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TROUBLE AND TRIBES:
Young people and community

JEREMY BRENT

In Southmead, an area in which I have worked and researched over a number of years, young people are persistently seen as a major problem that stands in the way of the formation of community, which itself is seen as an almost magical solution to the ills of the area. It is as if young people are held responsible for holding the area back. However, young people too continually engage in collective activities that bear certain strong resemblances to what is generally labelled 'community', except that their activities are not approved of, and are not given the accolade of having this term applied to them.

For me, this leads to a difficult question, 'What is community, anyway?', which I have explored more fully elsewhere (Brent, 2000). In this article I want to look at young people in relation to ideas of community, including issues of sociality, collectivity, locality and power. I give examples of adult views of young people, followed by accounts of young people's own communal actions, and relate these to theories of community, including that of 'neo-tribes' described as unstable 'effervescent communities' (Maffesoli, 1996:66), that challenge to the nostalgic idea of community as 'warm togetherness' (Bellah, 1997:388).

Southmead itself is a large housing estate on the northern edge of Bristol. No thumbnail sketch can do the area justice, and even exacerbates the problem of pathologisation from which the area, like others like it, suffers. However, to show the context of the argument, here are some bare facts and figures.

Southmead has a population of over 10,000. It was primarily developed over a twenty five year period between 1930 and 1955, with later infill. The housing is low density - the vast majority of it being three-bedroom houses with gardens. Ever since it was built Southmead has had a reputation for trouble and poverty. It was the subject of a major action research study by the Bristol Social Project in the 1950s, and in one of the papers from that project, tellingly entitled *Difficult Housing Estates*, it is described as:

> *containing areas of bad reputation which caused the whole neighbourhood to be held in low esteem.*
> (Wilson 1963:3)

Three decades later a survey stated that:

> *Throughout its history, Southmead has received attention in the media as a problem estate where crime, lawlessness and anti-social behaviour are rife.*

> *Riots and fire bombings in the early and late 1980's and the problem of joyriding, which recently received national coverage, have all seemed to firmly establish Southmead as 'Bristol's trouble-plagued estate'.*
> (Safe Neighbourhood Unit 1991:7)

In the 1999 *Audit of Crime and Disorder in Bristol,* Southmead was named as a major 'crime hot-spot' in the city, the only area with as many as five entries out of eight police priority categories (Bristol Community Safety Partnership, 1999). The 'problem' tag therefore has a long history - from at least 1952, when the Bristol Social Project research was set up, until at least the end of the 1990s.

Southmead has also always featured as one of the poorest areas in the city in the *Poverty in Bristol* reports that Bristol City Council issue, with the 1996 report stating that the estate falls within the 'highest' fifth of the five indicators used to measure deprivation in Bristol. In 1998 the Southmead ward was scored as having the third worst quality of life out of 34 Bristol wards, and in DETR statistics it figures among the worst 10% of wards in England (Bristol City Council 1996, 1999; DETR, 1998).

Southmead is not alone as an area with such statistics. There are some 2000 such estates throughout Britain, the main feature of Southmead being its size - four to nine times larger than the '20 of the most difficult' that were surveyed in a Joseph Rowntree Foundation study (Power and Tunstall, 1995). Nor is it alone as being seen as an area where, despite all the figures of poverty, it is young people that are seen as the major social problem.

In writing about the category 'youth' there are always problems of definition. Depending on which government programme or piece of legislation is being used, the period defined as youth can vary considerably. Youth is no longer characteristic merely of age:

> *Youth has ceased to be a biological function and has become a symbolic definition. People are not young simply because of their particular age, but because they assume culturally the youthful characteristics of changeability and temporariness.*
> (Melucci 1989:61)

Rather than attempting to make a formal definition of youth, I will in this article be using other people's 'common sense' (or symbolic) definitions of young people, not because common sense is right, or even consistent, but because it is this common sense that lead to attitudes and responses to young people's behaviour and actions.

There is one distinction often made between different young people - the 'good' versus the 'bad', or 'disaffected' - which needs to be treated with care, if not scorn.

This distinctions is far too neat, bears little close examination, and is even 'wicked' in the way that it is used (Piper and Piper, 1999). Certainly in my experience some young people that are involved in 'bad' activities, are, in other circumstances, categorised as 'good' (as can be seen in my examples later). The argument as to whether young people are *either* bad *or* good is finally a sterile approach to looking at the issues involved in young people living in a 'community', and puts all the onus of good behaviour on to them.

Adult views of young people and community

Like many poor areas, Southmead has been exhaustively researched and surveyed. Without fail, all the various official surveys of Southmead cast young people as a, even *the*, major problem of the area. The very first research into community in the area was set up because of the problem of young people: 'Juvenile delinquency was the initial problem and starting point for the project.' (Spencer *et al*, 1964:24). Later reports continually reiterate that theme. Out of the blue, with no lead up of argument or evidence, a 1983 report states that: 'youth problems [are] a major factor in Southmead' (Bristol City Council, 1983). A report written in 1991 is full of disparaging references to young people, including the one that states: 'There was almost universal agreement that those largely responsible for crime in Southmead are young people' (Safe Neighbourhoods Unit, 1991:46). The final sentence in the section on Southmead in the 1996 poverty report, again after no previous discussion of, or data on, young people, and with no reference to the relevance to a poverty analysis, states: 'The area is *dominated* by young people and families with dependent children living in local authority housing' (Bristol City Council, 1996:54). The 1999 *Audit of Crime and Disorder in Bristol* gives as one of the reasons for Southmead being a priority ward for crime and disorder that there are more than 25% young people in the population (Bristol Community Safety Partnership, 1999:28).

In all the reports young people are seen as a cause of crime, their behaviour a problem. The Crime Audit answers its own question about Southmead, 'Who are the offenders and why are they offending?' thus:

> *In keeping with the largest concentrations of young people in the city the area has high levels of truancy and youth unemployment. A minority of young people on the estate experiment with drugs and some have become addicted to hard drugs. Many burglaries and thefts are committed to fund drug habits. There is boredom and a lack of prospects amongst young people leading to crimes such as criminal damage.*
> (Bristol Community Safety Partnership 1999:33)

Throughout the reports on Southmead, young people are the *only* group that are identified as criminal, their large concentration seen as a problem. Even in discussion of domestic violence, men are not named as the major responsible group.

In the 1991 survey, there was a separate section in which under-18 year olds were surveyed. They were asked questions that the adults were not asked. Had they ever played truant? Had they been involved in crime? And 'During the last year have you had an alcoholic drink or taken any drugs?' (Safe Neighbourhood Unit, 1991). Asking these questions shows clearly how surveys create a perception of young people as a problem and manufacture data that maintains this perception; the questions asked in surveys are not themselves innocent. This process occurred again two years later in a survey of drug misuse which also concerned itself exclusively with young people - the only adults questioned were those who worked with young people, and adult drug use was not mentioned at all (Monaghan, 1993).

The 1991 survey had two answers for the problem of young people. One was to offer better facilities and support. The other was, through housing allocation policy, to reduce the numbers of families with children moving into the area, and 'avoid concentrating households with children of the same age on the same street', cleansing of the area of this 'problem', an idea with chilling overtones (Safe Neighbourhood Unit, 1991:65-67).

This focus on young people and their behaviour as a problem to community is wider than Southmead, or even Britain. Saul Alinsky, an evangelist for community organisation from Chicago, first writing in 1946 but still influential amongst community groups, wrote of the common example of problems of youth and delinquency as being 'one of the most frequent programs characteristic of the average community council' (Alinsky, 1969:57).

Sheila Brown, in an extensive survey in Middlesborough, found the two issues of young people and community strongly intertwined in people's own accounts:

> *Older adult attitudes towards crime and young people, then, may be fairly summarised as one which recognises the gravity of economic decline; which sees unemployment and poverty as contributing to moral decline; which regrets a perceived deterioration of order and community; but which in the end sees young people, not as victims, but rather as perpetrators and as both symptom and cause of the collapse of the moral universe.*
> (Brown, 1995:36)

She continues by saying that community then becomes defined as containing only the 'middle aged and elderly residents of a locality', constructed as a defence against young people (ibid:47).

That there is a problem of the behaviour of some young people in Southmead can not be denied. F__, a long-time youth worker with a strong commitment to young people in Southmead told me:

> *Walking around the estate on Saturday I was so ashamed. The kids were being really horrible. I saw them attack X___, and another old woman who used to work in the Post Office. They were throwing bricks at buses, and opening and closing the bus doors. Wherever I went on the estate there were kids behaving badly. They were collecting penny-for-the-guy. When people refused to give them any money, they followed them into the shops and pestered them. I feel that it is getting so bad that it can't get better. I was gutted and ashamed that I knew these kids. With this old lady they were jostling her in the street, and almost hit her.*

Describing incidents such as this (one of many) initially raises an anger that mirrors that of the adults that Brown interviewed in Middlesborough, whose 'punitiveness ... was virtually unrelenting.' (Brown, 1995:34), and an understanding of why, in the United States according to one writer, 'urban youth are increasingly defined as "undesirable" occupants of public space.' (Breitbart, 1998:307). In community safety discourse, teenagers hanging around is numbered as one of the 'incivilities' of neighbourhoods in decline (Hope and Hough 1988). This view of young people may be a source of the problem; as Brown puts it: 'Given the negativity of adults' attitudes towards young people's use of the street, it is hardly strange that conflict escalates.' (Brown, 1995:39).

Much of the conflict between adults and young people is about behaviour in public space. In public space people are expected to behave with sociality, an ingredient within the idea of community (Amirou, 1988). Shields explains sociality as people having 'to get along together'. In his words, it is 'an affirmative power that restates the never-ending game of sociability, of solidarity and of reciprocity ... which anchors a sociology of everyday life' (Shields, 1992:106). A noticeable facet of Southmead life is the number of young people using the public space of the streets; in common with many poor areas, young people are a high proportion of the population. Their use of the street is not unusual, as is pointed out in a work on the geographies of youth culture: 'Studies on teenagers suggest that the space of the street is often the only autonomous space that young people are able to carve out for themselves.' (Valentine *et al*, 1998:7). This attempt at autonomy brings them into conflict with other street users, challenging adult rules of sociality. In Brown's research, in place of a reciprocal sociality between young people and adults, there was a 'perpetual, never ending conflict over space which characterises much of the relationship between the generations in public' (Brown, 1995:40).

In these descriptions of conflict, young people are always mentioned in the plural. There are always more than one of them. The behaviour is collective. Melucci writes that collective behaviour is 'never a purely irrational phenomenon. It is always to a degree meaningful to its participants, even when it appears to be anomic or marginal behaviour.' (Melucci, 1989:191). I want to use his insight to examine this behaviour, as collectivity is another important facet of the idea of community. Used with the idea of public space, it is closely linked to another idea often used as an ingredient of community: that of control over locality. In looking at examples of young people's collective actions in Southmead, and their relation to public space and locality, wider issues of community are raised than just that of the behaviour of young people.

Youth behaviour may be seen as destructive to community, but nostalgia for past youth is one aspect of community building. People love the shared history of remembering themselves as young. In 1993 there was exhibition, called '40 Years of Youth Work in Southmead.' This was extremely popular, much more popular in the area than the exhibitions of contemporary work done by young people, and led to more people bringing in their even older photographs, and eventually the compilation of the book *Alive and Kicking!*, full of memories of youth (Truman and Brent, 1995). As Stuart Hall has put it: 'organic community was just always in the childhood you left behind.' (Hall, 1991:46). Shared memories of youth can be an important ingredient of adult community. Now, though, I want to give examples of the communal activities created by young people themselves.

Young people, collective action and neo-tribes

One of the features of the social life of young people in Southmead is the way certain sites - street corners, park areas, shops - by some mysterious way become the place where crowds of young people congregate and socialise. These places become young people's space for a time, with their own shorthand titles (over the years 'Greystoke', 'the woods', 'the bollards', and so on), until eventually the police are called, and the crowds dispersed until, a few weeks or months later, a new site emerges as that place to be. One area, 'the Green', was used so often as a gathering place and centre of joyriding and battles with the police, that in 1996 it was built over. 'They've taken *our* green away,' I was told by young people at the time. Three months later the crowds met up again at 'the woods', as described below. These gatherings are comparable to the concept of 'neo-tribes'. Neo-tribes have been characterised as 'recently invented communities involving some membership choice', which occur in '"wild zones" ..... where aesthetic and other resources are thin on the ground.' (Lash and Urry, 1994:318). They are arguably a modern version of 'community' in a mass society, with young people in Southmead being active and creative inventors of their own such communities.

The sight of large numbers of teenagers meeting together and enjoying themselves should be a cause for celebration for all those interested in their welfare. Especially when the young people feel 'empowered' enough to organise all their own activities - sitting around campfires, cooking food in the open, chatting, laughing, playing games, all with no adult supervision. However the headline in one local newspaper was: *'BIKER GROVE! Beauty spot is ravaged by teen hoodlums'*. The story went on:

> *Police and park rangers are joining forces to clamp down on teenage motorcyclists who have turned a woodland beauty spot into an off-road race track.*
>
> *The move follows complaints from residents walking their dogs at Badocks Wood, in Southmead, about noise and dangerous driving.*
>
> *... The area has been plagued by gangs of youths in recent months, who meet up on mopeds and use the wooded slopes and paths as an off-road adventure circuit.*
> (Bristol Observer 4 April 1996).

Despite its sensationalism the newspaper coverage missed the full dramatic importance of the events in Badocks Wood for young people. The newspaper's perspective was that of the outraged adults, and in no way reflected young people's perspective of pleasure as that area was taken over and used for a carnival of collective action and transgression (that this transgression worked was confirmed by the affronted tone of the article).

Badocks Wood runs along the valley of the River Trym, here a stream. The plateau to one side of the valley is rough parkland, with long grass and young trees. It is on the borders of Southmead and the wealthier areas of Henleaze and Westbury; as well as being suitable terrain for the activities that took place, being border country maybe gives greater scope for breaking social rules. While during the day it is the province of dog walkers, at night through early spring 1996 large groups of young people congregated there. This area had become the place for them to be.

Going around the area in the day (at night I would have been out of time and out of place; even as a youth worker, I am excluded from young people's communities), I could get a sense of the excitement that the young people must have felt, as well as seeing the destruction caused. It was like a scene after a carnival. I could almost hear the shrieks of delight from the evening before. On a long stretch of grassland one could see the marks of wheels running up and over a dip. The ground in the woods was covered in skid marks from racing around amongst the trees and slopes. There were the remains of bonfires and food wrappers, and burnt out

wrecks of cars. Branches had been pulled off trees for firewood. There was the dramatic sight of a burnt out Metro on top of the old burial mound. The fence around the mound and the post with its Ancient Monument information had gone, the wood used for fires.

Entry to the area was through a hole in the fence. The hole was small, so only small cars (hence the Metro) were being used. In the course of one week there were eight wrecks in the area. The motorbikes were taken home at night.

The authorities cleared the area of this activity by a concerted operation; the aftermath of this was extreme anger amongst young people and antagonism to the police and all other adults. It was a difficult time for staff at the Youth Centre, as angry young people moved there and vented their rage. The community police team felt the antagonism - they had a meeting with me to discuss the events, and struck me as being totally frustrated. They saw the issue as a matter of the law, as shown by this piece they put in the community newspaper:

> *Once again, as spring approaches, the problem of off-road motorcyclists has re-surfaced in Badocks Wood... Offences include dangerous riding and riding without due care and attention, for which fines of up to £1,000 can be levied... One youth was arrested recently for theft of a bike. We hope in the coming months to counter this danger to lawful users of the parks.*
> (Southmead Community News May 1996).

All this illicit activity had resulted in a total of one arrest. The events were virtually unpoliceable, with the collective activity of the young people leaving the police powerless until they used semi-military tactics.

At around the same time there was a minor collective event which I witnessed directly. One evening young people started to pull up brick pavers from the courtyard in front of the Youth Centre. Once one was loose, they could all be pulled up. This turned into a tremendous group effort, pulling up the bricks and loading them into trolleys taken from the local shops, wheeling them up to the side of the Youth Centre and building a wall from them - a proper wall, with the headers and stretchers of proper brickwork, if no mortar. I was struck by the immense enjoyment this collective activity brought, the creativity of the wall building, the great effort being put into a 'meaningless' activity - for the wall did virtually nothing, in fact a gap was left at one end for people to walk through. K___ in particular was working hard and enjoying it - calling for people to help her push the loaded trolley. It did greatly annoy - because of its meaninglessness? - and of course its destructiveness of the yard. It frightened old people, who took another way to walk through. It unsettled place, made people unsure whether the path was blocked or not, safe or not.

Both these examples show a challenge to accepted modes of sociality, but also display an alternative, transgressive form of collective social behaviour. These are not municipal, orderly manifestations of community as something that should fix problems such as crime, but use transgression as a basis of community, 'the breaching of boundaries, the pushing of experience to the limits, the challenge to the law', seen by Weeks as a crucial moment in the establishment of community of radical sexual identity (Weeks, 1995:108), and in these examples as a moment in the establishment of youth identity. This transgressive impulse leads groups of young people to embrace and celebrate (and even extend) the negative labelling of the area that respectable community activity is working hard to overturn (Charsley, 1986 sees this process amongst gangs in Glasgow). This is not a rational, goal-oriented idea of community, but the experience of community described by Jean-Luc Nancy as 'the existence of being-in-common, which gives rise to the existence of being-self.' (Nancy, 1991:xxxvii). Transgression and carnival bring people together into a sort of community play in which there is self-discovery: 'carnival does not know footlights, in the sense that it does not acknowledge any distinction between actors and spectators.' Mikhail Bakhtin describes this feeling of carnival as 'the second life of the people, who for a time entered the utopian realm of community, freedom, equality and abundance.' (Bakhtin, 1986:7/9)

Only, of course, for a short time. These were not sustainable communities. Even without police action, their transgressive moment would have passed, even if reappearing in other guises at other times (as has happened since). These short-lived communal gatherings have been described as: 'the efflorescence and effervescence of neo-tribalism ... whose sole *raison d'être* is a preoccupation with the collective present.' (Maffesoli, 1996:75). They are not stable: 'neo-tribalism is characterized by fluidity, by punctuated gathering and scattering', like a ballet, 'the arabesque of sociality' (Maffesoli, 1988:148). The basis of neo-tribalism (Maffesoli and others who use this term ignore any racial/racist or primitive connotations of the word tribe - they see them as thoroughly modern and universal phenomena) is sensation, touch, performance, not causality or utilitarianism: 'the communal ethic has the simplest of foundations: warmth, companionship - physical contact with one another' (Maffesoli, 1996:16). This is not a description of community as being necessarily good - in fact, Maffesoli uses the phrase 'group egoism' to describe such groups. He sees neo-tribes as being aesthetically, not ethically or politically based, though he argues that an ethics may develop from those aesthetics (1991, 1996).

Campbell despairs at the lack of political content of modern riots, but portrays the aesthetic aspect in prose which rises to the event, as she stresses the power of the performance of joy riding in Oxford, bringing together performers and a large audience

in an immaculately staged dramatic event (Campbell, 1993). This description by a joy rider from Southmead, being interviewed for *The Place We're In*, a multimedia project at Southmead Youth Centre (www.bristol.digitalcity.org/community/southmead.htm), has a similar aesthetic quality.

> How do you get into a car?
> *You need a good screw driver ... right... flat head ... make sure the end bits nice and thin bit ... fit in the door lock ... put in ... put in the door lock ... turn in round whatever open the door ... door open ... climb inside ... put your foot inside the steering wheel, someone else grabs the other end ... turn it round.. snaps - steering wheel snaps ... grab the casing from the back of the steering column ... rip it off ... get the ignition barrel head - file it down, put a screw driver in the back of it, pop the black box off, put something in the black box that'll fit in it - turn it, start it, drive off.*
>
> What happens next?
> *Drive round, drive it round, spin it round, kill it off - burn it out.*
>
> So last night, how many people would you say were on the street?
> *Thirty, twenty, thirty.*
>
> Do you get a really big rush when you get it together?
> *Yeh, sound funny ... watching the cars getting spun round, smoked whatever.*
>
> How do you manage to get the tyres to smoke?
> *Foot down, handbrake up - put your foot down really fast, let the clutch off fast and it smokes on the spot for ages, or some times you put a brick on the accelerator ... leave it on its own ... just goes round ... smokes on its own.*

Accounts like these, with their disobedient, errant view of what is 'good', puncture the worthiness of much community rhetoric. They remind us that 'human beings, rather than living for productive values such as balancing their accounts, live for unproductive values, such as the glory in deficit spending.' (Corlett, 1989:193, referring to the ideas of Georges Bataille). This spending is forceful enough to depress whole forces of police officers, and has been described as 'a culture of the immediate end of life, not of its negation, but of its celebration. Thus, everything has to be tried, felt, experimented, accomplished, before it is too late, since there is no tomorrow.' (Castells, 1997:64). This collective drive for immediacy is a challenge to any established order.

These examples of collective behaviour have a romantic edge to them - in witnessing them and describing them there is a sense of the strong desire for shared, communal excitement. Freie writes that we are highly susceptible to what he calls counterfeit community: 'lacking genuine community, yet longing for the meaning and sense of connectedness that it creates - the feeling of community - people become vulnerable to the merest suggestion of community.' (Freie, 1998:2). Maffesoli's view is that these small groups are created in interplay with the growing massification of society. A major theme of writings on community is that of loss of community as a 'natural' or 'organic' form, a loss which people strive to recover by inventing new community-type relationships within wider social relationships that are not communal at all, but are variously described as global, mass, bureaucratic, centralised, decentred, *et cetera*.

The desire for connectedness can also be more vicious than this expansive, if destructive longing. Forms of collective organisation are concerned with inclusion, exclusion and control, as in this episode I witnessed of control in a girl gang:

> *E__ came to club, asked for Y__, told her about party. Y__ said she wasn't going. Later a group of girls came up, all done up, hair especially, carrying cans of lager and cider. E__ and E__ (12), L__ and R__ (15), J__ (16). Called Y__ out. Went around side of building, then J__ dragging Y__ by hair to front of building, where all could see - punching her, kicking her, banging her head against railing. I went over, stopped fight. Y__ kept asking for J__ to stop. Y__ went off, cut under left eye. Blokes standing round took no part in it - not even to stop it when it became unfair. Consensus - J__ showing her power - do not leave my group, do what I want you to do - was the message. People predict that Y__ will toe the line.*

My very strong impression was of the establishment of an alternative power structure making sure that no one left the gang, maintaining itself very deliberately in public in the rawest possible way.

By contrast here is an example of forceful public exclusion. One evening the H__s, a family living down the road from the Youth Centre, were driven out by young people. On the evening it happened there was a whole crowd in front of the house, hurling missiles and attacking the police even as they escorted the family away. I was told ferociously by young people to keep away, that 'This is the way we do things'. There was a strange sense of righteousness about this riot, despite its viciousness. Several were arrested. A few weeks later, in a quieter conversation that took place while young people were creating large paintings for an exhibition (a 'good' communal activity), I discovered what some of the girls involved saw as their reasons for the attack:

The atmosphere was relaxed, and they started to talk about the H__s. They had a lot of stories to tell - to each other, to O__ [another girl], and by proxy to me, though they did not seem certain as to what I should know. They were amused at how they had welcomed the H__s, and taken R__ (girl of their age) under their wing, as she seemed so naive. In the light of what subsequently happened, 'We were the naive ones!'

They obviously went round to the H__s' house a lot, and were there on the birthday of the father. There was drink, so they knew that they were doing forbidden things that their parents would not allow. The father then invited them to play strip poker, wanted them to sit on his lap, give him a birthday kiss, locked the door and wanted them to stay the night, helped in all of this by his sons. The daughter had gone to bed. The only way they got out was by pretending to be ill. They were laughing about all this as they talked about it, in the way one laughs about something that had been frightening at the time.

I have quoted Melucci to the effect that collective action always had its own meaning. E.P. Thompson writes of crowd actions having 'some legitimising notion', 'a moral economy of the poor' that justifies direct action (Thompson, 1971:78/9). In this case, there was a combination of a story that could not be told, which precluded adult involvement, coupled with sexual propriety, solidarity, and (in my view) enjoyment at having a moral 'cause' to justify the pleasures of battle.

In the story of the girl gang, Y__ was forcibly assimilated into the group, whose leader used what Bauman, from Lévi-Strauss, calls the 'inclusivist', *phagic* strategy of forcible absorption to maintain the gang. The H__s on the other hand, were expelled using an 'exclusivist', *emic* strategy of expulsion, or vomiting. Bauman argues that these strategies 'are applied in parallel, in each society and on every level of social organisation. They are both indispensable mechanisms of social spacing, but are effective precisely because of their co-presence, only as a pair.' Part of the mechanics of community, together they are used to dominate social space; *phagic* and *emic* strategies are 'included in the toolbag of every domination.' (Bauman, 1993:163). This is a harsher perspective on community to that of the desire for connectedness, revealing that power relationships are involved. The exclusion of adults from these events is an *emic* strategy, but adults too have *emic* strategies that exclude young people from their world. These are less visible and dramatic, but, as Sibley writes of them: 'It is the fact that exclusions take place routinely, without most people noticing, which is a particularly important aspect of the problem.' (Sibley, 1995:xiv).

Though Maffesoli sees neo-tribes as aesthetic rather than political groupings, they can also be formed to political effect. In the autumn of 1996 there was a campaign against cuts to the Bristol Youth Service. K__, whom we last met destroying a pavement to build a useless wall, became a leader of the campaign amongst young people in Southmead. The young people assembled a mass petition, made up of their hand prints, each signed with a statement as to why they liked the Youth Centre. K__ met with councillors, and presented this document to Bristol City Council, being the first person under 18 to be allowed to address a full Council meeting, thereby taking part in an approved form of community activity. The collective had been turned to a partially successful political purpose - the cuts in Southmead were less than originally proposed.

Young people and place

A major ingredient in the make-up of these moments of collective activity by young people has been that of place. Southmead itself can feel very bleak, a landscape in which aesthetic resources are sparse. This is felt strongly by young people: 'spaces send messages to young people about how an external world values or fails to value the quality of their lives.' (Breitbart, 1998:308). Young people in Southmead told the youth worker discussing a survey they had done (Kimberlee, 1998) that 'Southmead is a shithole'. Lefebvre argues that in the architecture of the dominant system, it is only by way of revolt that adolescents 'have any prospect of recovering the world of difference - the natural, the sensory/sensual, sexuality and pleasure.' (Lefebvre, 1991:50). In the events around Badocks Wood, this was a suitable space, in terms of size and potential for such revolt, such a recovery of an aesthetic enjoyment of life.

In some ways, the issue is simple. Place is important for young people who have not the qualifications or other resources to move away (Callaghan, 1992 documents this amongst young people in Sunderland). Locality therefore becomes recognised by young people as their 'community of destiny' (Maffesoli, 1996:125). Friedman has pointed out that, for children, it is the community they are brought up in that has constituted them, using the American communitarian Sandel's description of constitutive community as 'not a relationship they choose (as in a voluntary association) but an attachment they discover, not merely as an attribute but a constituent of their identity.' (Friedman, 1989; Sandel, 1982:150). This relationship is much stronger than that of communities of choice. Being brought up in the social relationships of a place is constitutive, in one way or another, even if it is not as shaped as community. Place offers the possibility of face-to-face relationships that give an experience of social, potentially communal, though also potentially hateful, relationships. It is a space in which young people can have effect, for the

same reasons that adults are turning increasingly to local politics, argued as being a global trend by Castells:

> *the failure of proactive movements and politics ... to counter economic exploitation, cultural domination and political oppression had left people with no other choice than either to surrender or to react on the basis of the most immediate source of self-recognition and autonomous organisation: their locality.*
> (Castells, 1997:61).

Local, known place has its own security. France and Wiles relate the creation of 'locations of trust - small bubbles of security in an insecure world' (France and Wiles, 1998:68/9) as a reaction to the risks of late modernity. These locations are created by big business in, for example, secure guarded shopping malls that so often exclude young people. As spatiality is controlled against young people, it is no surprise that young people create counter-locations for themselves, their own bubbles where they, if no-one else, feel allowed. However, while for some young people this may create a security, for others it creates terror. 30% of young people surveyed in Southmead in 1998 said that they felt unsafe, and the discussions after the survey highlighted the desire of many young people for safe places to go (Kimberlee, 1998). The rough and transgressive actions of some young people terrify others. The constitutive attachment to place is coupled with acts that are destructive of that very place, an everlasting conundrum: why are young people destroying their own? Piven and Cloward, in their work on poor people's movements, point out that people rebel at what is around them as they do not know what the outside forces are that are affecting their lives, nor how to reach them. Without strategic opportunities for defiance, people attack what is around them, act where they are located and with people that they know. The very powerlessness of their situation explains why their defiant behaviour can appear to be so inchoate. They conclude that 'it is difficult to imagine them doing otherwise' (Piven and Cloward, 1977:18-22). The combined anger and zest of young people are often not *directed* towards a goal, but are emotions that are *expressed* where they live. Only when there are clear cut issues, like cuts to the Youth Centre, is anger directed at a political decision affecting their lives.

However, despite actions often being aggressively local (young people in Southmead have their own symbol, the Southmead 'S', and fight against young people from other areas), the cultural symbols of youth are global. The youth culture of Southmead is not a closed culture, similar to the way the youth culture of Yucatec Maya investigated by Massey, where romantic preconception might lead one to expect a local 'authenticity', is also not 'a closed, local culture'. She writes:

> *all youth cultures ... are hybrid cultures. All of them involve active importation, adoption and adaptation. This challenges the idea that 'local cultures' are understood as locally produced systems of social interaction and symbolic meaning.*
> *(Massey, 1998:122/3).*

Young people in Southmead probably play the same electronic games she found in Mexico. As the action of young people is about giving a centrality to their own existence, so they will wear the designer clothes of the global market. Campbell observed in the early 1990s: 'All over peripheral estates across Britain teenagers were wearing designer casuals that signified their refusal to be peripheral, to be on the edge of everything.' (Campbell 1993:271). In a photograph in *The Place We're In* exhibition, the Nike swoosh is highly visible amongst those crowding around a stolen car. The Nike slogan, 'Just Do It' does summon up an impulse of rebellion, even if from the safety of corporate headquarters thousands of miles away. There is a continual interplay between the global and the local elements of youth culture, with both having major effect. Locality is not an easy autonomy, not separation from the rest of the world, but is still an important stage for collective formations.

Conclusion: young people and questions of community

The various examples I have given of communal activity amongst young people may be disruptive to a peaceful sociality of Southmead, yet contain many of the elements associated with community - solidarity, collective action, boundary enforcement, and control of space - and indicate a central component left out of more utilitarian descriptions of community - a strong aesthetic desire for connection. What they do not do is provide community as a solid and stable entity.

The neo-tribes, or micro-groups, formed and re-formed by young people give a speeded up version of the way a range of different ingredients are used, similar to that used in ideas of the construction of communities, though without the approbation that the term provides. As Raymond Williams has famously written, community as a term is one that 'seems never to be used unfavourably'. It is always 'warmly persuasive' (Williams, 1983:76). To say that what young people are doing when joyriding is building community appears to be a contradiction in terms, but I would argue that this is what they are doing, and also what is being done with even more controversial activities, like heroin use, another collective activity that ties people into a group. Others too have questioned whether strong community does lead to lower crime rates, as criminal activity can be part of an oppositional collective culture (Warner and Rountree, 1997). This means that community is not, of itself, an *answer* to these activities, though thinking about the needs and desires

expressed through them might provide fruitful material for forming less destructive forms of collectivities (to use a less loaded term than community). These would have to take into account the issues of identity, activity, aesthetics, control, and place, that these collectivities raise.

- *Identity.* The formation of young people's collectivities is connected to the formation of their identity as young people, as opposed to being children or adults. The joy rider who gave such an open interview said that, in five years time he would not be doing the same kind of stuff; he would be 'Probably working an' shit.' It is the uncertainty of the identity 'youth' that leads young people to form such dramatic tribal groupings. The lack of solidity in their lives leads to a search for it. As Bauman puts it, 'Neo-tribes [are] conjured up with the intention of giving the choices that solidity which the choices sorely miss.' (Bauman 1996:87), a reaction to the huge uncertainties of youth in late modernity (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). This solidity is also what drug addiction promises, when choice is surrendered to an external force. Identity is craved for when it is least stable.

- *Activity.* This identity is achieved by activity and involvement, working together to be part of something, not being left on the sidelines as a mere spectator. All the examples given are active, even involving hard work, and in the case of joy riding, a range of different skills. Neo-tribes flourish in areas without resources: the reasons for collective activities being mostly illicit may not only be about the joys of transgression, but reflect the paucity of licit skilled activity for young people to be involved with.

- *Aesthetics.* A major spur to these activities was to gain pleasure from otherwise barren physical and social landscapes. The activities were not utilitarian, are even a shock to a narrow idea of what is useful; there is often a popular horror that cars are not stolen to sell for cash, but for the pleasure of driving and destroying them. Theatricality and performance are major factors in these activities, with the spectacle being the substance, a performance of community with strong similarities to adult community rituals.

- *Control.* Control can, of course, also be a pleasure, and all these activities involved some form of control, taking power over place and people. These forms of control can be violent, the forms used by rebellious groups countering they ways that they feel controlled. Control both by and against these groups can be raw, but that itself is part of the pleasure, part of the aesthetics. 'Pleasure and power ... are linked together by complex mechanisms and devices of excitation and incitement'. (Foucault, 1979:48).

- *Place.* The connection of community to place in these activities is both clear and obscure. There are strong reasons for emphasising the importance of place, both social and geographical, in all the events described. They always happen in place, each activity is very localised, and could not be otherwise. However, they are not unique to specific places - such activities are replicated over Britain, and further afield. Specific locality does not create these activities, but it is the milieu in which they are created, and a milieu that they create. The activities themselves are used to create the meaning of localities, using any cultural and physical means available.

How does this leave us with an idea of community? While I have identified these ingredients in young people's collective action, they are also used in adult community action (Brent 2000). There are several things that these actions are not: not necessarily utilitarian; not conformist; not lacking conflict; not permanent; and finally, not necessarily 'good', in the way that many modern communitarian arguments are about its necessity as a social good (e.g. Atkinson, 1994; Bellah, 1997; Etzioni, 1988; 1995a; 1995b). While the desire for connectedness that appears to be so strong could be written off as chimerical - the communities formed are but dreams - it should be recognised that dreams and desires are a major social force. However, desires for community are not necessarily unifying, but fragmentary, in themselves fragmenting places and people. Community is not necessarily a uniting force (Brent. 1997; 2000).

Community, or lack of it, is not the only factor involved in young people's behaviour. There are issues of power involved, issues that communitarians too often ignore (Phillips, 1993. Frazer and Lacey, 1993). All the activities described are gendered, even if they challenge traditional ideas of gendered behaviour. The behaviour is related to Southmead being a place of class and poverty. It involves the power position of young people, in terms of their rights, in terms of the resources available to them, and in terms of the way power is exercised upon them. The punitiveness of many adults would like to achieve, in Foucault's words, 'docility and utility' (Foucault, 1977:218). However, it is this very negative use of power that strengthens transgressive resistance. The most successful adult initiatives with young people in the area have been based on tolerance and reciprocity, and have generated their own excitement and feelings of connectedness (Greenhalgh, 1999; Kimberlee, 2000). The proponents of discipline as the major tool to be used with young people have not understood the dictum that 'If power were never anything but repressive, if it never did anything but to say no, do you really think anyone could be brought to obey it?' (Foucault, 1980:119). Any community building that wants to include young people needs to be creative and exciting, not disciplinary and forbidding,

and has to recognise those strong aesthetic desires for excitement and connectedness amongst young people as well as amongst adults.

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CUSTOMERS, CONSUMERS AND WORKERS:

Market value and the construction of youth identities

DAVID PYE AND JOHN MUNCIE

This article is based on in-depth tracking and ethnographic interviewing of eight hundred 16-18 year olds in one city in central England in the late 1990s. It describes the formation of young adult identities within the post-16 contexts of education and work and argues that identity formation has increasingly come to take place within an uncertain context dominated by fluid notions of 'market value' in which young adults have been recast as consumers, workers and customers. Unlike other research in this area, the focus is less on the 'Status Zero', or the socially excluded, and more upon those who are, in a formal sense, participating. It is this group that has been consistently overlooked in both academic research and social policy.

The notion of 'market value' is central to understanding recent shifts in the relation of young adults to education and work. The importance to the education system of retaining students is clear, but there are other notable features. Young adults have three forms of market value, which are linked to three areas of identity formation (education participation, part-time work and social life). The three forms of market value identified in this article are:

- *As customers: as in their engagement with the education system.*
- *As workers: as in the part-time work in which they are engaged.*
- *As consumers: as in what they consume in their leisure.*

Market value is based on how each of these three elements is negotiated at any one particular time. Each component may be market valuable in itself, and can stand-alone, but it is only in their inter-relationship that young people can construct a narrative which is meaningful to themselves. In terms of the self, it is as part-time workers and as consumers that young adults seek instant material gratification, but involvement in education offers a vital contextualisation of that narrative. Educational participation provides a perception of stability and a discourse of progression. The fact that young people are able to move around the system as 'customers' (though this movement might be caused by the needs of the market rather than of the individual) enhances the place that education has come to hold in the formation of youthful identities.

Young adults as education customers

Recent post-16 educational reform has led to a dramatic increase in post-16 vocational and educational training. Nationally over two thirds of young adults now participate

in full-time education and training. The sixth form has become more an educational 'rite of passage' after Year 11 rather than a necessary preparation for entry into HE, with increasing numbers of young adults 'staying on by default' (Fergusson and Unwin, 1996). The per-capita funding mechanism of the post-16 education context has meant that institutions are fighting for students who they would previously not have retained. There is widespread recognition of this altered context:

> *Off the top of my head, 30% of any 15 year old cohort is not on an appropriate course for post-16.*
> (Deputy head teacher)

> *for each person they have they get £2000 per person so yeah... they have put me back to GNVQ and I am there another year so it is extra money for them... and they will grab any bit of money they can because they are skint. Therefore they are consequently trying to keep students there longer.*
> (17 year old male)

The language of the post-16 market is heavily oriented toward the customer. Whilst there is no short-term reward for being in education, it does offer a sense of empowerment. Young adults see themselves as customers. Engagement with post-16 education becomes a form of consumption for which they do not actually have to pay (in real terms), but in which they view themselves as active agents. Young adults realise that they each have a 'price on their heads'. To them this is illustrative of the power that they command. They are also aware that despite the language of this educational context, their engagement is not always guaranteed. There is a sense that one can enter the sixth form relatively easily, but remaining within it is uncertain:

> *A lot of people that are in our school believe that our school makes a lot of money from students...I think they do...because they [the school] get their money in December and lots of people were asked to leave after that.*
> (17 year old female)

> *Because well a lot of people have left our school... and the teachers sometimes say things like if we think that you are going to fail we will get you out because it affects our statistics.*
> (17 year old female)

At the time of the last contact, this respondent was still in the sixth form but was concerned that the school would ask her to leave prior to the A-level examinations. She felt that she would not do very well in her exams, and that the school would keep her until all funding had been gained for her but would then make her leave because she would adversely affect their examination achievements. Whether the

school would have done this or not is less important than the fact that the respondent was sufficiently concerned that they might. Clearly, whilst young adults do see themselves as customers in the post-16 context, the precarious nature of their position brings with it an insecurity that is problematic. However engagement with education, though not providing instant material gratification or absolute certainty, does offer a form of stability within which young adults can make some sense of what is happening to them. The engagement though is often less with any eventual educational attainment, than with the institution itself. Sixth form provides a sense of belonging to something that, despite the uncertainty of outcome, is relatively stable:

> *I didn't want a job because I thought that that would like end...sort of thing. I wanted to carry on with education and I had my options of what I wanted to do and stuff. Because otherwise if I had just stopped there and then, I won't be able to go on.*
> (16 year old female)

It provides an appearance of progression and transition regardless of whether this is realised in practice. Sixth form provides a 'safe' context into which young adults can move. It provides a sense of security:

> *I didn't know what sixth form was about really, I didn't research into it... because sixth form was very relaxed and I was so used to having solid days of pure teaching... every day, I thought sixth form was going to be like that.*
> (17 year old male)

Another respondent noted that he would 'remain in the sixth form forever' if he could, as it also provided a base for engagement with part-time work and consumerism. Another stated that participation in the sixth form was predicated upon the fact that it was something with which he was familiar:

> *It was because it was a familiar atmosphere...carrying on sixth form and I knew loads of people that were going to the sixth form and it just seemed natural. I don't know why I did it, it was just a natural progression... all my friends were there.*
> (17 year old male)

Whilst there is the obvious pressure on institutions to retain students, the schools are also (perhaps unwittingly) offering something that, in the present post-16 context, young adults desire. As one Deputy Head remarked:

> *I think a large proportion of them we're as much protecting them from the outside world as anything else.*

Involvement in education remains a vital context for the development of young adult identities, but it does not provide all that they require. In particular a need for material gratification usually has to be sought in engagement with part-time work.

Young adults as part-time workers

The demise of the formal youth labour market has dramatically altered the post-16 context. In our sample, only 8.2% of 16-year old school leavers in 1997 were able or willing to move into full-time employment. A specific youth labour market has become less easily identifiable. Full-time work has been replaced by a plethora of part-time opportunities (Maguire and Maguire, 1997). This too has become less clearly defined because of the long hours that many are now working and it also has to be seen in the context of continued participation in education. Participation in education becomes for some a stopgap option, (but one that is necessary) until suitable employment is found:

> *Because there is nothing really out there to do and I thought if I go back to school, and just see if anything comes up while I am there...*
> (17 year old female)

This respondent had not expected to return to school, but did so because of confusion over the administration of her post-16 options by the local careers advisor. She had hoped to leave school and begin a NVQ2 hairdressing course. The local careers advisor had informed the respondent that this would be arranged, but nothing came of it. She returned to school, but had minimal interest in it because the institution was not able to provide her with the support she needed. She left school after three months and had a variety of part-time jobs (five in total) which were all low-paid, semi-skilled and temporary. Such fluidity of destination and constant instability has become an important feature in the formation of identities amongst young adults in the post-16 context (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997).

Part-time work provides young adults with the opportunity to gain an income otherwise denied to them by the lack of availability of full-time work. The goal of full-time employment may still be an aspiration, but is rarely a realisable option:

> *I think that it is really unfair because I mean the pressure of not having a job ought like, I get it sometimes, I get quite upset about not having a permanent job that I can start a career off with...*
> (17 year old male)

What can be gained is a plethora of part-time work, which might not have the status that the young adults would like, but it provides them with financial power, and enables them to have a social life as well as to engage in full-time education.

Despite the financial reward, respondents are aware of the low paid and casualised nature of their employment and the perception that jobs are easily available as long as employees are prepared to be flexible is strong.

One respondent who was unsure whether to remain in full-time education after Year 11 or to leave and find employment, described his strategy for finding work:

> *If you look properly, you know what I mean, you can find some decent jobs if you go around. Even if you don't see one advertised you go in and you say you want to work in a hotel, you go into Forte Crest or something like that... obviously if you do get up and do go out, the jobs ain't always going to be there... but if you don't find out what you can do the next best thing and... I think that there is a lot of work here... but the money ain't all that you know. You always get... low wages, especially for young people these days.*
> (17 year old male)

This respondent decided to remain in full-time education but was working four nights a week and many weekends in a local hotel. He had to be flexible in his approach to work (he was completing a GNVQ2 qualification) both within the education system and outside. He was acutely aware of his market value both to the educational institution as customer, but also to the part-time labour market as cheap worker. The two made different demands on him, but he felt that this had to be endured to ensure that he could maintain a central narrative of being in education, while at the same time ensure that he had a social life.

There is a growing realisation amongst young adults that if they don't engage in both education *and* work then they will lose out to their peers and others. The added perception is that good jobs cannot be found unless extra qualifications are gained post-GCSE. This makes young adults additionally concerned to combine part-time work and education. One respondent noted that:

> *I could have got a job... it wouldn't have been a brilliant job... if you have only got your GCSEs you can't really get a job that will do you any good.*
> (17 year old female)

In addition, there is concern amongst many young adults that if they do not find work, then they are set apart from their peers and that the longer they are without part-time work, the more difficult it will be for them to find it. There was a real concern amongst respondents that younger people were moving into the part-time labour market and taking the jobs that they felt were rightfully theirs. This has tended to encourage an even greater flexibility in approaches to employment. To

this extent young adults are aware of both their own market value as workers, but also the greater market value of others. The pressure to continue to engage in education to ensure that employment opportunities are (in theory at least) improved is strong. They realise what type of employment is available to them if they do not remain in education and gain further qualifications:

> *... there is things like Netto's even there is paper delivery still ... and just working around shops and McDonalds and Burger King are always looking for people.*
> (17 year old female)

Their marketable value as workers is therefore transient. Their own value has to be constantly re-assessed in relation to others. Such fluidity is accepted (to a greater or lesser degree) because it is the only way in which personal narratives can be held together. When questioned, respondents made it clear that they were primarily working to gain money to access a social life. In this context a 'normalised dislocation' is becoming increasingly prevalent in the lives of young adults (Fergusson *et al* 2000).

Young adults as consumers

Our respondents were predominantly those whose parents were able to support them and this meant that the money earned through part-time work was not spent on household bills, nor was it given to the parent(s). Earnings were spent on non-essential items. There was some evidence of saving (to buy a car or to pay for driving lessons) but this was not pronounced, and the focus was usually on the purchase of consumables in the short-term.

Respondents appeared to be drawn to cultures of immediate consumption as a means of illustrating to peers that they retain an individual sense of transition and progress. Though this construct may be a façade, it is important, as it portrays to others that they have the trappings of success. The earned wage is crucial:

> *It's constant, your parents can't really afford for you to go clubbing and that, every weekend. I mean, it's a lot of money and it costs a lot, and I don't know, Mum can't afford to keep buying me 'designers' and that all the time.*
> (17 year old female)

> *Well... I am a smoker... and I like going out socialising and things like that and so, it is just our age you need to have, I know that it is silly and I hate to say it, but you have to have the clothes and things you have to get, otherwise you are outcast among your mates and stuff. You have to compete with your mates and parents aren't going to buy you like all these £80 jackets and things.*
> (17 year old male)

In this latter instance the respondent had returned to school as he hoped to improve his job chances by gaining more qualifications. However it was equally as important to have the correct mode of dress and to have the financial resource to go out at weekends. As a result he worked very long hours at a local fast-food outlet. Participating in education held his personal narrative together, but it was the fact that he could afford to go out with his friends that was important to him. Indeed participation in education was frequently of less importance for respondents than what they wore or where they were seen. In this context, there was a rivalry that transcended the academic. Many male respondents described the importance of wearing the correct shirt, the correct logo on a jacket and so on. During the mid-1990s, there was a rise in the popularity of clothes made by traditional British companies (Burberry and Aquascutum for example). These were expensive and targeted at the youth market. The fact that young adults had the ability to purchase such items (because of the rise in part-time work) was of crucial importance (Jones and Wallace, 1992; Miles, 2000). Part-time work might not pay much, but it provides enough financial capital with which to engage with the social. It was common in our cohort for young adults to work long hours each week alongside full-time participation in education. Almost 60% of respondents were working on average twelve hours per week, whilst up to 10% were working between thirty and forty hours. Whilst an increase in part-time work amongst F.E students is well known, the growth that we note here is within the sixth form context. One respondent was attempting to study for four A-levels whilst working about 35 hours per week in a local supermarket. The key rationale was personal image:

> *It is actually very important. You don't actually think about it that much, but when you do think about it, it is very important, image, I reckon.*
> (17 year old male)

At one level this was of greater importance than academic study, but significantly it was only engagement with full-time education that provided the sustainable narrative. Without the education element he would have been left with only a low paid, part-time job with no career prospects.

The educational context also provides much of the basis for the social sphere in which consumption takes place. The fact that friends were going into the sixth form was often a key factor in the selection of an option post-16. The social groups that are formed within the institutional context are predominantly those within which the 'social sphere' is played out. To keep within friendship groups there is a need to adopt the correct codes of dress and to be seen in the right places. In this sense the social and the educational become indivisible. Style and subculture mark out social groupings to a far greater extent than level of educational attainment:

You have...got the YSL boys, the Ralph's, the freaks. The YSL boys the YSL stuff... and you have got the freaks who wear like the punk stuff with holes and everything...but we don't do this purposely, we don't think yeah we are cool, it is just something that we fall into and people would judge us as being as that.
(17 year old male)

As a result, attendance in the sixth form is important as it is the site that holds the personal narrative of individuals together, but it also provides the opportunity to illustrate to others the apparent trappings of success. Without participation in education, the individual narrative would fall apart and individuals would be unable to compete with their peers. What would remain would be part-time work with little prospects and low pay. The three elements of identity formation (as worker, consumer and customer) are therefore inter-connected and inter-dependent.

Managing the mix: new subjectivities?

For some young adults, the opportunities that the post-16 context has offered are emancipatory. They can engage in full-time education, have a part-time job, which provides them with a disposable income and have a social life. One respondent outlined how she worked most evenings in a local pub. She was able to complete the course work that her academic study required, because it was due in at the end of each school holiday. She was taking a GNVQ and she felt that the experience that she was gaining was beneficial to her schoolwork and provided her with extra income. Her employer was flexible and allowed her to take time off to complete her assignments as long as she made up the time at a later date:

Hard to fit schoolwork in. Do most of the work in the holidays, though (my) employer does give some time off for this.
(17 year old female)

She did not feel that this mix of part-time work and education was adversely affecting her academic study to any great degree. She described how she would not be prepared to give up either work or study because the two complemented each other. Each provided her with something different, but essential. Another described her experience of the post-16 context as being very positive:

Yes easy life, yeah you get everything free and everything is done.
(17 year old female)

In this instance, the respondent was living with her parents and able to spend what she earned on herself. She realised that the situation would not be sustainable if she was not living at home. A male respondent described how he was able to live

at home and earn about £350 per month, which he could spend on himself. He was not keen on the part-time work he was doing, but was glad of the money. His wage enabled him to become fully involved in the social life of the sixth form and he also had the narrative of involvement in education to suggest progression. The same respondent felt that he was in a sense proving himself to his peers. He was acutely aware that some of his peers could rely on their parents for financial support:

> *Well what I have worked out is people who do well at school are people who, you always get people who do well in school yet they have got everything. So they have got a car and they go on all these spanking holidays and that and they don't work...And then you think that they are doing well at school. The reason that they are doing well at school is because they have come from a rich background... they don't come from a working class family, they have never needed to work to get what they want, their parents buy it for them therefore they can put all their effort into school and no work at all... it is just pathetic and we can never compete with that.*
> (17 year old male)

Despite this sense of unease, the respondent was not prepared to give up his job. He did not need the money to survive (as parents and his partner supported him) but to engage in the social life that he enjoyed. There was an implicit realisation that this mix of school, work and the social could adversely affect him in the future, but he was not prepared to change. The desire for consumption was too strong. In addition the new post-16 context had enabled him to compete with those people whom he termed 'upper class'. The flexibility of the system was, he thought, providing him with the opportunity to make something of himself financially and socially, as well as engaging in education. The altered post-16 context allowed a degree of freedom that would not have previously been possible.

It is the management of the three elements of identity formation that are important in sustaining the personal narrative of young adults. For many, the three elements can be sustained because of the presence of a supportive domestic context. Our respondents predominantly came from such supportive domestic contexts, which they could fall back on (both emotionally and financially) as and when they required. A majority of our respondents were very positive about the relationship with their parent(s), and there was no desire to leave the parental home. Whilst this could be due to a variety of factors, the fact that it was not an issue for many young adults is important. Living at home with parents, and not having the worry of supporting oneself financially, impacts positively on the ability to sustain the personal narrative. For those in our cohort who did not have this support, the sustainability of a meaningful narrative was problematic. One respondent had

moved away from home after a series of domestic incidents and was living in protected accommodation in the local area. She was attempting to reconstruct her life but could not engage in part-time work (though she wanted to) because of the pressures of academic study. She was rarely able to afford to go out:

> *It is just really hard. I mean if you get support you get help which might make things a bit easier but there is some teenagers which have got no support, no family you know, no one to help them and they just fall right apart... they fall apart.*
> (17 year old female)

This inability to create a sustainable narrative was very upsetting for her:

> *Life can be upsetting but you have just got to learn to get through it, especially at 16 and 17. You have just got to learn.*
> (17 year old female)

Identity formation in the post-16 context is thus often predicated on the financial and emotional support of a third party, be it a partner or parent. For many of the young adults in our cohort this support was usually available. However even when there is external support some find it challenging to sustain a meaningful narrative due to the inherent contradictions of the 'consumer, worker, customer' configuration. Their experiences become more problematic as they try to make sense of the dislocated state in which they find themselves. For many the narrative is not fully sustainable.

The collapse of the narrative: hybrid identities?

Many young adults do manage to sustain their personal narrative but this is done at considerable personal sacrifice. Any sense of freedom offered by the post-16 context is based on an inherent insecurity and can often lead to negative outcomes, when the three elements of identity formation begin to pull apart. The desire to gain instant material reward from part-time work can frequently lead to pressure on the ability to participate fully in education. The need to remain within education is also strong, but cannot provide the short-term material gratification that respondents need. The effect of this on the individual is often negative. A respondent described the situation in her sixth form:

> *A lot of them (students) work in the shops round here but I feel sorry for them because their hours are being put up and up... A girl that I know, she works at Gliddon's and all of them had to do stock-take, and they had to stay there until about 1.00am and then she had to come to school the next day*
> (17 year old female)

She concludes by describing the effect that this heavy participation in part-time work has on her friends:

> *They are tired a lot and they are tired a lot more, and they are a bit more negative because they get the money from doing that. They get a reward from doing that and they don't really see their reward in school.*
> (17 year old female)

This respondent did not work as she felt that she would not have been able to marry the competing demands. However she came from a financially secure background and her parents were able to provide her with the funds to engage in 'the social' without the need for part-time work. But for the majority, the need for short-term material reward outweighs the academic demands of the sixth form, but the two have to be managed to sustain the narrative, regardless of the personal cost. Respondents described the sacrifices they made to maintain the three elements:

> *Spaced out, but hard to fit the school work in.*
> (17 year old female)

> *It did have an effect on me because I was knackered all the time.*
> (17 year old male)

When it was impossible to maintain the three elements it was the educational element that was frequently sacrificed. One respondent felt so unsure as to leaving the sixth form, she continued to attend even though she had left the courses:

> *A-levels are not for me so I quit at Christmas but stayed on until the end of the year.*
> (18 year old female)

The importance of participating in education was crucial to her playing the game and she realised that without it, she could not make sense of what she was doing. Attending school was not for her, but she was unable to make the decisive move from it. She could not cope with managing the three elements, but at the same time felt that it was necessary to make it appear that she could. Other respondents initially felt glad about moving out of education, seeing this as emancipatory, but their perception frequently subsequently changed as they experienced being a low paid part-time worker with few prospects. This impacted on other spheres to a greater or lesser extent. After leaving school during the sixth form, one respondent noted that:

> *I haven't got many friends. I hardly chat to people and sometimes the pressure of work is too much to handle.*
> (17 year old female)

Withdrawal from education means that young adults lose the security (albeit uncertain in itself) that this brings. The loss of friendship groups, allied with the reality of having to engage in casualised work, fuels a questioning of self worth. Young adults now have to cope with a degree of uncertainty that they have not previously experienced. Often they just feel swept along by developments happening around them:

> *I think that you just go with the flow really and if you don't like the way that it is flowing sort of thing, you just get out. But normally you feel that it is too late.*
> (17 year old female)

This sense of powerlessness is pervasive. Another described how leaving the sixth form had impacted on the support that she received from her family. Her parents were angry that she could not cope with academic study, and had stopped the small allowance that she was getting from them. This further exacerbated her situation:

> *Don't know what I want to do anymore... it is all messed up.*
> (17 year old female)

Another noted after leaving school, that:

> *I feel I am going nowhere and that what I am doing is pointless and a waste of time... no structure left in my life. I am not sure how it's (the future) going to turn out, so I tend to go day by day.*
> (17 year old male)

Such uncertainty was linked not only to the present situation but also to future employability:

> *I don't know if my qualifications of the courses I am doing will be enough to get me a job.*
> (17 year old male)

A de-coupling of the three elements of identity formation and the loss of contextualisation and of a notion (however abstract in reality) of transition, is critical. It is at this stage that individuals become more aware of the market value that they actually have. They still earn and spend, but what they earn is far less than they had expected. The move out of education also means that they have lost the ability to become 'customers' in the education context (they can move back into this, though this could entail financial hardship if it means giving up a job). As they become older, the post-16 system becomes less interested in them and they find it institutionally harder to return to education at a later date. The fact that they also

have nothing to show for what they have been doing in the time since the end of Year 11 also becomes an issue. Without qualifications they become almost devoid of market value:

> *I don't think that it was emphasised enough that everyone is fighting for the same thing, and without good results you don't stand a chance.*
> (17 year old female)

This language of 'fighting' and 'not standing a chance' is revealing of the tension and uncertainty that these young adults experience. Failure and self-doubt manifest themselves as individual narratives become more precarious. When the façade of the post-16 context is taken away, the reality is often something very different from what young people expect and hope for.

Conclusion

It is within these shifting contexts that young adults are increasingly having to form their identities. Paid employment has traditionally been viewed as crucial to identity formation for young adults. Indeed for many of the young adults in this research who returned to education (sixth form and FE) it was the achievement of full-time work that was their main aim. The fact that they were unable to follow this route and were retained in the education system by default, created its own contradictions. The discovery of identity in this tenuous educational setting was the key problem facing the subjects of this research.

The market in post-16 education and training has encouraged increased participation but has also brought with it the ability to move people round as and when it is market-prudent to do so, depending on resources, course take-up and so on. The hybrid identities that these young adults have had to create will have to adapt once again in ways that are constantly changing. Uncertainty, fluidity and contradiction will remain key features (Hall et al., 1999). 'Opting out' altogether is not a viable option because of the changes in the benefit system and the development of government initiatives such as the New Deal and the Youth Guarantee (only seven of our respondents had 'opted out', being in neither education, nor training or employment). The effect of this is that young adults are increasingly uncertain about what it is they are doing, its purpose and their future.

Participation in education is no longer enough in itself for young adults to construct a meaningful personal narrative. In the new post-16 context, the key traditional element of identity formation (permanent paid work) is unobtainable. There is no stable and integrated sense of who one is and will become. Rather this research suggests that identities are being formed around three transient and fluid focus areas which provide some sustainable short-term narrative of place and progression. In the

absence of a discourse of transition, it is a discourse of dislocation that defines the place of young adults (Fergusson et al 2000). The self is constructed into many selves that are realisable in different social settings, but which are not reducible to a central core. Identity is constantly shifting, is multi-faceted and at times is contradictory both to itself and to what is around it. A form of 'social chameleonism' is created in which the self plays many parts but has no specified role. Within the education context, there appears to be the desire on the part of young people to remain within the system and engage with it, but this is not enough. The engagement is uncertain and questionable. It cannot alone provide the sustainable narrative that young people require. They are aware that engaging with education is fraught with contradiction and ambivalence but it is an essential part of their constellation of experiences- they are prepared to normalise this fluidity as part of the rules of engagement within the post-16 context.

The processes of participation in education and engagement in paid work are now tied together, and it is around this that hybrid identities are forming. It is involvement in part-time work that provides the necessary capital to engage in 'the social' while it is participation in education that provides the context that holds the narrative together. So there is engagement and inclusion, but this inclusion is tenuous unless there is linkage between education, part-time work and leisure.

Whilst not all young people experience a complete collapse of narrative this research suggests that to a greater or lesser extent, many young adults are trying to form identities within an increasingly shifting, unstable and uncertain context. This situation appears to transcend the issue of gender to a surprising degree. There was considerable congruence of male and female experience. The debate about the altered state of post-16 provision has frequently focused on the problem that young men in particular face but this now equally applies to young women. The focus has also been predominantly on working class adaptability to that context. In contrast this research has revealed the level of uncertainty that middle-class young adults are now facing. They appear to be the group that is working within the altered context to a greater extent; they are the ones who appear neither excluded or fully included; they are the group that are remaining in full-time education and having to manage the strains of consumer, worker and customer. There appears to be no real 'substance' to the space that they occupy. There may be engagement with post-16 education but it is an engagement that lacks sustainable meaning. There is no certainty of progression. There is little sense of ownership of their own self-development.

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CHILDREN AS UNSUPPORTED VICTIMS OF CRIME

LINDA CUSICK, DIANA BRETHERICK AND TONY GOODMAN

Research, policy and practice interest in children's experiences as victims of abuse has been, and continues to be, enormous.[1] This literature deals with prevention, detection and intervention and calls for our attention to child abuse in an ever widening arena where hurt, maltreatment and especially sexual violation occur. Government guidelines (Department of Health, 2000) draw the attention of agencies 'working together under The Children Act' (Home Office, 1991) to the principle of seeing children involved in prostitution as victims of child abuse rather than as offenders. The growth in our awareness of the range and extent of child abuse contrasts with our relative inattention to children's experiences as victims of 'normal crime'. By 'normal crime' we mean those violations of law not considered in the above cited literature as 'abuse'. 'Normal crime' would thus include such law violations as theft, harassment and common assault.

Our relative disregard of children's victimisation with regard to 'normal crime' may be surprising given considerable evidence of its extent. Much of this evidence comes from 'victim surveys' (Koffman, 1996). The victim survey approach to gathering data on crime prevalence, distribution and experience is used in preference to reliance on official crime statistics because it is less vulnerable to 'the dark figure of crime' (Coleman and Moynihan, 1996): the unknown quantity of crime which is either not recognised, not reported or not recorded in police statistics. The Home Office did not include twelve to fifteen year olds in British Crime Surveys until 1992. In that year, sixty percent of respondents in this age group reported being a victim of crime in the preceding six to eight months (Maung, 1995). Victim studies in Glasgow (Hartless et al 1995), Edinburgh (Anderson et al, 1994), and Teeside (Brown, 1995) have found both high levels of child victimisation and low levels of reporting of these crimes to police. Commenting on this disparity, Brown asks, '*why*, despite a mass of carefully gathered empirical evidence suggesting the need for a whole range of policies which support community safety for young people, the prominent discourse is, quite literally, "victim blaming"' (Brown, 1998: 92). In this paper we will focus on children as victims of 'normal crime' and investigate provision for their support.

Children as victims of 'normal crime'

Anderson et al (1994) interviewed over one thousand eleven to fifteen year old Edinburgh school children. They found levels of child victimisation higher than those found in a comparable study of adult victimisation. They describe these

results as 'surprising and in some cases alarming' (1994:1). A high proportion of their young respondents had experienced crime as victim, witness and offender thus underlining connections between these elements. As the authors put it, 'contact with crime was a routine experience' (1994:2). Although the levels of contact with crime faced by young people were considerably higher than those of the adult population, young victims felt unable to report crime. They feared that doing so would exacerbate the effects of crime on their lives and that they would not be taken seriously by adults or the police. As a result, their victimisation was largely hidden or invisible to the adult world thus perpetuating a vicious circle in which failure to recognise the extent of child victimisation and disbelief in reported incidents were mutually reinforcing. As Anderson and colleagues state, 'young people do not "grass" because they anticipate such adult indifference and because they do not report, the incredulity increases' (1994:157).

Porteous (1998) found eighty-four percent of pupils aged eleven to sixteen in a North London School had experienced name calling. Almost half had been threatened with violence, forty-three percent had been stolen from and forty-three percent had been hit or kicked. Racism had effected twenty-five percent of the pupils with ethnic minorities, not surprisingly, experiencing more than white respondents. Fitzgerald and Hale (1996) found Pakistanis most at risk, especially to vandalism of their property and of serious threats. Afro-Caribbeans were most at risk of assault and acquisitive crime. Comparing victimisation rates in different age groups in North Tyneside, Pain et al (2000) found that young people aged between seventeen and eighteen experienced the highest rates of victimisation. Young people were mainly victimised by other young people, usually in gangs. Young women felt that the risk of attack from other young women was greater than that from men.

Evidence that children are victims of a wide range of crimes also comes from the USA and Australia. High levels of victimisation were found in the early 1990s in a USA national survey of children aged between ten and sixteen (Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman, 1994). A quarter of the children had experienced victimisation in the previous year, with one in eight sustaining an injury as a result. This study shows again how sensitive victim survey methods can discover crimes which are otherwise lost in official statistics. The Finkelhor and Dziuba-Leatherman study (1994) found a rate for assault on twelve to fifteen year olds three times higher than the 5.2% rate recorded by the USA National Crime Survey in 1991. Fear of crime amongst girls aged ten to fifteen in Melbourne, Australia was linked to their use of community, commercial and open spaces (Malone and Hasluck, 1998). Children of both sexes felt most vulnerable from drug use and drug related violence and feared most danger from adults.

Children experience 'normal crime' as indirect victims. More than 30 percent of households burgled each year are home to children who may be traumatised by the experience and suffer losses (Morgan and Zedner, 1992). Children's limited financial resources can mean that their suffering from losses is proportionately greater than the monetary value of stolen objects suggests. Furthermore, their relative powerlessness to make changes to household security and insurance arrangements can contribute to their feelings of vulnerability.

Faced with such international evidence of the extent to which children are victims of 'normal crime', we should be concerned when experts in the field such as Morgan and Zedner (1992) conclude that when children and young people are considered in relation to crime, it is more often as perpetrators than victims. Sheila Brown (1998) examines links between the comparative lack of research and interest in young victims and the massive preoccupation with young people as offenders. She suggests that a general culture of punishment compounds their invisibility as victims. She looks at the ways in which the victimisation experiences of children and young people are framed, particularly by the media, and argues that this prevents them from being seen as the legitimate concern of criminology or victimology. Brown points out that although children and young people are permitted their victim status in familial abuse or stranger violence, the idea of them being victims of more 'normal crimes' is controversial.

Prompted by evidence which indicates that children are victims of high levels of 'normal crime' we aimed to explore what kinds of assistance were available to them in the aftermath of such victim experiences. The literature made clear that there were low levels of reporting 'normal crimes' to the police in which children were victims (Anderson et al, 1994; Brown, 1995; Hartless et al, 1995). Reasons for under-reporting may include prevailing skepticism about both child victimisation reports and children's reliability as court witnesses. Our focus therefore turned to consideration of victim assistance organizations and other organisations which might provide support to children. In this study, we aimed to explore:

- *what assistance was available for young victims of crime*
- *issues of providing support for child victims*
- *existing referral mechanisms between service providers*
- *special considerations for developing services for child victims*

Method

This study was designed as a pilot study of the nature, extent and effectiveness of support services for child victims of 'normal crime'. As a pilot study, it was exploratory in approach. It aimed to probe the area to discover the extent and

nature of evidence available to relevant policy makers and practitioners. It therefore drew heavily on the views and experiences of senior personnel working in victim assistance organisations and in agencies with remits to support children. The chief aim of the project was to find out more about the nature of assistance available for young victims of crime.

The study benefited from existing professional links between the research team and Victim Support. These contacts allowed us to conduct small group interviews with Victim Support representatives from throughout England at Victim Support National Office. We used these interviews to orientate ourselves to the issues encountered by professionals in victim assistance organisations and to discover a range of experiences and thoughts on providing support to children. We used our findings from these exploratory meetings to design a brief interview schedule for use later in the study.

Our subsequent interview guide was composed of questions for discussion on the following themes: legal and ethical considerations of providing support for young people; access to information that a child may need support; access to children to provide appropriate support; service provider knowledge about the existing network of assistance for young victims of crime; existing referral mechanisms between service providers; and special considerations for developing services for child victims. Initially, questions on these themes were circulated by email to voluntary agencies including Kidscape, Childline, Save the Children, Barnardos and the Children's Legal Centre in order to try and establish what support was available for child victims of 'normal crime'. As our aims were exploratory, the survey questions were open, requiring written answers. The relative difficulty in answering open questions compared with closed 'tick-the-box' type surveys may have contributed to the extremely poor 30% response rate we obtained for this part of our study.

To compensate for the low response rate obtained in the email survey, we recontacted the agencies who had not replied. This time, we offered face-to-face or telephone interviews. These approaches were much more successful and resulted in eleven interviews with representatives from nine agencies. Voluntary, statutory and non-statutory agencies were involved. All of the agencies contacted agreed to take part in either a face-to-face or telephone interview. Interviews were tape recorded using a ReTell Telerecorder for phone interviews and transcripts were made of these recordings. Transcriptions were then analysed using the constant comparative method (Mace and Pagel, 1994) so that themed categories emerged with their sub-groups of participant response variations.

Findings

Assistance available for young victims of crime

We interviewed key professionals to discover how young victims of crime came to the attention of the various services and which services provided them with support. Respondents revealed that they seldom see children as victims of 'normal crime'. They were aware of a gap in provision for young people and said that in some cases children could not be helped.

> *If there is a domestic incident... children under ten often will be witnesses but cannot be helped.*
> *(Statutory Service).*

Providing support for child victims

We asked what difficulties voluntary agency respondents had experienced in providing support for child victims. The most readily identified difficulty was that of providing support to a child where his or her parents did not desire it. The child's confidentiality was a major issue which could potentially introduce additional risks to the child especially where a parent was an abuser. Where child abuse was known to social services a social worker or guardian could be provided to negotiate provision of support for a child. However, there is no opportunity for a child to make a new report of their victim status directly to a support worker without access being granted by a parent. Some support workers called for access to children to be negotiated through schools. Some agencies were prepared to write directly to older child victims, but amongst support workers, there was uncertainty about the procedures for this and inconsistency about the age at which they considered this could be done.

Support workers felt insufficiently prepared to work with young victims of crime and recognised many issues as outside their brief. Child protection, crisis residency decisions, counselling and providing support for the very young were all seen as 'not the work of voluntary services'. Professionals felt frustrated that providing support to child victims where these children will be court witnesses may be construed as tampering with evidence. Overall, providing support for child victims was seen as a real need which could not be served within current policy guidelines. Information sharing procedures in particular were seen as having the potential to exacerbate problems.

> *More times than not the child's been let down. They don't get the answers they want and actually it sometimes, it sort of backfires... There doesn't seem to be any working with the child and what the child wants... It's red tape and red tape and red tape.*
> *(Voluntary agency)*

Both national and local voluntary agencies, frustrated at their lack of ability to reach children and to offer them meaningful support therefore allow children who are victims of crime to go unsupported.

> *They're crying out for help and they really don't know where to go.*
> *(Voluntary agency)*

> *Parents may receive a letter [offering support] and say there's no time or throw it in the bin. Out of twenty-five [letters sent] we might get two requests in a month.*
> *(Voluntary agency)*

Referrals

We discovered a labyrinth of referral pathways were used by the agencies surveyed. The pattern of referrals often crossed service types. That is, voluntary national services such as Victim Support, Barnardos, NSPCC, Childline and The Samaritans were referred young victims from statutory agencies and from local voluntary agencies. Similarly, local voluntary projects received referrals from both statutory agencies and national voluntary agencies. This multi-directional referral pattern also applied where young victims were referred from national voluntary agencies to statutory services.

At first glance this appears to be a strong inter-agency network of services who might support young victims of crime. However, with the same agencies being named as sources of referrals and end points in referral chains we wondered whether children were passed between agencies to ensure best service delivery or because services felt insufficiently equipped to serve these young people themselves.

Best practice would dictate that even in an agency well equipped to serve young people that some children may be referred on to another agency because that agency is considered to have the requisite expertise and role to help a particular young person. One problem of the referral schemes investigated however, was that the referring agencies could not be sure about the outcomes achieved for the children they referred on. Across the nine agencies we examined, there was only one with a follow up procedure to discover the outcome of the young people they referred. Again, confidentiality was given as a reason for this. A lack of agreement on appropriate information sharing procedures thus means that another opportunity is created for child victims to fall between potential supports and no record may exist of the case. If there is an absence of feedback on the outcome for referred-on children we must also ask what basis agencies have for passing further child victims to them. With all surveyed agencies reporting similar problems in supporting child victims themselves and little evidence to support policies of referring these young people on, child victims may be passed around a network where no support exists until they drop through the net in frustration.

Special considerations for developing services for child victims

There are undoubtedly major difficulties in providing services for children and in many situations these difficulties are in relation to providing services where need is established. In providing support to child victims the first step is in allowing child victims to report their experiences. At present, guidelines on providing an appropriate service to child victims are missing and there are difficulties in relying on parents to grant access to children. Any development of support services to child victims will need to deal appropriately with confidentiality and provide training in child interview techniques as well as providing for the needs of child victims of abuse including safe refuge and fair access to justice.

Discussion

When we conceived of our pilot study into the forms of assistance available to young crime victims we assumed - quite naively – that we would find a 'network' of appropriate support services. What we discovered was caring professionals without adequate guidance on supporting child victims of 'normal crime'. Our study did not seek to provide a systematic map of service provision but our respondents described it as 'patchy'. There is no organisation with a remit to provide support to child victims of 'normal crime'. Victim Support provides support services for adult crime victims on referral from the police and discussed their plans and problems in extending such services to children. Victim Support may represent the most promising opportunity for developing such services. To do this they will require police notification of child victims and guidelines on both accessing and providing services to them. As it stands, the police rarely record the presence of children in households where crimes such as burglary or domestic violence occur and without such a record there can be no referral. Organisations with remits to work with children had no relationship with the police to provide them with systematic referrals. For all agencies we contacted, referring child victims to appropriate services was seen as an option 'sometimes' but only one service had a systematic follow-up procedure and liaison was informal and infrequent.

All of this stands in sharp contrast to both the ample literature on youth crime and carefully developed guidelines on working with child victims of physical and sexual abuse. Youth crime is widely reported in the media and widely feared (Furlong and Cartmel, 1997). Recent research points out however, that young people experience crime as victims more often than as offenders (Brown, 1998) and are more likely to be victims of crime than are adults (Anderson *et al,* 1994). It seems that our attention to physical and sexual child abuse has allowed our gaze to shift away from children's experiences of 'normal crime'. Furthermore, children's victimisation experiences appear to have been co-opted as specialist areas in social work and medicine rather than matters for the criminal justice system and criminology.

Our inattention to children's needs as 'normal crime' victims matters in both the short term and in the long term. Morgan and Zedner (1992) conclude that the impact of crime against parents, siblings or the household as a whole, often has a profound effect on children. Hague and Malos (1998) found five to sixteen year old children living in households where a parent has suffered domestic violence displaying 'adverse reactions' and 'needs' which the authors describe as 'not well met by relevant agencies'. Left unaddressed, it is 'needs' and 'adverse reactions' of precisely this kind which are associated with generational cycles of violence and social exclusion (Young, 1999) in our understanding of the origins of aggressive behaviour patterns.

Young people are not merely over-represented as victims of 'normal crime', they are particularly vulnerable to its effects. Victimisation is disproportionately distributed in socially discriminated against groups (Kinsey et al, 1986). Young people share many of the vulnerability factors which underlie increased risk of crime amongst adults. They have less economic resources; little social power to protect themselves with security; are less well served by a disbelieving criminal justice system; have less physical strength; and often lack the security that their own private space and private transport affords. Furthermore, the impact of property crime is more severe for young people because they lack money to replace items. All of these disadvantages are *in addition* to the wider power divisions of gender, ethnicity, disability and poverty experienced by adults.

Young people are easily identified as targets for 'normal crime' and our failure to protect them in this regard may be an additional factor in their selection as potential victims. Young people seldom report the crimes that they witness or of which they are victims. Hartless et al, (1995) found that although 91% of children aged 12 to 14 in a Glasgow school had witnessed at least one crime and 44% had witnessed six or more crimes, 59% of these children had reported none of the crimes they had witnessed. Young people and those who victimise them know that their testimonies will not be accorded the same status as those from adults. Thus, denied state protection, young people build conceptions of themselves as individuals who do not count, who are not full citizens, who are excluded and unimportant. Without rights of protection from the state young people may look for alternative ways to defend themselves. These are the circumstances in which we find our most vulnerable young people moving in gangs proclaiming their bravado in their strength of numbers. Weapons are carried for self protection and sub-cultural coping strategies and rationalisations learned. The wide-spread norm of 'not grassing', for example, is rationalised as an appeal to higher loyalties (Matza and Sykes, 1961). Non-reporting may thus be presented as rational - or at least cultural - and the young person's fear of reporting to a non-believing authority figure is hidden from us in the young

person's capacity to cope. Our ability to ignore their victimisation is thus supported by young people's sub-cultural coping strategies.

State failure to protect young people is a denial of their citizenship rights but there is much resistance within our punitive and authoritarian culture to the idea of 'rights' for children and young people. We subsume their protection as the responsibility of adults - especially their parents - and refer to assault on children as child abuse. The domestic sphere thus becomes our focus for considering assault on children and we forget that children are assaulted by adults and by other children beyond the home. By re-focusing on child victims from the perspective of the child as a citizen with rights at potential risk from other citizens we recall the state's responsibility to protect. Indeed, we may argue, that by restricting our view of child victimisation as a special kind of family difficulty - perhaps in need of intervention by social workers and professional carers rather than the criminal justice system - that child victimisation is de-politicised and thus more readily ignored. Given what we know about victimisation experiences and subsequent propensity for criminal behaviour (Kinsey et al, 1986; Falshaw et al, 1996), we may also consider support for child victims as crime prevention.

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Notes

1 The literature includes the following: Adcock and White, 1998; Bedingfield, 1998; Calder and Horwath, 1999; Cobley, 1995; Corby, 1998; Department of Health, 1994; Department of Health, 1995; Doyle, 1990; Gilbert, 1997; Hagell, 1998; Hetherington, 1997; Hobart and Frankel, 1998; Home Office, 1991; Jackson, 1996; Justice and Justice, 1990; Kay, 1999; Levy, 1994; Lindon, 1998; Lyon and De Cruz, 1993; Marchant and Page, 1993; Moore, 1992; Naish, 1992; National Commission of Inquiry into the Prevention of Child Abuse (NCIPCA), 1996-7, NSPCC 1994, NSPCC, 1995; NSPCC, 1996; NSPCC, 1999; Owen and Pritchard, 1993; Parton et al, 1997; Sage, 1993; Stainton et al, 1992; Stevenson, 1998; Thorpe, 1994; Waterhouse, 1993; Westcott and Cross, 1996; and Witney, 1996.

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CONDUCTING PLAY:

Youth, violence and governmentality within UK football

RICHARD GIULIANOTTI

In June 2001, four hundred and fifty four football supporters were banned by the UK Home Office from travelling overseas ahead of England's World Cup qualifying fixture against Greece in Athens. The bans were made under the provisions of the Football Disorder Act 2000, allowing police to prevent supporters with football-related convictions and those suspected of potential hooligan activities from travelling to fixtures. The banning orders were based on reports from the Football Intelligence Service (FIS) located within the National Criminal Intelligence Service (NCIS). Police officers, government ministers and football officials praised the deployment of these new legal powers. Conversely, some supporter organisations and civil rights groups criticised the severity and legality of the banning orders: only one ninth of affected fans had convictions for violence or disorder while the police actions were in themselves contrary to the European Convention on Human Rights.[1]

These strategies of fan control represent a fresh intensification of the juridical and political battle to contain and to extinguish the disorder at football matches involving English and, more broadly, British football spectators at home and overseas. This policy agenda has been present since at least the early 1960s, and has obvious implications for young people, particularly young males, who are identified as the source of fan disorder. In this paper, I provide an introductory analysis of the construction of football hooliganism in the UK, as a socio-historical phenomenon and as a social 'problem' identified for rectification through social policy. The discussion falls into three broad sections. Part one sets out the nature of the hooligan 'problem' in England and Scotland over the past three decades, and the changing relationship of disorderly fan behaviour to forms of youth culture and identity through that period. This social history provides the empirical basis for part two, which develops critical insights into social policies governing fan disorder and football more broadly. Part three elaborates on these discussions by employing Michel Foucault's work to explain these processes theoretically. Foucault's late theory of 'governmentality' - and its development by sociologists and criminologists - is particularly valuable. Deployment of Foucault may appear somewhat incongruous for a discussion that deals, at first glance, with youth crime and social policy. As Stenson (1999: 49) notes, policy-centred studies of criminal or deviant behaviour tend to be nudged away from Foucaultian theory by the 'gatekeepers of knowledge', such as civil servants or politicians, who prefer to commission research by framing the parameters of the 'problem' to obtain practical 'solutions'. However, a Foucaultian perspective

helps us to get underneath the observable features of the social phenomenon, and place it within a socio-historical assessment of the analytics of power within football.

Football, Violence and Hooliganism

Violence has been a part of football since the very origins of the game, and young men (and at times young women) have been at the forefront. In its Medieval infancy, football existed in numerous 'folk' versions across the British Isles and was played according to local traditions with relatively few rules to govern conduct and no obvious distinction between spectators and players. Games might be contested on a local carnival day between scores of men from rival neighbourhoods or villages, and involve scrummaging, fighting and jostling to manoeuvre the ball towards the rudimentary goals marked out in the rival village. Although they have a theoretical interest in emphasising the 'uncivilised' nature of the play, the observations of Elias and Dunning (1986) are generally accepted by historians and sociologists, in pointing to the frequency of group fighting and broken limbs among participants, as well as occasional deaths. As industrialisation and urbanisation took hold through the early 19th century, folk football fell into decline but it was soon taken up within public schools and the universities as part of the 'games revolution'. Schoolmasters favoured football games as a means of inculcating a 'muscular Christian' ethos among boys, but also to deflect onto the sports fields the violent energies of pupils who were inclined towards unruly conduct and occasional riot (Mangan, 1981).

In 1863, the rules of modern association football were established and, while spectators and players were more formally distinguished, the game remained a theatre for the cultivation and display of aggressive and frequently injurious Victorian masculinity. Football was quickly adopted by the burgeoning urban working-classes, notably in the Irish migrant cities of Glasgow and Liverpool, and by the 1900s large stadia had been erected to house the tens of thousands of (predominantly male) supporters who followed the most successful clubs. Generally, the incidence, social dynamics and underlying cultural values of supporter violence among British football supporters prior to the First World War requires much closer historical investigation for fair conclusions to be drawn (cf. Tranter, 1995). In England, research centred on Leicester newspaper reports suggests that violence involving male supporters tended to be related to events on the field of play: an injurious challenge on a local hero or a peculiar referee decision might precipitate heated arguments within the crowd or the throwing of missiles onto the field of play (Dunning, Murphy and Williams 1988). In Scotland, 'Brake Clubs' (informal travelling supporter clubs) emerged to follow the largest teams of Glasgow Celtic and Glasgow Rangers. Their respective ties to the Irish-Catholic and the Unionist-Protestant communities in the

West of Scotland underpinned the development of subcultural differences and 'sectarian' rivalries between these clubs' supporters (Murray, 1984). During the inter-war years these rivalries intensified with Glasgow's notorious 'razor gangs' fighting battles inside the grounds and on the streets outside, against rival gang members or police officers.

In its modern definition, modern football hooliganism features subcultures of young male supporters with violent and competitive values who engage in regular, violent exchanges primarily with their rival peer groups. Accordingly, the razor gangs that followed teams in Scotland might be deemed as the first manifestation of modern football hooliganism. Outside of Glasgow, the historical record suggests that early post-war football was remarkably peaceable when contrasted with the unparalleled crowds that attended fixtures. However, through the 1950s and 1960s, the occasional vandalism and violence involving new youth subcultural styles such as the teddy boys and the mods were the subject of moral panics that arose within the UK establishment (Cohen, 1972; Osgerby, 1998). Football, like the nation's youth, provided a ready metaphor for Britain's declining global status, as the Home Nations of England, Scotland, Northern Ireland and Wales lost fixtures to European and South American sides with greater frequency. At club level, incidents of violence involving young football supporters became more newsworthy from the late 1950s onwards, and by the early 1960s a public discourse on hooliganism and social entropy, particularly within the English game, had taken seed.

Scotland continued to be viewed as the location of the most engrained supporter violence. Rangers supporters acquired particular notoriety during the late 1960s and early 1970s on their treks south to England to play 'friendly' fixtures or on their overseas mission to a European final in Barcelona. Violence involving Rangers and Celtic fans gained greatest public notoriety in 1980 when, before a worldwide television audience and at the end of the Scottish Cup final, hundreds of rival fans invaded the pitch and fought running battles until mounted police charged amongst them to restore order. Domestically, most leading Scottish clubs acquired their own subcultural communities of young supporters, who professed their willingness to fight rival opponents, and who acquired their own *noms de guerre*, such as the 'Young Leith Team' (Hibernian), the 'Crew' (Aberdeen), or the 'Maryhill Fleet' (Partick). In England, the young supporter formations following clubs such as Millwall, Chelsea, Sheffield United, Tottenham Hotspur and Manchester United acquired violent reputations that were inflated nationally through moral panics within the expanding tabloid media. Much of the violence occurred inside the ground, as each group of young supporters would mark out their own territorial 'end' and seek to defeat their rivals by invading and 'taking'

the 'end' belonging to these opponents (Marsh, 1978). Culturally, at the local level, these supporter groups represented a football-centred extension of the youth gangs that had grown up in every urban area since industrialisation; at the national level, they confirmed the 'particularisation' of youth through the foundation of distinctive and increasingly spectacular subcultural identities and styles (Hall and Jefferson, 1976). Socially, this latter development had been facilitated further through changes in patterns of attendance, as teenage supporters deserted their 'parent' group to join up with their peers on match-day (Clarke, 1978).

Until the late 1970s, the youth style associated with football was relatively dependent upon old supporter subcultures that favoured the wearing of club colours, and national youth subcultural trends, notably those associated with music (such as the skinhead or 'bootboy' look). However, there were signs that football was producing its own subcultural aesthetic. An infamous *Panorama* documentary on Millwall supporters in 1978 focused particularly on 'F-Troop', a group of young supporters who were at the centre of most violence involving the club's fans. One supporter interviewed on camera professes his disdain for the old 'hooligan' look, noting in particular the absence of club colours and his adornment of 'smart' menswear. Meanwhile, the successes of English clubs in Europe were drawing young supporters to travel overseas where more opportunities arose for acquiring (by theft or purchase) expensive and designer attire. By the early 1980s, the 'casual' had become the dominant subcultural style among young males, featuring the adornment of brand-name sportswear or menswear, the avoidance of club colours, and an explicit orientation towards engaging in violence with rival fans. In subcultural terms, the casuals were explicitly self-identifying hooligans, committed to defeating rival 'firms', either in battle or by chasing them off. The various personal components of the casual style went beyond the pursuit of violence, offering as well the potential of a new subcultural identity, a new way of governing one's personal conduct and appearance, in terms of distinctive mannerisms and physical traits (such as walk, seating posture inside grounds, humour, jargon). Style magazines such as *The Face* were useful cultural intermediaries in providing a 'how-to' set of informal guides for casual neophytes, but real distinction was gained by those who visibly carried the casual *savoir-faire* as part of their personal characters. Those young fans more interested in the fashion rather than the violence were apt to be considered short of 'subcultural capital' by their casual contemporaries (cf. Thornton, 1995). For these fashion-centred 'trendies', the hooligan group to which they were attached was less a fixed and self-contained 'subculture' with its own 'tribal' way of life. Instead, the casual scene was more obviously an expressive 'neo-tribe' (Maffesoli, 1988); a stylistic space that they could drift in and out of, while sharing the thrill of potential danger on match-day.[2]

Numerically, those associated with football hooligan groups were at their peak in the mid-1980s. The largest 'firms' in England - such as West Ham - could draw up to 2,000 lads, while in Scotland the Aberdeen casuals could feature up to 700. Initial evidence suggests that, north of the border, the casual style represented a more concerted cultural break from the hooligan identities of the past. Clubs with the more notorious followers from the 1970s - notably Celtic, Hearts and Rangers - were relatively slow to generate a casual element; indeed, at Celtic, more 'traditionalist' fans turned violently upon the small contingent of casuals within their midst. Conversely, in England, casuals within the leading clubs were more apt to mix older hooligans and young initiates. As a youth subculture, the casuals continued to reflect the participation of notably young males in fan violence, predominantly those in their late teens and early twenties. Thus the casuals also established the social framework for contemporary football violence that survives today. All casual groups generated distinctive names (such as West Ham's Inter-City Firm, or Chelsea's Headhunters). While, during the 1970s, much violence had been focused inside the ground, disorder was increasingly likely to occur outside stadia, or in city centres, and latterly in hooligan 'non-places' (such as quiet housing estates or transport terminals) that held no symbolic importance for rival groups. Meanwhile an informal and uncoordinated information network was established that linked individual hooligans with acquaintances, friends and rivals scattered across the UK (Giulianotti & Armstrong, 2002).

The most spectacular 'moment' in UK football fan violence was the year of 1985. 39 Italian football supporters died inside the Heysel Stadium in Brussels when Liverpool fans rioted at the European Cup final. At Birmingham, a fan was killed when a wall collapsed following disorder involving Birmingham City and Leeds United supporters. At Luton, and before a national television audience, Millwall fans wrecked the local ground, invaded the pitch, and hurled missiles at retreating police officers, before vandalizing homes and cars outside the ground. At Bradford, in an incident unconnected with hooliganism but reflecting the deterioration of UK grounds, 57 supporters died when fire swept through a wooden stand at the Valley Parade ground. And at the 1985 Scotland-England fixture at Hampden, visiting English fans arrived in unprecedented numbers to fight local supporters.

Since the mid-1980s, football hooliganism has fallen into decline in terms of associated numbers and youth subcultural relevance. By the early 1990s, hooligan groups were down to perhaps a fifth or less of their peak numbers, though the remaining elements were certainly among the most committed to violent exchanges with rivals. The reasons for this decline are many and complex: the impact of tougher legislation and social policies, alongside the remarketing of football, will be discussed later,

but there is little doubt that alternative pressures from within the stylistic politics of youth culture were also influential in hooliganism's social diminution. The mid-1980s initiated the rise of the rave or dance culture across UK cities, driven by illicit drug consumption, a dominant ethos of personal pleasure and social relaxation, and the practical necessity of travelling to dance events in the UK or overseas free from the threat of injury or harassment. Thus the social identity and practices of hooliganism - centred more on alcohol consumption, the pleasures of violent social exchanges, and the dangerous game of travelling to spaces apparently controlled by rivals - appeared to have been eclipsed by a sea-change in the mores of UK youth culture. Consequently, although there have been some infusions of younger lads in their late teens and early twenties, the average age of participants in hooligan groups has increased steadily, with a sizeable minority now comprising hooligans aged in their mid or late 30s. While reflecting the hard-core nature and extended careers within contemporary hooliganism, this maturity also highlights the growing sociological problem in defining 'youth' and 'youth culture' in old modern terms strictly according to a limited period within one's lifespan. Instead, social conduct and forms of self-identity initially associated with specific youth cultures can continue to structure the leisure activities of people approaching or into middle-age.

Internet websites that are devoted to club-based football hooligan formations confirm the phenomenon's survival and highlight the technical sophistication of some participants. The message-boards on these sites represent what I have termed elsewhere a 'subcultural public sphere' for hooligans and non-hooligans alike to debate football and other matters without fear of prosecution or intimidation (Giulianotti, 2001). However, the fact that many contributions and links are concerned with matters historical highlights hooliganism's real decline at club level. The most spectacular eruptions of fan violence have continued to be by England fans at overseas fixtures, notably at the 1998 World Cup finals in France and the European Championships in Belgium and Holland in 2000. These tournaments provide a social basis for interaction involving numerous club-based hooligans on an exceptionally large scale. The alternative culture of Scotland's international fans has instead emphasized a friendly if raucous form of carnival founded upon principles of self-policing and careful impression management of their national identity before foreign audiences (Giulianotti, 1991, 1995). Again, one cannot say that social policy alone had inspired such a distinctive Scottish fan culture. Rather, members of Scotland's Tartan Army consciously employed the hooligan stereo-type of English fans as a key cultural symbol against which they could define themselves, and thus confirm the distinctiveness of their national identity, when confronted by suspicious supporters and media overseas.

In summary, then, we must note at this stage that violence involving young men has always been a social feature of football. However, the subcultural nature of that violence has intensified through the foundation and distinctive conduct of self-identifying hooligan formations that have symbiotic relations to wider youth cultural trends. By the mid-1980s, and in part through the casual style, football hooliganism appeared to have become sufficiently mature for it to contain its own subcultural dynamics. The subsequent emergence of internet websites and the regular participation of England fans in disorderly incidents at home and overseas combine to confirm the subcultural vitality and permeability of hooliganism as a feature of young male leisure practice. But what is particularly striking, as we shall see, is the extent to which contemporary hooliganism has survived, and indeed has been shaped by, successive attempts to 'govern' out of existence the violence surrounding football.

Football Violence: Political and Legislative Interventions

Violence within and around football matches has been the subject of legal and political censure since the game's folk variant. Through the Middle Ages, local magistrates regularly sought to prohibit games due to the disorder and damage to property commonly caused by participants (Magoun, 1938). Modern football too has been subjected to regular interventions by the football authorities to combat disorderly fan behaviour or violent conduct among players, resulting in the occasional posting of official warnings or the closure of grounds. Attempts by legislators and social policy analysts to curtail the modern variant of football hooliganism are, however, more directly traced to the early 1960s, following the popular identification of a distinctive and generic 'problem' in controlling young people at fixtures.

Several Parliamentary reports and official inquiries have investigated football hooliganism in the UK, either as their principal subject or alongside related concerns such as spectator safety. The most notable are the 1968 Harrington Report, the 1977 McElhone Report, the 1984 Department of Environment Report on Football Spectator Violence, the 1986 Popplewell Report, the 1990 Taylor Report, the 1991 Home Affairs Committee report into Policing Football Hooliganism, and the 2001 Home Office inquiry into the reform of England fans chaired by Lord Bassam. These inquiries have informed the key legislation directed towards progressively controlling and conducting the conduct of young male spectators at football fixtures:

- *Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1980, banning drunkenness and alcohol consumption in and around football grounds.[3] These measures were extended to England and Wales through the Sporting Events (Control of Alcohol etc.) Act 1985.*

- *Public Order Act 1986, prohibiting 'minor misbehaviour' in and around football grounds (Home Affairs Committee 1990: 3) and enabling 'exclusion orders' to be served on culprits, banning them from attending fixtures.*
- *Football Spectators Act 1989, enabling courts to serve 'restriction orders' that ban convicted offenders from travelling to key matches overseas.*
- *Football Offences Act 1991, specifically criminalizing the throwing of missiles, indecent or racist chanting, or pitch encroachments inside football stadia.*
- *Criminal Justice and Public Order Act 1994, extending police powers of 'stop and search', and the prevention of 'trespass' (which could include peaceful demonstrations on football club property). Perhaps most seriously, the law prohibits the 'intentional harassment, alarm or distress' of others - a rather vague set of offences that could include relatively common features of spectating such as mocking opposing fans.*
- *Football (Offences and Disorder) Act 1999, tightening the 1991 legislation on indecent or racist utterances, and banning ticket-touting.*
- *Football Disorder Act 2000, extending police powers regarding the banning of spectators from travelling to fixtures.*

Equipped with these new powers,[3] for the last thirty years UK police forces have initiated a range of more proactive measures for containing and eliminating violence between rival groups of young male supporters. Through the 1970s, the formal segregation of rival supporters became increasingly deliberate and sophisticated in its implementation. Inside the ground, young supporters were penned into different ground section, preventing them from 'taking ends'. Outside the ground, visiting fans were given police escorts to grounds, being met at key transport termini (such as train or bus stations) and shepherded through local streets by mounted police or foot patrols. With the emergence of the colours-free casual in the late 1970s, police forces found it harder to identify potential hooligans and to enact segregation successfully. Meanwhile, as the rituals of violence within the ground became more difficult to enact, hooliganism became more prominent in and around city centres and large public houses.

As violence appeared to escalate and gained greater media and public attention, the Conservative government under Margaret Thatcher targeted football hooliganism as its major 'enemy within'. In addition to public inquiries, tougher sentencing of offenders occurred among magistrates, and fresh police initiatives to combat violence were encouraged alongside the deployment of greater resources. Although the Scottish Office's official position emphasized the successes of earlier legislation in Scotland, in contradistinction to the English situation, the leading Conservative MP Gerry Malone sought to introduce a Private Members Bill aimed at curbing the

activities of Aberdeen and other casuals by allocating jail sentences to all football-related offenders. Meanwhile, following the Heysel disaster, UEFA banned English clubs from European competition for five years.

Since the late 1980s, police tactics have switched towards greater surveillance measures against distinctive hooligan groups. The 'hoolivan' was unveiled; an unmarked police van equipped with cameras and smoked glass windows, designed to record violent incidents or film preparations for violent disorder. Closed-circuit television systems were installed in all grounds, so that football became a social laboratory for the surveillance camera systems that were the 'silver bullet' crime initiative of the 1990s (Armstrong and Giulianotti, 1999). Covert infiltration of hooligan gangs by police officers occurred, but most court cases collapsed due to discrepancies in gathering of evidence (Armstrong and Hobbs, 1994). The National Criminal Intelligence Service was established, containing a football intelligence unit to collate data on known and suspected hooligans, enabling plain-clothes policing to remain a key strategy in combating fan violence. Those within the dwindling casual formations through the 1990s thus became caught up in a more complex game of avoidance and capture with uniformed and plain-clothes police officers. The difficulty of securing violent clashes due to effective policing has encouraged members of rival hooligan sides to communicate with each other and designate suitable venues and times for confrontations to occur. Mobile telephones have certainly enhanced the possibility of such communications occurring.

Through the 1990s, in line with the greater Europeanisation and globalisation of football at club and international level, the major source of government and police anxiety over football hooliganism has been fixtures involving English clubs overseas and the England national team. Hundreds of England fans have been deported from World Cup finals (in Italy in 1990, in France in 1998), and European Championship finals (in Germany in 1988, in Sweden in 1992, and in Belgium and Holland in 2000). Following English football's rehabilitation within Europe, the UK government's line sought to soften or 'deamplify' the overseas indiscretions of England supporters by highlighting the involvement of continental supporters in football violence while simultaneously criticizing the unsophisticated crowd control techniques of local police in maltreating ordinary England fans. However, when England itself sought to stage major tournaments, more draconian domestic policies were again introduced. Prior to the 1996 European Championships in England, 'dawn raids' and numerous police warnings were aimed at perceived hooligan groups likely to cause trouble. Towards the end of England's unsuccessful bid to host the 2006 World Cup finals, the Home Secretary announced the formulation of the subsequent Football Disorder Act 2000 to mollify international concern over the UK's stance on hooliganism.

Yet the continuing disorder of England fans overseas involved many supporters not previously known to the NCIS football unit, reflecting the limited quality of its intelligence, and the neo-tribal nature of England's hooliganism as new supporters drifted in and out of disorderly incidents and violence. More broadly, the 'new' culprits appeared to expose the positivistic conceit of juridico-political strategies against hooliganism, in seeking to isolate and destroy the object before it arises socially.

To conclude this overview of hooliganism and its attendant policy initiatives, two important observations of a theoretical and empirical nature need to be made. First, in beginning to reflect upon the historical nexus of football hooliganism and anti-hooliganism social policies, it is difficult to avoid being drawn to the labeling theory[4] advanced to explain the process of constructing deviancy. In short, labeling theory posits that a deviant identity is socially constructed through a process of social negotiation between the 'deviant' individuals or groups and those members of society who seek to impose a deviant identity upon the apparent offenders. 'Primary' deviance - the initial act of rule-breaking - is not problematic in itself and has no significant impact upon the individual's self-concept. However, when the deviant actions of individuals are identified and negatively labeled by outsiders, 'secondary deviance' arises as the according label becomes increasingly central to the individual's self-concept and results in repeated violations of rules and norms. In England at least, this theory does appear to fit with the historical transformation of fan violence, from a general form of primary deviance (featuring isolated and relatively spontaneous incidents involving ordinary supporters) to a particular category of secondary deviance (featuring self-identifying hooligans seeking to engage in regular violence). Thus, these various legislative and policing manoeuvres appear to have precipitated a sharpening of the phenomenon under attack. The deviant subjectivities of continuing hooligans appear to have been strengthened, and their conduct has been shaped as a form of conscious resistance towards juridico-political impositions. However, two weaknesses in labeling theory are relevant here also. The theory does not fully account for social actors who, for varying reasons, manage to avoid taking on a deviant identity or do not pursue increasingly deviant practices. Thus labeling theory is not particularly useful for explaining how many supporters associated with hooligan groups in the mid-1980s moved out of the hooligan scene. Additionally, as a theory founded upon social and symbolic interactionist precepts, labeling theory does not provide an analytical and power-centred framework for locating the construction of deviant identities within a broader, more critical sociological viewpoint. Thus, while it helps to examine the social construction of hooligan identities, labeling theory does not point us towards a critical assessment of the wider factors influencing the governing of hooliganism within football.

Second, and following from this, a crucial 'wider factor' here concerns the reinvention of English football's political economy from the late 1980s onwards. The disproportionate policy concern with fan violence had disastrous consequences for other supporters in regard to the governing of spectator safety. At the Hillsborough stadium disaster in 1989, ninety six Liverpool fans were fatally injured following crowd crushing at the FA Cup semi-final against Nottingham Forest. Sheffield police officers had mismanaged the large crowds at the ground, allowing intense overcrowding to occur inside one central pen that was ringed by large, anti-hooliganism fencing (Scraton, Jemphrey and Coleman, 1998). Fearing the danger of a violent pitch invasion, the police refused to allow supporters to escape the disaster by clambering onto the field of play. To avert a similar disaster occurring, the 1990 Taylor Report recommended that the leading UK football grounds should be converted to all-seated status by 1994. Taylor recommended further that while clubs should look to recover the cost of refurbishment, faithful supporters should not be priced out of the new grounds.

Hillsborough and the resulting Taylor Report have now come to be viewed as watershed moments, providing the springboard for a structural reinvention of English football. Through the late 1980s, English football appeared to have entered a period of serious and seemingly inescapable decline through international isolation, plummeting attendance figures, and a rather typified reputation for social disorder. In line with the free market social programmes of Margaret Thatcher at this time, as Paul Smith (1997) has pointed out, a neo-liberal rather than communitarian strategy for alleviating these football maladies was forwarded by the controllers of the English game. Constitutionally, the political power of the largest twenty clubs in England was cemented through the foundation of the breakaway FA Premier League, which escaped the smaller clubs and their earlier claims on precious television revenues. The new economy of English football was strengthened by two immense capital injections: first, from the £304 million television deal signed by the Premier League with Sky television and other broadcasters which enabled top clubs to buy in expensive foreign stars; second, from the government's diversion of betting tax monies into paying for the post-Taylor refurbishment of the UK's antiquated football grounds. This new political economy would have counted for nothing without the cultural redefinition of the game, going from what The Times had called 'a slum sport for slum people' in 1985 (Taylor 1987) to a realm of entertainment fashionable among the urban middle-classes and the literati. Socially, football became a common topic for cross-class interaction, a discursive adhesive sustained by the proliferation of new football-related media in television, radio and popular literature. To attract 'renaissance fans' into expensive new stands or club merchandise shops, a new social order within football needed to be engineered among its spectators. In particular

terms, continuing incidents of fan violence were identified as features of the game common to all societies. More noticeably, they were 'deamplified'; given relatively limited coverage within the mass media as news reporters adopted the 'much greater responsibility' that the Home Affairs Committee (1991: xxxix) had requested when discussing football hooliganism. More generally, the football and state authorities sought to produce new techniques of spectating, rooted in the governing of bodies and social conduct, to secure order and redefine the social conditions within which football's new political economy could function smoothly. It is to a consideration of that social policy within football, and its impact upon young spectators, that this discussion now turns.

Foucault, Governmentality and the Conducting of Conduct among Football Spectators

The work of Michel Foucault, and its subsequent development by sociologists and criminologists, is particularly helpful when seeking to provide a critical analysis of football-related social policy through the 1990s and beyond.

Foucault's genealogical emphasis is on the interdependencies of power and knowledge. Power is viewed not as a monolithic and abstract entity but a resource that is 'local, diffuse, practical and normative' (Turner and Rojek, 2001: 116). In prior work I have focused particularly on Foucault's early genealogical theories to explain how the modern individual spectator's social practices are objectified, moulded and intensively monitored (Giulianotti 1999; Armstrong and Giulianotti 1999). Foucault focused particularly on changes in systems of punishment - notably from executions during feudal times to the regimes of imprisonment in modern times - to demonstrate that the generalised disciplining of individuals and populations is an ordering principle of modernity. The body is the key locus of that discipline, being objectified into various units for purposes of analysis and control. Knowledge of the body is the locus of power ('bio-power') for accredited experts (such as doctors and penologists), and the gaze (as a form of bodily surveillance) is a mediation of that power. Bentham's model of the Panopticon is the paradigmatic form of the disciplinary society. An architectural arrangement within prisons, the Panopticon model envisages a watchtower at the centre of a perimeter ring of individual cells. Prisoners within these cells must assume that the watchtower guard is monitoring their movements, and so discipline their conduct according to prison regulations. The new machinery of power constituted by the Panopticon entered other institutional spaces, notably schools, hospitals and clinics, military barracks, factories and offices, and latterly public spaces such as city-centres and football grounds. A key consequence of the disciplinary society has been to circumscribe the significations of the body, rendering bodies more docile through their domination by surveillance.

In turn, corporeal disciplining became socially diffuse, an ordering principle of all micro-social institutions, notably the family (Donzelot, 1979).

Most obviously, the Panoptic surveillance of bodies within football functions through the ubiquitous CCTV systems at stadiums across the UK. Additionally, supporter groups are filmed approaching and leaving football grounds by police officers or hired camera crews. Similarly, hooligan 'databases' are founded, storing the objective identities of perceived disorderly supporters and recording the observed intermingling of these bodies within specific crowds. We may view the long genealogy of proactive spatial measures by police over supporters as seeking to establish a corporeal docility, beginning with the segregation of young fans into distinctive ground sections as well as the escorting of fans to and from grounds. Latterly, corporeal disciplining of individuals has been exacted through all-seated grounds, which have individuated supporters, restricting the space within which they may move while enabling more effective surveillance to occur. Changes in social patterns of attendance at fixtures were also sought. Family stands became more prominent while individuating ticketing policies at fixtures fragmented the old aggregations of young supporters inside the renovated grounds. In general, all-seated and heavily surveilled grounds represented a rather blunt instrument of social policy. It was designed to remove the informal conduct of bodily interaction that was primarily favoured by young male fans as a participatory experience, but which was loosely (but wrongly) associated with hooligan conduct by football authorities, legislators and on-lookers within football grounds.

While Foucault's theory of bio-power and discipline serves to explain the 'objectivising' machinery of social domination, it struggles to explain the subjective life of individuals and the mediation of power relations through the governing of interior lives (McNay, 1994: 122). The concept of bio-power affords too little discussion of the shaping of selves and subjectivities by powerful institutions and their attendant discourses. Equally, reading *Discipline and Punish*, it is difficult to identify a meaningful philosophical basis or empirical validation for Foucault's subsequent claims that power is enabling and that resistance always arises (Turner and Rojek, 2001: 116; cf. Foucault, 1979: 95). Through his related notions of 'government' and 'governmentality', upon which he worked in the final years of his life, Foucault's genealogical method was able to develop a more dynamic understanding of subjectivity, agency and self.

Governmentality is a neologism that synthesises the administrative and regulative technologies of 'government' with the supporting kinds of psychological and cultural 'mentality' that enable government to be practiced (Foucault 1982; Allen, 1998: 179). The notion of government should be understood in a broader sense, beyond

its common sense equation with the executive apparatus of the modern nation-state. Government centres also upon the 'conduct of conduct', upon the more personalised forms of regulation, such as through governing the self, the family or business affairs. 'Governmentality' emerges from before industrial times, and can be dichotomised historically: first, through the principles of human shepherding that formed the pre-modern *pastoral* care of subjects by Christian monks and missionaries; second, through the move towards secular *police* states that are characteristic of modern social systems. Governmentality combines two symbiotic yet opposing social processes of 'individualisation' and 'totalisation' thus comes to resemble, in consequence, the Weberian iron cage (McNay, 1994: 121). It sustains the liberal notion of government that promotes individual liberty and happiness, but in securing the conditions for modern freedom it also serves to exert tighter controls upon the practices of individuals and populations. A related concept here is 'technologies of the self' which, in the modern sense, refers to those practices that order our daily conduct, as a form of 'self-mastery', and which reflect certain aesthetic standards to which we aspire (Foucault, 1986). Foucault argues that, in governing the self, we have moved from a culture of Christian self-sacrifice to a Western fetish of self-understanding. In advanced modern societies, the rationalities of government are rooted in the interest to govern 'at a distance' (Rose, 1996: 43). Hence, in studying governmentality, our 'raw materials' must include the various self-help manuals, spiritual guides, 'reality' television shows, lifestyle magazines and so on that decorate the ethical compass through which individuals chart their personal predicament and govern themselves (Dean, 1996: 217). Accordingly, we remain to secure a positive political conception of the self that is free of domination and which, Foucault implies, should be founded first upon correct personal care of the self (Hindess, 1998: 55-6).

As Garland (1999: 29) points out, a key theme of discussions of governmentality is the paradoxical claim that our 'freedom' is a vital medium through which we are 'governed'. This would understandably lead us to ask to what extent the theory of governmentality really enables the actor to critically and selectively constitute his or her self (cf. Smart, 1998: 83). I would suggest that this is less an ontological problem, regarding the nature of the social self for all individuals, and more a political and relational problem, concerning the extent to which individuals are conscious of, or alienated by, attempts to govern their conduct and to reconstitute their mentality relative to the practices and cultural mores with which they had previously been engaged. Thus conceived in political terms, a greater practical space for subjective forms of resistance does appear to arise.

The theory of governmentality does appear to have currency for an analysis of the more recent 'conducting of conduct' among both football hooligans and young

football supporters. In generalised terms, over the past decade or so, the social policies surrounding football have endeavoured to promote the inculcation of a new mentality among spectators as the recommended form of self-mastery. For ordinary supporters, we witness the pressure to move conduct away from expressive forms of fandom (which might incline towards violent or xenophobic self-expression) and towards more restrained and detached forms of subjective regulation vis-à-vis the match experience. The spectator's self-project within football moves away from the traditional form of 'support', whereby the individual has a deep biographical and cultural association with the club (especially the local club), and inclines towards a more modern and market-focused kind of 'consumer' or 'flaneur' relationship to the team and its star players (Giulianotti, 2002). This latter kind of supporter identity is underwritten by the football-related media of consumer culture: the satellite television shows that report on world clubs and 'celebrity' players; the glossy magazines that discuss what clothing and new leisure technology is fashionable among players and spectators; the videos, websites and television adverts from 'official' football sources that carry subtle messages regarding the proper and improper conduct of young supporters. Through seating, a detached subjective relationship arises towards the game, reducing the possibility of spontaneous chants breaking out among young spectators and thus deadening the atmosphere, even at sell-out fixtures. Those who rise out of their seats during an engrossing passage of play are usually quick to sit down again once the drama has abated, when they become self-conscious of their bodily relationship to the game once more. The conducting of conduct, in terms of seating, can be imposed rather crudely through the impositions of ground stewards or police officers who are now empowered to eject or arrest individuals if they disturb the peace of other spectators. More effectively, government can be exercised 'at a distance' if spectators engage in 'self-policing'. Thus, in the case of seating, spectators who are slow to be reseated after an exciting passage are quickly instructed by the people behind them to 'Sit down!' In time, supporters are expected to be conditioned into sitting with alacrity.

'Self-policing', as a set of 'techniques of the self', has become the idealized mechanism for securing government of conduct within football. It may be manifested through positive rites within the rituals of football matches, such as respecting the national anthems of opposing teams (rather than booing them), applauding skilful or sporting play by both sides, or accepting decisions by match officials without complaint. Self-policing is the most efficient mechanism for sustaining control of personal conduct. The Scottish national team, for example, have become known for self-policing across their supporter body as fans who become overly boisterous or aggressive are brought into line by peers (Home Affairs Committee, 1990: 24). Inculcating a 'self-policing' culture among England's national supporters appears to be very

much a long-term strategy. The more immediate task has been government at proximity through a raft of legislation that is designed to create a new spectator identity among England fans abroad. Most recently, this has involved scrapping the official England supporters' club (the Members' Club) due to its alleged racist and hooligan element - an allegation that has been contested by many members and social commentators on football. In return, the aim is to create a new official supporters' club that contains a greater ethnic and gender mix and no one convicted of violent offences (*Observer,* 3 June 2001). The paradox here appears to be basically Foucaultian: anti-hooliganism social policies are explained by their proponents as protecting the freedom and personal interests of ordinary supporters and law-abiding citizens, even if such legislation produces juridical and social government (intensive policing, tougher scrutiny of passports, some 'miscarriages of justice', the persecution of reformed individuals) that can undermine basic freedoms. Yet the extent to which these liberties are themselves threatened by fan violence must be questioned. The most recent government report has at last recognized that the subcultural nature of domestic hooliganism is such that it 'rarely impacts on ordinary supporters' (Home Office Working Group on Football Disorder 2001: 7). Overseas, England fan disorder can be more problematic to citizens within the major cities that host the largest tournaments - but no UK government report has made much of the need to protect the burghers of Brussels or the lieges in Liege. Rather, the Football Disorder Act 2000 was primarily concerned with protecting the market 'image' of the UK overseas in order to woo major tournaments into England. That market imperative is similarly reflected in the broader rationality of self-government that are being inculcated through the contemporary supporter culture; a rationality that is peculiarly favourable towards new spectators, towards those seeking 'entertainment' through football, thereby exposing old and more expressive spectator practices to possibilities of legal censure and physical exclusion.

As the theoretical framework of governmentality allows, the new conducting of conduct within football has met resistance at a number of levels. Unpalatable though it may seem, the continuing practices of football hooligans do constitute an implicit form of resistance towards the new governing of spectators. Indeed, hooligans might even be seen to have produced a more concerted counter-system of governmentality, regarding the conducting of conduct according to subcultural styles and mores. Through the emergence of the casual hooligan from the 1980s onwards, new forms of interior life arose regarding personal appearance and conduct, such as through attire, physical and verbal intimidation of rivals, and distinctive forms of behaviour in and around the grounds. In return, attempts to reshape the subjectivities of violent fans are essentially abandoned in favour of designs to legislate them out of existence. (Ironically, some 'reformed' and 'self-policing' Scotland fans admit to

having engaged in violent incidents in the past.) Yet with each new juridico-political measure and strategy, the subjectivities of the core hooligans appear to have become more intense.

For non-violent supporters, the body has become a site of political contestation where conduct is not reshaped in line with new regulations. At some grounds, hundreds of supporters will stand purposively throughout matches, directly opposing steward and police injunctions to be seated. A sizeable and sustained movement has emerged to demand a return to terracing within some ground sections. Regular complaints are aired regarding the negative impact of all-seated grounds on atmosphere at fixtures. Pressure groups have been founded to protest against recent anti-hooligan legislation and social policy measures (such as the break-up of the England Members' Club) on the grounds of the infringement of civil liberties.[5] Critical journalists, including those of Asian origin, have complained that New Labour's football policy amounts to 'vilifying the people who follow football' in a bid to engineer 'a new touchy-feely English identity' (Duleep Allirajah, 2001). One concern is that the imposition of new juridico-political measures will exclude those who do not or cannot reshape their appearance or interior life within football, such as the most expressive supporters, those who swear during games, those with tattoos, those who mock the opposition.

The problem that such forms of resistance may have relates to their comparatively issue-specific and isolated nature. Conversely, as we have seen, the new governmentality within football is sustained by a long history of policies and official reports aimed at remoulding spectator conduct and securing the social conditions for an effective commodification of the professional game per se. Moreover, the fashionable status of football means that the game has acquired a major import as a medium for reshaping subjectivities within the broader social realm. The advertising slots during televised football matches are targeted, somewhat stereo-typically, for messages against domestic violence. Football players and clubs are used as 'partners' for government initiatives on education in inner cities, community redevelopment, racism and sexism, drug abuse and international aid. All of these programmes are aimed particularly at moulding the interior lives of young people.

New 'techniques of the self' within football culture have been constructed through the 'quality' media, literature and the performing arts. In recent years, opera, musicals, films and classical concerts have employed football scenarios, confirming not only the game's cultural renaissance but also its association with a more distinguished, bourgeois aesthetic. Intellectuals and artists have sustained a new ethical care of the self vis-à-vis relationships towards others. Football becomes a discursive space for the governmental interplay of such late modern obsessions as 'self-help' new masculinities and the consumer aesthetics of parenting. In media columns, 'new

men' agonise on football's influence upon their relations with 'significant others' while damaging the intimacy of self-expression with fellow men; female columnists muse whimsically on football's incorrigible contribution to the atavistic male culture of their 'partners'; mothers reflect on their complex and unraveling relationships with football-obsessed children; and liberal fathers ponder on the ethical dissonance endured in permitting their boys to play a competitive and frequently amoral game. The sub-text of authors such as Nick Hornby (1991) - the self-styled quiet majority of fans who dared only to speak up after Heysel or Hillsborough - is that football is a lifelong passion, but that they have had to endure the dominant young and masculine subcultures, including the hooligan ones, to which they do not belong. No longer.

Governmentality and Football: Towards a New Ethics of Spectatorship

Evidently, the genealogy of football hooliganism affords important insights into the social control and conducting of conduct within the public arena. Violent incidents are intrinsic to football's history, but it is with the foundation of modern subcultures of violence that football hooliganism acquired its definitive British origins. In explaining the social construction of these hooligan enterprises, we must consider the competing influences of UK youth subcultural styles (most obviously instanciated through the casuals) and the governmentality of UK football social policy (most obviously the legislation and policing impositions designed to curtail spectator violence). This latter tightening of juridico-political measures against hooliganism worked in concert with a third social force, the neo-liberal commodification of the 'people's game', of which a key micro-subjective component has been the invention of new and model subjectivities among targeted spectators.

Foucault's genealogical social theory helps to explain the more recent social processes within football in two complementary ways. First, his 'objectivising' reading of the disciplinary society is useful for understanding the control and exclusion of bodies within the football crowd. Closed-circuit television systems, all-seated grounds, and hooligan 'databases' are part of the Panoptic impulse to monitor and reduce to docility the corporeal practices of spectators. The apogee of this disciplinary system is reserved for identified hooligan spectators who have been spatially excluded from interacting with rivals through a succession of legislation dealing with segregation, police escorts, exclusion orders and, most recently, banning orders for travel overseas. Second, Foucault's 'subjectivising' notion of governmentality permits understanding of how conduct is conducted within and through the interior lives of individuals and populations. The engineering of new subjectivities among fans is most idealistically manifested through the ethic of self-policing. For hooligans, the foundation of a new subjectivity is not deemed viable, so the ultimate discipline

of social exclusion is to be applied. Taken as a whole, Foucault's genealogical method allows us to go beyond the initial appeal of labeling theory for explaining fan violence. It envisions a broader historical and structural framework of power relations, beyond the process by which deviant identities are reacted to by stigmatised individuals. Stretching the conceptual realms of Foucault's framework allows us to see how nodes of corporeal and subjective resistance might arise, often explicitly, to the attempted physical individuation and normative harmonisation of the football crowd.

The impacts of social policy and policing strategies would appear to be felt most acutely among young spectators. The moral panics that energised legislative and policing strategies were directed at the perceived problems represented by expressive and potentially violent aggregates of young men. In terms of admission cost and ticketing policies, football attendance affords a relatively restricted space for subcultural development and self-expression. Fulfilling the paradoxes of modern governmentality, while young women may appear to have their liberties within football protected by anti-hooligan initiatives, the economic and cultural consequence of such social control would put the cost of admission to games out of the reach of many while the docile atmosphere of all-seated grounds may also be alienating. But out of this wider governmental milieux, a new ethics of spectatorship still arises among the young people, male and female. These ethics are not ones in which emotional and cultural investment within the game per se is an end in itself. Instead, football-related conduct is a useful means towards a different telos. At the more basic level, these relate to the neo-liberal impulse to generate profits for individuals and select populations across the popular cultural realm. But in subtler and obviously Foucaultian ways, these new ends relate to the governing of bodies and mentalities. Upon bodies, football is a useful referent for communication and self-validation: adorning the shirts of winning 'global' teams, filling out one's cultural CV through professing a biographical association with a club or player. In terms of mentalities, the new football spectator is subjectively detached, employing the game to relate to others around him or her; thus the aesthetic selves of partners, children and others take precedence over the aesthetics of skilful play and spectator spectacle that are produced within the game itself.

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Notes

1 See http://news.bbc.co.uk/hi/english/uk/newsid_1370000/1370342.stm.

2 Maffesoli (1988: 148) observes that 'contrary to the stability induced by classic tribalism, neo-tribalism is characterised by fluidity, by punctuated gathering and scattering.'

3 The 1990 and 1994 Criminal Justice Acts applied to Scotland. The remainder applied to England and Wales.

4 On the key principles of labeling theory, see Lemert (1967).

5 See, for example, http://www.magnacartaplus.org/bills/football/index.htm and http://www.urban75.com/Footie/ffacja.html. Fans' Red Card is a supporter group that opposes the overhaul of the England Members' Club.

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CLASSIC TEXTS REVISITED

Classic Texts Revisited

Pearl Jephcott
Clubs for Girls. Notes for New Helpers at Clubs
London: Faber and Faber 1943

ANNMARIE TURNBULL

When the National Association of Girls' Clubs asked Pearl Jephcott (1900-1980) who worked for them as an organiser, to write a brief introductory book on the purposes of young people's clubs, Britain was at war. By the time the short, sixty-eight page book was published in 1943, the nation had suffered the Blitz, was under bombardment and facing the threat of invasion. The Home Front was, by all accounts, coping stoically, but was stretched to exploit every opportunity to put all available human and material resources to good use. The Fighting Forties were challenging every citizen and this, to some extent, had been a levelling experience for the country, as all suffered and shared the deprivations of food, safety and security. Having worked in the girls' club movement since the 1920s and developed youth work in the 'special areas' of high unemployment during the depression, Jephcott was by then a fervent advocate and social reformer with a specific concern for young people.

Jephcott knew that the world she had grown up in was riven with social and sex inequalities. However war was providing many women with experiences few could have anticipated: experiences of independence, of stimulation, of employment outside the home, of better health and first-hand knowledge of the 'false wasteful barriers' (p.30) of social inequality in action. This context of a nation at total war and in need of substantive change is important to recall when trying to understand this little book. On the face of it, it is not a substantial work; there are five brief chapters aimed, not at convincing those who already worked with young people of how to do it better, nor of persuading people to join them, but 'in the hope that it may be of some assistance to those who would like to help in the running of a club' (prefatory note). Running clubs, Jephcott held, would help to change the world.

'The girl is fifteen and at work - why worry about her?' Jephcott's book opens with a chapter that explains, in a tone of pressing urgency, why the needs of 14-17-year-old girls must be considered. She saw them as caught in an in-between world, neither children, nor adults; searching for a satisfying adulthood but keen to hold on to the best of their childhood. It was also a world where, for a third of their lives, they had only known war.

She writes of how girls at this age had two important social needs. They needed to learn how to become grown-up and to socialise. They could do these things best by expanding their horizons.

> *People who have a more extensive knowledge of life than the girl of fifteen, may sometimes forget how binding and unquestionable to her is the main pattern that she knows, that of her home, and relations and, perhaps, her street.*
> (Jephcott, 1943: 8)

They also needed to be useful. Everyone was apparently sharing 'the war-time passion to be useful' and for Jephcott this could only be positive in what we would now describe as raising self-esteem.

> *Girls need constant encouragement with this business of getting on, not only for their own advancement, but because to get on implies that you are increasing your value to the world in general.*
> *(ibid:* 17*)*

She writes also of girls' physical needs. The need to understand the impact of growing-up in their own bodies and to have accurate knowledge relating to menstruation and sex, unburdened with fantastic taboos and old wives' tales. Girls also required a balance of genuine rest (as opposed to the snatched respite stolen from lives of overwork and overcrowding) and vigorous and enjoyable exercise.

In the world of employment they entered after school young people needed particular help. Jephcott saw two issues here: the challenging of the potential exploitation of young people, the possibility of which was particularly acute under the pressures of war: and the need to minimise the boredom inherent in so many of the jobs they entered.

The final areas of need were spiritual and emotional. While organised religion may have limited appeal to some, she believed that 'No one can cope adequately with life without some sort of philosophy' (*ibid*: 18). While not specific about what that philosophy might be, Jephcott saw two issues as fundamental. The first was to nourish 'that spontaneous appreciation of living things which most young children seem to possess' (*Ibid*: 19) and to connect them with nature and a wider natural world than that available in their surroundings. The second was 'how to get a fellow'. For Jephcott appreciated that, in most girls' lives, boys were of paramount importance:

> *To be grown-up in the eyes of your friends means that you must understand the implication of what you continually see on the films and hear from the crooners and see in shop windows. You must also be able to get a boy. If the girls cannot achieve this she is liable to feel that, for some obscure reason, she is a failure.*
> *(ibid:* 19-20*)*

Helping girls with boys, she believed, was one of the most important things club helpers could do.

The book's second chapter on *Girls and Older People* is a brief, but characteristic, censuring of the 'ignorance and apathy' of adults. Their general lack of knowledge of girls had been the focus of her first book *Girls Growing Up* (1942). Here she also condemns the narrow outlook that meant,

> *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 organization 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.*
> (Jephcott 1942: 131)

But it was not only British society's lack of interest in females that she emphasised here. She was aware that the very idea of clubs for young people was at best irrelevant and at worst anathema to many.

> *Some people who are sufficiently awake to see the potential power of a young people's society, mistrust any such group as 'just like them little Fascists'. There are also a number of people who shy off youth groups because they think they are mainly run by religious bodies as a back-door method of collecting new church members. Other people dismiss clubs on the ground that they have a musty smell of patronage and condescension that is a hangover from Victorian days. The last is an outworn opinion that is dispelled by a visit to pretty well any modern club, where hard-boiled back-chat between leaders and members is much more in evidence than benevolence or soup tickets.*
> (Jephcott 1943: 24)

Her next chapter, on what makes *The Good Club*, is the core of the book. Its primary focus is on what club members want and what they should be able to get out of their club; the club helper is a less important consideration.

Jephcott rarely writes of girls in isolation from boys and the contemporary trend towards boys and girls sharing clubs was one of which she approved, but with one caveat. She disliked the phrase 'mixed clubs', considering it

> *A slightly unfortunate term because it shouts at girls 'Come and be with the boys' rather than 'Come and act a charade or play the saxophone'. In other words it tends to imply that boys rather than action, are the important feature of the club.*
> *(ibid:* 35*)*

Age mixing in clubs she regarded as positive. She pointed to the variable interests and behaviours of 14-17 year olds and warned against too ready a categorising of young people's concerns or capabilities by their chronological ages.

Believing that the settings of clubs were important, she drew attention to their appearance and the need to improve them. As these were spaces that existed solely for young people, it was their needs that should be paramount.

> *It is the one place, and the club hours are the one period of the day, in which* ***their*** *ideas,* ***their*** *needs,* ***their*** *jokes and* ***their*** *comfort matter more than those of other people. This means that everything that is connected with the club should be hand-picked to help boys and girls.*
> *(ibid:* 28*)*

The clubs needed to provide 'a good show'. For girls this entailed abundant physical and mental action. Apart from the opportunities for friendliness and 'someone to talk to', they needed to involve girls in learning things: as plenty of interests outside themselves would make them 'happier and more tolerant'; because they needed to be creative; and because 'no society which has a new world to build can afford to carry that great irresponsive block of people with no interests at all'. (*ibid*: 36)

To be useful in preparing girls for citizenship in peacetime clubs needed to be 'self-governing'. Jephcott is blunt in her insistence here. She knew from experience that getting girls fully involved in running their club, including its finances, was difficult, for they would shirk 'responsibility' and avoid demonstrating the necessary 'moral courage'. But she considered the increasing of financial knowledge and skills essential, 'they must be compelled to face the difficulties of helping to run their own show' (*ibid*: 45).

In working in the clubs Jephcott wanted the club helpers:

- *To have their own firm value system;*
- *To know something about teaching and learning;*
- *To be realistic in their expectations of the work;*
- *To see relationships with young people as reciprocal.*

She provides plentiful examples of how any potential helper might assess her own capabilities here, and her acerbic injunctions for acute self-awareness seem designed to dissuade anyone not meeting her own rigorous standards for undertaking the work. Two examples illustrate her stance.

> *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.*
> *(ibid:* 49*)*

> *Club workers, in their eagerness to help their boys and girls, have perhaps been inclined to do too much and to think too little. They have sometimes forgotten that the club helper must, before she does anything else, come to a decision herself as to what things in life have permanent value.*
> *(ibid:* 68*)*

The fourth chapter, *The Girl's Future* is one that, to my mind, rests unhappily in this eminently practical and reasonable book. Jephcott moves from what she knows - club work - and what she knows works for young people in clubs, and turns to crystal ball gazing. She had by this stage in her career worked for twenty years in both urban and rural locations in peace and war. She was exploring the possibilities of a new career as a sociologist. Social commentators moving from research to prediction are in perilous territory. Jephcott attempted to foretell what the future, the post-war world, would hold for its young adults, particularly for women. For her it was inevitably going to be a very different world: a world imbued with a greater equality between social classes and between the sexes. It is for the success of that vision that she urges club helpers to work.

Her four concerns in the chapter can be summarised as:

- *Promoting childbirth;*
- *Promoting experience of rural activities;*
- *Developing girls' mechanical skills and knowledge;*
- *Developing girls' involvement in public affairs.*

Her first concern is with girl's future home making. Her argument here goes beyond the traditional trumpeting of 'wife, mother, homemaker', for she promulgates an explicitly pro-natalist argument; one that was common in the many groups and organisations then considering the population problems across Europe.

> *We must make young people familiar with every suggested scheme that will encourage them to look forward to raising a fair-sized family, not as a duty, but as one of the most certain sources of happiness that is open to men and women.*
> *(ibid:* 53*)*

In contrast to some other feminist writing of the period Jephcott saw no contradiction between this position and her espousal of women's equality with men.

Her second proposal to promote young people's interest in working in the country is linked to her earlier concern for a girl's need to understand the natural world. Prompted both by contemporary government disquiet regarding the state of rural life and by what she regarded as the beneficial experiences of evacuees and the thousands of town dwellers working in the Land Army, she believed that clubs' development of some first hand experience of rural life for their members was a good in itself, and one which might provide enthusiastic post war workers for the countryside.

Her last two proposals are linked less to contemporary concerns and more to her commitment to broaden the scope of girls' lives. She found the lack of mechanical knowledge and skill amongst women inexplicable and wanted schools and clubs to foster an interest in these things, specifically skills in understanding and working with machines, whether bicycles, lawn mowers or cars. Her final proposal is the fostering of girls' involvement in public affairs - their active engagement with the world around them.

> *Girls have to fight against a weight of tradition in their homes that male company is no place in which a woman should air her*

> *views on non-domestic affairs. Both boys and girls need to become acclimatized to talking seriously with other people as well as familiar with the mechanism of formal debate. (ibid:* 34)

Anything the club could do to expand girls' worlds to consider what was beyond the feminine and the domestic should be tried, from newspaper and journal reading, to debates, visits and speakers.

Her urging to provide girls with the same tools as boys with which to exercise their citizenship and to compete on an equal footing in the labour market was, in part, premised on the severe injunction that girls 'have an obligation to give society the best work of which they are capable' (*ibid*: 60).

In her last chapter on *Buildings and People* she reiterates and develops earlier themes. There are no blueprints provided for successful clubs. She is sensitive to the myriad possibilities of clubs to 'express the culture of local community' (*ibid*: 64). But her post-war vision of spacious, well-resourced, multi-purpose sites dedicated to young people's informal learning is secondary to her ideas relating to the sort of adults who will work in them. Her prescriptions for the qualities they needed did 'not necessarily depend on formal education and certainly not on social position. The leader must be someone in whom boys and girls are interested, whom they like, and whose character and ability they respect' (*ibid*: 67). Their judgements were paramount: to work with and for young people was a privilege.

This is not a bland book. Pearl Jephcott was a forthright and fearless woman, certain and secure in her positive vision of the power and the goodness of young people. Her zeal was not merely the zeal of an idealist, although every page of this book is imbued with high ideals. For at the time of writing *Clubs for Girls* she was a practitioner, working in a period of unprecedented change to improve the lot of young people.

At a cursory reading the book will seem dated. Worries that were key concerns for many other mid twentieth century writers repeatedly surface. Impending population disaster is a prominent example and anxieties about the paucity of working-class culture find expression in her sadness at girls' obsessions with their own physical appearances or the images of films and women's magazines; in criticisms of home life and of lack of literary taste. We can wince at some of her opinions. She complains so often about shoddy literature that I longed to read *Kiss the Blood off My*

Hand, No Mortgage on a Coffin and *Stories from US Police Headquarters.* Her disapproval of materialism is largely characterised by exhortations to a nebulous good taste that will slow the spread of mock-Tudor suburbs and promote 'a standard of quality' everywhere (*ibid*: 29).

Whatever the vicissitudes of fashion and policy that we face in this field today, we can find sense and inspiration in this enthusiastic textbook. Nearly everything she says about girls' needs, and the needs of young people generally are still true sixty years later. Jephcott's is an impassioned plea for prioritising work that will make a difference to young lives and she offers a practical agenda to make it work. Today, in the context of the move of statutory youth services towards an increasing focus on individuals she usefully highlights the paramount importance of sociability, of our moving beyond the narrow confines of family and close friends. It was only by being together in groups, playing, arguing, creating, co-operating, discussing and making things with each other, that she believed young people could become the enriched adults she valued. In her conclusion she urged the helper to 'continually encourage the members to look outside themselves and to take a friendly and generous, never a hostile, interest in people and things' (*ibid*: 68). Her book models that ideal.

Pearl Jephcott was born into a comfortable middle-class family in Alcester, Warwickshire. After university she tried various careers, including fund-raising for Dr. Barnardos Homes, before turning to the girls' club movement in the late 1920s when she became the organising secretary of the Birmingham Union of Girls' Clubs. She was a highly effective organiser and the war saw her moving to London as a national organiser for the National Association of Girls' Clubs, working on developing service cadet companies. In 1942 her first book, *Girls Growing Up,* an investigation into girls' home conditions, work, leisure and personal relationships, was published to much acclaim and for the remainder of her life Jephcott followed a career in social research, working for universities and research organisations. Her extensive youth work experience led to invitations to sit on two government committees of enquiry. In 1957-8 she was a member of the Central Advisory Council for Education (England) and a contributor to its report, *15-18 (1959).* In 1958 she joined the Albermarle Committee which laid the foundations for the modern Youth Service in England and Wales. Even into her seventies she was working to raise awareness of the inadequacies of high-rise housing, as a researcher for Birmingham local authority. All her work presents vivid,

detailed and at times passionate pictures of little-researched aspects of the lives of working-class people, particularly of girls and young women.

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FEATURE REVIEW

Feature Review

Ruth Gilchrist, Tony Jeffs, and Jean Spence (eds)
Essays in the History of Community and Youth Work
Leicester, Youth Work Press 2001
ISBN 0 86155 245 8
Price £16.95

Ted Milburn

This is a treasure of a book and one which should be warmly welcomed by those who feel deeply about community and youth work. It is especially significant for me. Forty one years ago, I trained as a full-time youth worker with the YMCA in London and there is a sense in which large parts of this book touch upon my own experience and changing perspectives as a youth worker, community education worker, manager and university lecturer. Things half forgotten, organisational developments long since discarded but faintly remembered, and the ways in which I have felt about emerging policies over time and their links with the past, are all here in one form or another.

Having said that, relatively few of the chapters in the book are specifically about my recent past (40 years). Many dig deep into archives and delicious primary source material to give us insights into the ideologies, principles and methods of voluntary and statutory community and youth work over a span of 150 years. Fortunately, I do not go back that far, but there is a sense in which I feel personally linked to these examinations of the past, in that the themes, ideological underpinnings, social and economic contexts and hopes for the future have resonance for today. Community and youth work in the 21st century has strong links with the belief systems, practices and methodological experiments which characterised earlier attempts at work with young people and adults in informal settings. The intriguing personalities, beliefs, values and enthusiasms of a number of youth workers, social planners and youth and community work pioneers are thoughtfully explored in many of the chapters. We meet them as people, not simply as historical artefacts. It leaves one thinking that seminal figures and founders of modern community and youth work are at one and the same time inspirational, visionary, tenacious and also just like us - a mixture of personal idiosyncrasies and mildly eccentric work habits! They were human - but they were very significant.

And why should we bother with history? Some might argue that it is interesting in a nostalgic and inquisitive way to be reminded of early

beginnings and, by implication, be persuaded that we live in changed times. I agree with the editors of the book that an historical perspective shows that, at different points in history, there are certain features and characteristics in common. An understanding of these can lead to a much more appropriate analysis of the world today (for example, the accounts of early youth workers linking the personal suffering and degradation of families to structured economic exploitation and social injustice). It is also proper that we should acknowledge and celebrate that which has been good, worthy and influential in the growth of community and youth work. The histories - there are more than one in this book - which are researched and presented through painstaking examination, analysis and writing, help us to set these earlier contributions to our work in perspective. An historical perspective helps us to achieve better understandings of what it is we are doing now - and why we are doing it. The performance related, outcome driven world in which we now live seeks to make weak links between ends, means and values. Our history (and we should own it) can help us to make sounder social policy and build relevant theory and practice for community and youth work today.

Over half the chapters in the book are based upon workshop papers presented during the History of Youth and Community Work conference held at Ushaw College, University of Durham in November 1998. Organised by the Editors of Youth and Policy this weekend event emerged from their concern 'that youth and community workers were in danger of losing their repertory of the past'. A similar successful conference was held again February 2001 and I was pleased to be a participant in that lively, challenging, intellectual atmosphere from which we all should hope, another similar book emerges! The editors are to be commended for creating such a climate of enquiry, investigation and debate. It seems to me that both these conferences, together with the book, lead us from our past into entirely new perspectives which are exciting, informative and at times, challenging.

The essays which shape this book draw upon a range of perspectives - the personal, group, organisational, and socio-political - giving a richness and variety of subject, analysis and debate. Some of them examine and explore the beliefs, values and activities of seminal figures of our past like Josephine Macalister Brew by Mark Smith; Henry Morris by Tony Jeffs; and F.G.D. D'Aeth by Margaret Simey and Cathy Hawkes. Well written essays all of them, and not only about the person, but the dis-

tinctive contribution they each made to the history and development of community and youth work.

It is clear that Mark Smith has immense admiration for Macalister Brew, born in 1904 as Mary Winifred Brew. He cherishes her mild eccentricities, which he relates gently and sympathetically to the reader. More significantly, he demonstrates her key role in youth work development and the innovations she promoted in practice, such as the development of social groupwork; the promotion of residentials as an educational form; and the writing of the programme for young women in the then emerging Duke of Edinburgh's Award. Youth worker in Cardiff, youth officer in Lincoln and Oldham and training advisor in the National Association of Girls Clubs and Mixed Clubs, she knew much of the joy and the challenge of work with young people, but Smith particularly emphasises her influential role in the world of youth work ideas through writing and speaking. He explores her educational philosophies in a rigorous way, showing that so much of what she wrote remains so important for youth work today. This essay inspired me to re-visit Macalister Brew's *In the Service of Youth (1943) and Informal Education (1946).*

I confess that I did not know much about Frederick George D'Aeth until I read the essay by Simey and Hawkes. His link with these two writers is, in one sense, through their mutual involvement with the Department of Sociology at the University of Liverpool where D'Aeth lectured on social work. A fighter for the recognition of sociology as an academic discipline and an earlier advocate of the Diploma of Social Work as an approved professional qualification, he also had a life-long commitment to the boys' club movement. This man who the writers note was viewed as *a failed curate by some,* played a major role in the launch of the National Association of Boys Clubs in 1923. Simey and Hawkes show that, like many of the influential individuals in our history, he had an enormous capacity for work and a sincere commitment to people. His career trajectory in community and youth work touched many causes and sparked a variety of social developments. The Liverpool Council of Voluntary Aid, Citizen's Advice Bureau and the establishment of the National Council of Voluntary Organisations were all projects with whose establishment D'Aeth was associated - all part of a conscious strategy aimed at the creation of a culture within which active citizenship would be a reality. I particularly like the way in which Simey and Hawkes debate the principle, followed by D'Aeth, that social advance is

inextricably dependent upon the existence of effective and efficient machinery for its management.

In his chapter Jeffs gives the reader a detailed and enthralling insight into the background, enthusiasm, and professional concerns of Henry Morris. It is of particular interest to those of us eager to understand the beginnings of community education. Morris envisaged and created educational institutions that integrated school and adult education provision within social, cultural and educational centres in which he believed there would be a *harmonious relationship between the constituent parts.* One can imagine the wry smiles of readers who are, or have been, school based community and youth workers, or integration managers in new community schools! Jeffs skilfully takes this all apart and allows us to understand the social and political context within which Morris was working - the chapter, on another level, is also a splendid examination of the issues which relate to educational management in rural contexts. Here is the excellent story of Morris's inspirational and relatively brief (7000 words) document on *The Village College*, together with his vision and commitment to make it all work. There is a sad but instructive feel to the end of Jeffs' chapter, as he analyses the unravelling of the community school experience in Cambridgeshire and examines reasons for the retreat from the eclectic educational approaches Morris called 'the dignities of education'.

A second group of chapters relate to the specific experiences of youth groups and community groups over time and stand as splendid examples of carefully researched and painstakingly constructed accounts of youth and community work experience. Not only focused on the day to day life of groups, but set within an analysis of the social and economic circumstances of their time, these accounts are rich with primary source material which is both interesting and at times amusing. Ray Fabes and Alison Skinner write on *The Girls' Friendly Society and the development of rural youth work 1850-1900* and centre their research on Lincolnshire - specifically the parish of Spilsby where the GFS branch started in 1877. Essentially this piece is concerned with the factors that influenced rural youth work with young women during the last half of the nineteenth century and with the motivations of its promoters. There is an interesting analysis here of the early work of the GFS and some insights from interviews and analysis of parish records, bringing a richness to early accounts of an organisation which reflected late Victorian conservatism in social attitudes and enthusiasm for piety.

Spence has contributed two outstanding chapters entitled *Edwardian Boys and Labour in the East End of Sunderland: Welfare and work* and *The Impact of the First World War on the Development of Youth Work: The case of the Sunderland Waifs Rescue Agency and Street Vendors' Club.* Their common focus is Sunderland at the beginning of the 20th century and a landscape of unemployment and poverty. Her chapter on 'Welfare and Work' resonates with these themes today and her illustrative examination of the records of a voluntary boys club in Sunderland is fascinating and revealing in the attitudes it uncovers. We are not surprised to read that class based perspectives lay at the heart of welfare and work programmes, where attitude and behaviour change is required from the boys, but is not matched by the employers. Not much has changed then?

Spence's second chapter gives us a glimpse of what she describes as 'the loss of life, the militarisation of organised youth work, the opening up of club premises for community use' during World War 1. Club minutes overflow with strident and proud records of members enlisting and the reiteration of aims of youth work which, amongst other things, include the development of Christian manhood and loyalty to King and country. Structurally however, Spence suggests, there was a transformation of the Lambton Street Youth Club from a child welfare agency into a modern (type) youth club following the social and economic upheaval which followed World War 1. She has presented a plausible and challenging social and political analysis in addition to offering an interesting examination of the records of a number of clubs, the Scouts and social organisations such as Rotary and the Sunderland Echo of the time. As a result we know much more about the location of youth work in the political and social atmospheres of wartime Britain in 1914-18 and beyond.

Durham House Settlement was established in 1934 to act as a meeting place 'for men and women of all descriptions who wish to increase their knowledge, widen their interests and make new friends' - a community education centre! Ian McGimpsey in his chapter entitled *Durham House Settlement: Its history and place in the settlement movement* describes its initial years of considerable success, linked to the charismatic qualities of early leaders and its ability to respond to social and educational need. It became a lively and vibrant part of the community in Durham and the surrounding coalfields area, successfully replicating settlement work carried out in other areas of Britain. The subsequent decline and closure

of Durham House in 1947, associated with shifting social needs, lack of funding and premises, mirrors some community and youth work experience today. The legacy of Durham House is that it demonstrated how social organisations could meet what McGimpsey calls 'holes' in provision; promote democratic knowledge and culture; and research social need and local issues.

A third group of essays in this book begin from the analysis of an organisation and its objectives at a point in history. These by Turnbull, Oldfield, Cranwell and Wylie use this as a springboard to relate to social, political and methodological issues pertinent to our work. Turnbull focuses on the National Organisation of Girls' Clubs and its successors. Oldfield on the work of Girl Guides and YWCA; Wylie explores the contribution of the HM Inspectorate in England and Wales; and Cranwell, whilst not being concerned with a specific organisation, analyses and discusses street play specifically in London between 1860 and 1920.

There is a considerable sweep of time encompassed in Turnbull's account of the NOGC, but in pursuing the theme of gender and exploring the gendered nature of youth work through the organisation's early history, she presents a challenging and coherent set of arguments. Focusing on the issues of girl's employment and leisure, Turnbull catalogues an interesting shift in organisational aims, values and approaches which developed over time. Sometimes we may hold views of organisations in the early years of the 20th century as conservative in ideals, values and methods. We perhaps also occasionally hold to a notion that late 20th century expressions of youth work are bound to be more radical. Turnbull turns that view on its head, showing that in the first 50 years of the NOGC it 'increasingly lost its radical and feminist focus, aligned itself with the status quo and became more limited in its interventions with regard to girls, and to gender roles in general'. By the 1960s the National Association of Mixed Clubs and Girls Clubs had lost touch with the world of women's work which is where NOGC started its unique commitment.

What a wonderful title Oldfield has given to her chapter - *'The worst girl has at least 5 per cent good in her': The work of the Girl Guides and YWCA with difficult girls during the inter-war period'*. Linked in some ways to the issues discussed by Turnbull, Oldfield's analysis of The Girl Guides and the YWCA is set within a discussion of the radical changes in social behaviour and the role of women in the inter-war years. She

shows how both positioned themselves to work with girls, projecting the interest of the two organisations in individual and national welfare. The chapter focuses on their work with those considered to be 'difficult' or vulnerable due to behaviour or circumstance. (The term 'difficult' is shown by Oldfield to have been related, in the beliefs of those who worked with young women, to girls' sexual activity). Oldfield carefully draws out the implications of this viewpoint for young women in membership of these organisations at the time covered by the study and indicates the ramifications for programme, development, recruitment, and activity. It is particularly interesting to note the effect these attitudes have had upon subsequent approaches to sex education.

Wylie has done well with what in my opinion is a difficult subject to examine. His chapter is an intriguing insight into a world largely hidden from the fieldworker, except through the medium of carefully orchestrated reports and inscrutable explanations. In Wylie's account we see the sociology of the inspectorate at first hand. It is very interesting to have his examination of the ways in which the organisation operates; how educational and political ideas are processed; where power lies and where it does not exist in any real sense; what sees the light of day and who decides what will be examined (or inspected?). One is left feeling desperately sorry for the HMI who cares about work with young people and socially excluded community groups. Of course, I am not sure that Wylie wrote with this purpose in mind, so much as an intention to explore ideas and developments which set the context for the important reports and inspections of the Thatcher years. This dimension, too, is masterfully written in my opinion. Detailed and analytical, it drives home just how precarious our future was, and is, in a world where senior administrators and politicians (of any government) have an incomplete and prejudiced notion of community and youth work. This is a detailed and well-written chapter, full of significant and interesting reflections.

Cranwell, in his chapter on street play, gives a thought-provoking account of how childhood and play were understood in education, the relationship of the school to the community and whether the state should legislate for facilities to meet children's recreational needs. His central theme is that the street culture of the out of school child was (and is?) a socially constructed phenomenon that needs to be understood as a combination of place, behaviour and culture. It is a scholarly piece of writing but it oozes the world of the child - reminding me of a long ago

working class childhood and the ways in which the mimicry, rowdiness and games of the street provided experiences which defined identity and were used to control the environment. Cranwell shows how reformers, over time, have achieved the goal of highlighting the need for play space in the city, but did not appreciate the meaning of play and the richness of young people's ability to meet their own needs.

The final group of chapters relate to socio-political historical perspectives of youth and community work. All cause the reader to look beyond the straightforward interpretation of change and development by raising questions concerning the ways in which the growth of social institutions are linked to social and political ideas. Bernard Davies in *Struggling through the past: writing youth service history,* questions the extent to which we now work with a dominant and given notion of youth work which generally lacks race and gender perspectives and a consideration of the role of power. Davies argues specifically, and with good examples, that any advances that the youth service has made in England over 60 years are due principally to committed individuals and groups acting collectively. Bert Jones and John Rose in *Early development of the Youth Service in Wales 1830-1917* take us on an interesting journey in which much is made of the uniqueness of the Welsh experience.

I am interested in the question expressed in the title of the chapter *Youth and Community Work in the 1970s: A missed opportunity?* by John Holmes. This article gives a thorough examination of the policy and organisational imperatives that existed in England and Wales at the time of the Milson/Fairbairn Report. Holmes goes on to argue that the outcome of the resultant changes represented a setback for youth and community work. My special interest lay in his suggestion that the post-Alexander model of community education in Scotland, were it to have been implemented in England, would have held out a better chance for coherence, organisational development and political legitimacy.

When large-scale economic and social catastrophes happen, they often have enormous ramifications for social organisation, as Crescy Cannon demonstrates in *Fellowship and Reconstruction: social action and unemployment in the 1930s.* This chapter is an examination and analysis of the extent to which governments relied heavily on voluntary initiatives to cope with the effects of unemployment in the 1930s. It explores the work of the National Council of Social Service and compares initiatives by the Quakers, settlements such as Maes-yr-haf and Brynmawr and an International Work

FEATURE REVIEW

Camp in the construction of social partnerships to create employment and community development.

You will know by now that I like this book - the Editorial chapter and 15 essays. It is very good value, well written, extraordinarily interesting, and is a first class contribution to the literature. Those who care about community and youth work will be uplifted by these essays. Those who care about the history of community and youth work will be glad that it has been written.

Ted Milburn, *University of Strathclyde.*

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Pam Foley, Jeremy Roche and Stanley Tucker (eds)
Children in Society: Contemporary Theory, Policy and Practice
Palgrave 2000
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pp 288

Annie Franklin

> *Now children have become dangerous to us. We are scared of their sexual precocity and their violent instincts, and we have made them into society's scapegoats... We sentimentalise them... and abhor them... and are hopelessly confused about them. We want to protect them and want to be protected from them. We think they are sweet and we think they are terrifying. We love them while... they are charmingly playing at being adults, but when they take a few steps towards adulthood, we get scared and angry and morally censorious.*
> (Gerrard, N. (1997) Little girls lost, *Observer,* Reviews Section, 31 August)

Just after this quote at the start of her chapter, *'Constructing Childhood, Constructing Child Concern'*, Wendy Stainton Rogers states *'Our ideas about childhood are paradoxical.'* And it is this paradox which this book aims to explore.

The editors, in their brief foreword, explain that the book focuses on the contested nature of childhood and the increasing regulation of children's lives. It raises questions about the place of children and childhood in society and about the boundary between childhood and adulthood - 'questioning what we want for children now and in the future'.

The book is written as K204 Reader for The Open University course, *Working with children and families.* It has twenty seven chapters, divided into four sections:

- *Contemporary Childhoods;*
- *Quality of Life for Children;*
- *Conceptual and Practice Frameworks;*
- *Working with Children and Families.*

It is an ambitious attempt to survey a very broad range of questions relating to children and childhood, which are of interest to both students and practitioners. An unfortunate consequence of this ambition is that most

chapters are under ten pages long, giving little space for authors to develop and evidence their argument fully.

That said, the book is well edited and informative and gives the reader an excellent introduction to the plethora and variety of issues surrounding current debates on childhood and its place in society. Chapters range across themes which include: child health and welfare; changing experience of childhood; constructions of childhood; demonisation; racism; childcare policy; the European Union; quality of life for children; children's rights; motherhood and health care at home; listening to children; community development and empowerment; Children's Hearings in Scotland; parental responsibility; domestic violence; primary education; sexual abuse and the child protection system; fostering; workplace competence; an ecological perspective on child abuse; children's health at school; theories of child development; disabled children; involving children and families in decision making about health; men in childcare; perspectives on parenting; and partnership practice. It is perhaps a further paradox that although the book covers so much, there are still areas missing, for instance any focus on work with pre-school children.

As ever in a collection of this size, certain chapters stand out. There are a number of good historical overviews, notably Pam Foley's review of Child Health and Welfare Services in England; Wendy Stainton Rogers' pieces on Constructing Childhood, Constructing Child Concern and on Theories of Child Development. The Conceptual and Practice Frameworks section contained valuable and informative chapters such as Lorraine Green's on Children, Sexual Abuse and the Child Protection System, which would prod the conscience of any childcare practitioner worth their salt, to re-examine their role in protecting children and supporting those who have been sexually abused. Dorit Braun's chapter in the last section, called Perspectives on Parenting, gives an interesting overview of changes in family life and attempts to support the range of individuals involved in the 'parenting' of a child.

Youth work practitioners and students will probably find the theoretical chapters of most value, although the chapter on racism by Kwame Owusu-Bempah is another thought provoking piece which any youth worker would do well to read. Also, Nigel Thomas' chapter on Listening to Children is very clearly written and practical in its focus and is a useful addition to the growing literature on putting participation into practice.

Given the breadth of the book, it could have benefited from more interventionist editors. In one or two places contributors weren't even rescued from

basic grammatical mistakes, which interfered with the sense of their writing. But the overall impression is of a worthy and useful book which will be valued not just by students on The Open University's course, but by students and practitioners of any aspect of working with children and young people.

***Annie Franklin**, the Children's Information Service, Sheffield*

Cathy Lloyd and Kate Preller with James Sandham and George Smith
Young People, Offending and Local Action
National Youth Agency, 2000
ISBN 0 86155 230 X
£6.25
pp 45

Keith Munro

This publication is a guide that sets out to offer a reference point from which practice can be developed to achieve positive outcomes for young people in conflict with the law and to assist them to become responsible and successful adults. The authors have succeeded in producing an accessible guide both in terms of language and content. It has four main sections:- Young People and Crime: An Overview; Risk and Protective Factors; the Legislative and Policy Background; and Good Practice in Setting Up Projects.

Section one presents an overview of young people and crime and offers information on the data sources relating to recorded crime within England and Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. It discusses different forms of data collection for example the British Crime Survey and contrasts this data with that based on recorded crime. This part of the guide also introduces readers to further sources of information and research in respect of key issues in the English and Welsh youth justice system such as labelling, gender, race, young people as victims, serious and persistent young offenders, transition from crime and peak rates of offending.

The second section addresses the topics of risk and protective factors in an accessible way. Differences associated with prediction of offending based on risk factors are also considered. The contributors break down risk factors into four categories; personal, educational, family and socio-economic and then provide key sub themes within each category e.g. personal risk factors: drug and alcohol misuse and associated research with offending.

Protective factors are also usefully subdivided into four categories; individual; family; training and employment; and community and neighbourhood. Each of these categories are also subdivided into themes and presented with associated research e.g. individual protective factors such as support at key transition stages for children and young people during the move from school to training or employment.

Section three covers the legislative and policy background in respect to offending by children and young people in England and Wales since 1982. The main emphasis of this part of the guide is on the changes that have and will take place in the English and Welsh youth justice system via the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) and Youth Justice and Criminal Evidence Act (1999). The authors give concise but very appropriate details of these changes e.g. the new Parenting Order being introduced as a consequence of the 1998 Act. They also outline the new structures whereby the legislation will be implemented by the National Youth Justice Board and local multi-agency Youth Offending Teams. The contributors note that many professionals have welcomed the multi-agency Youth Offending Teams comprising of staff from Social Services, Probation, Education, Youth and Community, Police and Health but acknowledge the difficulties entailed in integrating staff from agencies with different perspectives and agendas. My main criticism of this section is that the authors ignored section 37 of the Crime and Disorder Act (1998) which gives, for the first time, the criminal justice system and those involved in it a statutory responsibility to: 'prevent offending'.

In the final section basic guidance is provided on good practice relating to the establishment of local projects to address youth crime. As a point of first reference the material is clear and concise. Consideration is given to nine important factors in project design ranging from needs analysis; aims and objectives; involving children and young people; to monitoring and evaluation. Some of this information is very basic but from my own experience reminders about the importance of such matters as building training costs into budgets can be helpful. The guide concludes by providing sources of further information in relation to the development of projects.

Overall I found the publication to be a useful introductory guide to young people and offending behaviour within the contexts of current legislative and practice based developments.

Keith Munro *manages a restorative justice project for the Children's Society on Teesside.*

REVIEWS

Robert Walker with Marilyn Howard
The Making of a Welfare Class?
Policy Press, 2000
ISBN 1-86134-235-7
£16.99 pbk
pp 350

Mark Pierce

With more than half the British population receiving social security benefits, it is hardly surprising that the scale, nature and impact of government spending in this area represents a recurrent theme in social policy. However whilst successive governments have sought to research and interpret the rising trend in claimant numbers for overtly political ends, a more academically rigorous and dispassionate account has been lacking. Walker and Howard's book goes some way towards rectifying this omission, and represents a useful starting point for further analysis of welfare benefits provision.

Past political debates on the provision of social security benefits have tended to be ideologically driven, but recently a form of consensus has emerged centred on two premises originally associated with the sustained assault on welfare provision undertaken by Conservative governments after 1979. The first of these is that the level of benefit expenditure is too high, and that falling social security caseloads are an indicator of effective government. The second is that a substantial proportion of spending in this area serves only to compound the problems of a group within society whose *mores* are determined by benefit dependency.

It is possible to locate much of New Labour's policy on welfare benefits within this consensus. Hostility towards the workings of the social security system may be less overtly expressed than during Frank Field's brief tenure as Minister of Welfare Reform in 1997-8, but the focus of policy remains the development of alternatives to benefit receipt, which is felt to be morally corrosive and conducive to the creation of a culture of dependency.

In *The Making of a Welfare Class?*, Walker and Howard seek to re-evaluate this negative perception of the nature and impact of benefits provision. They develop a powerful case against both the assumption that social security spending is poorly targeted and the argument that the receipt of benefit fosters dependency. Cynical readers may suspect that the New Zealand government, which supported the research and publication of this book, will prove more responsive to its findings than our own.

The Byzantine complexity of the welfare benefits system, and the absence of accessible and reliable data, presents formidable obstacles to anyone undertaking a work of this nature. Walker and Howard have sought to impose order on the chaos by adopting a ruthlessly logical structure centred around the four key 'domains' of provision, namely benefits for the Unemployed; Disabled People; Children and Families; and Pensioners. For each domain the influence of key 'drivers' is then examined, that is to say the range of economic factors, demographic trends, institutional developments and belief systems that individually and in combination can be shewn to account for the marked increase in claimant numbers since the early 1970s. Within this conceptual framework the analysis of individual issues is detailed, thoroughly researched and compelling.

The Making of a Welfare Class? presents its findings as accessibly as one might hope for given the nature of the subject, with key points listed at the start of each chapter. This enables the reader to gain an overview of the book's key themes, which can be further explored by reference to the wealth of detail contained in the body of the text. What emerges is a meticulous account that locates the expansion of benefit provision within the process of political, economic and social transformation that has taken place in Britain since 1970, and refutes the existence of a dependent welfare class by examining the reality of claimants' attitudes and experiences. It emerges, for example, that rising unemployment benefit caseloads during the early 1980s were an inevitable consequence of the coincidence of economic change associated with the shift to a service economy, the entry to the job market of a large cohort of younger workers, and a new political will to countenance high unemployment in return for low inflation. The fact that unemployment remains a substantial problem is explained as a consequence of a range of factors including long term dislocations arising from this period of mass job losses, the operation of a flexible labour market, increased participation by women in the employment market and the failure of successive governments to address the educational and skill deficits that exclude a substantial minority of claimants from the workplace. On the other hand, the notion that the unemployed have developed a collective taste for benefit dependency, and therefore need to be pressured into retaining their attachment to the labour market, is revealed to have little foundation in reality:

> *...the evidence is clear that very few unemployed claimants prefer welfare benefits to a job or consistently flout benefit regulations... statistical modeling suggests that particular individuals are destined*

> *to become long-term recipients on account of their prior characteristics, not that people become dependent as a consequence of receiving benefits.*
> (Walker and Howard: 97)

The final chapter of the book draws on a similarly detailed analysis of benefit provision to the other main claimant groups. It suggests that there is no single factor underpinning the growth in welfare benefit caseloads. The economy is the major force shaping patterns of demand for benefits, but demography, social beliefs and, to some extent, the benefit regime itself also combine in differing degrees to influence particular areas of provision. The clear implication here is that rising caseloads are best interpreted in a positive light, as reflecting the social security system's capacity to meet individuals' changing needs and provide partial cures for poverty which appear not to have had the harmful side effect of creating dependency in their users. The authors conclude with an upbeat assessment of the achievements of the British social security system :

> *Increased caseloads reflect the fall-out of 30 years of social and economic change. To the extent that this change has proved to be less painful for specific individuals and families and society as a whole because of Britain's panoply of benefit provisions, then social security deserves to be judged more as a substantial success than as a substantial failure.*
> (Walker and Howard: 308)

The Making of a Welfare Class? contains a detailed listing of published sources, and a useful glossary. Overall it represents a highly accessible source of information about a relatively complex area of social policy, and as such it will appeal not only to the academic audience for which it was intended, but also to welfare rights practitioners and other professionals with an interest in this area.

Mark Pierce *teaches community work at the University of Durham.*

REVIEWS

Steven Miles
Youth Lifestyles in a Changing World
Open University Press 2000
ISBN 0-335-20098-2
£15.99
pp 176

Tony Jeffs

This is one of the few texts published for a number of years to make a real contribution to the literature collected under the banner of 'the sociology of youth'. It is a refreshing book for a number of reasons. First because it approaches the object of study - young people, in an open-minded and positive fashion. Questioning the value of those cultural studies constructed on a 'presupposition that regards young people as essentially problematic and rebellious' (p. 9) and that by-pass the voluminous evidence pointing in a contrary direction. For as Miles rightly opts to remind us most young people are not 'submerged in the melodrama of sub-cultural life or the terrors of drug addiction or alcohol consumption' (p.3).

Second it seeks to engage with the challenge posed to mainstream sociologists of youth by those social and cultural changes that are undermining apace the hallowed forms of transition. A concept that has provided the bedrock upon which the sociology of youth and youth policy have both been constructed for approximately a century, certainly since the publication of Hall's *Adolescence*. One that offered a certainty no longer sustainable in the light of the changing life experiences of young and old alike.

Third it tries to unravel the relationship between young people and consumption. To examine the ways in which lifestyle becomes 'the outward expression of identity' (p. 26). His work recognises the importance of consumption within young peoples lives and the ways in which they, even those constrained by a lack of economic power, use it to actively construct their own life and everyday relationships. Again Miles avoids a negative carping response to this aspect of young people's lives. Acknowledging that having grown up in a world where consumerism can be a way of life, for adults as much as themselves, they employ it in ways that he argues points to them using it as 'a highly rational and modernist way of stabilizing their everyday lives' (p. 159).

Like a limited number of other writers Miles concedes the declining influence of sub-cultures. However these still arrest the attention of so many others – who like naturalists obsessed with large primates must inevitably search ever harder to find specimens. Within those 'sub-cultures'

identified we encounter growing fragmentation and disunity. Indeed our chasseurs can barely fix their sights on the elusive beast before it is transformed into a wider cultural milieu. It is a process that makes it highly problematic for those marketing artefacts and products specifically for the youth market to 'hit the target'. This is a predicament not merely for admen and hucksters. Educators and youth workers encounter a similar challenge. In their more reflective moments they surely realise that just as the 'youth market' becomes ever more elusive and blurred so does the much beloved 'youth problem' of yore. This is what makes the Connexions Strategy a non-strategy. For it is founded upon an outmoded conceptual base that ties 'anti-social' behaviour and social needs to a narrow age span. That naively imagines that transitions are pre-eminently encapsulated in the years 13 to 19.

'Youth' Miles rightly reminds us is less and less related to age. Youth may be linked to age but it is no longer simplistically determined by it. With this uncoupling of experiences from age 'youth' becomes strewn across different ages. Children and adults alike become Tweenies - many of whom never arrive. Babies with earrings and the middle-aged clubbers all speak to us of the emergence of new cultural hybrids that seek, not always successfully, to by-pass age. Tweenagers with single digit ages, kidults in their 40s, 50s and beyond steadfastly refusing to let go of their youth present us with new configurations that cannot be wished away.

This book is a literate and thoughtful text providing the student with an entrée into the key debates. However it should not be viewed as a student text as such. For it is a genuine addition to the literature, wide-ranging and scholarly in the best sense of the word. It is also accessible. Apart from the strange, and not especially helpful, injection of Chapter Eight, based on a small number of focus group discussions with young people, this book tussles with the key ideas and emerges in good shape from the encounter. Miles manages in the process to convey how young people living in a world undergoing dramatic re-construction handle those social, political and economic changes taking place around them. How they make sense of the world they experience and incorporate the changes via lifestyle into their world, or would it be more accurate to say worlds? But it never loses sight of the real continuities that bind those lifestyle experiences together. Here then we have a sociology book which those engaged with policy would be well advised to study if they would like to better understand both the 'client' group and the context they operate in. They will encounter few references to policy and therefore will have to construct those linkages themselves. For Miles has, for

whatever reason, restrained himself from delving into those realms. However that will not detract from the value of the encounter. This is what some might term a cross-over text and all the better for it.

Tony Jeffs *teaches in the Community and Youth Work Studies Unit, University of Durham.*

Ruth Gilchrist and Tony Jeffs (eds)
Settlements, Social Change and Community Action - Good Neighbours
Jessica Kingsley Publishers 2001
ISBN 1 85302 764 2
£15.99
pp 254

Ian McGimpsey

Within the voluntary sector, the contribution of settlements is becoming increasingly recognised, and rightly so. For a movement that can boast a role in a number of the most significant social change innovations from the late 19th century onwards, as well as an influence on several key architects of the welfare state, settlements are now relative unknowns in the fields of social welfare, community work and education.

A collection of essays that in part aims to raise awareness regarding the contribution of settlements over the last 117 years is to be welcomed. Even better, this book compromises more that just a potted history of the movement. It is an attempt to understand more fully the settlement 'concept', and what, if any, contribution they could make towards tackling contemporary social problems. These two strands of giving an historical account and the synthesis of theory form the book's dual purpose. This broadens the appeal of the book beyond those seeking to engage with history to practitioners and managers as they create the future of community work and its related fields.

For the most part well written, *Good Neighbours* manages to accommodate readers who have never encountered settlements before and yet does not shy away from in-depth analysis of their contribution to community work theory and practice. This is perhaps its greatest achievement. It contains a diverse mix of chapters, mostly detailed and interesting in themselves, which together conspire to give the reader a surprisingly complete overview of a sprawling and complex movement.

The various essays also reflect the current debate as to the efficacy of settlements. For some contributors settlements represent important sources of innovation and genuine social change, and for others merely 'relics of a former purpose and age' (Banks p. 233). Both perspectives are present in the book, though if anything the collection tends to emphasise the positive. While the description of past and present settlement work becomes rose-tinted at times there remains enough balance to avoid the accusation that this is merely a manifesto for the reinvigoration of a once popular movement. There is genuine consideration as to what contribution the settlements made, what they continue to contribute, and their potential for growth.

The chapters also do well to reflect the diversity within the settlement movement. There are two pieces of evidence of this. The first is a constant shifting of context (geographical, historical, institutional) that the reader encounters. The first two chapters are concerned with American settlement houses up until around 1940. Suddenly in the next chapter, the reader is plunged into Victorian England. Then we have a world tour of a chapter focusing on the international development of settlements. And so it goes on. The second piece of evidence is the grappling with the complex question of 'what is a settlement?' (The question of 'what was a settlement' is a different story. All the writers have this pinned down. In fact, one of the criticisms of the book must be that most chapters seem to contain an off-the-shelf paragraph explaining the early residential settlement in terms of Toynbee Hall circa 1884. Once the reader has gone through this for the third or fourth time it begins to grate.) Settlements are old. And in the voluntary sector adaptation and change are essential for survival. Many organisations, which apparently bear no resemblance to what a settlement used to be, retain the name, and the membership to the national body (the British Association of Settlements and Social Action Centres - BASSAC). And yet, they seem also to retain a certain something. The final two chapters in particular have a go at identifying that settlement quality (Banks perhaps being the most lucid). Whether successful or not, the discussions are always fascinating, and are obviously vital when one is considering what settlements have to offer us for the here-and-now.

Throughout, the book retains a fitting concern for the contribution of settlements to educational theory and practice. As there is a desire to debate the purpose of the work (not just method or curriculum), the writing will not fail to enlighten and challenge those working in the field. A number of contributors present the vision of the early settlement pioneers as a self-evident challenge to today's overriding concerns with a fulfillment of funding-led (and usually narrowly defined) aims and objectives.

On the down side, not all chapters are of equal quality. In particular, the recent history of Toynbee Hall is a disappointment. This could have been a fascinating insight into the struggle of an elder-statesman of the voluntary sector to update and cope with the fast-paced changes of the 1980s, while struggling to maintain a credible identity rooted in an honourable past. Instead, this poorly-written and self-contradictary piece goes out of its way to be negative. Busy emphasising failure and undermining success, Walker fails at any stage to make a positive contribution to the debate, or to suggest how established organisations could better react to the economic and social upheaval raging around them.

Overall, *Good Neighbours'* positives significantly outweigh the negatives. A fine line is trod between history and theory, between introduction to the movement and in-depth debate. It is a difficult task, but the editors have done well to maintain the worth of the collection. This is an essential book for anyone wishing to understand the settlement movement more fully, and equally for those in the field seeking a little refreshment and inspiration from the past.

Ian McGimpsey *works at Toynbee Hall, London*

REVIEWS

Richard Pugh
Rural Social Work
Russell House Publishing 2000
ISBN 1-898924-678
pp 169

Julie Rugg and Anwen Jones
Getting a Job, Finding a Home – Rural Youth Transitions
The Policy Press 1999
ISBN 1-8613 212 8
£10.95 (pbk)
pp 40

Pamela Story and Julia Brannen
Young People and Transport in Rural Areas
Youth Work Press 2000
ISBN 0 86155 234 2
£12.95 (pbk)
pp 41

Lori Streich
Alternatives to the Bus Shelter:
Imaginative Ways to Make it Happen for Young People
Youth Work Press 1999
ISBN 0 86155 203 2
£4.95 (pbk)
pp 36

Bert Jones

In *Communities in Britain* (1973) Frankenberg opens up the debate on the uniqueness of rural-life. In-depth sociological analysis of rural-communities in England, Ireland and Wales, he argues, reveals a distinct cultural and social difference in the way country dwellers live and perceive their lives from those of residents in urban areas. However within the rural setting complex roles and interpretations of social interaction exist. This pattern of rural reality, Frankenberg claims, is rooted in the social changes created by the upheaval caused by the development of an industrial society and urbanisation. Nurturing within that metamorphism of social life was the stereotypical image of the rural landscape and its people.

For Pugh, the research by Frankenberg would be classed as a 'rather dated study', but he makes similar observations and advocates the need for a rigorous understanding of the nuances and nature of rurality. At one point he notes 'the question of what is meant by rurality is a complex one' (Pugh 2000:11). The apparent social divisions in the UK in terms of

'urban' and 'rural', underpinned by stereotypical images of rural life - from 'the Rural Idyll' to less complimentary comments that country dwellers often experience, have long frustrated the implementation of realistic strategies for the delivery of social provision. Not least because often the power that influences the distribution of resources and the shaping of public services to rural communities, rests in the hands of 'urban thinking' politicians with no concept of rural living.

During that period when there was rapid population shift from countryside to developing industrial areas, so often due to economic necessity or caused by the insidious Clearance Acts in Scotland, the rural areas were increasingly abandoned and marginalised by those managing social policy and economic investment. Regarding the social professions - Youth and Community Work, Social Work, Community Education, Health, etc - the neglect was no less evident. *Youth and Community Work in the 70s* (HMSO, 1969), for example, made no substantive mention of Rural Youth Work, apart from a passing reference to 'youth organisations using village colleges' (para. 270), preferring to encourage 'the participation of young people in their industrial communities' (para. 229). The Thomson Report, *Experience and Participation* did a little better. At least it suggested that the problems of young people in rural areas were not dissimilar to those experienced by young people on large urban housing estates (1982, para. 209). It also observed that 'expenditure on youth work in rural areas is low, and there was a need for the service to rurally based young people to receive appropriate funding' (para. 4.29).

Periodically through the 1970s - 90s the issue of rural youth work surfaced as a concern to be addressed. Conferences and seminars were organised reflecting the appearance of new 'rural initiatives'. The National Association of Youth Clubs (NAYC) launched its Campaign for Rural Youth Work in 1978, which was supported by the Inspectorate and resulted in the Rural Youth Work Education Project (a 3 year funded programme) which commenced in 1979. At the end of the funding period in 1982, the then National Youth Bureau set up the Symposium on Rural Youth Work, attracting contributions from Ray Fabes (Leicester) and Sarah Banks (University of Durham). In Wales the appointment of a rural detached youth worker, and launch of the ambitious mobile provision in rural Mid Wales came and went. There were similar short term projects elsewhere, some survived and others failed as a consequence of limited funding. It seems rural youth work became a perennial issue, sometimes high profile, but usually then slipping down the 'youth work agenda' to be replaced by 'working with girls and young women' or 'participation' as flavours of the month.

The overall conclusion was that rural youth work manifested problems around: a lack of transport, isolation, no meeting places and viability of unit costs - all causal factors that come readily to mind without any fundamental research evidence.

All four texts reviewed offer a fresh and searching contribution to the debate, ranging from the informed and thoughtful sociological analysis found in Pugh's book through to the practical ideas catalogue presented by Streich. Read in the sequence above they provide a persuasive raft of ideas that might well help us to think through a new strategy for social provision in rural areas.

Familiar themes arise in each of the texts at different levels of intellectual rigour, less so in Streich's contribution where the descriptive content, while useful in offering examples of contemporary practice, does not reflect the embedded consciousness of life in rural communities. One strand of discussion in each of them is that of rural isolation is a direct consequence of inadequacies in the provision of both public and private transport. Both Pugh and Storey and Brannen explore the correlation between transport and rural deprivation in terms of employment and access to education and social outlets. The other researchers focus on the problems created for individuals who wish 'to escape' from the restrictions imposed by the rural environment. The focus for Storey and Brannen is essentially on issues of car-ownership, the problems of hiking, accidents and the lack of 'political-clout' young people possess to influence rural transport policy.

There is some ambivalence in the texts regarding the impact of under provision of public transport. Traditionally the debate assigns problems to the 'last bus leaves town at 7.30pm' view of the situation. Yet the research reveals that young people, apart from those needing a school-bus do not favour 'public transport' – only 6 per cent of those interviewed by Storey and Brannen regarded regular use of 'the bus' as important. Whatever, the issue of 'public transport' is complex, and at times appear to be beyond resolution. Each text suggests even more complexity with regard to private transport, exploring intricate patterns of family relationships with regard to car usage and access. For Pugh, the problem becomes less acute in that rural dwellers: 'mitigate some of the worst effects of the lack of transport by a strong bond of social networks' (p.22). Without doubt 'transport' is a fundamental problem for rural communities. One governments have failed to ameliorate, and which only strategies by voluntary organisations and Rural Development Agencies have sought to solve.

Streich offers examples of Community Transport Strategies (p. 25) in Shropshire, Hereford, Anglia and Cheshire. The emphasis of such schemes appears to be on improving mobility to places of work or recreational outlets for young people.

Recognising the problems of inadequate transport systems, may well create an image of rural living as a negative, without-hope experience for individuals and especially young people. The spectre of rural-urban drift of young people has always raised pessimism about the future of rural communities. Both Pugh and Rugg and Jones remind us of the strong sense of community and bonding among rural groups, and the determination to bring about a new political consciousness leading to the development of a strategy for economic regeneration. The three analytical texts identify the strong affiliation to the countryside amongst young people who often expressed the wish to remain living in their rural communities. Indeed Rugg and Jones record that: 'the majority of young people were happy with the sedate pace of their lives' (p.15). Pugh, Storey and Brannen endorse this view.

Streich advocates the need for young people to have a more integrated role in decision-making processes within their rural communities. Consultation with young people in rural areas also informs the research outcomes of both Rugg and Jones and Storey and Brannen. The latter was conducted by means of 650 questionnaires across 15-24 age range, whilst Rugg and Jones depend upon the responses of 60 young people in the age group 21-22 of whom 48 per cent were students in higher education. The disparity regarding a definition of target groups, adds to the complexity of devising a clear strategic plan for rural youth work. Pugh draws upon the research evidence, but suggests a wide set of parameters that might offer a comprehensive strategy for devising a rural policy for the social professions.

Pugh draws the debate together, in his recommendation that a critical aspect in the planning of public social provision needs to rest upon a recognition of the uniqueness of rural life and the close knit nature of social interaction in those communities. The professional social and community and youth worker certainly needs to have indepth understanding of the nuances of rural living. Without it Pugh argues professional and personal credibility is at risk; as even an awareness of the language codes in rural conversations is often an essential skill. In referring to the need for a professional worker to have a 'cultural competence' to be effective, Pugh reflects the work of Delgado in the USA, who advocates that only 'culturally aware' professionals can work in multi-cultural

communities. In similar vein Pugh argues that professional services in rural areas are best delivered by those who are 'rurally aware'.

Within reference to the provision of rural services each text, promotes the need for a multi-agency approach – working under a government led strategy that guarantees a 'rural premium' in relation to the funding of services. Pugh suggests the total acceptance of the sociological character of rural social life, and gives informative analysis of these – from rural communities.

Our thinking about rural social and youth and community work has always been be-devilled by assumptions and unrealistic projections (or the reluctance to accept) the real costs of an intervention programme. If going back to the 'drawing board' was an option for planning and delivering a rural strategy for the 'people work services', then decision makers would find useful guidelines in these texts.

Bert Jones *is a youth work consultant at the Wales Youth Agency.*

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K. Vleminckx, and T. Smeeding (eds)
Child wellbeing, child poverty and child policy in modern nations: what do we know?
Policy Press, 2001
ISBN 1 86134 253 5
£18.99 (pbk)
pp. 570

Priscilla Alderson

In May 2001, I visited a youth club in a school, passing through dark concrete blocks and smelly stairways. A table barring the doorway to the club was the centre of attention and hassle. It was to keep out everyone who did not pay the 20 pence entrance fee, or who was over 14 years old. The pleasant youth worker explained, `Since last September we've stopped the older ones coming so that we can get accredited for the new

government child care scheme. We'll not be allowed to have anyone over 14 then, and everyone will have to pay £5 per hour to get in. Hard-up parents can reclaim 70% of that. I let the older ones in occasionally, they keep begging me to, but I make it clear that it is only a concession, otherwise it'll be a rod for our own backs when we get accredited if they think they can come in.' She spoke of how tired the young people were after the school day and how she had to `chivvy' them into doing 'proper' activities. Paradoxically, national policies to support child care, reduce child poverty and improve educational outcomes appeared to demand such dependence, so much compliance to policies they disliked, from the young people as to muffle their own views and voices and deny their agency.

This paradox is at the heart of `Child well-being' a book based on a conference of US, European and Australian economists, sociologists and social policy analysts. The authors assume that children will only be `lifted' out of poverty - which they passionately advocate - by adult endeavours, by government policies (in which young people have no vote), and by increased parental paid employment. The book provides extensive, vital evidence about child poverty in rich countries and in a few 'transitional' ones. There is a wealth of valuable up-to-date information. Most data is family-based and does not take children as the unit of analysis, so that young people's actual positions are often rather obscured, as Jens Qvortrup has demonstrated very clearly. He is mentioned only once, as making the point that children are human beings and not simply human becomings. However, a dominant theme in this book is of investing in children in order to secure future healthy, well-adjusted, wage-earning adults. 'Child well-becoming' could be a more accurate title that 'child well-being'. The cover pictures show young children crouching down low, so that the camera lens, the adult gaze, seems to be even more elevated and remote from them. Well-being is measured mainly by health, emotional and educational norms. These double-edged tools support arguments to improve the circumstances of children's lives but can also be used to stigmatise and blame non-compliers. Harder to collect, but more salient measures of well-being, such as agency, creativity, fulfilment, enjoyment of social networks (social capital tends only to be considered in relation to adults) have hardly begun to be developed.

Specialised, extensive knowledge, which concentrates on 'modern nations', is a great strength of this book. Yet some comparative attention to poorer nations could be illuminating. How is family poverty alleviated by child employment? (Labour and employment are discussed in this

book only in relation to adults.) How do many children across the world manage to combine schooling with employment and with leisure? What can we learn from the advantages, as well as the risks, of involving young people far more fully in 'adult' society, as occurred in the past, and still occurs in most nations today? How does the systematic social exclusion of young people in modern society create their poverty? And how do implicit assumptions about young people's helplessness, which pervade the book, sabotage efforts to improve their well-being?

Norway is notably successful in having lower childhood poverty, accidents and asthma, and higher self-esteem among children. The authors associate these advantages with high employment of parents supported by generous state benefits. Child care (oddly this does not feature in the index) does not appear to be considered here. In the Nordic countries, children aged from around 8 years care for themselves, so that family incomes are not drained by onerous child care costs. Attendance at clubs and other activities is then far more voluntary when young people can choose what they want to do and where they want to be after school. Perhaps the learned helplessness of young people, in countries where it is now assumed that paid formal child care is necessary up to age 15, explains a little of the higher poverty and lower adult achievements in these nations?

The Nordic countries are notably enthusiastic in supporting the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989), which is mentioned in only one of the 22 chapters, and then as only a few provision and protection rights. Young people's participation rights, their agency, and the many paid and unpaid contributions they make to today's societies are scarcely considered. There appear to have been no young people at the conference where the book began. It is as if they are in the position women occupied in 1901, when conferences for *men only* might have pondered the problem of women's poverty. That could only have been reduced with the help of women's activities and votes. Can child poverty be seriously reduced without involving young people as solutions, instead of implicitly solely as problems?

The important research in this book documenting child poverty needs to be complemented with the equally important analyses of the nature and origins of child poverty and of modern childhood itself. Too often, the book relies on the oppressive alienating theories of childhood and youth, which have expanded alongside the relative growth of child poverty, instead of critically examining them and thinking about alternatives.

Priscilla Alderson, *Professor Childhood Studies, University of London.*

REVIEWS

Mike Presdee
Cultural Criminology and the Carnival of Crime
Routledge 2000
ISBN 0-415-23910-9
£16.99 (pbk)
pp.182

Vernon Gayle

Mike Presdee's book draws on Mikhail Bakhtin's theoretical concept of 'carnival' in an attempt to develop what he terms as a 'cultural criminological' perspective to understand the 'carnival of crime'. The central thesis of the text is that everyday life is increasingly filled with violence, cruelty, hate and humiliation. Presdee attempts to make sense of this trend and argues that the contemporary world has provoked a widespread desire for extreme oppositional forms of pleasure resulting in a cathartic 'second life' of illicit pleasures that are often regarded as criminal by those in power.

The book sets out to address a number of issues associated with the living out of carnival desires. On the streets these desires include joyriding, street crime and antisocial behaviour and in private the Internet. The book also sets out to explore the commodification of hate, hurt and humiliation in popular culture and the popularisation and criminalisation of sadomasochism and dance music cultures. Part I (Analysis) introduces the idea of a new cultural criminology and is followed by a chapter (with Gavin Carver) on the carnival of crime and another chapter on commodification, consumption and crime. Part II (Context) comprises five chapters that document particular examples of the carnival of crime (e.g. S&M, rap and rave, knives and weapons) and a less than convincing conclusion on senseless acts.

The originality of the text has to be highly commended but there are a number of problems with the book. Most notably it looks like a number of outstanding projects have been corralled into one text. Sometimes the focus is on deviance, or criminality, but at other times the focus is on youth. The author does not seem to be able to stitch these two topics together and therefore certain sections appear to stand on their own. At the start of the text Presdee takes on Bakhtin's theoretical concept of 'carnival' but does not really develop it in a credible fashion. Throughout the book this concept reappears and then disappears and it is not clear how much explanatory power the concept posses.

The substantive examples deployed in the book are both topical and juicy. This will make the text more appealing to students. Much of the time however there is little evidence to back up broad claims. For example

'in Caterbury *(Kent)* at least S&M is not on the "top shelf" but is firmly rooted in the "everyday", in the everyday lives of its population' (p.90). Presdee does not provide very much empirical evidence. He does however select a wealth of interesting snippets from the media but then fails to enter into the kind of critical sociological examination of this material that the sociology of the media has highlighted as being vital. The chapter on 'rap and rave and the criminalisation of youth' is interesting but surprisingly fails to treat, or even acknowledge, the burgeoning literature on contemporary youth cultures. There is a growing body of empirical work on rave and dance music (especially focussing on drugs) that I would have expected would feature in this chapter.

The author repeatedly provides long quotations (sometimes crossing the page) from one of his own works (Presdee 1988). This unpublished text, *The Muck of Ages*, appears to be an autobiographical account of his early life. The reader will already be aware, from the biographical note at the start of the book, that Presdee has lived a colourful life including serving in the Royal Marines and living on the streets in Canada. Currently, many daughters and sons of working class families staff academic sociology and the spectacle of the former dustman, coalminer, boxer or lorry driver turned sociologist has lost its impact. The quotes from Presdee's unpublished work pad out the book and do little more than remind us that he originates from a working class family.

In the final chapter the author attempts to treat the question 'what is the future for criminology?' The conclusion is that the existing debates within criminology appear to have come to a standstill because they are restricted by the very rationality they sought to analyse. Presdee links this with the failure of criminology to understand the culture of everyday life and the importance for many of doing wrong and committing criminal acts. He claims, unconvincingly in my view, that cultural criminology is required. This conclusion is based on the premise that cultural theory has the potential to unearth the aesthetics of everyday and therefore cultural criminology has the potential to unearth the processes involved in the aesthetics of crime. On his view cultural criminology can unravel the minutiae of cultural 'meaning-making' whereby social behaviour becomes criminal behaviour.

Brevity is clearly one of the merits of this book. Apart from the originality of the topic and the colourful examples there is little positive left to say. Probably the most important thing is that this book has a 2000 publication date so will count in the Research Assessment Exercise. Some might say that this view borders on the cynical however.

Vernon Gayle, *Sociology Department, Stirling University.*

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REVIEWS

Gill Ambrose
The 'E' Book – Essential prayers and activities for faith at home
National Society (Church of England) for Promoting Religious Education and Church House Publishing 2000
£9.95

Kevin and Stephanie Parkes
Feast of Faith – Celebrating the Christian year at home
National Society Enterprises 2000
£9.95

Nathan Ward

These two books try to close the chasm that exists between the Church and the 'Christian Home'; theory and the practice. It gives parents who wish to bring their children up in the Christian faith a springboard to work from enabling their offspring to grow up with a deeper understanding of their faith.

The question that arises here is 'what is faith' and can young people be brought up in it? It is possible to bring young people up in a tradition (whether Christian or not), however, due to the very nature of faith and its personal basis, I would suggest that it is impossible to bring anyone up 'in faith'. It is possible to teach (both formally and informally in the home) about Christianity and the faith that Christians have, but this is nothing to do with the personal faith of the young person. It merely produces a knowledge base from which people can assess and act upon, and from this knowledge they may decide to become a Christian and therefore 'have faith'. This knowledge should in no way be seen as 'faith' as there has been no element of personal response or trust.

It is akin to a child in a school, they are taught many different things and are also directed to do many tasks by a teacher, which they may well carry out. This doesn't mean that the child has a 'faith' in the teacher or in the school system. The child is simply acting out of obedience and compliance to a set of rules.

The same can be true within Christianity. Christian parents would claim however that their children are brought up 'in the faith' as Christians, although they are not Christian. To 'have faith' includes a notion of trust that is not 'blind faith. True faith, therefore encompasses both knowledge and trust; or to employ a biblical phrase: spirit and truth.

However, it is somewhat of an oddity to say that a child is brought up 'in' faith though they are not 'of' faith; brought up as a Christian,

although not Christian. To understand this a little more it is worth looking at the Greek concept of being human. They believed that we were made up of three entities: mind, body and soul/spirit. If we see 'faith' as fitting into the soul category then your mind and body can develop separately from your soul. However the Old Testament Jewish culture believed that we are one in mind, body and spirit and that they should not be seen as separated. The relevance and worth of the two books in question is dependant on which model you use. If you take the Greek model then they are not of much use as until the young person has faith it cannot be developed. If you move towards the Jewish model then through developing the knowledge base (mind) and environment (body) the soul will in turn be developed.

However helping children *'grow up with a deeper understanding of their faith'* is impossible as if you ask a five year old what *their* faith is, I think a bemused look would be the answer. It would be more accurate to sell the books stating that they help children grow up with a deeper understanding of *your* faith.

'Indoctrination, cult...' I hear people cry. Is it wrong to teach young people (especially if they are your own) what you believe, if you think that what you believe is fundamental truth? The Truth is that we do it every single day. We are silly not to when we live in a world where everyone seems to be trying to sell us some sort of *'truth'*. We should share with our children, and the young people that we work and come into contact with what is important to us. It is futile to then make the young people take on those beliefs.

As youth workers, we should be teaching people *how* to think not *what* to think. We should engage in dialogue, not chitchat, in the knowledge that not everyone's opinions are equal and not every truth is true.

These books do not help young people develop a critical approach to issues of faith and therefore I would not recommend them. They do however promote an understanding of Anglican tradition and do provide the user with a Christian knowledge base. It is not the content that is problematic, more the advertised 'end product'.

Nathan Ward *is a Christian Youth and Community Worker in Kent.*

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