YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

Youth and Policy ISSN 0262-9798

'Burnbrae'

Black Lane

Blaydon Burn

Blaydon

Tyne and Wear NE21 6DS

The journal is devoted to the serious, critical study of issues in youth affairs and the analysis of policy concerning youth in society.

Editor: Tony Jeffs

Editorial Group:

Frank Booton Tom Cook Alan Dearling Annie Franklin Ron McGraw Keith Popple Muriel Sawbridge

Jean Spence John Teasdale

Youth and Policy is published quarterly. Details concerning subscriptions and procedures for submission of material, including advertising copy, can be found on the inside back cover, and are available on separate leaflets by request.

Material from the journal may be extracted at any length for study and quotation. Please acknowledge the author and Youth and Policy.

The views expressed in Youth and Policy are those of the respective contributors and do not necessarily reflect the opinion of the editorial group.

Whilst every effort is made to check factual material, the editorial group are not responsible for statistical errors in material accepted in good faith from reputable sources. Where possible information will be updated in future issues and any errors corrected.

Editor's address:

'Burnbrae', Black Lane, Blaydon Burn, Blaydon, Tyne and Wear NE21 6DS.

Typeset and Printed by: Mayfair Printers

Print House, Factory 3, Sans Street South, Sunderland,

Tyne and Wear. Telephone (0783) 79326

© Youth and Policy 1984

contents

NO.9 SUMMER 1984

	page
John Auld, Nicholas Dorn and Nigel South	
Heroin now bringing it all back home	1
Tony Taylor	100
Anti-sexist work with young males	8
Bruce Carrington Feature Review: Schooling and race	17
James A. Beckford Public response to new religious movements in U.K.	21
Analysis	25
Sarah Marshall and Carol Borrill Understanding the invisibility of young women	36
Ian Mills Preventing demoralisation: the work of J.I.C.'s	40
John Blackmore Delinquency theory and practice - a link through it	45
Reviews	50
Contributors Inside ba	ck çover

heroin now bringing it all back home

JOHN AULD, NICHOLAS DORN AND NIGEL SOUTH

Introduction

It is only comparatively recently that the traditional and widelyheld image of the heroin user as a victim of some form of pathology or defect of character has begun to be seriously questioned. One of the many consequences of the deep economic recession in this country and the accompanying combination of both a rapid increase in youth unemployment and the development of what some have called a heroin 'epidemic' among young people has been to force the growth of a recognition that heroin use is being indulged in by increasing numbers of young people who are in other respects quite 'normal'.

Interestingly, this shift is to some extent reflected in contemporary political and popular accounts of the drug problem. Although the traditional pathology model is by no means played out, the dominant perspective seems to have become one which attributes the problem to the moral turpitude and cunning of foreigners who scheme to traffic in drugs and pushers who trick youngsters into taking them, resulting in ruined lives of depravity, addiction and crime. In this article we question this perspective, and outline an alternative perspective in which drugs are located within the informal or 'fringe' economy within Britain. We then go on to show how Third World supply of plant drugs to meet demand from the British informal economy is encouragd by the policies of Western financial institutions and to describe the very limited scope for reduction of either supply of or demand for heroin in present political and economic circumstances. We will argue that at both local and neighbourhood levels, the economic and social organisation of heroin (and other drug) supply, exchange and consumption is part of a broader response, on the part of the populations affected, to the social problems and entrepreneurial opportunities of the recession, and one which is likely to expand further (specific anti-drug initiatives not withstanding).

In advancing this argument, we would stress that it is meant to be suggestive and wish to make it clear that the article is largely programmatic. It tries, in other words, to displace some questions and to fore-front others. It is also deliberately provocative, flying in the face of current orthodoxies, both lay and sociological. We have not had an opportunity to make a close study of particular neighbourhoods, social groups therein, their involvements in informal or 'fringe' economies and drug elements thereof, or the motivations in play in these circumstances. All we have attempted is to break through some 'common sense' and often racist assumptions about corruption and addiction, and to suggest that a refocussing upon (a) the

appeal of socially active and petty entrepreneurial responses to an unrewarding labour market and (b) the economic position of Third World countries, can help us to understand some aspects of the currently high demand for and supply of drugs.

Depictions of the problem

Just how many people have ever taken heroin, how many take it repeatedly over any given period of time, and what the balance of consequences is, remain uncertain. At one extreme, one can refer to sources such as a survey carried out on behalf of Radio Merseyside which claimed that up to half of all young adults in certain areas may have tried the drug. Such suggestions became rapidly translated into statements that 50% of children are 'on drugs' or addicted when reported by other media (BBC News, 4th May 1984). These high estimates reminiscent of the now much-discredited 'research study' that purported to show that 45% of children had seen so-called video nasties." - go hand-in-hand with a re-emphasis upon the pusher as the initiator of drug use.

One story emanating from Cheshire, for example, had pushers creeping about in school playgrounds injecting cartons of milk with heroin, thus causing one-shot addiction and a queue of new customers (The Times 2nd May). Even quite serious and experienced journalists are apparently prepared to believe just about anything about drugs and pushers as long as it is bad, as one of the authors discovered when he read the draft of an article since published in a reputable newspaper referring to a recent influx of cheap Pakistani cocaine. The specific mistake was corrected (cocaine does not come from Pakistan and remains expensive), but the processes that generate such fantasies remain strong both at local and national levels. One clear element in this total picture is racism: just as was recently the case with stories about suppliers of sniffable solvents, the moral panic over pushers of heroin and other illegal intoxicants carries with it a popular assumption that pushers are foreigners and aliens. This assumption interlinks with media coverage of international trafficking and supply to British cities, coverage of which emphasises that 'Britain's bad luck' is due to foreigners (Guardian January 1984).

Another element in the construction of 'common sense' conceptions of contemporary drug problems is the new politics of the family and attack on immorality. Since its re-election in June 1983, the present government has wasted little time in making efforts to demonstrate publicly the extend to which it continues to be committed to a policy of arresting and, where-

ver possible, reversing what it perceives as being a progressive and long-term moral decline in British society. On July 3rd less than a month after Margaret Thatcher's victory at the polls - it was reported by The Observer newspaper that the Home Office had instigated a series of almost unprecedented prosecutions under the 1959 Obscene Publications Act against the sale of books 'glorifying' the use of drugs. One may perhaps suppose that this action reflects a considered judgement (or at least hope) on the part of the Crown that the unremitting campaign for moral rearmament has by now won a number of hearts andminds sufficient as to make possible the relatively unproblematic conviction of the purveyors of such books on the grounds of their contents having the tendency to 'deprave and corrupt' the minds of those who might otherwise be exposed to them. It remains to be seen whether these prosecutions will be more successful than the attempt to publicly redefine the moral boundaries between the respectable and the disreputable at the now celebrated trial of the editors of the 'underground' magazine Oz in 1971.

However, in terms of its status as a direct attempt on the part of government to combat and control what has widely come to be seen as the rapidly growing 'epidemic' of addiction, this action is perhaps less significant than the announcement about the 'tough measures' shortly to be introduced for dealing with the problem that was made by the Home Secretary, Leon Brittan, shortly before last Christmas. These measures were to be as follows:

- 1) STEM the flow of drugs from abroad.
- 2) CONTROL drugs produced and prescribed in Britain.
- 3) ENGAGE the police in a nationwide hunt for the chain of "professional" drug-traffickers.
- 4) DETER criminals who profit from the misery of drug addiction by introducing stiffer sentences, and laws to confiscate the proceeds of crime.
- 5) EDUCATE people on the reality of drug abuse, and to provide £6 million to support schemes for the treatment of addicts. (Daily Telegraph 15th December 1983).

Following the latter policy announcement, there have indeed been developments within the health care system. In 1983 the DHSS formally announced that £6 million would be available to be spent over three years to encourage expansion of statut-

ory services dealing with drug users (ie. the Drug Dependency Units, or 'clinics', now largely irrelevant in practical terms but still important as a symbol of humanitarian medical care), and of non-statutory drug agencies (advice & walk-in centres, phone contacts, rehabilitation houses, etc). Currently available information indicates that fifty-one projects have been aided, expanded or initiated at a total cost of around £3.7 million (DHSS Press Release 9th February 1984). We shall be saying something about social work and associated forms of practice in such settings later in the article. At this point, the most important thing to note is that although the sums involved are small when seen in the context of recent increases in levels of experimentation with heroin and other drugs, the DHSS drugs initiative significantly broadens and humanises a conception of drug problems that would otherwise revolve even more tightly around the concepts of 'foreigners', corruption, depravity and criminality. It is within this general perspective that the debate about the numerical size of the problem is currently posed. At the heart of this perspective remains the assumption that all users are addicts, or soon to be addicted. This category also informs the thinking of the World Health Organisation and DHSS, though it is expressed in more technical and less emotive terms as 'drug dependency'. The DHSS is the government department that has funded street - and estate-level studies of the extent of drug use, and the Department's concern with treatment and patterns of health care delivery incline these studies towards an emphasis upon the addicted/dependent category. The indications from such surveys were that something of the order of 40,000 persons might be dependent on heroin and/or similar pharmaceutical drugs (diverted from licit channels) in the early 1980s.

All the indications from the range of agencies in touch with developments at 'street level' are that heroin use, in particular, has undergone a substantial increase in the last few years. However, non-statutory sector staff vary in their readiness to equate heroin use with addiction. It is widely recognised that 'chasing the dragon' by breathing in the smoke from heroin that is heated, or rolling and smoking it with tobacco, are now more common modes of experimentation than injecting. Nevertheless, many staff stress that the drug is addictive regardless of mode and circumstances of administration. There is therefore

Table 1: Drug addicts known to the Home Office notified, no longer recorded, and known at the end of the year.

										Number of	of persons
	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981	1982	19830
Addicts known to be receiving notifiable drugs at 1 January	1,617	1,816	1,967	1,949	1,874	2,016	2,402	2,666	2,846	3,844	4,371
Persons notified during the year as addicts by medical practitioners:	1,017	1,010	1,507	1,545	1,0/4	2,010	2,402	2,000	2,040	3,044	4,571
Not previously known	807	870	922	984	1,109	1,347	1,597	1,600	2,248	2,793	4,200(2)
Known in earlier years	599	566	536	541	622	753	788	841	1,063	1,325	1,700(2)
Total notified during the year	1,406	1,436	1,458	1,525	1,731	2,100	2,385	2,441	3,311	4,118	5,900(2)
Persons no longer recorded as addicts at 31 December:											
Removed by reason of death	61	77	68	63	40	60	49	73	46	49	100(2)
Admitted to penal or other institution	438	388	484	513	442	484	553	429	546	607	800(2)
No longer receiving treatment with notifiable drugs	708	820	924	1,024	1,107	1,170	1,519	1,759	1,721	2,935	4,300
Total no longer recorded	1,207	1,285	1,476	1,600	1,589	1,714	2,121	2,261	2,313	3,591	5,200(2)
Addicts known to be receiving notifiable drugs at 31 December	1,816	1,967	1,949	1,874	2,016	2,402	2,666	2,846	3,844	4,371	5,100(2)
					- 41						

⁽¹⁾ Provisional

⁽²⁾ Rounded independently to the nearest hundred so components may not sum to totals.

some ambivalence in the non-statutory field over whether to talk of heroin use, or to re-inforce the curruption/depravity image by concentrating upon the theme of addiction. Many practitioners recognise the self-fulfilling prophecy of such 'labels' and are wary about a return to early 1960's Americanstyle, 'fear appeal', drug miseducation. But, due perhaps to their concern to maintain agency funding and to avoid being discredited, drug workers are generally reluctant to object to the general emphasis upon 'addicts', even though they may not use the term themselves. The result is that the general agreement on recent increases in numbers of even those who merely experiment with heroin becomes articulated within a discourse on corruption and depravity as a moral panic over escalating addiction.

It is within this conceptual framework that statistics on drug use compiled by the Home Office are viewed by policy-makers, practitioners and the press. The figures for the last few years are displayed in table 1. It can be seen that these figures⁽²⁾ describe an accelerating increase in numbers of 'addicts'.

Drugs & the 'fringe economy' in a recession

In this section we shall attempt to develop an outline of a way of thinking about heroin use that is distinctly different from the orthodox or 'common sense' idea of addiction described above. We do not wish to deny that drug use in general or heroin use in particular may be increasing, nor that many users of every drug suffer a range of problems associated with such use. But we do wish to challenge the jingoistic quality of currently dominant thinking expressed in the notion that foreign pushers are corrupting British youth and must be thwarted and in the associated concept of the depraved addict-victim. Certainly there is scope for progressive welfare, youth and community work with users of heroin and other drugs, as the work of many individuals and agencies in the non-statutory sector currently demonstrates. But since it is not possible to articulate those practices within the currently dominant discourses on depravity/addiction, much constructive experience is closed off from public debate. One of our concerns in presenting an alternative perspective on the subject is to suggest ways in which it can speak both to these contemporary practices and to the kinds of policies which might be more useful.

Central to an understanding of heroin use, we argue, is the general category of activity. (3) In quite important respects this perspective runs contrary to that which has dominated mainstream thinking about the lifestyle of heroin users in the past, which portrays it as being one of severe withdrawal, apathy, or so-called 'retreatism': in short, a marked reduction of social activity. This was perhaps a necessary feature of traditional accounts concerning the social origin of heroin use to the extent that the assumed demoralisation and pathology of the person who subsequently became an addict rendered their assumed vulnerability to the pusher more intelligible. Similar imagery, significantly, is evident in recent characterizations of the soul-destroying impact of structural unemployment, within the current economic recession, conventionally associated as it. is with an increasingly passive and withdrawn way of life and a collapse of personal identity and morale, (9)

In contrast to this point of view, we would contend that certain sections of the population actually adopt a considerably more active solution to the problem of unemployment, and that far from being a drug that automatically deadens the spirit, heroin is a drug that is capable of being used in a socially much more

extroverted manner. In order to support this contention, however, it is necessary to say something about the nature of the informal economy(5) within the context of which, we would argue, the bulk of heroin use among youth is currently taking place. Recent studies of the informal economy highlight a range of activities that are both economic and social, and yet outside the formal boundaries of the wage economy. Small scale production and provision of a range of services - renovation and repair, odd-jobs and cleaning, trading in goods that 'fell off the back of a lorry', 'cash-in-hand', fetching and carrying jobs, provision of sexual and other services - these continue and many expand in a recession, as people search for alternative sources of income, and move partially into barter and exchange. This highly entrepreneurial, small-business activity is not simply financially motivated though that is a major consideration. The appeal is also 'political' - making out in the market economy, being independent, enjoying the rewards - and social - having a framework within which to meet and meaningfully interact with other people. It is through the expansion of these aspects of the informal economy that recession and unemployment have been converted into an increase in the demand for a variety of goods and services, including plant-based and synthetic drugs.

Heroin users, for their part, do not come from any specific social class or stratum. Those whose use forms part of the informal economy may originate from a variety of backgrounds, their only common characteristic being some means of recruitment into this informal economy - whether this be by way of family ties, neighbourhood networks and traditions, involvement in criminal activity, or a combination of several or all of these. It is important to recognise that since conventional and quite legitimate modes of employment offer perhaps the widest opportunities for involvement in certain sectors of the informal economy the latter will necessarily include both the employed and unemployed. Consequently, members of both of these categories will be in a position to integrate drug acquisition, sharing, exchange, sale and consumption into the general framework of the informal economy. The key features of all such forms of involvement are (a) the irregularity of acquisition, exchange, sale and/or consumption, and (b) the specific forms of work, social contacts and rewards associated with this irregularity.

As regards irregularity as a characteristic of involvement in the broader informal economy, it is not difficult to appreciate the difference between this and 'regular work' and consumption. Whereas waged work and housework are stretched across fairly continuous blocks of time, with separate but equally continuous blocks of consumption time (for males, at least), involvement in the irregular economy(6) is by definition marked by 'bunching' of intensive work (ripping something off, selling it, etc) and play (splashing out, getting smashed, etc). But what occurs between these relatively short and intensive periods of work and play is not 'doing nothing', but a continuous activity of searching for further opportunities and of surveillance for potential dangers. The active regime of intensive working/ seaching/surveillance/consumption that characterises the part of the informal economy that we refer to as the irregular economy is the context into which drug acquisition/exchange/ use falls. Recent American work has described the various socio-economic roles involved, not all of which are considered to be drug selling or dealing. "These standard drug distribution roles included: "steer", "tout", "cop", "hold", "test", "lend works", "pick-up", and "run a shooting gallery"."(1)

The second aspect mentioned above (b), concerns the culture and mentality related to this irregular economy and drug use within it. At its simplest we can sum this up in the words of a current lager advertisement - 'stay sharp'.

The implications of this perspective for drug-related advice and welfare work are considerable. Clearly, if involvement with heroin can, at least for some users, be understood as an integral part of active involvement in the working life and social life of the irregular economy, then welfare workers and others may need to address the essentially active and entrepreneurial cultures and concerns associated with this economy. Rather than treating users as passive victims, depraved by addiction to the drug, it might be more realistic to address them as people who subscribe to an irregular work ethic in an illicit market, proceeding as best they can with limited social and economic capital.

As the American research literature confirms, users "are frequently also participants in other criminal behavioural systems (fencing, pimping, prostitution)" and they are also frequently arrested. (8) There is little scope here for dichotomising pushers and victims in any particularly meaningful or helpful way. It may be more useful to recognise the user/small-scale dealer as one and the same person. In a male-dominated market place the illicit mirrors the licit in many ways - he can be viewed as essentially opportunistic, as someone who may 'come unstuck' every now and then. To render all difficulties as explicable by the label of 'addict' is to misrecognise the person totally. In the case of women, involvement in the informal economy may be overshadowed by the fact that one commodity therein is heterosexual services, and that males routinely work to monopolise other aspects of the economy. Hence women may be obliged to rely either on the support of a particular male or to 'turn tricks'. Heroin use (or other drug use) plus prostitution are quite a different experiential mix from those generally available to men in the informal economy. The subordination of women may here be greater than in the formal or 'regular' economy, with consequences that include an involvement with heroin that corresponds quite closely to the passivity/depression/dependency feelings that are conventionally projected onto male drug users. Further discussion of women and drug use can be found in several sources. (9)

To summarise, then: we have attempted to sow some seeds of doubt about the usefulness of the current emphasis upon currupting-pushers/victim-addicts way of thinking about the problem of heroin use, and have suggested that it be viewed as an aspect of socially active and entrepreneurial but uncapitalised responses to current economic and political circumstances in Britain (and, by extension, other countries). All this is, we freely admit, unproven. We are simply trying to provide tools for looking at the problem as it may be available for observation in readers' localities and neighbourhoods. Before we conclude, we want to go a few steps further and place this drug-exchanging and drug-consuming informal economy in the international context of drug supply. In doing so we side-step the important subject of organised, highly-capitalised criminal networks involved in the importation and distribution of drugs. The criminological literature on drugs has no shortage of studies and discussions at this level, but rarely in such studies are connections made with the political economy of either the streets that are supplied or the Third World countries that are the sources of supply. Our aim in this article is to broaden this focus. Examining the international context, we believe, is important in helping us to dismantle the assumption that 'Britain's bad luck' is simply due to Third World suppliers - an assumption running through the mainstream of popular thinking about drugs that is neither politically acceptable nor practically useful.

Third World supply determined by Western Countries

In this section we outline the origins of drug cultivation and production in ex-colonial countries for the international market, and some reasons for expecting drug supply to increase as a result of the political and economic policies of international financial institutions.

(a) 'Development', cash-cropping and drug supply

As is widely known, it was - rather ironically - the British themselves who were the first people to engage in large-scale international drug trafficking. By intensive cultivation of opium on the colonial Indian sub-continent, the East India company provided a trading commodity intended not for England, but for exchange with Chinese merchants, whose goods then came to London. The Opium Wars were fought to maintain this trading system but, due to developments within China, in British politics, and in the relationship between British and American imperialism, this legal opium trade was eventually abolished. An object lesson in how to reverse an otherwise unfavourable balance of trade had, however, been given to the world. During the twentieth century, and especially since the second World War, the conditions were established in which the colonial and ex-colonial powers found themselves on the receiving end of this particular trade.

In particular, it has been the model of development or modernisation, encouraged and often imposed by the ex-colonial powers upon their overseas possessions and ex-posessions, that has encouraged the cultivation of plant drugs. Western nations and, more recently, international agencies such as the IMF have encouraged patterns of development based on the largescale exploitation of mineral deposits (eg. gold, bauxite, oil) and on cash-cropping in the agricultural sector. In each case, the emphasis has been upon the supply to western nations of raw or semi-processed materials at the least cost, resulting in the encouragement of large-scale schemes employing cheap labour and introducing minimal infra-structural or social welfare costs. That this model of development has in fact resulted in massive social and cultural disruption and an astonishingly high level of indebtedness amongst Third World countries is widely acknowledged, though explanations of the mechanisms involved and suggested remedies vary quite widely. The international financial institutions - whose approval is vital for those Third World countries which need to re-schedule the debts that they have built up with Western banks - have continued to impose stringent 'monetarist' conditions. Michael Manley's book Jamaica: the struggle in the periphery, describes this process of imposition on one third world country which has been a source of the plant drug, cannabis. Essentially, IMF conditions result in a decrease in employment opportunities in industry and in agriculture, a decrease in wages for those still in employment and a decrease in social welfare for the unemployed, and in destabilisation and repression of labour and populist movements. The significance for a study of the international drug traffic is that IMF direction of Third World political economies involves an encouragement of entrepreneurial attitudes together with a denial of 'legitimate' economic activities, and an increasingly frantic need on the part of the state and private capital for foreign exchange.

It is in these circumstances that Third World countries, experienced in cash cropping and facing downturns in international

demand and prices for 'legitimate' agricultural products, tend to switch more heavily into plant drugs. Whether it be Far East and Asian countries facing poverty and famine, or South American countries facing the failure of monetarist policies, or Caribbean countries experiencing falling prices for sugar, spice and other products such as alumina, the result is similar increasing cultivation and exports of indigenous plant drugs such as opium, cocaine and cannabis. Whilst this has generally not been the explicit policy of any Third World country, several have gone on record as saying that Western countries complaining about Third World drug production might perhaps deal with the sources of demand in Western countries rather than pin all the blame on the ex-colonies.

And it would indeed be surprising if Third World governments, aware of the potential balance of payments benefits of export of plant drugs, did not contain a minority of officials (or, sometimes, ministers) prepared to benefit personally from the trade. Add to this the fact that plant drugs are often the most (or only) profitable cash crop, and it becomes clear that there are heavy inducements all up the chain - from cultivators and those they support, through intermediaries and bribeable officials, to small financiers lacking alternative investment opportunities, export syndicates and even governments. Against these material inducements - which are unintentionally reinforced by the activities of international finance and development agencies the blandishments and interventions of anti-drug agencies (such as the International Narcotics Control Board, and special police and customs agencies of the Western countries) remain relatively ineffectual. The result is that, the deeper that 'developing' countries get into debt, and the tighter the IMF and Western banks turn the political and economic screws, the faster spare agricultural capacity and financial resources re-orientate to the production and export of drugs to those creditor nations in which demand for them exists.

Viewed from this perspective, the availability of plant drugs from the Third World is one symptom of the ways in which the economies of those countries were historically adapted to Western greed. In the following paragraphs, we discuss how very recent trends in American and other Western economic and foreign policies are likely to furthr stimulate Third World production and export of plant drugs, and to increase Western demand for heroin.

(b) Current trends in the world political economy and the consequences for supply of plant drugs

The international economic and political climate in which Third World countries move is heavily influenced by the policies of the United States and its allies (including Britain). Recent budget plans announced by the Reagan administration are marked by two linked features that have considerable implications for Third World countries. These (two features) are on the one hand, an expansion of expenditure on the military, producing a bigger arms budget than was current at the height of the war against Vietnam; and at the same time a deficit budget, quite at variance with those principles which the US-dominated financial institutions impose on Third World debtor nations. The significance of this deficit budget is not simply that it finances a military build-up, thereby facilitating the ability of the United States to 'defend its interests' in parts of the world which it perceives as being strategically important either economically and/or politically. Equally importantly, a large American deficit budget forces up international interest rates and increases the cost of interest payments on Third World debt. Thus while the American (and British) manufacturing

sectors may falter because they are denied the low interest rates needed for investment and modernisation, the financial institutions increase the incomes they dervice from lending to Third World countries - and the latter get further and further into debt.

In the context, then, of the relationship that we have discussed between Third World debts, the conditions imposed by international finance capital and by Western governments in return for underwriting these expanding debts, and the consequent stimulation of Third World plant drug cultivation and export to the West, we can hypothesise that the prospects for international drug trafficking in at least the medium term are in the direction of expansion. Thus there seems little likelihood that the demand for these drugs generated as an aspect of Western countries' internal informal economies will be lacking its counterpoint in the realm of supply; and with both demand and supply assured, drug use may be expected to increase.

Policy and practice

We have attempted to establish the basis for a critique of current rhetoric and 'common sense' thinking about heroin and youth in Britain. Far from being a problem that can be understood in terms of a morality play having as its dramatis personae evil outsiders and innocent youth, the latter being led into tragically short lives of depraved pleasures, we have argued that both the demand for and supply of plant drugs today has to be situated within British and international political economies and their associated cultures. It is not, then, a problem that can be remedied simply by the announcement of new law enforcement measures such as an increasingly 'tough' policy towards people breaking the Misuse of Drugs Act in Britain; nor by Show Trials such as those currently involving the use of the Obscene Publications Act against bookshops selling a relatively insignificant quantity of drugs handbooks; nor by public information and education campaigns about the dangers of addiction currently being advocated in some quarters (eg. Teddy Taylor in The Sunday Express 29th April 1984). Such measures are little more than whistling in the dark. We do not wish to question the degree of concern about drugs felt by Her Majesty's Government. It is a concern fuelled, perhaps not only by humanitarian motives but also by fear of the various forms of damage which the drug problem may be seen to inflict upon its political credibility. In a context where the Drug Dependency Unit 'clinic' system of containment of heroin addiction is becoming increasingly irrelevant to the majority of heroin users due to its low intake (compared with the total number of users) and its general refusal to continue to prescribe maintenance doses of heroin (preferring to offer orally-taken and unstimulating substitute drugs, or simply 'counselling'), there is no system of regulation available to the government other than the criminal law. The use of the law is, however, a doubleedged sword, since although it redounds to the credit of the government when it appears that the problem is being resolutely contained or overcome, it threatens to bring discredit upon the administration if the problem appears an intransigent one. Viewed within this perspective, the appearance of an 'epidemic' must be very worrying to members of an administration whose taking of office was to some degree the result of the success with which they 'sold' to the voters a policy of international and domestic law and order. Meanwhile, the economic policies of the government, and the explicit encouragement of an entrepreneurial 'small business' mentality in circumstances where there are few legitimate business opportunities for the vast majority of young people who lack investment capital, provide the ethos and conditions in which fringe economies and cultures such as that of heroin involvement can flourish.

There are other impediments to amelioration of the heroin problem, and these can be located at the level of health and welfare institutions and the professions. Reflecting their commitment to 'Butskellism', all previous post-War governments adopted a more welfarist attitude towards social problems. One result of this was the creation of the system of Drug Dependency Unit clinics (mostly in the London area) in the lat 1960s, which initially set out to attract heroin users out of the illegal market and into a substitute, non-market, form of state welfare provision. (It was never seriously described as a health or treatment initiative, but rather as a way of drawing people out of an illegal section of the national economy). Heroin maintainance may be seen as part of the 'social wage' enjoyed by some drug users in those days. But this system has been modified over the years so as now to be virtually unrecognisable to those who still support its original intentions. Clinic psychiatrists now largely refuse to maintain patients on heroin. Meanwhile, this professional group has risen to dominate positions of power, consultancy and advice to government. It currently occupies a gatekeeping role, filtering out alternative perspectives and policy recommendations upon heroin, before these can permeate up to government level. These professionals are, however, unable to exercise much direct influence over the government's policies on drugs, as has been demonstrated by government's failure to refer proposed policy changes to the standing body, the Advisory Council on Misuse of Drugs(10) before announcement of them to the public. Nevertheless, insofar as they - and the prestigious wider profession of psychiatry of which they are a part - thus stand between the government and wider sources of experience and advice, they constitute a powerful obstacle to the diffusion of new ideas and hence to the possibilities of change.

Perhaps not surprisingly, it is at the lowest and most humble levels of non-statutory and statutory provision that the most realistic responses to drug-related problems are being made. Staff in non-statutory general advice agencies and drug agencies see heroin users in circumstances in which the market and related bases of such problems as they may present are considerably easier to perceive than they would be from the perspective of psychiatric treatment. Of these problems, it is that of finding one's feet in the housing market that is often most pressing. This is of great significance in the generation of drugrelated problems, since many ill-health problems associated with drug and alcohol use emerge most strongly when the person has nowhere to keep warm and dry, to sleep, to wash, to be safe from violence, to be able to regard as 'home'. Associated with problems of keeping warm and dry are those of getting money to eat, whilst adequacy of diet is also an important determinant of health.

All these problems are related to money, and hence to the labour market and its informal adjuncts and alternatives. Progressive advice work and counselling in the drugs field involves responding to these market problems whilst also relating to the drug user's more specific personal and emotional preoccupations. Naturally, the latter is somewhat easier to do than the former in a time of recession and cuts in housing and social security benefits. The general line of our argument, however, has been and remains that a focus upon the market circumstances of drug users - the place of heroin use within the informal economies of the inner cities, small towns and suburbs of Britain in recession - provides the best basis for the further

development of practice.

Conclusion

Ever since the seminal work of Howard Becker on marijuana use among jazz musicians was first published in the United States in the 1950s, (11) sociologists have come to accept that the consumption of illicit drugs tends to generate and be associated with more or less elaborate subcultural networks composed of persons who perform a variety of tasks necessary for the practice to be sustained relatively unproblematically over time. In order to become a regular user, for example, a person must first of all both learn the technique of using the drug and learn how to enjoy its effects. Success in accomplishing either, Becker argues, will be to little avail if not accompanied by an ability to find a stable source of supply of the drug and, equally, an ability to distinguish sympathetic (if not like-minded) others who can be relied upon not to disclose one's identity to the 'wrong' people, to part with confidential information, or to depart with one's money without supplying the agreed quantity or quality of the drug in return.

In short, the process of becoming - and remaining - a regular drug user necessarily involves a considerable amount of work: not just in the sense of developing and routinely maintaining a daily round of personal contacts in a manner which serves both to keep one on one's toes and to structure the day, but also in the sense of acquiring, passing on and exchanging knowledge ('street wisdom') concerning such things as drug availability, current market prices and the 'right' places to hang around in at certain times of the day or the week.

In all of this, the basic point is that to be a user of heroin is to be someone who is typically more or less tightly enmeshed in a supportive social network whose members are busy keeping one another busy; and that the appeal of being a heroin user is in part a function of this. How much importance should be attached to this source of heroin's appeal, and how much to its physiological and psychological effects, is of course very difficult to determine. Preble and Casey, in their classic article 'Taking Care of Business', appear to have no doubts whatsoever on this score, arguing in relation to their New York City sample that:

'The activities these individuals engage in and the relationships they have in the course of their quest for heroin are far more important than the minimal analgesic and euphoric effects of the small amount of heroin available to them. If they can be said to be addicted, it is not so much to heroin as to the entire career of a heroin user,'(12)

And, we would add - to the broader career of the socially-active small-time entrepreneur. A small minority of these entrepreneurs may (rather like alcohol suppliers during Prohibition times in the United States of America) rise to become quite successful legitimate businesspersons. Some, on the other hand, will 'come unstuck' and, through a combination of factors such as poverty, general ill-health, accident and bad judgement, a proportion will find themselves in prison, in an Accident & Emergency department, or dead. Not all these casualties can be laid solely at heroin's door: a market economy claims its own victims. For the majority of persons who, through an involvement in the irregular economy, become familiar with heroin as an object of intermittent trade and enjoyment, life will continue much as before.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- Hill, C. et al/Academic Working Group Video violence and children, Part II, Children's viewing patterns and parental attitudes in England and Wales, Parliamentary Group Video Enquiry, March 1984. For comment see an article entitled 'Casting cold water on the ketchup', Tracey, M. The Times 25.2.84.
- We have reprinted table 1 from Home Office Statistical Bulletin, issue 6/84, 21.3.84., p3.
- By activity we mean any kind of labour: see Dorn, N. and South, N. Of Males and Markets, a critical review of 'youth culture' theory, Research Paper 1, Centre for Occupational and Community Research, Middlesex Polytechnic (£1) and the review by Frith in Youth and Policy vol2, (4) 1984.
- This imagery has been popularised by the work of Jeremy Seabrook, amongst others. See for example his article 'Have we reached the end of the workingclass epic?' New Society, 22.1.84, pp135-37.
- 5. There is a considerable literature on the informal or 'fringe' economy and its various parts. See for example the reviews and overviews of Henry, S. 'The myth of the working unemployed', Sociological Review, 1982; Mars, G. Cheats at Work, Allen and Unwin, 1982; and South, N. 'The informal economy and local markets; a review of some of the relevant literature, bibliographical references and some suggestions for future research' in Laite, J. (ed). Bibliographical Reports on Local Labour Markets and the Informal Economy, London SSRC, 1982. However, little definitional agreement has been reached, and some early exponents of the concept have now dropped it as too vague (Ray Pahl, forthcoming). We are using the term in an admittedly general sense to indicate a variety of practices within which the narrower area of an irregular economy can be discerned (see below).
- The irregular economy a part of the informal economy (much of the latter being quite 'regular' or routine) - has been discussed by Ferman, L. and Ferman, P. 'The structural underpinnings of the irregular economy', Poverty and Human Resources Abstracts, 8, 1973, pp3-17.
- Johnson, B., Goldstein, P., Preble, E. et al. The economic behaviour of street opiate addicts, New York, Division of Substance Abuse Services and Narcotic and Drug Research Inc., 1983.
- Manning, P. and Redlinger, L. 'Drugs as work', Research in Sociology of Work; Peripheral workers, (2), Greenwich Conn, JAI Press, 1983.
- Perry, L. Women and drug use: an unfeminine dependency (leaflet) London.
 Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence. See also the newsletter and publications of the organisation DAWN (Drugs, alcohol, women, nationally), who have a London office at 146 Queen Victoria Street, London EC4V 4BX, and agencies such as Release, the Blenheim Project, etc.
- The Advisory Council on Misuse of Drugs has a statutory duty, established under the 1971 Misuse of Drugs Act, to advise the Home Secretary.
- Reprinted in Becker, H. Outsiders: Studies in the Sociology of Deviance, Free Press, 1963, chapters 3 and 4.
- Preble, E. and Casey, J. "Taking care of business: the heroin user's life on the streets', International Journal of Addiction vol.4 (1), 1969, pp1-24.

TURC



'Rights-Wot Rights' - a video for trainees on the Youth Training Schemes, young workers and school-leavers about their rights at work and the role of trade unions in supporting and defending them.

Based on interviews with young people in London, Birmingham and Sheffield, the video draws on their experiences to cover the issues in a stimulating and informative manner.

Steve Bell's penguins feature as YTS trainees in an animation running through the video to add emphasis to the key points.

video

£12.50 each including VAT and Postage. Specify VHS or Betamax. Cheque to accompany order to TURC Video, 7 Frederick Street, Birmingham B1.

Birmingham Trades Union Resource Centre

anti-sexist work with young males

TONY TAYLOR

The last fifteen years have witnessed the continuing revival and developing political influence of the Women's Liberation Movement. The question of Women's subordination introduced once again onto the political agenda has been prioritised in the minutes by the renaissance of feminism, despite the efforts of men to have this embarrassing item demoted to any other business. Struggles against the State have secured some legislative concessions. Feminism's crucial insistence that 'the personal is political' has established sexual politics as a primary area of debate and concern. Within the educational site of social relations, the pronounced upsurge in feminist theory has influenced the form and content of, at least some, social studies and social science courses. 'The problem without a name'," women's oppression, has forced its way out of anonymity to become part of the curriculum of Higher Education. However even here the problematic of incorporation and adoption has haunted the feminist incursion into the traditional male academic world. And at primary and secondary levels within schooling the extent to which an understanding of male/female power relations has begun to shift the practices of the classroom is open to both debate and exaggeration. Interestingly one marginal sector of educational provision, pejoratively referred to as 'a Cinderella Service', namely Youth Work, has seen the reactionary ramparts of its conservative practice subjected to stress with the breakthrough of feminist ideas and practices organised through 'Boys Rule Not O.K.' initiatives and Girls' Projects." Despite its apparent multiplicity of motivations (philanthrophic, paternalist, religious, militarist, liberal et al) the dominant theme of youth work's perspective remains the policing and control of working class young men with a subsidiary concern regarding the societal induction of middle class young people. Given this suffocating scenario, women youth workers have caucused to consider this overall mismatch between a male-oriented provision and the needs of young women themselves; to reflect on the gulf between liberal rhetoric's concern for the individual and the reality of an authoritarian, misogynist practice; and to explore the development of a feminist praxis based on the growing insights of their theory and interlinked explorations in the field.

To the male retina, one of the most disturbing aspects of this range of interventions into the masculine world of youth work has been its declaration of the need for autonomous work by women with the girls - its 'separatism'. Mixed provision, particularly a product of social democracy's strategy of comprehensive equality, has been finally defined as good and natural common-sense. Thus on this level of policy, the

advance of Girls Work is viewed suspiciously as a regressive aberration from an established harmony of mixed normality. Val Marshall's eloquent argument for the rebirth of the girls' club movement, as a means of creating space free from male influence to foster the flowering of a feminist youth work strategy, has been interpreted as proof of the wild-eyed extremism of these dangerous women. The crude argument goes as follows: 'We have fought so long for a coming together of the sexes within an educational setting and now these manhating lesbians are trying to divide us from one another, perverting our daughters in the process.' In Wigan, where I formerly worked, officers claimed that their youth work approach was in no way sexist, whilst in the very same breath produced reports and programmes riddled with both male pronouns and male assumptions. The Director of Education argued that to include in a job advert a reference to the building of a non-sexist youth work practice was in itself sexist. Advocates of a nonsexist educational perspective were ridiculed at each and every opportunity.

The threat to men from the feminists in youth work reveals itself at the gut-level of our personal politics. The day-to-day sexist chauvinism of our 'public' and 'private' dealings with our male and female colleagues starts to be increasingly exposed. Our male professionalism is illustrated to be a facade, behind which the spectre of our patriarchal privilege begins to be revealed in all its oppressive detail - the sexual harassment of female clerical staff and the solidarity of the shared sexual innuendo, which bonds the most elevated of male principals within the hierarchy. This paper is an attempt to contribute to the debate about the role of progressive men in this limiting masculinist script. Is our contribution to the redrafting of the play to be taking the 'walk-on' parts of token males making the right noises off-stage in the creche? Or should we rewrite our lines and act differently? Or does such a seizing of the authorship mean hogging the whole show yet again? Part of what I shall be trying to articulate in this essay is a criticism of this rather tired Goffmanesque metaphor about playing ascribed parts in a pre-ordained script. It will be my contention that male youth workers do need to examine precisely what they are doing with each other, with their young male 'clients' and with the women with whom they work and live. I will argue that these interactions are not the products of mindless programmed behaviour patterns (some form, for instance, of brainwashed sexist conditioning), rather they are sets of social practices rationally undertaken for one sense-making reason or another. In this important sense our male actions are thus

accessible to influence and change. Our principal task at this specific moment is to begin constructing alternative ways of working with our fellow male workers, and with the young men in our youth centres or on the streets; ways of relating, which do not ceaselessly contribute to the strength and longevity of the male imperative, but which actually oppose the exploitation of more than half the world by the lesser half.

A Local Melodrama

'This sort of thing is an insult to femininity'

To move from the merely rhetorical to the practically personal marks a necessary stage in the unfolding of my argument. How come I think I have something to say about the creation of a serious masculine response to the questions posed by feminism, in this instance, for the supposedly person-centred welfare world of youth work? An unrelenting test of my posutre is the history of the modification of my own practices. At this point I want to describe some of the problems posed for myself as the Training Officer of a Local Authority Youth Service by the awakening of Girls Work in the area. Spurred on by the news of the NAYC's pioneering work and the unremitting struggle of scattered women's groups, the Training and Development Unit, for which I was hierarchically responsible, decided to go ahead with promoting its own 'Boys Rule Not O.K.' week in January 1980. The two full-time and six of the part-time female workers, supported seriously by a few of the male staff, and more importantly, by the local women's group, organised workshops on sexuality and sex-role stereotyping; commissioned a play from another native feminist grouping; invited an acrobatic and musical theatre troupe; and arranged a number of all-female discos. Tension pervaded the week's activities and some of its sources could be found in the following areas;

- (i) The uneasy relationship between the organisers and the male hierarchy, whose attitudes ranged from a lukewarm token support through sulky non-co-operation to down-right hostility, summed up in a senior officer's refusal to comply with a request from the women that no male should attend the weekend's sessions, except if offering assistance in the creche or kitchen.
- (ii) The contradictory attitude to both male and female full and part-time workers to the initiative many men, but also a substantial number of women were obstructive, constantly jibing, "But what about the boys? What are you doing for them?" At the time our angry response was that the young males had far more than their fair share of the Youth Service's facilities, so why all this fuss about one week's activities for young women? (iii) The young men themselves, when excluded from their

club, were at best irritated, at worst heavily aggressive. One of

the all-girls' discos was run in an atmosphere of siege warfare. (iv) The 'supportive' male workers lacked any coherent strategy towards the frustrated lads or the sceptical youth service staff, that spoke positively from an appreciation of the contradictions of the situation. Whilst being ready to act as facilitators when needed i.e. providing transport, preparing food, looking after children, we had given little thought to the task of coping with the lads. Indeed ironically we finished up asking ourselves the same question as the one we had been taunted with earlier: "Yes, but what about the boys? What do we do with them?" Our position in practice had been to support the struggle against sexism as being the women's task. We were in sympathy, but it was not actually our problem!

In one particularly harrowing episode for me personally, I finished up in a tense and bitter confrontation with lads I didn't know, which verged on the physically violent. As the argument raged over their exclusion from the centre on their Weight-

Training Night, my voice and my hand were among the first to be raised. Quite clearly I remember thinking in the midst of the fray, that the simplest way out of the mess would be to side conspiratorially with the lads' sense of indignation on the basis that after all what was the use of getting so worked up about silly women anyway.

The offer of such a brotherly hand of misogynist solidarity could (would) have been the signal for a relaxing of the 'aggro' and the sign for the beginning of a dialogue premised on our superiority to the women and the girls inside. In the event the tension dissipated only through the favours of a fast freezing evening, which led the lads to seek warmer pastures in the pub. They left the scene in cold hostility towards my bluffing macho stance. I had even 'blown' the possibility of going for a pint with them. Hardly the stuff of a developing anti-sexist youth work practice.

Immediately after the events of the week, the difficulties unearthed prompted an initial response that future anti-sexist ventures should be 'mixed'. Such a co-optive compromise suited many of the workers, releasing us from the need to analyse what had been going on. Only later was this capitulation reversed in the light of one female detached worker's continuing relationship with a girls' group, a council estate-based women's group⁽⁷⁾ and the embryo beginnings of a part-time women workers' organisation. All of these endeavours pointed to the enormous value of autonomous work by women within the Service. And the few men still struggling, at least on the level of ideas, were acknowledging the inadequacy of their position and their need to foster an understanding of their implications of a 'separatist' approach with the lads. It became gradually apparent that without the parallel developments of antisexist girls' work and anti-sexist boys' work we possessed no material base for building cross-gender enterprises. Thus despite continued, widespread and distorted misgivings Girls' Work within the Borough is being slowly consolidated. The matter of investigating and devising alternative strategies for work with the boys has been posed, but only tentatively confronted.

Searching for an Understanding

'The Tradition of all dead generations weighs like a nightmare on the brain of the living'. (8)

Faced with this problematic, to where might the concerned and confused male youth worker turn for insight and guidance? Within youth work's own gender-blind and/or gender-biased tradition there is little succour. Male youth workers have failed to formulate any opposition to the persistence of their own sexist practice. In fact the opposite is rather the case - there is a rich tradition of training for manhood; of turning boys into men, running from the Scouts through the Boys' Clubs to the Outward Bound movement. We cannot be surprised at the presence of this deafening silence. The very notion of examining one's own political privilege is personally threatening. An analysis of patriarchal relations is conspicuously absent from the curricula of full or part-time youth work training courses. Even within the avowedly radical outpourings of the male writers on youth cultures and sub-cultures, the question of sexual division has been rendered marginal. So whilst Mungham and Pearson do emphasis the carelessness of much unitary oriented writing about 'youth', allowing that young people are differentiated by class, occupation, education, ethnic origin and finally gender, they, together with Hall and Jefferson, are most notable for their lack of attention to the centrality of

male/female power relations. However the genre's empirical observation does provide us with a vein of valuable material, which needs to be resifted in the light of our recognition of its gender-blindness. All the descriptions reveal much about the 'maleness' of both researcher and researched: Mungham on the cattle-market atmosphere of Saturday night at the local 'Palais'; Pearson on the defensive chauvinism and aggressive scaredness of 'Paki-bashing'; Clarke on the collective 'mob' community of skinheads; Corrigan on the spheres of resistance to schooling of the 'Smash Street Kids'; and Hebdige on the dispossessed style and unity of black 'rough and tough rudies'.(11) Within Willis, (12) rich sources of details are to be found in his transcripts of interviews with those 'learning to labour'. One section briefly, but graphically articulates the objectification of young women, the fear of the female body, the lascivious tales of conquest, the lads' sense of superiority, their "knowing masculinity" caught crudely in Joey's classically chauvinist "I don't know, the only thing I'm interested in is fuckin' as many women as I can if you really wanna know." Only Brake among the male sub-culturists begins to respond stutteringly to Angela McRobbie's challenge to the sub-cultural 'celebration of masculinism' and its ignorance of 'the culture of traditional femininity' or of the alternatives created by young women themselves. In a recent article aimed at 'settling accounts with subcultures', McRobbie underlines bitingly the 'silences' within Willis and Hebdige on the resilience of the divisions between the sexes; their failure to address the savage hypocrisy of male attitudes to women; and the absence of 'a full sexed notion of working class culture', which could begin to comprehend the complexity of the ensemble of social relations. She argues persuasively for a feminist re-reading of sub-cultural texts, which places on the table central issues sidestepped by their male authors. Following this important lead, it is also necessary and useful to suggest a re-reading of these 'classics' from a self-consciously male perspective; from a masculine viewpoint, which places men themselves clearly into the reality of the gender struggle and which seeks to explore ways of opposing the spectre of male domination and female subordination.

In a crucial sense such a lifting of the mists from around the myth of masculinity, such an enterprise of radicalised comprehension will have to be grounded in that site of social relations, so palpably ignored by male sociologists, the family and the sphere of domestic life. Few men have spoken to the conflicting themes surrounding the social construction of the heterosexuality of both adolescent females and males - being 'straight' has been taken as given - or have begun to situate the transition of young women and young men as 'employee' employer' into the domestic economy of reproduction - the division of labour within the home being taken from granted as social fact.

There have been psychoanalytic-based efforts to extend our understanding of maleness as in Paul Hoch, whose attempted synthesis of Freud and Marx attempts to uncover 'the mask of masculinity', locating working class machismo as repressed homosexuality. And at least the Men against Sexism movement has begun to open up the area of males talking about their sexuality in a language not consumed by sexual aggression and sexual domination. Within this literature we can appropriate fertile descriptions of the male bonding process; rape within marriage; accounts of male childhood; the hetero-sexual hunt and homosexual 'cruising'. (17) Grappling with this range of material on an intimate level is required if we are to confront being male. Yet the guilt-ridden idealism, which so often permeates its pages, needs to be transcended if we are to construct ways of

being with young men, that do not in themselves lapse into a pseudo-religious strategy of confession and conversion. The young men of my acquaintance are unlikely to suffer long a pious preaching perspective, that exhorts them to mend their evil ways. For the problem with much of this literary output (even Stoltenberg, who influentially proposes the notion of an 'heterosexual model' in which men are the arbiters of sexual identity for both themselves and for women) is that it slides on the one hand to biological determinism. Man is reduced to being innately evil and exploitative. Or on the other to a kind of masochistic moralism - guilt grows in the genitals. In the former all hope is lost in a sea of biological pessimism, in the latter a retreat from the world would seem to be in order. Neither constitutes a viable optimistic alternative faced on an evening-toevening basis with a group of young macho males. How are we to move forward in a purposive way with our feet, both metaphorically and materially, on the ground?

Before more directly facing this daunting dilemma, it is worth noting that the theoretical tension around male myopia has filtered into the world of youth work itself. This has happened both as a result of the critical emphasis of female sociologists such as Tricia McCabe and Mica Nava, who have talked about youth work itself as a site of struggle and as a consequence of the actual shifts in practice prompted by the Girls Work movement. Thus Phil Cohen, reflecting on his analysis of the dynamic contained in working with young people, allows that his original work should have been subtitled 'Growing Up Masculine in a Working Class City'. (19) He tries to explain the lacuna in his paradigm by reference to the impossibility of his developing analytically useful relationships with young women and to his implication in and manipulation of the dominant macho norms within the young male groups. This collusion distorted his appreciation of the ways in which young men and women were constrained by gender stereo-types and blinded him to the contradictory function of masculine ideals. However despite this admission, as McCabe (20) points out, he goes on to subsume yet again women's subordination under the general heading of capitalist oppression. To add insult to radical feminist injury, he dismisses youth and women as "by definition 'non-class' agents" and collapses young women into a homogeneous category of 'youth'. On a political and organisational front, Nava charges him with "conflating ignorantly feminist attempts to win some separate youth provision for girls with political separatism". (27) To his credit though Cohen does acknowledge that male radicals must take on board the issue of male power within the adolescent milieu, but in despair asks,

"How do we tackle the chauvinism of working-class boys in a way that does not simultaneously undermine the cultural sources of their resistance to Capital and the State and intensify their sexual anxieties?"

McCabe's rejoinder is that chauvinism is precisely the source of their resistance. Now it is not necessary for McCabe to be absolutely correct in her conclusion for the barb to strike home accurately and painfully into the male ego. The whole width of the male front resisting capitalist exploitation is not entirely predicated upon a parallel and compensatory subordination of women, but this does not detract one jot from the feminist insistence that men oppose the pervasiveness of patriarchy's perversity. We need also to examine more carefully why Cohen sees challenging the sexism of working-class young males as leading almost inexorably to their demise at the hands of the capitalist imperative and to the deepening of their sexual trauma. The reality of the complexity of the lads' modes of resistance and their intertwined relationships with young women is more contradictory than this fatalistic picture supposes. I have worked

with young men and young women involved together in a struggle against their bosses at work, in which, gradually and painfully, efforts by management to set them at each other's throats were resisted, and through which real gains were made in terms of how they acted to one another, both in the work-place and on the streets. So too the implication of Cohen's question is that there exists some unsullied male sexuality, which may be besmirched by the creation of sexual neuroses through a process of confrontation with the interfering youth worker. Does this mean that in the presence of lads who verbally and physically abuse young women, I must stand mute for fear of upsetting some delicate sexual balance? Clearly in the context of male heterosexual aggression it is difficult to empathise with an idea of male sexual apprehension, but there are many other instances of male sexual insecurity, which do not have their roots purely in the male control of women. It is to these moments of contradiction that we must attend, whilst also confronting openly sexual violence and to hell with the risk of subsidence in the sexual minefield.

In terms of the continuing debate about the relation between patriarchy and capitalism, it is not possible here to strike up an engagement with the argument. However it is important to reiterate that the focus of this paper is on the problematic of women's oppression and the gender struggle. Hopefully by moving forward from a masculine standpoint a theory-in-practice (about working with young men), which is conscious of the sexual division of production and reproduction, it will be possible to contribute in a small way to the unravelling of the dialectic of gender, race, class and age. Within youth work it is time for the men to take responsibility for the present sexist state of affairs and to act to do something about the situation.

The Reality of Youth Work

'Men's houses are the arsenals of male weaponry.'(23)

So what is the actual nature of day-to-day youth work practice? The Youth Service itself is heterogeneous in terms of its organisational forms, its differing statements about aims and objectives and its varying styles of interaction with young people. To add to the confusion myths abound about what really goes on the Youth Service is infamous for its juggling with attendance figures and its rewriting of history and herstory within its reports to all manner of committees. Yet it is possible by scratching beneath the surface of the widespread rhetoric about preparations for membership of a participative democracy to identify the majority of youth work as being contained within a conservative character-building integrationist model, whilst scattered pockets of client-centred practice strain towards a liberal pluralist paradigm. (24) And this practice, conservative, social democratic, or even radical, together with whatever resources, is focussed dominantly on young males. As Nava observes, youth work aims largely to exercise some form of supervision over the leisure time of working class youth and aims 'to cope with' oppositional cultures and potential delinquency, being concerned principally with the 'failed', 'inadequate' and 'disadvantaged'. Indeed, as I have tried to show elsewhere, liberal youth work's renaissance in the 1960's was grounded precisely in the belief that social democracy had triumphed over the vicissitudes of capitalist development and that the task for youth workers was to sweep up those individuals unable to respond to the endless spiral of available opportunities. And these individual threats to social harmony would almost certainly be male in gender. Nava illustrates how because historically girls present less of a 'street' problem than boys, the forces of the Youth Service are directed to a form of

control of young males, which in its very manner plays upon, utilises and buttresses male chauvinism. (25)

Such an analysis corresponds accurately to the phenomenon of 'mixed' youth clubs, which are usually 'boys' clubs with a fringe female presence. The facilities of the youth centre are in male hands - the girls left to organise the coffee bar or rendered 'invisible' in the toilets. (26) Members of staff often do little to disturb this oppressive status quo, accepting it as being the way of the world and being themselves motivators in encouraging male-oriented competition and activity as the raison d'etre for the club's existence. Even the weekly disco, partially an opening for the girls to enjoy their own physical expertise, is shadowed by the sense of the surrounding male presence and the inevitable sexual overtures of the heterosexual hunt. Male leaders, fancying themselves as real, hard men, stand on touchlines around the country's sports fields, indulging their machismo by encouraging young males to ever-rising standards of manliness, naked aggression and violent skullduggery, all in the cause of winning: "don't be a puff, you chickened out"; "get stuck in, you cissie"; "kick his balls in, you soft cunt".

A substantial portion of my own face-to-face experience hinged around the almost desperate need to win acceptance from and gain access to the young men's groups. And the passport for entry was to prove that I was even more of a man than the next man! To this end I told even dirtier, misogynist jokes than they could remember; I colluded as I drove the min-bus in our orchestrated leering at female pedestrians; I conspired to seek their approval of my supposed sexual successes, being termed 'a rum bugger' by them, a considerable boost to my parochial prestige; I played sports with them and was seen to be a hard competitor. In short I was an eminently successful youth worker, praised for developing relationships with 'difficult young customers' and admired for my persuasive social education techniques. I would be asked how I got these lads to discuss social and political issues - what was the basis of my 'good' practice? My answer would be couched in terms of trust, sensitivity, an anti-authoritarianism of a contradictory hue and, above all, to do with "being one of the lads, being on their side." In retrospect the cruel irony is that the opening up of the dialogue with the lads about politics was rooted in a wilful ignorance of that most profound feminist slogan, 'the personal is political'. My youth work practice slid ineluctably towards a fetish of the masculine, an incorporation with the lads in a set of mutual attitudes and practices, that were the curriculum of an education for manhood. That there were gulps and hiccups in this process is also clear. We found being hard all the time impossible, and much more besides, but I shall return to this hopeful contradiction later. For the moment I do not want to duck the conclusion, that the mass of male-inspired youth work practice remains masculinist and misogynist in its intent and its consequences.

Grounding an Alternative Praxis

Before attempting to sketch some possible ways of struggling against the prevailing sexist tide in youth work, we need to ground our understanding of male/female power relations, particularly with regard to the specific period of young women and men 'growing up'. It is fundamental to recognise that patriarchal power is based in the material circumstances of men's control over women's labour and women's sexuality. This male domination is organised through a grid of social relations and a network of socially constructed practices - exemplified by the male grouping of solidarity, be it at work, in the pub or in the Masonic lodge - that support men in the exploitation of their

women. The adolescent male stands at a specific stage in the growth of this system of male collectivism, that is itself dynamic and incomplete. Thus youth work is concerned during a transitional period ('adolescence'), a process of enfranchisement, during which two essential themes unfold. Firstly, the social construction of the young men's sexuality into the compulsory mode of heterosexuality is accelerated and, secondly they are prepared for their forthcoming position as husband/father (patriarch) in the familial home. In young men's relationships with young women these two unwinding threads are inextricably interwoven. For the male this period may be seen as an education for patriarchy - an endless effort to get his end away, whilst searching for his ideal partner of dependable and dutiful domesticity.

Thus for the young man, the heterosexual model is the Godgiven goal. Through a social process, which includes increasingly the political content of male bonding, patriarchy (in the form of living men's real practices rather than as some reified abstraction) confers power and privilege upon those born with male genitalia. The young male is initiated into the knowledge of a sexual programme, which lays down guidelines about how penises should work. The agenda of this 'pogrom' acknowledges three stages: Objectification; Fixation; and Conquest, culminating in the ultimate victory, 'the fuck': "the hard cock, the vaginal penetration, the tense pelvic thrusting and the three second ejaculation". In this learning of the tactics of sexual terrorism, the woman is reduced to a faceless passivity. Compellingly, the sexual act is overlaid with the requirement to have power over and possession of the female partner.

Within the young men's groups in which I have worked, the male bonding curriculum and its supremacist vocabulary of 'cunts and tits' held an uneasy, but dominant control over our male-male social intercourse. Whatever we were actually doing at any one moment - listening to records; climbing mountains; going to the match; having a pint - the sense of our collaborative mission to learn more about 'how we did it' and 'how we could get it' was always bubbling near the surface of our relationships. After all, in the last analysis, 'we' were after 'them'. The insidious grip of this 'battle of sexes' perspective revealed itself repeatedly in the violence of our sexual anecdotes and fantasies. And the importance of competition in this male world became inseparable from the ways in which we perceived women and their possible useage. As one young bloke often remarked to me upon the feeling inspired by scoring a goal, "it's nearly as good as a fuck", whereupon he would clench his fist and tense his forearm in the male motif for an all-consuming, enormous erection. Male phallic-centred sexuality, aggression and power become congruent. Rape is the logical and inexorable outcome of the celebration of might and right.

The institution within which rape is legally impossible, the sanctuary of male prerogative, is marriage. My own experience in working with largely working-class young women is that matrimony is viewed as a necessary and inevitable destination, which at least holds out the promise of increased autonomy compared to the parental home. Given its imminence, this preordained nuptial resting-place inhibits the girls' choices prior to the wedding and often suffocates the young women's potential on passage through its portals. For the lads too, it is an uncertain prospect, but in general they do foresee being 'the master' and argue that it will not cramp their style. The male clique in the pub will rank males according to the amount of control held over the wife, just as the lads reflect this in their scorn for those mates, who are 'under the thumb'. Christine Delphy's

analysis locates the family, formerly 'a haven from a heartless world', as the site of women's oppression with the husband appropriating the unpaid domestic services of the wife/mother. Indeed this sexual division of labour asserts its stranglehold prior to matrimony. Several of the courting couples at the youth club were practising a routine, in which the girls' genuineness (love? sense of duty?) was examined through her willingness to accept laundry and cooking duties, especially over the weekend. The lads' part of the experimental bargain was to have enough money to take the girl out to the pub, the disco or the pictures. In Willis one young male defines his expectations and his success in finding the appropriate mate within the grudging admiration of:

"I've got the right bird. I've been going with her for 18 months now. She wouldn't look at another one. She's fuckin' done well, she's clean. She loves doing fuckin' housework. Trousers I bought yesterday, I took'em up last night and her turned'em up for me. She's as good as gold and I wanna get married as soon as I can." (32)

It is the compelling force of this master/faithful domestic servant scenario, that continues to invade the young male's focus on the marital condition. Sex aside (and that could be had 'on the side'), such a catch as the domesticated young woman described above is not to be missed from the male point of view. This girl is everything a man could want from a replacement for his mother. In spite of the effects of feminism on social relations over the last decade and some weakening of the servicing function accorded to women, working class young men and women (in particular?) continue to operate within a set of options predicated on a male wage-earner and a female baby-producing family house-worker (whether or not she works outside the home too). Even where some shifts in the allocation of domestic tasks has taken place, the embracing arch is still one of male privilege. Indeed the gnawing problem is that the expectations heaped upon the young woman are even greater than before. And a fall from grace, a failure to accommodate all the varying pressures upon her can lead quickly to violent male expressions of frustration with a situation gone sour.

Much more work needs to be done on extending our understanding of heterosexuality's social construction and the 'forces' and relations of production within the domestic economy as we seek to fill out our comprehension of the male/ female power relationship and seek to construct strategies of change. However it is this paper's proposal that even this rough grasp of adolescence as a period of preparation for heterosexuality and marriage is central to sorting out a 'fix' on the possible parameters for a radical practice with young males. How can male youth workers intervene in a cycle of oppression, that often has as its finale domestic violence?

In and Against Patriarchy

The basis for an anti-sexist masculine strategy needs to be grounded both in the theoretical and practical appreciation of the fact that male power is, in no sense, absolutely monolithic. In trying to take on board the general reality of male supremacy, it is easy to slide into a universalist and ahistorical view of patriarchy, which renders its oppressive relations eternal and inviolate. Clearly it is necessary to historicise our analysis. In 1982 this must lead to rooting our understanding in the development of feminism in the '80's and its consequences for patriarchal structures inside and outside the home. The female initiatives of the last decade have set in motion specific tensions within the dominant system of gender relations and it is important to mark this turbulence as the direct product of historical

human activity. Structures are not functionally all-powerful. Women are acting to change the circumstances into which they are born and in which they are forced to live. Their oppositional practices have sent tremors through the patriarchal facade. Radical men must learn from the endeavours of the Women's Liberation Movement and begin their own struggle against sexism from within the enemy camp.

As we go about our daily contact with young men and with each other, we need to start exploring our common experience of the contradictions in masculinity - the rubs, the advantages and disadvantages of the male identities on offer. It is essential to identify the ways in which we experience the constraints and limitations of traditional maleness; to articulate our disenchantment with the ideal of the male supremacist 'Action Man'; to note the suffocation of our sensitivity towards one another; to admit to being frightened; to acknowledge our ignorance and our insecurity as a prelude to and as a part of sharing our worries and doubts with the young men with whom we relate. I am not plucking these generalisations about being male from some liberal, rhetorical mid-air, for these doubts about the sacredness of manhood are contained in the following quotes from recordings of my ongoing work with both 'adult' and 'adolescent' men:

"I'm only 17 and a bloody failure already laughed at because I'm not strong enough, not hard enough to be a man". (Youth club member)

"I was cock of the school, a real tough nut. Always in scraps of one kind or another. But you know I had nobody I was close to, a proper friend. There were just kids, who wanted to be like me and they hated me really." (35 year old voluntary community worker)

"Why is it the only time men dare touch one another is on the soccer field? I'd really like to get near to some blokes, but they keep you at a safe distance it's sad and as I'm crap at football I never get hold of anyone!" (18 year old on a Social Awareness Weekend)

"When we go to away matches, I piss myself sometimes I'm so scared. And then on the way home we make up all these stories about who we've done over and how many of them there were. Really I've never fuckin' hit anyone I just watch for the time to run like fuck!" (15 year old member of Bolton Wanderers Supporters group)

"I know so little about women, it's not fuckin' true. But you have to pretend you've done this and done that or they call you a wanker when I'm with a girl I've not a bloody clue and I'm supposed to fuckin' know it all." (16 year old youth club member)

But in terms of our youth work practice how do we concretise the process of prising open the multitude of cracks and strains in the seemingly cohesive cement of the ruling masculinist ideology? How do we get in touch with and pick up upon the emotions contained in the statements made by men in the preceding paragraph? An immediate concern for us is the foundation of our coming together as men, our joining of hands as oppressors. In direct contrast, women's groups have been formed precisely on the basis of bringing together into collective situations the oppressed individual female. Crucially an opposition to the isolation of individual women has been built through the formation of women's groups. Similarly in youth

work, feminist workers have striven to create spaces within which girls' groups could be nurtured. This is not to argue that there are no young women's groupings outside of the feminist intervention, but is to remark that the paucity of separate spaces for young women and the closing down of their collective choices has made working towards building autonomous girls' groups a powerful political strategy for female youth workers. Men do not face the same scenario of deprivation. Indeed there is rarely a shortage of young men's groups within which to operate. On the whole these collectives are preformed and the persistent problem, mentioned earlier, is one of gaining access to these gatherings. For the male youth worker the dilemma is not one of creation, but is primarily one of subversion. The young men are already organised and are united on the basis of their maleness and their presupposed biological superiority to women.

I want to propose, therefore, that we need to situate two general strategies to be pursued by male youth workers attempting to resist and change the male imperative.

(i) The defensive mode operates on their territory in their groups. As has been illustrated, joining in brotherhood with the young men is fraught with implication and collusion. In engaging with other men around this question, my own dilemma is that I began to shift slowly my ways of being with the young men in an anti-sexist direction only from within. That is I had been accepted initially on traditional grounds, especially on the basis of my sporting prowess (I had been in the early '70's an international athlete and wearing my Great Britain track top was a jingoist-sent passport to conversation). Given this legitimising backstop, I was now allowed to create a personal 'style', which they suffered, laughed at and half-admired because of its slightly non-conformist, 'gay' eccentricity. It would be valuable to unearth the approaches used by men not so able to wheel on stage the macho credentials of the 500cc motor-cycle or to run on court profuse with masculine sweat. How have they succeeded in fostering relationships without being so credibly and obviously a 'real' man?

Whatever, though, the terms of acceptance, it is difficult to carve out a non-sexist headway in the climate of Friday night 'boozing' at the pub, Saturday afternoon chanting on the terraces, or Sunday morning actually kicking one another on the football field. In this environment of restricted possibilities, it would be idealist to propose anything but a range of responses and techniques, that coax, cajole and confront the sexism of young males (and of ourselves!), but which have to be utilised with reference to the fluctuations of the specific situations in which we find ourselves. Thus there will be moments of confrontation, but on their ground more often instances of a principled compromise. Yet there is oppositional space around the chinks in the masculine armoury and the male worker should be ready to seize any chance to move into the openings created by the lads discussing the size of penises, homosexuality, masturbation and the Yorkshire Ripper or on those occasions when a male's frailty and sensitivity is ridiculed by the group. But the task in this arena is principally one of keeping an alternative perspective on the agenda and watching for opportunities, which can be taken up outside the group itself, perhaps even in a corner of that very pub the same night, or more probably on a separate occasion. In the groups within which I worked, once accepted, I was allowed to disagree with the collective norm, whilst still retaining my honorary membership. There is no 'pure' line of attack available, but by moving in and about the contradictions within the group dynamic, 'floating like a butterfly, stinging like a bee', it is possible to be a challenging irritant to the group's dominant practices, and, more specifically, to be on hand to support individual males stepping outside the status quo. Fundamental to the authenticity of this enterprise is the necessity for the male worker's history to be available to the group; the need to have oneself and one's own contradictory practices written clearly into the dialogue. I do not propose this as some soul-searching exercise in guilt-tripping, but as the vital link between our practices and those of the lads. The anti-sexist initiative is our joint struggle.

But in advancing this proposal we must beware reality. Too rosy a picture of the possibilities will lead quickly to a frustrated pessimism with the whole enterprise. Workers need to keep a realistic hold on what will be an uphill task. A typical Friday night at the pub is intensely contradictory. It is likely to include pissing people off and being abused for being a social bore -'you're always harping on about the same things. Men are men and you'll never change that': will involve being accused of being homosexual, prompting an agitated discussion between virulent anti-gays and those adopting a more tolerant stance; will find the worker having a snatched five minutes with the panic-stricken lad, whose girl-friend is pregnant, leading to fixing up another meeting; will see the worker playing a game of darts through which he can offer an alternative to the win-at-allcosts/to lose-is-a-tragedy brigade; will find him immersed in a row about why the group's got to have some 'aggro' with the Chelsea fans the following afternoon; will lead to him questioning the lads about why they play the Space Invader all night and only acknowledge roughly the presence of their girl-friends after closing time. This situation is problematic for the male worker, but it is also unbearably rich in its contradictions and its educational potential.

(ii) The offensive, active mode of working with the young men shifts somewhat the terms of our relationship and seeks mainly to operate in the spaces outside of their own specific groupings. Often this freer, more flexible site of interaction, one less overpowered by the group norm, is available only with individual lads, but it can be created by taking the young men to a change of habitat at weekends or during the holidays. In proposing individual work and the use of the residential experience, we appear to be underpinning two cherished cornerstones of Youth Work's person-centred approach. Yet, whilst not wishing to throw away the insights and sensitivities of the personoriented perspective, it is necessary to transcend the individualism, the apoliticism and underlying moralism of this much proselytised, but little practiced Youth Work stance. We need to remind ourselves that the liberal Youth Work rhetoric of the past twenty years wished away gender, racial and class divisions and in its elevation of the classless, raceless and genderless individual as the object of its intervention failed conspicuously to address reality.

In seeking to explore with individual young men how we might move our sexist stance, we need to begin the task of comprehending human action in a way which locates its social origin and which situates the possibility of changing human action in the phenomenon of collective resistance and struggle. It is not, as in the Rogerian counselling (beloved of youth work trainers) about finding individual responses to the spectre of 'bad' ideas in our heads. This is to suggest, following Seve and Ashcroft, that rather than acquiesce to a scenario of men as 'socialised or cultural dopes', drowning in a sea of macho values, we need to examine the ways in which men develop sets of social practices, generally consistent with their levels of power and prerogative.

In the domestic situation this means that men, despite differences in power levels at work and in other social spheres, construct ways of being in this specific situation, which match the dominant ideas and practices around being a husband, a father, the breadwinner. But they do not develop this position mindlessly, it is chosen rationally as making the most acceptable sense of this setting, despite the felt contradictions and weaknesses in the role adopted. Given the absence of alternative and oppositional 'sets of practices' about being male, being a father, men settle in the main for a traditionalist position. Yet this decision to act in certain ways as a man is not a product of behavioural brainwashing, but is a rational, albeit an oppressive choice which represents the key to change. A view of men as actors, whose practices can be altered in the light of alternatives, prevents us lapsing into a pessimistic view of men as either biologically evil or as 'socialised' beyond the pale. It allows us to understand why some men, drawing on their access to oppositional life-styles or acting out of contrary collectives, have developed relatively sensitive and egalitarian relationships, whilst a majority of males remain more overtly oppressive.

In my individual work with young men these dilemmas have surfaced in a variety of ways. The most consistent contact I have had with young males was during a period when two previously homeless lads lived with me. Late at night, having shed the macho conscience from our shoulders, the lads and I shared experiences about their burgeoning sexuality, our fears of relating to each other and to women, our sense of having to prove ourselves as men. In this climate we floated many thoughts about how we would like things to be and this was an important stepping stone, but it remained inherently idealist. It continued to wish the world to be different. Gradually I learnt the importance of rooting our discussion about being different in the reality of our material circumstances. If we were serious about change, we had to investigate the constraints on our present practices. We needed to find ways of shifting the limitations on our actions, so that we could change in a real and positive sense. What became obvious was the necessity to root this desire for transformation in the strength and the solidarity of being together, and to situate this movement of change precisely in the expression of being different together as men - being frail, being emotional, being more honest, being less competitive, being more co-operative and supportive. I would not want to exaggerate the quality of this experience of 'being different', but I do not want to lose a hold on the positive and purposive aspects of our relations. In this particular case, prompted by my politics, separate individual work moved towards a collectivity of five men, connecting male with male; towards recognising that individual prejudices and fears were social and collective at birth and that struggling with the contradictions of masculinity needed social and collective resistance and action.

This example illustrates the gap between how young men act within and without the gang. The ideas and practices of the group do not represent the totality of the ideas and practices of each individual young male. Inconsistencies abound and given an area of neutrality, it is vital to start investigating anti-sexist strategies in the sphere of groupwork. Away on a weekend, a programme of single-sex activity and discussion can be more openly threatening to the dominant values of chauvinism. In suggesting such an enterprise, it is necessary to break with a mainstream groupwork approach predicated on catalysing harmonic relations between individuals abstracted from social relations. To this end we need to begin from an analysis that recognises people as divided from one another by the power

relations of gender, class, race and age, and by a host of linked further sub-divisions. In working with one group of young men, rather than hiding the variations between them (in terms of education, type of home, method of transport, football team supported, type of music enjoyed, style of dress etc.), I pursued an exercise through which we placed on the table the gamut of our motley differences and through which we explained and examined our division from one another. In then putting onto the agenda the gender division, it became more possible to recognise its social origin and its debilitating effect on relations between men and women. Certainly a groupwork perspective serious about opposing sexism must be grounded in the reality of a gender-divided social structure.

But these are but tentative proposals. In actuality there will be a complicated interplay between the offensive and the defensive, the group and the individual, the public and the private, their territory and ours. But we will only unravel the strands of this complexity in practice. The urgent need at this moment is for radical males to propel the enterprise and the launching pad has to be the establishment of an anti-sexist male network of oppositional solidarity, than can motivate and strengthen local and national initiatives.

This recommendation in itself begs many questions. Radical men have often failed to respond seriously to the demands of the Women's Movement, seeking succour in a politics of adoption and token support; taking refuge in patronage and cooption. But in wanting to transcent this strategy of subordination by moving to a recognition that the gender struggle is our struggle, men are forced to deal with a welter of contradictions. For instance, are we merely bent on building a Men's Movement, which will manouevre to take control of proceedings? Is our strategy destined to be a sophisticated device in the maintenance of male privilege? Given that the majority of resources within Youth Work are focussed on young males, on what basis do we argue for further, alternative, experimental initiatives directed at young men? In response to the latter query, it has been suggested that work with Boys should not be started in any area unless Girls' Work in that district is already off the ground and in a process of consolidation. Similarly, it is advanced that Boys' Work advocates should not seek funds from limited experimental work sources, thus draining away possible finance for Girls' Work, but should be arguing for the diversion of monies from traditionalist practice. Clearly these are amongst the many thorny problems to be faced by a pioneering group of would-be anti-sexist men. However the crying need at this juncture is not to be bogged down in producing a perfect political position prior to actual activity, rather it is to initiate, albeit imperfectly, a strategy of opposition to gender oppression and exploitation. It is to act in a manner which is not parasitic upon the Women's Movement.

If we do not make a start upon this project, the future looks gloomy. Many feminists view suspiciously any moves towards joint endeavour. The only way through this impasse is for male youth workers to begin transforming the notion of a non-sexist male praxis into an actual 'set of practices' open to observation and criticism, which lay the foundation for any future negotiations with female workers. Amongst some of the steps we could be taking are the setting up of area and national forums to open up the issue amongst male workers; the development of male worker groups on local patches with a clear brief to examine and share the experience of trying to shift their face-to-face practice; the running of complementary and parallel weekends/ weeks with the lads on sexism alongside the Boys Rule Not

O.K. programmes organised by women; and the introduction into full and part-time training courses of the issue of male domination/female subordination and its implications for work with Boys (as opposed to simply its consequences for work with Girls!) Obviously the theory and practice of a genuine antisexist male youth work approach is at its embryo stage. At this moment it is premature to try to forge links between anti-sexist males and feminists except on the simple basis of keeping some lines of communication open. To propose discussion about anti-sexist mixed work without any evidence of a real stand by men against their own sexist practices is likely to be a divisive disservice to the growth of a radical youth work praxis, which opposes the oppression and exploitation of women by men and which looks to change the material basis of inequality and injustice. It is time to take our responsibility for the present sorry state of affairs into our own hands. Herstory will judge us.

Postscript

Since writing this piece, I have shared its argument with men and women in Youth and Community Work. It has been sharply pointed out that the paper is ridden with white assumptions. Ironically, given my critique of male sociologists for their marginalisation of gender, my own effort to understand sexism ignores the social relations of race. The stuttering analysis presented above is grounded in my work with white working-class young people and in my own whiteness. Its shortcomings are obvious. In focussing on the relations of gender I have been accused of 'forgetting' class. I would defend my attempt to analytically prioritise the possibility of an anti-sexist male strategy. However, I do accept that 'the theoretical moment' of suspending the interconnectedness of reality is immediately challenged by the inevitable contradictions of practice. This is how it must be. Certainly in my own dealings with men I have worried that the absence of an interrelated comprehension leads some males to a position of self-centred, indulgent liberalism. For men, the tension is between a genuine striving towards a revolutionary critique of masculine practices and the tempting possibility of arguing that feminism has gone 'over the top'. The former requires consistent and serious self-criticism. The latter heralds the end of personal scrutiny, disguised as the need to produce a more sophisticated analysis.

Some tentative progress has been made around developing contacts between would-be anti-sexist men. A conference was held in early 1983, out of which two regional groupings of men (London and Midlands) were formed. A newsletter is on the edge of existence. In Leicester, where I now work, a fragile bunch of male workers is meeting on a regular basis to examine practice. It would be heartening and helpful to hear from individuals or groups struggling against sexism, especially as it might be possible to connect them up with fellow-strugglers. Contact address: 59 Blackthorn Drive, Anstey Heights, Leicester LE4 1BS.

I am indebted to many people for being prepared to debate the paper, but in particular my thanks go to Steve Bolger, Julie Hart, Janet Hunt, Marilyn Lawson, Angela McRobbie, Mica Nava, Roy Ratcliffe and Andy Smart for their criticism. A special note of gratitude must be expressed to Jalna Hanmer for both the warmth and sharpness of her encouragement.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- A phrase first used by Friedan, B. The Feminine Mystique, Penguin: Harmondsworth 1963.
- See The London Youth Committee Working Party, Youth Service Provision for Girls, ILEA 1980, an extensive document in support of Girls' Work in the capital.

- Marshall, V. 'Girls are People Too!' in Schooling and Culture, Spring 1981 ILEA pp 30-31.
- Response from a local education authority officer in January 1980 on being presented with the programme of a 'Boys Rule Not O.K.' week.
- 5. The substance of the paper was written when I was working for the Wigan Youth Service. However things are not very different elsewhere. After taking up an appointment in Leicestershire I wrote to all the men employed in Community Education about the need for a male anti-sexist perspective. Evidently one Principal responded by suggesting that I required urgent psychiatric help.
- The National Association of Youth Clubs sponsored the first National Youth Conferences for Girls at Avon Tyrrell (3-5 February 1978) and at Manchester (21-23 April 1978).
- Julie Hart, a detached youth worker on a working-class estate in Wigan nourished against overwhelming odds some remarkable work with young girls and older women.
- Marx, K. and Engels, F. The 18th Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte, Foreign Languages: Moscow.
- Mungham, J. and Pearson, G. (eds), Working Class Youth Cultures, Routledge, Kegan and Paul: London 1976.
- Hall, S. and Jefferson, T. (eds), Resistance through Rituals, Hutchinson: London 1975.
- See Mungham, J. 'Youth in pursuit of itself in Mungham and Pearson pp82-104; Pearson, G. 'Paki-bashing in a North-East Lancashire Cotton Town' in Mungham and Pearson' pp48-81; Clarke, J. The Skinheads and the Magical Recovery of the Community' in Hall and Jefferson pp99-102; Corrigan, P. Schooling the Smash Street Kids, Macmillan: London 1979; Hebdige, D. 'Reggae, Rastas and Rudies' in Hall and Jefferson pp135-153.
- 12. Willis, P. Learning to Labour, Saxon: Farnborough 1977.
- 13. Willis, ibid. p199.
- Brake, M. The Sociology of Youth Culture and Youth Sub-Cultures, RKP: London 1980 pp137-149.
- McRobbie, A. 'Settling Accounts with Sub-Cultures: A Feminist Critique' in Screen Education, Spring 1980, 34, pp37-49.
- Hoch, P. White Hero, Black Beast, Pluto: London 1979 and his debt to Mitchell, J. Psychoanalysis and Feminism, Penguin: Harmondsworth 1975.
- 17. For instance Lamm, B. 'Learning from women' in Snodgrass, J. (ed), For Men Against Sexism. Time Change: Albion 1977; Atkinson, P. 'Mr. Pine: From an account of my childhood' in Achilles Heel, 3 pp22-24; Litewka, J. 'The Socialised Penis' in Snodgrass pp16-35; Taylor, L. 'The Hunt, Hunter and Hunted' in Gay Left, 10 pp27-29.
- 18. Stoltenberg, J. 'Towards Gender Justice' in Snodgrass pp74-82.
- Cohen, P. 'Sore Thumb: Knuckle Sandwich Revisited' in Youth in Society, 45, August 1980: NYB pp8-11.
- McCabe, T. 'Assertions not analysis', a letter to Youth in Society, 48, August 1980: NYB p7.
- Nava, M. 'Girls aren't really a problem' in Schooling and Culture, 9, Spring 1981: ILEA pp5-11.
- 22. Cohen op cit. p9.
- 23. Millett, K. Sexual Politics, Abacus: London 1971 p48.
- 24. For a further explanation of this theoretical perspective on youth work, see Butters, S. and Newell, S. Realities of Training, NYB: Leicester 1979, particularly Chapters 1 and 2. This paper disagrees with their placing of contemporary youth work within the Social Education Repertoire.
- See London Youth Committee working Party p9. Several Area Youth Committees calculate that spending on boys is approximately five times as high as on girls.
- See McRobbie, A. 'Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity' in women's Studies/CCCS (eds), Women Take Issue, Hutchinson: London 1978 pp209-222.
- See Rich, A. 'Compulsory Heterosexuality and Lesbian Existence' in Signs, Spring/Summer 1980, pp630-660 for her analysis of male power as enforcing heterosexuality of women, where "the absence of choice remains the great unacknowledged reality".
- 28. Litewka in Snodgrass pp16-35.
- Stoltenberg in Snodgrass p76.
- See Whitehead, A. 'Sexual Antagonism in Herefordshire' in Barker, D. and Allen, S. (eds), Dependence and Exploitation in Work and Marriage, Longman: London 1976.
- Delphy, C. The Main Enemy, WRRCC: London 1977 and her article, 'A Materialist Feminism is Possible' in Feminist Review, 4, 1980.
- Willis op cit pp44-45.
- 33. Seve, L. Man in Marxist Theory and the Psychology of Personality, Harvester: London 1978. However my understanding of Seve is especially indebted to Bob Ashcroft's conceptions of the Individual and the Client in Social Science and Social Work, unpublished paper: University of Bradford.
- My thanks to Steve Potter, lecturer in Community Work at Manchester Polytechnic for opening my eyes through his groupwork strategy. 'Street Therapy'.

YOUTH AND POLICY CONFERENCE PAPERS

A collection of papers from the Study Conference held in Coventry earlier this year will be available in October at £2 post free.

You are advised to place your order immediately by sending a cheque made out to Youth & Policy, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Lowfell, Gateshead NE9 6LA.



A 2/3 year course expanding knowledge of deviant behaviour, crime and social policy through a thorough sociological approach.

Options include **Women in Society** and **Family Law and Social Policy.**

Assessment is by essay only.

Admissions Enquiries, Middlesex Polytechnic, 114 Chase Side, London N14 5PN.

and
ly.
4 Chase Side, 01-886
6599

Middlesex Polytechnic

.......

feature review

schooling and race

BRUCE CARRINGTON

Troyna B. and Smith D. (ed.) RACISM, SCHOOL AND THE LABOUR MARKET National Youth Bureau, Leicester 1983 £3.95 (paper) pp.105

Edwards V.K.
LANGUAGE IN MULTICULTURAL CLASSROOMS
Batsford, London 1983
£7.50 (paper)
pp.160

Lynch J.
THE MULTICULTURAL CURRICULUM
Batsford, London 1983
£6.95 (paper)
pp.158

Milner D.
CHILDREN AND RACE: TEN YEARS ON
Ward Lock Educational, London
£4.95 (paper)
pp.260

In recent years, more especially since the publication of the Rampton Report ⁽¹⁾ and Scarman Report ⁽²⁾ in 1981, there has been a steady growth of interest and concern with 'multiracial', 'multicultural' education. The texts examined in this review may be regarded as broadly representative of the expanding literature in this field addressed to practising teachers and students of education.

The Rampton Report has been criticised in various quarters. Some have dismissed it as anecdotal and polemical; others have sought to highlight its fundamental conceptual and methodological flaws. Reeves and Chevannes⁽³⁾, for example, have argued that the data presented in the Report, which show that the overall attainment levels of black pupils (of Afro-Caribbean descent) are below those of their white and Asian peers, are in themselves insufficient to support the conclusion drawn of black underachievement. Although it is generally accepted that parental social class and educational level have an important bearing on school performance, the Rampton Committee failed to take these factors into account. As a result, it was unable to indicate the extent to which the school performance of black pupils is conditioned by class-specific as opposed to race-specific forms of disadvantage. According to John Rex, in the preface to Racism, School and the Labour Market:-

"The Rampton Committee and its successor headed by Lord Swann had spent all of its time on the question of West Indian failure, which is 'demonstrated' by a comparison of West Indian, Asian and white British children. What it had not done was to look at any of the other variables involved. Had it done so by, for instance, controlling for inner city location or the occupational background of parents it might well have reached different conclusions". (33)

The contributors to this useful and timely collection attempt to challenge the received wisdom of black 'underachievement' in several ways. The article by Ken Roberts and his associates - 'Young, Black and Out of Work' - which is based upon 551 interviews, conducted with young people in six multiracial neighbourhoods who had completed their full-time education showed that black youth, especially the girls, were leaving school better qualified than their white peers. They note -

"The schools in our survey areas were not failing their black pupils - at least, not to any greater extent than they were failing their white pupils. Blacks were not being 'held down' while their white peers acquired credentials to improve their job prospects". (p.19)

Along with other contributors (e.g. Jenkins and Troyna, Lee and Wrench) these authors argue that the marginality of black youth in the labour market cannot be simply attributed to their school performance. Evidence is presented to show that black youth continue to face both 'direct' and 'indirect discrimination' in the occupational sphere, and that this not only increases their difficulties in obtaining job offers before leaving school but also extends the duration of spells out of work. Furthermore, the findings of Roberts and his associates suggest that higher rates of unemployment among the group may, in part, be determined by the fact that they tend to have higher (though not unrealistic) vocational aspirations than white working class youth living in the same areas. For this reason, ,they tend to be more selective in their choice of job and are more likely to eschew the predominantly unskilled occupations available in their local labour markets.

Many of the points made by Roberts and his associates are reinforced by Lee and Wrench in their article, 'A Subtle Hammering - Young Black People and the Labour Market'. In this, the findings of a longitudinal study began in 1979 of the employment practices and perceptions of employers of young workers are related to the aspirations, and experiences of pupils from four inner city schools. Lee and Wrench show, amongst other things, how Afro-Caribbean and Asian males are considerably less successful than white males in obtaining craft or technical apprenticeships. Their interviews with employers indicate that this higher failure rate is the outcome of the following factors: (1) Recruitment to apprenticeships is usually restricted to those aged 16. Young Asians, who were found to be far more com-

mitted to staying on at school than other groups, were disproportionately affected by this practice. (2) Young Afro-Caribbeans and Asians alike are systematically disadvantaged because of 'indirect discrimination', which may take several forms. Firms located in the predominantly white outer areas of the city frequently operate 'catchment area policies', preferring to recruit people from the immediate locality so as to avoid poor-timekeeping.

For this reason and others, ethnic minority youth may find themselves with no other choice but to confine their search for work to the less buoyant inner-urban labour markets. Furthermore, with the overall decline in the number of apprenticeship places on offer, many firms have come to operate word-ofmouth recruitment policies which invariably favour job applicants who are related to existing employees. Such policies work against ethnic minority youth because 'craft areas are predominantly white and will remain so long as the relatives of white employees get preference' (p.39). (3) Ethnic minority youth can be excluded from apprenticeship schemes because managers select recruits on the basis of 'subjective criteria rather than formal criteria such as educational qualifications', operate with racial stereotypes, or seek to assuage racist elements within their existing workforces. Lee and Wrench draw the following grim conclusion from their study:-

"As all applicants for apprenticeships were applying realistically in terms of age and educational background, the reason for the higher failure of blacks is sought in what happens after school - in the processes of the labour market." (p.44).

In the light of this and similar evidence, Jenkins and Troyna criticise a fundamental tenet of the Rampton Report (and other recent government publications) that educational reforms can provide the basis for a greater measure of racial equality in the labour market. Endorsing Bernstein's famous dictum that 'education cannot compensate for society', they contend that the Rampton Report embraces the naive and unfashionable ideological viewpoint that major structural changes can be effected through the medium of education. Their message is clear and unequivocal: the main restraint upon the lifechances of Afro-Caribbean youth is not 'underachievement', but institutionalised racism.

Hard-pressed practising teachers are likely to be more impressed by Viv Edward's new work, Language in Multi-Cultural Classrooms than by the esoteric strictures of Racism, School and the Labour Market. Edwards opens with a discussion of language as a classroom issue, arguing that "language and identity are so strongly intermeshed that any attack on the way we speak is likely to be perceived as an attack on our values and integrity." (p.9). She notes that speech 'can trigger social stereotypes' and that linguistic minorities can be at a disadvantage in education because teachers and schools are invariably biased towards a white, middle-class speech style. Throughout her work, Edwards stresses that although received pronounciation and standard English are accorded higher status in schools and society, they cannot be viewed as inherently superior to other speech styles and linguistic forms.

In the first part of her book Edwards presented a cogent analysis of the development of language policies in British schools, which focuses on changing responses and attitudes to bilingualism, mother-tongue teaching, Black British English and regional dialects. This analysis is followed by a critical appraisal of teaching strategies and practices in multi-racial, multi-lingual classrooms.

Edwards shows that during the 1960s and early 1970s, when an assimilationist perspective provided the working paradigm for educational-policy and decision-makers, the schools gave priority to the teaching of English as a second language. From the mid-1970s, with the publication of the Bullock Report (1975), (4) the EEC Directive (July, 1977) and the emergence of cultural pluralism as the 'new' ideological orthodoxy in education policy, 60 attitudes to bilingualism and mother-tongue teaching began to change. Schools were no longer called upon to suppress or ignore linguistic and cultural differences, but rather were urged to provide opportunities for ethnic minority group pupils to receive part of their education in their own language and culture. Although little advice has been given to show how a policy of mother-tongue teaching could be implemented in schools, this issue has continued to stimulate considerable controversy and debate. Various claims (some unsubstantiated) have been made about the benefits of mothertongue teaching e.g. It can not only serve to boost the minority child's self-esteem and to obviate barriers between the home and the school, but because of its crucial role in the minority child's linguistic development may provide the basis for greater functional competence in English at a later stage. The supporters of mother-tongue teaching (in common with its detractors) represent all shades of political opinion. Whilst those on the left tend to view this initiative as a force for cohesion and solidarity within ethnic minority communities, those in the centre see it as an expression and reaffirmation of democratic rights and values. Mother-tongue teaching has also received support from right-wing racist organisations who look upon ethnic minority languages as symbolic markers that separate (sic) 'them from us' and, a means of facilitating the eventual 'repatriation' of British Asians.

Although some attempt has been made (albeit inadequate) to meet the linguistic needs of Asian and other bilingual pupils those of Afro-Caribbean pupils have been largely neglected. In the absence of a coherent DES policy and adequate initial and inservice training provision in this area, teachers have tended to remain ignorant about syntax, lexis and phonology of Creole dialexts and have continued to view West Indian Speech in a disparaging manner. Edwards is especially critical of the early work of Bernstein, which, she argues, has served to reinforce teachers' negative attitudes towards Black English (and other dialects) and has legitimated the popular misconception that it is deficient rather than different. According to Edwards his work has provided

'a veneer of academic respectability to the prejudices about the inadequacy of non-standard English and the linguistic shortcoming of dialect speakers'. (p.71.)

Edwards' book provides teachers with various suggestions as to how dialect speakers (and bilinguals) might be helped to develop functional competence in standard English. For example, aware of the difficulties that can arise with 'code-switching', she warns teachers against focussing unduly on dialect-based miscues in children's reading, arguing that this approach can result in pupils 'barking at print' and in them thinking that 'the main object of the exercise is to read for accuracy rather than meaning'. She suggests that constant criticism and correction of dialect features in speech and writing by teachers can also have other consequences: pupils not only become demoralised and disaffected but, because of the close relationship between language and identity, may come to interpret such behaviour as an affront upon their own values and culture.

Whereas I would not wish to berate this accessible and practical work, the fundamental question remains - Does Edwards (as the Rampton Committee suggested) overestimate the significance of dialect interference as a factor in black school failure?

James Lynch is also concerned with the ethnocentricism of the formal and hidden curriculum in his book **The Multicultural Curriculum**. This eclectic work draws upon ideas from many diverse sources including Jurgen Habermas' Critical Theory; the 'multicultural' curriculum models and typologies of James Banks, Margaret Gibson, Denny Williams, Drian Bullivant et al and David Hargreaves' liberal-democratic programme of curricular and pedagogic reform. Lynch attempts to provide **inter alia**: a comparative analysis of 'multicultural education' as a non-unitary ideology and practice; a critical appraisal of the role of the teacher and the school in pluralist societies; a framework for a 'multicultural curriculum' and strategies for its implementation in the United Kingdom.

Arguing from a liberal-democratic standpoint, Lynch addresses a number of crucial questions about the so-called 'pluralists' dilemma in education' e.g. How can schools both foster cultural diversity and, concomitantly, promote social cohesion and unity? What and whose cultural values and practices could be included in the 'multicultural' curriculum? What social criteria might be employed to facilitate the selection of such 'knowledge'? Which fundamental ethical principles would this curriculum embrace?

Lynch eschews 'the soft, folksy tokenism' of some approaches to 'multicultural education' - variously referred to by other authors as 'cultural tourism' or the "Three Ss" approach (i.e. Saris, Samosas and Steel Bands) - in favour of a holistic approach involving a systematic appraisal of all facets of school life, including both the formal and hidden curriculum. By insisting, quite correctly, that 'multicultural education' does not mean that everything and anything goes', Lynch recognises the pitfalls inherent within relativistic approaches to the curriculum. Refusing to evade the sensitive and difficult issue of selection, he argues that whereas schools ought to encourage, amongst other things, open mindedness and acceptance of differences of opinion and belief, 'not all cultural values are of equal worth'. Indeed some values and practices (e.g. the circumscision of young girls or the incitement to racial hatred by groups such as the Ku Klux Klan) are so morally abhorrent and at variance with 'rational universals' that they should be actively proscribed. For Lynch, 'multicultural education' is conceived as:

'the initiation of children into critical-rational acceptance of cultural diversity and the creative affirmation of individual and group difference within a common humanity'. (p.17). (Emphases added).

He details various 'social criteria' upon which the selection of 'knowledge' for inclusion in the 'multicultural' curriculum might be based. These criteria, I would argue, are premissed upon a more or less tacit acceptance of exisitng hierarchies of power and privilege and of the role of education in their maintenance and reproduction. Lynch states:

"Education, in brief, and therefore the school curriculum, has to look to the good of the community, to the provision of economic health and to the freedom and creativity of the individual. It has to prepare children to take their place in society as citizens, workers and consumers, and as creative persons, working for its progression and change. Since fulfilling a range of different functions, social, political and economic, presupposes institutionalised preparation for

such roles - in schools and in other institutions - the school needs to be functionally related to but not dominated by such functions." (p.16).

But later he concedes that:

"the social criteria suggested could as well be used to perpetuate the status quo, with little concern for a tolerant pluralism, unless the core ethic of a society contained such a commitment". (p.18).

The influence of Habermas on Lynch's thinking is especially apparent in chapter 3, where he outlines a programme of curricular reform to promote 'tolerant pluralism' by enhancing the 'communicative competence' and 'intercultural competence' of pupils in school. The structural determinants of, for example, racism and ethnocentricism, are largely neglected by Lynch, who narrowly equates these phenomena with intolerance, prejudice and irrationality. His inadequate conceptualisation of the problem prompts an equally inadequate solution: i.e. 'multicultural education' to promote tolerance, understanding, ethical behaviour, rationality and dialogue between groups. Lynch would appear to endorse the untenable, idealist view that by facilitating "jaw-jaw" instead of "war-war", 'multicultural education' has the potential both to facilitate major structural changes and to overcome racial, ethnic and other forms of social conflict. The same idealism also impels him to set schools other seemingly impossible tasks. He states for example:

"Teachers need to include in all learning strategies, curricula, pedagogies, materials and examinations, organisation modes which will deliberately seek to embrace and actively respond to the diversity of cultures in our society, whether of age, sex, religion, occupation, social class, ethnic origin, race, religion, or language, or combinations of these such as 'ethclass', whilst at the same time emphasisin and reinforcing the common core values of that society (this applies to both subject matter and teaching/learning strategies)". (p.69) (Emphasis added).

Can teachers really be expected 'to embrace and actively respond' to fifty-five or more world languages spoken by pupils in London secondary schools?" Why does Lynch place such emphasis on religion?

It is interesting to compare Lynch's liberal-idealist arguments bout curricula and pedogogy with those of David Milner in Children and Race - Ten Years On (NB This is a substantially revised and updated version of his original work, published in 1975). The book, which is written in lucid and jargon-free style, is addressed to practising teachers and to students of social psychology and education. It provides a critical and comprehensive appraisal of the central theoretical and substantive themes in the American and British literature on race, ethnicity and schooling. Unlike Lynch, Milner has a realistic view of both the limitations and the possibilities of educational reform and of the structural constraints that impinge upon teachers and schools. A 'soft-determinist', Milner argues that there is a 'complex' and 'dialectical' relationship between school and society, and no 'one single institution, like the education system, can unilaterally change the social structure around it'. (p.193)

Throughout his book, Milner emphasises the pernicious effects of both individual and institutional racism, in the education system and elsewhere. A proponent of 'multiracial education' and 'anti-racist teaching', he presents a convincing critique of recent educational initiatives based upon what he disparagingly refers to as 'an apolitical multiculturalism'. He suggests that educationalists have tended to opt increasingly for the latter rather than the former approach for these reasons:

"The education system has been unwilling to confront the

issue of racism, or even to accept that it should do so. Race has been a four-letter word, and it has been more comfortable to address the problems in school and society in terms of cultural factors, whether we are talking about black children's roots or identity, or the relations between whites and blacks. This has obviated the need to analyse historical or contemporary social structure, issues of power and privilege, poverty and affluence, in other words the past and present structural determinants of the relations between the races. It has also avoided the embarassment of finding that an analysis of institutional racism would have a tributary which led right into the middle of the classroom. Political education has always been a contentious issue, and pure multiculturalism, guaranteed free from all harmful racial and political ingredients, has offered a safe path round that particular patch of nettles". (pp.224-5).

In common with Lynch, Milner recognises that 'multiculturalism' in practice often entails little more than 'the token inclusion of unexceptionable topics which are an extension of the existing curriculum, not a modification of it'. In addition, he makes other salient criticisms of the 'Three Ss' approach, pointing out that there is often a wide discrepancy between ethnic minority groups' lifestyles and culutral traditions as represented in the curriculum and their real conditions of existence in Britain today. Invariably, the 'multiculturalist', he argues, is faced with these dilemmas:

"How do we convey diversity within cultures in simple terms, and how do we avoid the opposite extreme of stereotyping? How would a Venusian multiculturalist design a curriculum to reflect the culture of new British immigrants? Roast beef, Vaughan Williams, morris dancing and religious observance (with some 'dialect' lessons in Standard English). Or fish and chips, Tom Jones, disco, and church attendance three times per life per capita, all lessons to be conducted in Cockney or Scouse dialects? The point is not a facetious one, for what we actually do under the banner of multiculturalism may get perilously close to this kind of pastiche." (pp.225-6).

Of all the books discussed here, serving and intending teachers will find Milner's the most thought-provoking and, more importantly, pertinent.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- Committee of Inquiry into the Education of Children from Ethnic Minority Groups West Indian Children in Our Schools, CMnd 8273, London, HMSO,
- Scarman, Lord, The Brixton Disorders: 10-12 April 1981, Cmnd 8427, London, HMSO, 1981.
- Reeves, F. and Chevannes M. 'The Underachievement of Rampton' Multicultural Education Vol. 10, No.1, pp35-42, 1981.
- Committee of Inquiry into the teaching and use of English (1975), A Language for Life, London, HMSO.
- EEC (25 July, 1977) The Council Directive.
- Troyna, B. 'The Ideological and Policy Response to Black Pupils in British Schools' in Hartnett A. ed. The Social Sciences in Educational Studies, London, Heinemann pp127-43, 1982.
- Little, A. and Willey, R. 'Multiethnic education: the Way Forward'. Schools Council Pamphlet, 1981
- Habermas, J. Legitimation Crisis. London, Heinemann, 1976.
- Banks, J.A. Multiethnic Education: Theory and Practice, London, Allyn and Bacon, 1981
- 10. Gibson, M.A. 'Approaches to Multicultural Education in the United States : Some Concepts and Assumptions, Anthropology and Education Quarterly Vol. 7: 4 pp7-18, 1976.
- 11. Williams, J. 'Perspectives on the Multicultural Curriculum' Social Science Teacher, Vol. 8 No.4 pp126-133, 1979.
- 12. Bullivant, B. The Pluralist Dilemma in Education, Sydney, Allen and Unwin,
- 13. Hargreaves, D. The Challenge for the Comprehensive School, London, RKP,
- Troyna, B. 'Multiracial Education : just another Brick in the Wall' New Community Vol. 10 (3), 1983.
- Rosen, H. and Burgess, T. Language and Dialects of London School Children, London, Ward Lock, 1980.

The Commission for Racial Equality was set COMMISSION up by the Race Relations Act 1976 with the FOR RACIAL EQUALITY duties of working towards the elimination of discrimination and promoting equality of opportunity and good relations between different racial groups generally.



SELECTED CRE PUBLICATIONS

£1.00
£1.50
£1.00
£1.50

PERIODICALS

New Community - Three issues per annum	
Annual subscription: Individuals	£9.00
Institutions,	12.00
New Equals - Quarterly	(free)
Education Journal - Three issues per annum	(free)
Employment Report - Quarterly	(free)

For a list of CRE publications, please write to:

Commission for Racial Equality Elliot House, 10-12 Allington Street London, SW1E 5EH

public response to new religious movements in u.k.

JAMES A. BECKFORD

Introduction

The best known new religious movements (NRMs) in Britain include the Unification Church, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness, the Divine Light Mission, Scientology and the Children of God or Family of Love. They can be compared with multinational corporations in so far as they operate in many different countries without apparent detriment to either their unity or their standardization. They are all controlled to varying degrees by a single leader or a centralized leadership. And there is evidence to suggest that, although the boundaries of nation states are normally adopted by them as the basis for their administrative divisions, resources are often transferred between countries in accordance with international strategies for development.

One of the concomitants of the multinational character of the best known NRMs is that it is more difficult than in the case of movements confined to a single country to identify the factors accounting for their relative success or failure. The rate of their membership growth, the value of their property-holdings, their economic viability, and their public prestige all vary with factors transcending the boundaries of any single country. Sociologists should never lose sight of the fact that these movements appear to be deliberately managed by leaders seeking maximal effectiveness in the largest possible market. (2)

Nevertheless, the contention of this article is that the deliberate 'marketing' of the multinational NRMs is **refracted** differently in different countries⁽³⁾ and that part of the task of understanding these movements sociologically is to examine carefully the ways in which the public in each country responds to them. Such a response is clearly complex and subtle. To the best of my knowledge insufficient evidence has been collected in any single country to permit any confident generalizations on this topic, but in the case of the Federal Republic of Germany and France a start has at least been made. (4)

This article will consider the public response to selected NRMs in Britain under five headings. It will begin with the legal and constitutional framework within which religious groups operate; the second section will consider the strength of organized opposition to NRMs; the third topic will be the self-defence measures adopted by NRMs; fourthly, the treatment of NRMs in the mass media will be analysed; and finally there will be a discussion of the public policy implications.

The fact that most of the illustrative evidence cited below con-

cerns the Unification Church (UC) indicates that this particular movement has elicited by far the strongest public response and that others NRMs have attracted little public attention in Britain.

The Establishment and Religion

In considering the public response to the involvement of youth in NRMs in Britain, it is essential to begin by emphasizing that there is no requirement in English or Scottish law for religious groups to be registered or officially approved as such. Nor is there any official or even semi-official list of groups defined as NRMs. On the other hand there are complex procedures whereby any group of people wishing to constitute themselves as a body for the purpose of holding property or engaging in commercial activities must apply for legal recognition. Most religious groups conform with this requirement, but it must be stressed that they are not treated differently in this respect from the way in which non-religious groups are treated. On the other hand, the category 'religious' does have special significance in the legislation relating to groups which apply to the Charity Commissioners, a government department, for registration of their aims as charitable in law. Such organizations may benefit from various legal provisions exempting them, for example, from the burden of certain forms of taxation and of full compliance with legislation concerning members' conditions of employment.

In recent years and especially in 1981 the Charity Commissioners have been under pressure to revoke the charitable status of the Holy Spirit Association for the Unification of World Christianity and of the Sun Myung Moon Foundation (registered respectively, in 1968 and 1974) on the grounds that both organizations are 'fronts' for the Unification Church's commercial and or political undertakings. The Commissioners repeatedly denied awareness of any evidence that either of the UC's two charities had acted in breach of its trusts. The picture became especially complicated in 1980 when one of the most active anticult groups in Britain, the Deo Gloria Trust, also secured registration as a legal charity. This enabled the cults to demand that its charitable status should be revoked, and so the struggle between cults and anti-cults has been carried into the ill-defined and murky sphere of the British laws on charities.

Matters came to a head in March 1981 when the UC failed to win an action for libel against The **Daily Mail** in the High Court. At the end of the longest every libel case in British legal history the jury recommended, in extremely unusual and

forceful terms, that 'the tax-free status of the UC should be investigated by the Inland Revenue Department on the grounds that it is a political organization'. The public outcry against the movement following this verdict was so vociferous and widespread that the Charity Commissioners were eventually persuaded, partly in response to a motion signed by more than 180 Members of Parliament, to reverse an earlier decision and to undertake a review of the UC's registration as a charity. Other government departments were also said to be considering appropriate action in the light of the jury's verdict and recommendation. As will become clear below, however, the results of government action have so far been meagre.

The British Government's response to demands for a variety of legislative or executive actions against NRMs has largely been to request evidence of either illegality or social harmfulness before agreeing to take steps to investigate such demands. The only major exception to this strategy was the combined effort instigated by the Minister of Health and the Home Secretary in 1968 to ban foreign nationals from entering the country for the purpose of studying Scientology.

The Home Office stated in mid-1980 that 'The ban on foreign Scientologists in general remains. A review is going on' (The Times 19th June, 1980), but partly in response to a petition signed by 92 Members of Parliament to have the ban lifted, the Home Secretary announced on 16th July that the restrictions on Scientologists were being immediately removed. He based the change of policy on the view of the Secretary of State for Health and Social Services that there was insufficient evidence on medical grounds to continue to discriminate against Scientology.

The 'official' position might be summed up by saying that, with the exception of Sir John Foster's enquiry into Scientology (1971), on NRM has been the object of a published investigation by the British Government or Parliament. On the other hand, however, spokespersons for various ministries and statutory organizations have made it clear from time to time that internal reviews of the activities and effects of NRMs are in continuous operation. Inter-departmental files on this topic are known to be in circulation within the Civil Service, and the police are thought to be keeping the topic under review.

Responsibility for 'youth' in Britain is not concentrated in any particular ministry but is, rather, shared by a variety of agencies concerned with, for example, health, education and employment. The picture is made even more vague and confusing by the absence of any single agency with responsibility for religious affairs. The leaders of various churches have, of course, issued cautious statements warning of the so-called dangers presented by some NRMs, but no concerted policy has been devised, let alone implemented.

In comparison with the intensity of anti-cult campaigns observed in, for example, France, the Federal Republic of Germany and the U.S.A. (100) there has been little in the way of a formal response to NRMs on the part of presumably relevant organizations. The leaders of youth movements, trade unions, political parties and student associations have been largely silent on the matter, although in some cases there has been a purely local response to some new religious groups. (11) Thus, some local students' associations have refused to recognise the legitimacy of the UC's CARP' as a bona fide or beneficial student group, but the topic has not yet entered into wider debates about 'youth problems'. (12)

The official response of the 'mainstream' churches to new religious movements has also been reserved and cautious. The former Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. Coggan, epitomised this response by his denial on television that the U.C., for example, is a Christian organization and by his suggestion that its prospective members or supporters should investigate very carefully its claims to religious status. Similarly, the British Council of Churches Youth Unit, in its leaflet entitled 'The Unification Church. A Paper for those who Wish to Know More' (undated) suggested that members of the 'Christian Churches' should be made 'aware of the differences between the Unification Church and the mainstream churches in Britain'. Numerous booklets and brochures have been produced in the same vein by evangelical churches and their associated agencies, but the topic has failed to reach the agenda of any important gathering of churchmen. Many clergymen individually take the view that NRMs are dangerous and destructive, but their collective voice has been relatively muted and ineffec-

It is not all easy to summarise the official response to the participation of youth in NRMs in the UK. This is partly because the government has usually refused to take a visibly active role in either protecting or criticizing them and partly because specifically anti-cult associations have developed largely independently from existing religious, political or trades union organizations. The result is a complex picture of unofficial and ad hoc responses to a phenomenon which has never been officially categorized (and certainly not acknowledged) as a social problem. Discussion of NRMs in the British press gives no indication of an agreed-upon etiology for them. Rather, the 'problem' is implicitly located, in the opinion of most British critics, in the allegedly dishonest and unscrupulous practices of 'the cults'. A wider social or spiritual dimension to the phenomenon is absent from most discussions. This will be made clearer in the next sub-section.

Anti-cult Campaigns

The campaign against NRMs has been mounted and effectively pursued by only two organizations in Britain: Family Action Information and Rescue (FAIR) and the Deo Gloria Trust.

(a) FAIR is the only 'parents association' in Britain, although it also counts among its several hundred members many people who are not parents of cult members. It also includes, for example, ex-members of cults, ministers of religion, journalists and teachers.

The founding Chairperson, Mr. Paul Rose, was a member of Parliament who fought an unsuccessful defence of an action for libel against the UC and did not stand for re-election ot Parliament in 1979. Since then the chair has been held jointly in the first instance by the Anglican chaplain to the Polytechnic of Central London and the twin brother of a Unification Church member, and more recently by another Anglican clergyman. Under their guidance and freed from the preoccupation with supporting Mr. Rose's libel action, FAIR has expanded and changed in several ways.

Firstly, it has deliberately encouraged the formation of regional branches in many parts of Britain and has thereby assumed a kind of federal structure. The branches enjoy considerable freedom of manoeuvre and can therefore make the most of local resources. This has also increased the effectiveness of intervention in 'personal cases' in each region of the country. Secondly, FAIR has been brought into closer contact with evangelical Christian groups partly through the mediation of its

chairmen and partly through the coincidental rise in prominence of the Deo Gloria Trust. Thirdly, FAIR has improved the efficiency of its communications with anti-cult organizations in other parts of the world. Its newsletters now contain almost as much foreign as home-based news, and the awareness of participating in a world-wide struggle has grown in accordance. And fourthly, the scope of FAIR's 'remit' has been extended to all 'destructive cults'. In the early years it had concentrated almost exclusively on combating the Unification Church but the field of activity now includes virtually all nonconventional religious groups.

FAIR's operations are entirely dependent on voluntary donations and on annual membership subscriptions. It has never received financial assistance from the Government or from any local authorities. Nor has it ever made a charge to the people who have used its services. Its status has remained that of a voluntary association with individual members who offer their services to any person in need of assistance in coping with a cult-related problem.

Its main services are threefold, but there are regional variations in their relative salience and effectiveness. (a) It collects, analyses and distributes information about NRMs by means of regular newsletters, meetings and personal contacts. (b) It intervenes on request in cases where it is felt that a prospective, an actual or an ex-member of a NRM would benefit from informed counselling; and the relatives or close acquaintances of such people may also be counselled. And (c) it participates in public debates, public relations activities and political lobbying. There is no salaried staff, and the administrative headquarters amounts only to borrowed accommodation. The regional branches are run by individuals operating (often at their own expense) in their spare time from home.

Since it sponsored a conference at the Belgian Bible College on 'The Challenge of the Cults' in May 1977 the **Deo Gloria Trust** has emerged as the only major complement in Britain to FAIR. It origins were, however, very different. The founder and one of the present-day sponsors of the Trust is a wealthy businessman with strong Christian convictions whose two adult sons both spent some time in the Children of God movement. It is impossible to disentangle the religious from the purely personal and familial aspects of the Trust, although more recently the scale of its operations has expanded to such an extent that it has more the appearance of a formal organization devoted to combating what it sees as religious error and abuse with evangelical Christian teachings.

There is a small permanent secretariat in a London suburb and at least two associate bodies, the Deo Gloria Outreach and Deo Gloria Promotions. The Trust maintains close contact with other Christian organizations such as the Evangelical Alliance and with various evangelical ministries in Britain and abroad. In fact, it is formally represented on the Evangelical Alliance's Challenge of the Cults Committee (as is FAIR, incidentally).

The relationship between FAIR and the Deo Gloria Trust is very close and mutually beneficial - so much so that it is difficult to distinguish between their respective contributions to some projects - but there is still a major difference in their aims and practices. FAIR remains largely a 'parents' organization with no formal commitment to specifically Christian views, whereas the Deo Gloria Trust operates primarily within a distinctively Christian framework. The latter is probably stronger in material and organizational resources.

Pro-cult Campaign

The activities of FAIR and the Deo Gloria Trust have been opposed in Britain by the Society for Religious Peace and Family Unity, an interfaith group which works towards 'inter religious tolerance in the community'.

The organization has reportedly '.... had occasion to take measures in the past with regard to a few rather extremist groups opposed to the "cults". Since its foundation in 1977 this group, on which a wide variety of Christian, Islamic, Hindu and Buddhist interests are represented, alongside those of Scientology, the Unification Church and the Mormon Church, has formally aimed at working towards '.... harmonious family relationships and inter-religious tolerance through dialogue and understanding.' It has organized meetings at which issues confronting minority religious groups have been discussed and it has published a brochure 'Family Reconciliation' designed to help restore harmonious relationships within families divided by religious interests. Its contents are closely modelled on, and in part copied verbatim from, a similar brochure published in the USA by an organization called the Alliance for the Preservation of Religious Liberty, which also has strong representation from the Church of Scientology and the Unification Church among others. In addition to offering guidance on ways of restoring harmony in family relationships the Society for Religious Peace and Family Unity offers to supply the services of ministers of religion as 'mediators or advisers in disputes', and mention is also made of a 'rehabilitation counselling service.'

Leaving aside the support offered by the SRPFU, very few voices have been heard in public support of NRMs. A conspicuous silence has been maintained by, for example, the major civil rights pressure groups; and few opportunities have been given for dissenting opinions to be represented in the mass-media's treatment of NRMs. The only significant exceptions have been the attempts by a distinguished ecologist, Sir Kenneth Melanby, and by one of Britain's foremost scientists, Professor R.V. Jones, to defend the integrity of the participants in the UC's International Conferences on the Unity of the Sciences.

It might be argued that the lack of any significant polemic in public between pro- and anti-cult forces lends further support to my view that the question of NRMs in Britain has not yet been raised in connection with any other areas of public concern or dispute. In other words no serious attempts have been made to link questions about NRMs to the kind of debates that have taken place in some other countries about their moral, political, social, economic, religious or medical implications. Compared with the Federal Republic of Germany in particular the whole topic is untheorized and treated in an entirely pragmatic-empiricist manner.

Mass-media and Cults

Research into family responses to the UC in Britain showed that the mass-media were frequently the single most important influence on people's attitudes towards the movement. Parents of recruits, for example, who had known nothing about the UC when their child joined it usually acquired their first pieces of information from daily newspapers or (more rarely) the television. Many parents who until that point had been reasonably satisfied with the accounts given of this movement by their children were suddenly disturbed by the competing accounts supplied by the mass-media. In fact, most of them subsequently made contact with other 'affected' families only as a direct result of corresponding with journalists and with the sub-

jects of their stories. Indeed, journalists have played a major part in helping to fuel anti-cult campaigns and to keep their interests 'in the news', if not in the headlines. In many cases they have functioned informally as an unofficial channel of communication among ex-members or anguished parents who would not otherwise have known of each other's plight. And the extensive preliminaries to some television programmes have brought together many far-flung components of the anti-cult movement.

The mass-media in Britain rarely discriminate between possible candidates for the designation of 'cult'. Rather, the term serves as an evocative lable for introducing any group (religious or otherwise) whose activities have aroused curiosity and puzzlement. The commonest qualifiers include 'wierd', 'bizarre' and 'frightening'. Yet the British press has rarely regarded 'the cults', in a generic sense, as an important topic for exposure. With only a few exceptions press coverage has been confined to NRMs taken singly, and this amounts to a significant difference from the pattern of press coverage in some other countries of the West. [160]

The Unification Church has attracted more publicity than any other new religious movement since the mid-1970s, with Scientology, the Children of God and the devotees of Krishan coming next in the order of press interest. Most of the references to these groups have been sensationalised, but, aside from the major 'scare' concerning Scientology in the late - 1960s, this particular movement has recently been cast in news items and short feature articles in a less prejudiced light than any of the others. This is especially true of references to Scientology's campaigns for legislation on the freedom of access to official information and for reforms in the institutionalised care of the mentally ill.

Media reports on 'cults' frequently contain objective material but they are usually published only when the topic is controversial. In other words, NRMs are constituted first and foremost as a family problem whose news value is considerable because it lends itself to a variety of emotively - laden treatments. One of the results is that even supposedly in-depth analyses of NRMs tend to confine themselves to certain recurrent themes which relate only to limited aspects of the topic.

It may be an exaggeration to imply, as do Shupe and Bromley(17) that mass-media accounts of NRMs take the form of 'atrocity tales', but the evidence clearly shows a core of hostile attitudes towards 'cults' in general. (180) Strangeness is the least offensive of the main themes, since it merely draws attention to the peculiar features of NRMs without passing explicit moral judgment on them. The features refer to personal attributes of leaders or members, their beliefs, religious practices and life-styles. Under the heading of trickery come allegations of deception, extortion and manipulation. The other side of this theme is the charge that recruits and their families experience misery as a result of inadequate living conditions, diet, psychological pressure, lack of information and social isolation. The response to these themes is often described as anger and indignation giving rise to anti-cult campaigns, a sense of frustration and the promise of continuing scandal. But perhaps the most pervasive theme is that NRMs are an alien threat to some central values and norms of 'the British way of life."

These points have not been lost on decision-makers within some NRMs. In particular, the leaders of Scientology and the Unification Church have set up powerful public relations

offices to deal with journalists. Part of their work has involved warning journalists and other enquirers about the potential dangers of publishing defamatory material. And in some cases writs for libel have been issued, if not always pursued very actively. The three most famous cases concerned statements in criticism of the Unification Church and Scientology. The first case was resolved in 1978 when a Member of Parliament, Mr. Rose, apologized in the High Court and paid an undisclosed sum of damages to the Unification Church. The second resulted in a judgement in favour of another Member of Parliament, Mr. Johnson Smith.

By far the most important event of recent year, however, was the six month long High Court hearing of the UC's complaint that its leader in Britain has been defamed by the Daily Mail newspaper in 1978. The jury's verdict, delivered in March 1981, not only exonerated the newspaper of blame but also cast serious doubt on the UC's integrity and authenticity as a religious movement and awarded costs of about £750,000 to the defendants. The result was hailed in all the major daily newspapers as a victory for courage and commonsense over bigotry and deception. An appeal against the verdict was lost at the end of 1982, and a request to have the Appeal Court's verdict reviewed was rejected by the Law Lords in February 1983.

To date, however, the Charity Commissioners have refused on several occasions to grant the Attorney-General's request to have the UC's two charitable trusts struck off the list of charities. The Prime Minister is reported to be opposed to the Commissioners' view that,

"... as a matter of law, the teaching and practice of (the UC's) divine principle, which are referred to in the objects of the two institutions, do not go beyond the very wide bounds which have been applied by the court for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not the propagation and practice of any particular religious creed is charitable in law". (20)

Acquiescence with the government's request would, according to the Commissioners, raise very serious and wide-ranging questions of religious toleration. The Attorney-General's response was to promise proceedings in the High Court to have the Commissioners' ruling overturned, but it seems that parliamentary lawyers advised him, instead, to draft new legislation which might have the effect of giving the commissioners greater power to act against charities which are widely considered to be no longer for the public benefit. The drafting process is expected to last several years.

The volume of mass-media reports favourable or even indifferent to NRMs in Britain has been extremely small. Newspapers, in particular, have given almost free rein to moral entrepreneurs and moral crusaders wishing to communicate their point of view in an attempt to stir up distrust of the major movements. A sense of balance and objectivity has been conspicuously lacking in all but a very few articles or programmes. Does this mean, then, that the mass-media have been conjuring up or exaggerating the actual extent of unfavourable public opinion about NRMs and, more especially, the involvement of young people in them? The answer, based on this writer's experience of talking about 'cults' to people in all walks of life over a decade, is that the British are intensely suspicious of any and all would-be messiahs, evangelists and gurus. (21) They are accustomed to relegating spiritual enthusiasm to a category of, at best, eccentricity, and at worst, exploitation. This disposition is reinforced by the mass-media's readiness to consider religious or spiritual innovation solely in terms of its actually or potentially corrupt aspects, for this is what makes for newsworthi-

analysis

'Analysis' is a detachable section comprising several different categories of information relevant to the study and further understanding of youth in society. The format of the section may change from time to time according to priorities of content and available space, however the 'Reporting' and 'Monitor' features will be regularly included. Pages are numbered, but separate categories can be removed and filed, however it is important to note the chronological sequence of some material. The editor welcomes enquiries for specific information, and general comments on the feature, though it may not always be possible to answer all requests for further material comprehensively.

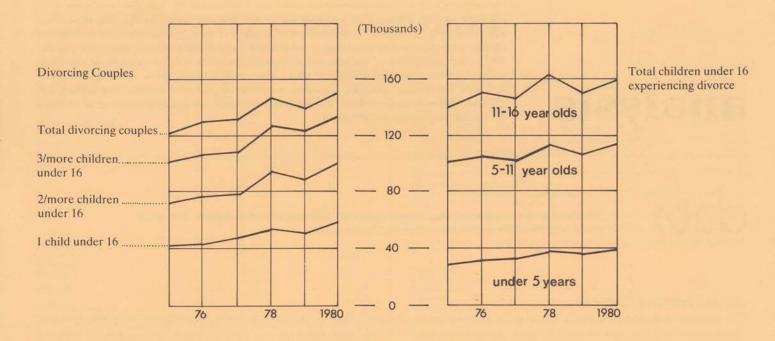
data

'Data' comprises selected statistics on issues generally relevant to youth in society. The editor would be grateful for suggestions concerning future content.

Changing Patterns of Family Life

The proportion of children in the U.K. that will experience family disruption through divorce is increasing quite rapidly. The pattern of marriage changed quickly in the decade 1971-1981. Between 1972 and 1977 a decline in marriage was recorded, but this was reversed in 1978 with 416,000 marriages. Further increases in 1979 and 1980 culminated in a provisional total of 385,000. The number where one/both partners had previously been married increased from 20% in 1971 to about 33% in 1980. Teenage marriages declined between 1971 and 1980 by almost 50% and age-group 20-24 by over 30%. Since the Divorce Reform Act in 1971 the number of decrees has doubled; the proportion granted to wives in 1981 remaining more or less constant at about 70%. Second marriages are also breaking down, the proportion of divorces where one/both partner had previously been divorced rose from about 9% in 1971 to over 17% in 1981. The divorce rate for England Wales (per 1,000 of marriages) is the highest in Europe, with Denmark second and the Netherlands third.

Marriage in Great Britain (thousands)		
	1961	1971	1980
First Marriage for both	331	357	270
First for one partner	36	54	76
Second/later for both	21	36	63
Total	388	447	409
Remarriage as %	15	20	34



Of couples divorcing in 1980, 60% had children under16, and a total of 163,000 children in this age-group experienced divorce in that year. A little less than 50% of those below 16 were aged between 5 and 10, and about 25% under 5. Legal separation is not included.

Lone Parent Families

(Percentage)

Lone parent families with children	-30	30/44	45/64	65+	All Ages
1 child	65	36	25	3	30
2 children	24	36	9	×	18
3 or more	10	18	3	0	18
Total	99	90	37	3	55

There are almost 1,000,000 lone-parent families in Great Britain, with an average of 1.6 dependent children. Family-types vary widely. Single lone mothers have a median age of 24, and about 50% of these share a household. Widowed lone-mothers have a median age of 50 and nearly 90% live with their children only. Separated lone mothers median at 33, divorced at 36, and 80% of these categories live alone. Lone fathers have a median age of 45.

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

monitor:

spring - summer 1983

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings are as published

The following code describes the references used.

DIV Division D in debate S statement WA written answer AMM ammendment moved OA oral answer RB reading of Bill, 1,2, or 3

volume of report N number of report

this item continued as such etc:

adi: adjourned ans.

comment by Members on the subject at some length exchange;

figures given in chart form

All items are available through our Copy Service

'Monitor' is a partial review of Parliamentary activity relating to youth affairs. The amount of such parliamentary business has recently increased considerably. This is a digest of House of Commons proceedings only. Unfortunately it is not yet possible for Youth and Policy to cover the Lords, Committees or lobbies, nor is it practical to provide a comprehensive extraction of Official Report. Readers who require additional information through our copy service may contact the editor of 'Analysis'. Please remember that information here is chronologically sequenced, and the code for sources should be noted when using this supplement.

V35 N45

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked Sec State Soc Services how many parents granted weekly child benefit on grounds of hardship. Mr. Newton Approximately 5,100 weekly awards made under fallback procedure for cases of hardship

Mr. Hudson Davies asked Sec State Scotland how many children under five cared for by registered child-minders in Scotland are receiving free milk; and how many child-minders this involves. Mr. John MacKay year ended 31 December 1982, 187 registered child-minders, approved for the care of 386 children under the terms of the Welfare Food Order 1980, made claims for reimbursement in respect of milk supplied free to children under five in their care.

Community Programme OA

Mr. Iain Mills asked Sec State Employment if he will arrange an exhibition relating to the comr programme. Mr. Alison arrangements have been made for the exhibition to be held in the Upper Waiting Hall from 28 February.

Maternity Grant WA

Mr. John Morris asked the Sec State Social Services what is the current value of the maternity grant compared with (a) May 1979, (b) the time when it was last uprated, and (c) the time when it was first introduced. Mr. Rossi The maternity grant was increased to its present level of £25 in November 1969. When it was just introduced in July 1948 the grant was £4. On the basis of the movement in the general index of retail prices, the real value of the grant at November 1982 prices would be as follows:

(a) £37.76 compared with May 1979 (b) £117.13 compared with November 1969

(c) £41.75 compared with July 1948

One-parent Families WA

Miss Joan Lestor asked the Sec State Social Services if he will give the latest available figures for the number of one-parent families headed by men in receipt of supplementary benefit, by marital status in each category, the number of children involved, the average weekly benefit and average housing costs. Mr. Newton The latest available information relates to December 1981

Total
18,000
32,000
£44.36
£15.01

Young Persons (Remands) WA

Mr. Kilroy-Silk asked Sec State Home Department how many 14 to 16-year old (a) boys and (b) girls were held in local prisons remand centres at the latest available date, by location; and whether they were untried or convicted but unsentenced and awaiting allocation. figs. in 1 page, copy.

Young Offenders WA

Mr. David Steel asked Sec State Scotland whether he will seek to amend the Criminal Procedures (Scotland) Act 1975 to provide for the same scope of sentence for young offenders as applies to adults. Mr. Younger No. The non-custodial disposals presently available to courts for young offenders. ders and adults are the same.

School Teachers WA

Mr. Leighton asked Sec State Education and Science what percentage of school teachers are black. Dr. Boyson This information is not available.

V35 N47

Youth Training Schemes WA

Mr. Richard Wainwright asked Sec State Employment whether youth training schemes one-year guarantee applies to all statutory school leavers and those of 17 years who have left school but have no job; or whether system of preference is to operate in areas where place shortages occur; Mr. Peter Morrison All minimum age school leavers unemployed, guaranteed an early offer of a place on youth training scheme. Seventeen-year-olds unemployed in first year after leaving school able to participate, but offer of a place cannot be guaranteed in their case, M.S.C. will be issuing guidance shortly on priorities for filling places among different groups of young people eligible to join the scheme.

Low Pay (Exhibition) WA

Dr. McDonald asked Sec State Employment for exhibition relating to low pay. Mr. Alison I understand that the low pay unit's exhibition on low pay was commissioned by the Greater London council as part of its campaign on low pay in London. I do not regard expenditure on such campaigns as an appropriate use of public money and am not prepared to sponsor it.

Mr. Hudson Davies asked Sec State N. Ireland how many children under five cared for by registered child minders in N. Ireland are receiving free milk; and how many child minders this involves. Mr. John Patten On 25 january 1983, 303 children registered for the supply of free milk. One hundred and fifty-five child minders involved.

Drug Abuse WA

Mr. Murphy asked Sec State Soc Services what recent representations received regarding drug abuse in Hertfordshire. Mr. Fowler received letter from Hertfordshire about the urgency and scale of drug misuse. As response to report* from Advisory Council on Misuse of Drugs £2 million available in 1983-84. This will enable projects for the treatment and rehabilitation of drug misuse, which have the support of local and health authorities, to be brought forward. Guidelines and application forms for this grants scheme are to be issued to health, local authorities and voluntary organisations next

ent and Rehabilitation, report of the Advisory Council on the Misuse of Drugs, published by Her Majesty's Stationery Office 1982, price £3.95.

V36 N48

School Leavers (Supplementary Benefit) D

Mr. Mike Thomas I beg to ask leave to move the Adjournment of the House, for the purpose of discussing a specific and important matter that should have urgent consideration, namely, "the severe cussing a specific and important matter that should have urgent consideration, namely, financial penalties about to be imposed by the Government upon thousands of Easter school leavers who become 16 by midnight tonight and will find that they are no longer entitled to draw supplementable that they will not seek examination qualifications in June." A subtary benefit unless they undertake that they will not seek examination qualifications in June. "A substantial number of young people - tens of thousands each year - will suffer. They are young people who leave school at Easter and who are 16 by 31 January. They may intend to take CSEs or other examinations in June. It is crucial that the Government do not discourage young people from seeking qualifications. It is ridiculous that easter school leavers should be being asked by social security offices to give undertaking that they will not take examinations in June. If they do not give such an undertaking they will be denied supplementary benefit until September, irrespective of whether they take those examinations, etc. etc. It is another unemployment figures fiddle. I am seeking leave to move the Adjournment of the House so that the Government can make a statement tomorrow to the effect that they intend to put this grave injustice right. Mr. Speaker I must rule that his submission does not fall within the provisions of the Standing Order. Therefore, I cannot submit his application to the House. Order. Justice has been done.

Special Schools (Suffolk) WA

Mr. Weetch asked Sec State Education and Science how many mentally handicapped children in Suffolk receiving education in special schools and classes 1979, 1980 and 1981. Dr. Boyson as follows:

January of each year	1979	1980	1981
Special schools	530	541	573
Special classes in maintained primary and secondary schools	174	-171	236
Total	704	712	809

Education (Assisted Places) Regulations WA

Mr. Beith asked Sec State Education and Science what consultations he had before announcing decision to revoke regulation 6(3) of the Education (Assisted Places) Regulations 1980. Dr. Boyson With assisted places committee of Independent Schools Joint Council under section 17(8) of Education Act 1980 as representing participating schools and with local authority associations.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Mr. Winnick asked Sec State Employment (1) the number of unemployed under 21 in West Midlands; the figures in January 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982, respectively; and the differences in percentage terms; (2) the number of unemployed in West Midlands under 21 who have been unemployed over 12 months; figures in January 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982, respectively; and the differences in percentage terms. Mr. Alison The following is the information for those aged under 20 years at dates specified and at October 1981 and 1982. The figures are on basis of the unemployment count.

		West Midlands Re	gion	
	Total number aged under 20 registered as unemployed	Percentage change	Number aged under 20 registered as unemployed for over	Percentage change
I 1070	22,549		52 weeks	
January 1979		+4.2	1,777	-19.1
January 1980	23,486	+105.9	1,437	+102.6
January 1981	48,348	+22.5	2,912	+219.1
January 1982	59,237		9,292	

Families (Unemployment Effects) WA

Mr. Chris Patten asked Sec State Soc Services information as to concentration of unemployment in families. Mr. Rossi information relates to proportion of unemployed male claimants receiving unemployment benefit and/or supplementary benefit includes allowance for one or more children. Estimated about 25 per cent, on two sample surveys in December 1981 and February 1982. Mr. Chris Patten asked Sec State Soc Services the effect of unemployment on family relationships. Mr. Newtown Majority of studies report an increase in stress, difficult to conclude what changes are caused by unemployment or the fall in living standards that generally accompanies it as opposed to other

Board and Lodgings Allowance WA

Mr. Wardell asked See State Soc Services the board and lodgings allowance for bed and breakfast facilities for single homeless paid by each office in Wales at most recent date. Mr. Newton Provided the charge for the accommodation, mid-day and evening meals, does not exceed the amount the supp ben officer estimates to be reasonable for full board and lodging for that area, it is allowed in full. Amount payable varies from case to case and area to area no information held centrally.

Births (Statistics) WA

Mr. Weetch asked Sec State Soc Services the latest neonatal, perinatal and infant mortality rates for East Anglia; and breakdown according to socio-economic groups. Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg

	Per 1,000
Neonatal mortality rate*	5.7
Perinatal mortality rate†	10,4
Infant mortality rate*	9.9

Per 1,000 live births. †Per 1,000 total births

V36 N49

Handicapped Children WA

Mr. Weetch asked Sec State Education and Science how many children in secondary schools in Suffolk recognised by the local education authorities as handicapped. Dr. Boyson January 1982, 141 handicapped pupils in secondary schools maintained by Suffolk local education authority, of which 105 registered in special classes or units and 36 in ordinary classes. 510 handicapped pupils aged 11 and over in special schools maintained by Suffolk.

Church Schools WA

Mr. Arthur Lewis asked Sec State Education and Science what basis Churches granted financial assistance towards establishment of church schools; such assistance is equally available on the same terms to other religious denominations, particularly of various ethnic groups. Dr. Boyson If promoters of a voluntary aided school secure the Sec State's approval under sec 13 of Education Act 1980 to the school's establishment and maintenance,85 per cent, grant on site and building costs may then be paid by the Sec State under Education Act 1967.

Anglia: Pregnancy WA

Mr. Weetch asked Sec State Soc Services how many pregnancies terminated in East Anglian regional health authority in past five years in respect of (a) maternal rubella disease, (b) maternal rubella contact and)c) maternal rubella immunisation. Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg: figures for East Anglian regional health authority, 1974 to 1978, as follows:

	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978
Legal abortions associated with					
maternal rubella disease	26	37	7	3	23
maternal rubella contact	9	4	3	- 2	1
maternal rubella immunisation	2		6	3	1

Training Opportunities Scheme WA

Mr. Skinner asked Sec State Employment how many training opportunities courses discontin ing last 12 months. Mr. Peter Morrison no record of courses discontinued. November 1982, 563 different types of courses available under TOPS, 551 in November 1980.

Mrs. Renée Short asked Sec State Education and Science how many persons will be graduating from polytechnics and universities in summer 1983. Mr. Waldegrave The latest information for 1980-81 is published in "The First Destination of Polytechnic Qualifiers" and "University Statistics 1980 volume 2: First Destination of University Graduates".

Higher Education WA

Mr. Beith asked Sec State Education and Science gross unit cost for (a) sixth form education and (b) further education for a full-time student. Mr. William Shelton estimates based on total costs at the

institutions concerned suggest that gross institutional unit costs in 1980-1981 were as follows: Pupils aged 16 and over in maintained secondary schools major establishments Students (full-time equivalent) on non-advanced courses in major establishments £1,680 estimates not directly comparable; reflect differences in size and nature of institutions involved, student groups and modes of attendance, provision of courses, facilities and equipment, and organisa-tion and staffing.

Solvent Abuse (Scotland) D

Mr. David Marshall I beg to move. That leave be given to bring in a Bill to amend the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 to add solvent abuse to the conditions indicating the need for a compulsory care order. In 1981, 11 young persons died in Strathelyde as a result of solvent abuse and 1,725 young persons were found inhaling solvents. I also understand that 33 youngsters died in Britain in 1981 because of that ever growing practise, and that 14 of those deaths were in Scotland. Although the number of deaths is recorded, no one has any idea of the numbers of young people involved. Even the Scottish Education Department in its consultative memorandum states that the numbers of young people concerned are a matter of conjecture and that it is safe to assume that most incidents of solvent abuse go undetected. The Bill would help inasmuch as it would enable authorities to refer youngster to a children's panel on a first detection of abusing solvents, whereas at present they are powerless to act. Apart from helping these youngsters we would be building up a record of the true extent of the problem facing us. It is a sad fact that many instances of youngsters abusing solvents are ignored because of the prevailing attitude that there is nothing that one can do about it. Let us not find reasons for doing nothing. Just for once let us take some action to help reduce the scale of this menace in present-day society. The low-key approach adopted and recommended by the Government has failed, so much so that only last week strathclyde regional council decided to adopt a high-level attack on the problem before it reached epidemic proportions in that area. Apart from legislation, if the Government have a million pounds to spend on an advertising and publicity campaign extolling the fatal virtues of nuclear weapons, why can they not spend money on an advertising campaign similar to that mounted against smoking, warning parents and youngsters against the dangers and evils of solvent abuse? I do not intend to describe the symptoms, causes and effects of solvent abuse. That has been done here many times. There is, however, an air of frustration and hopelessness in many areas and among many parents as to how to cope with the problem. Their pleas for help go largely unanswered, mainly because of the absence of any form of encouraging or supportive legislation. Perhaps eventually Parliament will recognise the need to clamp down hard on shopkeepers who knowingly and deliberately sell solvents to youngsters for the purpose of solvent abuse, but in the meantime we have a responsibility to do what we can to reduce the scale of the problem. I do not seek to make solvent abuse a punitive offence. That would only drive it underground and discourage people from seeking help. I prefer to see caring legislation introduced. The Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 came into being before solvent abuse became a problem. Sectior 32 (2) lays down the conditions that indicate when a child may need compulsory measures of care within the meaning of the Act and may therefore be referred to a children's panel. My Bill simply seeks to add to these a new condition, namely, a child's indulgence in solvent abuse. My definition of the term solvent abuse is inhalation, for the purposes of intoxication or hallucination, of glue, adhesive, the contents of aerosols or any product containing volatile substances. The children's hearing system is a uniquely Scottish one which enables the problems of a child up to the age of 16 to be discussed in the presence,

and with the participation, of the parents in an informal setting. The legislation which created the children's hearing system and which governs practice within it applies, of course, only to Scotland. Question put and agreed to

SOLVENT ABUSE (SCOTLAND)

Mr. David Marshall accordingly presented a Bill to amend the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 to add solvent abuse to the conditions indicating the need for a compulsory care order; And the same was read the First time; and ordered to be read a Second time upon Friday 11 February and to be printed [Bill 70].

V36 N50

16 to 19-year-olds WA

Mr. Beith asked Sec State Education and Science update concerning 16 to 19-year-olds. Mr. William Shelton DES Statistical Bulletin 2/83 - "Educational and economic activity of young people aged 16-19 years in England and Wales from 1973-74 to 1981-82". Bulletin provides time series and statistical imentary on pattern of education and training for young people 16 to 19 by individual years.

Employment Statistics WA

Employment Statistics WA

Mr. Wigley asked Sec State Employment how many under 20 unemployed at latest date. Mr. Alison
October 1982, the number of young people under 20 registered as unemployed in UK was 655,295.

Mr. Richard Wainwright asked Sec State Employment how many people in (a) the Yorkshire and
Humberside region, (b) West Yorkshire, (c) Kirklees and (d) the Huddersfield employment office
area unemployed for more than 12 months; and how many of these are aged under 20 years, 20 to 25
years, 25 to 30 years, 30 to 40 years, 40 to 50 years, 50 to 60 years and over 60 years, respectively. Mr.
Alison Information at October 1982. The figures relate to registred unemployed and are for the age ranges nearest to those specified.

Unemployed over 52 weeks								137		
	aged under 20	aged 20-24				aged 45-49		aged 60 and over		
Yorkshire and Humberside Region	10,044	19,876	12,811	10,200	14,788	7,466	20,955	14,850	110,990	
West Yorkshire Metropolitan County	3,918	8,137	5,615	4,544	6,552	3,384	8,795	4,806	45,751	
Kirklees Metropolitan District*	608	1,363	903	747	1,075	530	1,561	873	7,660	
Huddersfield jobcentre area	367	729	466	368	543	262	856	527	4.118	

^{*}Huddersfield, Dewbury, Batley and Spen Valley jobcentre areas.

Youth Opportunities and Community Enterprise Programmes WA

Mr. Campbell-Savours asked Sec State Employment how many additional places were sponsored by Allerdale district council under opp programme and C.E.P. separately for the last month for which statistics are available; what is the total number of places now supported by that authority under each scheme. Mr. Peter Morrison In January 1983 Allerdale district council sponsored no new places for unemployed young people under the YOP programme; 12 new places were sponsored for adults. The authority now supports 204 places on the opp programme and 150 on CP.

unity Programme WA

Mr. Rathbone asked Sec State Employment whether satisfied with job opportunities offered by local authorities under community programme and latest estimate of that number. Mr. Alison Satisifed with number of opportunities offered by local authorities under the programme. December 1982 agreements between local authorities and the MSC for almost 12,000 places.

Family Income WA

Sir Brandon Rhys Williams asked Sec State Soc Services latest estimate of people, including children, living in households where the head is dependent on (a) supplementary allowance, (b) supplementary pension, (c) non-contributory invalidity pension, (d) family income supplement and (e) housing benefit. Mr. Newton The estimated number of claimants and their dependents - including dependant children - as follows

	(thousands)	(source and date)
Supplementary Allowance	4,082	Annual Statistical
Supplementary Pension	2,039	Enquiry December 1981
Non-contributory Invalidity Pension	142	1 per cent. sample May 1981
Family Income Supplement	585	10 per cent. sample October 1982

Pre-school Children (Facilities) WA

Mr. Strang asked Sec State Scotland what guidance he has given to regional councils on provision of children's centres, nursery and playgroup facilities for pre-school children. Mr. John MacKay None,

School Leavers (Examination Passes) WA

Mr. Ancram asked Sec State Scotland how many pupils left school at the age of 16 years with ordinary passes in the certificate of education expressed as a percentage of the total number of leavers at the age of 16 years in last four years. Mr. Alexander Fletcher Given in the following table:

	School Leav	ers aged 16		
Highest SCE qualification	1977-78	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.	per cent.
O grades D-E	6	6	6	7
O grades A-C	33	34	34	34
Highers	31	31	34	33
All leavers aged 16	100	100	100	100

Social Services WA

Health and Social Services (Voluntary Assistance)

Mr. Peter Bottomley asked Sec State Soc Services what plans he has to expand the assistance the Mr. Peter Bottomley asked see State Soc Services what plans he has to expand the assistance the unemployed and volunteers can provide to potential clients of the health and social services. The opportunities for volunteering scheme, allocated £2.3 million this financial year and £1 million in 1983-84. Is making grants to some 400 local voluntary sector projects and is administered by 16 voluntary organisations such as Age Concern, Barnardos, MIND and MENCAP. Encouraging people to assist elderly neighbours, or transporting elderly and disabled people to day centres and clubs. 15,000 volunteers are involved activities supported by the scheme. Applications turned down because funds not available. £5 million available for the scheme next year. £2,600.000, available for the scheme this year

V36 N51

Infant Mortality WA

Dr. Roger Thomas asked Sec State Wales (1) measures he proposes to take to reduce infant mortality rate in Gwent of 15.7 per 1,000 it is now nearly 45 per cent. above UK average; (2) Gwent and Clwyd have perinatal mortality rates in excess of 15 per thousand, list the measures to bring the incidence down to the UK average; (3) if he is satisfied with level and standard of infant intensive care in hospitals in Gwent and Clwyd.

Children and Young Persons Act 1969 WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked Sec State Soc Services how many transfers took place under section 31 Children and Young Persons Act 1969 each year from 1979 to 1982; how many were young persons not in care for an offence or an alleged offence. Mr. Newton None.

Dependent Children WA

Mr. Marlow asked Sec State Soc Services proportion of married couples under 25 years have at least one dependent child. Mr. Newton information, based on general household survey for 1979-81, half the married couples in Great Britain were both husband and wife under 25 have at least one dependent child.

Detention Centres and Borstals WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked Sec State Home Department how many 14 to 17-year-olds admitted to

detention centres and borstals each year from 1979 to 1982. Mr. Mellor Published Annually in "prison statistics England Wales", table 3.1 of the volume for 1981, Cmnd. 8654.

Police Community Committees OA

Mr. Leighton asked Sec State Home Department whether satisfied with the police community committees in the Metropolitan police area recommended by Scarman report. Mr. Whitelaw Consultative groups, are operating in eight boroughs or districts in the Metropolitan police district. Agreement to set up similar groups has been reached in 12 and discussions are continuing in other areas. Wide-ranging discussions within local community are necessary preliminary to the formation of a group. Mr. Leighton Does the Home Sec accept that effective policing is dependent upon the con-sent, confidence and even participation of those being policed. Mr. Whitelaw I am grateful to all hon. Members on both sides of the House who are taking part in the consultative groups. I hope that some of the councils that are considering excluding Members of Parliament from some of these groups will realise the importance of having Members of Parliament in them.

Class Sizes WA

Mr. Adley asked Sec State Education and Science what has been the average number of pupils per class in the maintained sector in last 10 years; what has been the pupil-teacher ratio for each of those years. **Dr. Boyson** as follows:

	Primary	,		Se	econdary†
	Average size of class	55		Average	
	As registered*	As taught†	Pupil/ teacher ratio†	size of class as taught	Pupil/ teacher ratio
January				1000	
1973	31.1	na	25.5	22.5	17.1
1974	30.5	na	24.9	23.0	17.5
1975	29.8	na	24.2	22.7	17.2
1976	29.4	na	24.0	22.6	17.0
1977	29.0	27.5	23.9	22.4	17.0
1978	28.5	26.9	23.06	22.1	16.9
1979	na	26.3	23.1	21.8	16.7
1980	na	25.7	22.7	21.6	16.6
1981	na	25.5	22.6	21.5	16.6
1982	na	25.4	22.5	21.3	16.6

^{*}Excluding middle deemed primary schools

V36 N52

Breaches of the Peace WA

Mr. Arthur Lewis asked Sec State Home Department if, in view of demonstrators and representatives of anti-democractic extreme political organisations of right and left throwing missiles of a dangerous character at Her Majesty's Ministers and prominent politicians, and the fact that charges made are a breach of the peace with negligible penalty, he will seek to increase the penalty for this offence or to introduce another defined offence with more severe penalties for such dangerous actions. Mr. Mayhew That offence already carries the highest maximum penalties which may be imposed on summary conviction of 6 months imprisonment or a fine of £1,000 or both.

Study Centre on the Family WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked Sec State Soc Services what resources providing to fund the study centre on the family. Mr. Newton The Department and the Social Science Research Council will share up to £90,000 a year for three years, possibility of further extension. Amount of grant still to be fixed. Purpose of grant is to continue the study commission on the family.

Single Persons (Tax Treatment) WA

Mr. Arthur Lewis asked Chancellor Exchequer whether he will consider revision of income tax rules and procedures in that single men and women pay more tax than married people yet are unable to obtain the same benefits, no social or welfare benefits for spouses or non-existent children but contribute extra taxation for children's education, health and other welfare benefits. Mr. Wakeham between single and married people is discussed in Green Paper on taxation of husband and wife published December 1980.

V36 N53

Child Custody WA

Mr. Cryer asked Attorney-General if he will make statement on implementation of the European convention on child custody. The Solicitor-General European convention signed but not ratified. Progress must await outcome of following viz. (1) consultations, in progress, on whether should accede to Hague convention on civil aspects of international child abduction, and (2) delivery of joint report by the two Law Commissions, on reciprocal recognition and enforcment of custody orders within UK.

Local Authority Expenditure WA

Mr. Christopher Price asked Sec State Education and Science best estimate of likely outturn of capital expenditure by local authorities on education projects in 1982-83. Sir Keith Joseph forecast in autumn of net outturn for education capital expenditure in 1982-83 after allowing for capital receipts was £317 million.

Arranged Marriages WA
Mr. Arthur Lewis asked Sec State Soc Services to bring to attention that there is no obligation in law to carry out marriages arranged by parents. Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg It is already known that marriage is the voluntary union of one man and one woman for life. Printed at the top of form signed when notice of marriage is given, displayed prominently in register offices, and read out by superintendent registrar before a register office marriage ceremony begins. In places of public religious worship the full import of the declaratory and contracting words should be explained to the parties.

Children (Psychiatric and Psychological Treatment) WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked Sec State Soc Services guidelines on the circumstances in which psychiatric or psychological treatment may be imposed on children under the provisions of care orders; how terms of guidelines differ from section 26 of Mental Health Act 1959 and Mental Health (Amendment) Act 1982. Mr. Newton No guidelines issued on imposition of medical treatment on children subject to care orders. Advice on obtaining consent available to medical practitioners from medical defence societies. The Mental Health (Amendment) Act 1982, prescribes the circumstances in which medical treatment for mental disorder given to detained patients, including detained under section 26 of 1959 Act, without their informed consent.

V36 N54

Mrs. Renée Short asked PM what proposals she has to improve conditions of families in poverty. The Prime Minister Government's priority for improving standard of living of all members of soc is to establish conditions for sustained economic growth. We have helped low-income working families and we have maintained and improved the real value of supp ben. Government assist families suffering social deprivations by the provision of relevant public services, and by assisting the help by relations, friends and voluntary organisations.

Aliens (Birth Statistics) OA

Mr. Shersby asked Sec State Home Department if he will estimate number of children will be born to alien parents temporarily resident in UK during 1983 who, as a result of the British Nationality Act, will not now achieve British nationality by birth will instead take parents' nationality. Mr. Waddington 1979, between 59,000 and 64,000 children were born in the UK to parents neither born in British Isles. If only five to 10 per cent, of such children are born to parents neither of whom is settled here or is a British citizen at time of birth 3,000 to 6,500 children could be born in UK each year who will not be British citizens at birth.

V36 N55

ent (East Midlands) D

Mr. Frank Haynes (Ashfield) I beg to move. That this House of condemns Her Majesty's Government for pursuing disastrous economic and industrial policies that have increased unemployment in the East Midlands by 187 per cent. since May 1979, brought about the collapse of many companies. weakened traditional industries and resulted in 31 people chasing every notified vacancy; and calls upon the Government to abandon these policies which are so damaging to the region's prospects. CS.

Unemployment (Northern Region) D
Mr. Robert C. Brown (Newcastle upon Tyne, West) I beg to move, That this House deplores the appalling unemployment in the Northern Region largely created by the iniquity of Conservative Government policies, which have created within the region the highest unemployment rate in main-land Britain and the virtual disappearance of vacancies; recognises that the Northern Region is in imminent danger of becoming an industrial desert by the continued destruction of shipbuilding, heavy engineering, manufacturing and service industries; and calls on Her Majesty's Government to take urgent and immediate action to regenerate the Northern Region. CS.

Mortality Rates (Children) WA

Dr. Roger Thomas asked Sec State Soc Services the relative mortality rates of children between one month and one year of unskilled manual workers with professional families social classes 3 to 1. Mr. Geoffrey Finsbery Post-neonatal mortality, deaths at ages one month to under one year per 1,000 live births, legitimate births only, England and Wales, 1975 to 1980, as follows:

Post-r	neonatal me	ortality rat	es			18
Social Class	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
I - Professional occupations	3.0	2.6	2.9	3.0	3.3	3.2
II - Intermediate occupations	3.3	2.8	3.0	3.1	2.8	3.1
IIIN - Non-manual skilled occupations	3.5	3.1	3.2	3.2	2.6	3.4
IIIM - Manual skilled occupations	4.4	4.0	3.7	4.2	3.9	3.5
IV - Partly skilled occupations	5.7	5.1	5.0	4.3	5.2	4.8
V - Unskilled occupations	8.7	8.4	8.0	7.1	8.1	6.2
Others	7.5	8.8	8.7	8.9	9.0	8.1
Total	4.6	4.1	4.0	4.1	4.1	3.9

Youth Opportunities Programme WA
Mr. Lee asked Sec State Employment what progress made towards target on YOP. Mr. Peter Morrison Government's commitment to offer place on programme to al 1982 school leavers by Christmas 1982 substantially met. 325,000 1982 school leavers had entered by Christmas, leaving fewer than 8,000 without the offer of a place.

List D Schools WA

Mr. Henderson asked Sec State Scotland if he has conclusions about proposed withdrawal of certificates of approval from certain list D schools; Mr. Younger The number of pupils has declined from 1,110 to 910 now. There has continued to be a fall in demand for places in list D schools, and my Department issued a consultative memorandum proposing the withdrawal of certificates of approval from Tynepark school, Haddington; Balgowan school, Dundee; St. John Bosco's school Aberdour; and Dale school, Arbroath. I would be justified in withdrawing the certificate of approval from the four schools. I am to give six months' notice.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Mr. Thomas Cox asked Sec State Employment how many (a) men and (b) women under 21 are registered as unemployed in Wandsworth. Mr. Alison October 1982, there were 1,619 male and 1,029 female unemployed claimants aged under 20 years in area covered by Balham, Clapham Junction and tooting jobcentres, which corresponds closely to London borough of Wandsworth.

Mr. Cryer asked Sec State Employment how many aged 16 to 18 years are unemployed in the Keighley travel-to-work area. Mr. Alison October 1982, unemployed claimants aged 18 years and under in Keighley jobcentre area was 495.

Children (Court Proceedings) WA

Mr. Alton asked Sec State Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs how many cases where children taken by one parent, against wishes of the other, to countries which UK has no channels to institute their return. Mr. Hurd The past year the foreign and Commonwealth Office has given advice in 42 cases. it is for the courts of the country where the children are to decide which parent given custody, up to aggrieved parent to decide, what action he/she should take.

Mentally Handicapped Children WA

Mr. Peter Lloyd asked Sec State Soc Services how many fewer mentally handicapped children are in

NHS hospitals compared with 1978. Mr. Rossi 31 December 1981, about 1.300 fewer children in mental handicap hospitals and units in England than on same date 1978.

Playgroups WA

Mr. Greenway asked Sec State Soc Services the number of children in playgroups in England, Greater London, and in the London Borough of Ealing in May 1979: Mr. Newton Central statistics relate to places in registered playgroups and show:

Number of places in playgroups, registered with local authorities

70 SUR 10 PA 107		As at 31 March
	1979	1981
England	362,279	364,778
Greater London	45,459	42,826
London borough of Faling	1.550	1.625

Financial support is given to the Pre-School Playgroups Association; 1982-83 £350,000.

V36 N56

Mr. Peter Bottomley asked PM rates of unemployment for single men, and married men with (a) no dependent children (b) one child, (c) two children and (d) three children. The Prime Minister The latest information from 1981 labour force survey. About one in six single men were unemployed. The rate for married men with two or fewer dependent children was one in 16 compared with about one in nine for men with three or more dependent children. Mr. Bottomley Increasing child benefit is a more cost-effective way of helping families with children then raising the married man's tax allowance or giving pay increases, an increase in child benefit is highly desirable. The Prime Minister November 1980 Government gave an undertaking to maintain the November 1980 value of child benefit. That has been honoured. These matters are dealt with in the budget.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Alexander W. Lyon asked Sec State Employment (1) number of trainees otherwise unemployed who are expected on youth training scheme by end of September 1983; (2) estimate the number of trainees already in employment expected on the youth training scheme September 1983. Mr. Peter Morrison Youth task group estimated at 1 September 1983 would be 507,900 16-year-olds in labour market, of whom 210,000 would be in jobs 297,300 unemployed if no provision made. Youth training scheme aims to provide 400,000 places for young people by September 1983 all unemployed 16-year-old school leavers guaranteed offer of place on the scheme.

Child Benefit WA

Mr. Austin Mitchell asked Chancellor gross cost of raising child benefit to £15 pw in 1983-84 and net cost if the benefit were taxed on current policies; how this compares with the benefit in 1983-84 on current policies; and what net cost of £15 per child would be if single and married income tax allowances raised to £1,800 and £3,500, two reduced rate bands of £1,000 were introduced at rates of 10 per cent. and 20 per cent., and stahdard rate band was introduced to £4,000 followed by two bands of £4,000 and four bands of £5,000 in incremental steps of five per cent. to a maximum of 65 per cent. Mr. Ridley estimated that child benefit will cost £3.9 billion 1983-84. Additional cost, in a year, if

[†]Including middle schools as deemed

child benefit raised from £5.85 to £15 pw about £6 billion. Does not include savings on other social security benefits. If child benefit payments of £15 pw about £6 billion. Does not include savings on other social security benefits. If child benefit payments of £15 pw treated as part of taxable income of parents, would be a gross of about £2/4 billion a year at 1983-84 income levels assuming that tax allowances and thresholds were indexed from 1982-83 Jevels by reference to statutory formula. Second part would be revenue cost in year of about £8/4 billion at 1983-84 levels of income. If child benefit payment sof £15 per week taxable, would be yield of about £2/2 billion. Estimates take no account of incomed administration and incomed administration and income and the second of the second administration and income and the second of the second administration and the second of increased administrative costs involved both to Revenue and to taxpayers.

Church-aided Schools OA

Mrs. Faith asked Sec State Education and Science why a delay in implementing provisions of Education Act 1980 to apply to Church-aided schools. Dr. Boyson Only schools having instruments of government made after 1 July 1981 required to have governing bodies in line with 1980 Act. Others encouraged to adopt this on voluntary basis. In Church and other voluntary schools, instruments of government are made by the Sec State following request from voluntary body responsible for the school. Many applications received and being processed.

Young Offenders (Remission of Sentence) WA

Mr. David Steel asked Sec State Scotland to amend Criminal Procedure (Scotland) Act 1975 to provide for the same scope of remission of sentence for young offenders as adults. Mr. Younger Young offenders in detention centres or institutions already qualify for remission same way as adult prisoners. When borstal training is abolished later this year on the implementation of section 45 of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1980, all young offenders, not less than 16 but under 21, on whom detention imposed by a court will be eligible for such remission. Remission inappropriate for young persons under 16 sentenced by a court to detention for a specified period or for a period of residental trainging, for whom early release dates are determined by continuous assessment, including response to training, prospects of reintegration with community and level of family or other support in community. Recognition is given to those aspects of conduct which attract remission in other cases.

V36 N57

Disablement (Prohibition of Unjustifiable Discrimination) D (2R)

Mr. Donald Stewart The object of the Bill is to remedy a factor highlighted in Report. It states: "The frustrating experience of almost all disabled people is that not only are they often restricted by their own physical limitations, but they have imposed on them additional restrictions by the structure of the society in which they live.

Student Grants WA

Mr. McCusker asked Sec State N. Ireland how many students from N. Ireland are in receipt of grants from Department of Education (N. Ireland) to attend university or further education in (a) Great Britain. (b) the Republic of Ireland and (c) elsewhere, excluding Northern Ireland. Mr. Scott as fol-

	Students
(a) Great Britain	240
(b) Republic of Ireland	21
(c) Elsewhere*	1

^{*}Except Northern Ireland

Student Travel Cost WA

Mr. Whitehead asked Sec State Education and Science what consultations taken place over funding student travel costs; Mr. Waldegrave Officials of Department have consulted local authority associations, who are administering present arrangements. Considering possibilities for change and expects to announce decision shortly.

V37 N58

Schools (Inspectors' Reports) WA
Mr. Peter Robinson asked Sec State N. Ireland if he will make available to the public inspectors' reports on schools in N. Ireland. Mr. Nicholas Scott I am arranging for the publication later this year of a survey of small secondary schools and a general study of small primary schools, both of which will be presented by the inspectorate. Also publishing senior cheif inspector's report on effects of expenditure policies on schools.

Youth Training Scheme (Islington) WA

Mr. John Grant asked Sec State for Employment the estimated numbers of youth training scheme places that will be required in London Borough of Islington in September for 16-year-olds; and how many places promised by employers. Mr. Peter Morrison estimated that about 725 16-year-old school leavers from the borough of Islington will participate in the scheme 1983-84. The scheme open to unemployed 17 year-old school leavers and disabled 18-year-old school leavers. Proposals for 450 places 200 will be with employers.

School Leavers WA

Mr. Porter asked Sec State Employment what opportunities for training are provided or funded by Her Majesty's Government for school leavers (a) aged 16 to 18 years and (b) aged 18 years and over; Mr. Peter Morrison The training schemes available for school leavers are set out as follows:

Scheme		Age Group
Youth opportunities programme (YOP)		16-24
Unified vocational preparation (UVP)		16-18
Community industry (CI)		16-18
Training for skills programme (TSPA)*	.0	0.000.000

*TSPA provides support to employers through industry training boards and other training organisations for the first year of training of additional apprentices and other long term trainees. The youth training scheme, which begins on I April, will replace the youth opportunities programme. The new scheme will provide a year of high quality training and work experience, and will guarantee an early offer of a place to all unemployed 16 year old school leavers. The scheme will also be open to employed 16 year olds and some unemployed 17 year old school leavers.

Football Hooliganism WA Mr. Gwilym Roberts asked Sec State the Home Dept to hold an inquiry aimed at reducing football hoolignamism by bringing together rep of local councils, police, football authorities; Mr. Mayhew Last autumn a liaison group which represented the football authorities, the police and the Government Dept concerned was established to advise local agencies on measures to combat football

Secondary Schools WA

Mr. Greenway asked Sec State Education and Science, guidelines in respect case of education authorities where some secondary schools are selective and other comprehensive. Dr. Boyson Subject to the provisions of sections 6 to 8 of the Education Act 1980, school admission arrangements are entirely a local matter. Mr. Greenway asked Sec State Education and Science how many education authorities have some secondary schools which are selective and some which are comprehensive. Dr. Boyson January 1982, there were 40 local education authorities in England which had at least one selective maintained secondary school in addition to comprehensive schools. These authorities included:

2 authorities with at lease one modern school

7 authorities with at least one grammar school

27 authorities with at least one modern and one grammar school 4 authorities with no modern of grammar schools, but with at least one technical or other type of secondary school.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Mr. Barry Jones asked Sec State Wales how many young people in Wales under 18 are available for, but without work; and what percentage this represents of the age group in that region. Mr. Nicholas Edwards October 1982, 13,596 people under 18 years were registered as unemployed, or 14.6 per

cent, of total population aged 16 to under 18, including those continuing in full-time education.

Care Proceedings (Legal Aid) OA

Mr. Meacher asked Attorney-General make legal aid available to parents in respect of care proceedings regarding their children. The Attorney-General Lord Chancellor made clear the Gov intention on 17 June last year. Mr. Meacher intolerable that this absolutely necessary measure enunciated in Children Act 1975 promised again under present Government is still not implemented because of arguments over cost The Attorney-General Consultation has been necessary, together with other considerations.

Microcomputers in Schools OA

Mr. Greenway asked Sec State Industry whether satisfied with progress of his Department's microcomputers for schools programme; Mr. Kenneth Baker progress good. Have provided 6,400 mic-rocomputers to secondary schools. Every secondary school now has one; the first country to achieve this. Primary school scheme began October last year. 6,500 schools applied out of 27,000 eligible. Including Europe, U.S. and Japan. Mr. Greenway Will Department look at provision of microcomputers in special schools? Expense is involved because computers have to be adapted. However, equal opportunities will be given to disabled people through use of computers. Can something be done for them? Mr. John Garrett Does the Minister find that the Department of Education and Science has undermined the scheme by refusing extra money for software or training? No head teacher will pay for software or training when the money comes out of capitation allowance for the school, which is being cut. He will not buy software if the kids will have to share books. Mr. Baker The Department of Education and Science allocated £9 million will increase that sum. From our budget we have allocated an additional £500,000 for educational software:

Young Persons (Islington) WA

Mr. John Grant asked Sec State Employment the current numbers in London borough of Islington of (a) unemployed school leavers, (b) unemployed 16 to 18-year-olds and (c) 16-year-olds on YOP schemes. Mr. Peter Morrison area covered by Holloway and Kings Cross jobcentre, number of unemployed school leavers under 18 claiming benefit was 378 at January 1983. At October 1982, number of unemployed claimants aged 18 years and under in the area was 1,475 of whom 482 were school leavers. Between April 1982 and January 1983 number of entrants to YOP Islington was 670, of whom 380 were school leavers.

Education (Cost) WA

Mr. Peter Robinson asked Sec State Wales what the cost per child in (a) primary education and (b) secondary education in Wales for 1980, 1981 and 1982. Mr. Wyn Roberts the following table:

Local Authority Expenditure Per Pupil (Excluding Expenditure of Meals, Milk and Transport)

			L outturn p	rice
	1979-80	1980-81	1981-82	
Primary	446	571	650	
Secondary	606	764	862	

nity Progra

Mr. Craigen asked Chancellor of Exchequer provide a detailed breakdown of £260 million allocated to the community programme and job splitting schemes announced on 8 November 1982. Mr. Brittan The figure of £260 million includes additional gross expenditure of £230 million on the community programme and £30 million on the job splitting subsidy. Administrative costs account for three per cent. of the provision in each case. Remainder is grants to project sponsors in the case of community programme, and grants to employers in the case of job splitting.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Mr. Kilroy-Silk asked Sec State Employment how many young people (a) aged 18 and under, (b) aged 19 and (c) aged 20 and over have not held a full-time job since leaving school in (i) the UK, (ii) the north west, (iii) Merseyside, (iv) the Kirkby employment office area and (v) the Ormskirk travelto-work area. Mr. Peter Morrison The following table gives, the number of unemployed claimants at 13 January, had not entered employment since completing full-time education.

	Aged 18 years and under	Aged 19 years and over
United Kingdom	211,805	104,295
North West Region	29,582	15,880
Merseyside Special Development Area	10,171	5,658
Kirkby jobcentre area	582	256
	Aged 18 years and under	Aged 19 years and over
Ormskirk travel-to-work area	454	263

Child Benefit WA

Mr. Home Robertson asked Sec State Soc Services what was loss in real value of child benefit between April 1979 and November 1982; Mr. Newton to match the real value of child benefit at April 1979, the new rate from November 1982 would have needed to be £6.10 instead of £5.85. The additional cost would be almost £130 million over 12 months.

school Children (Day Care) WA

Miss Joan Lester asked Sec State Soc Services what grants available for day care provision for preschool child in current year. Mr. Newton Department makes grants towards headquarters expenses and national development of a number of voluntary bodies wholly or primarily concerned with provision of day care services for under-fives. In current financial year grants are: national Childminding Association, £55,000; Pre-School Playgrounds Association, £350,000; Toy Libraries Association, £41,000; and National Playbus Association, £19,625.

Child Support (Unemployed Persons) WA

Mr. Stan Thorne asked Sec State Soc Services what child support payable to person on unemployment benefit in November 1979 and in November 1982, each case expressed in terms of November 1982 prices; what was the percentage drop in value between these two dates. Mr. Newton November 1979, child benefit and child dependency addition to unemployment benefit totalled £5.70 per child, equivalent to £7.82 in terms of November 1982 prices. The corresponding amount in November 1982 was £6.15, which was 21.4 per cent. lower. Where unemployment benefit claimant entitled supplementary allowance, the relevant factor is the scale rates for children; and these maintained their value, in real tersm, between those dates some cases substantially higher, depending on age of child.

Supplementary Benefit WA

Dr. David Clark asked Sec State Soc Services if he will amend the supp ben regulations so as to remove disincentive to Easter school leavers to take CSE and other examinations. Mr. Newton No. remove disincentive to Easter school leavers to take CSE and other examinations. Mr. Newton No. Under current regulations a school leaver becomes entitled to supplementary benefit at the end of the holidays following the term in which he completes his full time education. Throughout this period he is treated as dependent on his parents and child benefit payable unless he gets a job or starts YOP course. A school pupil taking an exam course is treated as being in full-time education until has completed the exam for which has prepared. Neither child benefit nor supp ben regulations draw distinction between CSE and GCE candidates; pupil taking either examination during summer term is excluded from supp ben until September. Changes to rules governing admission to CSE exam are to bring them into line with arrangements for GCE O levels. These changes will enable those above minimum school leaving age who have taken employment at Easter to sit CSE exam. No intention minimum school leaving age who have taken employment at Easter to sit CSE exam. No intention that changes, introduced for educational reasons, should result in change in supp ben entitlement. Wrong to encourage CSE candidates to leave school in interests of short-term financial gain rather than attend school during summer term to ensure the best possible examination results.

Intermediate Treatment WA

Mr. Tom Benyon asked Sec State Soc Services what progress to encourage development of intermediate treatment. Mr. Newton Government committed to widening options in dealing with juvenile crime, increasing community-based provision which is intermediate between custody or residential

care and supervision of offender living at home. Progress encouraging. Local authority expenditure on schemes nearly doubled £6 million in 1980-81 to estimated £11.8 million in 1982-83. Department's grants to voluntary organisations for similar purposes will this year reach nearly £1 million. 26 January 1983 at £15 million programme over next three years, starting with £3 million in 1983-84, to fund schemes by new voluntary bodies sponsored by local authority social services departments. Proposed arrangements in circular - LAC (83)3. Schemes will be intensive programmes of positive nature, regular day-long attendance for three months, involving education, craft skill training other vocational activities and learning social skills. The first £3 million, should provide 1,500 youngsters with a place on such a programme as a direct alternative to a custodial sentence

V37 N60

Mr. Hardy asked See State Education and Science if he will publish the letter of the then Minister of State to the hon. Member for Rother Valley dated 9 April 1981 relating to assisted places scheme; and if this letter still represents Government policy. Dr. Boyson text of the letter as follows: Education (Assisted Places) Regulations 1980, provide that the schools participating will be responsible for selection of assisted pupils subject to specified criteria concerning age and residence of pupils, income of parents and that he or she be capable of benefitting from school. No specific requirement in Regulations that schools should only select 'able' pupils however that were defined. Schools in scheme selected because of strong academic records as regards size of sixth forms and A level exam results of schools. They are schools suitable for able pupils and would not necessarily be appropriate for all pupils. We launched the assisted places scheme with aim of widening educational opportunities for able pupils. If a school in the scheme was satisfied that education it provided would benefit multile of average ability, excited allowed the first places. tunities for able pupils. If a school in the scheme was satisfied that cudential in product of the benefit pupils of average ability, assisted places could be offered to those pupils (subject to criteria concerning age, residence and income). Aims to widen educational opportunities and parental choice generally assisted places scheme will help do this by offering assistance with independent school fees to parents who could not afford them. Department will monitor the assisted places scheme and continuing academic performance of schools in the scheme. Schedule 4 of the Education Act 1980 provides that the Sec of State may terminate participation of a school in the scheme if it does not maintain appropriate educational standards or if it contravenes the regulations. (Abridged) C.S.

Learner Motor Cyclists WA

Mr. Speed asked See State Transport about implementation of learner motor cycle limits. Mrs. Chalker I February learner riders restricted to machins not more than 125cc, maximum power output of 9 kilowatts and power to weight restriction of 100 kilowatts per tonne. If machine first registered before 1 January 1982 only the 125cc limit applies. Aim of measure, based on recommendation of advisory council on motorcycle training, to restrict learner riders to machine of size and power appropriate to their experience.

V37 N61

Mr. Hordern asked the Sec State Employment how many people are aged 60 years and over who have been unemployed for more than one year. Mr. Alison October 1982, the number of unemployed claimants aged 60 years and over in Great Britain who had been unemployed for over 52 weeks was

Criminal Damage and Injury (Compensation) WA

Mr. Soley asked Sec State Northern Ireland if he will publish the amounts paid in compensation for criminal damage and injury to (a) property and (b) individuals for the year 1981-82. Mr. John Patten During the financial year 1981-82, the sum of £36,523,503 was paid in respect of claims for criminal damage to property In Northern Ireland and £6,251,314 was paid in respect of criminal injuries to

Young Offenders WA

Young Offenders WA
Mr. Pitt asked the Sec State Home Department how many young offenders sentenced to borstal
training or detention centres have a reading age of under 10 years; and how many young offenders
sentenced to borstal training or detention centres are attending remedial education classes. Mr. Mellor Of the borstal and detention centre trainees received and tested during the academic year 198182, 4,990 were found to have a reading age of less than 10 years. In the week ending 16 October 1981,
the latest period for which figures are available, 2,134 borstal and detention centre trainees were
attending remedial education classes for literacy and numeracy.

Family Income Supplement WA

Mr. Higgins asked Sec State Soc Services how many two-parent families are in receipt of family income supplement; and what proportion of these families has at least one child under five years of age. Mr. Newton About 88,000 two-parent families were in receipt of family income supplement at the end of October 1982, the latest date for which figures are available. About 64 per cent of the families had at least one child under five years of age

Voluntary Organisations WA

Mr. Proctor asked the Sec State Environment if he will make it his policy to ensure that voluntary organisations do not receive from his Department's funds more than the sum total of proceeds produced by voluntary endeavour; Mr. King Voluntary organisations are grant aided to the extent necessary to enable them to meet requirements. Grant schemes require the Department's funding to be matched by an equal sum from other sources. For local authority support through the urban programme, there is no such matching requirement because local voluntary groups in deprived areas cannot generally be expected to raise substantial funds of their own. In many of these cases there is a personal contribution in the form of unpaid effort. This cannot be readily assessed in financial terms. But I accept my hon. Friend's point that Government support for voluntary organisations should, wherever possible, be used to encourage self-help and for pump-priming.

Mr. Ed. Berman WA

Mr. Proctor asked the Sec State Environment, if he will list the projects which have been set up by Mr. Ed Berman and their cost to public funds; what stage of progress he has reached in each case; and if he will make a statement. Mr. King None of the projects referred to in my answer of 28 January has yet come into operation, and none of them has made any call on public funds. I expect that schemes set up as a result of Mr. Berman's activities will for the most part take place in the voluntary or private sector and not lead to substantial extra demands on public funds. They will be announced in an appropriate way as they come into operation.

Inner City Policy WA

Mr. Proctor asked Sec State Environment if he will make a statement on his policy towards inner city matters. Mr. King Government policy is unchanged; like my predecessor, I regard the voluntary sec tor as a vital source of ideas, of skills and of energy and commitment. I am keen to increase its contributions to tackling the deep-seated problems of inner city areas and the rebuilding of communities.

Video Cassettes (Prohibition of sale or rental to children and young persons) Bill D (2R)

Order for Second Reading read. Hon. Members Object

Second reading deferred

Solvent Abuse (Scotland) [Money] D

Queen's recommendation having been signified - Resolved, That, for the purposes of any Act of this Session to amend the Social Work (Scotland) Act 1968 to add solvent abuse to the conditions indicating the need for a compulsory care order, it is expedient to authorise the payment out of moneys pro-vided by Parliament of any increase attributable to the provisions of the said Act of the present Session in the sums payable out of moneys so provided under any other Act - [Mr. Berry].

Young Offenders WA

Mr. Pitt asked Sec State Home Department (1) how many young offenders sentenced to borstal training or detention centres are physically incapable of participating in their régime of the institu-tion; (2) how many young offenders sentenced to the tough régime detention centres in 1982 had to be transferred elsewhere for medical reasons; and what were those reasons. Mr. Mellor No records are held centrally. The following information has been obtained from the detention centres operating a tougher régime. The numbers of trainees transferred elsewhere for medical reasons in 1982 were

29 from New Hall, 42 from Send, three from Foston hall and 35 from Haslar. The other information requested could be obtained only at disproportionate cost

Mr. Lee asked Sec State Environment how many home owners there were in 1945, 1951, 1964, 1970, 1974, 1979 and 1982. Sir George Young As follows:

	Owner-occupied dwelling stock: Great Britain	millions
1945		3.3
April 1951		4.1
December 1964		7.8
December 1970		9.4
December 1974		10.3
December 1979		11.4
September 1982		12.2

Young Persons (Training) WA

Mr. Wigley asked the Sec State Wales how many young people under 20 years of age were employed under special Manpower Services Commission and community schemes in the (a) Caernarvon and (b) Porth Madoc travel-to-work areas in January 1983. Mr. Nicholas Edwards some 465 and 177 young people, respectively, were engaged on youth opportunity programme and community indus-

Nursery Places WA
Miss Joan Lestor asked the Sec State Soc Services how many full-time day nursery places are provided by each local authority. Mr. Newton The information is in the following table

Local authority	Places in day	Children attending private or voluntary
	nurseries provided by the authority at	day nurseries at
	31 March 1981	31 March 1981
		placed and paid for
	270	by the authority 16
Cleveland Cumbria	270 141	0
Durham	150	0
Northumberland	40	0
Gateshead	110	0 22
Newcastle upon Tyne North Tyneside	250 91	0
South Tyneside	200	(1979)0
Sunderland	220	0
Humberside	40	9
North Yorkshire Barnsley	136	0
Doncaster	25	5
Rotherham	0	0
Sheffield	372	437
Bradford	452 85	0
Calderdale Kirklees	186	0
Leeds	450	2
Wakefield	70	7
Cheshire	514 1,389	26
Lancashire Bolton	215	0
Bury	110	(1980) 0
Manchester	1,217	0
Oldham	233 320	0
Rochdale Salford	406	Č
Stockport	152	2
Tameside	450	0
Trafford	240 195	0
Wigan Knowsley	420	Č
Liverpool	908	(
Sefton	286	
St. Helens	77 220	
Wirral Hereford and Worcester	61	é
Salop	0	12
Staffordshire	340	
Warwickshire	0 1,443	209
Birmingham Coventry	519	
Dudley	0	(
Sandwell	140	
Solihull	60 120	
Walsall Wolverhampton	125	(1979)
Derbyshire	425	(
Leicestershire	505	
Lincolnshire	80 100	(1979) 42
Northampton Nottinghamshire	565	(1979)4.
Bedfordshire	254	2.
Berkshire	134	10
Buckinghamshire	50	2:
Cambridgeshire Essex	181 266	15
Hertfordshire	386	
Norfolk	40	
Oxfordshire	90 70	
Suffolk Camden	616	4
Greenwich	215	1
Hackney	546	3.
Hammersmith	538 640	4
Islington Kensington	354	2
Lambeth	720	(1980) 6
Lewisham	240	3
Southwark	572	2
Tower Hamlets	395 667	THE PARTY OF THE P
Wandsworth Westminster	510	
City of London	000	
Barking	145	
Barnet	281	

Bexley	45	2
Brent	862	0
Bromley	50	31
Croydon	179	10
Ealing	352	n
Enfield	145	0
Haringey	280	16
Harrow	110	0
Havering	190	0
Hillingdon	250	0
Hounslow	191	34
Kingston-upon-Thames	96	(1979) 7
Merton	139	(1979) 21
Newham	253	35
Redbridge	70	29
Richmond-upon-Thames	131	0
Sutton	52	119
Waltham Forest	285	24
Dorset	105	0
Hampshire	339	0
Isle of Wight	0	0
Kent	32	37
Surrey	123	67
East Sussex	171	0
West Sussex	0	34
Wiltshire	0	59
Avon	550	27
Cornwall	0	0
Devon	74	8
Gloucestershire	75	(1980) 26
Isles of Scilly	. 0	0
Somerset	70	0

V37 N63

Mr. George Cunningham asked the Sec State Home Department whether he will consult London Members of Parliament before the Government decide the level of the imperial and national services grant to the Metropolitan police for 1983-84. Mr. Mayhew The imperial and national services grant for 1983-84 has been fixed at £13.1 million which represents 2 per cent. of the estimated net revenue expenditure of the Metropolitan Police for that financial year

Citizens Advice Bureaux WA

Mr. Wolfson asked the Min Trade how many citizens advice bureaux there are in England and Wales. Dr. Vaughan 807 (622 main bureaux and 185 extensions) at 31 March 1982. Mr. Wolfson asked the Min Trade how much money has been provided from central Government funds for citizens advice bureaux in the current financial year and in each of the five preceding financial years. Dr. Vaughan Grant-in-aid to the National Association of Citizens Advice Bureaux has been as follows

	£ million
1977-78	1,408
1978-79	1.308
1979-80	1.851
1980-81	4.018
1981-82	4.913
1982-83	5.757

Mr. Wolfson asked the Min Trade how many citizens advice bureaux there are in Scotland; and what are the arrangements for financing the costs of their operation. Dr. Vaughan There were 74 bureaux (59 main bureaux and 15 extentsions) in Scotland at 31 March 1982. The Government grant to the Scottish Association of CABx (£594,200 in the current financial year) is used to finance the central costs of the service in Scotland.

Mr. Harold Walker asked Sec State Employment the level of take up of the community programme by region; Mr. Alison At 31 January 1983 the number of approved places on the community programme (including the community enterprise programme) was as follows:

Region	Approved places community programme	
London	2,854	
South-East	3,071	
South-West	2,155	
West Midlands	7,047	
Wales	4,281	
North-West	9,780	
Scotland	8,681	
North-East	6,018	
Yorkshire and Humberside	5,417	
East Midlands	3,701	
Great Britain	53,005	

I am satisfied that the national target of 130,000 filled places is attainable.

Unemployed Young Persons (West Midlands) WA

Mrs. Renée Short asked the Sec State Employment what is the latest figure of young people in (a) Wolverhampton and (b) the west midlands who have never been employed since leaving school in each of the last three years. Mr. Gummer The table gives, January 1981, January 1982 and October 1982, numbers of registered unemployed young people under 18 years of age who had not entered employment since completing full-time education. Estimates of unemployed claimants prior to October 1982 are not available below regional level.

	Unemployed school-leavers under 18 years of age Wolverhampton jobcentre area	West Midlands region
January 1981		
Registered	959	11,034
Claimants		9,400
January 1982		
Registered	1,442	16,785
Claimants		15,400
October 1982		
Registered	1,719	23,678
Claimants	922	21,263
January 1983		
Claimants	716	16,084

^{*} Not available

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Richard Wainwright asked the Sec State Employment what definition of a 17-year-old school leaver has been decided upon by the Manpower Services Commission as a guideline to determining a young person's eligibility for a place under the new youth training scheme; and if he will make a statement. Mr. Peter Morrison Detailed guidance on eligibility for the scheme is currently under discussion by the youth training board.

research

The aim of this occasional column is to make current research interests of individuals, groups and organisations more widely known. Anyone may publicize their research here, or appeal for information. Inclusions should be brief, a general description of not more than two hundred words, with a name and full postal address. They should be sent to the Editor of 'Analysis'. Other material should be sent direct to the researcher at the address given. Please send enquiries to the editor of 'Analysis'.

Young People Leaving Residential Provision
A study relating to problems arising from the search for employment; the general relevance and adequacy of support services directed to youth on leaving care

The question of stigmatisation and the young persons feeling or experience of stigma and labelling. Any other issue/material generally relevant to the question of young people leaving care

Advice from fellow professionals on such a study; difficulties arising; other research; methodology,

Michael Wilson

610 Block 18 Linbeck Crescent Moss Side

Manchester M15 5NA

School-based Youthwork

Following the request on behalf of Mr. RAL Smith (Youth & Policy V2 N3 Winter 1983) another correspondent who does not wish us to disclose a name has invited responses on the same subject. In par-

School-based practitioners: details of personal/professional difficulties arising from role-confusion.

Programmes: lists of activities from youth wings, etc. preferably with age/sex breakdown (or estimates) in attendance

Experimental Social Education Curriculum: details of innovatory work in the schooled youth setting, such as race-awareness, girls projects, political education, community activity, etc. etc.

The nature of the research here is at present tentative and conjectural. The enquirer consequently would prefer not to publicize its source and objectives. Contact can be made through Analysis and any responses will be passed on. Professional confidence will be strictly observed.

Physical Handicap/Higher Education

Investigation into how youth with physical handicaps secure places in H.E. and entry difficulties. in particular;

Contact with young people who are applying to enter H.E. shortly, or who have applied and have so far attended non-specialist schools.

Alan Hurst

Preston Polytechnic School of Combined Studies B. Block Corporation Street Preston PR1 2TQ

Teachers of Art and Design

A Leicester-based project seeks information from teachers of Art/Design or Performing Arts of general experience in the following;

Teaching children from Non-European backgrounds:

Teaching a culturally pluralistic curriculum

AIMS Project

Art and Design Education For A Multicultural Society Leicester Poloytechnic Scraptoft Campus Scraptoft Leicester LE7 9SU

Monitor for this issue: Gillie Evill

Frank Booton

Research for this issue: Tom Cooke Frank Booton ness. The result is that the interests of the anti-cultists are continually represented in the mass-media; non-committal or differentiated opinions are ignored; and NRMs are allowed only to react to their opponents' publicized attacks. In short, journalists have not conjured up or distorted the deep-seated suspicion and hostility felt by very many people in Britain towards NRMs, but they have framed their accounts in such a **selective** way that dissenting opinions are virtually excluded. What is more, as is made clear by Eileen Barker (22) the image created by the mass-media of young people who joint NRMs does not satisfactorily reflect the facts generated by empirical enquiries.

Policy Implications

The aim of this section is to consider the policy options available to agencies in Britain which are concerned in various ways to help minimize the difficulties associated with membership of, and withdrawal from, NRMs. In order to appreciate the precise range of available options, it is necessary to take full account of the distinctiveness of the 'cult problem' in this country. (22)

(a) There has been very little demand in Britain for new legislation to deal with the problems generated or aggravated by NRMs. Britain's society is multi-racial and multi-religious to such an extent that the problem of framing suitable legislation would appear to be insuperable. Moreover, the weight of public opinion seems to be in favour of keeping religious matters largely in the sphere of the private and consequently outside the framework of law.

The enforcement of existing legislation, however, figures prominently among the demands of the anti-cult compaigns. In particular, the laws relating to business practice, soliciting donations and selling in public places, public health and hygiene, charitable status, immigration and consumer protection could, it has been argued, be profitably enforced with greater vigour than has usually been the case against some NRMs without detriment to the ideals of religious freedom or personal liberty.

It follows from the above that the most relatistic policy at present is to seek the voluntary co-operation of NRMs and aggrieved people in a scheme which would provide for dialogue and, in extreme cases, contact under certain conditions between an NRM member and a close relative who insists on having access to him or her. This would go some way towards meeting the needs of both parties. The scheme on offer from the Society for Religious Peace and Family Unity follows this pattern but is unacceptable to the anti-cult groups because it is suspected of being a 'front' for one or more NRMs. To be viable, any such scheme would have to be run by a person or agency considered to be independent of both sides to the dispute.

(b) In keeping with the relatively decentralized and pluralistic character of many British institutions there is little pressure for the establishment of, for example, a Ministry for Youth, a Ministry for the Family or a Ministry for Religious Affairs. Nor is it seriously suggested that the school syllabus should take special account of NRMs. And, while the main anti-cult organizations have put pressure on the Home Secretary and the Minister for Health and Social Security for action to curb the influence of NRMs, governmental resources have not been sought or offered as part of their campaigns. Their strategy has largely been to exercise influence through personal contacts with doctors, ministers of religion, youth workers, police officers and educationalists. The relatively low level of 'official' action in the area of cult-related difficulties is also a consequence of the

fact that the medical profession has shown little interest in the phenomenon. In a society where medical criteria are widely used in the attempt to define phenomena as problematic or not, the interest of the medical profession is crucial to the success of many social reform movements. Yet, doctors and psychiatrists have in the main refrained from involvement in the polemics surrounding NRMs in Britain, and their professional literature is virtually devoid of reference to the topic. As long as they remain apparently uninterested, it is unlikely that 'official' policy will be discussed or produced. (24)

(c) The material problems facing some ex-members of NRMs have given rise to anxiety among concerned relatives and others. Difficulties may be experienced in finding employment, training, courses in education, or accommodation. Unless contributions to National Insurance have been paid regularly during participation in a NRM (or made up afterwards), the exmember may suffer reductions in the level of various kinds of welfare benefits or pensions.

Critics of NRMs have argued that the failure to provide adequate medical and material provisions for their members is evidence of irresponsibility and exploitativeness. It is unlikely, however, that special arrangements could be made in social welfare to meet the needs of ex-members of NRMs as a distinct category of beneficiary in themselves. More practicable would seem to be self-help programmes organized by concerned parents or ex-members. This is certainly one of the aims of FAIR, but it has received a lower priority than the generalized attack on NRMs. A new organization called EMERGE (Ex-Members of Extreme Religious Groups) has recently begun to take up this kind of task on a modest scale.

The aggresiveness of FAIR and of the Deo Gloria Trust may be counter-productive if it undermines their credibility in the eyes of many ex-members who are repulsed by anti-cultists' total denigration and dismissal of all NRMs. These two organizations undoubtedly play an important role in informing anxious relatives of NRM members about the implications of membership, and they have on occasion been instrumental in helping to persuade members to withdraw from one of them. But they are also shunned by some ex-members for being insensitive to their special spiritual problems. The increasing involvement of clergy and of evangelical Christians in both FAIR and the Deo Gloria Trust discourages some ex-members of NRMs from taking advantage of the services that they offer.

(d) There are three main reasons for the relatively low level of public discussion about policies in relation to the activities and effects of NRMs in Britain. The first is that the total number of people committed to them at any point in the past decade has probably been lower than 15,000 and therefore too small to have aroused widespread concern. Moreover, most movements have given very little cause for complaint. The second is that the 'cult problem' has no been medicalized and has consequently failed to achieve the status of a fully-fledged social problem. The third is that, with the exception of Paul Rose's complaint about the UC's anti-communism and right-wing connections, there has been very little resonance between anxieties about NRMs and the kinds of political problem that have occupied the British public's attention in recent years. Even the politicized problems of youth (such as violence, drug-dependency, alcoholism, sexual promiscuity, unemployment, criminality and emergent fascism) have been kept separate from the discussion of NRMs. Thus, the notion of 'youth religions' and 'youth sects' are alien to the British people.

As was indicated above in the section on the response of journalists to NRMs, the 'problem' is mainly constituted in Britain in terms of discrete threats and dangers to individual people or families. The perception of NRMs as a threat to the social category of 'youth' is rare and probably confined to certain intellectual milieux. But even there it is unusual for the various problems listed in the previous paragraph to be perceived as part of a general 'youth problem' such as alienation or 'flight from reality'. Consequently, the topic does not readily lend itself to policy-making in Britain. Official responses to the sensationalist accounts of some NRMs in the mass-media are therefore fragmented, ad hoc and pragmatic.

These arguments apply equally to the British perception of NRMs. There is very little awareness of them as a category. Each one is probably known (if at all) for a distinctive trait, but it is unlikely that the individual in-the-street has a sense of them as a distinct **type** of group. There may be a confused awareness of one or two of them as vaguely menacing, exotic or wealthy, but the category of 'NRM' belongs to the social scientist rather than to the layman. To talk of policy in this context would be seen by many people as a premature and inappropriate response to a problem demanding merely **ad hoc** treatment.

(e) In Britain very few attempts have been made to remove young people against their will from NRMs (usually called 'deprogramming'), and as a result the conflict between cults and anti-cultists has only rarely become public. (25) Another implication is that the disputes surrounding some NRMs have failed to attract the attention of civil rights activists. Rather, the conflict has been fragmented into occasional court-room tussles over allegations of libel or intra-family disputes about practical matters. In the circumstances the so-called problem of cults has been barely politicized.

This point was clearly illustrated in the unprecedented outcry against the UC following the defeat of its action for libel against the Daily Mail. Newspapers, radio and television all gave extensive publicity to the verdict, and many editorial writers discussed the shortcomings of the complex and arcane law relating to charities in Britain. Yet, the problem was not extended beyond the level of practical uncertainties and difficulties in the existing legislation. The dominant view seemed to be that the UC's activities were considered devious and partly fraudulent but that there were no grounds for an outright ban on them. Moreover, very few commentators extrapolated from this specific case to any more general problem about NRMs or youth.

Again the conclusion must be that a general policy is not called for in Britain and that voluntary associations of people distressed by NRMs are probably the most appropriate agencies for handling the individual cases of difficulty that arise from membership in, and withdrawal from, such groups.

Conclusion

The refraction of the development strategies adopted by NRMs in Britain is distinctive in a number of respects and is evidence of the importance of making finer discriminations between the national positions of supposedly multinational movements than has hitherto been common in sociological analysis. The following considerations are essential to a sound appreciation of the public response to NRMs in Britain.

First, the lack of a State constitution guaranteeing rights to its citizens renders NRMs potentially vulnerable to administrative

sanctions which can be imposed without parliamentary discussion or approval. It also means that, compared with the USA, for example, the struggle between these movements and their opponents in Britain has taken place largely outside courts of law. The sole major exception has been litigation concerning allegations of libel.

Second, the fact that no department of the Civil Service has overall responsibility for either youth or religion has helped to prevent disputes about NRMs from acquiring an 'official' status. The disputes have, instead, been conducted almost exclusively through unofficial, i.e. non-governmental channels. It is no exaggeration to say that the British Government has no public policy with regard to NRMs and the problems associated with them. Indeed, it is difficult to see how such a policy might even be generated in circumstances in which the 'official' concerns with, for example, the family, youth or religion are either non-existent or dispersed over several ministries.

The 'unofficial' character of most disputes about NRMs in Britain is closely connected with a third distinctive feature, namely, the relatively low level of involvement in them by medical practitioners. Informal gatherings of psychiatrists and other professionals working in the field of mental health have certainly discussed 'the cult problem', but the anti-cult groups do not seem to have enlistd their help (with the highly significant exception of some American specialists). Moreover, the Department of Health and Social Security has not financed any medical or psychiatric research on the topic. Even the 'experts' who testified for the defence in the Daily Mail libel case were American, and it is largely American evidence on which investigative journalism in Britain has been based. There are grounds for suggesting that the general 'problem' of NRMs was known in Britain before more than a tiny handful of citizens had had any first-hand experience of them.

When the distinctiveness of the public response to NRMs in Britain is situated in the wider context of debates about religion and secularization in the modern world, there is strong support for the view that, although enthusiastic religious minorities may flourish on the margins of mainstream social processes and formations, their impact on the lives of the majority is weak. Not only do they fail to attract more than a minute fraction of the population, but their influence does not extend beyond their own members. Consequently, public policy-making in Britain has virtually ignored NRMs. The problems that have undoubtedly arisen in some cases have been treated on an **ad hoc** basis as minor irritations requiring nothing more than temporary and voluntary remedies for which it is believed that fresh legislation or a re-orientation of welfare resources would be unnecessary.

Until more intensive research into this phenomenon has been completed it seems equally plausible to interpret that pattern of response in Britain as evidence of moral dissolution and moral consensus. The ambiguity lies in the fact that while public opinion appears to be uniformly hotile to NRMs, the 'authorities' show no inclination officially to support or adopt repressive measures against them.

The author is grateful to the Nuffield Foundation for a grant which enabled him to collect some of the material analyzed in this paper. Thanks are also due to the Editors of Social Compass for permission to reprint parts of an article which appeared in an issue of the journal devoted to 'Social dissension of young people and new religious movements' (Social Compass 30) 1983.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- For an illustration of the multinational management of the Children of God movement see Wallis, R. Yesterday's Children: cultural and structural change in a new religious movement in Wilson, B.R. (ed) The Social Impact of New Religious Movements, Rose of Sharon Press (New York) 1981.
- 2. A clear illustration of this was provided by a spokesman for the Unification Church who announced in August 1981 that the International One World Crusade would be withdrawn from Britain so that resources could be concentrated in the Federal Republic of Germany where the potential for growth was considered to be stronger. Plans were also revealed for establishing the movement in the USSR. (Transcript of interview broadcast on BBC Radio 4 programme "The World at One", 25 August, 1981).
- For a comparable exercise at the level of the local communities in a single country see Harper, C.L. Cults and Communities: The community interfaces of three marginal religious movements. Jnl for the Scientific Study of Religion (21) 1982 p26-38.
- 4. See Beckford, J.A. Cults, Controversy and Control: a comparative analysis of the problems posed by new religious movements in the Federal Republic of Germany and France. Sociological Analysis (43) 1982 (a). Also Hardin, B. and Kehrer, G. Some Social Factors Affecting the Rejection of New Belief Systems in Barker, E.V. (ed) Society from the Perspective of the New Religions. Edwin Mellen Press (Boston) 1982.
- See commentary in the Times and the Guardian 1-4-81; and Hampshire, A. and Beckford, J. Religious Sects and the Concept of Deviance: the Mormons and the Moonies. Br. Jnl. of Sociology (34) 1983.
- In 1977, for example, the Under-Secretary of State for the Home Office told the House of Commons that, if new religious movements
 - '.... keep within the law, it is a very serious matter indeed to suggest that the Government should take action against them none the less. My right Hon. Friend and I may as individuals take the view that the doctrines advanced by [the Reverend Moon] are lunatic. We may be particularly suspicious of the motives of people who, while claiming to benefit humanity, have substantially enriched themselves. But these are matters of opinion, and surely it is one of the principles of a free society that people may propagate ideas which the majority of us do not share and do not like.' (Hansard, 23 February 1977).

The government reiterated this view in Parliament on 28 May 1982.

- Wallis, R. The Road to Total Freedom. A Sociological Analysis of Scientology. Heinemann 1976.
- 8. Foster, J. Enquiry into the Practice and Effects of Scientology. H.M.S.O. 1971.
- The Charity Commissioners, for example, were responsible for an enquiry into the Exclusive Brethren's charitable status in 1977, but no report of the findings has even been published.
- Beckford, J. (1982) op. cit.
- 11. Two schoolmasters at Sevenoaks School, for example, took up the cudgels against the Unification Church and managed to have the question of 'cults' discussed at the annual meeting of the Headmasters' Conference in September 1981
- See the comments of Barker, E. New Religious Movements in Britain, the content and the membership. Social Compass (30) 1983.
- 13. FAIR's Newsletter of Spring 1982 contained the following:

Small Christian Groups:

While it is comparatively easy to detect and recognise a cult with a strong doctrine of its own, it may be very difficult to decide whether a small bible-based charismatic group is still acceptable and beneficial for its members, or whether it has gone "off the rails". Where this happens it is in most cases the influence of a dynamic leader who introduced cult-like practices and drags the group members into a state of exclusive narrow-mindedness and dependence on him. Some of these groups are simply called "Christian Fellowship", even "Born Again Christians" and may have in their ranks genuine Christians who have fallen under the spell of the leader.

If in doubt consult local clergy, or write to us and enclose where possible, hand-

bills, programmes or literature of the group for easier identification. (p13.)

Society for Religious Peace and Family Unity. Family Re-Conciliation. A Book-

- Society for Religious Peace and Family Unity. Family Re-Conciliation. A Book let on Family Councilatory Procedure. (London) undated.
- Beckford, J. A Typology of Family Responses to a New Religious Movement. Marriage and Family Review (4) 1982 (b).
- See Beckford, J. 1981 (a) op. cit.
- Shupe, A.D. Jr. and Bromley, D.G. Apostates and Atrocity Stories: some parameters in the dynamics of de-programming in Wilson, B.R. (1981) op. cit.
- 18. It is unfortunately necessary in this connection to repeat statements about NRMs which could be considered defamatory, but the author wishes expressly to dissociate himself from them.
- Beckford, J. Politics and the Anti-Cult Movement. Annual Review of the Social Sciences of Religon (3) 1979.
- The Guardian 18-3-83.
- 21. Beckford, J. (1979) op. cit.
- 22. Barker, E. (1983) op. cit.
- For a comparison with the U.S.A., see Bromley, D.G. and Shupe, A.D. Jr. Moonies in America. Sage 1979; for a comparison between France and the Federal Republic of Germany, see Beckford, J. 1982 (a); and for France, see Woodrow, Alain. Les Nouvelles Sectes. Sewil (Paris) 1977.
- For a contrast with the U.S.A., see Robbins, T. Cults and the Therapeutic State. State Policy (May) 1979.
- 25. In a recent exception to this generalization, the UC failed in April 1982 to obtain from the High Court a writ of habeas corpus against the parents of a member who was believed to have been removed from the movement and held against her will in an effort to deprogramme her.
- Wilson, R. The Contemporary Transformations of Religion, O.U.P. 1976.

understanding the invisibility of young women

SARAH MARSHALL AND CAROL BORRILL

"..... we encounter ourselves in men's cultures as 'by the way' and peripheral. According to all the reflections we are not really there". (1)

We are two female researchers, reasonably aware and articulate, with a commitment to the general principles of the Women's Movement. Recently, having completed two years of our research project with young people in the North East, we set about the task of making sense of our data. Attempting this, has made us uncomfortably aware that even though we are committed to the women's cause, our thinking is still very much influenced by male ideology. We were taken aback by the number of times we considered the situation of men in our study before that of women, and by the fact that we had few real explanations to offer about young women's actions, but plenty to account for men's. All this has reminded us of the extent to which women are invisible in both the physical and psychological sense. This realisation of the limits of our own thinking prompted us to write this article. Before writing up our material we felt the need to focus on young women to help us understand their invisibility and the special problems it presents for research with a mixed sex group, and to develop some specifically female terms of reference to bring young women to the fore.

Invisibilility in the Community

In the early stages of our project we visited various youth clubs and community projects in different areas of the North East as a means of familiarising ourselves with the area and with the provisions made for young people. We believed that these were the most obvious places to make contact with young people. We discovered that though many facilities were used by girls, the majority of them were under sixteen years old. If young women of sixteen and over attended it was usually on an ad hoc basis. We learnt that once they had left school, young women tended to use the commercially run amenities, become involved with partners or disappear into the home. Even those facilities, which were open during the day for young people without paid employment, were used almost exclusively by men.

The problems we encountered in contacting young women made us appreciate why so much research has been done with all male groups and with captive audiences in school and higher education. In the end, we contacted our first two groups in institutional settings. One consisted of twenty four YOP trainees of both sexes with whom we participated in a twelve week Life and Social Skills course at Shipton Technical Col-

lege and a residential weekend away. The second group we met through a Training Workshop in the rural area of Milton where we carried out interviews and group discussions with six young women and six young men over a six month period.

The second stage of fieldwork, over fifteen months, consisted of monthly meetings in small groups or with individuals in cafes, pubs or at their homes. We now know more about young women generally: where they are during the day and what they are doing. If we had not contacted those in our study as we did, when most of them were sixteen and seventeen years old, we do not believe we could find them now, as the portraits we give below illustrate. A woman youth worker told us that she needs to contact young women at the age of fourteen if she is to know them in the community based setting when they are older.

Our work with the third group, in Marlow Dene, a housing estate in an urban area, made us even more aware of the invisibility of young women in the community and the problems this presents to researchers and youth workers.

In the second year of the research, a local youth project helped us to start working with a group of unemployed men in Marlow Dene. We were keen to contact a more natural group so we chose these visible young men with the hope that we would meet young women through them. We repeatedly suggested that they should bring along wives or girlfriends to weekly meetings. In fact, it took almost a year for contact to be made with the young men's partners. After four weeks of meeting, the lads had still volunteered nothing about their relationships, after eighteen weeks there were passing references to partners, particularly by one lad, but he never mentioned that he lived with his girlfriend. Only after seven months of contact (twenty five meetings), did we finally meet this girlfriend. It took even longer to meet others. When the breakthrough came, the contact with the women was particularly fruitful, but it had taken a year and the fieldwork was ending.

Portraits

Over two years we have contacted twenty two young women. We give portraits of three, one from each area where we worked, to illustrate how and why they move from accessibility to invisibility as they make the transition from pupil to adult.

Bernadette

We contacted Bernadette on her YOP scheme through the Life and Social Skills Course we attended. She had lived in Mitcham, a decaying area in the centre of Shipton, all her life and her family had been there for generations. Bernadette had left school with above average qualifications, 5 CSEs and 3 0 levels, and after six months of unemployment had gone on a WEEP scheme, gaining work experience as an office clerk. She was eventually kept on and given a fulltime, permanent job.

While on her scheme, Bernadette was reasonably easy to contact. However, during this priod she started courting a young man, Dave, who lived near her home. After Bernadette started work, her relationship with Dave became more serious: she stopped going out with her female friends and rarely called round to see them. Dave, however, still went out with his friends. Whether he was in or not, Dave liked Bernadette to be at his home in the evening. They rarely went out as a couple, but stayed in watching television. A major upset occurred in the relationship when Bernadette bought a £100 car and started to learn to drive. Dave objected to this show in independence and started seeing other women. They were reconciled after a few weeks and eventually Bernadette, with the grudging acceptance of her parents, began to stay overnight with Dave, only going to her own home for an evening meal. During this time her family moved to another area of Shipton and the new house did not have bedroom space for her.

Apart from through her place of work, it is difficult to see how a researcher could have contacted Bernadette or the innumerable young women in similar situations. She moved very obviously from the visible to the invisible. Her inaccessibility increased when Dave became involved in a court case and a curfew was imposed on him. Faced with the limited choices of staying in with Dave or going out with friends and causing friction in her relationship, Bernadette opted to spend her evenings in. Bernadette is a typical example of a young woman who becomes immersed in her relationship with her boyfriend. It was only because we contacted her before she 'disappeared' that we were able to include her in our study. Another pattern is to become invisible with unemployment.

Clara

We first met Clara when she was seventeen years old and on a government scheme at a Training Workshop. At that time she was living with her family in nearby Runswick on a council estate with a notorious reputation among professionals and local people.

During our early months of contact with Clara, her mother became progressively ill with heart disease. A crisis point was reached when the mother was taken into hospital. Clara left the Training Workshop so that she could give more help to her invalid father, by running the house and caring for her youngr brother and sisters.

Shortly afterwards Clara's mother died. After three months of very busy unemployment, Clara found a job on a production line in a local factory. At least, she called it a job, but it was in fact a government WEEP scheme. The work was hard, the noise and heat gave her headaches and her hands became badly burnt and scratched. Despite this, Clara stayed on the scheme as the extra income helped the family and she believed that she might be given a permanent job at the end. In the event Clara was sacked one week before her eighteenth birthday and has remained unemployed up to the time of writing.

At the same time as she was sacked, Clara had an argument with her father over money and as a consequence she was

thrown out of the house. At this point we nearly lost contact with her, but a visit to her home one day found her father in and he gave us her new address. Clara had gone to live with Jane, a friend from the firm where she had been on her scheme. She was very unhappy at Jane's and felt desolate in her homeless, unemployed state. She was therefore delighted when reconciliation came with her father and he allowed her to move back home. Clara returned to her closeknit local community and became absorbed again in the network of helping, sharing, backbiting, friendship and gossip generally. Whenever we visited, she was full of the local news and details of her daily round of domestic tasks. She said she enjoyed life and she obviously appreciated her family and the activity and purpose they provided.

With the exception of Thursday, which was her big night out at a disco in a town fifteen miles away, Clara rarely ventured further than a mile to the shops and only saw people from her estate. She was visible as a statistic because she signed on for unemployment benefit, but so immersed was she in running the home and keeping up with the news on her doorstep that she was visible to no one but her family and neighbours. We believe it would be a lengthy, time consuming process to contact young women like Clara once they had become involved in their family and community.

Kirsty

We met Kirsty through one of the lads in the unemployed group in Marlow Dene. Her fiancé, Ben, had been on the periphery of the group for a while, but had become actively involved after seven months contact. Kirtsy was twenty three years old, unemployed and living with her parents on the other side of town. She and Ben had their names down for a council flat. After nearly a year and several offers of flats which they considered uninhabitable, they accepted one in the centre of Marlow Dene and moved in. Kirsty and Ben married three months later, after two years courtship.

Kirsty had left shoool with an O level and four CSEs. She had various office jobs, leaving her last one two years previously because she was so bored with the routine. During her unemployment she became totally involved with Ben, setting up home and coaxing him to the altar. Having achieved this, Kirsty found herself with little to do. She lived in Ben's home area, not her own. The only visible female group locally were the pensioners who met at the community centre. Kirsty had one or two female friends from her old workplace, but they did not live nearby. Ben was preoccupied with his family and 'the lads', but Kirsty had little reason to go out. Consequently she became isolated and invisible, except to her husband and his family.

These three portraits illustrate some of the different ways in which young women become invisible. If unemployed, they gradually become drawn away from the wider community by domestic concerns and obligations and frequently by their involvement with a male partner. The latter is also true of young women in employment, like Bernadette who had the opportunity for social contact through her workplace, but found herself preoccupied with Dave. Both she and Kirsty have virtually become invisible even to their own families as they have moved away to be with Dave and Ben respectively.

None of these three young women mentioned using libraries or sports and leisure facilities, and they rarely use the social amenities and pubs available. Over the time we have known them, we have watched Bernadette, Clara and Kirsty disappear into intensely localised and private lives.

Invisibility in the Literature

Just as many of the young women we know are becoming socially isolated, so we are feeling isolated from any context in which we might develop theories about them further.

In considering the 'striking' absence of girls from the whole of the literature on youth subcultures, McRobbie and Garber commented that "when they do appear, it is either in ways which uncritically reinforce the stereotypical image of women ('dumb, passive') or they are fleetingly and marginally presented." They quote Rowbotham: "It's as if everything that relates only to us comes out in footnotes to the main text"(4) Attention has been given to these and other critiques and increasingly women have become the subject of research. The development of a subjective and theoretical understanding of women's lives has moved forward considerably over the last ten years, thanks largely to feminist studies, however, sociological and psychological literature on young women specifically is still lacking. The imbalance is difficult to redress since work on Youth which has a male focus is still being produced by writers such as Willis and Jenkins and still makes the major impact in the academic field.

Both Willis and Jenkins included young women in their studies, but contributed little to developing an understanding of their lives as the women are tacked onto analyses which were conceptualised in essentially patriarchal terms. Indeed, Willis' subtitle would more accurately have been 'How working class lads get working class jobs' as young women were not equally considered in his study. Jenkins at least tried: he had a mixed sample of eight-six young people, of which thirty-four were female, but although he included young women, he encountered "the undoubted difficulties attached to being a male researcher interested in investigating female social reality." He found himself unable to describe or theorise about their lives with as much detail and understanding as those of the lads. Consequently the study simply adds to the body of literature in which women are 'marginally presented'.

Jenkins explains that he included fewer young women because, "the boys are simply more publically available." Additional reasons for the absence of women are suggested by our experience with the lads in Marlow Dene. The distinct male resistance to allowing women to intrude on their 'space' made it extremely difficult to meet wives and girlfriends, and when it was not possible to meet the women, it was hard to obtain information about them since acceptable male topics of conversation rarely included the discussion of their partners. Consequently studies of and theories about young people have reflected our male dominated society. Male writers have researched and written about male groups, and young women are only mentioned as dependent on or deviant from the established male model. In addition the tendency has been to focus on 'problem' areas, like delinquency, deviant subcultures and unemployment, all of which are considered to relate more to the public domain of men than to the world of women who are "tucked away in the privatised and socially invisible family life"(1). We would add their invisible life with partners, too. We agree with Powell and Clarke when they argue:

"It is the dominant ideological division between Home and work which structures the invisibility of women, and not their **real** absence from the world of work".

We would add that it is the dominant male ideology held by all

of us, women and men, which has structured the invisibility of young women in the literature, for here their absence has been real.

Psychological Invisibility

Psychological invisibility underlies the invisibility of young women in the community and in the literature which we have already considerd. We have also found it evident in the general thinking of both the young people in our study and our research team.

A graphic example from our fieldwork is the avoidance by the Marlow Dene lads of referring to their partners by name. "His wife" and "me lass" had much more current usage than "his Lesly" or "our Barbara". Although we came to know Troy well, it was nine months before we learnt the name of his wife, Brenda. It was as if the lads denied any independent existence to the women. This particular custom may be more obvious in the North East where relationships between women and men have always followed strong traditional lines, but, we believe, this depersonalisation reflects a process which is nationwide: women, not referred to in their own right, are made peripheral and so become invisible to the mind. To our consternation, this process was also becoming evident in discussions of our research. From our mixed sample, it always seemed to be the men we would think of first. Even we, as women, were considering the young women as peripheral and much of what happened in their lives as unnewsworthy. Interestingly, it was the North East tradition of lasses going out together on a Friday night (a possible stand against male domination?) which initially captured our interest and that of our male colleague. Here were young women whose actions seemed to challenge the passive female image - suddenly, they were newsworthy. In other respects, there was little to note about the lives of the young women because their existence was largely reactive, shadowing and responding to the lives of men (fathers as well as boyfriends).

Our difficulty in writing about young women's view of the world also relates to the sparseness of literature on them generally. We are constantly comparing the responses of the lads we met with the theories already developed about different features of their lives. With them we know what questions to ask of our data, but with the young women it has been impossible to go through the same process. In the absence of theories about them, it is all too easy, as we found ourselves doing, to consider male definitions first and tack the female perspective on afterwards.

Implications

In their state of invisibility young women "stand outside the world of power, contest and conflict" and do not utilise many of the resources available. Consequently they rarely participate in decision making processes and they lack the opportunities to assess and change their circumstances. Young women's invisibility, therefore, has major implications for their lives.

We have discussed the implications of their invisibility on research: the difficulty it presents for contacting young women, for finding theories about their lives in the literature and then, even when these have been overcome, for describing and locating their experiences. Writing this article has made us realise, however, that these difficulties have been more pronounced because our work was with a **mixed** sample.

Our exprience of the overshadowing of the women by the men,

both in real and conceptual terms, is strong evidence for the need for work focussing soley on women and this strategy has contributed much to the literature. However, we agree with a comment made by Powell and Clarke:

"Men and women do not inhabit two empirically separated worlds, but pass through the same institutions in different relations and on diffrent trajectories."

In our study, we are seeking to chart the relations and trajectories of both sexes in the major institutions of the workplace and the family and in other concerns in their lives, such unemployment and friendships. We are struggling to break free of the male frame of reference to bring together explanations and to develop theories which account for the experiences of both females and males. We want to emphasise both the differences and the similarities between women and men. For example, the choices available to young women need to be compared with those available to young men and the experiences of both viewed in the context of their shared class location and their position as powerless, peripheral younger members of society.

Our commitment to research with a mixed sample has presented us with specific difficulties. Reflecting on these leads us to suggest various strategies for overcoming some of them. Firstly, there is the problem of contacting young women because of their absence from the formal provisions and the unwillingness of men to include them in their activities. Our experiences suggest that where there is a commitment to find young women they can be contacted, either in institutional settings, though this can present problems of representativeness, or through community based work on the condition that this lasts for an extended period (it took as long as a year for us to meet the female partners in Marlow Dene). A third possibility is to contact them as girls while still at school or in the youth club and to follow them through as they grow older. Essential to these last two approaches is having plenty of time. Ideally, we think a combination of methods should be used to enable contact with a wide range of young women.

Secondly, we believe it is important to have both female and male researchers working with young women and men. The two of us have established relationships of a different nature from those developed by our male colleague and consequently have been given different types of information. For example, we could talk in detail with young women and young men about their relationships with partners, a subject which did not spontaneously feature in their conversations with our male colleague. Relationships are rarely discussed in the male agenda and young women found it difficult to discuss their partners with a man.

Thirdly, and following on from the above, it seems crucial that both females and males write up research material. The invisibility of young women is all pervasive and can affect the analysis of data from a mixed sample in particular. As we have discovered, it is all too easy to take for granted many of the features of young women's lives because these are similar to our own experiences. Sometimes it needs an outsider to see the obvious.

Finally, we made a conscious effort to make space for the young women in our research. We arranged separate meetings to give them the opportunity to speak freely in all female company. In the discussion of our work, we deliberately think of the young women first when we want to illustrate a point. In our writing, too, we have decided to put the women first and alternate the feminine and masculine forms rather than use the conventional

style.

We hope that these strategies help to strengthen the presence of young women in our work. Perhaps most important for us, however, was to become aware of the extent to which we were neglecting them and to act upon this in practical and conceptual ways in an attempt to counteract young women's invisibility.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- Rowbotham, S. Woman's Consciousness, Man's i7rld. Penguin: 1981 p.35.
- 2. We have been working with Frank Coffield in three areas of the North East on a research project with approximately 22 women and 25 men aged between seventeen and twenty five. The project 'Young People in Society', has been funded jointly by the Social Science Research Council (now the Economic and Social Research Council) and the University of Durham. A book arising out of this research is to be published by Open Univ. Press during 1985.
- All names and places given are pseudonymns chosen by us or the young people in our study.
- McRobbie, A. and Garber, J. "Girls and Subcultures", in Resistance through Rituals, eds. Hall, S. and Jefferson, T., Hutchison, 1975, p209.
- For example see Willis, P. Learning to Labour: How working class kids get working class jobs, Gower, 1977. Jenkins, R. Lads Citizens and Ordinary Kids, RKP, 1983.
- 6. Op. cit., p19.
- Powell, R. and Clarke, J. "A note of marginality", in Resistance through Rituals (op. cit.") p224.
- 8. Ibid, p226.
- 9. Ibid, p225
- 10. Ibid, p224.

preventing demoralisation: the work of j.i.c.'s

IAN MILLS

In Jeremy Seabrook's book City Close-ups he records an interview with a Mrs. Lambourne who attended the Junior Instruction Centre (J.I.C.) in the old Audley Range Elementary School in Blackburn. She relates:

"I fell out of work, then went to the dole school three days a week. The dole school was to keep you off the streets. We all trooped up there, six miles, and we sat there all afternoon while the teacher, a woman, was talking about hygiene and things like that. It was just a gimmick really."

Was it just a gimmick, or did such Instruction Centres have real value? What were they really like? What were their objectives, and how did they seek to achieve them? Is there anything we can learn from the work of such Centres?

Junior Instruction Centres first officially opened their doors to young people in September 1929, but they were really old institutions with a new name. As 'Juvenile Unemployment Centres' they had undergone an experimental and fitful existence since the end of the First World War. When the War ended an 'Out-of-work Donation Scheme' was set up to help the unemployed, and young people aged 15-18 were enabled to receive payments from this fund provided they were willing to attend a 'Juvenile Unemployment Centre' to upgrade existing skills or develop new ones in order to obtain new jobs. By April 1919 over 24,000 young persons were attending some 215 Centres in different parts of the country.

The measure, however, was only intended to be a temporary expedient, and in November 1919 the Government announced that it was withdrawing its full funding for the scheme, offering instead a 50% grant to any Local Education Committee who wished to continue to operate such Centres in its area. Mainly for financial reasons, the LEAs were reluctant to take up this offer and up and down the country the Centres began to close their doors and the staff were transferred to other duties. The last of these pioneering Centres closed its doors in February 1920.

But juvenile unemployment had by no means ended - the basic demand was still there. Hence, within a year of the last Centre closing the Government of the day was once more pressing local authorities to open or re-open such Centres. During the next decade a whole series of schemes were put forward to provide financial support, especially in areas where youth unemployment was above average, such as the North of England, Wales and Scotland. At first progress was slow. In

January 1923 only 6 Centres were open, but by 1925 there were 135 Centres with an average daily attendance of 9,633 boys and girls.

That year the President of the Board of Trade together with the Minister of Labour appointed a Committee "to inquire into and advise upon the public system of education in England and Wales in relation to the requirements of trade and industry with particular reference to the adequacy of the arrangements for enabling young persons to enter into and retain suitable employment". This Committee became known as the Malcolm Committee after its Chairman Dougal O. Malcolm. A similar committee with similar terms of reference was set up for Scotland under Lord Salvesen.

Both the Malcom committee and the Salvesen Committee in their reports commended the Juvenile Unemployment Centres for "preventing the deterioration of juveniles whilst unemployed", and this key concept of 'preventing deterioration' became looked upon as the prime objective of such Centres. Then, as now, there was an awareness that when individuals lose their jobs they not only suffer financial loss, but also loss of self-confidence and self-regard, and if the period of unemployment is prolonged they lose self-discipline and even their basic knowledge and skill.

During this period in the mid Twenties there was clear evidence that if pupils found on reaching the school leaving age that they could not gain employment they normally accepted the need to return for further schooling, and hence the Salvesen Committee argued that the best way to ease the overall problem would be to raise the school leaving age to 15. However, once pupils had obtained and kept a job for some months they saw themselves in a new light. They were members of the adult world, even if some officials did refer to them as 'juveniles', and they had no wish to return to the 'childhood world' of schooling. For them the only realistic answer seemed to be a different type of institution with a different ethos.

This need for special Centres was supported by two National Advisory Councils for Juvenile Employment set up in 1928. They argued that provision should continue to be made for dealing with unemployed boys and girls by establishing special Centres or Classes. Whilst run under the administrative powers of the Education Authorities of a given area, their aims should be (1) to prevent deterioration, and (2) to facilitate the reab-

sorption of the boys and girls into industry by "maintaining or re-establishing, through further education or training, habits of discipline and self-respect". There was beginning to be a slight shift from negative to positive objectives and as a result it was considered desirable to rename the Centres 'Junior Instruction Centres'. During 1930 many new Centres opened, especially in the cotton areas in and around Lancashire.

In 1932 the Royal Commission on Unemployment gave particular attention to the education and training of young people out of work and commended the activities of the Junior Instruction Centres. The Commission did not advocate that all unemployed young people should attend such Centres, but they did recommend that "attendance at a Centre or course of study everywhere be regarded as a normal condition for the receipt of payments in respect of unemployment."

This recommendation was taken up and implemented by the Unemployment Act of 1934. Under this Act provision was made for unemployed young people who were over the age of sixteen to claim unemployment benefit. For boys aged 16 this amounted to 7/- per week (35p), whilst girls of the same age received 5/10 (29p). On reaching 17 the boys' payment was raised to 10/6 and the girls' payment to 8/9. In order to gain this benefit it wasn't sufficient just to go and sign on once a week. One was expected wherever possible to attend a JIC.

But not all unemployed youngsters did. Sometimes there were no Centres in the surrounding area (the limit they were expected to travel was five miles), but even where there was an available Centre not all the unemployed did attend. The 11,233 boys and the 3,666 girls who attended Centres in the week ending 21st March 1934 represented just under one-quarter of the boys and roughly one-tenth of the girls who were that week looking for jobs. Some of those registered at the Juvenile Employment Exchanges and Bureaux were too young to claim benefit, some may have been out of work for such a short time that they did not consider attending a centre, but there was evidence that some failed to attend either because they saw their unemployment as a disgrace and did not want to make it too obvious or they thought that Centres were too much like schooling. This appeared to be the case especially in the better off areas of the country. Attendance also varied from time to time in the year. It was high in September and around Christmas time and fell off in June and July. One ex-instructor complained that come June each year she was summoned to the local Education Office and informed that as from Monday she would be teaching in such and such an Infant School as the numbers attending her Centre did not justify her employment there. As a teacher trained for the Secondary age range she found this very frustrating, and for the young people still attending the Centre her course was no longer available.

Continual fluctuations in attendance created real difficulties in planning structured work. Not only did the numbers vary from week to week, but even in a given week one could not be sure who would turn up on a given day. For example during the week ending 25th April 1934 a total of 299 individuals attended the Stoke on trent Centre but the average daily attendance was only 172. Whilst some individuals attended for six months or more, many only attended for a few days or a week or two. Teachers and Instructors in Centres were forced to think in terms of individualised work. The longer young people attended the Centres the more regular their attendance tended to be. In areas such as Jarrow where young people might be out of work for a year or two the attendance rate was often over

90%. Attendance also varied according to the style of a Centre, its specific curriculum and the personality of the teachers and instructors.

Whereas claimants had to attend if they were to receive benefit, unemployed young people under the age of 16 could attend on a voluntary basis and where they did so this was looked upon as providing some kind of evidence that what went on in the Centres did have real value for the unemployed. The number of these 'non-claimants' varied from area to area. In London in the week ending 21st February 1934 only 2 'non-claimants' attended Junior Instruction Centres whereas in the North East of England 2,168 of the 3,407 boys who attended were 'nonclaimants', and 217 of the 750 girls were also under 16. Similarly in Scotland 1,778 of the 4,018 attenders were under 16. Some of these were virtually forced to attend so that their parents could obtain Public Assistance, but many went because the work, and sometimes the associated social life, attracted them. In depressed areas such as South Wales some attended voluntarily in order to get a chance of a job away from home through the Industrial Transference Scheme, recruitment for which was largely confined to boys attending Instruction Centres.

Whereas the attendance at Junior Instruction Centres seldom went above 21,000 on a typical day, it is worth noting that well over 1 million individuals attended such Centres for a shorter or longer period during the Twenties and Thirties and for a number it played a significant role in their life at that time, and sometimes influenced their subsequent careers. What exactly were such Centres like and what went on in them?

Buildings & Equipment

The first thing to note is the great variety of buildings used and the kind of atmosphere those buildings created. Many were in redundant schools, others were in church halls or Men's Institutes, or old huts or private houses. The Bishop Auckland Centre was in a disused printing works. Durham Boys' Centre occupied the Elvet Railway Station and it was found very suitable, "the Entrance Hall, Booking Office and Waiting Rooms being very compact and there was a good supply of toilets" (one of the necessary features which often caused problems). Grimsby Centres were to be found in the Fisheries Institute. The Leeds Centre was in the YMCA Boys' Club. The Centre at Maesteg was in the Miners' Rescue Station, and the Newport Centre in part of an old workhouse.

There were all sorts of problems created by these requisitioned buildings, too small rooms, poor ventilation, lack of toilets, poor heating, noise from one activity disturbing another and so on. And attempts to improve the accommodation frequently met with bureaucratic obstruction. For years there were plans in Portsmouth to replace the old huts used by the boys and create a joint Centre, but there were continual delays. If the Council approved a move then it was turned down by the Minister of Labour or his minions. For example in January 1935 the Ministry turned down proposals to purchase buildings in King Street. They objected that the buildings were in a crowded part of the city and that: "Though there are separate entrances for boys and girls, boys who cycle will use the same entrance as girls".(2) The Ministry ignored the fact that mixed centres in other parts of the country worked perfectly well and insisted to Portsmouth that there should be a 'proper segregation' between boys and girls. The Centres therefore continued to function in buildings which were declared to be overcrowded and 'totally unsuitable' for a further four years.

Sometimes what was a 'problem' for the authorities, was not a problem for the young unemployed. For example, Valentine A. Bell who wrote a report for the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust on the Junior Instruction Centres and their Future (1934) commented that "The presence, too, of immovable furniture like full-sized billiard tables is a great hindrance". For the boys, however, the presence of such facilities were very welcome, and Mr. E.G. Roch, Superintendent of the Portsmouth Centre from 1936-39 found that the use of a table tennis table helped to build up the kind of communal atmosphere which forwarded the work of his Centre.

Even the odd shape of the buildings helped as well as hindered. Mrs. Margaret Leighton who taught in a classroom constructed on the balcony of a ex-nonconformist chapel described how she could touch both sides of the classroom at once by stretching out her arms, however she needed binoculars to see the girls at the back. This was obviously inconvenient, yet it created a kind of humour which helped relationships with the girls she taught. Similarly the young unemployed found it more enjoyable to troop into a disused railway station or into the Miners' Rescue Centre, than into an old Elementary School or even a new one. Being different from typical educational establishments seemed to help.

Equipment in the Centres varied, but often it was quite reasonable for the work in hand. Employers often contributed machinery and fittings and sometimes the pupils themselves went round scrounging equipment and bringing it back to their Centres. Doing up the buildings was often a task which the unemployed had a hand in. According to a report of the Stockton-on-Tees Employment Committee of July 1933, helping to rewire the church premises in which the Boys' Centre was housed, overhauling the sanitory and washing accommodation, renewing locks on cupboards, constructing work benches etc. "provided interesting and novel instruction of an everyday practical nature for the lads".

Curricula and Employment

Whereas Committees and Commissions which commented on Junior Instruction Centres at the National level talked about preventing 'deterioration' at the local level the emphasis was on preventing 'demoralisation'. There was an inevitable tendency for central Government to focus on the unemployment from the position of industry and its need for good labour, whilst at the local level the focus was on the individual and his or her needs. With the increased demand for places in Instruction Centres in 1935/36 suggestions were put forward to reduce hours and have a two shift system, but the Portsmouth Local Authority asserted that "the primary object is to provide a curriculum designed to prevent demoralisation and loss of mental and manual capacity likely to result from unemployment", and hence they argued that it was necessary for attendance to last for at least 25 hours per week. Other authorities disagreed about the amount of attendance time required (most accepted 15 hours attendance as sufficient and suggested that this would leave half the day to look for work), but they all accepted the overall belief that inability to keep a job leads to demoralisation and that the function of Centres was to help to build up the individuals as much as to give them specific skills.

The focus on character building rather than skills as such can be seen in the way superintendents interpreted their role. When Ernie Roch took over the Portsmouth Boys' Centre in 1936 his four major aims were:-

(1) To engender a sense of self respect.

- (2) To develop the boys' ability to get on well with each other.
- (3) To build-up habits of personal cleanliness and self-control.
- (4) To counter feelings of uselessness brought on by their inability to obtain employment.

Whilst there was a curriculum and the unemployed boys were helped to develop new skills and produce work of quality, he was more concerned with helping them with personal problems and hang ups. Not all superintendents interpreted their role in the same way, but preventing depression and frustration was often fundamental particularly amongst those to whom unemployment had come as a shock.

Valentine Bell, from his experience in Battersea considered that the real problem was to deal with:

"Those who have had continuous jobs for two or three years but have made no efforts to improve their education or qualifications. Unemployment comes to them as a great blow when they discover that they are not able to find work easily. They are full of grievances and not unnaturally feel themselves the victims of circumstances. They are not willing to settle down at Centre work and need very careful handling". (4)

It was necessary to find activities which would be enjoyable in themselves and to provide work which would help each person to feel a sense of achievement. Where the actual skill being learnt was one which might well have been taught in an elementary school new methods of presentation had to be found to make it relevant to, and acceptable to, someone unemployed. In one Centre it was found that copperplate engraving provided a real stimulus and developed skills and an aesthetic sense. Wherever possible there was an attempt to combine different activities. At the Crook Centre the metalwork instructor was also a qualified engineer and had attended the Slade School of Art and was well able to incorporate design skills with his instruction in metalwork. In fact many instructors were capable of teaching several subjects. Mrs. Leighton in Portsmouth was mainly concerned with English and Environmental Studies but she also taught dancing and played the piano. The metalwork instructor at Swansea had been a member of the trial team for the Olympic Games, and the woodwork instructor at Blaydon was an excellent pianist and also taught singing. Whilst the larger Centres could provide the widest curricula, the versatility of the instructors in the smaller Centres helped to enrich the total offering.

If one does examine the official curriculum of each centre it is quite clear that the range of skills offered to boys was very different from that offered to girls. For example, the fairly typical Boys' Centre at Coatbridge had six main activities: Woodwork, Metalwork, Boot Repairing, Technical Drawing, Physical Training and English and Arithmetic, devoting about 21/2 hours to each activity. In contrast, girls attending the Bristol Centre had a curriculum as follows: Laundrywork 2 hours, Music 1 hour, Cookery 3 hours, Hygiene 1 hour, Needlework 2 hours, English Subjects 5 hours and Craftwork 1 hour. This pattern was fairly common, although most Girls' Centres did have some form of Physical Exercises, and Centres did have different combinations. Amongst other boys' subjects were Gardening, Basketwork, Bookkeeping and Engineering (motor, wireless and electrical). Amongst other girls' activities were First Aid and Home Nursing, Household Accounts and Typewriting.

This division of teaching subjects reflected the kind of employment opportunities open to young people in the Twenties and Thirties. During the year 1933-34 the Juvenile Employment Bureau in Portsmouth managed to find employment for 2,620 young people. Of the 1,275 girls who found employment no less than 477 became daily maids, 78 resident maids, 47 nursemaids, 16 kitchen maids. In addition 28 found employment as tailoress apprentices, 16 became cap makers and 19 worked in a laundry. For this kind of employment the curriculum seemed very appropriate. For boys the match seemed less obvious. Just over 40% (540) were employed as errand boys and only 31 obtained work in factories and 18 in garages. But one of the causes of unemployment was that the kind of jobs boys got when leaving school were not permanent ones and there was no necessary promotion from being an errand boy to adult employment in the same field. Woodwork, metalwork engineering and technical drawing were much more relevant for adult employment. Valentine Bell pointed out that the real unemployment problem in the 1930s was not for school leavers, but for those who were too old for juvenile employment but who lacked the skills for adult employability. Whilst attention is drawn to the under 18s out of work, the real problem then, and possibly today, is the employment of the 18-21 age group. On average there were 4 unemployed 18-21 year olds for every 1 under the age of 18. Those who became unemployed under 18 could go to an Instruction Centre. Those over 18 were unable to do so.

It is often suggested that Juvenile Employment Bureaux at this time were very successful in finding work for the unemployed, and it was for this reason that many youngsters did not stay very long at Instruction Centres, but this 'success' was not necessarily to the advantage of the young. The Wigan Education Committee in July 1933 reported that:

"No less than 1246 boys and girls were placed in occupations during the year Unfortunately this success does not indicate any permanent improvement in local industrial conditions, for by far the greatest number of placing of girls were in the cotton industry, whilst many boys were engaged in collieries, and as errand boys or temporarily to delivery circulars."

The report went on to describe these jobs as 'blind-alley' occupations. Those unemployed youngsters who did not get such jobs could well have had an advantage in the long term through developing their skills further. It was a complaint of superintendents that they did not have the juveniles long enough to make the real impact that was possible. Whilst morale went up by gaining employment, what real advantage was it to move into a 'blind-alley' occupation?

Not only were the curricula of Junior Instruction Centres relevant to current employment opportunities, for many of those who attended the activities were pleasurable and had relevance to home life as well. (5) For example, it was reported to the Portsmouth Education Committee in January 1935 that:

"The introduction of gardening in the boys' curriculum is a success. The boys responded to the innovation and are enthusiastic It is interesting to note that many of the boys made their own gardening implements in the metalwork section, thus linking up two sections of their work and adding considerably to their interest."

The same Council minute also noted that:

"The introduction of electric cooking stoves to the Girls' Centre was appreciated by those attending, and without doubt the most popuar classes at the Girls' Centre are the cookery classes. Indeed so interesting is this subject that many girls expressed almost disappointment on being called away from cake-making to attend the Bureau."

These kinds of minutes in a Council Report could be seen as over-stated in order to impress Councillors, but discussions with ex-students at the Centres confirm the assessment. In July 1983 I received a letter from a Mrs. Rose Lamb, aged 64, describing her days at the above Centre at this time. She wrote:

"I had about 6 months attendance and really enjoyed it. We used to go to the Old Municipal College once a week to do laundry and were certainly taught how to do things properly also happy hours spent at Cookery Classes. I always hated having to get a green card to go for a job, but eventually I had to leave."

Mrs. Lamb moved to the Brunswick Laundry, Stamshaw Road where she was employed at the 'princely sum' of $2^{1}/2d$ per hour. She worked from 6am to 6pm and regretted that she was unable to continue the educational studies she had been undertaking in the Centre.

This kind of comment must be weighed-up against the cynical comments of Mrs. Lambourne in Jeremy Seabrook's book. Clearly those who attended the Centres reacted differently to the experience. This seemed mainly to depend on length of stay, the specific personalities of the instructors and the general ethos of a particular Centre at a particular time. Many of the superintendents and instructors showed a real interest in individuals, helped them with personal problems, supported them if they came into conflict with the law, encouraged individual talents and tried to provide a congenial atmosphere with a degree of freedom and informality beyond that found in schools. In many cases the atmosphere was half way between a place of work and a youth club.

The Junior Instruction Centre which was based in the Central Technical School in Liverpool issued its own magazine - the Central Strollers' Gazette. In one issue it stated that: "WE

- 1. Issue bi-monthly a Magazine to which all past and present members contribute.
- 2. Possess a Rambling Club.
- 3. And a Theatre Circle.
- 4. Run a Debating Society The Byronic Debating Society for members. All invited. Usual meeting-place Technical School, Monday evenings, Room 4 or 13 8.30pm 9.30pm.
- 5. Have a Home-to-Home Circle, in which individual members in turn undertake to entertain their fellow Techites. (To the Mas and Pas of these folk we owe many thanks it's some job feeding the multitudes in these hard days.)
- 6. Interchange correspondence with students in Belgium, France, Germany, Australia and North America.
- 7. Make record collections for the City on two yearly occasions, Collections for the Blind and 'Armistice Day' Poppies.
- 8. In season, play cricket matches with Belmont Technical School.
- 9. Write letters to our absent and sick fellow-workers.
- 10. Collect silver paper for forwarding to the Liverpool Express.
- 11. Interchange magazines with the Blackburn Boys' Unemployment Centre. (See some of their Lino-Cuts, they are wonderful!)
- 12. Make ourselves conversant with the uses of our local reference library, and whilst in school attendance join the Lending Library. (Charge twopence for two years a different book every day if desired.)
- 13. Are hold and intend to hold (with granted permission) 6 free Saturday evening socials for past and present Techites in Room 20 from October to March."

This programme was of course exceptional, but many Centres

did help to organize social events and service for the community. On one occasion 31 boys from the Portsmouth JIC spent a week-end as guests of the Rover Scouts of the district on board H.M.S. Implacable, and a number of Centres regularly took their young people to camp. The Day Street Centre in Hull one year dressed dolls for the Children's Play Centres, sent parcels of clothing to the 'Mother Humber' Fund, made slippers from old felt hats and sent them to the Hospital for Sick Children, and furnished a stall at the Social Services Exhibition during Civic Week. In Edinburgh in one year the girls turned out 27 dresses, 46 nightdresses, 48 pairs of knickers, 55 chemises, 12 pairs of pants and 19 overalls for the Stichill Holiday Home. Whilst there were formal lectures and talks on a wide variety of subjects practical work predominated.

Atmosphere was all important and most Centres tried to establish a system of trust and self-discipline. Ernie Roch let the boys go off for a smoke break or a game of table tennis when they felt a need of relief from work. At Wolverhampton and Middlesborough JICs the radio sets were in constant use. Newspapers and gramaphones were often available, and in some Centres the young unemployed had their own Students' Committee to offer suggestions on the running of the Centre.

By the late 1930s most Centres were running quite well and appeared to have an established existence, but in September 1939 war was declared and the work came to a sudden halt. Mrs. Margaret Leighton has described how she drove past the Girls' Centre in which she was teaching on her way to the Local Education Office to find out what was happening. Outside there were a knot of girls waiting to go in. She had to return and tell them that because of the forthcoming hostilities there would be no more unemployment and they should go to the Employment Bureau to find out what they would be required to do. It was the end of an era.

Assessing the work

What were the strengths and weaknesses of this approach to the education of the young unemployed? First the strengths:-

- (1) There was a real acceptance of the psychological needs of those suffering in this way.
- (2) There was a real flexibility attached to the Centres so that work and instruction could be tailored to the needs of individuals.
- (3) On the whole Centres were friendly, human informal places.
- (4) Despite the uncertainty of the work, the Centres were able to recruit some excellent and versatile instructors and superintendents.
- (5) The work has practical and linked to contemporary job opportunities.

On the debit side some things stand out. First there was the problems of the shortness of time many youngsters spent in the Centres. Whilst the close link between the JICs and local Juvenile Unemployment Bureaux kept the job situation continually in front of the youngsters it did prevent continuity and depth of instruction. Some students went to the Centre for a week or two, out to work for a month, then back to the Centre again. A minimum course of six months would often have been better, but how could one prevent students taking work when it was offered to them?

Secondly, there was the problem of the range of ability of young people at the Centres. For some of the more able students the general tasks seemed less relevant. At the Portsmouth Boys'

Centre one boy spent time learning latin and eventually became a Catholic priest. In the large cities it was found possible to send some of the more able unemployed to Technical Schools and Colleges or to Art Colleges or arrange for them to join Day Continuation Classes. But frequently instructors had to cope with ex-pupils of grammar schools as well as pupils who could hardly read or write. Although individual instruction was as far as possible the order of the day, it was still difficult to cope with all levels of ability at once.

The accommodation problem was probably not as significant as some people at the time thought, and the character of the Centres may well have helped to further the psychological objectives, but there were problems. It was not convenient to try to teach country dancing in the same church hall where cooking was taking place. Rooms were often too small. Heating was not adequate and many Centres lacked proper toilet and washing facilities. The administrative system did not help with conflicts between the Ministry of Labour and the Education Authorities, and the failure for many years to see the problem of youth unemployment as an on going one which needed a long term approach delayed the purchase of suitable property.

Fourthly, there was a failure to see such Centres within a global structure. There was nowhere for the over 18s to go to, yet, as has been pointed out, unemployment amongst the 18-21 age group was more serious than that amongst the under 18s. Whilst the Centres worked well in areas with high unemployment they did not function so well in the Midlands and the South East and there was no provision for unemployed youngsters in rural areas. Finally there was no way in which the work naturally led on to the obtaining of further qualifications which could be recognized.

Any policy for dealing with youth unemployment must take notice of the whole situation. Youth unemployment is not likely to go away and with increasing technological innovation one must prepare for leisure as well as work. The JICs were to some extent doing this and in a farseeing comment from the Education Officer of Wigan in 1934 he pointed out that there are:

"many unemployed or part-time employed adults. Some of those now in this class will be with us indefinitely, particularly in areas where industries have died and left a large number of specialised work-people without any livelihood. Something must be done for their leisure in providing practical, cutlural and recreational activities, and some place in which they can be left to do what they like without interference."

He went on to suggest that there should be Institutes of Leisure, catering for all ages, and in these JICs could take their place. In such Institutes there would be no need for young people to give up developing their practical skills on reaching the age of 18, but they could develop them further either for employment or for sheer self-satisfaction. Is there anything in this suggestion relevant to our concerns today?

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- Seabrook, J. City Close-ups, Penguin 1973 p. 202.
- Minutes of Portsmouth Education Committee, 21st January 1935.
- Bell, V.A. Junior Instruction Centres and their Future. A report to the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust, Constable, Edinburgh, 1934 p. 27.
- Bell, V.A. op. cit. p. 22.
- For a contrary assessment see Pope, R. Education and the Young Unemployed: A Prewar Experiment. Journal of Further and Higher Education, Vol.2, No.2, 1978 p.15 ff.
- Quoted in Bell, V.A. op. cit. p.57f.
- Note to Bell, V.A. op. cit. p. 77f.

Other quotations come from various Education Committee Minutes, letters and conversations with those involved in JICs in the Thirties.

delinquency theory and practice - a link through i.t.

JOHN BLACKMORE

How relevant is sociological theory to youth work and social work practice? Is delinquency theory something you learn about on training courses and then promptly forget in the daily grind of dealing with difficult adolescents?

If you've experienced academic sociologists who revel in expounding various theories of deviance yet disdain to consider how they might be linked to practice, then you may well feel that sociological theory is a bit like Latin - interesting to study but not to use in daily life.

Stanley Cohen has commented that such a situation had led to many practitioners becoming antagonistic towards such 'ivory tower' academics." Likewise, some academics are disdainful of practitioners who engage in their work in a blinkered fashion without attempting to place it in the perspective of sociological theories of deviance.

Such a polarisation of views can only be destructive. A little less rigidity on both sides could lead to benefits for both the practitioner and the academic, and not least for the deviant who is all too often caught up in the middle. In line with this view this article aims to examine ways in which the labelling perspective of deviance can aid social workers, teachers and youth workers in the policy and practice of working with juvenile offenders.

Sociological theories of deviance can make a contribution to shaping social policy and practice. Adams et al writing on I.T., for example refer to the possible influence of labelling theory in the framing of the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act and the move towards treating juvenile offenders in the community. (2)

In order to illustrate how an understanding of theory can aid practice, a look will be taken at the labelling or inter-actionist approach to deviance in relation to Intermediate Treatment. Basically, labelling theory focuses on the role that social control agencies can play in creating or sustaining delinquent behaviour. Teachers, youth workers and social workers can be viewed as representatives of social control agencies. It is therefore important that they (and their managers) are aware of the insights that labelling theory can provide about how their actions may establish or consolidate a deviant identity among young people and subsequently influence them into further delinquent behaviour.

Norman Tutt and David Thorpe from the Lancaster Centre for Youth, Crime and Community, have increased the awareness

in some local authorities of how the Social Services and Education Departments' roles in the juvenile justice system affects child care practice. They point to how social workers' and school's reports influence the sentencing of juvenile offenders, how lack of communication between agencies can affect police and magistrates decisions, and how education and social work agencies can establish machinery to divert juveniles from a delinquent career or long periods in residential or custodial care. They focus on a 'systems' approach to delinquency and stress the importance of 'managing' offenders within the juvenile justice system. A failure to understand or act upon such insights can be highly destructive to a young persons life. The influence of labelling theory in this area is great and illustrates the need for practitioners and managers to examine the possible links between theory and practice.

The Labelling Perspective

Labelling theory in its simplest form holds that the more you 'label' children as delinquent, treat them as different to 'ordinary' youngsters and perhaps segregate them along with other delinquents, then the more that youngster is likely to act out the delinquent expectations that are placed upon them. 'Give a dog a bad name' could be said to be the first popular statement of the implications of labelling theory!

Just as some teachers may be aware that placing high expectations on their pupils can increase their performance so they need to appreciate that the reverse can certainly be true. Expect (consciously or not) a youngster to be delinquent or a 'no-hoper' and you then increase the likelihood of them fulfilling those expectations.

Certainly, the wealth of research evidence which indicates the high reconviction rates of youngsters sentenced to Detention Centre (D.C.) and Youth Custody is sufficient for labelling theory to be given a fair hearing. ⁴⁹ The Dartington research on the C.S.V. Children in Care Schemes illustrates the potential of young people once they are given the opportunity of breaking away from all the negative labels that have been placed on them in the past. ⁵⁹

The labelling perspective is particularly relevant to social work, teaching and youth work as it focusses specifically on how the **process** of social control can affect delinquent behaviour. Traditionally the agencies of social control (police, schools, social services, probation and courts) were viewed as passive responders to delinquency. In other words they were seen as merely reacting to deliquent behaviour. However, labelling theorists

have questioned this and instead focussed attention on how the ways that social control agencies **react** can in fact create and lead to further deviant behaviour. It was Edwin Lemert writing in the 1940's and 1950's who first put forward an organised approach which has become known as the labelling perspective (**). Lemert presented the concept so clearly that it is worth spending some time examining his position.

Lemert drew a distinction between 'primary' and 'secondary' deviancy. He argued that 'secondary' deviance was a direct result of societal reaction to the deviant behaviour. For Lemert 'primary' deviance arose out of a variety of social, cultural, psychological and physiological factors. Almost anyone might be involved in this behaviour. It was quite widespread in society and at this stage individuals may not view themselves (or be viewed by others) as deviant even though they commit delinquent acts

Individuals who shoplift, 'fiddle' their expenses, 'borrow' stationery at work, buy goods 'on the cheap', or drink and drive are all involved in 'primary' delinquency yet may not view themselves as delinquent. However, once these actions are discovered and the individual becomes classified as deviant by the agencies of social control, they may, depending on the severity of societal reaction to their deviance, begin to view themselves as delinquent, and others in society (such as family, teachers, neighbours, peers, youth and social workers) may also begin to view them as such and adjust their reactions to them accordingly. A self image of delinquency may become created and reinforced by the response of other people to the delinquent act. This is where the reactions of professional youth and social workers to youngsters who commit offences is so important.

If, as a result of the 'primary' delinquency the individual is labelled as delinquent by the agencies of social control, and stigmatised, punished and symbolically or actually segregated from the rest of society (eg. for custodial treatment with other 'delinquents') then the individual's self image may become dramatically changed. They may then begin to commit further delinquent acts because they feel society's view of them as delinquents calls for such behaviour. Once individuals commit further offences on this basis then Lemert argues that they have become involved in secondary deviation.

Despite some of the criticisms that have been made of labelling theorists this process was never argued to be a simple cause and effect reaction. As Voss pointed out, Lemert argued that one deviant act rarely resulted in such severe societal reaction as to lead to secondary deviation. Lemert in fact gave a quite clear account of how primary deviation might develop progressively into secondary deviation. First there is the 'primary' delinquent act; then social penalties; second, another delinquent act; then stronger penalties and rejections; further delinquency and as a result a crisis in society's 'tolerance' level expressed in a more punitive reaction and community stigmatising of the delinquent; then a strengthening of the delinquent conduct as a reaction to the stigmatising and penalties; then ultimate acceptance of deviant social status and adjustment of behaviour to that role.

This progression is an almost classic description of the 'tariff' system adoped by courts (despite some magistrates' insistence that they do not operate a 'tariff') and must ring bells loud and clear for any social worker who has worked with a youngster who repeatedly offends, often with relatively minor acts of delinquency. If youth workers or teachers reinforce youngsters' feelings of rejection - by treating them with suspicion, classifiy-

ing them as disruptive, banning them from youth clubs or regarding them as 'troublemakers' - then they are increasing the possibilities of future 'secondary deviation'.

With secondary deviation the disapproval and isolation experienced by the delinquent may be more important in explaining his or her subsequent deviant behaviour than the original 'causes' of their delinquent acts. The youngster released from D.C. and Youth Custody may feel obliged to live up to the delinquent image by committing further offences. The crucial point for social workers, teachers and youth workers to keep in mind is that **their** responses to the offender is part of the societal reaction which may lead to secondary deviation. The way they respond and the reports and recommendations they make can affect how other agencies and individuals deal with the youngsters concerned. This may appear obvious, but what also must be appreciated is that this in turn can affect a young person's view of themself as Idelinquent' or not.

It is important to keep in mind that the extension of primary to secondary deviation may take place in progressive stages depending on the severity of society's reaction to the delinquent behaviour. As will be argued later this has important implications for social policy and practice towards delinquents as it means that the adverse effects of labelling may be modified or countered at various points in the process of social control, including the points of court appearance and disposal.

Intermediate Treatment, Labelling Theory and Social and Youth Work Practice

Some time has been spent on looking at Lemert's presentation of labelling theory. From Lemert's position a number of theorists have contributed to the development of the Labelling or interactionist approach. Beecher for one has emphasised that labelling theory was never intended to be a fully fledged explanation of deviance, but rather an attempt to develop an interactionist approach whereby attention becomes focussed on all the people involved in any episode of alleged delinquency. Not just the delinquent but also the police, psychologist, teacher, social worker, youth worker, magistrates and parents, together with an examination of the whole procedure (arrest, referral to court, social reports, sentence and treatment) whereby an act is labelled as delinquent.

It is here that the role of the social worker (alongside the other agencies of social control) becomes so important and where their reactions to the offences and offender is so significant. Social workers, teachers and youth workers who are aware of the interactionist approach are in a much better position to understand how they may or may not contribute to influencing future delinquent behaviour among young people. The influence on sentencing of Social Workers' and Probation Officers' recommendations contained in Social Inquiry Reports has been particularly highlighted over the past 3 years. The increase in importance of S.I.R.'s (and their potential use in the appeals procedure) as a result of the 1982 Criminal Justice Act makes a clear awareness by practioners of their role in this process even more critical. One way practioners can contribute towards minimising the adverse affects of labelling delinquents is through their use of both formal and informal Intermediate Treatment.

Intermediate Treatment and the Courts

Intermediate Treatment was introduced in the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act quite clearly as a measure for the juvenile court. By providing a further option for magistrates in between 'ordinary' supervision and residential or custodial care

an addition was made to the 'tariff' system of sentencing which, if used correctly, can avoid the negative effects of labelling youngsters as needing custodial or long term residential care. The introduction of the 'specified activities' requirement in the Criminal Justice Act, if used as a higher tariff option than I.T., can also provide a further non custodial rung in the sentencing 'ladder'. At its most basic level, given that the present legal structure results in large numbers of youngsters appearing in court, I.T. can be viewed as a court measure which enables society to deal with a juvenile offender in a less destructive manner than would otherwise be the case. Delinquency is very much associated with adolescence. It reaches its peak at the age of 14 - 15 years after which most youngsters grow up and rarely offend in adult life. Whether or not the level of employment opportunities will affect this established pattern however remains to be seen. Given this pattern, I.T. offers a method of holding offenders in the Community until they 'grow out' of delinquency, rather than dealing with them through custodial measures which are likely to reinforce criminality and turn a delinquent adolescent into a persistent recidivist. By influencing magistrates against a custodial sentence or recommending low tariff sentences, social workers, teachers and youth workers can contribute to lessening the potentially adverse labelling effects of a court appearance. The concept of the 'diversion' of offenders from more serious societal reaction is relevant at all stages of a delinquent 'career'.

By the time he or she has received a court sentence a youngster will already have been involved in a certain degree of labelling. They will have been apprehended by the police, taken to a police station, probably received a visit to the home by the Juvenile Bureau, appeared in court and been found guilty. A social worker or probation officer may have prepared a social enquiry report, the Court may have asked for a school report, and neighbours, friends and school will probably be aware of this.

The process whereby labelling theorists argue that the Community will begin to react to the individual according to their deviant label will already be in motion. What happens at court, where the magistrates will represent official social reaction is therefore critical.

As Wheeler and Cottrell point out 'The official response to the (delinquent) behaviour in question may initiate processes that push the misbehaving juvenile towards further delinquent conduct, and, at least make it more difficult for him to re-enter the conventional world'. (9)

A D.C. or Youth Custody sentence, Care Order or period in residential care for assessment can label the youngster as needing to be treated outside the community. Social workers therefore have a major part to play in recommending what forms official societal action as represented by the court should take. And one could also question whether youth workers and teachers should play a more active role here.

Teachers and youth workers generally contribute little to support a youngster appearing in court. School reports for magistrates are often hardly more than a record of attendance (or rather absences!) with a few paragraphs outlining the more negative aspects of a youngster's attitude towards school. Yet are teachers fully aware of the influence that such reports can have on a magistrate's sentencing decision? The recent NACRO publication School Reports in the Juvenile Court highlights a number of issues around the influence of such reports upon magistrates decision making their influence is

perhaps not surprising when many magistrates themselves have a teaching background. This topic needs far greater attention from Education Departments and the fact that a young person's legal representative may call upon the author of a damming school report to justify written comments in court may also help to encourage teachers to think more carefully about the consequences of their comments!

Magistrates are generally only too pleased to receive any positive comments on youngsters who often present a very negative image. Yet at present youth workers and teachers appear content to leave the compilation of court reports to social workers and probation officers (who sometimes may hardly know the child). If practitioners were more aware of labelling theory and the influence they can exert on the process of social control, perhaps might they co-operate together more closely or feel a responsibility to intervene. Those social workers who do recommend measures which lead to youngsters being removed from the community and treated along with other 'problem' children may well be contributing to future delinquency amongst young people, whose best interests they should attempt to serve. The responsibility is so great that social workers should never abrogate this by declining to make any recommendations at all in their reports.

When in doubt, the policy should always be to recommend the lowest realistic sentence on the tariff scale e.g. a conditional discharge rather than a supervision order, a one year supervision order rather than a longer one, or a supervision order without an I.T. requirement rather than with one, given that youngsters can be involved in I.T. on a volunatary basis. The higher the sentence is on the tariff scale the more likely is the youngster to become transfixed by a delinquent label. Even a short period for residential assessment can result in the negative effects of labelling. Many youngsters referred to an assessment centre proceed to adapt speedily to its delinquent 'image' (such as skinhead crop or tattoos) associated with an escalation of delinquent behaviour, often along with other youngsters in the establishment. If an assessment is required then as the D.H.S.S. Working Party Report 'Observations and Assessment' recommends, this should as far as possible be undertaken in the community where the artificial labelling of a youngster can be minimised.

Social Workers and other practitioners therefore need to be aware of their position in the process by which society officially deals with delinquents through the courts. By recommending low tariff options and community based methods such as I.T. they can help lessen the danger of future delinquency resulting from the stigmatising effects of labelling. However, social workers, teachers and youth workers can also play an important role in preventive work with delinquents quite apart from influencing court sentencing. Intervention to reduce the negative effects of labelling can be made at many points along the process of social control. By co-operating together more and also by developing a more varied range of community based provision, teachers, youth workers and social workers could do much to provide an active policy of diversion from the legal process.

Intermediate Treatment and Preventive Work

Although there are frequent recommendations to increase liaison between social services, education, youth service and police, there is much potential yet to be explored. With regards to the police some already have established schemes whereby a youngster can be cautioned and referred on to voluntary I.T. as an alternative to a court appearance. A few 'Befriending'

Schemes established by the police link volunteers with juveniles and introduce them to various youth activities (12). However given that 70% of youngsters who are cautioned never come to the attention of the police again it can be argued that such schemes should aim at the 30% who do re-appear. Social Service Departments through close liaison with Juvenile Bureaus should encourage the police to caution for a 2nd or 3rd time much more readily than they do at present. The success of the police experimental schemes in Essex and Corby in directing offenders from Court provide good examples of what can be achieved. In this way many more offenders could be diverted away from involvement in the formal legal process with its negative and stigmatising influence, yet support could still be offered to these youngsters if necessary through involvement in preventive I.T. or Youth Service Schemes on a voluntary basis.

The 1969 CYP Act aimed to lessen the need for children to appear before the Juvenile Court before receiving any help they might need. As far back as 1964 the Labour Party published a research pamphlet entitled 'Crime: a challenge to us all' which demonstrated concern over the adverse labelling effects of a court appearance and which concluded: "We believe that in justice to our children and for the health and well-being of society, no child in early adolescence should have to face criminal proceedings: these children should receive the kind of treatment they need, without any stigma or any association with the penal system". (13) We may not have moved very far along this path but at least the development of I.T. has enabled social workers to offer help and support for delinquent youngsters in the community, whether or not they are subject to a court ordered I.T. requirement. Yet widening the concept of I.T. to cover children not necessarily subject to a statutory requirement has received much criticism, particularly from those supporting a 'justice' rather than 'welfare' model of dealing with delinquents.

David Thorpe (14) for one, has argued that involving 'fringe' delinquents in I.T. can label them as 'problem' children and ultimately increase their risk of residential or custodial measures. This can certainly be so if social workers believe that I.T. is a 'cure' for delinquency and involve children without any clear ideas about why and what they hope to achieve. There is always a danger that involvement in I.T. can lead to less enlightened workers labelling a youngster solely in terms of being a 'delinquent', as though delinquency is some permanent state of behaviour in which only a minority of youngsters ever take part. Therefore, it is essential to question whether involving youngsters in I.T. exposes them to the negative effects of the delinquent label, and to intervene if this appears to be happening.

The 1972 DHSS Guide to I.T. stressed that "an important object (of I.T.) is to make use of facilities available to children who have not been before the courts and so to secure the treatment of 'Children in Trouble' in the company of other children and through the planning of activities and experiences in the community". In reality practitioners have found that the emphasis placed on utilising existing youth activities was inappropriate and had to be supplemented by specialist facilities. Many juvenile offenders had already rejected existing youth service provision as irrelevant or had been rejected by youth clubs who were unwilling or unable to tolerate their behaviour. This is not to say that many youngsters in trouble have not attended youth clubs, but it does raise the question of whether much of the existing youth provision is sensitive to the needs of alienated youth or whether it expects them to subordinate their needs to what adult youth workers see fit to provide.

Many commentators have argued that the I.T. 'target' group needs to be re-defined and narrowed down to focus on the most persistent delinquent youngsters - 'the heavy end'. A variety of I.T. centres have been established to cater for such youngsters, often with programmes of 'delinquency control'. Obviously such centres can be accused of 'labelling' delinquents and segregating and treating them apart from other youngsters in the community. However, it is impossible to avoid any labelling at all. As long as youngsters are genuinely referred to such centres as an alternative to D.C. or Youth Custody then it can be argued that at least I.T. centres operate in the community, which helps avoid the more damaging labelling involved in physically removing youngsters from home and segregating them in a residential or custodial setting. (16) Whilst the growth of such methods as the 'correctional curriculum' (which focusses on a youngster's offending and ways of avoiding further delinquency) is important and provides a useful addition to the more activity based approaches in I.T. it is important that staff at the Centres are fully aware of the potential dangers of working exclusively with groups of labelled delinquents. Therefore, the emphasis on a Centre's programme should also include youngsters individually in community activities available to other young people, such as work experience, voluntary community service, part time education and relevant youth activities. Otherwise I.T. centres are in danger of becoming labelled as 'community borstals' and yet another form of institution which youngsters attend and return home from each evening.

As for I.T.'s role with the 'fringe' delinquents, it is here that the Youth Service could be encouraged to play a much more active part. Many 'fringe' delinquents do not need specialist I.T. facilities and could be encouraged to participate in local youth clubs and facilities alongside other kids. Yet they frequently require much more help and support to join in existing facilities than the Youth Service seems prepared to offer. All too often the Youth Service appears to operate on the basis of "we're here and if kids want to use us they'll just turn up". The Youth Service's emphasis on a 'voluntary' involvement can equate to a non-interventionist approach to the social problems of young people. Anxiety about new situations, apathy, lack of finance (I have heard some Youth Officers state that no child today cannot afford 30p entrance fee to a club) and ignorance of youth facilities can all militate against involving some children in organised youth activities. Incredible as it may seem detached youth work is still little more than an idea in many areas!

If (as seems to be happening in some localities) the Youth Service were to put dis-advantaged and alienated youngsters as one of their priorities then perhaps we might hear less labelling of so many youngsters as "unclubbable" (after all doesn't this label depend on what sort of club you offer?)

Social Workers and Youth Workers have a great deal to learn from each other and I.T. could certainly benefit from a more positive and dynamic contribution from the Youth Service. Instead, a situation seems to have developed where suspicion and professional jealousy predominates over the interests of young people. As the first major research study into I.T. in London stated;

"There seems to be reason for considerable disquiet about the relationship between I.T. and the Youth Service. Out of 18 (London) Boroughs who commented on the Youth Service, only four felt the relationship was good, while the rest had reservations about, or serious difficulties in that relationship. This has serious implications since I.T. ... very much depends on good liaison with the Youth Service

...... The major source of the hostility was perceived to emanate from the attitude of Youth Officers and the hierarchy of the Youth Service rather than the ground level youth workers, who were often pleased to be involved in I.T. individually. The cause of the hostility was felt to be the Youth Officer's view of encroachment by I.T. on territory which traditionally belonged to the Youth Service. They felt they had been running an adequate service for youngsters for years and could not perceive any need for a special I.T. Service"."

The Report also emphasised that "There was a danger that if the Youth Service was felt to be inadequate, with a low level of provision, there was a temptation for I.T. to expand into a compensatory youth service, rather than keeping to its specialised role". Obviously at a time when Youth Service budgets are subject to cuts it can be argued that there is no money available to become involved in I.T. But this assumes that the Youth Service should not be developing facilities for 'fringe' delinquents anyway as part of their normal provisions for young people. Cooperation between Youth Service and I.T. also does not always require additional sums of finance in order to make it happen. Nevertheless co-operation between Social Services and the Youth Service does exist in some areas, particularly at a practitioner level and also with voluntary organisations.

The co-operation of all the agencies with responsibilities towards young people is essential if comprehensive programmes of I.T. are to be developed and Paley and Thorpe's 'Continuum of care' concept of I.T. is still very valid. (18) Widening the scope of I.T. to cover a range of youngsters who have committed offences is undoubtedly a positive development as long as social workers and other practitioners are aware of the interactionist approach to delinquency and their role in it. As long as this is the case, their support for young people in trouble may be developed in the community without involvement in negative labelling.

This is particularly true if I.T.O.'s develop projects with other departments (such as Education, Arts and Recreation) or voluntary and community groups, which benefit other youngsters as well as I.T. kids. For example, in Hounslow we suggested and then linked up with Education to introduce the Project Trident Trust into the Borough. This offers Work Experience, Voluntary Service and Residential Training to all youngsters of participating schools, as well as those youngsters undertaking the scheme as part of their I.T. programme. The whole thrust of I.T. is aimed at working with offenders in the community, and the more that I.T. policy and practice encourages the contribution of voluntary groups and individual volunteers along with the necessary professional input the less danger there will be of youngsters being negatively labelled by their involvement.

Summary

Labelling of individuals as bad, mad, sad, inadequate, neurotic and even psychopathic is a danger particularly prevalent to the social work profession. Social workers and other practitioners should always guard against imposing such labels on 'clients' and particularly of accepting those placed on 'clients' by other professionals. The labelling of children and young people is especially dangerous as they are at a particularly vulnerable stage in their development of their personality. Classify youngsters as delinquent for long enough, separate them from the community for treatment with other delinquents, reinforce the delinquent label over and over again in your approach and that's how they will respond to you.

As an example take Bill aged 15. Bill was placed at a Community Home after spending 6 months in an assessment centre where, despite being co-operative 90% of the time, he was labelled as extremely disturbed and difficult. Two months after being placed at the CHE he was again rejected as being violent, and potentially 'like the Yorkshire Ripper'. At the case conference labels such as 'disturbed' and 'psychopathic' were thrown into the discussion. There was much greater resistance to looking at the problems of both institutions than to focussing on the 'problem' child. However, Bill had previously been involved in I.T. and had demonstrated some very positive qualities particularly in Community Service with mentally handicapped children. The possibility of a C.S.V. Children in Care placement was discussed with him and his social worker and Bill was very keen on the idea. Eventually the conference was persuaded to give Bill a chance at being a junior C.S.V. From that time on Bill's positive qualities came to the fore. He left the CHE two weeks later to return to a temporary placement at a Borough home from where he had previously been labelled as too disturbed. He then undertook several successful residential community service projects including an International Voluntary Service programme where he was described as one of the most valued members of the party. Bill's negative labelling gradually became transformed to that of valued helper as he moved to a 4 month full time C.S.V. placement working with mentally handicapped children. After this he moved back to this locality and took up a Y.O.P. placement as a junior youth leader! He gained a full-time job and returned to live at home for a time. Bill's case is not an isolated example and illustrates the crucial role that labelling by agencies of social control can play. Bill could easily now be in a youth treatment centre if the negative labelling had not been resisted and countered. Unfortunately, all too often teachers, youth workers and social workers are faced with a build up of negative (i.e. problem) labels, rather than an account of a youngster's actual and potential positive qualities.

Social workers and other practitioners have a particular responsibility to influence the way in which society deals with juvenile offenders. This is why they need to be aware of the contributions that labelling theory can make to an understanding of their role in the process by which deviancy is defined by society.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

- Cohen, S. It's alright for you to talk; political and sociological manifestos for social action. in Bailey, R. and Brake, M. (eds) Radical Social Work. Arnold
- Adams, R., Allard, S. Baldwin, J. and Thomas, J.A. Measure of Diversion-Case Studies in I.T. National Youth Bureau 1981.
 See for example Thorpe, D. 'Conveyor Belt to Custody' Social Work Today
- 1.12.1981, also Thorpe, D. 'Diverting Delinquents' Community Care 25.6.1981 and Tutt, N. 'Ways Out of Custody' Guardian 28.4.1982.
- See D.H.S.S. Offending by Young People A Survey of Recent Trends. Oct. 1981; 75% of male juveniles discharged from Borstal in 1976 were reconvicted within 2 years.
- Dartington Social Research Unit "Give and Take A study of C.S.V.'s project
- for young people in care".

 Lemert, E. Social Pathology. Prentice Hall 1951. Also Lemert, E. Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control. Prentice Hall 1972
- Voss, H.L. (ed) Society, Delinquency and Delinquent Behaviour. Little, Brown and Co. 1970.
- Beecher, H. Labelling Theory Re-visited, in Voss, H.L. (1970). Wheeler and Cottrell The Labelling Process, in Voss, H.L. (1970).
- NACRO School Reports in the Juvenile Court. (1984) 10.
- D.H.S.S. Observation and Assessment-Report of a Working Party, Jan. 1981. For example Cheshire Police Authority has established a 'Befriending Scheme'. A number of sociological studies have also been undertaken into the role of the police in determining who becomes labelled as delinquent which illustrate the importance of police discretion in the process of ascribing labels. See for example Hagan, J.L. 'The Labelling Perspective, the Delinquent and the Police' Canadian Journal of Criminology and Correction Vol 14 (2). Longford Report Crime a Challenge to us all. Labour Party 1964. p24.
- Thorpe, D. and Green, C. Report on Juvenile Offenders in Care. University of
- D.H.S.S. 1.T. A Guide for Regional Planning. H.M.S.O. Nov. 1971.

 Denman, Gary Intensive 1.T. with Juvenile offenders A Handbook on assess-
- 16. ment and group work practice. University of Lancaster, Centre for Youth, Crime and Community 1983
- Kenny, D. I.T. Review of Policies in the London Boroughs. Central Policy 17. Unit G.L.C. June 1981 p28.
- Paley, J. and Thorpe, D. Children: Handle With Care. National Youth Bureau 1974. The 'continuum of care' concept basically argues that an area's I.T. programme should include a range of facilities, from less intensive youth club type activities to increasingly intensive specialised facilities, to cater for a wide range of youngsters - from the first offender to the recidivist.

reviews

POLICE AND PEOPLE IN LONDON

Volume 1 : David J. Smith A SURVEY OF LONDONERS ISBN 0 85374 223 5 £6.50 pp351

Volume 2 : Stephen Small A GROUP OF YOUNG BLACK PEOPLE ISBN 0 85374 224 3 £4.00 pp181

Volume 3: David J. Smith A SURVEY OF POLICE OFFICERS ISBN 0 85374 225 1 pp197

Volume 4: David J. Smith and Jeremy Gray THE POLICE IN ACTION ISBN 0 85374 226 X pp354

Volumes 1-4 published by PSI, 1983 Policy Studies Institute 1-2 Castle Lane, London SW1E 6DR

The two most interesting aspects of this report are the fact that it was actually done at all and that the second volume A group of young black people provides us with the first study of its type to be published in this country. Unfortunately, the significance of this part of the report seems to have been overlooked in the furore and controversy which has greeted the revelations about the police. While I would like to try and redress the balance later by focussing on Stephen Small's research, I want to first consider some of the implications and repercussions of the other aspect of the report.

The report in total is certainly a major piece of work if for no other reason than a British police force has never before been subject to such intensive independent scrutiny. Surprisingly, the research was commissioned, and partly funded by the police themselves. In 1979 the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police, at that time Sir David McNee, invited the Policy Studies Institute "to put forward proposals for a wide-ranging study of relations between the Metropolitan Police and the community it serves." The Commissioner indicated his particular concern about the relations between the police and members of ethnic minority groups in London. Their proposals were accepted. They also insisted on a number of conditions prior to carrying out the research, notably, independence of enquiry and all findings to be published in full, and these were accepted.

The atmosphere of positive encouragement is important - McNee wanted a portrait of the police in action: "warts and everything". It was clear that relations between the black communities and the police were strained and it seems from the terms of reference that it was hoped the study would indicate problem areas and suggest ways of resolving them. The authors of the report clearly had the same idea: "The emphasis is not so much on what

kind of policing works as on what kind we have got, how far it is acceptable to people and, perhaps most important, why it is as it is, and, hence how it could be changed if changes were required."

The research was carried out between 1980 and 1982 and the authors were impressed with the extent of police co-operation. "No sooner had the research begun than a series of events heightened the importance of the issues under study and the amount and intensity of public debate about them." St. Pauls, the Deptford Fire, Brixton, the rioting throughout the summer of 1981: the animosity the young black community held for the police broke out in open conflict. The nature of the relationship between the two was on public view and opinion went against the police. The writing had been on the wall for some time: the Commission for Racial Equality Report The Fire Next Time had warned, early in 1980, "that black youths felt that they were subjected to constant and unnecessary police scrutiny." and ".... there is considerable evidence pointing to intensification of feelings of fear, resentment and hostility...." Lord Scarman found the same problem in Brixton and recommended changes in approach and attitude when policing areas with black communities. In London the campaigns for police accountability were demanding public control of

Events had overtaken the researchers. In the face of criticism the police went on the defensive and their mood changed. They withdrew and lay low in an attempt to rebuild a tarnished reputation. The response to Scarman was that "changes were already under way." It was a sensible move retreat, lie low, try a few changes, such as more beat policemen, keep any disturbances involving young people quiet, emphasise "mugging" and street crime in the annual crime figures. And it did seem to be a partially successful tactical manoeuvre.

In these circumstances publication of the PSI report could hardly have been the most welcome prospect. From the first leaks in October, 1983, the media seized on the controversial aspects of the report. "Shameful side of London's Police: Racialist, sexist, drunken and bullying says their own report" "London's GUILTY police: their own report condemns them" the reports reached their nadir with "Boozy bobbies put on the wagon" - "Sir Kenneth (Newman) is to launch a blitz against the boozers in blue before the Met's traditional party round gets into full swing." and "the shock report on drunkenness among London's 26,000 - strong force." These reports were certainly amusing (and often incorrect) but they were also extremely damaging for two reasons.

The first was that they were so extreme that they pushed the police into an even more defensive position. The warts were not now for public display. Apart from initial acceptance of the findings, agreeing that flaws and deficiencies do exist, the overall response was as in the case of Scarman: 'changes were already under way'. Since then the report has been rejected over a number of issues in articles published in police journals, and the Met's official response to the report took a very defensive and protective stance. Sir Kenneth Newman has said that he would never have commissioned the report.

All this has had the effect of undermining the intended impact of the report and questioning what it is likely to achieve. The report does not offer anything particularly new and does not

reveal aspects of police behaviour and practice which were not already known. What it does accomplish is to pull them all together, test them with various research techniques and present the results as a comprehensive portrait of the police.

Consequently, as George Gaskell pointed out in his New Society review (24.11.83), there is probably something in the report to confirm any preconceived view of the police. It shows there is fairly widespread support for the police which should please the law and order lobby - and should have pleased the police if they had been able to respond rationally. Equally, the GLC Police Committee found enough in the report to argue that it showed: "A police force out of control". I even noticed in a recent case of police officers dismissed for drunken misconduct that they used the report's findings in their defence.

However, no matter how the report is interpreted the crucial question has to be whether it shows that the police do a good job. They found that' overall the majority of respondents participating in the public survey (Vol.1) felt that the police did do a good job. Among black respondents the majority view was the same. I found the first volume the least convincing of the individual reports. The presentation is muddled and awkward. It is difficult to see how questions concerning use of or support for the police can ever be really "open" or responses truly objective. Love them or hate them, in certain circumstances we will all use them. So it is hardly surprising that most people expressed a willingness to do so. The report shows young people to be less willing than others. Young, black respondents were found to be even less willing agains and also the least impressed with the way the police performed their duties. But their responses still do not amount to outright condemnation - over 50 per cent still described the police as "fair and reasonable."

Overall, the first volume presents a very confusing picture of the public's opinions of the police. However, it does suggest that among young black people there appears to be a strong link between views of the police and treatment by the police, or what is believed to be the way the police treat black people.

Exploring the relationship between police and "ethnic minority groups" was an essential part of the research right from the start. The authors obviously felt the relationship with the West Indian community to be the most significant for, throughout the report that is who they are referring to when discussing "black" people. Given the apparent importance of the relationship the lack of precision when discussing black groups is a major failing. However, despite that, the relationship remains an essential part of the research, but unfortunately, and this is the second consequence of the media response to the report, the examination of that relationship has been virtually ignored.

The second volume A group of young black people is wholly concerned with the relationship: attempting to "explore the way of life and system of values of a group of young black people in order to understand why they are for the most part, hostile to the police." The authors had anticipated finding hostility among young blacks, especially West Indians: "It is widely believed that young black people are the group who are most hostile to the police in London. The protest movement that developed in early 1981, in response to the Deptford fire and the riots of April and July of that year, strongly confirmed the view that there

are tensions of a special and dangerous kind between the police and people of West Indian origin in London."

The main objective of this study was to look at the relationship "from the point of view of the young people themselves." The method used was a participant observation study, carried out by a black researcher: "someone who is able to become part of the social setting to which such people belong." The setting chosen was a hostel for homeless black youths where Stephen Small worked as a voluntary helper for six months from September, 1980, while he carried out the research.

In terms of the Sociology of Youth it is a step in the right direction being the first, widely reported, study of its kind, i.e. solely concerned with West Indian young people, in this country. Sadly, it is also something of a missed opportunity. It had been apparent for some time that research in this area was necessary to try and counter the hysterical spiral of assumptions and presumptions about black youth and provide a realistic examination of their position and lifestyle. While the report shows that it is technically possible it fails to do much else, either on a broad front or in achieving what it sets out to do.

The study seems to me to have been constrained by its own terms of reference. Given a consensus that there is hostility towards the police among black youth, the authors decided that the approach used in this study was the only way of gaining an understanding of that hostility, mainly because they felt that those most likely to be hostile would not be covered by the other surveys. And really that is where the problems begin. They defined who they were looking for in such a way that it predetermines the outcome: "the rootless and disaffected, those who are most likely to be hostile to the police..." And: "However, broadly speaking, we were concerned with young people of West Indian origin, born or raised in England, who have fared least well in terms of education, employment and housing. These young people typically have few, if any educational qualifications, are unemployed or in and out of unskilled jobs, and may be homeless. Most have a social life that revolves around reggae music; many, though by no means all, are Rastafarians or have some more or less close association with the Rastafarian movement."

This initial definition acts like a straitjacket from which Stephen Small is never able to escape. As a result the study ends up being fairly superficial, never really offering anything other than that, what has by now become, an overly typical image of black youth. It is a small-scale study, involving twenty-two young people but only sixteen in any depth. Paul Willis managed to achieve a great deal with only twelve subjects in Learning to Labour so the size of the study need not have been a drawback. The difference between the two is of course in the thinking behind them. This study does not test or challenge conventional thinking. In fact, it relies of pieces of work such as Robert Miles' Between Two Cultures, unsubstantiated think pieces, for direction in analysis of information.

The report does not offer an analysis based on Small's research. His actual findings are reported in a very gossipy way and amount to little more than a series of pen-portraits of the participants. He does not monitor activities or uncover anything other than what is disclosed to him in conversations while at the hostel. It does not give us a picture of a group, or a group's thinking because there was no group as such among the young

people he was studying. Also his involvement with them seems to have been so limited that he does not gain adequate access to the full range of activities and experiences.

While the portraits are interesting in themselves they offer little explanation of the position of black youth, either in relation to their own community or wider society. There are disclosures which indicate they are closer to the mainstream of society than is admitted elsewhere: "Everyone in the group valued the benefits of employment most had seriously tried to find work." and ".... it is also clear that individuals are very far from an utter rejection of the goals of mainstream society or the channels through which to attain them." There is certainly a relationship between black youth and "mainstream society" but it is the nature of the relationship that we do not understand. We need information about the class position of black people, we need to trace the formative influences on young black's perceptions of their own position, on their views and attitudes and on the development of their lifestyles. This study does not help with those things.

Nor does it help much in explaining their relationship with the police. Throughout the report as a whole the number of times young blacks are stopped and searched by the police emerges as a central issue, causing frustration and anger among young people. Small found a certain amount of hostility towards the police but not based on the actual experiences of the young people themselves, in fact they have very little contact with the police during the course of the study. There does seem to be a "subculture" of hostility but the study fails to uncover why or how it has arisen.

Volumes 3 and 4 provided most of the material the press seized on so eagerly. They also showed the weaknesses in management and organisation (vol.3), especially in the failure to adequately supervise young officers. The Police in Action (vol.4) shows the racist underbelly of the force - to a horrifying extent. The authors accompanied officers on patrol and found that a third of the stops they observed had no "reasonable" justification. They believe that possibly as many as 45 per cent of stops could be illegal. The surprising thing is that in the majority of cases, 80 per cent, people were co-operative.

The report recommends ways in which police policy and practice could be altered to help improve conduct and efficiency, and hopefully avoid so many aggravated contacts with the public. Most of them had been made before, e.g. Scarman on combatting racial prejudice. On the same day as the report appeared the Met. published nineteen "response papers", which were clearly aimed at warding off criticism. They were for the most part faily vague discussions of the issues raised in the report and noting that, in most cases, changes were already under way. Others would be scrutinised internally. The relationship with black youth was not considered among the responses. The real issues, and the substance of the report were not thrown open for public debate.

Six months later the internal scrutiny has produced: 1) a document on race relations to be given to police officers in London, together with a handbook on professional conduct "offering advice on handling problems while on the beat." and 2) a policy document "emphasising the need for the police to respect the rights of the individual while upholding the law." Not exactly far-reaching changes. It is worth noting that a recent evaluation study, by the police themselves, of the Met.'s

Human Awareness Training programme, introduced in response to Scarman and designed to promote "race" and "cultural" awareness, has found it to be "inadequate" and "ineffective". The booklet in unlikely to succeed where the training has failed.

While the report has much to offer I cannot see it leading to effective reform. The initial media response no doubt militated against police acceptance but at the same time the police reaction can be seen as part of a pattern which was already established before the report was published.

Stephen Small's study should be read by anyone interested in the position of black youth. Despite the failings it is still an important first step in a very difficult area. As McNee's voyage of discovery founders on police paranoia, the study of black youth has received an encouraging push forward.

Fred Wilenius

A. Morris & H. Giller (eds).
PROVIDING CRIMINAL JUSTICE
FOR CHILDREN
Edward Arnold 1983
ISBN 0 7131 6397 6
£7.95 (paperback)
pp. 164

H. Geach & E. Szwed (eds).
PROVIDING CIVIL JUSTICE FOR CHILDREN
Edward Arnold 1983
ISBN 0 7131 6400 X
£9.95 (paperback)
pp. 250

Justice for Children (Morris, Giller, Szwed and Geach) was an intelligent and controversial book in which its authors made three substantive claims. First, the 'welfare' philosophy which informs the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 is incompatible with justice. Second, both the philosophy and the Act have given rise to increased State intervention which is deleterious in its effects on children and their families. Third, a new system based on the concepts of justice and fairness is required to secure justice for children and minimise harmful State intervention. The two collections of essays under review are intended as companion volumes to this earlier book and try to, "take the debate further by examining in depth some of the most crucial current issues in the field of children and the law." (Geach & Szwed p1) Morris and Giller succeed in this objective whereas Geach and Szwed fail badly. Morris and Giller's book contains a lively, contentious and genuine debate about the merits of a welfare or justice approach to the provision of juvenile justice, while Geach and Szwed's book simply elaborates the details of the justice model. Morris and Giller are generous in the space they provide for critics of their position; Geach and Szwed orchestrate a dull consensus.

Providing Criminal Justice for Children is an excellent collection of nine essays, written from various perspectives, about the juvenile justice system which share a common assumption; "the current system of dealing with juvenile offenders is unjust." (p1) In the introduction the editors answer a common criticism of the justice position by acknowledging that, "co-option by the right is a real danger." (p4)

However, "rejection of justice proposals by liberals in order to avoid such co-option is potentially more dangerous," since it aids the confusion between justice and law and order; "tactics of 'Law

and Order' perpetuate social injustice; providing justice for children is a step towards social justice."(p4) Other readers may agree that these few sentences do not clear up this matter as neatly as the editors might imagine.

The essays are each worth reading and range across a wide spectrum of concerns. Walker's rather theoretical essay looks at different justifications for punishment, Sarri considers the development of diversion programmes in the United States, Thorpe criticises current social work practice by examining the increase in the use of institutions for delinquent children since 1971, while Morris concentrates on the role of legal representation in juvenile courts. As is usually the case with collections of this kind, some contributions are stronger than others. My particular favourites are the essays by Paul Friday and Stewart Asquith. However, Friday's radical and persuasive argument is often spoiled by a tortuous prose style and the sort of clumsy 'sociologese' which gets social science writing a bad name.

Asquith's article is quite simply the best and raises the most fundamental criticism of the justice position; a criticism which is answered nowhere in the book. Drawing on Rawls' distinction between justification of a rule and justification of a particular practice, Asquith distinguishes between material and formal justice. Formal justice means little more than treating like cases alike; deciding punishments in particular cases. But this does not explain what is meant by treating cases alike and this is where the material aspect of justice is required. Social, economic and environmental factors do play a part in the production of crime and care must be taken to ensure that a system which satisfies the demands of formal justice and promotes greater equality within formal systems of control, does not compound basic social and structural injustices. "Providing justice for children," he concludes, "will not be possible without analysing the way in which life opportunities and experiences are socially distributed. This is essentially a political exercise."(p17) Morris and Giller have produced an extremely provocative and well edited collection with a strong conclusion which draws the different strands of argument together. The book is to be recommended with a single reservation which, hopefully does not appear too miserly and, reflects of the Publisher rather than the Contributors. For £7.95 in paperback with 160 pages, the quality of paper and printing was poor on the copy I received for review.

I read, Providing Civil Justice for Children after its 'criminal' counterpart and was fairly disappointed. The individual essays are competant, thorough and well informed, but the collection lacks the controversy and interest engendered by lively debate. There are eleven essays in the collection which are encompassed by a common theme; "that of the power of the state, and the use of that power in relation to children and their families."(p2) Mnookin and Szwed (Chl) discuss what they call 'the best interests syndrome' and its role in undermining children's legal rights. On their view, a child's 'best interests' is simply an expression of the values and beliefs of the decision maker and since such functionaries of the system are largely middle class this can lead to particular injustice in the case of working class children. Geach makes a related point in Chapter four when he claims that children who appear in the 'at risk' category on child abuse registers are often from families with different life styles to the welfare professionals. Other chapters discuss the promises and problems of family courts (Szwed), the function of social enquiry reports which Sutton

suggests are ambiguous and contradictory, while William Conn argues against the use of court action in dealing with cases of truancy. The two most interesting and well written chapters are both by Michael Freeman but these are disappointing because they are simply edited versions (in many places verbatim) of chapters two and five of his recent book The Rights of Wrongs of Children. Freeman's two chapters represent 55 of the 250 pages in Geach and Szwed's book; at £9.95, I do not expect 20% of the text to be replication of previously published material. I have two other criticisms of this collection. First, the book does not live up to its promise in the introduction to further the debate initiated in Justice for Children; it merely reiterates themes and puts a little 'flesh on the bones.' Second, there is no conclusion to the book and in my view this is appropriate. The contributors' essays remain a collection of essays around a theme but lack any real integration or discourse between them and this is probably the fault of the editors. In summary those who buy the Geach and Szwed book must content themselves with some interesting chapters rather than a total package.

Finally, what these two books contain is a barely concealed paternalism. There are broadly two positions in the children's rights movement. The 'child saving movement' which promotes legislation to protect children's welfare and the 'child liberationists' who expound the view that children should have the same legal rights as adults. Geach and Szwed propose that, "a balance needs to be struck between these two opposed views," and that, "it is clearly a nonsense to imagine that children should have the same legal rights ... as adults."(p2) Now that's what I call a debate but typically, in this book it remains subdued beneath the consensus.

Bob Franklin

Caroline Glendinning UNSHARED CARE: PARENTS AND THEIR DISABLED CHILDREN Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983 ISBN 0 7100 9468 X £6.95

pp. 256

Much of the writing on disabled young people has been from the perspective of a particular "professional" or occupational group and what has been rather less evident as Caroline Glendinning underlines in her introduction, are the voices of the disabled themselves and their families. A second tendency linked to some degree with this imbalance is the way that accounts of disability are differentially valued according to the source. Credibility is related to status within a 'client-professional' relationship, the client usually playing second fiddle to an articulate and plausible social worker, teacher or what have you. One extreme of this being the perspective which assumes a narrowly defined 'normality' and responses to disability being then perceived as pathological or nonpathological - the mother defined as "neurotic" for expressing concern about her child's refusal to

This book sets out quite consciously to attempt to counter both the imbalance in the accounts of disability and in addition to arguing that the providers of welfare services give more credance to accounts other than their own. The book is based on interviews with the members of 17 families, all of whom had been involved with an earlier study of the clients of the Rowntree Trust Fund (the Governments response to the Thalidomide scan-

dal in 1973). The families were chosen to be in some sense representative of the broad range of disabling conditions, although the intention was not to reflect exactly the full range of disabilities, a rather difficult task given the small size of the sample. The idea was to illustrate the problems which face individuals and families in this position.

The book is written in a clear, easy to read fashion recounting the daily experiences of these young people and their families. The supporting evidence and authors comments and conclusions are presented in a rather understated way which for me served to highlight and make more effective the accounts of the parents.

There are some extremely poignant moments in this volume linked on occasion with a cold blooded callousness on the part of some "professionals". However it is not another general attack on workers in the welfare and health agencies, what is also documented is the help and support which has been received by the families from a variety of sources. In fact the author comments on the "surprising absence of overall dissatisfaction" with the services provided despite individual criticisms. However this leaves no room for complacency since what is clear from the parents accounts is the way that the quality of the services provided for the disabled so often seem to depend on individuals within the education, health and welfare fields. In addition the often ad-hoc nature of the help received by the disabled and their families reflects an iniquitous disparity of provision not only between geographical areas but also within the same agency.

What is clear from the book is that the problems of disability in the main are not strange nor unaccountable, they are the facts of everyday life, magnified to take up a disproportionate amount of time and energy. Imagine caring for an eight stone baby with the problems of washing, feeding, toileting that accompany it. The mobility problems - have you tried getting a wheelchair on a bus? Added to this is the constant tie for the parents, little prospect often of an end to the caring role as with other parents when young people leave home. These difficulties are not shared equally within the home, as with other families the domestic burden falls most heavily on the mother (surprise, surprise!)

It is no accident that the moves towards the notion of "community" as an organising principle of welfare and education have increasingly been accompanied by restrictions on local authority finance. This book is a timely reminder of the realities for those involved of what can often be a glib enunciation of the concept of community care. The author makes the interesting suggestion that the feelings of responsibility towards their disabled young people may have been heightened within families by the "community" orientation of welfare policy.

The thing which is most striking about this account of the difficulties faced by the disabled young person and their families is not the level of bitterness and despair which would be understandable, but on the contrary the degree of humanity and hope in evidence and the ability of people to transcend immense personal and material difficulties. The book provides an impressive insight to the needs, aspirations and feelings of disabled young people and their families.

Don Blackburn

Richard Jenkins LADS, CITIZENS AND ORDINARY KIDS Working-class Youth Life-styles in Belfast Routledge and Kegan Paul 1983 ISBN 0 7100 9574 0 £6.95 pp. 159

Conversance with the current Northern Ireland situation suggests an understanding gained in part from the proliferation of publications on the complex historical, social and religious factors which contribute to the present 'Troubles'; publications which charaterised the output of most of the academic institutions there since 1968. Essentially analytical, most of these have avoided reference to specific groups of people outside of the formal political process.

The exception to this is of course with reference to 'Youth'; the thinking being that young people are caught up in a conflict not of their own making but within their ability to perpetuate. Most research however tends to deal with the psychological effects of such conflict, dwelling interminably on those extraversion curves during the 'formal pedagogic process.' The recent publication of the N.S.P.C.C. study on the violent attitudes of Northern Ireland Children is an example; and although memorable for its effective press launch such research tends to become definitive in the abscence of other perspectives.

Lads, Citizens and Ordinary Kids is compelling reading for no other reason than it views the issue from a radical perspective, through an ethnographic account of the lifestyles of working-class youth on a Belfast housing estate; that this book is also a very well researched and written account should make it a well thumbed copy on the bookshelves of those interested in youth affairs.

The book documents the 'passage between adolescence and adulthood between education and the Labour market' in Ballyhightown a large shambling housing estate on the outskirts of North Belfast on which the author worked first as a Youth worker and later as a Research student. While making observations in the general context of the research, the book focuses specifically on the life-styles of about fifty young people. Basing his account on the models of the young people themselves: Lads, ordinary kids and citizens, Jenkins compares the lifestyles of these young people with respect to family background, education, delinquency, employment and marriage.

It is difficult to make comparisons between the young people, after all they share a common inheritance of corporate planning mistakes, a decade of sectarian violence in which many became involved, retrenchment in the traditional Labour markets which would have characterised for many the transition from school to work. But with the judicious use of tables, and a careful analysis of the trends in the area by Jenkins, a picture gradually emmerges whereby the disadvantages of life on a depressed housing estate seem to particularly effect those young people who appear to be without the more formal attributes required to 'get on' in contemporary Belfast: the Lads.

It is not that the ordinary kids or citizens are conspicuous by their ability to conform to these rather arbitary attributes, but it is the citizens who appear to be confident of escaping the worst of the self-fulfilling gloom of Ballyhightown, and if not exactly articulated, belief in upward mobility and out of 'hightown.'

The recognition of the role the education system

in the process of cultural reproduction is central to the authors thinking. Schools in Northern Ireland are segragated on religious lines, long since a source of contention for people concerned about this implications of this. And while the schools in Ballyhightown are notionally 'state' and therefore open to all regardless of Religion, the practicalities of a housing estate almost exclusively Protestant rules out the likelihood of any Catholic young people attending, quite apart from the insistence of Catholic authorities to have a separate educational system.

The hierarchical nature of schools in Ballyhightown and their preoccupation with the formal educational role is well documented by the author. Very quickly the young people learn the essential tasks of the school can be quite alienating by stratifying their abilities in such a manner as to suggest that those who do not exhibit specific academic ones are unlikely to achieve much in the formal sense. In fact as the Headmaster of Ballyhightown school admits: 'You have to fail an exam to get in here'. Disillusionment with school at an early age for the Lads and some of the ordinary kids is apparant, and best coped with by nonattendance. For those who attend more regularly there is a curriculum, boring and sexist to contend with, and little incentive to remain at school after the minimum age of leaving is reached; small wonder then that many of the young people like Tania Barr found the prospect of not sitting an exam preferable to taking it and failing: 'I am not doing exams and be made an idiot out of ... as in our house if you don't pass "ah you're stupid".'

An interesting picture emmerges from the figures that show that the citizens, with markedly better examination results have spent substantially less time unemployed since they left school than the ordinary kids or Lads; the latter seeming to have developed a pattern of short periods of employment followed by longer periods of unemployment. In one chapter Jenkins develops the useful strategy of focussing attention on eight of the young people enabling a clearer picture of the main experiences in their lives and how in essence these conform to the basic model of the differences between them. At its most anecdotal the Lads tend to congregate around the estates social club, are denim clad, tatooed and 'locally orientated'. The Ordinary Kids seem more into 'fashionable clothes' and increased use of the local Youth Centre, while avoiding conformity to stereotype of the Citizens developed elsewhere: "O' Levels, orienteering, and anoraks."

However the clearest difference between the three lifestyles lies in their involvement in crime as only 2 of the lads (14%) are without a criminal record, compared to 35 of the Ordinary Kids (65%) and all of the citizens. It is these differences which seem to characterise the 'moral continum' of which Jenkins refers to, and which puts the Lads on the 'rough' end, the Ordinary Kids somewhere in the middle, and the Citizens on the 'respectable' end. It is under this model of moral continuum, which sadly documents the major experiences of these three life-styles and with it an assumption - not on the part of the writer - that the tendency to marry early on the part of the Lads, to their low level of formal educational attainment determined their own expectations; as compared to the confidence of the Citizens in their ability to get on in life, which invariably meant getting out of Ballyhightown.

Substantially better than the somewhat tedious Ballyhightown Rules which the author hopes will complement this present publication; Lads, Citi-

zens and Ordinary Kids is deficient in that by its very nature can only address itself to the experiences of young people on a Protestant housing estate. The author himself is therefore reluctant to make generalisations about his analysis with respect to young Catholic workers in Belfast in the "abscence of suitable comparitive research".

Nevertheless this is a very good book, showing the authors strengths both as a worker and researcher; neither of which were I am afraid immediately apparant in the 1982 publication, and should hopefully signal the departure from the more abstract preoccupations of some existing research in this area. Richard Jenkins has pointed out that the mundane activities of everyday life are the site "for the production and reproduction of capitalist society or its alternatives". The implications for critically informed workers, are I would think apparant.

Eamonn Rafferty

Leonard M. Cantor and I.F. Roberts FURTHER EDUCATION TODAY: A Critical Review (second, fully revised, edition) Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983 ISBN 0710095015 £5.95 (paperback) pp. 265

As of January 1982, the 16-19 age group numbered approximately 2,481,000 of which 18% stayed on in school, 3% went into higher education, and 30% entered further education colleges taking courses leading to recognised qualifications. The remainder (49%), employed and unemployed, had no contact with the education service, apart from some attendance at college by some of those on YOP Schemes (594,000 was the total 16-19 unemployed, of which 179,000 were in YOP schemes). The further education system, mainly through the polytechnics, also provides public sector higher education, in quantity approximating to university provision, but in diversity far exceeding it. To this brief must also be added adult and continuing education, and significant involvement with more informal youth and community provision.

Clearly further education is a system of major importance, both in the service it offers to vast numbers of people, and also in its contribution to the socio-economic strength of the country as a whole. It is at the same time an extraordinary complex and confusing system. There is a need, therefore, for a comprehensive, but carefully clear, publication, both to provide a map to chart the territory and to explain the significant pressures and developments within the system. Cantor and Roberts have succeeded in this daunting task.

The prime complicating factor with which the authors have had to cope is the accelerating rate of change which, within the three short years between their first and second editions, has in critical places radically altered the system. To complexity and confusion, one must now add turbulent change, not as transition from one stable state to another, but as a norm which is here to stay. The degree and rate of change took even Cantor and Roberts by surprise; when they started to write their second edition, they optimistically imagined that only a "relatively modest amount of up-dating and rewriting" would be necessary. That the authors themselves, experienced and established commentators on the further education world as they are, should have initially failed to appreciate the size of their task is indeed an indication of the severe difficulties others must face when trying to

come to terms with this sector.

Cantor and Roberts talk of the "lamentable ignorance among politicians which less forgivably extends to many educationalists in the schools and universities, not to mention some of those in further education itself." It is indeed difficult to suppress the thought that perhaps many of these others basically do not really want to know; vast in reality though its field of action is, further education still does not rate highly in the still dominant "academic" value system of our society.

The influence of the MSC's New Training Initiative is frequently apparent throughout the book, but it is not discussed as fully as it deserves in terms of its potential for creating a national framework for the education and training of most of the country's young people and adults. NTI has three Objectives: first, to reform the apprenticeship system, making it more relevant to industry and opening it up in a flexible way to adults; second, to provide all school leavers with vocational preparation (this currently means YTS); and third, to offer wider opportunities for adults. The first Objective is clearly pivotal to the success of the other two and therefore to the strategy as a whole.

Research into further education has developed rapidly over recent years. Cantor and Roberts comprehensively survey these developments giving proper recognition to the Further Education Unit (FEU), both for its seminal work already done and for its strategically central role in supporting future research. They note, however, that in proportion to the total amount of educational research sponsored by the school and university sectors, this remains relatively small.

The book ends, rightly, on a bleak note. We are reminded that in vocational education we still compare poorly with our immediate European neighbours. Our developments are, finally, still too small in scope. They do not confront directly the profoundly serious problems generated by the unemployment crisis (which will remain, regardless of any signs of economic upturn). Other disadvantaged groups (eg. immigrants, handicapped) also need support within an adèquate structure. A radical shift to a complete system of continuing education is needed, as suggested by the 1982 report Continuing Education: from policies to practice published by the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education.

It is to be hoped that the authors will repeat this process of updating and revising their book at short regular intervals. The accumulated publications could will then provide a rich and intense history of the changes, and hopefully the positive developments, within further education over the immediate and medium-term future.

Tom Storrie

Kenneth Roberts YOUTH AND LEISURE Allen and Unwin, 1983 ISBN 004 301165 9 pp210

Leo B. Hendry GROWING UP AND GOING OUT: ADOLES-CENTS AND LEISURE. Aberdeen University Press, 1983 ISBN 0 08025769 0 (paperback) pp212

These two books were written to introduce students to the findings of social scientists on adoles-

cence and leisure and - in the case of Hendry - to place these findings within a broad theoretical framework. Both works are of the same length and both touch on such areas as: youth unemployment, ethnic minorities, commercial entertainment, the Youth Service and anti-school sub-cultures. Kenneth Roberts is a Senior Lecturer in Sociology at the University of Liverpool, well known for his books on the sociology of leisure. Leo Hendry is a Senior Lecturer in Education at the University of Aberdeen, who has written widely on adolescence and sport. Kenneth Roberts admits to leaving grammar school at the age of sixteen in 1957, the era of Bill Haley and Elvis Presley, so his book is of necessity a sociological treatise rather than a participant's account of youth and leisure. This author has seen both sides: sociology wins. It also wins in the contest between these two books for the same audience. Youth and Leisure is much better structured, more fluent and readable and offers a more cogent introduction to the available literature.

As an historian. I have to confess that the leisure activities of the young, and also the young themselves, have not been too well served by my discipline, since more attention has been paid to class differences rather than to age differences in the history of leisure. Yet this is a suprising omission since, as the books under review suggest, the most noticeable feature of such activities in the present is the degree to which the generations are fragmented in their leisure pursuits. Historians are slowly beginning to repair this omission, using the broad categories provided by the sociologist, but we are still a long way from producing any kind of definitive history of youth and leisure. Hendry's Growing Up and Going Out will not be of much assistance to the historian in this task since it suffers from too many of the worst faults of social science writing: it is too ponderous, jargon-ridden, repetitious and full of ill-digested information. It also possesses an unnecessary system of referencing which first sends you to the notes at the back and then to a separate bibliography. There is an irritating tendency to offer academic verification for almost every banal statement: 'As F. Musgrove pointed out, the longest lasting influence on an individual's character is the family' (p33); 'For many, leisure time is the real part of life - when they (teenagers) are most truly themselves, as Aristotle said' (who he?) There are, to be fair, some nuggets to be picked out of the surrounding academic morass: such as criticisms and reworkings of John Coleman's 'focal theory' of adolescent development and a summary of the author's own work on sport centres in Scotland. Sport halls and leisure centres, however, are no substitute for jobs, which alone give meaning and structure to the lives of young school-leavers.

Kenneth Roberts has attempted a closer amalgamation of youth and leisure theories than previous interpretations of youth cultures and is commonsensical and empirical in the, alas, rather predictable British sociological tradition. There are useful sections in his book on developments since the Second World War, summaries of the 'functionalist' sociology of youth and its subsequent reappraisal by the class-based 'New Wave', which by the beginning of the 1980s had become the leading British theory in the analysis of youth and youth cultures. Throughout Roberts emphasises that adolescent leisure is patterned by a social system that is still highly stratified by class, ethnic and gender identities. There is no monolithic youth culture, in other words, because young people are divided by family background, education and employment. Yet he holds out

some hope for the future and believes that an interpretation which stresses the inevitability of adolescents becoming what their sex, family origins, schools and jobs have decreed, fails to consider all the evidence, fails to discriminate between different youth cultures and between the present role of adolescent leisure and what could happen if some of these conditions were changed. Young people do not become replicas of their parents, social structures are not immutable. The trouble is that the evidence which Roberts and Hendry marshal implies that working class youth cultures have changed neither traditional gender divisions nor class relationships in modern Britain. Middle class students, conversely, enjoy more freedom and more diverse and innovative leisure than that of working class teenagers, whatever the conventional wisdom on their deferment of gratifications for long term rewards. Roberts claims that education should be reorganized to reflect the unwanted expansion of leisure with rising youth unemployment and also that leisure opportunities can be redistributed more equally among the social classes. He does not tell us when this transformation will take place or who will provide the money to make it possible. Finally, research still needs to be done, both authors would agree, into the leisure of teenage girls and into the genuine explanatory power of class analysis for the sociology of adolescent leisure are there really just two main classes and two main types of youth culture as the Marxist 'New Wave' appears to sanction?

John Springhall

Janie Whyld (Ed.) SEXISM IN THE SECONDARY CURRICULUM Harper and Row, 1983. ISBN 0 06 318251 3 £6.95

Sexism in the Secondary Curriculum is definitely a useful book. Directed primarily at those involved in secondary education, this collection of articles by a number of practising teachers provides not only a critique of existing teaching methods of syllabi, but constitutes also a manual, which contains specific suggestions for alternative non-sexist pedagogies as well as a guide to non-sexist resources. Presented in a highly readable form, the book will prove helpful both for the purpose of developing a feminist practice in the classroom and as a basis for discussion with colleagues who find existing gender differentiation 'natural' and unproblematic. A number of the contributions cover areas of the curriculum which have rarely been examined in the way before. There is, for example, a lively chapter on modern languages which contains good ideas for subverting existing sexist teaching materials and creating alternatives. Geography is another area which is often neglected in feminist critiques of education because at first sight it appears to have neither masculine nor feminine connotations. In fact however the way in which the discipline has developed in recent years, with an increasing emphasis upon 'relevance', has actually militated against girls. Girls appear to be particularly weak in map work and are thus disadvantaged by the growing importance of this activity within the syllabus. Interestingly, the attempt to make knowledge relevant has had negative consequences for girls in other disciplines as well. In French and Maths, for example, the visuals included in order to render texts more attractive, often reinforce gender stereotypes.

Design and Technology is the area of greatest underachievement for girls, though it usually doesn't receive as much attention from feminists as Maths and Science. The chapter here presents persuasive arguments about the social importance for the outside world of the modes of thinking developed in the subject of Design and Technology. It also includes some anecdotes which illustrate the way in which the behaviour of boys, as well as that of teachers, contributes to the perpetuation of girls' lack of confidence - and thus competence - in this field. Sexual divisions in P.E. and Games are probably the most unchallenged in the school curriculum, though things here are beginning to change also, not least in response to pressure from girls themselves. But differences exist between feminists on whether P.E. should be mixed or single-sex, or indeed whether the whole of secondary schooling should be mixed. References are made to this debate within feminism throughout the book, and the position most frequently taken up is one which supports single-sex groups for some subjects within mixed institutions. Other chapters in the book include assessments of English; Social Studies; Home Economics (I liked in particular Barbara Wynn's examination of the history of domestic science teaching which shows how the subject was divided not only along gender lines, but also along class lines); History (which includes an excellent general critique of the way in which school history is usually organised - of its ommissions and distortions). The debates about gender in relation to Science and Maths are very clearly and comprehensively put. Other chapters address Art (a history of women and art is included here); Business Studies; Careers; Remedial Education (which is provided mainly in literacy, and thus tends to compensate boys rather than girls, who are more likely to fall behind in numeracy); and Sex Education (which draws attention to historical variations in sexuality, and like most of the other chapters in the book, includes fruitful ideas for developing anti-sexist teaching strategies). In a chapter on classroom interaction, Katherine Clarricoates draws attention to the subtle and contradictory ways in which girls are disadvantaged by the general social dynamics of schools, and ends up (again) with a series of concrete proposals for discussion among pupils, teachers, parents and

Although I certainly think that this book is worth buying for those concerned by sexual divisions in education, I am not wholly without reservations about it. For a start, as could perhaps be expected with so many authors addressing the same subject (there are twenty one contributors) the book is often repetitive. Then there are the theoretical issues which underlie the introductory section and recur at different points throughout the book. First among these is that a direct link appears to be made between the performance of girls in school and their chances in the labour market. For example, Angela Platt and Janie Whyld assert that 'Education is generally recognized as the element most likely to improve the greatest number of people's changes of getting a good job'. (p3) This is a very simple notion of the relation of educational credentials to the labour market, and fails to take account of the occupational discrimination which most highly educated women encounter. It was of course precisely this experience which contributed to the re-emergence of feminism in the late 1960s. To point to the labour market as a significant determinant does not amount to an argument against improving women's education - on the contrary. The dramatic increase in the proportion

of women in Higher Education over the last fifteen years (from under 30% to well over 40% and still climbing rapidly) is a most encouraging sign for the women's movement. Education continues to be a vehicle for emancipation - for raising women's consciousness - in part because of the contradictions which it reveals. A second and related theoretical criticism which I would like to make is that in a number of the contributions too simple a relationship is assumed between stereotyped textual representations of women and the effects that these can produce upon girls. If this were as uncomplex as sometimes appears to be presumed in this collection, how then could the emergence of feminism and the resistance of feminists be explained? How did we escape? Likewise, and conversely, a simple transformation of learning materials and fiction so that they include 'positive images of women' cannot be sufficient to transform consciousness and behaviour. What appeals to us - what we desire - is far more incoherent and contradictory than such a model suggests.

Mica Nava

Bruce Galloway (ed.)
PREJUDICE AND PRIDE: Discrimination
against gay people in modern Britain
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983
ISBN 0 7100 9916 9
£5.95 (paperback)
nn246

Gay liberation was in vogue in the early seventies. It was acceptable for those of supposed liberal views to espouse the cause of total equality between 'straight' and 'gay' sexuality, relationships and dispositions. By 1984 we have passed on to new issues - having left the old ones half solved. The cutting edge which could be found in gay rights activities in the 1973-78 period has been dulled. Temporarily, at least, gay men have convinced themselves that they don't need to fight temporarily, at least, residual fight among lesbians is devoted to issues surrounding womankind. With men's circles at least, it is amazing how much a few (more) gay clubs and pubs can do to dull a political cutting edge. In the meantime the few - and they seem to be getting fewer - keep on reminding how partial the 'victories' have been. The European Parliament may have called for equality of treatment, but still the covert and even the overt acts of discrimination take place.

Bruce Galloway has gathered together a worthy band of time-served gay rights activists who are specialists in their own fields and has induced them to assess the state of anti-gay discrimination within their own sphere of interest. Worthy they are indeed - in the main they are leading figures within specialist gay rights compaigns; one of the founders of GLAD (Gay Legal Advice) to write on Parliament and the law; an Anglican clergyman who has had an important part to play in the recent development of the Gay Christian Movement, to write on The Church; and an active participant in the Gay Men's Health Caucus to write about the Medical Profession and others.

Essentially what each of them has had to say whether concerning home, school, work, police, media or whatever - is that we may think that there has been progress, but in large measure it is an illusion. As the Chair of the Campaign for Homosexual Equality (CHE) says in his introduction, "The Confederation of British Industry has made clear to me its total opposition to discrimination". Professor Michael Jarrett may be con-

vinced of the importance of such assurances, but the writer of the chapter on 'At Work' in 25 pages of closely argued text doubts the value of them as he presents case after case of disgraceful discrimination.

I want to give a copy of the book to a leading political figure in my region who commented - on finding himself at the losing end of a vote to support a gay counselling initiative - 'I didn't know such blatant prejudice still existed', if only because he might realise that his experience was sadly still all too common. But I wonder whether I can in conscience ask him to read it. He should be being lobbied by irate gay men and lesbians determined to ensure that he remains solid in support of gay rights; he ought to find himself standing alongside fellow public representatives who openly avow their own gay or lesbian relationships; he ought to find himself forced to vote on gay rights motions throughout his political activities. That will not happen.

Or will it? The force of this volume is that it documents in one place a series of examples of prejudice - it argues a coherent case within many spheres of our social and political existence. It is essential reading for those who value our freedoms and who still want to believe that we live in an equal world (?) - particularly it is important for the newly-emerging gay man or lesbian to assist them to a sense of anger, to a sense of pride, and to assist them to resist the pressure merely to settle for back street pubs and night clubs - however good the lighting system may be.

In his final chapter, Dr. Roy Burns - long active within CHE - argues for a full recognition of the two distinct, yet interacting, levels. "Prejudice is experienced" he asserts, "firstly through the actions and attitudes of individuals and secondly through institutional discrimination". He reminds us that the abolition of the two do not go hand in hand and adduces Home Office evidence that public opinion has moved while institutional prejudice has hardened.

I have one slight reservation about the thesis which pervades this book. In order to establish how deep prejudice runs one needs to probe to the depths. Gentle scratching is not sufficient. The Conservative Party did not need to attack grantgiving to gay and lesbian related groups twenty years ago. the groups didn't exist; no public body would have thought to give a grant to such a body if it had existed; so the raw nerves of prejudice were not exposed. It feels nasty out here - and too many dance the night away - but at least we know now how raw the nerves are.

This book almost says that - but at the last hurdle it fails to punch hard enough.

Malcolm P.A. Macourt

Christopher T. Husbands RACIAL EXCLUSION AND THE CITY: THE URBAN SUPPORT OF THE NATIONAL FRONT George Allen and Unwin, 1983 ISBN 0 04 329045 0 £18.00 (no paperback edition) pp191

It seems that electoral support in Britain for extreme right wing groups is, at present, on the wain, but to take comfort from this would be dangerous. This view is clearly supported by Husband's descriptive and factual account of the urban support of the National Front. The major

part of the field research for the book was carried out during the peak of National Front electoral support in the late 1970s when it was not clear whether the growth would continue, level off or decline. Clearly the political conditions from when the book was researched to its publication show elements of change. Nonetheless, Husbands warns in his conclusions that the "ideological susceptabilities and vulnerabilities upon which National Front sympathy fed" are still present in the fabric of English culture. He presents clear historical evidence of the cyclical manifestations of racial exclusionism, by charting voting behaviour and political discourse in specific urban areas and towns. National Front sympathy is read mainly through votes cast, supported by questionnaires on concerns about the believed detrimental

effects of black people on: housing and neighbourhood; education and social security; jobs and promotion. There is further detailed analysis provided on the variables of class, gender, age, occupation and geographic location. This information is further supported by social/ political/economic histories of the specific researched urban areas (10 in all).

Racial tension is recurrent and often, but not always, corresponds with local or national economic crises. But the rather crude theory of scapegoating in times of intensified working class hardship is given a more complex grounding and is not seen as a generalised free floating sociological phenomenon. Electoral sympathy for the National Front has clearly not followed the con-

tinuing decline of the economy. But the reduction in National front support contains a number of possible variables, such as the lack of consistent organisation (and agreement) within the extreme right. Another could be a confidence in the present government's hard-line immigration demonstrated by the 'satisfied' editorial in The Sun, following Mrs. Thatcher's 'swamped by immigrants' comment during the 1979 general election. The editorial included the following comment:

"Fortunately, it no longer matters what these revolting people (the National Front) say. At last one of the major political parties has grasped the immigrant nettle."

But neither should we console ourselve's that racism is confined to the extreme right, for Husband shows that an expressed or residual racism can be perceived across the political spectrum. Although to explore the foundations of these beliefs we would need to look elsewhere than Husbands' descriptive and factual account (see for instance Hall et al Policing the Crisis).

That is not to posit the weakness in the way Husbands has gone about his research, it is a very detailed and thorough investigation within the parameters he set himself. The book is a necessary complement to the broader based sociological studies, offering a useful reference for those who wish to base ideas and understanding on empirical evidence. However, I do not believe that Husbands' analysis would have suffered a fracture by the inclusion of a broader backcloth of national political ideology and also a recognition of the part the media plays in appealing to a conservatism and elitism deeply rooted in English his-

Chris Strawford

c/o 6 Colville Street Nottingham N61 4HQ 20 March 1984

Dear Youth and Policy

were invited to write an article on working with girls. We met several times to plan what the content of this article should be. We found as a result of these discussions, a wealth of questions, confusions and assumptions which underpinned our experiences of working with girls. We found this process very exciting and challenging. We then attempted to write these discussions in the form of an article. However the article bore little resemblance to the original dialogue and seemed bland in comparison to the discussion.

While the invitation to write the article had made us create space to begin some serious thinking and reflection about our work with girls, it had also imposed limitations on us. We went through a to our letter from readers and yourselves. learning process which led to us asking ourselves a lot of complex questions which themselves provided us with very few answers. These might have initiated interesting debate, but could not have been the kind of definitive analysis that is usual to Youth and Policy at present.

We were trying to untangle some of the contradictions and dilemmas which work with girls specifically high lights about the institutions of our society and how they operate. For example, how sexism and racism are incorporated into the prac- Dear Sir tices and policies of school, Social Services and the iuvenile iustice system.

We are continuing to think of appropriate strategies for us to help the young people we work with, understand how and why these institutions affect their lives.

have have a problem about what we want to say. It isn't a question of giving us a few more months and aren't that linear!! Consideration to this whole matter leads us to the question of do we want to write an an article for Youth and Policy hardly seems appropriate.

the space for asking questions and airing concerns thinking which can advance its development. about our practice. The experiences of practitioners are lacking. It is a very theoretical magazine Yours sincerely which fails to address the relationship between Dr. David Marsland 'theory and practice", or as we prefer to see it, bet- Professor Associate of Sociology

letters

ween practice and theory.

The style and language of Youth and Policy is Last summer, 3 women workers in Nottingham very academic, which can make it intimidating for practitioners to contribute. Also it is like a foreign language compared to how we communicate in our everyday work with young people.

> Workers in the field have real constraints on their time and so have to choose priorities. For many, writing articles is difficult. The above dilemmas will affect all practitioners, but they are compounded for women who continue to struggle against sexism.

> We hope that this letter will give the editorial collective some idea about why they receive few articles from practitioners, especially those who are women.

We would be interested to hear any comments

Yours sincerely **Isobel Terry** Jennie Fleming **Heather Fitton**

Department of Sociology & Social Anthropology Brunel University, Uxbridge Middlesex UB8 3PH 15 March 1984

I was delighted to find in Martin Loney's extraordinarily prejudiced review of 'Educated for employment?' (Youth and Policy Vol.2, No.3) at least one useful piece of information.

This was his prediction that I would shortly be We don't wish to give the impression that we offered a "regular handout" by Fleet Street. If as this suggests, he has close relations with press barons and media tycoons, I would be extremely we'll be more able to write an article. Processes grateful if he would contact me directly about the possibilities.

In the meantime I shall be continuing my norarticle at all? If so, when? for whom? And on mal academic work of teaching, training and whose term's? In the light of these questions writing research in relation to and on behalf of young

Incidentally, far from attacking sociology the It seems to us that Youth and Policy fail to give Social Affairs Unit's role is to encourage critical

contributors

John Auld lectures in Sociology at Middlesex Polytechnic and is the author of Marijuana Use and Social Control (Academic Press).

James A. Beckford teaches Sociology at the University of Durham.

Don Blackburn lectures in the Education Department of Humberside College of Higher Education.

John Blackmore is Principal I.T. Officer, Hounslow Social Services Department.

Carol Borrill is a senior research worker at Durham University and has for over seven years been involved in four major projects on young people.

Bruce Carrington teaches in the School of Education, the University of Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

Nick Dorn is the author of Alcohol, Youth and the State (Gower) and Drugs Demystified: training-pack (ISDD, London).

Bob Franklin lectures in the School of Government at Newcastle-upon-Tyne Polytechnic.

Malcolm P.A. Macourt edited Towards a theology of Group Liberation SCM Press, 1977, and was a regional co-ordinator for the national gay counselling service, FRIEND from 1978 to 1981. He lectures in social research methods at Newcastle-upon-Tyne Polytechnic.

Sarah Marshall is currently finishing two years of research at Durham University before returning to full-time youth work.

Ian Mills lectures in the School of Educational Studies, Portsmouth Polytechnic.

Mika Nava is a lecturer in cultural studies at North East London Polytechnic.

Eamonn Rafferty is a qualified social worker and journalist.

Nigel South researches at the Institute for the study of Drug Dependency and is co-author of Message in a Bottle (Gower) and Of Males and Markets (Middlesex Polytechnic).

John Springhall is a lecturer in history at the New University of Ulster.

Tom Storrie is Principal of Cassio College, Hertfordshire.

Chris Strawford is a senior youth worker employed by the Education Department, City of Sheffield.

Tony Taylor is employed as a Training Officer with leicestershire County Council in Community Education Department.

Fred Wilenius is an Information Officer with Islington Youth Service.

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

SUBMISSION

Material for the journal, including correspondence is welcomed within the stated editorial aims of relevance to the analysis and debate of issues surrounding youth in society from a perspective of the serious appraisal and critical evaluation of policy. Articles, papers and reports may be of any length up to 10,000 words, though in normal circumstances only one extended feature may be included in each issue. For reasons of space editing may be necessary without consultation, but where possible extensive alterations will be returned to the contributor for approval. All submissions should be typed in double spacing on white paper (for photocopying). Additional material such as diagrams, tables and charts should be clearly marked and included in the relevant place. Material not published will be returned if possible, but contributors should note that this cannot be guaranteed and are advised to keep copies. All materials should be sent to the relevant editor.

ARTICLES

Editor: Tony Jeffs, 'Burnbrae', Black Lane, Blaydon Burn, Blaydon, Tyne and Wear NE21 6DS.

ANALYSIS

Editor: Frank Booton, Westgate House, 22 Meadhope Street, Wolsingham, County Durham DL13 2EL.

Enquiries for specific information are welcomed, though comprehensive answers may not always be possible.

REVIEWS

Editor: Keith Popple, 16 Coquet Terrace, Heaton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE6 5LD.

Suggestions for future review material and names of possible contributors are invited from the readership.

INSERTS

Details and rates of advertising and circulation from: Alan Dearling, c/o I.T. Resource Centre, Warriers Houses, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire PA11 3SA.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Youth and Policy, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Low Fell, Gateshead NE9 6LA.

Annual Subscription (4 issues): £14.00

Students and unwaged £11.00

Individual copies: £4.00

Back issues (if available): At cover price

Overseas rate: £15 sterling

(includes postage at 'printed paper' rate)

Special terms for orders of ten or more, on request.

There is no special rate for institutions.

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY