be beneficial for those involved in it (Hobbs and McKechnie, 1997). What concerns us is that there is little evidence about the circumstances under which such benefits may emerge. It would be naive to view all jobs as equally likely to be beneficial.

In the United States, researchers have shown that employment may result in both costs and benefits and what is needed is some clear understanding of the factors influencing these different outcomes (McKechnie et al., 1997). In the context of

Britain, we suggest that research may have demonstrated similarly varied outcomes of employment and we have proposed a model for considering the positive and negative sides of employment (Hobbs and McKechnie, 1997). Evidence is as yet limited, however.

In an attempt to limit the differences between local authority bye-laws on child emplyment, the government has issued a set of 'model' bye-laws which it is encouraging all local authorities to adopt. The new model bye laws circulated by the government include a list of jobs which children are allowed to do. It is not clear on what basis such lists are drawn up. Is there any empirical evidence to support the assumption that these jobs are beneficial to the child? Is it better for a child to deliver newspapers at 7.00 a.m. or to work in a shop until 8.00 p.m.? We are not suggesting that answering such questions will be easy. However such issues must be addressed if policy is to be based on something more substantial than historical precedence and 'commonsense' assumptions.

The topics so far listed do not constitute an exhaustive list of research goals. The intention was to outline major areas where our current knowledge is limited. We shall now focus on a specific set of short term research goals which we believe need to be prioritised. Our rationale for this is two-fold. First, a pragmatic acceptance that research resources are limited and therefore targeting will be inevitable. Second, the need for research to feed directly into the current policy review on child employment.

Before outlining the key research questions, it is necessary to deal with one debate. Is there a need for a national study of child employment? While we are sympathetic to this goal it is our view that a national study into the nature and extent of child employment would add little to our understanding of child employment. Existing studies clearly demonstrate the nature and extent and the consistency of the results testify to the reliability of the conclusions drawn from them. We acknowledge that there are some specific areas where reliable studies are still needed. For example, there is limited data on Northern Ireland and a fuller consideration of rural employment is needed. However, a national study would be unlikely to be particularly informative on such topics.

These issues are partly being addressed at present. Save The Children are supporting some research in Northern Ireland; the University of Paisley research team are currently looking at rural-urban variations in employment. The latter combined with existing data from Scottish Low Pay Unit (McKechnie et al., 1994) and research in Norfolk may help clarify this issue.

We would suggest that a research strategy which targets specific questions about child employment in the policy context could also address issues concerning the nature and extent of child employment. Our suggestion is that four key areas need to be considered.

Crucial research areas
Monitoring

If legislation is aimed at controlling child employment by prescribing when, and under what circumstances, children can work, then by all available evidence it is at present failing. One of the central issues facing any policy review must be to consider how the aims of the legislation may be more effectively achieved. Legislation aims to restrict child employment but does not seek to ban it outright. This implicitly acknowledges the possibility of both costs and benefits to the child. The question to be faced is to what extent we are successful in maximising the beneficial outcomes and minimising costs.

One basic issue is whether it is actually known what work is being undertaken by children. It is clear from the divergence between local authority records and current research evidence that this is not the case. Since the legislation on child employment recommends that a permit system be adopted by local authorities as a way of monitoring child employment, the fact that research throws up evidence of work going on which has not been licenced by the local authorities clearly suggests that in practice the system is not working.

However, research has also thrown up evidence of regional variations that exist in the levels of permits issued. For example, McKechnie et al. (1994) found a much higher ratio of work permits to work undertaken in a Dumfries and Galloway survey than they have found in any of the other areas they have studied. Why should such variation exist and can it help us in improving the effectiveness of the system? In considering this finding, three explanations come to mind. First, regional variations may reflect something about the nature of the geographic area that increases the likelihood of compliance with the regulations (e.g. the schools were in a rural as opposed to an urban area). Secondly, some specific practices by the local authority encourages participation in the system. A third explanation would emphasise the role of the individual. It might be that, in certain areas, specific individuals have worked to promote registration and monitoring. There is a clear need to consider which explanation is most valid. However, any system to be effective cannot be dependent on individual proselytisers. In that sense 'good practice' needs to be identified and promoted.

Before looking at how the system may be amended to make it more effective, it is necessary to note that children are employed in both the formal and informal

sectors of the economy. By formal sectors we are referring to businesses which employ children (e.g. newsagents and hotels). We would suggest that efforts to improve monitoring of child employment should be focused on such sectors in the first instance. By tackling the formal sector employers, benefits may emerge in establishing norms of acceptability, informing children themselves of their rights (knowledge transferable to any job irrespective of the sector) and raises awareness of the issue and acceptable practice. The informal sectors of child employment (e.g. market trading and door-to-door sales) would need to be tackled by a different strategy. For example, educational welfare officers might be given a more proactive remit in this area.

We would propose that a number of pilot schemes be set up to evaluate alternative programmes targeted at improving monitoring of child employment. Such schemes could include the following:

(i) *Target employers. Many employers claim that they are unaware of the legislation in this field. If this is the case then a campaign that increases information to employers should result in improved registration. Such an approach could also consider using more 'user friendly' permit registrations methods.*

(ii) *Licence employers. Rather than requiring a permit for each child employed the system may be made more effective by licensing the employer. That is, employers would require a 'permit' if they intend employing children. Registering such establishments would make them open to inspection. Licences could be withdrawn if they are in breach of regulations, e.g. employment of under-aged children.*

(iii) *Child employment officers. Some local authorities have responded to recent research evidence by appointing child employment officers. The aim of such posts appears to be to increase awareness of employment legislation and related issues amongst children, schools, employers and parents. While such moves are commendable, generalising such a system would be dependent on the outcome of some evaluation of the impact of such posts. Evaluations should not rely upon simplistic measures of the number of permits issued. It would also have to include some assessment of changes in knowledge and awareness of the issue in a given locality.*

(iv) *Target children's knowledge. One of the fundamental problems with the permit system is that it is difficult for the working child to see any reason to take any initiative. They are often unaware of the system, do not see its relevance and perceive it as bureaucratic. Such conclusions*

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are drawn from a small scale study we undertook to pilot educational intervention in this area (Hobbs et al., 1996). While our educational intervention failed to increase permit levels, it did have an effect on children's knowledge base. There is a need to evaluate the impact of informing children about employment rights and issues related to their work, e.g. health and safety, work-education issues. Such information may lead to some self regulatory behaviours and improve understanding of the aims of any registration system.

(v) Target children's rights. There is a need to involve children in the debate about their rights as employees. Such an approach may show up children's own conceptions about how best to protect themselves in the workplace. Complaints procedures for children who feel they are being exploited might be tried out.

(vi) Enforcing the current system. It is possible to argue that the present system has failed to work because of the lack of resources. One could provide greater resources in one area to encourage the more effective application of the present system. The criteria for assessing the impact of this strategy would have to go beyond simply the number of permits issued. As was the case with our suggestion in paragraph (i) above, it would also be advisable to combine this project with a slimmed down, 'user friendly' permit system.

(vii) Registering children who wish to work. Rather than seeking a permit for each job it may be more sensible to consider an option where children who wish to work register once. Any potential employer could check a child's status. The child simply notifies the authority of any change in job status.

(viii) Community schemes. In other fields of social concern community projects have been established. A similar approach could be used in this area. Employers, children, schools, local authorities and parents could be brought together to discuss issues and strategies for raising awareness within communities. Such an approach may lead to increased awareness of legislation and conformity with it.

(ix) International models. Within Europe, a number of countries claim they do not have a 'problem' with child employment or have responded to the issue by adopting effective legislation. It may be worth seeking detailed information, for example, from Scandinavian countries, which might be applied in Britain. It has been claimed, for example, that regulations on national insurance registration in

> *Denmark are such that a much higher proportion of child workers are*
> *known to the authorities. Such an approach has an additional advantage*
> *of recognising them as employees with rights and employers have to*
> *treat them accordingly.*

The above list of pilot studies is not meant to be definitive. What we would suggest is that the list indicates a range of issues that need to be addressed in any attempt to improve the monitoring of children's employment. It is crucial that any proposal is evaluated in a preliminary pilot study. It is also likely that such pilot schemes and their results would raise the level of discussion around this subject and that would be a positive step in itself. However, it is important that care be taken not to 'criminalise' child employees, particularly in their own eyes. Such an approach is likely to be self-defeating, resulting in children becoming unwilling to disclose what they are doing. This would drive the issue underground rather than bringing it into the open.

If it is decided to introduce new monitoring systems or improve the effectiveness of the present system, consideration will have to be given to transitional periods. If the monitoring system is to be improved it is conceivable that a number of children will face 'unemployment' through the disclosure that they are currently working illegally. Some advice system about how to change illegal work into legal employment needs to be considered where possible.

Health and Safety
One of the consequences of the invisible nature of child employment is that there is a lack of information on important aspects of the work undertaken. The Health and Safety Executive collect information on work related injuries to adults and children alike, but acknowledges problems of accuracy in these figures, particularly the likelihood of under-reporting. A number of studies on the nature and extent of child employment have included information on accidents at work. Such data needs to be approached with some caution both becauses it relies on self reporting and because it is retrospective. What these studies show is that between one fifth and one third of working children report some form of work related accident. Only three reports exist specifically devoted to children's accidents at work (Heptinstall et al., 1997; McKechnie et al., 1998, O'Donnell and White, 1999). This is rather incongruous given the concerns raised over accidental injury to children in general.

We would argue that one of the short term research priorities should be to consider this issue in some more detail. Research needs to attend to the extent and severity of accidental injury at work. Such a study would have to employ a range of data collecting techniques since the questionnaire method employed in much child employment research is unlikely to give the range or quality of information required.

The study should be designed in such a way that it would identify potential causes and prevention of work related injury. The findings could aid policy makers in deciding what forms of work are safest for children to do, and what level of health and safety training needs to be in place to protect them at work.

Work and Education

While we have already suggested that the costs and benefits debate should form part of a longer term research agenda, there is a need for more urgent consideration of certain elements. The work-education relationship is one example. Internationally, discussions about child employment have been wrestling with a range of issues relating to these two areas of children's lives (Boyden, 1994; McKechnie and Hobbs, 1998b; Boyden et al., 1998).

Implicit in the present legislation is an assumption that work and school may be made mutually compatible provided the work is restricted. However, we would argue that there is a need to examine how well founded some of the limits set actually are. For example, legislation allows children to work up to 17 hours per week during term time. The European Union Directive had proposed a 12 hour limit. Such limits appear not to be based on any evidence available on the possible harmful effect on education of long hours spent working.

Research in the United States has shown that working may benefit a number of aspects of the individual's development and skill attainment which may in turn feed into educational success. However, these studies do also suggest that working 15-20 hours or more per week is likely to be associated with negative aspects of educational performance. This in itself should lead us to question the upper limit in the British legislation of 17 hours.

However, questions of cultural specificity can be raised, particularly when one considers the variations in the education systems, and we should be looking for British research in this area. The rather limited evidence currently available is inconclusive. Tymms and Fitz-Gibbon (1992), considered the link between part-time work and A-level results and concluded that work had no perceptible impact. In contrast, Dustman et al. (1996) concluded that work did affect school performance. Our own research has suggested that the negative effects on education emerge for those working 10 hours or more per week (McKechnie et al., 1996). This study also found that working a small number of hours (five hours or less per week) was associated with higher educational performance compared to those who never worked. The latter finding is consistent with research findings from the United States (Bachman and Schulenberg, 1993).

We need to identify the key variables which mediate in any relationship between work and school performance. From studies in the United States and some limited British work it can be argued that one of the key variables will be the number of hours worked. It is also apparent that the time of day and time of week when those hours are worked will also have to be considered (McKechnie et al., 1996). However, quantity of work will not be the only variable of concern. We will also need to consider the quality of the employment experience. There is a growing international literature indicating the quantitative and qualitative aspects of employment will interact when considering their impact on education.

In considering the relationship between work and education we are also faced with a paradox. The education system at present encourages children to perceive work as a relevant experience. The school based work experience programme is a clear example of this. However, little attention is paid within school to children's naturally occurring paid employment experience. It has been argued that this issue needs to be considered more fully (see, for example, Lindsay et al., 1996; Mizen 1992; McKechnie et al., 1998; Pettitt, 1998).

One of the most problematic issues that will have to be addressed by researchers in this area is the direction of causality. If working long hours is associated with negative education outcomes two interpretations are possible. The first is that committing excessive time to work has resulted in little time for school and hence performance suffers. The second interpretation is that an individual failing at school may be inclined to opt out. Committing oneself to working long hours may arise because one can no longer see any value in education. Research findings in the United States indicate that both explanations are supported by the evidence. It would raise issues of concern if similar outcomes were to emerge in Britain. Different strategies and policies would have to be used to tackle these two scenarios.

Family Life

The final priority area for research is the impact of employment on wider family relationships. This issue is directly linked to the policy debate over Sunday working. The previous Conservative government had envisaged a lessening of the restrictions of hours to be worked on a Sunday. However, speaking for the present government Mr Paul Boateng indicated that a two hour Sunday limit should be universal, saying:

> *We believe that Sunday is a special day for the family and for children to relate to their parents and their siblings. It is a day on which there ought to be a focus on family life. (Hansard, 13 February 1998, column 726)*

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At present there is little information on the impact child employment may have on family life and family relationships. Some work is currently being undertaken at the University of Warwick which might shed some light on this but results have still to emerge. What is apparent from a review of findings in the United States is that the relationship is not a simple one (Hobbs and McKechnie, 1997). In addition to considering these issues in a British context we also need to recognise the cultural diversity within our own society. Such diversity could lead one to question the special status given to 'Sunday'. We already know that parents play an active role in finding jobs for their children and that many perceive their child's work in a positive light. Under these circumstances parents and children may be willing to trade-off family time against the experience gained, and money earned, from work.

It is possible to argue that gaining part-time employment will have an effect on the internal family dynamic. Having a job may curtail the amount of time available to carry out household work, it creates a new income source that may increase the child's sense of autonomy in ways to which parents find it difficult to adjust. It is conceivable that work could have positive or negative effects on family relations. Policy makers need to check that their commonsense assumptions about family life are valid.

Methodological Issues

As with many social science based research areas a number of methodological problems will have to be addressed in tackling the issues outlined above. Two are particularly worth discussing in the context of child employment.

The first issue is that of data sources. To date the majority of studies have used a 'captive audience' approach by collecting information from students in school settings. In order that the reliability of such findings can be checked it would be worth collecting information from a number of alternative sources outside of school. For example, it is possible that students withhold information because of the school environment and concerns about their privacy. We would also argue that, in those studies where data is collected in school settings, more detailed attention needs to be given to those absent at the time of the study. If employment is related to attendance, specific forms of work may be excluded from our discussions by not following through on absentees.

Within social science there is an ongoing debate regarding the use of quantitative and qualitative forms of data. Until now in child employment research, the emphasis has been on the former, although there are examples of the latter (e.g. Morrow, 1994; McKechnie et al., 1996; Save the Children, 1998). We would argue that both approaches are necessary if we are to fully understand children's

work. Which approach is employed will be partly dependent on the issue under review. In considering the impact of work on education, qualitative approaches might inform us of children's perceptions, whilst quantitative approaches are essential in examining the relationship between work variables and a range of educational outcomes. Alternatively, in the area of monitoring employment we would argue that qualitative data on children's perspectives may provide an insight into how a permit system, or any replacement, may be made more effective for the people it is meant to protect.

Linked to the debate about qualitative and quantitative data is the issue of 'children's voices'. In international discussions about child labour, there have been advocates of the need to include children themselves in the debate about the role of work in their lives. The International Working Group on Child Labour has indicated the danger to policy making which failed to address this concern (McKechnie and Hobbs, 1998a). This view is also found in a number of other recent texts dealing with children and work (Pettitt, 1998; Boyden et al, 1998). Given Britain's support for the Convention on the Rights of the Child it would be inappropriate to exclude children from the policy debates. By including those affected by the legislation one could argue that benefits may emerge through a higher level of acceptance of any final policy outcomes.

This raises the question of what the most effective ways are of taking account of children's views. First, how do you ensure representativeness of those children who are heard? By 'representative' we are not only referring to demographic representation, but rather representative of the views of the majority of working children. Secondly, in terms of policy decisions, how do we handle differing opinions from different groups of children? Thirdly, difficulties will emerge in how to weight the information from different sources. For example, child employees may emphasise the short term rewards of work while research might demonstrate long term costs. If we are to include children in the debate we need to look for methods which avoid tokenism and it may be the case that we look to international examples of children's participation (Marcus, 1998: McKechnie and Hobbs, 1998a).

The second methodological issue relates to the forms of work undertaken. Throughout this paper we have deliberately avoided debates about defining terminology in the area of child employment. Some terms are relatively straightforward in policy terms even though there may be a certain divergence from ordinary usage. 'Child' employment legislation refers to those under 16 years of age, but 14 and 15 year olds may be more commonly spoken of as 'adolescents'. The term 'employment' is more problematic. Researchers have differed in terms of the definition of employment of work used in their studies (see Hobbs et al., 1996, for a discussion). Any

research strategy which emerges from this review process will need to consider whether they are considering 'broad' or 'narrow' definitions of work.

It is also worth noting that some forms of employment, while covered by legislation, have been neglected by researchers. One example is that of child performers in the entertainment industry.

Conclusion

The emphasis of this paper has been on the major gaps in our knowledge. As such it makes rather pessimistic reading. We should not lose sight of the fact that the last eight years has seen a substantial growth in the amount of information that we now have in this area. Recent books in this subject area testify to this fact (Hobbs and McKechnie, 1997; Pettitt, 1998). Reports on child employment continue to emerge (see, for example, O'Donnell and White, 1998). However, from the policy perspective, specific research questions need to be addressed and that requires a more coordinated approach. It could be argued that the opportunity to address child employment was lost in the 1970s. As we enter a new millennium, it would be difficult to justify repeating this mistake.

Jim McKechnie and *Sandy Hobbs* both teach Psychology at the University of Paisley.

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NEW DEAL FOR YOUNG PEOPLE:
Good deal or poor deal?

TONY JEFFS AND JEAN SPENCE

10,000 jobs to go in Nat West. Terrible, but it is just the way of the world today
(Radio Metro DJ: 09.50hrs 26th October 1999).

Prologue
Even prior to industrialisation young people's entry into employment was perceived
as problematic. Adults in the Middle Ages worried about whether those entering
service and apprenticeships were being trained and constrained in an acceptable
fashion. In an era when the state was far more reluctant to interfere in the trade
and the home, such concerns led to the enactment of laws designed to achieve
higher standards such as the Elizabethan Statute of Artificers (Ben Amos 1994).
Following industrialisation these concerns were augmented by others, including
the various Factory and Education Acts of the 19th century, and those committed
to the welfare of the young began to demand ever greater attention be paid to the
problems of child and adolescent employment.

Throughout the nineteenth century, welfare campaigners tenaciously strove to
delay the age of first entry into employment and to extend compulsory and part-time
education. From the 1860s onwards they found themselves pushing at an
increasingly open door. Industry required less child labour and a more literate
work force as the century progressed and consequently opposition from employers
to compulsory schooling was muted when it was eventually introduced in the
1870s. However Parliament proved itself more amenable to the wishes of the powerful
rather than responsive to the needs of the weak, and agreed to allow the continuation
of part-time education where employers 'required' cheap, docile child labour.
Even as late as 1918 the Federation of British Industries (the forerunner of the CBI)
energetically denounced the Board of Education's proposals for day release for 14
year olds and the cessation of part-time education for 12 to 14 year olds. The argu-
ment, using the same principles then as now, was that such largesse would bankrupt
many firms. Their Memorandum painted a picture, summarised by Tawney, of British
industry 'suspended over an abyss by a slender thread of juvenile labour' (1918).

Universal compulsory full-time education did not obliterate the concerns of
campaigners. Apart from seeking to eliminate part-time education (not achieved
until 1921) and extend full-time schooling until matriculation or completion of the
secondary examination curriculum at sixteen (achieved in 1973), they actively
concerned themselves with the juvenile labour market, focussing attention on the

pressures which encouraged premature entry into employment. In particular, they cited family poverty, inadequate instruction regarding the benefits of education, temptations which enticed youngsters from school and apprenticeships, and a misplaced yearning for the money (and to a lesser extent time) to enable indulgence in the pleasures of the pub, music hall and street. Reformers identified 'blind alley' occupations and the exploitation awaiting many in the jobs offered as the core of the youth, or more specifically, the 'boy-labour' problem. According to a contemporary economist, these jobs offered 'a relatively high commencing wage but a minimum of industrial training, and leave them at 17 and 18 a "drug in the market" incapable and impossible to absorb, except perhaps at times of unusual trade prosperity' (Medley, 1911). At the beginning of the twentieth century the problem of boy labour was directly related to social problems associated with adult and family poverty, with the creation of a 'residuum' of casual labourers (Stedman Jones, 1971) who today would be defined as a 'socially excluded' 'underclass'.

For almost a century a plethora of experts, usually sustained by the highest motives, assured us that far too often 'youth problems' emanated from an unhealthy desire to prematurely enter the labour market on the part of both boys and girls (Bray, 1911a; 1911b: Whitehouse, 1912: Freeman, 1914: Bevington, 1933: Ferguson and Cunnison, 1950: Carter, 1962; 1966). Amongst those most active in pressing the case against the 'wrong' sort of work for young people, were leading figures in the club movement such as Addams, Whitehouse, Russell and Montagu, individuals whose sustained contact confirmed their belief that the jobs offered young people from poor families were all too frequently damaging and dangerous to their health and long term prosperity (Hendricks, 1990). Club workers saw themselves as having a clear responsibility to intervene to protect youngsters from the wrong sort of employment and the wrong sort of employer. Youth workers, teachers, parents and as they appeared on the scene, careers advisors were implored to cajole and persuade working class youngsters to stay at school and then to seek regulated apprenticeships. Even during periods of economic depression this tended to be the line. Welfare and social workers were interested in the long term elimination of poverty which they pitted against the easy availability of casual work and the pressing need for income for young people from poor families.

Although levels of youth unemployment predictably increased during the inter-war period it never approached the rates endured by adults. The cheapness, mobility and vigour of the young worker provided some protection. However this was not always sufficient, particularly for those reaching the age when an adult wage could be demanded and in the face of rising unemployment amongst young people, a number of initiatives were introduced. These ranged from the encouragement of

emigration to the Colonies (Humphries and Gordon 1994), to the establishment of model training programmes (see for example Kitchen 1944) and eventually resulted in hard nosed compulsion to participate in initiatives based on the notion that the unemployed were responsible for their plight. Compulsion was certainly a feature of the Juvenile Instruction Centres (JICs) and Labour Camps. The former, often dubbed 'dole colleges', initially operated as voluntary centres modelled on boys' and girls' clubs where:

In order to encourage team spirit it has been found from experience that special value attaches to corporate activities, including the production of a Centre magazine, an amateur dramatic society and community singing. The preparation of a limited number of copies of the magazine for circulation at the Centre, and the making of 'properties' and single costumes for plays provide in themselves valuable exercises in handwork. So far as possible, teams should be selected for various outdoor games, and matches arranged against local clubs. Visits to factories and places of local interest should be arranged occasionally. (Ministry of Labour, 1934: 24)

Despite the often liberal regimes initially adopted, JICs were not attractive and often closed due to persistent absenteeism. Consequently compulsory attendance was enforced towards the end of 1934 but to little avail; young people remained reluctant to attend (Pope, 1978: Horne, 1983). Persistently bad attenders, and unemployed young men in particular who were judged, in the words of a 1928 official memo, as having 'through prolonged unemployment, ... become ... 'soft' and temporarily demoralised' (quoted Colledge, 1989:5), and unfit to mix with other unemployed people, were to be sent to the Labour Camps. Between 1929 and 1939 around 150,000 unemployed young men passed through these harsh and punitive institutions (Humphries and Gordon, 1994: 20). Labour camps were unpleasant places where as one inmate recalled, a group would dig trenches 'one day then the next day another group would come and fill it in. That was all we done for three months... We were treated better in the army and fed better...[there] we were treated like men not criminals' (Colledge, 1989: 19). Similar camps were established in the United States and throughout Europe. All started as voluntary projects but as unemployment refused to evaporate they became at first compulsory and then punitive and finally, in some cases indistinguishable from military camps (Holland, 1939). It seems, then as now, sympathy and understanding for the plight of the workless is time-limited, particularly in relation to young men who are often the most visible and threatening group amongst the unemployed. (Spence, 1999). If the problem lingers, blaming the victim becomes a common-sense and attractive option for those unwilling to contemplate structural economic changes to promote

full-employment. Blaming the unemployed for the conditions generated by unemployment has a pedigree which dates back directly to the Poor Laws and continues to inform policy today.

The 1939 war put a swift end to mass unemployment and the inter-war policies designed to manage out-of-work youth. For twenty five years after 1945 a buoyant world economy and the 'full employment' policies of Conservative and Labour governments ensured unemployment never exceeded three and rarely two per cent. Inevitably politicians were proud to proclaim the success of their policies. During those years the 'youth problem' was again debated in terms of such phenomena as the 'early leaver' and the 'chronic job changer'. Then virtually overnight these concerns were swept aside. It was as if a horrendous virus in the late 1970s had erased young people's motivation for work. After decades when the task of right minded individuals had been to curtail the premature entry of young people into the labour market the young now apparently had to be persuaded to work.

Re-visiting the post 1975 literature (academic and non-academic alike) on youth unemployment imparts a strong impression that it was a stroke of good fortune for many in Britain, at least, that its growth coincided with a sustained period of Conservative rule, thereby legitimising the unrestrained criticisms of left leaning welfare professionals, youth workers and most academics regarding the woefully inadequate response of the government. Initially, commentators recognised that this was not a supply-side problem and acknowledged that the unemployed were victims rather than perpetrators of their misfortune. The unemployed were understood to be unwilling conscripts in an army raised to attack the evil troika of inflation, union power and high wages. With hindsight it is possible to discern that for all their manifest shortcomings the early schemes such as the Community Programme (CP) and Job Creation Programme were probably more humane, generous and less mean-spirited than many that followed including in some respects the New Deal. For example the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) allowance was £25 per week and CP participants received up to a weekly average of £67 in 1982. Allowing for inflation both were far less parsimonious than the New Deal. However, some programmes were barely disguised frauds. As Alan Clarke confessed, they were concocted to allow Ministers like himself to 'fiddle the figures' whilst countering allegations that they were sitting on their hands as unemployment spiralled out of control.

Between 1971 and the appearance of New Deal almost 60 programmes were introduced to tackle unemployment. Acronyms came and went often with such rapidity that few surely recall what, for example RSSL or EAS stood for. Virtually all the schemes were trumpeted as 'new' initiatives and 'fresh starts' but few made

any difference, except possibly those which created new jobs or funded education and training packages which led to qualifications negotiable in a competitive labour market. Throughout, a discernable life-cycle emerged regarding these programmes. All tended to achieve some early success partly because they both directed attention to a 'gap' in the existing provision and therefore mopped up those being either overlooked or dealt with inadequately and also because they often capitalised on the initial enthusiasm of staff and providers searching for a change and fresh challenge. Sometimes the reductions achieved in unemployment levels appeared spectacular (though appearance is not sustained by the data). In its first year, YOP took 162,000 young people out of the labour market and off the unemployment register. However, such success was fleeting. For many, time on the programme became merely one episode on what Craine (1997) dubs the 'Black Magic Roundabout' of moving from schemes to unemployment, temporary work and benefits and back again, unless coming off the programme coincided with a fortuitous up-turn in the local or national economy. Inevitably as the success rate of each scheme faltered a 'new initiative' was unveiled. Throughout this period the criticism was unrelenting. In particular commentators ceaselessly scanned the horizon for the slightest hint of the compulsion which had become a consistent feature of pre-1945 responses to youth unemployment, and which they considered anathema.

New Deal Arrives

Despite the issues raised by the history of policy relating to unemployment, 'Welfare to Work' policies have been presented by New Labour as wholly beneficial and entirely unproblematic. The approach adopted in marketing these has been unrelentingly upbeat and positive. As the Labour Party was carefully 'made over' to emerge as New Labour so too was the welfare state. In the pretentiously entitled 'New Ambitions for Our Country: A New Contract for Welfare' (HMSO, 1998), Blair provided a foreword promising that this is the first 'truly comprehensive review of the welfare state in all its elements since Beveridge' (Ibid., iii). Unfortunately, and despite the claims, this document is totally devoid of the research, analysis and planning that had been the hallmark of Beveridge's Report and his earlier study of unemployment (1909). Although hinting at a period of debate and discussion to follow, the fundamental principles of Welfare to Work, within which the New Deal is presented as a 'flagship', are pre-set and prefigured, articulated in the slogan, 'work for those who can: security for those who cannot' . The possibility of discussion and debate focusses only on peripheral issues. Eight guiding principles are listed, the first of which is to 'help and encourage people of working age to work' (HMSO, 1998: 2). Alternatives such as more generous benefits and a privatised welfare system are perfunctorily dismissed. In these terms, all that

remains as an acceptable approach is the Government's very own, then much trumpeted now discarded, 'third way'. Those uncomfortable with this vision have been marginalised or silenced (Player, 1999). As an erstwhile supporter explains, within the constraints of such a discourse it becomes virtually impossible to raise objections without being accused of 'naiveté and cynicism' (Frank Field quoted in Lister, 1998).

Opposition has been muted to the extent that even trade unions, although expressing some disquiet about job displacement in relation to the New Deal for Young People, have endorsed the overall approach (Labour Research, January 1998). The content and detail of each initiative might have been fleetingly scrutinised but the political agenda has progressed to implementation virtually unhindered by public debate regarding underlying principles and assumptions. In particular there has been little debate about the definition and meaning of the core welfare problems and concepts , identified by the Government as social exclusion, barriers to paid work (the only one named was 'financial disincentives' which is a coded term for over generous benefits), and fraud (HMSO 1998). Inadequate financial support or a shortfall in the number of jobs have not even been judged to be worthy of consideration.

Consensus has been fostered by an explicit shift in the language used to account for and describe social security and unemployment (Lister, 1998; Mizen, 1998). Noticeably the government has sought to erode any residual commitment to the principle that the unemployed possess a right to state support. Initially the government refrained from direct accusations that the unemployed were the architects of their own plight. After all it had to be seen to be pursuing policies of 'social justice', and to encourage the majority of those targeted to co-operate. Therefore the problem was defined as 'welfare' dependency. The underpinning of the policy is a sure and certain belief that unemployment is harmful to the individual (Maguire and Maguire, 1997) and that this takes the form of 'dependency'. From this perspective, there is no such thing as a bad job and there can be no happiness in the alternatives to paid work.

The policy discourse has consistently stressed that the labour market is experiencing a fundamental restructuring with new industries requiring a new type of worker. This is a somewhat bewildering assertion because increasingly those jobs offered to young people in retailing, social care and various forms of post-modern 'servanting' would hardly faze the average Victorian school-leaver. Nevertheless all the usual rhetoric about people being the most important resource of the nation is employed. As Gordon Brown predictably told the Commons when announcing the New Deal 'Britain has only one truly national resource: the talent and potential of its people' (Hansard, 2.7.97: 308). Sadly the policies which emerge from beneath

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such platitudes give a different message. They speak of belief in an underclass comprising far too many of the wrong sort of people, living in the wrong places, displaying the wrong attitudes. Educated, trained and raised for the old industries, like a redundant factory they need to be 're-tooled'. This is an assessment applying even to the young and an astounding assumption given that young people have very recently in their lives completed eleven years of compulsory schooling within probably the most centralized least flexible education system in Europe or North America.

The New Deal for Young People aged 18 to 24 was briefly piloted, but never seriously evaluated in 12 'pathfinder' areas after January 1998 and went nationwide in April that year. Like so many earlier schemes it was extravagantly peddled. Most of the tired phrases were dusted down and re-cycled to sell it. Here, we were told was 'a radical step forward because it emphasises quality, choice and above all meeting the needs of individuals' (HMSO, 1998: 24). One document even described it as 'a new national crusade with all sections of the community pulling together' (DfEE, 1998). Criticism in such an atmosphere seemed little short of treasonable, a betrayal of the young and nation alike.

Funding for the New Deal was procured by transferring money from existing schemes and the £3.5 billion proceeds of the Windfall Tax on privatised public utilities. The intention was simple - 'to get 250,000 young people off benefits and back into work' (Andrew Smith MP, 1998). Yet there were approximately only 120,000 young people who had then been on benefits for over six months. Therefore Smith's figure could only have been an estimate of the number expected to fall within the remit of the programme over the whole period before the next election.

All young people on Jobseeker's Allowance for six months are automatically directed onto the New Deal and some who fulfil certain criteria such as homelessness enter via an accelerated route. New Deal has two halves. First comes the 'Gateway' which should last up to four months. However, almost a fifth are 'stuck' on Gateway for up to six months or longer. This package should comprise:

- *An initial phase of intensive help to find jobs*
- *Advice and guidance to assess the action needed to find work*
- *Access to independent careers advice*
- *Help with jobsearch techniques*
- *Basic skills courses and 'taster' placements on one of the four options for those who need them*
- *Help from specialist agencies for those with particular problems such as homelessness or drug dependency*

- *An action plan to be retained throughout the New Deal and updated as necessary. (DfEE 1997: 3)*

Each participant is allocated a personal advisor to oversee the process. For those judged 'job ready' the focus is on pursuing employment possibilities - looking at vacancies and writing application forms. With regard to the remainder who are assessed as 'less equipped', Gateway should embrace careers advice and support, work trials and tasters of future Options.

Clearly Gateway will process many who even with minimal or no intervention would have secured employment anyway. Research available prior to the introduction of New Deal indicated that already, with little intervention, during a six month period 65 per cent of those age under 25 left unemployment (NERA, 1997). In other words Gateway always had to be a 'success' of sorts. Currently just over 40 per cent of those leaving Gateway proceed to an unsubsidised job. However, care must be exercised when interpreting data relating to destinations. Evidence is emerging that a significant number 'are "playing the system", moving in and out of the Gateway so that they do not jeopardise their entitlement to benefit but still manage to avoid taking the next step into an option' (NIACE, 1999:3). As one youth worker informed us, he had never in over a decade encountered such levels of sickness amongst the young people with whom he worked. It appeared that as Gateway ended young people sought to go on and off the sick to avoid the second stage 'Options' presented to them. In London and the South East over a quarter of young people leave Gateway for 'no known destination' (DfEE, 1999: 7).

Theoretically all those who are still unemployed after four months transfer to the second stage. Four Options were initially tendered, each of six or twelve months duration:

- *work with an employer who will receive a job subsidy of up to £60 a week for each participant taken (the young person should be paid a 'market wage');*
- *full-time education and training (receiving benefits only);*
- *work with a voluntary sector organisation, (for this and the fourth option benefits plus £15);*
- *work on the Environmental Taskforce.*

As Brown promised, in the speech quoted earlier, there is no fifth option of staying at home on benefit. However, there is now a fifth 'self-employment' option taken up by a small minority. As with YOP and other earlier programmes once transferred to an Option those involved leave the claimant count.

There are aspects of the New Deal which should be welcomed, including the emphasis within Gateway on constructive personal advice. However in most respects New Deal is the same old wine in a new bottle. From the onset it has been carefully packaged, starting with the choice of name which, Janus-like, looks back for validation and forward to a new beginning. Simultaneously it implies the positive elements of the Roosevelt New Deal Programme, credited in popular mythology with eradicating unemployment in 1930s America, whilst promising something different from the failed initiatives of the last two decades. Actually it is cobbled together from elements of those very initiatives. Gateway is a retread of 'Project Work' launched in 1995. This commenced with a 13 week period of opportunities and programmes including:- help with jobsearch, a voluntary '1-2-1' programme, Jobclubs, and work experience. It even imposed the same sanctions on non-attenders. Similarities also link New Deal to the Jobclubs launched in 1984. Likewise an identical £60 subsidy to employers is encountered in the 1993 Workstart package, whilst the Voluntary and Environmental programmes of the Community Enterprise Programme and subsequent Community Programme abandoned in 1988, match the New Deal Options. These schemes were also aimed at 18 to 24 year olds unemployed for six months who were then offered a year's temporary employment. Possibly most noteworthy is that the whole edifice builds upon the Job Seekers Allowance (JSA) structure, introduced by the conservatives in October 1996. The JSA is predicated upon the assumption that large numbers of the unemployed are feckless and, if left to their own devices, idle. Coercion therefore forms the basis upon which support is dispensed. JSA was constructed not to help the unemployed but as its architects boasted, to improve the operation of the labour market, or as Portillo, then Secretary of State for Employment, explained, to 'remove barriers that discourage people from leaving benefit' (Hansard, 10.1.95: col 47). Fundamentally it withdraws the right of the unemployed to refuse a job even on grounds of hours, wages or conditions of employment. Claimants cannot set a minimum acceptable wage as this risks loss of benefits for making themselves unwilling to work. Just to ensure claimants have no escape, they must sign a Jobseeker's Agreement covering restrictions on hours and patterns of availability, type of work, action to be taken to seek work and improve prospects. Personally imposed restrictions, along with refusals, can lead to benefit suspensions. JSA approximates to the crude welfare to work models initiated in some of the more reactionary and 'anti-welfare' American states which aim to starve and coerce individuals into taking what Coupland (1991: 6) describes as a McJob, 'a low-pay, low-prestige, low-dignity, low-benefit, no-future job in the service sector. Frequently considered a satisfying career choice by people who have never held one'.

Resemblance and continuities between New Deal and its predecessors are not merely the by-products of unconsidered incrementalism. They arise because the present government chose to construct policy from the same ideological starting point as the Conservatives. New Labour shares the same unquestioning faith in the sanctity of the market and its capacity to create jobs. The incrementalism within New Deal is not the result of a reverence for the past or refusal to think through policy. It is significant because the government of New Labour, like the Tories before it has limited the role of government in relation to the labour market to educating and training and policing the workforce. Since the early 1990s no government has trusted either itself or elected local councillors to undertake full responsibility for education and training. Even here, representatives of the business sector direct the agenda. Schools and FE colleges have had forced upon them business governors, Education Action Zones and Training and Enterprise Councils which, although funded by taxpayers, have to be 'managed' by business sector representatives. Likewise New Deal elements were opened up for tender in the hope that private firms would become 'providers'. The requirements of industry, not the greater good of the unemployed, nor indeed social justice, are paramount.

Business influence is reflected in the composition of the 'high level Advisory Task Force' which advises the Minister and the Cabinet Committee on Welfare to Work. This is chaired by Sir Peter Davis, Chief Executive of the Prudential Group. Sir Peter's own job creation credentials are somewhat mixed. In November 1999 Prudential announced it was downsizing to boost future profitability - in other words reducing its workforce by one in ten over a 12 month period (Mackintosh, 1999). However, and possibly as a way of making amends, Prudential under Sir Peter has become a major shareholder in the SFI Group, Britain's biggest and fastest-growing chain of table dancing clubs. These are busily creating scores of jobs for young women paid £10 for allowing men to have an extremely close three minute look at their genitals. IRIS, an organisation which screens companies on behalf of ethical investment funds catagorises SFI along with porn merchants. Consequently three-quarters of its clients already refuse to invest in it. Sir Peter has no such qualms (Horley, 1999).

Welfare Versus Work

Despite the unrelenting up-beat images and messages attached to marketing New Deal, those aspects of the initiative associated with the underlying idea of Welfare to Work are implicitly negative. A central problem concerns the concept itself which though ambiguous, implies transition from one state to another. The underlying inference is that welfare is 'bad' and work is 'good', for both individuals and the health of their communities (Link, 1997). 'Welfare' and 'work' are set in opposition

to each other. Unconditional benefits are viewed as reinforcing welfare dependency and therefore counter-productive. As Alistair Darling confirmed when introducing the Welfare Reform and Pensions Bill:

> There is no unconditional right to benefit. People have a right to expect help to get into work, and security if they cannot. In turn they have a responsibility to take up that help. (Quoted in the Guardian, and The Times, 11/2/99)

This is concretised within a Deal based on the JSA. Co-operation is compulsory and punitive measures await the unco-operative as the following guidelines illustrate:

> Q. What will the benefit sanctions be if young people say no?
>
> A. We intend that young people who unreasonably refuse a New Deal place will lose their Jobseeker's Allowance for two weeks. If they refuse a further offer at any time in the following 12 months, they will lose JSA for four weeks. Of course, in order to start receiving money, young people only have to accept their places on New Deal. Young people with children, and young people who are themselves or who have partners that are pregnant, disabled or chronically sick, will be able to apply for a reduced rate of JSA on the grounds of hardship at any point during a sanction. (Employment Service, Northern Region, 1998)

Who defines 'unreasonable refusal' or what it comprises in this context is predictably left open. Ambiguity evaporates in relation to what those rejecting the terms of New Deal by claiming exceptional circumstances can expect. They must justify any claim to reduced benefit. Indeed it is assumed that for many no such case is feasible. As Blunkett utilising the menacing vocabulary of a Victorian workhouse Guardian warned 'for the able-bodied we do not believe it is right for them to turn down these choices and to continue drawing benefit' (Hansard 3-12-97: col 442). Those enduring the sanctions and withdrawal of benefit must survive on as little as £14 per week. The apparent intention to tackle the negative consequences of unemployment through the allocation of targeted resources, seems to be a weaker imperative than the desire to ration welfare. The intention is to change the behaviour of the unemployed and exclude from the benefits of citizenship those refusing or unable to conform (Player, 99).

New Deal sanctions are founded on the premise that the State cannot afford current welfare costs, that dependence upon long term welfare erodes the desire to work and is, in the words of one government adviser 'a subsidy to idleness' (Layard, 1994). The unemployed are assumed to need more stick than carrot to persuade

them into work and welfare benefits are to be nothing more than part of the strategy to achieve that work. Increasing tax or re-ordering Government spending priorities to improve welfare benefits as a means of tackling the poverty associated with unemployment are alternatives which are no longer worthy of consideration. Undeniably, high levels of unemployment have pushed up the costs of social security. Yet as a proportion of GDP, spending on social security is now on a par with levels prevailing in the mid-1970s. Moreover, since the early 1990s spending has been declining. Meanwhile the poor, and the young poor in particular, have found their living standards further depressed. As the New Earnings Survey shows, the pay of 18 to 24 year olds in relation to older workers fell by 10 per cent between 1989 and 1999 (see also Walker, 1998; Labour Research, April 1998[b]; Craig, 1998).

To some extent the arguments revolve around the interpretation of financial statistics. Those believing social security is too expensive, point to the absolute rise in costs; whereas those maintaining that the welfare state is affordable stress the stability of the relative costs and cheapness of the British system compared to alternatives. Ultimately, the position taken is ideological and this government has made an ideological choice to cut the costs of social security. This locates New Labour's thinking firmly within the perspective of the New Right which points to welfare dependency as the source of a wide range of social problems associated with the growth of an 'underclass' and of 'disaffection' amongst young people (Jeffs and Smith 1994; Jeffs 1997 and 1999).

For those who argue that the state can afford to maintain and even increase welfare provision, it is not welfare but poverty which damages individuals and society (MacWhirter, 1998; Labour Research, April 1998a and b; Craig, 1998). In these terms, 'social justice' which the government also appears keen to promote, would be more fully served by understanding welfare and work to be mutually beneficial rather than oppositional. If this position is correct, then a Welfare to Work policy based upon cutting welfare benefits, which makes little or no effort to address structural problems in the labour market, is counterproductive, both for those targeted, and the wider economy and society because it can only increase poverty. At the same time, it sustains the old and discredited shibboleths of the deserving and undeserving, the able-bodied and disabled poor, thereby negatively labeling those dependent upon social security and reinforcing in the process the social exclusion which current policies claim to address. From this perspective, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that, like the 1834 Poor Law, such policies are about controlling the poor as much as providing access to employment.

Transition and Gateway

Given the poverty associated with unemployment and the indignity involved in claiming welfare benefits, it is unsurprising that many long term unemployed young people welcomed the implementation of the New Deal with its emphasis on 'opportunity'. (Independent, 26/1/98; Sunderland Echo, 6/4/98; Prasad, 1998). Such a positive response gives the lie to the idea that unemployed young people do not want to work and initially suggested a possible harmony between the needs of the unemployed and intentions of the government. Unfortunately discordant notes are already sounding. Not only is the punitive approach of the benefits system counter-productive, but also the assumptions built into the strategies for transition to work fail to relate appropriately to the conditions of life for unemployed young people. There are inherent difficulties associated with definitions, priorities and with inequalities of power which are inimical to the idea of an equal 'partnership' in the negotiations between the unemployed and those employed to persuade them back to work. Living in conditions of poverty and unemployment gives a different perspective to that acquired from the outside. Yet the priorities for transitional arrangements are decided by the outsider.

The emphasis on the notion of transition as a constructive process refers to the new systems of support and encouragement which have been put in place to implement the New Deal. In keeping with the forward looking messages, the Gateway phase of the New Deal is staffed with Advisors who have been trained up to NVQ Level 3 in Personal Guidance (IRS, 1998). It is their job to offer meaningful help to those entering the scheme. Undertaking this implies a wholesale change in attitude and demeanour towards the long term unemployed users of Employment Services. If this comes to pass all parties should benefit (Independent, 26/1/98; Marshall and Gibson, 1999). However the patronising tone of the written guidance to staff smacks of marketing rather than sincerity:

New Deal offers you the opportunity to deliver a 'jobseeker-centred' service - a service you have always wanted to provide but haven't had the opportunity to do so.

The service you will provide has to be driven by your jobseekers needs and wishes.
(Employment Service, undated 2)

So what will success look like...

'the young people on New Deal coming in and saying a simple thank you'

'when an ES advert comes on the screen (at a cinema) we don't get booed out of the auditorium'

'employers coming back to us and saying I didn't know you could do that, send us some more'

These were just some of the comments made by ES staff at the London Pathfinder conference 9 December 1997.

(Employment Service, undated, 7)

The limited research available does indicate that in a substantial number of cases the Personal Adviser is making a positive contribution (Princes Trust 1999: Marshall and Gibson 1999). Certainly Faichnie reports that most people used the words 'helpful, supportive and confidence boosting' when describing their adviser (1999: 26). However, the problematic of definitions, priorities and power is likely to become more significant as the Gateway period ends and young people still without a job encounter the Options. We spoke informally to a number of people associated with the New Deal in the North East as part of the preparation for this paper and it was clear from these conversations that dissatisfaction increases at the point of choosing options. Young people talked of being given 'no choice' whilst a number felt they were sent to what was available, not what they required. Others complained they were put on NVQ level 2 courses even though they were ready to proceed beyond that level. Faichnie (1999) found that not one of the 23 people she interviewed who had been on Gateway had been on an 'option taster'. For them choice was usually mythical.

However the young unemployed must not merely co-operate, but be seen to co-operate. For the power to define co-operation lies in the hands of the providers, as does the authority to withdraw financial support. Moreover, despite the designated consultation process regarding the choice of option, these are pre-determined by what has been negotiated with providers. Despite the hype of a 'job-seeker centred service' the latter have not been shaped by the desires and interests of the young unemployed but by the framework created by the government, modified by what is on 'offer' from local employers, training agencies and the voluntary sector. The real partnership is between the state and providers of jobs and placements who hold the whip hand leaving little negotiating space within which young people can set out their interests, aspirations and enthusiasms.

Because the success of New Deal depends upon the co-operation of Option providers it is they who tend to dictate the terms. When it comes to meeting their needs everything seems negotiable. For example, despite the commitment to training to at least NVQ Level 2, at a conference in March 1998 to assess the first phase organised by Industrial Relation Services Training:

All speakers were keen to reassure delegates that the scheme is designed to cut down bureaucracy and be adaptable to the needs of employers. For

example, Simian Norton from the Employment Service remarked that the
training requirement in the New Deal will not necessarily be tied to the
achievement of National Vocational Qualifications, but could be satisfied
by any training that leads to the development of transferable skills. (IRS,
March 1998)

Finance available through the New Deal only reaches the unemployed via the services offered them by the providers of placements and training. For example, employers offering placements under the options can claim not only the £60 per week already mentioned but training costs of up to £750 per person. £700 million is earmarked for education and training, and colleges offering training opportunities can bid for a share of £100 million (THES, 1/5/99; IRS Jan. 1998). Each placement under the Environmental Task Force Option attracts £4000 (IRS Jul. 98). One organisation in Sunderland providing Gateway services receives £108 for each CV completed by a young person, and £167 each for careers guidance and job search. Although there are of course checks and balances and organisations are accountable for their expenditure, nevertheless, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that some employers and other providing organisations stand to gain financially from their participation, particularly if they can offer opportunities for large numbers, whereupon economies of scale come into play. Not surprisingly, therefore it is the larger employers and voluntary organisations who have been most keen to participate (IRS, Jan. 1998; Sunderland Echo, 30/4/98). The New Deal is bent to their interests as much as to those of the unemployed. Certainly it is predominately clients not providers who express dissatisfaction. Whilst unemployed young people are coerced into participation by benefit sanctions, employers sign an agreement which in its level of generality, and possibilities for exceptions, could hardly be considered onerous.

Regarding the provision of training, concern has been raised relating to fraud associated with the TECs. We know during 1997, £14.6 million was spent by them on 'incorrect and uncertain' payments to training organisations. Simultaneously over 15% of TECs were judged to be financial risks. Already the Government has invested £10 million in trying to solve these problems and promises detailed scrutiny of New Deal payments. Everything suggests this is a substantive problem both in terms of financial mismanagement and the quality and relevance of training offered participants (THES, 1/5/98; Jones, 1997). Certainly some young people we interviewed encountered fraud and incompetence. One reported being asked to say 'you've been here five days a week when I'd only been for three'. Another described a music technology programme which for two terms involved no access to equipment or specialist rooms. A third told of pre-signed time sheets posted to

their home for them to complete. Finally a group on the full-time education option recounted how other students consistently received priority in terms of access to rooms, equipment and staff.

Transition and Skill Shortage.

Whilst the images associated with 'Welfare' are depicted as negative within the discourse, those associated with 'Work' are resoundingly positive. It is assumed that waged work provides the pathways to worthwhile change and transition for young people. Work axiomatically leads to inclusion and citizenship, independence and responsibility, bestowing individual and social prosperity. That some are unable to acquire work despite the best efforts of themselves and others is rarely associated in the policy discourse with an absence of suitable employment possibilities. Rather this is blamed on a mismatch between the skills offered by the individual and labour market demand. Irrespective of the scale of unemployment encountered the skills-deficit model remains a persistent and popular political explanation enabling governments to devise remedies which address the problem as one of transition, through educational and training policies (Mizen, 1998; Lister, 1998; Omerod, 1999). They thereby avoid the need for substantive intervention to even partially restructure the labour market, incidentally excusing political inertia. This perspective is promoted as though its validity has been proved beyond reasonable doubt. Existing debate is superfluous and in the absence of critical analysis, the chance to discuss the issue in a manner which does not stigmatise unemployed young people, is lost.

Whilst it may be the case some individuals fail to find satisfactory work because they lack the skills employers seek, proffering this as a catch-all explanation for unemployment ignores the complexities of demand and the cyclical nature of the global economy. Even on its own terms, it begs the question of how a skilled workforce is to be achieved, under what conditions and with whom the responsibility lies. Skill shortages are not absolutes; they are relative to time and place, to growth and recession, to international, national and local conditions. The demand and supply for labour is in constant flux. Relationships between 'skills shortages' and unemployment is far more complex than acknowledged in policy initiatives (Mizen, 1994; Neary, 1996; Maguire and Maguire, 1997; Omerod, 1999). In general unemployed people are less skilled than the employed, but in the labour market, the unskilled compete with the unskilled, not with the skilled. At the same time, the efforts of the State to increase qualification levels among the unemployed makes only a marginal difference to outcomes:

> *In the current phase of capitalism, the market mechanism is incapable of creating sufficient numbers of jobs for the numbers of unqualified workers*

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that exists. And, while a small number of individuals may be able to better their positions by training and education, this is not possible for the unskilled as a group. The overall distribution of ability can be altered, but only slowly, and even in the medium term it can be regarded as effectively fixed. (Solow quoted in THES 12/2/99: 24)

If this argument is correct, a New Deal Option placement is unlikely to profoundly elevate the skills profile of the unemployed as a group and some firms already claim the six months' subsidy gives insufficient time for adequate training. This view is echoed by many young people. Meanwhile, Voluntary Option providers have complained that insufficient funding per placement is damaging the quality of the programme (Bennett 1999).

Predictably the majority of the young participants hope to secure 'proper' jobs. Most will have their hopes dashed. The sustained co-operation of employers is crucial for the package to succeed. Yet despite the financial incentives offered and campaigning aimed at bringing employers on-board there is evidence that small businesses in particular have adopted a 'wait and see' stance. From the very first, local business participation has not been wholehearted:

Over 900 employers were invited to business breakfasts in Lambeth last autumn. Just over 100 showed up; a bleak turn out considering there are over 500 small and medium sized employers in and around the area. Beryl Walker, New Deal operations manager for Lambeth, says this was good compared to other pilot areas. But, two weeks after the New Deal's launch, Mrs Walker is still unable to say how many employers have joined the scheme, except that it is 'definitely double figures'. (Prasad, 1998(a); 6)

In a survey of its members conducted by the Institute of Directors, little over half thought employing young people via New Deal would benefit their companies whilst 71% were worried participants might be 'unwilling conscripts' and 73% had doubts that such recruits would be suitable for their firms (IRS, Jan. 1998). As noted earlier it seems it is mainly larger employers who are prepared to take the risks involved in offering placements (IRS Jan. 1998; Sunderland Echo, 30/4/98).

Governmental planning assumes at least 40% of participants will secure unsubsidised work as a result of their Gateway interviews. By late 1999 of the 226,000 who had left Gateway only 58,000 were known to have gone into unsubsidised jobs (DfEE 1999). For some, Gateway involves a gradual lowering of hopes and expectations, of obliging them to adjust to the 'realities' of the labour market - to make peace with mediocrity. Cases reported in one local newspaper reflect this process (Sunderland Echo, 6/4/98; 23/10/98). Of three young people initially interviewed

in April 1998 one unqualified young man looking for a labouring job was simply never mentioned again.The second, a Durham University Graduate, was already involved in the voluntary community work which she simply continued under the auspices of the New Deal. She also began a 20 week training course to qualify her for teaching adults 'even though she doesn't know if teaching is the career for her'. The third, initially the most enthusiastic participant, expressed a desire to 'study acting full time'. By October this young man who had alternatively hoped he might obtain some sort of work found neither that or full time training. Instead he was arranging to participate in the voluntary sector option whilst undertaking a course with a local theatre group. He was quoted:

> *I never got a job and it made me feel horrible because I was one of the first to join up for New Deal... They say there are loads of companies saying they'll take people on but I went for loads of interviews and they never took me on. (Sunderland Echo, 23/10/98)*

Research currently underway in the North East suggests participants are having highly uneven experiences. Environmental work in particular is emerging as the least favoured option and those finding themselves part of the Environmental Task Force perceive little difference between it and earlier schemes. Already there is a high degree of cynicism amongst some of those involved who perceive the skills they are learning to be either too low grade or irrelevant to their prospects in the labour market. (Marshall and Gibson 1999).

Often the training offered has little to do with the skills needed for real employment in a particular sector. The concepts of 'skill' and of 'training' are seldom clearly defined in policy documents. In the New Deal, NVQ Level 2 is considered the minimum qualification to constitute 'skill' in a general sense. As one manager of a voluntary sector placement informed us not only was he finding it difficult to find sufficient work for the participants, but he believed the NVQ Level 2 they were working towards was entirely inappropriate for a future career in this field of work. There are in any case arguments supported by research which suggest problems with NVQs, that insofar as these qualifications are 'outcome' orientated they are unable to provide the real skills needed for employment (Jones 1997).

The Meaning of Work.

In trying to facilitate 'work' for the unemployed, providers assume their view of work and its benefits to be universal. Like the previous Conservative administration, New Labour aggressively promotes the 'work ethic'. As Harriet Harman explained: 'We are reforming the welfare state around the work ethic. Promoting employability, adaptability and inclusion' (quoted Lister 1998; see also Gordon Brown, Observer

11/5/97)). In concentrating attention upon transition and access to work, ideas of 'work' itself and what it means to different groups are overlooked. Attention is focussed upon soliciting the co-operation of local employers, in developing training schemes and inculcating appropriate attitudes in the unemployed. Ignored in this process is the possibility that alternative ways of defining work which have emerged from a real relationship with the labour market over generations and in relation to social roles have meaning and relevance (MacDonald, 1997; White, 1997: Mizen, 1998). By setting these aside as irrelevant, policy makers are inviting cynicism, resistance, disillusionment and an absence of active co-operation among those targeted.

Informal and casual employment have been a way of life across generations for some families. Communities exist which now have had scant opportunity to develop a 'work ethic' for decades (Brown 1996). In such settings the 'way of life' associated with work is often one which assumes low levels of skill, casualisation, poverty wages, hard physical labour and negative personal satisfaction. Irrespective of the decline of old industries, such conditions have not disappeared from the labour market. Young people living in areas blighted by long term structural unemployment may be highly motivated towards work but particularly vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous employers. In this context, the work ethic operates in the employer's interest, not those of the worker; it can easily, and with justification therefore be viewed as a 'mugs game'.

For some who are at a competitive disadvantage in the labour market, extended periods of unemployment do not necessarily mean an absence of work, but merely alternative patterns of work. These can include a mix of family and community-based work, activity in the informal as well as the formal economy, including, occasionally, illegal enterprises. Groups such as mothers of young families have long maintained a flexible casual relationship with the labour market responsive to local conditions and or family needs which patterns of work have actually been beneficial to employers in the past.

Without access to a decent regular wage, welfare benefits plus occasional work in the formal and informal economies are the only legal means of long term survival for some (Beresford et al 1999). As Coffield, Borril and Marshall report

> Technically undeclared work is illegal too but ... it is usually their only means of eking out their benefit and of keeping skills and self respect alive. (1986: 53)

In many cases these survival strategies are relatively harmless involving the sharing of information, goods, services and skills. Occasionally they entail trading in goods

of dubious lineage. Some undoubtedly adopt strategies which include serious criminal or harmful activity (Williamson 1997; Roberts, 1997). However, other responses are creative and socially useful, not least unpaid community work and personal caring for those in need. In reality, all informal survival strategies, legal as well as illegal, will be disrupted by the requirement to participate in schemes such as the New Deal. However, those most affected will not be the groups making a lucrative living from criminal activity, but those individuals whose informal economic activities are generally the least lucrative, least harmful, most transparent and usually the most socially useful.

Waged work might be the least complicated way of dealing with poverty amongst the young, but only if it offers a living income and decent conditions. Welfare to work regimes which disrupt positive networks and methods of survival among unemployed groups can surely only be justified if the promise of long term, stable and rewarding work is delivered. Unfortunately, it is likely that the disruption of participation in the informal economy will be experienced both as a cut in income and an interference in the relations of everyday life for those concerned. This must be balanced against the reality that there is, and can be, no promise of well paid work as a consequence of New Deal.

Despite its stated good intentions, the process of seeking to access the labour market for those young people currently excluded is one in which, under the circumstances of the design of the New Deal, the long term future does not bode well. We believe that New Deal will meet growing resistance even from those who presently are the most enthusiastic participants (Prince's Trust 1999: Mizen 1998). Word is already seeping out that even amongst those who exit New Deal into employment 'a significant number of jobs ... have not lasted 13 weeks' (Bivand 1999: 8). If this happens during a period when the job market appears more buoyant than at almost anytime during the last twenty years it takes little imagination to envisage the impact on outcomes of a downturn, a bottle-neck within the employment option, or a failure to bring more employers into the programme.

The willingness of young people to collaborate will always be problematic. Once they and their parents begin to suspect the worst, that it offers little or nothing more substantive than earlier initiatives, co-operation will evaporate. The profound deep-seated cynicism regarding 'dead-end schemes' amongst many participants cannot be over-estimated. Beresford et al (1999), for example, were unable to unearth anyone with a good word to say about any programme, past or present. Inevitably alienation from New Deal will occur initially amongst those constituting the core target group, those young people who are unable to access legitimate work by other means and who find themselves undertaking the least favoured

options which bear no relationship to their own interests and ambitions. In this respect, given the weight of history and its shady pedigree, New Deal has little time left to prove its worth to those it hopes to process. Indeed, judging by our informal interviews and conversations, as well as the evidence beginning to emerge from systematic research, it may already be in the process of being judged a failure, a waste of time.

Conclusion

The majority of young people involved in New Deal are not undertaking the Employment Option and even if they were, there is no compulsion for an employer to keep them on after the subsidy runs out. Although the practice is discouraged, no penalty is incurred if firms unload them to take on another New Dealer or other applicant. Moreover if employers do offer a permanent post to those recruited through New Deal, without recourse to expansion a future Option place is lost. This suggests that over time other Options will have to take up ever more slack. Within these training is separated from 'employment'. Therefore for these routes to succeed participants must be enthused with an urge to learn for learning's sake.

Undertaking training in a situation not linked to a job demands either faith in the ability of those managing the scheme to 'deliver the goods' or a willingness to undertake long term planning and opt for deferred gratification. Yet training for its own sake has never been part of the culture within communities whose history is one of casual and unskilled labour. Nor, it should be stressed, is it valued in leafy suburbs. There it is treated with disdain unless of the post-graduate variety or integrated into a degree programme, such as law or accountancy, at a good university. Sadly the overwhelming majority of participants in New Deal have a generational history of low pay, intermittent work or long-term unemployment. They emerge from families and communities where for very good reasons, persuading individuals that formal education and training is in their interests can be difficult at the best of times. To gain education and training for their children, parents in poor circumstances are usually obliged to make sacrifices out of all proportion to those required of their better-off neighbours and in an uncertain and unequal job market, the benefits can be dubious to say the least.

New Deal is something designed by politicians and policy makers for other peoples' children. All the talk of quality and high standards evaporates once that simple reality is noted. It fails John Dewey's simple test which he applied to education: is it an experience which an informed and responsible parent would wish for their own child? Would any reader with any knowledge of current FE practice be staggered to learn, as we did, of a college where the Principal appointed his secretary,

without an interview, to plan and manage provision for New Deal 'students'. She was an employee whom he wished to unload, possessing only minimal secretarial qualifications. Of course this may be an isolated example of bad practice but we would argue that it reflects a widespread indifference to the quality of training and education offered these young people who were described to us by an administrator in another college as 'hopeless cases, a total waste of time'. In this context, it is of little surprise that Faichnie found 'that the quality of training both on full-time education and training option and as part of other options was poor' (1999: 48) according to all the young people she interviewed.

Historical experience warns us that schemes such as New Deal rarely improve over time. This is especially true when, as in this case, they are based on a deficit model which assumes that those they are designed to help are inadequate, lacking in the social skills, personal characteristics and motivation encountered in 'normal' young people. Such programmes, whatever the targets set, always have the perfect escape clause - namely, they can blame the material with which they are working. Like every scheme before it, New Deal will cream off the top fifty per cent and when faced with the intractable residue, turn to surveillance and enforcement activities (Jordan, 1999). Already the screw is being turned, with the sanctions strengthened and greater compulsion promised. In Autumn 1999 those refusing to take a job or training course will lose benefit for six months instead of the previous one month. Once started the government will undoubtedly continue this mean-spirited and authoritarian approach unless public pressure calls a halt. When the headlines appear with increasing regularity announcing, 'Disillusioned Young Quit Blair's New Deal Jobs' (Sunday Times, 2/8/98) and 'Where are the New Deal Jobs: Government misses its target by 5,700' (The Journal, 7/8/99), we can expect action. However, on past evidence, this will most likely embody a make-over plus re-launch accompanied by a tightening up of the rules to catch the young skivers. New Labour is unlikely to consider the fundamental re-think required.

It is perhaps as well to note at this juncture the warning of Hirsch (1999) that even if the New Deal was as successful as hoped, and we know already from published data it will not be, the scale of hidden unemployment and under-employment is such that the number of people in non-working households will remain in the millions. That will remain so unless policy heads in a new direction. If this is the case, and we have encountered no evidence to refute this expectation, what are practitioners and academics to do?

Firstly, we suggest the current ceasefire should end forthwith. The reluctance of practitioners and academics to criticise the government of New Labour either out

of loyalty or for fear of being thrown off the gravy train must cease. It is simply a dereliction of duty to put our critical faculties on hold until the Conservatives return to power. Williamson has criticised the 'reluctance of some within the youth service to sign up to the government's agenda (precisely because it is the government's agenda) which throws the baby out with the bath water' (Williamson 1999: 41). However, that reluctance in relation to certain policy initiatives, not least New Deal, is not to be deprecated but honoured. Williamson is open about his unwillingness to challenge the new regime. Others have been less so. In many cases either self-interest, fear or perhaps laziness has fostered inactivity. The contract culture, competitive tendering and Best Value Initiative are all designed to encourage and reward servility, to ensure we learn to keep our palms up for cash, our gaze focussed firmly downwards on the young 'underclass', and our mouths shut. This is not good enough.

Youth workers, other welfare professionals and those academics interested in something beyond flattering the dispensers of research grants need to re-discover their radical questioning roots. Many, perhaps all, know that the New Deal is probably not even a marginal improvement on what preceded it. They know that the quality of training in many instances borders on a joke, that young people are frequently given no choice regarding their post-Gateway destination and that many Options are dead-ends. Yet too many commentators remain silent. Now is just about as good a time as any to begin advocating a change of course. Staff with whom we talked were already willing to speculate on what will follow. They had no faith in New Deal being anything more than another 'ship in the night' and clearly did not consider it something worth preserving. Our role is not to unthinkingly support New Deal or what follows - there is an army of satraps already in post to undertake that role. Ours is to expose its shortcomings, to give a voice to the young people who have been short-changed, misled and exploited, to encourage them to speak out and help them find ways to influence and shape policy. That will mean re-visiting some of the ways in which an earlier generation of workers fought against sweat shops and the exploitation of juvenile labour. Like them, we must acknowledge the difference between worthwhile work and useless toil. It is necessary to start to question the nonsensical core concept within the New Deal that any job is better than no job. Thousands of adults and young people know that to be a ridiculous assumption.

Secondly, it is necessary to begin to think of alternatives. It is over optimistic to believe that maybe, just maybe, the New Deal marks the beginning of the end for the current ways of dealing with the young employed; that after two decades of bungling failure and self delusion the penny is beginning to drop; that we may at

last find the courage to reject the American model of driving down wages and benefits in the hope that it will create sufficient jobs to cater for all the unemployed, who can then be bullied and starved into accepting them. To begin with, it is important to acknowledge that schemes and policies in this sphere directed exclusively at young people have been generally inferior and more oppressive than those offered older workers. At the same time, we need to take on board the implications of the reality that for the first time since industrialisation there is no longer a discrete youth labour market. As Skilbeck et al note, during the last two decades we have experienced

> *the most profound structural change ... not to be found in the design and development of new programmes and organisations to deliver them but in the decline, temporary revival, and now, it seems, final collapse of the youth labour market. (1994: 243)*

This means that there is no longer any foundation in labour market terms for developing policy which is specific to the young unemployed. Rational policy-making which responded to changes in the labour market would treat all unemployed people the same, irrespective of age. In the absence of a partially disengaged youth labour market the raison d'êître for treating the young people as though they are destined for a unique niche has little purchase. In this context, it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that policy apparently about unemployment is actually founded upon a desire to control and direct young people in relation to broader social issues. A more just approach would cease treating the young unemployed as somehow different, discriminating against them on account of their age, allowing the belief that youth unemployment is somehow worse for them in its effects and more dangerous in its outcomes than for older people. Young people now compete directly for jobs and training with older workers and ought therefore to be given the same consideration.

We would like to close by endorsing the plea made by Hay that 'it is now surely time to turn our attention from the defence of the "second-best" - whether in the theoretical or political terms - to the fashioning of something better' (1998: 531). Rather than continuing to dance to the tunes played by big business interests, and in the teeth of the undoubted opposition of the powerful in the business world, a government truly engaging with principles of social justice would acknowledge the limits and biases of the welfare to work philosophy. In doing so it would commit itself initially not only to a radical re-appraisal of the relationship between the state, citizens and the economy, but to a re-appraisal founded upon substantial research evidence and which allowed the views of dissenting voices. In considering the need for welfare reform, its first objective would be the elimination of poverty,

not only in the mythical future, but also now, in the present situation. In its desire to produce a creative and skilled population, its first objective would be the development of a democratic, accessible education system which encouraged open-ended and critical enquiry rather than a mechanistic servility to a reductionist and employer-led 'skills' agenda. In its hope to create a dynamic, thriving and modern economy, its first objective would be to treat employees and their organisations with as much consideration as that given to employers and their organisations. This would mean using legislation to encourage working practices which respect employees and reward them adequately for their time and effort and which controlled the excessive profiteering of 'fat-cat' employers.

To revisit some of these possibilities would require bravery and would risk losing the support of business and the media, but government without risk is sterile and ultimately self-defeating. Moreover, to simply begin by opening the space for debate, to engage in discussion around a range of alternative possibilities, to raise some questions about the negative assumptions inscribed within welfare to work, is a small thing to ask when the prize is 'social justice'.

Here we would like briefly to suggest some alternative options which might at least be discussed:

(a) *a minimum citizens income for all irrespective of age given uncondition-ally as the basis for social justice and personal autonomy;*

(b) *re-introduction of student grants at 1960 levels payable for up to five years post 16;*

(c) *funding of democratically controlled local employment initiatives to fuel economic and community re-generation;*

(d) *optional retirement from age 60 with the option of working hours reducing from age 50 onwards;*

(e) *legislation to further restrict working hours to facilitate a more equitable distribution of the available employment opportunities;*

(f) *standard minimum wage for all workers irrespective of age;*

(g) *an educational curriculum which prepares people for life, not just for labour in the global market place.*

If these appear as outrageously expensive and extreme suggestions, we would merely ask the reader to consider just how many billions have been frittered away not just on New Deal, but on all those programmes which went before, and to consider the meagre results. Three choices seem to present themselves regarding

this issue. Carry on producing ever more follies such as New Deal for the foreseeable future. Opt to change direction and try a new approach to what is fast becoming an old problem. Or like the DJ quoted at the start of the article, decide to accept unemployment 'as the way of the world' and opt to do nothing. The second seems the only acceptable option for us.

Tony Jeffs *University of Durham.*

Jean Spence *University of Sunderland.*

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REPRESENTATIONS OF TEENAGERS AMONG POLICE OFFICERS:

Some implications for their communication with young people

JOHN DRURY AND CATHERINE DENNISON

Introduction

The question of how 'adolescence' or 'youth' is conceptualized is an important one not only for theory but also for policy and practice. Accounts of adolescence inform work in the youth service, the education system, the juvenile justice system, the youth job market and training. For example, the biologistic 'storm and stress' model of adolescence as a sudden period of endogenous turbulence has led to policies in which 'youth is trouble', and therefore needs to be controlled by professional adults (Griffin, 1993, 1997; Loader, 1996). Representations of youth may serve to justify particular discriminatory practices through constructing young people as a locus of various contemporary 'crises', such as unemployment, teenage pregnancy and delinquency. Moreover, as Griffin (1997) points out, within the global representations of 'youth', there are a number of important distinctions. Thus, for example, while young men are typically dealt with through policies reflecting the 'youth is trouble' characterization, young women tend more commonly to be treated in terms of a more liberal 'youth in trouble' model. The two types of account are related, however; thus for example, some commentators attributed the 1992 Los Angeles uprising to the high incidence of teenage pregnancy among African-American young women (Griffin, 1997).

If representations of youth feed into policy they will surely also have implications for interaction processes, such as communication, for professional groups that work with young people. One such group is the police. Relations between police officers and young people, particularly black young men, has been the topic of much academic and policy-oriented research, especially - in the United States - since the Watts riot of 1965 (Cashmore, 1991) and - in the UK - the public relations crisis following the urban riots of the 1980s (e.g., Cashmore and McLaughlin, 1991; Field and Southgate, 1982; Scarman, 1981).

Young people's relations with the police

Compared to other age groups, teenagers are particularly likely to have reason to be in contact with the police. In the first place, involvement in criminal activities is said to be widespread among young people (Emler and Reicher, 1995; Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Thus, a recent UK self-report survey found that every other teenage male and every third teenage female admitted to committing offences at some time (Graham and Bowling, 1995). In the second place, over half of all young

people are themselves the victims of crime (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997; Loader, 1996; Rutter, Giller and Hagell, 1998), particularly young males (Coleman, 1997).

Generally, studies suggest that the police's relations with young people are often tense and conflict-ridden (Fielding, 1995; Reiner, 1992b), with mutual 'misunderstanding' being common (ACPO/SEO, 1986). Southgate (1986) suggests that there is a particular problem of deference in relations between young male police officers and young male members of the public. Indeed, young people, particularly young males, are more likely to be stopped and searched than are older people (Reiner, 1992b).

However, young people's perceptions of the general role of the police are generally found to be positive (e.g., Aye Maung, 1995; Hollands, 1995). Yet, as Hopkins, Hewstone and Hantzi (1992) argue, this positive view of the general role of the police might not extend to their understanding of police-youth relations in particular. Hence young people are far more critical when it comes to discussing their own experiences of interaction with the police (e.g., Catan, Dennison and Coleman, 1996; Gordon and Grant, 1997). A UK survey of 12-15 year olds by Aye Maung (1995) found that about a fifth who had been stopped by the police felt that the police were not generally helpful and friendly towards young people. Young people experiencing crimes or disorder saw police more negatively than those who did not have such experiences, as did African-Caribbeans compared to other ethnic groups, and older teenagers compared to younger teenagers. As Hopkins (1994b) points out, it is typically the style and demeanour of police officers (impolite, brusque, aggressive) rather than specific outcomes of contact (e.g., being arrested, charged or helped) that is the focus of young people's complaints about the police (cf. Fielding, 1984). A further complaint is that police make critical assumptions on the basis of young people's youth, colour, housing and skateboarding activities rather than listening to young people's own concerns (Brody and Catan, 1999; Loader, 1996).

Police officers' views of young people

The social perceptions of police officers develop through an occupational socialization process (Fielding, 1984; Stradling, Crowe and Tuohy, 1993). As part of such socialization, police officers come to employ representations of particular social groups (Singh, 1994). Little research has looked directly at how police represent young people as a category, although Fielding (1995) describes police perceptions of teenagers in general as 'anti-authority'.

Tuohy and Wrennall (1995) found that, though public and police attitudes towards the police's role largely coincided, police officers overestimated the extent to which the public approved of their actual behaviour. Such contrasts in perceptions between the police and any section of the public may have important consequences

for interaction between the two. Studies suggest that conflict between police officers and others - particularly youth - sometimes stems from differing conceptions of rights and duties. The police see the essence of their role as that of maintaining public order - the precondition for preventing crime (Reiner, 1992b). Police officers are therefore primarily concerned with maintaining their control and authority at all times (Singh, 1994) - whether in relatively informal conversation in the street or in a post-arrest interview (Irving and McKenzie, 1989). Where police officers perceive that a particular social group refuses to defer to their authority (black youths being the prime example), they may build up a basic resentment against the group and its members (Southgate, 1986). Stereotypes - for example of young black males as inherently criminal or hostile - may be reinforced, with the result that such people are disproportionately singled out for questioning or arrest in a vicious cycle of deviancy amplification (Young, 1971).

The role of intergroup perceptions in interaction

While much past research has examined the long term consequences of contrasting perceptions between police and sections of the public, recent studies of intergroup dynamics have shown how such contrasts inform the immediate interaction between the two groups. Thus, interview and observation studies suggest that police officers tend to view collectives (e.g., demonstrations, football crowds) as inherently irrational and dangerous - particularly towards themselves (Cronin, 1995; Stott and Reicher 1998). In public order policing, this leads police officers to act in terms of the worst-case scenario. Crowd members themselves may interpret such strict policing as an act of illegitimate aggression towards them; they therefore react to this in what they regard as self-defence. Crowd members' reactions then confirm the police fear of the aggressiveness and irrationality of the 'mob', so leading them to escalate their own tactics (e.g., riot clothing, baton charges), which in turn confirms the crowd members' own understandings of police hostility (Reicher, 1996; Stott and Drury, 1999; Stott and Reicher, 1998). Thus from even very small incidents, major outbreaks of public disorder may result (Waddington, Jones and Critcher, 1987). The process operates as a self-fulfilling prophesy: police perceptions of the 'dangerous mob' serve to produce the very conflict they were seeking to avoid.

This kind of account of general police-crowd relations has particular relevance for young people, since the peer group and collective expressions such as subcultures are particularly important for this age group (Cotterell, 1996; Emler and Reicher, 1995). The social context of adolescence - and the one in which police officers often encounter them - is characteristically the group 'hanging about' on street corners (Hopkins, 1994b; Loader, 1996). How the police view that context may have particular consequences for interaction.

Shepherd (1986) argues that conversation is the core of policing; and observational studies of police work indicate that most of it consists in having conversations (Southgate, 1986). The twin demands of maintaining authority and engaging in conversation mean that police officers may be faced with a dilemma, particularly in relation to young people. Aye Maung's (1995) survey concludes that explaining to young people why they have been approached is an important way that the police could improve young people's satisfaction with their encounters with them (cf. Wiley and Hudik, 1974). However, Fielding (1995) notes that, though explanations from police officers might serve to allay distrust, giving such explanations to young people could easily be interpreted as a sign of weakness. The concern with maintaining authority, particularly in relation to young people, also means that it may be difficult for police officers to apologize for mistakes. Police officers may fear that an apology communicates to the citizen that the latter has 'won' (Southgate, 1986); apology is very difficult for people whose job is, in a sense, to be right, and who are very concerned not to lose face with people they deal with in case they no longer respect them (cf. Loader, 1996).

The present research

The present study follows the recent lead set by Loader (1996) who argues that the particular images of young people held by police officers - e.g., 'hostile' or 'vulnerable' - can serve as a broad ideological licence for practices of supervision. The study seeks to suggest how this might inform concrete interaction. Although, as we have seen, criminologists and sociologists have provided some examples of police officers' representations of young people, there has been very little in the way of social psychological analysis of how particular representations might inform interaction. The study by Aye Maung (1995) suggests that police are most likely to approach young people who spend more time out, arrive home late and who hang about with groups of friends; and, in a review, Emler and Reicher (1995) found that teenagers committing an offence were more likely to be arrested if they were also verbally abusive. But these are merely glimpses rather than sustained studies of the relation between representation and interaction. The 'classic' study of police stops of young people by Piliavin and Briar (1964) offers a more detailed analysis, and is consistent with recent accounts in suggesting that the perceived demeanor of young people is the key variable determining police decisions regarding arrest. However, to have any validity for accounts of police-youth relations in the UK today, such findings need to be replicated.

Moreover, while the need to focus in on conflictual interaction between police officers and young people may be understandable, it should not obscure the fact that many of the exchanges between police officers and young people are in fact

more mundane and non-conflictual. Although 'conversation' is said to be at the heart of policing, little research has been done on police officers' perceptions of communication in general with young people - and how communication and representations of youth might interrelate. Finally, while studies such as that by Tuohy and Wrennall (1995) have examined the relation between police self-perceptions and general public opinion, it is also necessary to compare and contrast police perceptions of their relations with young people with studies of young people's own accounts. Recent studies have began to unpack young people's dissatisfaction with their encounters with the police. For example, Drury, Catan, Dennison and Brody (1998) found that young people attributed problems in communication with police officers to the latter's power (cf. Brody and Catan, 1999). It is thus necessary to examine how far police officers themselves regard power difference as an issue in their communication with young people.

The present study of police officers' perceptions of communicating with teenagers[1] is intended as a preliminary investigation of these neglected areas, which may provide a basis for more systematic research into youth-police interaction in the future. A first step in any research into the role of representations in interaction is to examine those representations themselves. The present study is part of a project which began with an investigation of young people's own perceptions of communications with a range of adults, including police officers (Catan, Dennison and Coleman, 1996; Drury, Catan, Dennison and Brody, 1998; see above). The present research follows this up by exploring the perceptions of adults who have to communicate with young people as part of their work. Specifically, the study intends to explore the following issues:

- *How police officers conceptualize communication with young people*

- *Police officers' perceptions of successful and problematic communication with young people*

- *The role of power in such communication*

It is expected that answers to each of these research questions might suggest particular kinds of representations of teenagers held by police officers (e.g., 'storm and stress'). The purpose of the study is to explore the nature of such representations and to draw out their possible implications for practice: how, precisely, do particular representations of teenagers inform communication between police officers and young people?

Method
Semi-structured interviewing was considered the most appropriate method with which to collect data for a preliminary exploration of police officers' perceptions

of communication with young people. This method would allow participants to discuss the issues in their own terms and in some depth, whilst at the same time providing a standardized framework for questioning.

Participants

Interviews were carried out with 15 police officers. The sample size was considered appropriate to the present aim of exploring in depth the quality of responses rather than testing a given hypothesis through quantification. Five interviewees were schools liaison officers; six were involved in community policing (their remit being to patrol and deal with incidents and issues arising in a specific district); and four were part of rapid response teams, reacting to emergency calls across a wide urban area. All police officers were of the rank of constable. Six were based rurally, while the rest worked in towns. Further characteristics of the sample are set out below in Table 1.

Table 1: Characteristics of sample

Gender		Age		Time in service	
M	*F*	*Range*	*Mean*	*Range*	*Mean*
12	3	24-49yrs	35yrs	2-23yrs	11yrs

Participants were recruited through contacting a police force in the south east of England and asking their assistance in finding volunteers for research on professionals' perceptions of communication with young people. Given the ability of senior officers to select 'volunteers', there is obviously a question of the representativeness of the sample. Those approached by their superiors may have been those expected to present a positive image of the police service. Schools liaison officers are a case in point (although we were particularly interested in their perspective since they specialize in working with young people). On the other hand, these 'public-friendly' police officers are still police officers, and will therefore still embody at least some of the understandings and practices characteristic of their profession. Indeed, since the early 1980s, police training - and by extension police ideology - has become increasingly standardized across the UK (Northam, 1988; Reiner, 1992b; Waddington, 1991). Were we to find that even such 'public friendly' officers operated with highly negative representations of youth, for example, then it would seem likely that less 'public friendly' officers would also do so.

Interview schedule

The content of the interview schedule was informed by previous research on communication and interaction more generally between young people and police officers (Catan, Dennison and Coleman, 1996). The schedule therefore addressed the following areas:

- *Whether young people were seen as having the same 'communication skills' as adults.*

- *Whether the police officer felt able to communicate with young people as well as s/he would like.*

- *What the police officer considered made for good communication between themselves and a young person.*

- *Whether the police officer perceived any problems in communicating with young people.*

- *The issue of differences in power and whether this had an impact on communication.*

- *Finally, what improvements the police officer felt could be made in communication between members of their profession and young people.*

The schedule was piloted with five police officers. Small adjustments were made, primarily involving the reduction in the number of questions in order that the interview could be concluded within a forty-five minute period. These adjustments were not sufficient to warrant excluding these interviews from the main analysis.

Procedure

Interviews were carried out face to face and with single individuals for all but two participants. In this case, the individuals concerned preferred to be interviewed in a pair. All interviews were carried out at police stations and lasted between 30 minutes and an hour. The interviews were tape recorded and were fully transcribed.[2] However, the dyad interview was discarded due to the poor quality of recording.

Analytic approach

The analytic approach is within the tradition of thematic analysis (Kellehear, 1993; Miles and Huberman, 1994). Rather than imposing predefined forms of response, the strategy was to derive analytic categories appropriate to interviewees' own concepts from the data itself. However, since the present research began with particular questions regarding participants' understandings of communication based on previous studies, the analysis is data-driven only in a partial sense. Specifically, sets of analytic categories were derived from interviewees' responses to each headline question in the schedule[3].

This kind of analysis does not seek to imply that the representations employed by our respondents are somehow 'fixed' in their heads as cognitive structures. Rather, we recognize that they were produced in and take their meaning from the rhetorical context of the interview situations. (We have tried to allow readers to appreciate

these contexts both through the length of the extracts we provide and, where necessary, by including the interviewer's comments.) We also acknowledge that the responses of police officers, in particular, may be context-dependent; Fielding (1984) has argued that the ability to convey different accounts to different audiences is the very mark of police 'competence'. The recent tradition of discourse analysis in psychology (e.g., Edwards and Potter, 1992) reinforces these points, yet at the same time suggests that representations occurring in an interview context may have significance beyond that context. The usage of particular representations is evidence of their availability to the speakers and therefore provides prima facie evidence that they can be drawn upon in situations other than the interview itself (i.e., in the course of police work). A precedent for treating police interview responses as prima facie evidence of perceptions occurring in police-public interaction is the study by Stott and Reicher (1998), which found that the constructions of crowd members offered by police officers in interviews helped make sense of the behaviour of police officers in a crowd event. Likewise, Loader (1996) employed semi-structured interviews to examine how police and young people's views of communication with each other might inform their actual practices.

Analysis

The analysis is presented below in five sections: (i) the issue of whether young people have the same 'communication skills' as adults; (ii) success and problems in communication; (iii) the role of power difference in communication; (iv) views on improving communication; and (v) the most common representations of young people employed by police officers across the interview items. Within each section, the relative frequency of different sorts of response is indicated. The quotes presented are those considered representative and illustrative of the categories of responses employed in the analysis. The aim here is to examine the nature of these responses and representations. Their implications for practice are drawn out in more detail in the Discussion section.

1. Perceptions of young people's 'communication skills'

When asked whether young people have the same 'communication skills' as adults, a large majority of police officers said that they did not. Police officers commonly characterized this question of 'skills' in motivational terms. Thus, in the following account of police-schools liaison work, an officer mentions the lack of language capability among teenagers, but also stresses the role of peer group pressure in inhibiting young people from expressing themselves:

> *They haven't quite got the capability of language as some people, as adults, have got. [ ] Peer group pressure does have a big influence on them, they won't stand up and be counted in the class. You sometimes have to twist*

people's arms to get them to talk about things, for instance teenage girls, most of them won't talk about the smoking issue, and you have to prise and gently probe and get the answers out of them. Teenage boys won't talk about being a boffin and you realise that's a peer group pressure on boys. [ ] they're frightened somebody's going to take the mickey out of them for answering questions back and appearing to be intelligent.

(Police officer #13: male schools liaison officer, aged 39)

Perceptions of differences between individuals and, to an extent, between groups of young people in their ability and style of communication were acknowledged. Spontaneous references to the relative ease of communicating with those more motivated, more mature and more intelligent were made. Interviewees were prompted to think about group level characteristics. A number initially denied the importance of such distinctions.

No, I mean they're all different aren't they, they're all incredibly different

(Police officer #8, male community officer, aged 42).

Others felt that such distinctions were counter productive or linked with notions of prejudice. When this line of questioning was pursued age, gender and class differences were admitted.

Regarding gender, the tendency was for females to be seen by some officers as more mature but also more aggressive or argumentative, as in the following quote where an officer describes the kinds of encounters he has with teenagers coming out of pubs and clubs on a Friday or Saturday night:

The girls I always find far worse than the boys.

Yeah, in terms of being stroppy and aggressive?

Yes, absolutely, you ask a group of lads to do, to keep quiet or go home then chances are they'll, nine times out of ten, they'll go without any question. The girls will put up far more of a fight, and want to know the whys the wherefores, yes they are far more mouthy and noisy.

(Police officer #10, male community officer, aged 33).

Overall though teenage boys were seen to be more badly behaved. All of these features were seen to have an impact upon their communication.

In terms of class difference, some respondents said that they thought it most appropriate to use simpler language with working class young people. Many stated that they tried to avoid responding to stereotypes. Likewise cultural differences were

rarely acknowledged, though this in part may reflect the cultural homogeneity of the area where this research was carried out.

As we shall see further below, a number of police officers mentioned the inhibiting effect of their own social category membership as a factor in teenagers' inability or unwillingness to communicate with them. For example, the uniform, a symbol of this, was seen to inhibit young people from communicating with them and to make them 'defensive'.

2. Success and problems for police officers communicating with young people
The majority of police officers said that they felt able to communicate with young people as well as they would like. In most cases, however, interviewees qualified their statement by pointing to certain issues which sometimes impinged upon the quality of communication. Thus the officer quoted below mentions the negative effect of peer group pressure on the quality of communication. In this account, the role of the peer group is to distort the communication of the individual teenager, both because everyone speaks at once and because the group is a source of false rumours. Only when they are in a one-to-one situation is the true character of the teenagers communicated and the officer able to communicate as well as he would like:

So would you say in a one-to-one situation you're as able to communicate with young people as well as you'd like to be?

Yeah if they're not in a group. If you actually speak to them one to one then there's no no person chipping in there's no peer pressure from other friends or associates, when you're actually speaking to someone one to one you get a lot more out of a conversation than you do when you speak to a group because everyone wants to chip in, especially if they see something happen everyone'll be chipping in and then someone'll speak to someone else and the Chinese whispers'll start and this this assault turns out to be, you know, he had a knife, you know, or things like that and they ( ) and you just take one away and (we) speak to them individually and you you get the picture, you get a much accurate picture when they when the facade is dropped so to speak, and they're actually themselves...

(Police officer #5, male rapid response officer, aged 25)

Interviewees were also asked whether they felt they were able to grasp young people's points of view as well as they would like to be able to. Again, the majority said they felt able to understand young people.

Interviewees responding to the question 'what makes for good communication between yourself and a teenager?' offered a range of contributing factors. One set

of responses referred to factors that the young person could contribute, such as - again - their *willingness* to communicate. Evidence for young people's willingness included being responsive:

So what would you say makes a good communication between yourself and a teenager? What are the elements or ingredients?

Well, I mean they've got to respond to me, I mean if I talk to a group and I get nothing back then I will just tell them that they're to go or they're to stop or whatever, I much prefer when, you know, I don't, I mean cockiness is one thing but I like a bit of spark, you know, I like to get them to see that, you know you don't want to keep talking to people and get nothing in return, so they've got to be willing in the first instance to actually talk to me...

(Police officer #6, male community officer, aged 34)

However, the most frequent type of response to this question concerned contributions that the police officers themselves made to good communication. Stress was placed on the importance of *not looking down or talking down* to young people - treating them as adults:

What would you say makes a good communication between yourself and a teenager?

Um, talk to them as another person, not as a teenager, talk to them as an adult, treat them like an adult, and even when they're being immature or shouting or screaming continue talking to them like an adult.

(Police officer #11, male community officer, aged 30).

The police officer being *open and honest* was also seen as significant. Honesty might involve revealing something about themselves and their personal lives that would show empathy and could encourage the establishing of a relationship, as suggested by a schools liaison officer in an account of his own work:

But I do say to them things like, the icebreakers - smoking - 'I'm the man that at 13 stood in a back alley in [Town C] and smoked a cigarette'. And I try to bring myself down to the same level so that they can appreciate that I have been, even though I'm a lot older than them, than most of them, I'm old enough to be their father, I've been in their situation I do know what it's like and I have done some naughty things in my time. Because one of the questions I'm always asked is 'Have you ever stolen anything?' when I allow them to ask me questions. And yes I have when I was a boy I've stolen a few things and I'm quite honest about it.

(Police officer #13, male schools liaison officer, aged 39)

By far the largest proportion of problems in communication suggested by interviewees were attributed to young people themselves. Officers sometimes mentioned *young people's perceptions of the adult* as a particular problem. Some of these comments referred simply to young people's perceptions of adults *qua* adults:

I think the teenagers and as far I can remember when I was a teenager I thought adults were pretty - a lot of adults were pretty stupid and you didn't know what life was about, you know. So I think it's sort of breaking down that sort of barrier which is nothing to do with the police, but sort of that's a barrier from their side rather than ours.

(Police officer #7, female schools liaison officer, aged 42)

However, officers usually added that there was something specific in young people's negative perceptions of them: young people were not simply anti-adult but were *anti-authority*. In the following account of possible problems of communication with young people, the officer quoted below groups anti-authority attitudes alongside drunkenness and drug-taking:

Any other problems particular to communicating with teenagers you can think of?

If they're drunk or they're on drugs then there is a problem. Another problem is if they're just so anti the uniform, if they're anti-police or anti-anything, then sometimes you just can't get through to them, there's just no way that you can get through to them.

(Police officer #11, male community officer, aged 30)

The result of such anti-authority attitudes was said to be that young people were again sometimes simply unwilling to communicate with the police officer. The following quote again makes a link with drink and drugs:

Well I can think of several examples where speaking to both groups and individuals they just for whatever reason, whether it's my fault or whatever, just flatly refuse to co-operate, and refuse to answer any questions or comply with any reasonable requests. Most of the time I have to say it involves drink or drugs but yeah, there are a number of occasions where I come across, for example a teenager on the floor, or sitting in a, you know, an obviously dazed state, and they just will not speak to you, they just flatly refuse to cooperate, to move, to enter into any sort of communication with you whatsoever. That's not just teenagers, you know, adults (too. But) it is more common I would say with teenagers

(Police officer #6, male community officer, aged 34)

The most commonly mentioned problem which seemed to be attributed to the adults themselves was *losing one's temper:*

Can you think of an example of bad communication you've had? [ ]

Yeah, early on in service, losing my temper too quickly with them, shouting at them, and not explaining what what I've been doing or why I've been, you know, why I had reason to speak to them, really. [ ]

Right, and that is (an) important area?

Yeah, yeah, I mean they question more now, everyone does. I mean a small child on the street asks you why this or why that because we're a more questioning society, so tell them more. You know, I have stopped you because, this is what I intend to do, this is why, you know, at least they know. Instead of just stopping them and going through their pockets and then just saying oh, ( ). So yeah, I mean early on in the service yeah I've had some horrendous, but hopefully learnt from it.

(Police officer #11, male community officer, aged 30)

Some responses located communication problems in neither police officers themselves nor the individual teenager but in the situation. One such situational problem was, again, peer group influence among young people. The content of the peer group identity was often said to be anti-authority. Thus, in this account of dealing with teenagers causing trouble in the street after leaving nightclubs, the young people's refusal to listen to the police is not because they disagree with the police officer's arguments, but because they are afraid of failing to conform to the peer group identity:

The only problem is, as I say, if there's a big group of them. If there's a big group of them and there's one or two of you, then they're not going to listen. It's not because they're thinking 'oh what he's talking is a load of crap'; it's because 'hang on, I'm in front of my mates and I don't want to look like I'm getting too friendly with the Old Bill'.

(Police officer #4, male rapid response officer, age 25)

Around half of the officers interviewed said they thought the problems they mentioned were inherent in their own job. On the other hand, the comment below argues that communication problems occur with all adults because of the 'phase' teenagers tend to go through:

No, no. I think its well most adults as we, we probably all watch the Harry Enfield programme, the, what's his name? Kevin?[4]

Kevin.

The Kevin yeah, I think most young children go through a phase like that to varying degrees from the extreme which that obviously is to the minor. Where they start forming their own little opinions and, like I was saying to you previously, things that are important to them are not necessarily that important to you.

(Police officer #4, male rapid response officer, aged 25)

3. Power difference as an issue in communication with teenagers
Interviewees were asked who, if anyone, 'managed' the conversation between themselves and teenagers. Most said that they themselves managed the conversations they had with teenagers. Officers often referred to the demands of their own role - to maintain public order - which required them to maintain a position of authority in communication. This is illustrated in the following account of communicating with groups of young people 'hanging about' on street corners at night:

I tend to think that it is myself, because chances are you're the first person to say something when you speak to a group, so if you get it right at the start I think you're able to manage the conversation from the outset. Basically as I say you're there to speak to them as opposed to them to speak to you. Yes we'll stand and have a conversation but if I'm there specifically to do something like tell them to keep the noise down, then I've got to make sure that I'm in charge of the conversation.

(Police officer #10, male community officer, aged 33)

Officers were also asked directly whether power was an issue in their communication with young people. Most acknowledged that it could be, as in the following reference to encounters with teenagers 'on the street':

Out on the street it definitely is, you know, because you're dealing with young people on the street, we're the bottom line, you know, you cross that line and you'll either be arrested or interviewed or whatever, so there is a definite power thing, I think there is, yeah.

(Police officer #1, female schools liaison officer, aged 41)

Again, some described how their own power as professional adults was a necessary resource in communication with young people. In the following account of having to make an arrest or a caution, power in communication is a necessary part of the job of maintaining young people's behaviour within certain socially acceptable boundaries:

If they are the person that has done wrong or whatever then, and you have to deal with them in that official capacity, then you deal with them in that capacity whether they want you to deal with it in that way or not, that is adults as well.

But then that's how power is used, how you exercise your power.

Yes, but then I think that's important if the police force are going to be what they are.

(Police officer #12, male community officer, aged 24)

In the same account, the issue of power becomes a communication problem because young people do not want to talk to the police because they are powerful authority figures; it seems not simply that there is hostility to speaking to the police: young people may also be frightened to speak to them:

In young people that it might be that the hat, you know, by wearing the helmet or flat cap or whatever, is something that they feel they can't talk to you because you've got that on, or your epaulets or the coat or the baton or something like that, or even you're in a police car, it may be something that they feel they can't talk to you because of that, and they don't feel comfortable talking to you like that...

(Police officer #12, male community officer, aged 24)

4. Police officers' suggestions for improving communication with young people
Most police officers suggested that communication between their profession and young people would improve if the police as an organization had more contact or liaison with young people. The point was that such contact should be positive, and should therefore serve as a counterweight to any negative experiences or expectations young people may have had with the police:

I think contact is one of the things. I mean I, before I came here I worked in [Town B] and I worked in busy seaside towns, town centres, most of the time. You (had) huge number of teenagers, and the practically the only contact they ever have with the police is confrontational, is when the police are directing them to move or or shoving them about or doing all the other things that we're doing in order to, you know, keep the streets free for the general public good.

(Police officer #6, male community officer, aged 34)

Among those already engaged in community beat work, it was suggested that officers should make greater attempts to chat informally with young people:

I think basically it's just a case of talking to them. I've sort of said that in the position I'm in, in a village I've got the time to be able to sort of stop and talk to them. Even if they're not doing anything wrong just passing the time of day, you know 'how's school going? How are the exams going? How's the mocks going?' Things like that.

(Police officer #10, male community officer)

Some mentioned contact arrangements of the type practised by schools liaison officers, perhaps this time designed specifically for older teenagers:

If they understood more what we are trying to do, job-wise. [ ] If we could perhaps have more, more of a relationship with them, somehow, because the only time we see them is when they're causing problems or they call us because they've got problems. We don't ever mix with them [ ] We do it with the schools, we do it with the older people, but there's nothing in between.

(Police officer #4, male rapid response officer, aged 25)

The second largest number of responses, although considerably less common, referred to some form of training for police officers.

5. General representations of teenagers

Here we examine in more depth the representations of teenagers which occurred most frequently in the interviews as a whole, allowing us to draw out in the Discussion some of their consequences for communication between young people and police officers.

A number of comments characterized adolescence as a period of unprecedented emotional and hormonal turmoil - a time of endogenous *'storm and stress'*:

...but being a teenager is an awful time of life anyway for most kids, because they're going through so many changes, and if this trauma [expulsions from school] are [sic] between sort of fifteen upwards in their life they they find it harder to deal with, I think, because they're maturing anyway so it's a complete minefield, really.

(Police officer #11, male community officer, aged 30)

The following comment seems to combine the 'storm and stress' account of teenagers as subject to irrational emotions ('unpredictable', 'mood swings') with a characterization of young people as egocentric to the point of paranoia:

...they're so unpredictable. They're subject to mood swings and all the rest of it, they feel extremely pressured most of the time, I'm sure, teenagers, everyone's out to get them.

(Police officer #6, male community officer, aged 34)

The most common characterization of young people was as *anti-authority*; indeed most of the police officers interviewed characterized teenagers in this way at some point. A number of police officers saw young people's anti-authority attitudes, and hence their verbal hostility to the police, as a 'natural' part of adolescence, as in the following account of giving talks at the local college:

> ... they obviously see you as a police officer, you know, the 'Old Bill', 'pigs' whatever they like to call you, and I think to a certain degree there's an in-built thing that they've got to be obstructive with a policeman...
>
> (Police officer #10, male community officer, aged 33)

Thus in the following comment, rebelling against authority is part of the developmental process of discovering boundaries. The implication is that once the teenager has understood these boundaries then the natural urge to rebel will be over - as in this account of police-schools liaison work:

> It's just a natural thing that they're gonna push, what are the boundaries they see as, I don't know, whether they're acceptable or unacceptable ( ) they're gonna push them, because they want to know how far they can go.
>
> (Police officer #2, female schools liaison officer, aged 36)

In terms of the cause of this anti-authority phase, the following comment on young people's unwillingness to communicate with the police links it with the 'storm and stress' characterization of teenagers as subject to the influence of sudden rushes of hormones:

> Year nine are particularly bad; hormones are surging well in year nine, and you can see when you walk in the classroom, you can see that 'well I'm not going to listen to this; what's the Old Bill come to talk about?'
>
> (Police officer #13, male schools liaison officer, aged 39)

As well as explaining young people's hostility to the police in terms of their 'natural' rebelliousness at this age, police officers also typically suggested that such hostility was due to young people's conformity to pressures from the peer group. In contrast to the 'hormone' account, the 'conformity' version of rebellion was explained as a need *to be seen by others* to be anti-police rather than a reflection of internally-generated anti-police feelings. In the group, it was claimed, young people did not want to be seen by their pals to be listening to the advice of a police officer; only when they were alone would young people communicate; young people in a group are therefore difficult to communicate with. This is illustrated in this police officer's description of an incident in which he is trying to 'advise',

rather than arrest, a group of rowdy teenagers on their way home from a nightclub:

You just hope for a little bit of respect and that they'll listen, but they won't because there's a group of them, not one singled out teenager would want to say 'OK I hear what you're saying, I'll listen to you and I'll behave myself'. It's all backchat because they're with a group of their friends, until you get them individually and then they'll apologize and they'll back down.

(Police officer #4, male rapid response officer, aged 25)

In the following account, overt pressure to conform in the peer group is a cause of criminal activity among young people, and hence leads to contact with the police:

...they may have egged somebody on 'if you want to be with us you've got to do this', which does happen, it does happen. We've had gangs in the town that, of that age that to get in with the gang you have to break a shop window, so it does happen, and they're not people who've come to light [to the police] before because they wanted to be in this gang they've gone and put windows in at night. It does happen; it's part of peer pressure.

(Police officer #12, male community officer, aged 24)

Indeed, in some of these characterizations, the miscreants are cast as victims - unwillingly complying with the demands of the collective to live up to a particular collective self-image:

It's just I think they're under a lot of pressure young people to sort of conform and behave like others, you know. So they'll smash up, the other day they stormed the youth club and locked the youth workers in and stoned them and barricaded them in, and none of them really wanted to do it. When you speak to them they just done it just for the fun, you know, and that's that's their culture on estate, you know, they've got a reputation, [estate A], and in a way they've gotta live up to it.

(Police officer #8, male community officer, aged 42)

However, hostility to authority was only one product of such conformity. Indeed, in the logic of 'peer group pressure', the adolescent is uncritically susceptible to social influence *per se*, irrespective of its content. Thus teenagers were also said to be pressured to conform to the fashions of their peer group, and indeed to particular images of young people as a whole.

Discussion

These interviews with police officers on their perceptions of communication with teenagers produced a number of common themes. In response to a range of questions,

officers mentioned young people's sheer unwillingness to communicate with them, which they often explained in terms of the teenagers' anti-authority attitudes, which in turn may have been due to the 'storm and stress' of adolescence or peer group pressure.

Problems in communication with teenagers was not the given topic of the interview, and was only one element in the schedule. But it was something that police officers themselves repeatedly referred to throughout each interview, whether in referring to potentially conflictual encounters in the street or to 'safer' contexts such as police-schools liaison work. In such responses, we can see police officers' own awareness of the frequently documented problems in communication - and indeed interaction in general - between themselves and young people (e.g., Aye Maung, 1995; Fielding, 1995; Hopkins, 1994b; Reiner, 1992b). In this, then, the present findings mirror previous research examining young people's own perceptions (e.g., Catan, Dennison and Coleman, 1996). One of the findings from this previous research was that power difference was seen by young people as a source of communication problems between themselves and police officers (Drury, Catan, Dennison and Brody, 1998). The police officer in the street has more power to initiate or terminate a conversation then either young people themselves or indeed any other professional adult; in relation to young people, the police officer does not simply 'represent' authority, but, is authority (Hopkins, 1994b; cf. Loader, 1996). The present study found that police officers largely referred to the necessary employment of their own power in terms of the demands of their role as authority figures. For them, their power was only a problem insofar as young people reacted badly to it.

Yet there was something of a tension in police responses on this and related issues. Police officers recognized that they were powerful and that young people did not have the same communication 'skills' as adults; and yet they also sometimes referred to treating teenagers as adults, and wanting to be honest, open and not talk down to them - in effect, to gloss over the power difference. As Evans (1993) points out, in practice police officers use the same ploys on juveniles as they use on adult suspects, such as pressuring them to confess in order to get out of the discomfort of the interrogation situation, highlighting contradictions in their accounts, and use of leading questions. Young people's complaints about police power might stem from the fact that 'treating young people as adults' can mean an abuse of power. Existing UK law attempts to prevent such abuses of power; the Police and Criminal Evidence Act of 1984 recognizes that police interviews might function to exploit vulnerable suspects, such as juveniles (Irving and McKenzie, 1989).

Before drawing out some possible implications of the accounts of young people deployed by these police officers it is worth exploring the extent to which features of these accounts are particular to police culture and practice rather than common sense views held more generally by adults in other professions dealing with young people. The present study is part of a larger project in which perceptions of communication with teenagers were examined and compared across five professional groups - police officers, benefits workers, doctors, teachers, youth workers (Dennison & Drury, 1998). One of the findings of this larger analysis was that, although a number of respondents from all the professional categories referred to teenagers as 'anti-authority', police officers were the group most likely to do so. They were also the group most likely to attribute problems in communication to the teenager's perceptions of themselves (the police) as authority figures, and to refer to the malign influence of the peer group. Police officers, along with benefits officers, were the professional group most likely to say that they were able to understand young people's own points of view; and like benefits officers, police officers were the group most likely to state that young people lack adults' communication 'skills' (Drury & Dennison, 1999). However, police officers typically conceptualized such skills in terms of motivation - young people not *wanting* to communicate with them.

Arguably some of these representations could be inculcated into police officers' understandings simply as part of the socialization process; they could operate as types of narrative passed on through the occupational culture. On the other hand, such representations could also be sustained if not generated through the very interaction that takes place between young people and police officers as professionals with a complex set of agendas - such as the needs both to maintain authority and to communicate.

The dynamics of bad communication between police officers and young people
Recent work by Loader (1996) has explored the dynamics of police-youth perceptions of communication. It suggests how the perceived power of police officers can serve to create circumstances in which the most readily available and seemingly effective form of 'communication' open to young people is defiance. In the present case, a possible link can be made between the various problems suggested by police officers, and some implications can be drawn about how problematic communication might develop.

In the first place, if police officers understand anti-authority attitudes to be 'natural' features of adolescence, they will expect hostility from young people even before the communication takes place.

Similarly with 'peer group pressure': recent research has demonstrated police officers' abiding concerns about the collective as an inherent source of dangerous and irrational behaviour (Cronin, 1995; Stott and Reicher, 1998). Indeed, many schools liaison officers express dread in speaking to a classroom of young people (Hopkins, 1994b).

Given these police fears, the occurrence of anti-authority behaviour from young people could be produced by the police officer's own defensive or hostile approach. Young people's antipathetic response could then confirm the officer's expectations and also provoke the officer to lose his temper (another of the problems mentioned by some officers) - and so on in a spiral of antagonism.

Where communication problems between young people and police officers are explained in terms of the former's age-specific mindset and irrational influences, officers are largely absolved of responsibility for the outcome (cf. Edwards and Potter, 1992). In losing their temper, officers are merely the passive recipients of provocation from the inherent hostility of young people.

The suggestion here is that communication problems be conceptualized in terms of the perceptions and dynamics between two categories of people (cf. Reicher, 1996, 1997; Stott and Reicher, 1998). Such an account places the explanatory emphasis less on individuals and more on the ongoing history between social groups; stereotypical ideas about young people are therefore to be understood not as faulty cognitions but rather as ideologies which are part of a heritage of group-level relations, and which individuals draw upon to make sense of their world. Thus we could suggest that 'storm and stress' and other such representations help the individual police officer make sense of a situation in which at least some young people really are hostile to the police as a social category.

Improving communication and critiquing representations
In terms of improving communication with young people, police officers were most likely to mention increased contact and liaison. The rationale for existing liaison arrangements is that, where communication takes place in a non-conflictual situation, young people will come not only to have a greater understanding of and respect for the law, but to see police officers in a more positive light (HM Inspectorate, 1989; Hopkins, 1994c; Tupman, 1994). However, research suggests that existing liaison programmes do not have the desired effect of improving young people's views of the police as a professional group (Hopkins, Hewstone and Hantzi, 1992). Police-youth contact arrangements, in common with the whole tradition of social contact experiments (see Amir, 1976), typically have only limited results because target audiences differentiate the individual from the social category

as a whole (Brown, 1995; Reicher, 1986; Brown and Turner, 1981). In other words, the police who deal with public relations with young people are not seen as representative of the police *per se* (Hopkins, 1994b, c).

Police officers in the present study were generally confident in their own ability to understand what young people were saying to them and young people's point of view (cf. Fielding, 1984). Conceivably, this could be because young people are expressive and articulate with them. But in fact interviewees commonly said the reverse - that young people often did not want to talk to them at all. This being the case, police officers' perception that they have relatively good understanding of the views of young people seems to rest more upon their *representations* of teenagers: going through an anti-authority phase, subject to hormones and peer pressure etc.

Such representations of young people might appear to common sense as 'natural' and 'obvious', even where there are inconsistencies between them - as in the account of adolescence as a time of both malleability (conformity, peer group pressure) and individual obstinacy (delinquency, rebellion) (Griffin, 1993). However, recent decades have seen the effective critique of these and other popular myths about the nature of adolescence. Critical examination has shown how the predominant representations of youth are historically contingent and determined by socio-economic and research trends (Griffin, 1993; Wyn and White, 1997). Yet understanding how 'adolescence' may be socially constructed does not mean denying the nature of adolescence. Rather, it creates an opportunity for replacing the myths with more sophisticated accounts based on recent research.

Training took second place to liaison in these police officers' suggestions on how to improve their communication with young people. But there is a strong case for training if it can provide officers with a more veridical account of the nature of adolescence - and one without the negative consequences indicated above - than that which they currently hold. (In this respect, it is worth noting that interviewees reported having received little or no training in communication with young people.)

Thus training on communication with young people might take account of recent models in which adolescence is understood not as a time of sudden irrational turbulence, but rather as series of different decisions and transitions (Coleman and Hendry, 1990; Coleman and Roker, 1998; Graber and Brookes-Gunn, 1997). Recent work has also suggested that the teenage peer group is less a source of uncritical social influence, but rather provides a meaningful context which young people draw upon to interpret their social worlds. Thus Hopkins (1994a) describes how different peer group identities will exert different contents of social influence,

using the example of health education messages for young people[5]. Finally, as we have discussed, the notion that anti-authority attitudes come simply from within the adolescent (perhaps due to 'storm and stress') has the implication that the professionals themselves are absolved of responsibility for conflictual communication with young people. Recent research on delinquency has usefully moved away from such accounts, and instead has situated young people's 'anti-social' behaviour in its social context: young people's developing relations with formal authority (Emler and Reicher, 1995).

Future research directions

Since the present study was only a preliminary investigation, it is fair to question the generalizability of the findings presented here. The police officers who took part in this interview were perhaps some of the most 'adolescent-centred' police officers in the UK county force approached. It is perfectly possible that other officers would not, for example, define good communication with young people in terms of honesty, openness and not talking down. On the other hand, there seems no a priori reason to expect the major themes uncovered here - young people as anti-authority and subject to peer group pressure etc. - to be atypical. Moreover, though these officers were not matched for age, occupational role or length of service, other studies suggest that, once socialized into the job, such factors may impinge little on police officers' ideology (e.g., Stradling, Crowe and Tuohy, 1993; Tuohy and Wrennall, 1995). Nevertheless, there remains a case for carrying out a study like the present one on a larger scale to test the generality of the present findings - not only across type of police officer (schools liaison versus others), but also across gender (the present sample was predominantly male), region and nation (all the present sample were from one police force in the south east of England) and rank (studies suggest that different ranks have different world-views; e.g., Reiner, 1992a).

A study of police officers' perceptions of communication with young people is not of course a study of the actual behaviour taking place between police officers and young people. More systematic research is necessary if we are to be confident that the representations identified in these interviews also inform the dynamics of police-youth interaction. Yet analyses of police officers' own accounts are a necessary part of understanding what goes on in such interaction. The use of stereotypical representations in the relatively relaxed atmosphere of the interview does not mean that such representations are *not* drawn upon outside that context. Indeed, there is substantial evidence that people are more likely to stereotype under conditions of stress and arousal (Spears, Oakes, Ellemers and Haslam, 1996) - the very conditions which are likely to obtain when police officers are in conflictual interaction with young people.

Previous studies have demonstrated that communication - and indeed interaction more generally - between police officers and young people is often highly unsatisfactory for both parties. Studies of intergroup relations have added that each group's perceptions of the other are crucial elements in the dynamics of conflict. The insights and techniques from these two research areas could usefully be combined. One possible direction for future research is a study, perhaps using two teams of ethnographic researchers, of the actual interaction between police officers and young people which is able simultaneously to access interactants' views of each other and the process between them.

John Drury, *University of Sussex, School of Social Sciences, Falmer, Brighton BN1 9SN*

Catherine Dennison, *Trust for the Study of Adolescence, 23 New Road, Brighton BN1 1WZ*

Notes

1 The term 'teenagers' was used in the interviews in this study so that it was clear to interviewees that the social category referred to was people aged between 13 and 20.

2 Transcription conventions

When material has been edited out of the transcript, it is signalled with an empty pair of square brackets, thus [ ].

Where information has been supplied to the text, it is put in square brackets [like this].

Where material is unclear or inaudible, empty round brackets are used, like this ( ).

Where sound quality leads to doubts about the accuracy of material, it is put in round brackets (like this).

Interviewer's comments are in bold italics *like this*.

3 The analysis was part of a larger study of professionals' view of communication with young people, comprising interviews with 70 individuals in all. A test of inter-coder agreement was carried out to measure the reliability of the coding system for the dataset as a whole. Two coders independently analysed a sample of seven transcripts (ten per cent of the total material) and then calculated the percentage of agreement for each transcript relative to the number of coding decisions. The mean agreement score was 75%.

4 'Kevin' is a rebellious teenage character portrayed by the British comedian Harry Enfield.

5 It is also perhaps worth noting that 'peer group pressure', as with other sources of identity-based social influence, does not require the actual physical presence of the peer group for change to take place; see Spears and Lea (1992).

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GIVING GIRLS A VOICE

Pearl Jephcott's Work for Young People

ANNMARIE TURNBULL

Pearl Jephcott has not received the recognition she deserves for her work with young people. In a lifetime that spanned eighty years of this century, and throughout an enormously rich career, she worked constantly to improve the lot of young working-class people. She never retired from a working life that saw her moving around the UK and abroad to wherever she could find relevant work on their behalf. Even in her late seventies she was living in a high-rise block in Birmingham researching what life was like for the young families who lived there.

This article focuses on her work in the first half of the century, before the 1950s explosion of youth culture. By the 1950s her knowledge of and commitment to young people was becoming more widely appreciated. Indeed in that decade she had the distinction of being appointed to two important Government committees that focused on the lives of young people: the Crowther Committee, 1957, and the Albermale Committee, 1958. As well as over twenty years direct involvement in youth work, Jephcott had already researched and published much on the lives of working-class girls. Although she was working primarily for girls in this period her concerns were for all young people. Later she was to write explicity on both boys and girls and other key social issues including race relations, married women's work and high-rise housing, but up to 1950 her main concern was to understand every aspect of the largely invisible world of the thousands of fourteen to twenty-one year old girls in England and Wales: the young women workers whoses days were spent in shops, factories and offices and whose non-working lives were a mystery to most people. She writes about their work, their homes, their families, their leisure, their ambitions and their attitudes to everything from religion to the cinema.

Delinquency and youth were increasingly discussed in tandem in Britian in the twenties, thirties, and forties. Jephcott was well aware of the growing clamour about the delinquency of young people, even, increasingly, the delinquency of girls. She could see the possible implications for youth policy if distorted views on the world of the working-class girl gained currency. In her work she simultaneously sought to bring attention to the needs of the working-class girl and to down-play the sensational image of the tiny minority of delinquent working-class girls beloved by the popular press.

> *I think it was just about this time I began to realise I was a person in the world whom no one took any notice of. After all, here was I a growing girl,*

and soon I would be a 'big girl' (my idea of nearly womenhood) and no one was interested in me at all. (Jephcott, 1942:12)

The sad words of Mary Smith in the opening lines of Jephcott's first book are an extract from the hand-written testimony of one of the many young women whose lives Jephcott was to analyse over the next twenty years and which she described in three books, 'Girls Growing Up' (1942), 'Rising Twenty. Notes on Some Ordinary Girls' (1948), and the unpublished 'The Uncertain Years. A Reprospective Study of Adolescent Girls' (1962).

By the time Pearl Jephcott decided to include Mary Smith's assessment of her place in the world, in 'Girls Growing Up', Mary was already an adult of 21 and Pearl was 42 and the same age as the century. In contrast to Mary's anxious and poverty-ridden working-class childhood, Pearl's early years had been tranquil. Born on May Day 1900 into a middle-class Warwickshire family, she was the only girl with three older brothers; her father was an auctioneer and her mother did not work outside the home after her marriage. She attended her local grammar school in Alcester and went on to gain a BA in history from the University of Wales at Aberystwyth. After trying various careers, first teaching, then secretarial work and then fund-raising for Barnardos Homes, in 1927 she was appointed as the organising secretary of the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs - a post she was to hold for the next eight years.

By the age of 27 Jephcott had already acquired a clear vision of working-class girls' relationships to their society - a vision that she was to reiterate in her work over the next four decades: in short how ill-served girls, and young people generally, were by their elders. The report of the Birmingham Union that year explains her primary justification for club work. 'Modern industrial and business methods, which demands mechanical skills rather than creative ability fail to meet the physical and intellectual demands of Youth. Some outlets must be found for supressed energy and gaiety'. (Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs, Annual Report, 1927: 12). This concern with employment conditions was one she constantly reiterated in her writings and by the forties it was finally being acknowledged by the government's Board of Education as a genuine concern. (Tinkler, 1994).

Her grounding in club work with working-class girls in Birmingham was supplemented by a growing involvement in the Union's umbrella organisation, the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs (NOGC), which was based in London.[1] She took an increasingly active role in this organisation, serving on its publicity and club development committees and striving to raise the profile of work with girls and challenge the passivity and lack of co-operation with each other, which was a

feature of many girls' clubs and indeed of youth organisations generally. In 1935, in the wake of a growing youth movement in the UK and government concern to develop work in the so-called 'special areas' of widespread unemployment, she was appointed as Durham Area Organiser for the NOGC. There, as part of a growing number of paid women who regarded themselves as professional workers with young people, she build up a County Association of more than eighty girls' clubs. Her reports from this time highlight her concern for the hard lives lived by the girls in impoverished mining and farming communities.

The main difficulties...are dirt, continual dirt, bad premises and illness. Many of the girls look and seem undernourished and are constantly having minor illnessess. (NOGC, Annual Report 1935/6: 19).

By 1941, and while working full-time at the NOGC headquarters in London, she had decided that she wanted her concerns to reach a wider audience. She was granted six months leave on half pay in order to write a book, 'from the angle of the working girl of 14-17 years, and whenever possible in her own words' (NOGC, Minute Book, 1941). Her vision from then on is characterised by three features. First it is resolutely sociological, in times when psychological views of adolescence predominated. Her concerns were the social worlds girls inhabited and their common responses to those worlds rather than to individuals. Second, it is resoundingly non-pathological. While she acknowledges the impact that physical ill-health had on the behaviour of young people, she had little time for the claims that mental instability has a similarly widespread or powerful impact. Third, she concentrates on criticising and trying to change the behaviour of adults as much, and usually more, than on changing young people.

During the twenties and thirties, for most people, whether professionals or the general public, working-class girls had rarely been seen as a problem. However Jephcott wanted her contemporaries to see that their very neglect of girls was itself a pressing social problem that needed attention. Despite her background in girls' club work - a field that has been characterised as providing a 'social ambulance' for needy girls, she never focused narrowly in this period of her work on working-class girls as deficient people (Rooff, 1935). She was not particularly interested in examining delinquency *per se*; she engaged with the concept in order to shift attention to the conditions of the mass of working-class girls. She was certainly a participant in what, in the context of the United States, has been critically characterised as the 'child-saving movement'. (Platt, 1969) But she wanted to save children from adults and not, as was more common among commentators on juvenile delinquency, from themselves or from their backgrounds.

Many components of her overall perspective on the young were shared by others writing on young people. Some of her ideas can be seen as a continuation of the 'reformist spirit' that throughout the inter-war period came to see delinquency as the result of an inadequate working-class culture. Her concern for the development of informed young citizens rather than individual character-building was shared by many contemporaries, including A.E. Morgan (1938) and Josephine Macalister Brew (1943). Her unusual focus onthe totality of girls' life experiences found antecedents in the 1920s psychological perspective of Mary Chadwick, whose work she admired (Chadwick, 1932). But as she worked with and for young women, she developed and began to present, a singular, and singularly persistent view on girls and specifically on girls becoming deliquent.

At this time, delinquency was a boy problem. If the adolescent girl was ever seen as a problem in the twenties and thirties it was only if she was spectacularly delinquent - that is law-breaking, and although, statistically, her delinquency was predominately petty pilfering, the concern of the professionals and the press was invariably with her, much rarer, sexual delinquency.

Jephcott's approach to working-class girls' lives and their possible delinquency can be gleaned from a number of sources. First there are her two published empirical studies of girls in this period, 'Girls Growing Up', (1942) and 'Rising Twenty' (1948).

The former focused on 150 English and Welsh 14-18 year olds and the latter on 110 17-20 year olds in three areas of England, a village, a town and a city. Both involved the detailed primary research which was to characterise all her subsequent work: observation, participant observation, personal interviews, records kept by girls themselves and questionnaires. In addition she wrote local annual reports about her work in Birmingham and later Durham, a number of war-time annual reports and a book, 'Clubs For Girls. Notes For New Helpers' (1943) for the NOGC. In 1945 she finally left the NOGC to work for two years as a researcher with the research organisation Political and Economic Planning. There she wrote two PEP broadsheets that continued to promote her views on young people; 'Clubs Societies and Democracy' (1946) and 'The Service of Youth Today' (1948).

Comments in all these publications illustrate how Jephcott's vision on youth and delinquency differs from those of previous analysts, and how in a manner that was uniquely hers, she built on their taken-for-granted criticisms of young women and turned them into resounding criticisms of adults. In 1925 Cyril Burt had published a formidable study of delinquency in both boys and girls and his subsequent study of the sex delinquency of 113 girls had cited 'passion for clothes or jewllery' as the single most common feature of the cases he studied (1926: 270).[2] By the late

thirties the Home Office criminal statistics were blithely giving the 'primary motive' for girl crime as a desire 'for personal display' (1937: x). While acknowledging the intense interest of girls in what they looked like and their attractions to commercially manipulated images of female desirability, Jephcott did not see this as any explanation for bad behaviour, but instead criticised those who did not acknowledge and respond to a girl's interest in her appearance. For example, she says of teachers, 'Why should girls take notice of the attitudes towards life of an older women who makes no attempt to acquire the attractiveness to which the girls themselves aspire' (1942: 64). Of the wider experience of schooling she notes,

> *Children who have to spend the major part of their childhood in such an environment are being subtly acclimatised to a low standard of visual beauty in the very place where we should be trying to train the aesthetic taste, and to make them critical of the vulgarity which hallmarks so many of the new houses, furnishings and goods which they see elsewhere. (1942: 43)*

Burt had also observed critically of his sample 'Not one of the girls had cultivated any serious purpose in life. Work of whatever sort they picture as nothing but drudgery' (1926: 270). By the mid thirties this criticism was being reiterated by Sybil Neville-Rolfe in her study of female sex delinquency in London (Neville-Rolfe, 1935). For Jephcott, the drudgery of work is merely the reality for most young girls. 'On the whole work appears to call forth no strong emotions, only a feeling of relief at the end of the day, when you are rid of it and free to do what you like.' (1948: 118) She belived it was ridiculous to expect otherwise.

> *Talk of vocation or service to the common good is apt to sound like so much eyewash to a girl who knows that she can be sacked at a week's notice because of some queer conditions quite beyond her control, or even understanding. (1948: 136).*

Perhaps because her perspective is sociological, rather than psychological and individualised, she goes further, arguing that with the marriage age falling for working-class girls nationally, preparation for marriage (including getting and keeping a boy) is the work that matters for girls. (1942: 135) Girls' love of self-adornment and lack of purpose in life are thus not causes or symptoms of delinquency but the logical response of 'ordinary girls' to their current lot in life.

Jephcott's investigations and analyses of some specific examples of behaviour commonly regarded as delinquent, girls' gangs, their smoking and drinking, their involvement in stealing and in sex, are given no particular prominence in her writing. Instead they are embedded in her overall picture of the minutiae of girls' lives.

'If you've got the company the street's all right' one 15 year old told Jephcott. (1944: 114) Girl gangs interested her, but she regarded them, not as some indicator of delinquency but as largely inexplicable; closed and intriguing social groups that the adult researcher could not penetrate. In 'Clubs for Girls' she wonders what makes one girl join one street gang 'while another, perhaps living next door, joins a different one.' (1943: 31) In 'Rising Twenty' she notes of one girl gang that, 'at 18 they were still as baffling to the outsider as when they formed the unpredictable constituents of a tightly knit gang of school children'. (1948: 14). She had seen their rowdiness, their bursts of aggression and their united front against the world but, despite the historical links of gangs with deliquency, found nothing alarming or inappropriate in their behaviour beyond 'a vaguely pathetic quality' (1948: 14)

Smoking she regared as a rational but foolish response to the pressures facing the female adolescent.

> 'It is possibly more than just a sign of growing up or even of defiance. A girl of 15 does not spend 5s on cigarettes out of her 7s 6d a week pocket money just to swank. She like many other people, has discovered that smoking eases her nervous tension' (1944: 13).

As far as drinking is concerned, her findings confirmed the widely criticised growth of under-age drinking in pubs and hotels, but she does not castigate young drinkers. Instead she regards 'Aint it nice in here!' as 'the obvious reaction of any girl with a spark of gaiety, as she goes into a brightly lighted warm and crowded bar.' (1948: 146). She argues that rather than trying to discourage girls from visiting bars, pubs should offer more and better non-alcoholic drinks and she presses for alternative meeting places for young people - for cafes and canteens. (1948: 145) She was certainly disturbed by drunkenness but criticism is again levelled at adults, in this case for failing to help girls control their drinking

> Older men and women with the same social background as these adolescents can be apparently unconcerned when, for example, four girls of 17 whom they know well get hopelessly drunk. These older people seem quite indifferent to the fact that the girls lose temporarily all the good qualities which they normally fight to achieve. (1948: 148)

Jephcott was aware that the official statistics indicated that while for boys the usual age for thieving was 13, for girls it was both considerably rarer and considerably later, at age 18 or 19. Of the hundered young women in 'Rising Twenty' none was an 'offical' deliquent but although they might not have aquired such a label, she discovered that stealing was a common activity for 'ordinary girls'.

They make many references to stealing, under varied and current nomen-clatures, in their casual conversations with each other. The girl who recalls, 'I used to be sent up here when I was a kid to pinch those wodden blocks', at 16 travels ticketless, successfully and regularly, on tubes and buses. Another comments, in reference to some useful material unlawfully acquired, that since she was 'skint' she had to take the stuff of course; and she speaks of this as the accepted way of dealing with a financial difficulty. Quite a number of girls adopt this attitude particularly with regard to 'lifting' from their works (which they often regard as perfectly legitimate). They swap stories on their exploits much as do anglers, possibly with the same amount of veracity. Occasionally they are familiar with older people and contemporaries who have been convicted for serious offences like burglary - which may make any quibbling over the ethics of minor pinchings utterly remote from their comprehension. (1948: 127-8)

The problem for Jephcott is less the stealing itself than the attitudes of the girls to money.

Certain of these girls are already becoming bitter about money; and, in many of their dealings with people other than their immediate friends, have adopted a permanent line of 'I might be able to make something of this for myself.' (1948: 128)

Jephcott ignored the post war outcry over the apparently increasing incidence of juvenile theft, including theft by girls, which was dramatically described in the House of Lords as a 'tidal wave'. (Times Educational Supplement, 1948: 670) Instead, she explains thieving as a natural response to the world in which many woring-class girls have grown up.

A family history of scrimping and scraping and of insecurity coupled with real shortage of possessions does not tend to make honesty a virtue that comes by second nature. It is, rather, a standard which some of these girls have a constant struggle to achieve and in which they seem to receive little help from older people. (1948: 127)

Jephcott was saddened that girls spent so much time 'investigating the bypaths of sex' and that they saw themselves as failures if they couldn't get a boy. (1942: 133) While their own sexual attractiveness and their relations with boys were a constant concern for girls, she learnt that the reality of sex did not always meet their expectations. 'Quite a number suggest that though they regard fairly promiscuous petting as universal they don't much like it' (1948: 91). Again, whatever the behaviour of girls, it is adults whom she censures. The war has brought particular pressures for girls. Rose has documented the 'furore'

over young women's sexual conduct during World War Two, a response that mirrored the concerns over the 'khaki fever' of 13-16 year olds in the first World War (Rose, 1997). While Jephcott was saddened by seeing girls sitting outside aerodromes or hanging about outside cinemas, she shifts the responsibilitiy from the girls themselves to the men involved. Of service men from overseas she notes, 'Older than the adolescent and with differing standards of accepted 'good' behaviour, (they) have brought a new world to many girls who have to accept or reject these standards almost before they have begun to make their own'. (1948: 91)

While acknowledging the rising number of illegitimate births that was so worrying her contemporaries she argues that this is a result of the lack of standards set by their elders.

> The girls' difficulties with regard to sex and marriage arise far more from lack of consciously held standards than from anything so concrete as deliberate vice. Except for the films, few agencies seem to put any kind of standards before boys and girls, and those that these present are so steeped in sentimentality that they are unrealistic... what so many need is an ideal of love and of marriage that is fiery and exalting. If nothing awakens then to the potentialities of 'great' love (as distant from crooner-style romance) they cannot be expected to exercise the self-discipline and the fearlessness without which it cannot develop. (1948: 91)

In addition she is forthright in demanding that sex should be treated more openly not just by advocating formal sex education in schools but 'the commercial provision of first-class popular books on sex - popular in the sense that they can be bought at any paper-shop and that they are particularly adapted to the reading abilities of the ordinary ex-senior schoolchild, boy and girl' (1948: 127-8)

This period of Jephcott's work was dominated by the war and its aftermath, and her view of the war was unequivocal. From 1942, in her work for the NOGC, she was organising the girls' Service Cadet Companies, some of the many voluntary units for girls and women that had formed part of an enthusiastic reponse of women to calls to help the war effort. The Annual Report for 1941/2, which Jephcott authored anonymously, shows a position firmly in line with the Board of Education's enthusiastic espousal of war training and service for girls (Board of Education, 1943). In contrast, her personal writing presents war as an overwhelmingly negative experience for girls. It disrupts families, destroys places dear to young people, curtails their education and increases both their working hours and their responsibilites. Young girls were experiencing the blitz, shelter life and all the physical turmoil and emotional strain that the raids

involved (1944: 114). In 'Rising Twenty', while condemning the cinema's frequent depiction of 'physical violence without emotional subtlety', she delivers her most damaging critique of the impact of the war on young women: its lesson that 'force pays higher dividends...than persuasion and the use of reason' (1948: 157). War to her was the ultimate example of adults' dereliction of duty to the younger generation.

These comments are ample to show that Jephcott believed the focus on young people's failings was invariably misplaced. Her forthright criticism is not just of adults in general however. Specific criticisms of parents and employers along with censure of the attitudes of her fellow professional workers, both in youth work and beyond, pepper her writing. She constantly implies, and occasionally asserts, the myopia of many professional workers dealing with young people and especially with girls. In 'Clubs for Girls' she notes that,

Even books about Youth Work have an odd tendency to suggest that girls are born into the world in smaller numbers than boys, and are liable to dismiss the girls, and the irritating little problems that they will keep on presenting in a couple of paragraphs at the end of the chapter. In England few professional bodies take an interest in girls of this age and type. (1943: 22)[3].

While of the comtemporary obsession with girls' premarital sex and pregnancy she opines,

It is a curious and disarming fact that some English people of the most varied outlook and experience, and with the most diverse plans for the improvement of the social order, seem to consider that the main function of any social organisation for young people is to stop the girls from having unwanted babies. The girls themselves look for a much more positive good in their societies. (1942: 131)

This might well have been her response to the findings of the 1947 British Medical Association and Magistrates' Association's joint investigations of 'The Problem Girl'. This gathering of the representatives of the medical and legal worlds regarded the 'good time girl' as a serious social problem and recommended long-term psychiatric help as the appropriate solution. (Times Education Supplement, 1947: 352). To Jephcott the emphasis here would have been entirely misplaced: it was girls' vulnerability rather than their culpability that she always stressed. She thought employers and supervisors at girls' workplaces were especially culpable for their exploitation of young workers and their lack of interest in their well-being. She was disappointed to find little trade union involvement amongst young women and insisted 'We must control employers'. (1943: 16).

Jephcott was critical of much of the content and organisation of formal education. In often trenchant terms she enumerated its failings. 'For inefficiency this system of education could hardly be beaten' (1942: 52) and while she supported the extension of secondary schooling and the raising of the school leaving age, she believed that schooling alone could never fulfil the promise of educating young people adequately. 'However skilful the teaching or happy the personal relationship, a school is still a school'. (1948: 294) Her hope, outlined in 'Girls Growing Up' and 'The Service of Youth Today', was that school teaching and club leadership would become inter-changeable professions with a common training, in line with their common focus on the welfare of the young. But her work in clubs had revealed again and again the inadequanices of many of her peers and her advice to a potential new club helper is a sharp reminder of the high standards she set.

> *Helpers may find it useful, from time to time, to undertake a little healthy*
> *inspection of their own motives in running a club. Though club work, even*
> *in 1943, has a vaguely philanthropic tang, it is salutary not to over-estimate*
> *one's own merits nor to be too certain that those values which one is so*
> *assiduously putting out for boys and girls to see, are indeed, the only ones*
> *that matter. (1943: 49)*

In this period of her life Jephcott developed a passionate vision of young people's potential in society. It was a vision of great energy; young people had huge reservoirs of talent to share with each other and with adults and children. Recently it has been argued that conceptions of youth that treat young people as another country or stress the supposed proclivities of a time called 'adolescence' have always limited our understandings of the meanings of young people's lives. (Jeffs and Smith, 1998/9) In the thirties and forties, with transparent hypocrisy, young people were regarded by many social commentators by turns as adults, when it pleased adults, or as immature children to be moulded and led in order to service their elders. Jephcott was among the first to operate from a perspective that challenged that focus and stressed not the failings of adolescents but their enthusiam, their exploratory natures, their kindnesses and loyalties, their potential as human beings and their 'unfailing idealism'. (NOGC, Annual Report, 1941/2: 9). She was particularly keen that the stifled lives of working-class girls should be expanded so their experiences and aspirations could widen. She seems to have derived some of her ideas from her interpretation of the work of Le Play (1808-1882) whose ideas were popular with social reformers across Europe (Abraham 1973). Le Play was a nineteenth century French sociologist, generally regarded as conservative, whose emphasis on the solidarity of the family, the reciprocity of rights and obligations in society, and the need for moral ideals all figure prominently in Jephcott's own arguments. She

was a member of the Le Play society and travelled extensively in Europe to visit local communities with the society.

Jephcott's working lifetime of concern for young people made her a very active participant in a number of social worlds. First, she was a face-to-face worker with young people in their clubs. As a club organiser she rallied support for provision for girls in local communities in Birmingham and County Durham. As a member of a national youth organisation she promoted the professional organisation of work with young people. As an author, the three books she wrote in the forties were widely read ('Girls Growing Up' was particularly popular), and she reached a much wider general public than many of her peers. From the fifties onwards she increasingly embraced the concerns of the developing discipline of sociology in her work as a social researcher at the Universities of Nottingham and Glasgow and the London School of Economics.

To improve the lot of young people Jephcott wanted adults to observe them carefully, listen to what they said and then to try to change not just young people, but themselves. She was both an idealist and a pragmatist, keenly aware of the in herent limitations of education and social work. As a colleague said 'she had no time for the dabblers and titivators of social work'. (Stovin, 1946: 2) The glamorous and typical concerns about young women, of sex with soldiers, good-time girls, girl drunks and hooligans interested her only so far as they highlighted the extraordinary lawfulness of most girls in the light of the limited and stultifying lives they led.

Her hope that Britain's youth might be treated with greater seriousness in the latter half of the twentieth century is summed up in the opening lines of 'Rising Twenty' when she asks her readers to consider the life story of Dolly, a working-class girl who works as an Assistant in a wholesale warehouse, rather than that of the glamorous Marina Jones, an eighteen-year old striptease artist who had been recently convicted of murder in the notorious Cleft Chin Case. She saw dangers in focusing only on the potential delinquency of young people, wanting adults instead to recognise the harsh realities of life for most working-class girls. We only knew about Marina Jones because of her notoriety. About Dolly's life we knew nothing. Contemporary social commentators, from academics to journalists, if curious about the lives of girls at all were only interested in them if they were spectacularly delinquint. But most girls were like Dolly and it was their stories that were important.

Her critique of adults and her powerful sociological and non-pathological under-standing of the young combine to give Pearl Jephcott a distinctive voice as both a commentator and activist. But she left another legacy. She always sought to give young people themselves a chance to be heard. Her books are strewn with quotations

by the young women workers whom she came to know well and in many cases, to regard as friends. Sometimes the quotations are pages long and the respect for young people that such careful attention to their words illustrates is perhaps her greatest legacy: an injunction to listen. In 1960 when Jephcott contacted the subjects of her early research again they were already mature women in their thirties. One woman's words are a powerful indictment of the contemporary treatment of young people.

> *The first lesson I learned after leaving school was what an insignificant, unprepared, in-between I was, pushed headlong from the classroom into a grown-up world that I knew nothing about and I spent the next four years or so learning to adjust myself. Thinking back to my own teenage years it sometimes amazes me that the majority of young people come through these years without getting into serious trouble and if it is true, as I have read, that juvenile delinquency is on the increase then it seems obvious to me that there has still been no attempt made to bridge the gap between childhood and maturity. In my own case I found I knew a little about everything and almost nothing about living in the strange world of adults into which I had been hurled with almost indecent haste. (1962: 93)*

Acknowledgements

Annmarie Turnbull is a tutor for 'Turning Point', Goldsmiths College.

Notes

1 The organisation went through a number of reincarnations in the period and was variously named the National Council of Girls' Clubs, the National Association of Girls' Clubs, the National Association of Girls' Clubs and Mixed Clubs, the National Association of Mixed Clubs and Girls' Clubs and the National Association of Youth Clubs. For simplicity I use its original name only.

2 It applied to 19.5% of the cases he studied.

3 Exactly the same point has been made by Mary Chadwick in 'Adolescent Girlhood', twenty years earlier.

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Jim Crowther, Ian Martin and Mae Shaw (eds)
Popular Education and Social Movements in Scotland Today
NIACE (1999)
ISBN 1 86201 041 2
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pp 315

Ted Milburn

It was just before the elections for the Scottish Parliament in May, 1999, that I received this book for review. Scotland seemed alive with expectation, reflection, hope and renewed commitment. There was a real sense for me that this book touched this mood. Divided into four sections entitled 'Theorising popular education and social movements'; 'Historical perspectives'; 'Social and cultural action'; and 'Struggles in practice', it imaginatively marries the theoretical and historical with front line education work in communities.

Despite its obvious relevance to adult educators, this book will be of great interest to youth and community work practitioners and managers. The emphasis upon action - reflection models of adult learning will be relevant to all who consider informal education to be their business. 25 chapters touch upon issues as diverse as the politics of educational change, women and education, challenging islamophobia, the struggle for inclusion, the neighbourhood as classroom, community empowerment, making racism visible and building a pedagogy of hope. Because of thoughtful editing, the contributions advance our knowledge of theory and practice and the references to concrete experience go beyond Scotland and have international and universal relevance.

Jim Crowther, Ian Martin and Mae Shaw are already well known for their scholarship and commitment to argument and creativity in the worlds of adult education and community work. We should therefore not be surprised that they have attracted 29 contributors from such a wide spectrum of academic, professional, community and political perspectives. Bashir Maan, a member of the Scottish Constitutional Convention and a Baillie of the City of Glasgow council, joins Elinor Kelly a Senior Lecturer in Equality Studies in the University of Glasgow to produce a chapter which argues for the legitimacy of social movements based upon faith communities of religious identity as well as secular political ideology. Lindsay Paterson, Professor of Education Policy in the University of Edinburgh presents a challenging analysis of the complex

relationship between social movements and the state and concludes that new social movements have expanded our understanding of politics to include cultural action in civil society.

My interest in Vernon Galloway's account of the Adult Learning Project (ALP) in Edinburgh sprang from my admiration for his fieldwork and visits to the Project whilst supervising community education students on placement. In his chapter, we have Galloway as a theorist, linking sound and well grounded Frierean learning strategies which he practices with Gramsci's notions of organic and cultural change. There is so much to be learned from the use of reflection and action in community based educational work with adults and young people. History groups in ALP have led to the formation of dramatic productions which celebrate the lives and struggles of working people in the past. Music groups in ALP have extended traditional music teaching in Scotland. Democracy groups have campaigned around issues like VAT on fuel, water privatisation, local school closures and traffic congestion. Popular education and social movements!

And so, this book is not by and for academics and educators alone. The contributors include community activists from Easterhouse, a museum curator, an oral historian, academics and researchers, adult educators, a language teacher, a development worker, a crofter, community educators, a WEA organiser and a politician. The varying perspectives fuse and occasionally stand in opposition to each other, so that the reader does not have the sense of an uncritical apologia for radical adult education. This is a book to make us think and reconsider. It contains the invitation and encouragement to re-emphasise adult education as an agent of progressive social and political change. We are urged to act. As an antidote to new vocationalism and paternalism in education, it could not be better timed.

As a Northumbrian living and working in Scotland for the past 26 years, I see this book as evidence of a long (and not previously well recorded) proud history in popular education in this country. It is also a statement of the existance of a perfectly respectable theory and practice of radical adult education. There is a sense in which it makes me want to break into the Glaswegian vernacular 'Go on yersel' - an enthusiastic term of admiring congratulation, combining an urgent encouragement to keep going! This book is about expectation, reflection, hope and renewed commitment.

Ted Milburn, *Centre for Youth Work Studies, University of Strathclyde.*

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Suzanne Fitzpatrick, Annette Hastings and keith Kintrea
Including young people in urban regeneration: a lot to learn?
The Policy Press and the joseph Rowntree Foundation, 1998
ISBN 1 86134 119 9
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pp 37

Kevin Edworthy

This relatively short booklet summarises the main conclusions of a study of how area-based urban regeneration initiatives involve young people. The study examined the extent to which young people's needs were being addressed by regeneration programmes, and the nature and impact of young people's participation in decision making about regeneration.

The conclusions are based on an investigation of twelve youth oriented regeneration schemes throughout the UK. Detailed in depth case studies were undertaken in six of the identified schemes - Shankhill in Belfast, Batley in Yorkshire, Moss Side in Manchester, Dingle in Liverpool, Sandwell in the West Midlands and Ferguslie Park in Paisley.

The authors draw comfort from the increasing prominence being attached to youth issues within urban regeneration policy, but suggest that regeneration practice and management needs to change if this increasing importance is to have major effect.

The report highlighted some striking contrasts between young people's and adult decision makers' priorities for youth within regeneration and the tendency amongst decision makers to use youth forums to facilitate the involvement of young people in their regeneration programmes. Other participation mechanisms were also being used, however youth forums tended to predominate as they were seen as a relatively simple and easy means of engaging young people in the process.

However, the report found that forums and the other mechanisms have had little effect in shaping regeneration programmes and projects and that to date, young people's impact on the regeneration process, has been very modest and confined directly to youth issues.

In examining the reasons for this, the authors draw attention to a number of obstacles to young people's participation in urban regeneration, not the least being the way in which adult decision makers interact with young people, and the narrow and often compartmentalised view of youth within overall regeneration programmes and strategies.

Where young people have been involved in the process, the individuals concerned were found to have received a number of personal and material benefits, and adult decision makers were impressed by the nature and quality of the contributions made by young people.

This latter finding bodes well for developing further involvement if the obstacles to young people's participation can be overcome. In this regard the authors make a number of practical suggestions for practitioners, decision makers, youth workers, community organisations and young people themselves as to how the contribution young people make to regeneration programmes could be improved. All of the stakeholders in the process are advised to think carefully about how language and procedures inhibit youth participation - be it the complexity and jargon of an SRB board meeting, or the ways in which young people themselves speak and express their views to adults.

One of the key suggestions is that practitioners and decision makers should take a more holistic view of regeneration and look at establishing links between youth projects and other policies and programmes so as to ensure co-ordination and synergy. Indeed, since the report was published this suggestion has been included within the bidding guidance for the revised Single Regeneration Budget (SRB), which now encourages regeneration partners to link and co-ordinate programmes such that the impacts achieved through SRB projects can inform, influence and be supported by mainstream programmes and provision.

From a practitioner's point of view, this is a very useful report. It quickly and simply summarises the barriers to involving young people in the regeneration process and then goes on to make a number of practical suggestions as to how participation can be improved.

Although the focus of study was strictly urban regeneration, its analysis and conclusions are likely to have wider relevance. Whilst disadvantaged young people in *rural areas* suffer additional problems associated with geographical isolation and inaccessibility, many of the recommendations are as equally valid for regeneration in a rural context, as they are in an urban one.

In addition, public agencies and local authorities in particular, are increasingly being encouraged to consult and involve local people and users in the development and planning of services. Under the new Best Value regime, local councils are obliged to undertake widespread

consultation and to make particular efforts to involve 'hard to reach' groups including young people. Again, the practical suggestions on involving young people, are equally as relevant for *mainstream* service provision as they are for regeneration, and youth workers and policy officers may wish to pass the report on to their council colleagues once they have read it themselves.

Kevin Edworthy *works for Durham County Council as its corporate communications officer. The views expressed in this review are entirely his own.*

Geoff Cooper
Outdoors with Young People:
A leader's guide to outdoor activities, the environment and sustainability
Russell House Publishing
ISBN 1 898924 24 4
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pp 145

Ken McCulloch

Growing interest in issues of environment and sustainability has been manifest over the past few years in an increasing number of publications addressing such themes. These have ranged from the academic treatment of environmental issues from a range of perspectives ranging from the biological-scientific and the social scientific on one hand, through to a range of practical guides and handbooks on the other. A variety of motives are evident in all this activity, from the altruistic and idealistic to the kind of positive image-building impulse which appears at least in part to have motivated an oil company like Shell to produce their 'Better Britain Guide'.

Geoff Cooper's motives in writing this admirable book arise clearly and transparently from his personal and professional commitment to outdoor work with young people and to notions of sustainability and an environmental ethic. It is that enthusiasm and commitment which shines through and makes this book much more than just another manual or list of project and activity ideas. What it is not is another book on how to use activities

such as canoeing or abseiling to aid young people's development. The focus is very clearly on concerns with and for environment and sustainability, and activity and adventure are clearly to be understood as leading to those aims.

The strength of the text is in its overall conceptualisation and structure. An introductory section sets out a framework of ideas and concepts for thinking about the purpose of work with young people in an outdoor context. As such it forms an essential basis for understanding the purpose and approach the subsequent chapters offer. The second half explores a range of different types of activity using ideas about purpose and values as the starting point for thinking about particular kinds of practice. Like most of the literature on outdoor and adventure education, the main focus in Cooper's text is on individual learning, personal growth and development rather than on socio-political perspectives. Concern with personal and individual acts and agency is emphasised over notions of community or social action.

On page 6 he distances himself, although somewhat equivocally as it seemed to me, from ideas of social and political purpose in relation to environmental education. This seems to me to represent a significant weakness, and a failure to recognise that to stand back and deny such purpose is in itself a value stance just as partial as that adopted by militant campaigners. This perhaps represents a slight failure of nerve on the author's part. The reference to 'environmental problems as social, economic or political problems in disguise' (p 12) is sufficient evidence for his recognition of the origins of 'problems', but the decision not to develop this line of argument through, for example, reference to campaigns and campaigning seems to me to be an opportunity missed.

At a more detailed level I detected a tendency to simplify complex arguments almost to the point of caricature. For example, theories about learning styles and their importance are presented without any real sense of critical distance from the theories or any real acknowledgment that the theoretical ground covered was only a small and rather arbitrarily selected piece of that territory. In rather a similar way, claims are made about the 'new language of education', characterised as being concerned with order and control and a move away from learning centred participatory approaches. Without denying the significance of the Baker and other 'reforms' of the past 20 years many educators will be rightly incensed at the implication that they do no more than implement the polices and cur-

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riculum guidelines of the day. Multiple, competing discourses of purpose and practice are still the essence of debates about education and are likely to continue to be so, whatever governments may seek to impose or direct.

The greatest strengths of this book are evident in the second section which explores ideas for and about practice. Chapter 5 is entitled 'Encouraging a personal response to the environment' and explores ways of encouraging a sense of connectedness to the natural world. These ideas are not, as Cooper acknowledges, particularly novel or original, but they are of the utmost importance to educators working in the outdoors. This links well to the following chapter which considers the use of visual arts and creative writing as part of the repertoire of the educator. It is a long journey from 'traditional' outdoor pursuits approaches to working with young people to produce Land Art in the tradition emerging around the work of artists like Andy Goldsworthy, but certainly a journey worth starting. Geoff Cooper has provided much useful food for thought in this book, along with many useful and theoretically well-grounded suggestions for practice activities.

Ken McCulloch *is a lecturer in Community Education at Moray House Institute, The University of Edinburgh.*

John Prosser (ed)
School Culture
Paul Chapman Publishing Ltd
ISBN 1 85396 377 1

Bren Cook

When I was first asked to review a book about school culture I looked forward to it. Schools have been a bee in my pedagogical bonnet ever since I was a recipient of and dweller in education land. My experiences at school have profoundly influenced my own career as well as my thinking about learning. I went to school in the north of England for 12 years and then did all kinds of work in educational establishments, mainly of a subversive nature. So it was that I waited with great anticipation to receive Jon Prossers book 'School Culture'. The wait was worth it and I wasn't to be disappointed.

The book comes in a slim paper back volume comprising of some eleven chapters written by several authors. The contributors are an impressive bunch. Senior lecturers, professors and in depth researchers abound. These writers have done their homework.

In the editorial introduction Jon Prosser, who currently is a member of the research and graduate School of Education at the University of Southampton, describes the intention of the work as covering diverse positions on school culture and splits the book into two distinct camps; chapters 1-6 focus on culture as a holistic phenomenon and chapters 7-11 as interacting sub-cultures. It does this well. The book is a highly analytical exposé of schooling. It does it with a cold eye from an objective viewpoint.

In recent years I have become aware of life gaining in complexity, it's either because things are more complex, or I'm more analytical or it's my age. 'School Culture' confirmed my, 'it's not as simple as all that' outlook on life. Peeling back the layers of culture, with a diverse set of definitions of what is meant by culture, left me astonished that all this is going on, on a daily basis in our schools. I knew that going to school wasn't simple but there's more to it than meets the eye. This book attempts to unpick what is going on and gives the reader an understanding of the social forces at work in schools.

Chapter 1 is by Jon Prosser himself. He describes in some depth and breadth the emerging importance of examining school culture. He describes the culture changes over the last thirty years and ends with exploring theoretical frameworks, the meaning of school culture and how it relates to improving practice. This chapter serves as the backdrop for the rest of the book and will give readers a good introduction to the concepts.

Sally Power and Geoff Whitty's contribution - Market Forces and School Culture looks at macro forces and how thy effect the micro world of schools. They argue that education and 'what is taught' is essentially political and are part of a bigger 'Hidden Agenda'.

Putting the responsibility back into the hands of the schools themselves Louise Stoll argues for a better understanding of the relationship between school culture and the management of change. She argues that whatever model you go for you'd better realise that school improvement comes from within.

David Hargreaves helps practitioners explore their school's culture in

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what I found to be the most practical chapter. It guides would-be cultural engineers through a set of tools that will help them analyse what's going on around them.

Chapter 5 - Primary Teaching as a Culture of Care by Jennifer Nias reminded me of the 'Emperors new clothes' story. It points out that the manifestation of culture is an expression of values and beliefs eg primary teaching is about care. What we assume about teachers and their modus operandi profoundly effect everyday practice. The chapter asks the question what other values and beliefs are operating?

Jon Prosser and Terry Warburton offer a more technical sociological approach in chapter 6. To be accurate the chapter brings a more anthropological and ethnographic approach to the subject. What is good about the chapter is it challenges school dwellers not to take things at face value.

The next chapter surprised me somewhat because it declares that it is only recently that interest has been raised in pupil culture. Máirtín Mac an Ghaill asserts that far from being passive recipients of school culture pupil culture impacts directly on the school. This chapter introduces the issue of gender to illustrate the point. Máirtín suggests that exploring pupil culture may hold the key to understanding achievement or underachievement.

A subject dear to my heart has always been the use and abuse of power in schools. In chapter 8 Pamela Munn explores the notion of control and discipline in schools. How pupils are controlled, ordered and managed reveal the hidden currculuum. Looking at the issue from both the teachers' cultural viewpoint and the pupils' Pamela has some positive solutions to offer.

Jenny Corbett tackles the area of Inclusivity and School Culture: the case of special education. This chapter reminds me of an essay that a colleague of mine wrote entitled 'The Paradox of Unintended Consequences'. The well intentioned strategy of incorporating SEN pupils in mainstream schooling may have some difficult and damaging repercussions. This chapter describes the dynamic relationships between sub cultures and their relative power differentials. In many respects this chapter is a real indictment of the 'devil take the hind most' culture of recent years.

Boys and Literacy: Gendering the Reading Curriculum by Gemma Moss and Dena Attar looks at classroom culture. They challenge the received wisdom of traditional methods of teaching. They look at how gender effects learning how to read as well as how boys and girls respond. They

argue that the 'micro-cultural jigsaw' needs to be understood in order to establish better learning and teaching.

Avoiding the management theory and qualitative research methodology Sandra Weber and Claudia Mitchell take a different approach in chapter 11 - Teacher Identity in Popular Culture. This is a more psychological chapter than the others. It argues that a teacher's identity impacts upon school cultures indirectly. Societal expectations and images may influence how teachers behave and feel.

Overall this is a fine book bringing to a reader a credible and solid set of work. If it has a weakness then I would say it wasn't radical enough in its conclusion or solutions. Maybe that is all right for now but I would like to see John do another book drawing on the likes of Illich and Friere. The current governmental focus on disaffection is looking for radical solutions and this book is important because it raises some crucial issues. Those reading it will not be able to avoid reflecting on their own circumstances and experiences.

Bren Cook *is a Training Co-ordinator for Lancashire Youth and Community Service.*

Cathie Kiddle
Traveller Children: A Voice for Themselves
Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 1999
ISBN 1 85302 684 0
£14.99 pbk
pp 174

Rick Bowler

This book is an excellent read for all students, practitioners and managers in teaching. It also offers valuable insight to community and youth workers and social workers. It should also be read by all local authority workers and managers who have responsibilities to provide services for the individuals, families and communities known as Gypsy or Traveller.

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The title alludes to Cathys Kiddle's vision for public services and servants to actively encourage and listen to 'ordinary' people in the development, delivery and evaluation of public provision. She draws on extensive personal and professional experience to offer us practical examples of why this is of critical importance. Cathy Kiddle sets out in her introduction the purpose of the book and shares with us some of the conceptual and 'lived' professional tensions impacting on individuals, families and communities who are marginalised and pathologised as 'other' within mainstream British - 'Thatcherite English', dominant discourse.

Chapter 2 offers us an insight into the recent history of the relationship between Gypsies, other Travellers and the impact of social policy development by the dominant mainstream settled community.

In short the story is simple and distressing. Gypsies and other Travellers have not been seen as worthy of inclusion in the development and delivery of services to their communities. Racism has prevailed and corruption, collusion and indifference have been dominant in the decision making arena.

A 1984 Government document made public by the Gypsy Sites Branch of the then Department of Environment titled 'Defining a Gypsy' stated:

> Gypsies are not the best source from whom to get information about themselves as they often say what they think or hope the questioner wants to hear.

These ideas are clearly morally bankrupt and combine profound stupidity with racism and were a mild version of some of the extreme right statements coming from Conservative politicians throughout their time in power.

The book asks and informs on the questions: Who are Gypsies? and Who are Travellers?

Charlie Smith, the democratically elected chair of the Gypsy Council for Education, Culture, Welfare and Civil Rights (GCECWCR), in his 1990 book of poetry 'Spirit of the Flame' offers us this critical point of entry into answering these questions.

> When I am asked if I am a 'real Gypsy' my answer is this; I am flesh and blood, I feel pain, I feel joy, I love and hate, cut me and I bleed, I am a real human being living in today's world who happens to be a Gypsy. Not some stereotype that fits misinformed people's ideas of what a Gypsy should be.

Cathy Kiddle has thus set out an interesting and timely book. Interesting, relevant and informative for all community and youth workers, social workers, teachers and other public servants who are likely to encounter Gypsies and other Travellers in their work. Timely because of the Macpherson report and the possibilities for new actions to counter racism. Timely because of current debates regarding the rights of Roma and other Refugee/Asylum Seekers and timely because the GCECWCR have just defeated a nasty attempt to weaken them via an insulting, contrived and protracted libel case. This allows them to once again concentrate their full efforts on voicing their members concerns for equal treatment and equal access alongside all minority groups in Britain. For those that do know his work, Charlie Smith's poetry consists of a clarity equal to the excellence and location of Benjamin Zephaniah.

Cathy Kiddle's book covers a wide range of practical and policy related concerns impacting on the rights of Gypsies and other Travellers. She contextualises her arguments within the European framework and focuses the reader through her commitment to Children's Rights supported by the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child.

This book was also of personal interest to me. When I worked as the Northern Development Officer with Save the Children during 1988-1993 my primary job focus was to work with Gypsy and Traveller families towards them voicing their concerns about their children's rights. I was helped in my task through many lengthy, on going and critical discussions with several thoughtful informed and clear Gypsy spokespeople; William and Jayne Nicholson, Charlie Smith, Peter Mercer, Mary Lee, Pat and Roy Gentile, John Moore and Eli Frankham to name a few.

I also was helped in my task by several inspired equality activists and anti-oppressive professionals committed to Social Justice and Equality of Opportunity. Len Edmondson, David Smith, Pat Murphy, Ann Bagehot, Fran Duncan, Theresa Griffiths, Gill Barron and Walter Lloyd deserve a mention. Many of these people are mentioned in the book and Cathy gives accurate credence to the GCECWCR as one of the critical Gypsy Organisations from which to seek advice.

The evidence for Cathy Kiddle's arguments are telling; She helps the reader through a complex and difficult professional arena by drawing on her critical reflections on over 20 years of practice as well as comparing and contrasting these reflections with direct voiced experiences from the

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Gypsy and Traveller families she worked with and from the external support received from various key Gypsy and Traveller 'experts'.

Her bibliography is full of additional source material for the pro active anti-racist and anti-oppressive practitioner. I suggest you look at the work of W. Reid, C. Smith, P. Mercer, N. Joyce, B. Jordan and then move onto Hawes and Perez, Kenrick and Puxon, Acton and Mundy, and J.P. Liegois. Also look up her references to some of the emerging Roma Gypsy writers. You should also make direct contact and offer practical means of support to: The GCECWCR at their European and UK Central Office, 8 Hall Road, Aveley, Romford, Essex, RM15 4HD and to the: Refugee Council in London.

Rick Bowler, *Community and Youth Work, School of Humanities and Social Sciences, University of Sunderland.*

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Articles of normally between 2,500 and 8,000 words should be sent to Jean Spence, Umme Imam or Ruth Gilchrist. They should take an analytical approach to theoretical, practical and/or policy issues concerning young people in society. On receipt of the article the author will be notified whether it is being considered for publication. This process involves the editorial group seeking comments from anonymous referees.

All articles must be typed with double spacing on white paper and authors should send three copies. *We also encourage the submission of the final text on computer disk* (3.5 inch) saved in 'text'/ASCII format (please enclose adequate instructions for our typesetters). Attention must be paid to equal opportunities issues. Contributors should adopt the house style of the journal laid out below:

Single quotation marks should be used unless quoting within a quote, where double quotation marks should be used. Indented quotes do not require quotation marks but where a quote is presented within an indented quote, single quotation marks should be used. Abbreviations that have attained common usage can be used (eg. USA) but those which are less well known should be spelled out in the first instance with the abbreviated form following in parentheses, eg. British Youth Council (BYC). The abbreviated form can be used thereafter. Tables, graphs and diagrams should be set out clearly and included in the relevant place in the text. Subheadings should be clearly marked and underlined.

References should be set out in the Harvard system. Thus, the author's name, date of publication and, if necessary, page number should be included in parentheses in the main text, for example, (Smith, 1984, p 10). All references should be listed at the end of the article, with the title 'References', in alphabetical order by author's surname and including publication details.

Thus, for a book:
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