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YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

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INSIDE BACK COVER

editorial

It will not be the normal practice to include an editorial in future issues of Youth and Policy. The editorial collective see little value in the inclusion of a quarterly statement outlining our consensual view upon a topic of our own choosing. Neither do we seriously believe for a moment that any reader will look to us for guidance as to what is the correct line to take on any issue. This being the first issue of what we hope will be many volumes however, we felt that good manners required that, without taking up too much valuable space, we briefly introduced ourselves.

The current members of the editorial group met together nearly twelve months ago and decided that there existed a discernable need for a serious journal of analysis and review which focussed its attention upon the whole area of youth policy. A journal that would address itself not merely to those policy areas that immediately spring to mind such as the youth and education services but which would also concern itself with the whole welfare field and the ways in which policy initiatives have an impact upon young people. Further that the journal would act as a forum for the exchange of ideas on wider social, political and cultural questions that relate to the position and status of young people in our society. In launching Youth and Policy with this deliberately wide remit we intended to imply no criticism regarding the quality of existing publications that concentrate their attention upon youth questions. All these were and are we felt making a vital contribution but were, we argued, catering for a different need. From the onset the aim was always to complement and never compete. Thankfully the encouragement and good wishes of colleagues involved in the production of other related publications has confirmed this view and that there exists space for a quarterly with an orientation towards longer and more analytical articles.

In the best of all possible worlds we would have probably chosen to circulate notices of a national meeting to interested parties, to have let it elect an editorial board and then launch the journal. This sadly we felt was not a viable option. If the journal was to be launched without access to funds drawn from either state or voluntary agencies it could only be established via finance raised by the editorial collective on a commercial basis. Given this financial position it was unavoidable that the editorial group acquired its present persona and North Eastern flavour. Over time of course the editorial and financial structure of Youth and Policy will undoubtedly change. In the meantime we can only hope that the enthusiasm of the present group can be translated into the style and content of the journal and that sufficient subscribers will find what is produced to be of value and relevance.

Youth and Policy will certainly not be carrying any articles that we consider to be racist, sexist or libellous. Neither will it be operating any editorial censorship designed to ensure that contributions neatly dovetail to the political and ideological positions held by the present editors. For the reason already indicated we feel that editorials are superfluous and that we should not indulge in the practice of adding rejoinders to articles and reviews in order to re-assert the purity of the party line. In inviting contributions we have endeavoured to approach a wide spectrum of opinion and hope that we succeed in attracting articles of quality from divergent viewpoints.

The response in terms of subscriptions has been much better than we dared to hope and has secured the financial viability of Youth and Policy for the immediate future. Equally the number of potential contributors who have offered their services has been heartening although we obviously hope many more will come forward.

Finally we are aware that not everyone who has taken out a subscription will find that this issue of Youth and Policy comes up to their expectations. All we can ask is that you suspend final judgement until you have seen the complete run of the first volume. Inevitable problems of space and the inability of contributors to meet the tight deadline required for a first edition mean that many topics and areas are missing. This implies no hierarchy of importance in the minds of the editorial group, merely a desire to retain balance and meet the printer's diary.

so what's wrong with social democratic youth work in any case?

PAUL CORRIGAN

It's exciting to write an article for a new journal on youth work. This journal's particular beginning is all the more important for two reasons. Firstly the journal is dedicated to the critical analysis of youth policy: it will attempt to organise and channel both the day to day dissatisfaction with youth work practice in our society, and will also attempt to codify these problems with theory and politics. Criticism is vital for progress and change; and yet the bulk of my article will rest on a disagreement with a sort of criticism of and in youth work. My argument will be that of criticism is not inevitably something which leads to progress; it can lead to retreat and fatalism and therefore we cannot be 'smugly' in favour of criticism. The second reason for the timely production of this journal is the political climate of 1982. This year sees the continuation of a Government in power that is also, lest we forget, critical of most youth work. This is an important reminder since the post 1960's euphoria may have led us to the opinion that criticism is the prerogative of the radical left. In fact recent months have shown the radical right just as capable of criticism though they do it through State power rather than through a journal! It is this vehicle for criticism to which we should aspire; and we should see journals and ideas as part of that process's beginning rather than as an end in itself.

The link between Thatcherism and criticism is an important one for this article, since the object of some radicals and of the Thatcher government's welfare policy are similar, that is the policy and practice of social democratic welfare. Now in no sense am I saying that all criticism of social democracy leads to the same right-wing effect. Indeed towards the end of this article I want to outline my own criticism of social democracy, but I want to attack much of the recent left critique of social democratic practices. I want to characterise this position, around the view called libertarianism.

Libertarian Critique of Social Democratic Youth Work

I'd like to leave my own criticism of social democracy till later. Here I will outline the major critiques of such youth work from the left. Much of it draws on some marxist ideas about the relationship between class and the state; these are then compounded by a view of the working class that is far from real. What does this mean? The radical left understood the role of the state in youth work by looking at the relationship between the ruling class of British society (the bourgeoisie

based upon both industrial and financial capital) and the state. Within this view the state ACTS for the ruling class: indeed for some it IS the ruling class. Thus any state action in any field is only rendered intelligible by understanding the way in which it 'served the interests of capital'. This would mean that any movement or change in the nature of youth work policy and practice could only be rendered intelligible by a movement or change in the needs of capital.

Such an analysis was posed firmly against the social democratic notion that youth work has been constructed through the operation of a simple 'concern' for the individuals or groups of working class youth; that there has been provision in order to 'help' people.

Within this idea youth 'policy' is the structural organisation of a group of workers, both part-time and full-time, that are trying to 'help' working class youth grow up in a better, more fulfilling atmosphere. This structure or overall policy is characterised by the very 'best' notions of welfare and caring and the main aim of organisations is to encourage and unlock opportunities for assisting the next generation. The state's involvement in this is as a facilitator and to some extent as paymaster and organiser. On a local and national level then, state policy is a facilitating framework, notions of power and politics are alien to this understanding.

Similarly, in practice the youth worker within the social democratic mode sees practice assisting in the children's development. Playing an active role in assisting some of that development and trying to stop other elements. Youth Work and social education grew hand in hand as active policies and practices.

All this is anathema to libertarianism. The relationship between state and class so crudely ripped from the marxist corpus of knowledge condemns all state policy and practice as against the interests of working class youth. They criticise the naive lack of knowledge about the nature of the state and also the naivety about power relations within youth work practice. Youth workers and policy makers that proclaim any genuine welfare ideas are dismissed as falsely conscious, as having deluded themselves with such simple emotion from understanding their 'true' oppressive role in relationship to working class youth.

This then is a form of criticism; the aim of stripping away

what is seen as falsely conscious emotions. The whole thrust of the analysis is to uncover the 'real' meanings of policy and practice. These real meanings can only be interpreted by looking at the relationship between the policy and the capitalist mode of production. As a consequence of this the actors in youth policy and indeed youth themselves are not given any real understanding and credibility. Policy is carried out remorselessly by State structures attempting at one and the same time to implement a policy of social control as well as preparing youth for the labour market.

By 1982 this critique has become rather threadbare in terms of its substance and the form of critique. In the late 60's/early 70's, it was incredibly important; it **did** succeed in pointing out power relationships within youth policy and youth practice; it did succeed in relating youth policy to the nature of a capitalist economy; it did succeed in pointing to the need for social control in an otherwise liberal State. However, there are two major areas of problems with the analysis which destroy any real practice potential for this analysis.

The structural analysis of relating youth policy to the capitalist mode of production has placed those individuals who are youth workers in a specific structurally determined relationship to the politics of capitalism. By seeing their activity, their practice **structured** through the needs of capital, any real possibility of progressive practice becomes a myth. It is a myth because capital itself in its own interests structures the State, the State then structures the practice of the youth worker, and there is no room for movement or contradiction.

What does this mean in practice? There is no doubt that youth practice in the late 1970's and early 1980's is an extremely difficult form of activity. Equally there is no doubt that any relationship between the youth service and progressive action is also problematic. As a consequence the above structural analysis explains the difficulties of the present extremely well. It explains why it is very difficult to actually **achieve** anything. It explains our immobility; it explains our fatalism. Within the day by day experience of practice however, this immobility and fatalism **has** constructed its own particular theory of practice. This has come to be known as non-directive youth work.

Non-directive youth work poses itself against social democratic practice around the way in which the worker interacts with youth. It sees social democratic practice as intervening much too powerfully in the lives and culture of working class youth. It constructs a practice which listens much more, and intervenes only in the terms and the forms agreed by working class youth itself. It claims to have no ideology, no morality, no direction separate from those of working class youth. Now if we link this with the structural theory discussed above, the youth worker is getting out of the structural double bind by a theory of inaction. The structural bind says anything that the youth worker does is in the interests of capital; therefore it is necessary to construct a practice theory around inaction. This in some way nullifies the fact that any **action** is in the interests of capital. It paints a picture of a youth worker frightened to move in a strategic direction for fear of becoming an agent of social control. Therefore, the only way in which it is possible to survive that bind is by standing very still. Now as we shall see it is of course impossible to stand very still and carry out youth work at all; that the goal if indeed it ever was a goal of non-directive youth work is an impossibility. Here though I want to underline the second major problem area of the libertarian critique of social democracy.

The theory of culture contained in this critique is based upon the continued and necessary authenticity of the working

class culture under capitalism. The existence of this culture both of an adult and as a youth level is seen as a major political problem for capitalism. Consequently any progressive youth worker, welfare worker, or indeed any progressive politician has to understand the nature of working class culture as a progressive force. Indeed this analysis is underlined by the theory of youth policy and the capitalist State. Since youth policy is part of the way in which capital interferes and indeed undermines working class culture then fairly obviously working class culture must be a progressive thing, must be a 'problem' for capital. Therefore, progressive youth workers have to understand and relate to that culture as the major oppositional force to capitalism.

It is very difficult being a romantic and a youth worker. It's very difficult to sustain a simplistic rosy view of working class culture and working class youth when confronted with the violence, racism, sexism of much of their activity and beliefs. Yet within this libertarian critique for social democracy there is a romantic core. It may argue along these sort of lines. It is true that working class youth has many rather saddening traits. It is true that there is racism and sexism and violence amongst working class youth. However, we must also recognise the nature of the resistance and solidarity within this culture. We must see subcultures and youth itself as engaged in some sort of struggle against the capitalist system. The nature of this struggle though will take place within a working class culture which has some elemental and essential relationship to progression. That these elements however, have been surrounded by the results of decades of capitalist hegemony. Youth culture itself has been incorporated by the media, the record business, and by various right-wing political forces. Thus all the nasty things about youth culture can be simply equated with capital. All the good things can be linked to this essential progressive part of being working class.

In this way the theory of culture contained within libertarian critiques of social democracy can at one of the same time describe a progressive working class kernel to culture, and criticise the Capitalist system. What does this mean for youth work practice? By and large it makes youth workers extremely wary about any interventions into youth culture, since that culture is the bedrock of progress. This semi-romantic attitude to working class youth needs to be linked with the studied inactivity constructed by the overall structural analysis if we do this we are left with an overall practice fearful of intervening, fearful of acting and fearful of changing anything.

As I said above, a theory which underlines the difficulty of action can, at the present time, gain a great deal of credibility from practitioners who do have an extremely difficult terrain to act on. However, in anything but the shortest of short terms, a theory of immobility is a truly useless practice theory. It further divorces any possible relationship between practice possibilities and critical theory. How can marxism do any better?

Marxism, The History of Youth Work, Working Class Struggle and The State

My vision of marxism is something different from the notions outlined above. Firstly, it is founded on the belief that in any historical epoch, whilst there is indeed a dominant class, the subordinate classes play a vital role in the making of history in that epoch. Thus, within our own time, history is not simply being made by the bourgeoisie, but also by the working class. This includes **all** history; the state, and even youth policy included. Thus, when we construct a history of youth policy

which has such policies being written and run by the interests of the bourgeoisie full stop; we have a history which is written without the working class. Or at the very least we have a history written with the working class purely existing as objects of policy and not as actors in that policy. In this history, boys clubs are set up to interfere and hopefully destroy the resistance that exists within working class culture etc etc. Once we enter a period of social democracy, and within the British social structure we do so increasingly from the foundation of the Labour Party, the working class themselves struggle for aspects of state policy. Simply put the bourgeoisie, dominant class or not, do not have a clear field in the construction of policy, even youth policy. Instead we have working class organisations themselves arguing consistently and continuously for youth provision; and for youth provision of a most social democratic kind. Such arguments have been consistent from working class organisations and can only be ignored by the most arrogant radical historian.

If we grant this consistent demand from working people with some credibility, how do we explain it? How do we explain the fact that working class organisations and working class men and women have argued for orthodox youth provision? We can of course construct a history which claims that they have all been conned; they are all incorporated within the capitalist system and it's only you and me and the others in the commune which can see their 'true' interests. This arrogance from the Left is usually constructed alongside the romantic belief in the ultimate truth coming from the three or four youth cultural resisters who refuse to enter the youth club. On the one hand the whole of the working class who demand such provision are incorporated; on the other the three or four articulate refusers are all class conscious.

If we reject this arrogance in analysis, perhaps we should look at the politics of the demand for youth provision. It is based upon a materialistic view of where culture comes from, NOT a romantic one. It is based upon the knowledge that, by itself capitalist social relationships create an awful, degraded and boring culture. It needs intervention at every level to change it. Now I am not saying that all working class culture is degraded and useless; such a statement would be as equally absurd as one which sees it all as romantic and correct. I am saying that, by itself capitalist social relationships creates an isolated and degraded set of cultural experiences. I am also suggesting that working class politicians know this and seek by a wide variety of forms to improve these relationships. One way of course would be for the class to create socialism; this has not as yet been the way of the British working class. But to continually castigate it for failing to be socialist when it has succeeded over many decades at interfering in capitalists social relations (but in a social democratic way), is it to fail to appreciate the successes that occur in the struggle for youth policy.

Therefore, if we accept that working class organisations do know that the culture created for young people by capitalism itself, by pure vicious market capitalist relations, is unpleasant; then perhaps we should allow that the neat, structured world of, say the new boys clubs were not necessarily 'bad' things. Are we seriously going to argue that they were worse than the rather smashed criminalised background of many of the 'lads'? Are we going to argue now that the culture that creates skin-head fascism is 'better' than the average youth club? I am suggesting that 'critical' youth workers can argue that, but they do so in the teeth of all mass working class organisations.

I have suggested then that youth policy is constructed in part

by both major classes; both of them seeing the problems created by 'pure' capitalist social relations within youth culture. What this leaves us with is the view that 'social democratic youth work' is neither simply a good progressive helping, caring thing, nor a bad oppressive reactionary thing. It is in political terms a terrain of class struggle and in day by day terms full of contradictions which we need to fully appreciate in order to change anything. All of this then, is simply meant to clear the ground of the rather boring guilt that we feel about working within a capitalist society for a state which is interfering in 'pure' working class culture.

Some Marxist Criticisms of Social Democratic Youth Work

Having cleared that ground, I hope it leaves us with some clear notion that it is right to intervene; not just morally, but politically right to intervene. Yet there are some aspects of social democratic youth work which I feel need criticism, since as I said above it is a terrain of struggle, rather than 'right' or 'wrong'. Firstly, the promise of social democracy at a mass level is that it can solve the problems of a capitalist society. In terms of youth policy, that it can overcome all of the nastiness which flows from the social relations of capitalism and produce whole rounded men and women. Marxists must know that the full achievement of this is impossible. In other words to promise 'success' on this scale is not possible; is a false promise and causes a great deal of practice problems. For example, inside ourselves we set standards for success which are far too high; we tend to swing from a belief in non-intervention to a belief in a successful total intervention in groups and individual's lives. Thus we swing theoretically from a view which sees people as structured to one which sees them as malleable.

In reality, given the powerful insecurity created by the social relations of capitalism, it is most difficult to intervene in any major way through youth work. If we identify one or two crucial elements of social relations that we think are necessary to intervene in, and deal with these strategically, then some small progress may be possible (though not if we continue to be racked by libertarian guilt). The most significant impact that can be made is in the detail of a subordinate consciousness.

What do I mean by this? Living within a society which constructs day by day enormous insecurities, the major experience which working class individuals have is one of subordinacy. It is true that they may have an angry subordinacy, or indeed a violent subordinacy, but the everyday insecurities make it impossible for young working people to see the world as 'theirs'. Much of social democratic youth work has tried to thoroughly challenge this subordinacy through notions such as self-determination. Whilst this has been a correct interpretation of the major problem, it has over sold the possibility of intervention. It is not possible to 'hold' all of the social relations that construct subordinacy and transform them through the intervention of youth work. Instead all we can do is challenge that subordinacy through creating situations where people learn to struggle for control. Within a capitalist society they cannot achieve it; but they and their class do have the experience of struggling for it. Thus we can identify certain aspects of capitalist social relations as feminist youth workers have done with sexism, and attempt to change these without expecting their transformation.

Social democracy apart from expecting success in solving social problems, also puts much faith in the experts of the State. Many of the great failures of social democracy have sprung from a failure to fully involve working people in the

activity or policy. Many of the more progressive elements of youth work have challenged this in recent years. It is essential for youth workers to involve youth as fully as possible in youth practice and policy. It is only through this involvement, through such progressive work as the enfranchisement projects, that youth workers will involve youth beyond a pure social democratic mould. However, we need to go beyond the democratisation which involves youth to one that involves working class parents and their organisations. Such an involvement will inevitably create enormous tensions; but these tensions exist within the working class in any case and must be confronted by any progressive youth work.

Conclusions

I have tried to outline the partial success of a specific form of criticism within youth work. I have posed the libertarian critique of social democratic youth work as a mixture of simplistic theory which crudely links class to the state and also romanticises working class culture. Through this it constructs a view of action based upon non-intervention. I have tried to show the inadequacy of this as a form of practice whilst showing how the theoretical backing for it is weak.

Social democratic youth work is as much a product of working class struggle as of the capitalist class. As such, those of us that work within youth work are within a terrain of struggle which needs to be closely and specifically analysed to discover the progressive elements and the possibilities of moving forward within this framework.

New from NYB

The National Youth Bureau publishes a range of periodicals, books, pamphlets and reports as part of its information service to all those working with young people — youth workers, community workers, teachers, careers officers, social workers, employment scheme supervisors, volunteer organisers, etc.— and to those involved in training such workers. A free illustrated catalogue is available on request. Recent publications include:

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feature review

McRobbie, A. and McCabe, T. (Editors).

FEMINISM FOR GIRLS: AN ADVENTURE STORY

Routledge & Kegan Paul. £5.95

ISBN 07100 0961 5. 1982

The subtitle for this book suggests what feminism can be for all girls and women – an adventure. It is an adventure of struggle with patriarchal economic, social and ideological relations which designate patterns of inferiority, invisibility and silence for women. It is an adventure of discovery of personal and collective power, of creativity and the potential for change, of the self and sexuality. It is also an adventure which, as a story, has no ending. As the editors indicate in their introduction, unlike the closed mythological systems within which femininity is constructed, feminism is open-ended. It is neither possible nor desirable to write a book which prescribes feminism for girls. Instead, this collection of essays with their accompanying photographs and illustrations, focus on destroying some of the myths which circumscribe the everyday lives of girls, pointing to locations for struggle and suggesting methods for the discovery of alternatives.

Some of the essays are a result of research and are written in an objective style. Others are based directly on personal experience and are presented as unashamedly subjective. However, all are ultimately personal insofar as even the topics of research have arisen as a result of the author's experience. This is important in understanding the underlying theme of the book – that the personal is political, that subject and object cannot be neatly separated and that what girls and women have to say about their lives is valid and demands recognition. One of the most fundamental aspects of the oppression of women is the imposition of silence. Men and women alike assume that statements made on the basis of female experience are subjective, emotional and therefore incorrect or of no value as a basis for action. One of the first steps in the adventure of feminism is to break this silence, to learn to articulate the realities of life for women and to challenge the ideologies which deny the validity of women's words. In speaking directly to girls and women, this book provokes recognition. It breaks taboos of communication between girls and shows that personal feelings of dissatisfaction and alienation are not individual problems but a result of the constraints and limits imposed upon women's lives.

These constraints and limits operate everywhere and every day in the institutions and ideologies which are the stuff of girls existence – in school and leisure, work and marriage, romance and sexual relations. In each of these areas, chosen by the editors as representative of a general female experience, the authors set out to uncover the myths which ensure that girls remain within male definitions of themselves.

It must be said here that the general experience offered in this book is essentially a white experience. Despite references to racial inequality, race, which is a dominant influence in the lives of black girls, is not fully integrated in the text. The editors are aware of this and have included a chapter entitled "Resistances and responses: the experiences of black girls in Britain". However, as the authors, Valerie Amos and Pratibha Parmar point out, this must necessarily be read as a token chapter. It is impossible in a few pages to cover the influences which structure the femininity of black girls. This essay is therefore primarily about unveiling some of the myths which are applied by white society to the black community and counterposing these to the more complex real situation of black girls. It is only too easy for white feminists (like myself) to subsume race in sex and class. The whole "Feminism for Girls" and this review, should therefore be read critically with

this in mind.

School is a classic example of a state institution which, despite the formal operation of the Sex Discrimination Act and the Race Relations Act, despite the ideology of "equal opportunity", continues to reproduce inequalities of sex, race and class. In "Learning to be a girl: girls, schools and the work of the Sheffield Education Group", Ann Strong shows how differences in the education of boys and girls have historically been built into the education system and how girls, past and present, have consistently been educated according to preconceived notions that their future lies in home and family. Throughout their school careers, girls are directed towards conventional 'feminine' subjects, acceptable female roles and consequently, underachievement, by the 'hidden curriculum'. Underachievement is particularly prevalent among black girls and speaks of the disjuncture between girls lives and the education system. Even in traditional girls' subjects such as English, there is an inbuilt bias against girls. English is understood as an "amateur subject, connected with intuition and emotions"; it is presented with boys in mind through the texts and authors used, in language, in the structure and content of lessons and in the format of examinations. ("Little women, good wives: is English good for girls?" – Gill Frith). Even when girls succeed, against the odds, English is not appreciated in terms of its possibilities for penetrating ideology. Instead it is instrumental in obtaining a conventional office job: "The careers officer came round and he said, 'Well, you're quite good at English and I think the best bet is if you do audio-typing or something like that.'" ("Schools and careers: for girls who DO want to wear the trousers." – Trisha McCabe.)

The messages of schools, that girls should ultimately aspire to marriage and motherhood and in the meantime think of a job (not a career) which will suit their femininity, are reinforced through the leisure opportunities available to girls. Magazines and romantic novels directed to this readership encourage girls to spend their time, energy and money in the pursuit of heterosexual love. This requires girls to create an attractive image for themselves and to nurture attitudes and behaviour which will not threaten men. "Neither experimentation nor originality are encouraged. Again and again the readers are referred back to the men and boys whose approval is so desperately sought." ("Just like a 'Jackie' story" – Angela McRobbie). Black girls, lesbians, unemployed girls, punks (the list is endless) are all absent from the 'Jackie' story. Similarly, the romantic notions which such magazines embrace are silent about the realities of relationships once the first flush of romantic love is spent. They have nothing to say about the alienation involved in searching for a man – of the discomfort in maintaining an image, the cattle market atmosphere of the local disco, the repression of female sexuality and the imposition of male violence. "Romance and sexuality; between the devil and the deep blue sea?" by Myra Connell et al has, on the other hand, plenty to say on these issues, showing how romance demands of girls more than it offers and how it often leads to disappointment. Girls who recognise the alienation involved in romance tend to be silent. For to articulate the reality invites isolation, threatening the foundations upon which girls build their lives. Instead, if the reality does not fit the dream, they blame themselves and try harder. This book attempts to break the circle of silence and self doubt by confronting realities. The attempt is particularly effective in Amanda McLoughlin's essay, "The golden pathway", wherein she contrasts her dream of what a night at Tiffany's could be

with the nightmare of her first experience. The reality fails consistently to live up to the dream because the dream is precisely that.

Nowhere is this more true and more important than when considering life after school. The girls' magazine mythology suggests that on leaving school a girl will find a nice office job with an attractive (white) male boss. This will open up all sorts of opportunities for love and romance. She will find an eligible male and live happily ever after (unless thwarted by a female rival). In opposition to this, Hazel Downing dissects the images of office work created by "films, television serials, books, romantic girls magazines and, above all, advertising" and counterposes the daily grind, the humiliation, the low wages and the insecurities of life in the office. The title of this essay "They call me a life-size Meccano set; super secretary or super slave?", is an apt introduction to the subject.

In the current climate of unemployment even the lowliest office job is often unavailable. Alternatives which, in a contracting job market, are limited anyway, are particularly narrow for girls who have throughout their lives been directed to a narrow range of options. For many girls, motherhood (with marriage as an optional, if desirable, extra) is often perceived as the only alternative to life on the dole. It represents a chance for achieving adult status, a definite social role and is often the route to a home of one's own. Yet the socialisation of girls has told them nothing about the realities of motherhood and marriage. As far as mythology is concerned, this state is the apex of achievement for girls. Thus it is hardly surprising that Dorothy Hobson's interviews with young married mothers ("Now that I'm married . . ."), reveal an undefined emptiness in their lives and generate a feeling of lost possibilities. In their search for the marital state, most girls discard opportunities for discovery, ignore their own sexual needs and abandon their female friends such that, after marriage and motherhood they are left with a feeling that there should be 'something else'.

Romantic images about heterosexual relations and marital bliss play no small part in defining sexuality for women and girls. In romance, there is no room for self discovery and development, no room for making demands of men. Sexuality is responding to the needs of men. Lesbianism, celibacy and masturbation are denied existence in romance. For to reject male defined sexuality is to attack the very basis of patriarchal social relations. Girls and women who choose alternatives thus find themselves forced into invisibility. Sharon K., who writes "A note on lesbian sexuality" with Trisha McCabe cannot use her own name in this book for fear of being made visible, of being ridiculed and rejected. Yet the discovery of her sexuality for herself has been a positive and adventurous process.

For a girl to come out as "different" in any way, for her to attempt to lead her own life in response to her own needs and interests takes courage and needs the support of other women. This is constantly discouraged by the separation of women from each other and by the patriarchal definitions of women's personalities and roles. There are few opportunities to develop alternatives within the current social fabric, but this is not to say that spaces do not exist. It is up to girls themselves and the women who work with them to recognise and inhabit these spaces. Most of the suggestions in "Feminism for Girls" for starting the process of struggle and discovery begin with women being together, talking together and acting together on the basis of common experience. It is important that girls are offered, or demand, space of their own.

This is effectively what many feminist youth workers try to

offer girls. Yet even achieving this simple aim involves struggle. Working with girls in most youth work situations is accepted as necessary insofar as it is undeniably obvious that girls do not participate in youth activities to the same extent as boys. However, a **feminist** approach to working with girls is a different matter. Most feminist youth workers will recognise the conflicts and problems which Monika Savier experienced in her attempts to introduce feminist ways of working into a German youth club. Indeed, the trouble starts as soon as boys are denied access to girls' space and time. ("Working with girls: write a song and make a record of it!")

Feminism for girls is an adventure for those who wish to work with girls as much for the girls themselves and this book is important insofar as it implies that women and girls must struggle together to achieve change. However, the title is in this sense misleading. It suggests that the book is only for the girls themselves. Yet, despite the photographs and illustrations and despite the inclusion of articles which could be read easily easily by girls, as a whole it would neither be attractive nor accessible to those who have not studied to 'A' level or beyond. The language and concepts used are sometimes, (necessarily perhaps), difficult, and would be impenetrable to many girls. Nevertheless, I would recommend the book to anyone who works with, who plans to work with or wishes to understand the complexities involved in working with girls. I would also suggest that it is possible to select articles or parts of articles for girls to read and discuss. It can only be of benefit of girls to speak of and perhaps begin acting on, some of the issues raised as they relate to their own lives.

JEAN SPENCE.

policy, delinquency and the practice of youth control 1964~1981

JOHN PITTS

This article traces the development of policy and practice in relation to children and young people who break the law from the mid 1960's to 1981. It will consider the Criminal Justice Bill (1981) and its implications for young offenders and for those, such as social workers, who work with them.

As Gough has shown, the period from the mid-1960's to early 1970's marked the second major expansion of social welfare expenditure in the post war era (1). In 1964 Harold Wilson's administration was elected. Part of Wilson's appeal lay in his rejection of 'class politics' in favour of a 'modern' managerial style which emphasised that Britain in the 1960's could no longer be governed by a ruling class elite but had to take account of the reality that a successful capitalist state must foster its technicians, technologists and managers. He indicated that a revamped social-democratic party would be able to promote economical development and that the 'white heat of the technological revolution' would bring benefits for all, thus breaking down the remaining class barriers and ushering in a new meritocratic and egalitarian order.

A TECHNOLOGICAL REVOLUTION

Wilson inherited major problems in the form of a massive balance of payments deficit and pressure from within the Labour Party to take action on the issue of poverty which was at that time in the process of being 'rediscovered'. Within the issue of poverty was the question of juvenile crime.

Throughout the 1950's and in the face of an apparent growing affluence the juvenile crime rate had been rising rapidly, perplexing many who had believed that with the eradication of the harsher manifestations of poverty, crime would gradually fade away. Within the Labour Party Fabian intellectuals sought solutions to this problem by forging alliances with social scientists and latterly with social workers. Their quest was for a technology or a form of engineering which could be brought to bear upon the causes of crime. The Longford Report (1966) (2) gives an interesting insight into the type of world these social engineers believed they were engineering.

The report poses a picture of a social democratic Britain in which the Welfare State will have taken care of primary poverty and the rapid development of state education and the technological revolution will have created opportunity and enabled the people to take advantage of it. Unfortunately, with-

in this essentially healthy and prosperous society, there remain small pockets of poverty and deprivation, residues of a bygone age. These families, and sometimes whole neighbourhoods, have been unable to cope with rapid social change and have consequently been left behind the rest of the people. Because of ignorance and a misplaced trust of the benign intentions of educational and welfare agencies they have not availed themselves of the opportunities which other citizens have so willingly grasped and they therefore persist in their idiosyncratic and often criminal ways. The role of the social worker is to enter these families and neighbourhoods in order to impart the skills and insights which will enable them to join the rest of us in the meritocratic and richly rewarding life, which Social Democratic Britain in the 1960's has to offer.

In this conception of the world membership of the working class is not seen as denoting the fact that one is a member of a social class which is in a relationship of antagonism with another, but rather that one is heir to an ensemble of social and intellectual impediments which the state will have to sort out. In this world crime is not seen as in some way indicative of social conflict or disjunction but rather as a mistake, a pattern of behaviour which is essentially pathological, self-defeating and pathetic.

Social intervention of the type envisaged by Longford and enshrined in the White Papers of 1965 and 1968 (3) and in the 1970 Social Services Reorganisation Act (Seebohm) finds its corollary and its inspiration in economic intervention. While Keynesian economic doctrines indicated that we must intervene to transform, refurbish or support the economic infrastructure in order to smooth out the trade cycle, Social Democratic social policies indicate that we must intervene to transform, refurbish or support the social infrastructure to eradicate the anomalies occasioned by rapid social change. The organisation of demand finds its corollary in the organisation of consent, conformity and legitimacy and both follow the banners of egalitarianism and cost benefit analysis.

As the 1960's advanced it became clear that Wilsonian economic and social policies were not doing the job. The attempt to form an alliance with the trade unions and to persuade them to restrain their demands led to unprecedented shop floor militancy. The 'social contract' broke down and the 'social compact' followed it. Wilson had promised growth and stability but all around was evidence of decline and dissent. The

expansion of secondary and tertiary education was producing the 'talent' but the economy was not producing the jobs. Social policies being developed within the Labour Government were subjected to increasingly strident attack. The decriminalising proposals of *The Child, The Family and The Young Offender* (1965) were shelved in the face of growing right-wing resistance, dissent from academic criminology and civil libertarians. They criticised the attempt within policy to merge the 'depraved' and the 'deprived' and to present both groups as the unwilling victims of pathology. Working class youth on the terraces and middle class youth in Grosvenor Square merely added fuel to the flames. Wilson had tried to govern by consent, and dissent was rife. He had hoped that we might all go forward together, but the world appeared to be coming apart at the seams.

It was in this difficult climate that the 1969 Childrens and Young Persons Act passed through Parliament. It emerged not a little battered and bearing only a passing resemblance to its parent *Children in Trouble* (1968) and unrecognisable as the grandchild of the bold, decriminalising *The Child, The Family and The Young Offender* (1965). The 1969 Act was followed through the Commons by the Social Services Re-organisation Act 1970 and together they changed the shape of juvenile justice in Britain in the 1970's.

These ostensibly benign initiatives all geared to the early identification and treatment of juvenile misbehaviour, advocating as they did the use of scientific methods of intervention rather than punishment, seem to have produced some strange results.

There are, for example, more children and young people held in secure conditions now than at any time since 1908 when a separate system of Juvenile Justice was created. 231 secure places in Community Homes with Education (the erstwhile Approved School) are in the pipeline and will be added to the 267 already in existence. Between 1965 and 1977 the number of 14/17 year olds in Detention Centres rose from 1,404 to 5,757. In the same period the proportion of 15/17 year olds in the Borstal population from 1/5 to almost 1/3. In 1965, 21% of young offenders found guilty were dealt with by police administered attendance centres and prison department administered detention centres and borstals. By 1977 this had risen to 38% indicating that during a period of unparalleled expansion of social work its significance as a response to juvenile crime had rapidly declined. This view is further reinforced when we note that the proportion of young offenders being supervised in the community by probation officers and social workers dropped from 18.5% of those convicted in the age group in 1965 to 13.5% in 1977. (3)

THE "CRIME WAVE"

According to the Heath, Callaghan, and Thatcher administrations the media and certain outspoken low-church police chiefs, we are witnessing a massive and rapid growth in Juvenile crime. This has, according to the usual accounts, been rising since the war, but is currently reaching crisis proportions, not least because "there is a new type of vicious young criminal abroad who is making the streets unsafe for law abiding etc. etc. . . ."

In recent and contemporary governmental accounts the deviant population is redrawn identifying at one end of the spectrum the vicious young thug whom no amount of kindness will reach while at the other we are shown the unwitting victim of individual pathology, family inadequacy or peer group and environmental pressure who periodically comes unstuck. This poor dope deserves our mercy but the growing band of dangerous young criminals are seen to require a tough and uncompromising response from society. This picture of the world

of crime enshrined as it is in the Criminal Justice Act 1972 and re-introduced into the juvenile justice debate in the Expenditure Committee Report on the working of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 (1975) is characterised by Bottoms as bifurcation. (4). The objective to be achieved by a policy of bifurcation is that of rationalisation of the control system in order to check its mounting costs. Thus by taking tougher measures against a group identified as dangerous government is able to honour its law and order pledges while on the other hand developing allegedly cheaper non-custodial alternatives or even decriminalising certain activities.

It is interesting to note that the White Paper (Home Office 1976) which followed the Expenditure Committee Report makes available 100% direct grants to local authorities for the construction of secure provision and on the other hand states that persistent truants should no longer be assumed to be in need of care and control, thus effectively decriminalising serious truancy and therefore keeping truants out of the rapidly contracting Community Homes system.

Put to the test governmental explanations of contemporary juvenile misbehaviour rooted as they are in a political and economic pragmatism, look very shaky. If it is the case that the rapid rise in the numbers of children and young people in secure and penal institutions is a function of the growth of juvenile crime and of dangerous juvenile crime in particular, then this should, arguably, be reflected in the number of convictions of 14 to 17 year olds for indictable offences in recent times.

Convictions age-group 14-17; 1973 and 1978.

Offence	1973	1977
Violence against the person	5283	5184
Sexual offences	804	679
Robbery	1312	883
Burglary	23459	29357
Criminal damage	9661	9546

The extent to which these figures reflect the real incidence of these offences by the young is perhaps less important than the fact that it is in the face of this type of evidence that government throughout the 1970's has been expanding secure and penal provision for this age-group.

In defence of these increasingly control-orientated developments it has been argued that it is not just the incidence but also the severity of these offences which has occasioned an authoritarian response, yet in *Locking Up Children*, Millham has demonstrated that the population of Borstals and secure units is becoming larger though in terms of its violence, previous convictions, and behaviour less problematic (5). These findings are also echoed by Spiers (6) and Cawson (7). We note therefore that rather than these young posing a greater threat we are apparently witnessing a situation in which young people who pose a lesser threat are being subjected to greater control and containment as a result of a shifting ideology of

control within government.

Having looked at the issue of an increase in the dangerousness of juvenile crime we should now turn to the issue of its overall increase.

The Juvenile Bureaux were developed in the early 1960's and had become a ubiquitous feature of British policing by 1969. The Juvenile Bureaux was conceived as a mechanism whereby young people in trouble could be more effectively processed and hopefully diverted from the main stream of the Juvenile Justice System thus relieving pressure upon the magistrate's courts. The caution, delivered by a senior officer to a young person who has committed an offence, is the major instrument by which this objective was to be achieved. In the period 1965 to 1977 the number of cautions delivered in England and Wales to offenders in the 10 to 17 age group rose from 30,621 to 111,922. In the Metropolitan Police District there was an increase in the number of cautions delivered to juveniles from 207 in 1965 to 12,125 in 1975. This raises a number of questions because this rapid and massive increase can be understood in different ways. It could indicate that a juvenile crime wave of epidemic proportions had suddenly afflicted the urban centres of our nations; conversely it could be argued that cautioning had been successful in diverting huge numbers of young people from the juvenile justice system. A third and more plausible explanation suggests that by encouraging the reporting of offences and by formalising previously informal police practices the Juvenile Bureaux have attracted more young people into the control net, thus artificially inflating the incidence of recorded juvenile crime. Ditchfield (8) suggests that the creation of a quasi-social-services arm of the police through the Juvenile Bureau has served to inflate the figures and Priestly et al note that in operating a lay predictive criminology the Bureaux have brought welfare concerns to the fore thus increasing the possibility that the child from the single-parent family, or with the criminal or drunken father or the working mother is more likely to be formally processed by the police. It is also more likely that as a result of institutional inertia the Juvenile Bureaux, as a solution waiting for a problem to which it can be an answer, tends to be increasingly active in elaborating its role and asserting its importance. If the Juvenile Bureaux is actually diverting juveniles from the courts then one might expect to see a decline in the incidence of discharges and fines as a disposal of the court. In fact during the period of the growth of the Bureaux these disposals have risen as a proportion of all disposals and this suggests the view that the Bureaux are in fact digging into the 'dark figure' of young people who would previously have been dealt with informally. A final comment on this issue concerns the assertion that cautioning is a decriminalising innovation. Records of cautions are held centrally, and locally, appear on social enquiry reports presented to the courts and as such may act as an entre to the juvenile justice tariff system.

The short answer to the question, "is juvenile crime on the increase?", is that we don't know and it is not only critics of the juvenile justice system and government control policies who argue thus, it is also accepted by senior police officers and the Home Office.

If the notion of 'crime wave' throws no light upon the growth of punitive responses to juveniles and the spread of surveillance and control, we must look within the control system itself, and at political issues and their consequent expression in policy for an explanation of the contemporary problems within the control system of juveniles in Britain.

FROM ARTISAN TO JUNIOR EXECUTIVE – THE CHANGING ROLE OF THE SOCIAL WORKER

The pre-Seebohm pre-1969 Act Social Worker or Probation Officer could be characterised as an artisan. A craftsman with specific skills drawn from their psychoanalytic or common-sense inheritance. With a specific client group and a fairly clear-cut range of problems they worked in a relatively simple hierarchy often with confidence in the skills and the nature of the endeavour in which they were engaged. Inter-professional co-operation was limited and within the bounds set by professional judgement and the local court, with which they might well have had a "special relationship", he or she enjoyed some autonomy. Importantly, in their work with young offenders, the fit between the worker and the resources available to them in the form of Approved Schools, Attendance Centres etc., was a relatively loose one. He or she did not have responsibility for placing young people in institutions but they did have responsibility for assessing their suitability for such places or for probation or supervision in the community, and the presentation of this information in court. Thus it can be argued that the pre-Seebohm pre-1969 Act social worker or probation officer had a greater degree of control over outcomes than their post-Seebohm 1969 Act successor.

In the post-Seebohm 1969 Act world of the social worker is no longer the artisan but rather the junior executive in a large corporation. In their dealings with young people in trouble many of the functions previously performed by the social worker are devolved to institutionalised facilities. Observation and Assessment are increasingly handled by residential institutions established for this purpose and the numbers of children and young people entering these institutions increases rapidly through the 1970's. Court officers are appointed in an effort to regularise and make social workers recommendations to the court more acceptable. Meanwhile the worker's range of responsibilities is broadened to cover everything from problems of physical handicap to admissions to mental hospitals. The social workers role is that of co-ordinator of a range of specialised resources on the basis of an initial diagnosis. The worker becomes a kind of General Practitioner. He or she occupies a lowly slot in an expanded and complicated hierarchy with a consequent loss of control over outcomes in particular cases. This also means that the client is in a weakened position in terms of their ability to negotiate these outcomes with the worker.

Leonard has argued that the Seebohm reorganisation offered the worker more control (10) but the analysis developed by Braverman seems to fit the fact that the worker was subject to greater control from above and become a small cog in a much larger machine, required to use less initiative and increasingly subject to imperatives established not by themselves but by the organisation (11). The growth of 'workerism' within social work is undoubtedly related not only to the worsening position of social workers but also to this erosion of professional autonomy. Thus as a result this radical reorganisation of social work the worker became less of a solution in his or her own right in terms of their own skills, and increasingly a broker of institutionalised solutions developed within and limited by the resources of the Local Authority Social Services Department and the Prison Department. This was an extremely fateful shift in its consequences for children and young people in trouble.

No sooner had the new social work departments lurched into action than they were confronted with the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act.

The Act which ostensibly offered a radically different way of

dealing with young people in trouble emerged from the House of Commons with its commitment to treatment underpinned by a virtually unchanged set of penal sanctions. Supervision Orders and Intermediate Treatment, Detention Centres and Borstal, rather than being in opposition to one another were all accommodated into the same tariff system. What emerged was a treatment-punishment continuum which at one end reached into the community via preventive work and at the other into the prison system via the Borstal. The links between these previously discreet responses to juvenile crime were forged through the reorganisation of social work and thus it was that the perplexed post-Seeborn social worker found themselves presiding over and holding together a treatment-punishment continuum which contained within it profound ideological contradictions and antagonisms. This expanded continuum and the expanded responsibilities of the social worker means that earlier intervention in the community might have the unintended consequence of accelerating the young persons progress along this continuum of institutionalised solutions to the problem of juvenile crime. This situation in which the worker's power was bounded by available resources, declining credibility of the new Social Services Departments and their workers in the eyes of the courts, pressure of work, and a tendency for the Observation and Assessment centres (O/A) to recommend primarily residential or custodial placements led to a decline in the number of residential placements.

An apparent contradiction which this raises concerns the fact that the early 70's also saw the expansion of social work and the development of new and innovative styles of practice. In Intermediate Treatment some very creative work was pioneered, particularly in the area of Alternative Education, Community Work, Community Action, Law Centres and Welfare Rights work expanded and in many cases genuine gains were achieved for and by working class people. In casework the ideas of Laing, Rogers and other liberal theorists had begun to make an impact and the culturally biased and authoritarian approaches of some more traditional agencies were under attack, and in some places, in retreat. In this period it seems that Social Work abandoned the formal legal system as an area of unequal struggle in order to focus upon the creation of alternative structures which would divert people from these formal structures and act as a challenge to them. The hard reality is that the creative activity of social workers with children and young people in trouble because it occurred in the context of the expanded treatment-punishment continuum, sometimes resulted in the very serious unintended consequences described above. As Morris and Giller,(12) and Thorpe (13) have pointed out, effective action in reforming the juvenile justice system must concentrate not only upon the content of an intervention with the children and young people, but also, and perhaps more importantly, upon the functioning of that system.

AN AUTHORITARIAN DECADE

The 1970 General Election put Edward Heath into power. Control had been a minor but persistent theme in the discussion of juvenile crime through the '60s but under Heath it became a central one. Law and order and cuts in public spending had important effects upon social workers. Community Homes With Education (CHE) lost staff and they were not replaced thus the period 1970 to 1975 saw a 15% decline in numbers of young people admitted to them. While as stated above the numbers of children and young people on supervision orders declined Borstals, Attendance Centres, Detention

Courses and Closed Units became growth areas. In 1972 Sir Keith Joseph promised a further 127 secure places in Community Homes and the subsequent Wilson/Callaghan administration raised this target to 500. It is ironical of course that the creation of secure units paralleled the run-down of non-secure provision which if adequately resourced could have contained the vast majority of children and young people currently languishing in secure institutions. These differential cuts meant that the treatment-punishment continuum was even more heavily weighted in favour of punishment. This posed a serious problem for social workers torn as they were between their perception of the needs of their clients and their inability through lack of resources to respond to these needs, and their need to be seen by the courts, and an increasingly aggressive government and press, to be doing something concrete. In the event this has led to a massive increase in Borstal and Detention Centre recommendations made by social workers in the courts.(14). Foucault's observation that it is the legal apparatus which serves the prison and not vice versa is particularly pertinent in this context since the changed emphasis within the control apparatus upon punishment quickly attracted increasing numbers of subjects to penal and secure provision.(15).

The ideological shift inaugurated by the Health administration and expressed through a radically changed pattern of state expenditure in favour of control and punishment created its own crisis within the control system. The decline of preventive work by social workers in the community meant that more young people were presenting themselves to be dealt with in institutions. The run-down of the C.H.E. system had meant that these institutions were often over-stretched tense places only capable of dealing with more compliant inmates. Meanwhile many young people were held sometimes for up to a year in Observation and Assessment Centres awaiting placement in a C.H.E. This has led to a rapid growth in the number of Unruly Certificates issued by the courts. Until 1977 a local authority could ask a magistrate to place an Unruly Certificate on a child if it could demonstrate that it was unable to contain him in its own establishments. Magistrates were not reluctant to comply with the requests of local authorities since their constant complaint from the 'late' '60s had been that they had no power to ensure that young people in care would be locked up. So alarmed was the government by this growth of Unruly Certificates which had led to around 6,000 children and young people per year being remanded in remand centres and adult jails by 1978, that in August 1979 the legislation was amended thus requiring the local authority to prove that the child was an absconder who committed offences while absconding. It seems clear that the O/A centres and C.H.E.'s had been using the unruly certificate as a means of institutional control. It is worth noting Millham's assertion that the unruly behaviour produced as evidence in such cases is often demonstrably a function of tensions and stresses existent in a particular institution rather than the pathology of a particular "unruly" individual. (16). The Callaghan administration did not construe this problem as a consequence of the run-down in social work resources, instead, as mentioned above, they rushed through legislation to stem the flood of young people through the system, embarked upon a policy of expansion of secure units and Detention Centres, reduced the average period spent in Borstal and Detention Centres by administrative action and, interestingly, diverted resources through urban aid, to Intermediate Treatment and more particularly in Intensive Intermediate Treatment. It is important to note that the expansion of Intensive Intermediate Treatment was accompanied by a tightening up of the conditions under which young people could participate in it. The 1977 Criminal Law Act gave the court power to fine the young person for non-compliance or to send him to an attendance centre. By 1979

Patrick Jenkin and William Whitelaw were able to express support for Intermediate Treatment as part of the Conservative Law and Order Campaign.

The restructuring of Social work and the contradictions embodied in the 1969 Act set the scene for a swing towards authoritarian responses to the young through the integration of the control system. It is still necessary however to explain why the Health and subsequent administrations gave their system such a massive shove to the right on the basis of very inconclusive evidence about the nature and extent of juvenile crime. Taylor (17) has suggested that 1972 marked a turning point in government responses to young people in trouble. It was in 1972 that youth unemployment was officially acknowledged as a growing and persistent feature of Western Industrial Societies. Interestingly government, the media and professional groups focussed upon and repoliticised the related issues of education and delinquency. In the sphere of education we saw the emergence of a right-wing intelligentsia circulating its position through the Black Papers and subsequently the 'standards' panic, initially orchestrated by the Conservative Government which culminated in Callaghan's strategy titled 'Great Debate'. In brief the argument ran thus: A rising generation educated in a permissive classroom by left-wing or liberal teachers were not only unable to meet the academic demands of an increasingly technologically sophisticated labour market but were also unable to respond appropriately to the necessary disciplines of the work place. Thus in the face of evidence of an economic system which was systematically de-skilling its workers, popular debate displaced the economic crisis into a moral and academic inadequacy. It was in 1972 that the National Association of Schoolmasters, an organisation never slow to exploit any opportunity for its own ends, produced its report entitled "Violence in the Classroom". It is perhaps of passing interest that the report was written by Professor Lowenstein now Director of Lowenstein Therapeutic Communities who in July 1977 was pioneering the use of the padded suit as an alternative to solitary confinement in C.H.E.s. This report purported to demonstrate that classroom violence was on the increase and proposed that only by strengthening the profession could the government hope to combat the impending anarchy. The fact that over 50% of the schools petitioned didn't even send back the questionnaire casts serious doubts upon the ubiquity of this rising tide of anarchy and violence in the school.

In the area of juvenile crime 1972 saw the height of the mugging panic and Hall et al (18) have argued that the black unemployed mugger became an important political symbol and focus for social anxiety in a rapidly worsening economic situation and a political climate of great uncertainty. It was also the year in which the Conservative Lawyers and Magistrates Association made major attacks on the operation of the 1969 Act.

It is also important to stress that in all these debates the harking back to a golden age ignores the current economic situation and its impact upon the young, the black, and the unqualified, in favour of a nostalgia for a time of civil harmony and individual courtesy. It is not the first fact that continued capital accumulation requires the economy to shed a substantial section of its labour force and subject the remainder to a new industrial discipline which is stressed, rather the militant trade union wrecker, the illiterate vandal and the drug crazed student, are identified as the forces undermining society. While the right bemoaned the breakdown of traditional discipline, liberals looked to the breakdown of working-class community, as a source of social control, for an explanation of current disorder. In this highly charged ideological and political climate the discussion did not dwell upon the substance behind these anxieties, but moved immediately to a

search for solutions. In such a climate the only acceptable solutions had to offer control whatever the real nature of the problem to which it was purportedly the answer. The issue became which professional group or groups should exert this control and B.A.S.W. was in amongst the other groups vying for the opportunity to demonstrate how social work could exert as much control as anything else. Taylor suggests that at this point, however, they had defined the problem and all professional groups were agreed that the Conservative solution of more control was the most appropriate response to it. Subsequently we have seen the steady growth of penal/custodial institutions for the young and the growth of the controlling component in the work-loads of social workers and probation officers. Residential Care Orders, Secure Units, Intensive Intermediate Treatment with penal sanctions, the growth of Unruly Certificates and the profligate use of Care Orders by social workers all testify to the changing functions being performed by them through the '70s.

The Wilson /Callaghan administration of 1974 offered no alternative response to young offenders but instead consolidated the work of Heath. From 1976 onwards the message to the country was clear and it was that there were hard times ahead and we would all have to work harder for smaller rewards. On the Law and Order front the police force was growing stronger and larger while Secure Units, the Attendance Centre, the Detention Centre and the Borstal continued to expand. The numbers of the young unemployed continued to grow and the Special Patrol Group became increasingly involved in the policing of the young, the black and the jobless. Meanwhile certain senior police officers were becoming increasingly vocal in advocating harsher penalties for young offenders and a reduction in the legal safeguards which prevented the police from "doing their job". James Anderson chief constable for Manchester in June 1979 at the Manchester Lunch Club advocated that young offenders should be sent to penal work camps where:-

"through hard work and unrelenting discipline they should be made to sweat as they have never sweated before and remain until their violence has been vanquished by penitence, humiliation and unqualified repentance".

It is erroneous therefore to view the advent of Thatcherism as signalling the end of an era in child care and juvenile justice. We have in fact been witnessing a gradual drift towards authoritarianism throughout the 1970s. The Criminal Justice Bill (1981) enshrines certain practices which have become routine in statute while accommodating to the demands of the bench the judiciary, the police and ironically civil libertarians. This is not to say that Thatcher's policies on juvenile crime offer nothing new, for the reorganisation of the components of the juvenile justice system do have quite new implications for young offenders and those who work with them. This rearrangement is also consistent with certain central themes in Thatcher's "free market" social philosophy.

A PHILOSOPHICAL REVOLUTION

Under Thatcher the new ideology is articulated more clearly. Government is no longer concerned with the amelioration of poverty. Poverty now emerges as an endemic and necessary feature of our society. It is the responsibility of the individual, the "free man" in the "free market", indeed it is a necessary discipline which reminds the citizen that they should work harder. The notion that a casual relationship exists between crime and poverty is supplanted by the idea that moral inadequacy causes crime in the same way that it causes poverty. Thatcher poses a world in which the repertoire of rewards and punishments is greatly expanded. In this world men of initiative and drive can be richly rewarded but cheats and idlers will

be severely punished. Whereas the Wilson administration of the 1960s sought to obscure discrepancies of wealth and power, Thatcherism parades them as an incentive and a warning. Wilson's policies on poverty and crime, culminating in the Community Development Projects (19) were on the one hand concerned with mobilising indigenous sources of social control while on the other they sought to decentralise that control and achieve legitimisation by devolving part of the democratic process to impoverished neighbourhoods. From 1976 however the effort to legitimise an inequitable social structure by social intervention of that sort was abandoned. Thatcherism offers legitimisation by delegitimation. Her message is that "this is what the world is like and unless you become better disciplined, harder working and more compliant with the natural unfolding of the economic order you will go under". Monetarism is a dramatic doctrine and it is first and foremost a social philosophy posing as an economic theory. In Thatcher's world control is vested in the hands of the state, society unfolds according to "natural" economic laws which the state must re-establish and protect. The state patrols the periphery ready to grab those who do not conform to the new disciplines. This neo-classical world does not exist, nor presumably does the government, with the possible exceptions of Margaret Thatcher and Sir Keith Joseph believe that it does but this makes symbolic activity like the punishment of crime and the control of the young even more important. This is not to argue that there is no anxiety in government about the potential threat to social order posed by the young jobless since it is likely that a juvenile justice policy which places heavy emphasis upon the wider use of hard physical activity and the minor "U" turn on job creation programmes indicate such as concern. It appears however that the Criminal Justice Bill (1981) has been heavily influenced by dramatic ideologically loaded election promises, pressure from the police, the magistracy, and the judiciary and concerns about the mounting costs of the control system rather than any real recognition of a social reality beyond the juvenile justice system itself.

"YOUNG OFFENDERS" – THE PROPOSED LEGISLATION

The Young Offenders White Paper (1980) is a remarkably unpretentious document. Not only does it make no reference whatsoever to research or evaluation of the measure it plans to introduce even though negative evidence exists in abundance, it also avoids predicting consequences. In section 20 (p. 7) we read "it is difficult to estimate what use will be made of the new sentencing powers". Yet evidence does exist which casts doubts upon the probable effectiveness of the proposed legislation. Youth Custody is a new determinate sentence of between four months and three years for persons aged from 15 to 21 years. It replaces the Borstal Sentence of six months to two years and allows the courts to specify the length of sentence. Unlike the Borstal sentence periods spent on remand in custody may now be taken into account in sentencing. Fixed periods of remission are established, and the post-release period of licence is reduced from one year to three months.

While Youth Custody accommodates the demands of the courts, and ironically, those who argue for due process and legal safeguards, it actually opens up the possibility of young offenders spending longer periods in prison since the average stay in Borstal is currently nine to eleven months. Those receiving a medium-term Youth Custody sentence will, the White Paper hopes, receive some sort of training, subject of course to the availability of this rapidly declining resource within the Borstal system, but provision will be made for young offenders to spend their sentences in Young Prisoner Units or in ordinary jails depending on pressures upon Borstal institutions. Youth Custody effectively demolishes the remaining barriers which keep juveniles out of the mainstream

of the penal system and for good or ill abandons the notion that young people are sent to penal establishments for treatment or rehabilitation. Given the pressure which the Residential Care Order (see below) will place upon local authority resources it seems likely that the trend toward a younger Borstal population will continue and probably accelerate. This will mean that a much younger population will be pushed into the ordinary prisons in turn thus exacerbating the existing 'crisis' in British Prisons and increasing disorder and recidivism. The White Paper offers the bench and the judiciary the power they have been asking for and it offers the Home Office more flexibility in its management of inmates. The effect of lengthening sentences will however quickly negate any administrative advantage gained from this flexibility since all available evidence indicates that the creation of such sentencing options will ensure their use and Whitelaw's expressed desire that the judiciary will use restraint in sentencing has already proved a forlorn hope.

Detention Centres will now become the standard short-term custodial sentence for offenders age 14+. The period of sentence is reduced to between three weeks and four months with the possibility of one-third remission. The arrangements for licence and recall will be similar to those obtaining for Youth Custody although the Home Office has embarked upon two research projects concerning the effectiveness in terms of attitude change and reconviction of the four new "short-sharp-shock" regimes which will take two years to complete, it seems that they are keen to extend these regimes to other Detention Centres. The development of the Detention Centres as a major response to juvenile crime will probably mean that more young people will start passing through these institutions quicker and this will in turn result in them being in danger of attracting a Youth Custody sentence at an earlier stage in their "delinquent career". The Police Federation and the bench will not be displeased by this development but its probable consequence will be to accelerate the young offender's progress through the penal system thus further exacerbating the crisis in the mainstream of the penal system.

The Residential Care Order is clearly a sop to the magistrates who, contrary to the evidence, claim that the 1969 Act has led to an unwarranted softening in response to young offenders. The Residential Care Order gives magistrates the power to send a child of between ten and seventeen years, who is subject to a care order under the offence condition of the 1969 Act and commits a further imprisonable offence, into some form of residential care for up to six months.

Should the child re-offend while subject to this order, which, as Zander indicates, is very likely, (20) then a new Residential Care Order can be made and the child will start the "sentence" again. This change is perhaps the most controversial one in the White Paper in that it will bring an additional group of young people into Local Authority establishments currently estimated at approximately 1,500 p.a. This will clearly cause disruption to existing establishments which will if Millham et al are correct lead to existing residents as well as those on Residential Care Orders being removed from their existing abodes to new, and possibly secure, provision better able to cope with the behaviour evoked by this disruption. (21). It seems clear that the increased strain brought about by this change will probably lead to renewed demands for secure provision from Local Authorities to Central Government. The government is said to be putting aside some six million pounds to cover the cost of the Residential Care Order which will clearly not meet the per capita costs let alone any expansion of provision.

Intermediate Treatment will receive an unspecified amount of money, but will probably be redesigned as a "supervised activi-

ties order" (para 50 p.16). The courts will have the power to determine whether the Probation Service or the Social Services Department shall undertake supervision of the child on this order. It seems that the government wishes the Probation Service to take a more controlling role in juvenile justice since the White Paper mentions resources being made available to the Probation and After Care Committees for the development of Intermediate Treatment. This is consistent with discussion currently taking place in the Home Office about the possibility of Probation Officers taking responsibility for young offenders of 14+. Interestingly there are clear echoes of the Younger Report (1974) (23) in the Supervised Activities Order in which the young offender will be subjected to increased and more precise control and surveillance. By turning Intermediate Treatment into a sentence of the court the way is cleared for the child or young person to be placed upon the conveyor belt of the tariff system. In 1979 at the DHSS conference "Getting on With I.T." the magistrates seemed very clear that Intermediate Treatment should be "strengthened" and should be an adjunct and not an alternative to custody. With the Supervised Activities Order we have that strengthening and this will probably mean that rather than young offenders being diverted from the juvenile justice system by Intermediate Treatment they will in fact be projected deeper into it. This strategy of bifurcation, in which the government attempts to honour its sabre-rattling election pledges while simultaneously attempting to control expenditure by allowing the development of some non-custodial provision, has so far proved a failure to which the parallel development of Intermediate Treatment and the Borstal and Detention Centre population through the 1970s bears witness.

The implications of these changes for social workers and probation officers are all too evident. These workers are being required to engage in and emphasise the controlling aspects of their roles while cut-backs in other social services systematically erode those roles which emphasise the development of human and material resources for the disadvantaged. The role of social work within the juvenile justice system has always been an ambiguous one and it is clear that control in the guise of welfare has often served to worsen the position of young offenders. It does not follow however that social workers must necessarily collude with the pressures towards authoritarianism. The new White Paper further threatens the professional autonomy of social workers in a direct way requiring them to become mere adjuncts of a broader Law and Order strategy. Yet ironically it is at the point of implementation, or more specifically non-implementation that social workers or probation officers have greatest power. Thus the issue of resistance at the point of implementation of the Bill must now supercede the largely unsuccessful strategies adopted by pressure groups to amend the legislation in parliament.

Successful resistance clearly requires the co-ordination of the efforts of field social workers, residential social workers, intermediate treatment workers, probation officers, and workers with law centres and voluntary organisations on a local basis. The vehicles for the co-ordination of such resistance will vary from area to area. NALGO or NUPE branches sometimes provide such a Forum, local I.T. associations might do this as might some of the more active branches of BASW and the National Association of Probation Officers. There is no prescription for action only a necessity. With welfare in retreat and working class young people under attack from an authoritarian government new alliances and new strategies will need to be developed very rapidly.

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scarman: the implications for youthwork

KEITH POPPLE

During the last year many social commentators have made valid and impressive reference to the fact that the riots of last Spring and Summer were not a peculiarly new phenomena in British society. For centuries riots have existed as a form of rebellion or revolt and it is therefore important to see the quaintly titled 'Brixton Disorders' in relation to a history of 'disturbances', 'riots' and 'street fighting'. To ignore this would be unwise although in the case of the April 1981 disturbances we have to look much closer at the failure of British governments to act positively in the inner areas of large cities, and positively in favour of Black people.

The Brixton Disorders 10-12 April 1981: Report on an Inquiry by the Rt. Hon. The Lord Scarman (1) is perhaps one of the most significant social documents relating to Black groups in Britain to be presented to Parliament since the first flow of people from the Commonwealth in 1948. Certainly it is the most liberal reformist document of any kind that has been published during the last ten years. More importantly for those interested in the affairs of young Black people in Britain there are partial recommendations for positive action (or discrimination as Scarman misleadingly and unfortunately states). The Report has glaring omissions due in part to the brief Scarman was given by the Home Secretary and part due to his limited understanding of the difficulties faced by young Blacks stemming from his social democratic distributive account of the world.

The need for this report arose out of the many hours of street violence in Brixton, South London during the weekend of 10-12 April, 1982. Four days prior to this period the L Division of the Metropolitan Police launched a special operation in Brixton entitled 'Swamp 81' which was aimed at combating burglary and street robbery. Using 112 officers, the operation envisaged the extensive use of power to stop and search on the basis of a reasonable suspicion that those stopped were in possession of unlawfully obtained property. Raids on premises were also undertaken.

Scarman felt that this operation was an important factor in causing the riots but he makes no recommendations in the Report, arguing that such operations had been dealt with in the Royal Commission published in the previous January. (2). There is no doubt that many consider this to be a serious omission as police activity in the Brixton area prior to the disturbances need further investigation. On 10th April the local newspaper had as its front page story plain clothes police assaulting a Black man outside the Henry Fawcett School — an incident apparently witnessed by teachers, pupils and parents. "one parent who tried to remonstrate with officers was coshed with a truncheon and arrested for obstruction." (3). While

Swamp 81 goes uninvestigated it is understandable that the Brixton Community should feel there is a failure by the outside world to appreciate the degree of tension present in the area prior to the fighting. Evidence indicated clearly that the failure of Swamp 81 was due to a serious error of judgement among high-ranking officers of the Metropolitan Police Force. Scarman's own account of the incidents of the afternoon of Friday 10th April, which began when a uniformed police officer tried to stop an injured Black on suspicion that he had committed an offence, highlights a community at loggerheads with the law enforcement agencies. The Brixton community certainly had every reason to believe that they were the victims of some kind of seige.

On examining the Report it will be immediately recognised that this is primarily a report concerning 'Law and Order'. The actual disorders, the police activity of the weekend, and the proposals and recommendations relating to the Police and Law Reform take up 117 pages of the Report, whereas those relating to social conditions, and social policy cover a mere 22 pages. Therefore, though the Report is probably one of the most significant relating to Black Britons it is also one of the briefest. Accepting this, Scarman makes observations and recommendations relating to social and economic policy which affect Black people and Black young people and it is in this aspect that my review is most concerned with.

Scarman talks of social stress and points to its causes as being 'deeply embedded in fundamental economic and social conditions'. Limited as he was by Section 32 of the Police Act 1964 he considers that he has a duty to comment on aspects of social and economic policy that touches upon problems surrounding the disturbances. This recognition of the effect of social and economic conditions leads Scarman to discuss features of the lives of inner city residents, particularly those of the Black community. Although the Inquiry is principally concerned with Brixton Disorders, in the wake of the July disturbances, Scarman visited Southall, Toxteth and Moss Side, and the West Midlands and concluded that most of the disturbances occurred in inner city areas which shared many of the features of Brixton; a high ethnic minority population, high unemployment, a declining economic base, a decaying physical environment, bad housing, lack of amenities, social problems including family breakdown; a high rate of crime and heavy policing.

The Home Secretary, William Whitelaw, and his colleagues in the Cabinet have discounted the effect that unemployment had on creating the conditions which led to the street fighting, refusing succour to the protagonists of violence. Mr. Whitelaw also omits to accept that unemployment is only one of many

disadvantages suffered by young Blacks in Britain. To make the rather weak link that no jobs = riots does not consider the many factors affecting both the Black and White working class whether they reside in inner city areas, large or small town council estates, new towns or rural areas. Many areas and towns in Britain are suffering badly from the recession but not all experienced riots. Similarly, over three million people are unemployed in the U.K. and yet only a very small percentage were engaged in any form of violence on the streets last Spring and Summer. The fact though that such areas and people daily encounter poverty, frustration and injustice does not mean they feel any the less angry than those who throw missiles at riot-gear clad police.

Returning to unemployment in Brixton, Scarman believes there is a link with the riots. The Inquiry found that in early 1981 in the area of the Brixton Employment Office unemployment stood at 13% with the level of Black unemployment as a proportion of total unemployment recorded at the office in May 1981 being 25.4%. Scarman states that racial discrimination "is a factor of considerable importance" in relation to young Black people being unable to secure jobs although he is aware too that inner city areas are suffering an economic and industrial decline, meaning there are few vacancies anyway. Young Blacks without jobs, with no money in their pockets and few recreational facilities available make their life, according to Scarman, on the streets and in the seedy commercially run clubs of Brixton. This street life which for a minority of young Blacks can mean criminal activity, leads to frequent contact with the visible authority of an unjust and uncaring society, the police.

Scarman is then tentatively connecting one aspect of the prevailing economic policy to social unrest. This understanding is refreshing to read when coming from a Law Lord, although it has been accepted for some time now by most who work with young people but few who have any say on the policy that is now affecting teenagers. Given the short period Scarman had to report and the complexity of the task before him, it would have been unrealistic to have expected a deeply profound and closely argued analysis of the social and economic circumstances within which the disturbances took place. It would be most unlikely anyway for a liberal of Lord Scarman's tradition to propose radical changes in the hegemony of the U.K. The point has been made though that the lives of those living in the inner cities (especially those of the Black youth) are made extremely difficult by circumstances over which they have no power. Circumstances which relate to the political, social and economic system.

On the latter point I have a major criticism as although the Report clearly concludes that racial disadvantage is a negative aspect of life in Britain and must be removed, Scarman fails to accept that institutional racism exists in Britain. Scarman for instance fails to recognise the racist nature of the system of immigration control which stems from the immigration laws which define Blacks as a problem which should be contained by controlling numbers. Any perusal of the recent Immigration and Nationality Acts would have given him reason to doubt his own statement that no policy discriminates against Black people.

In relation to social policy the Report concludes that there must be a co-ordinated approach by central and local government to the problems of racial disadvantage with particular emphasis on education and employment. This will involve substantial funding and the Report mentions beefing up the Urban Programme and the Inner City Partnership Schemes. The Report praises the work Lambeth Council has done to relieve racial disadvantage. The Report talks of involving local

communities in the provision of local services, and the management and financing of specific projects with consultation between local authorities and community groups about the allocation of resources to projects. Scarman wishes to see more voluntary schemes. "Inner city areas are not about human deserts: they possess a wealth of voluntary effort and goodwill. It would be wise to put this human capital to good use". The private sector developing community programmes in inner city areas on the lines of those developed in the U.S.A. should also be considered.

Lord Scarman's Report is then a social democratic pragmatic view of society which affirms the difficulties of absorbing Blacks into the mainstream of British life. It is painfully aware of the disadvantages experienced by inner city residents, especially those from ethnic minorities. It does not condone violence but it attempts to understand it. The amplification of the events leading up to the Riots are excellent and the understanding of the lives of Black people are written sympathetically. As a liberal document the Report cannot and does not grasp the nettle on a range of major issues; racism; class; police accountability; needs of Black people and White youth; inner city poverty; unemployment. Reforming in character and similar to a Fabian tract in its conclusion, the recommendations do not envisage any major upheaval in the system which encourages and perpetuates disadvantage and racism. Furthermore, it does not inform practitioners and academics of anything particularly new although it is the more significant because of the position of his Lordship and the influence he has on some parts of the establishment.

What hope is there for young Blacks in all this? Scarman makes specific recommendations that there should be "more ready recognition of the special problems and needs of the ethnic minorities than hitherto". He appears sympathetic to the problems faced by young Blacks and in the short sections he specifically deals with them he displays a fair understanding of their position. Unfortunately, sympathy will not bring results, neither will increased resources (which only partly make up for financial penalties levied by Central Government on many local authorities). For many years local authority Community and Youth Work Services have been pruned and in some cases hacked to near death. Irreparable damage has already been done so that it will take a very considerable resources to make up for the years of neglect and under provision.

In view of this absence in this Report of recommendations on youth policy it is crucial that those involved with young people should propose and advocate a clear and positive youth policy which recognises and provides for young Blacks. Failure to push such policies will lead to others (notably police community relations) attempting to implement regressive youth policy. Policy will need resources but most of all it will require commitment to remove disadvantage and racism. This policy should recognise the ideological struggle in which many Black young people are now engaged. It is a struggle against poverty, frustration and humiliation. This struggle for many Black youngsters is not conscious and is not worked out. They are aware that they get a raw deal at school, they get only the worst in housing provision, and they are rarely provided with a chance of a job which anyway pays meagre wages. For many youngsters this leads to a streetwise mentality which is encouraged and strengthened by contacts with fellow Blacks in the numerous cafes and clubs which are dotted around inner city areas. Like their unemployed White counterparts, a few young Blacks may take to crime. Others will identify with the Black Liberation struggle in which is found a number of Black political and cultural groupings. These groupings provide mutual support for nurturing Black pride which rationalises and articulates attitudes relating to a White dominant society. Other youngsters with varying degrees of consciousness will be

aware of their position in society and will collaborate with others to strengthen and support their own identities.

It is at these points that Youth Policy can intervene. This should include the recognition that young Blacks require adult Black workers to whom they can easily relate. This requires positive action to increase the number of part and full-time Black community and youth workers employed by local authorities and voluntary organisations. Training agencies too need to examine their multi-racial policy and if they do not have one then urgently consider the needs of the Black communities. This in practice means encouraging more blacks to apply for courses, to train more Black workers and provide a stronger input on Black issues on already existing courses. Perhaps too, funding has to be made available for courses specifically for those wishing to work with Black youth. Part-time courses need to make similar provisions which are resourced and designed appropriate to the needs of Black workers. Recognition must be made that Black young people require clubs and resources with which they can identify and over which they can exercise some control. Black self-help projects need adequate funding and encouragement. Institutional racism and discrimination needs to be broken down so that more Black people can reach positions where they have a say in the provision of their own people. Finally, the Black young people's struggle should be seen as part of a wider struggle among all youth which is attempting to gain acceptance of their needs and control over their circumstances.

All young people are now paying the price of economic mismanagement, political and social neglect, and inappropriate provision. Lord Scarman has warned that if society ignores his Report greater problems than street fighting will await us next time. Improved and increased provision in inner city areas should be one of societies highest priorities, not in the negative sense of preventing riots, but in the positive attitude of encouraging a more equitable and just society.

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feature review

Ira Steinberg.

THE NEW LOST GENERATION: (The problems of the population boom).

Martin Robertson, Oxford.

£15 Hardback. £5.95 in Paperback.

ISBN 0 85520 402 8. 1982.

Although Steinberg argues for purposeful and governmental intervention, the book is ambiguous about population policy per se. This review should state at least two basic facts:

- i) mankind is living through a period of rapid growth in numbers: there is an increase in absolute numbers and an increase in the rate of increase. This latter has highs and lows but it remains constant over longer periods. Thus, the annual population increased rate of 0.5% to 1.7% is now fairly constant and that means a 200% increase in the rate of increase in the last two centuries.
- ii) This problem, south and east of a line below Mexico and Siberia, is colossal and centred in the poorest and most deprived regions of the world. They show progressively lower mortality rates, with little or no comparable success in reducing fertility, so that, as death rates decline, in countries particularly where birth rates are more than 40 per thousand, we shall experience more and recurrent crises of 'population related problems', particularly where economic development does not go far enough or fast enough to generate a more automatic downward pressure on fertility which, in the more 'advanced' countries, at least technologically speaking, has tended to accompany rising affluence.

The PRPP of this – (population + resources + pollution + problems) is sum constant, not new or non-recurrent. Prof. Steinberg's book is part of a welcome and newer tradition for philosophers: it departs from that tradition which said that philosophers may not concern themselves with practical issues; from that philosophy of some remote activity of mind which dealt, logically and semantically, with questions which only most incidentally applied to the real problems of living. Indeed, philosophy also has been lost in the debate about facts and values, which very nicely hides ideology for Friedman and, indeed, David Hume. Somehow, moral and political decisions are 'outside' – not subject to direct assessment within the 'sciences' of economics, of philosophy and sociology.

One must, therefore, approach this eminently readable book via Thomas S. Kuhn's theory of paradigms: the transposing of preferences into the shared assumptions, into the agreed issues, for the right people and in the right ambience. The generation Prof. Steinberg seeks to address himself to is surely dispossessed. But no more and no less than any other generation born into this century. The question, then, is, are the people of this particular generation uniquely dispossessed. I am afraid I have to answer, 'No'. And in that negative reply lies all the doubts about the book and about Ira Steinberg's central thesis.

On P. 67 we have to call this new, lost generation to both self knowledge and ideology. But if there is an identifiable lost group, it is surely, as McLune has suggested, the lost of the whole and not merely some of the parts. We have not merely precipitated a crisis merely by 'informing the New Lost Generation that they are likely losers'. To suggest this is to ignore the moral drama of the eighteen year olds on the streets of Paris in 1968: it is to suggest that Andreas Baader and Ulrike Meinhof and the fear they inculcated in the German

ruling class have somehow never been. It is to suggest that those young people sitting down in protest about Vietnam and visited by the powerful but corrupt and failing Nixon have somehow been written out of history. It is also to suggest that the problems of countless numbers of alienated young black people, in every generation, are not there, the doomed underclass of British and USA inner urban areas.

It seems fairly likely that Beveridge or a Steinberg will appear in the year 2015 talking and writing about the coming 'elderly bulge' in the numbers of aged, as the baby boom of the 1950's reaches the period of retirement, on present trends, much earlier in the life cycle anyway. If the welfare systems in both our countries are still insensitive enough not to deliver an adequate enough pension, all among that age group will be suffering. Prof. Steinberg's book is about the policies connected to a population framework of the sort of 'boom' in having babies which occurred in the 1920's and the 1950's. The book is set, incisively, in the 'ideal' range of gradualist, social democratic, political, cultural and ethical traditions and styles of analysis, about which we in Britain have no right to be superior, because we have both failed and, indeed, betrayed this generation about which Prof. Steinberg is so humanely concerned. But, rooted in the political practices of both our countries, there are much deeper reasons for our failure.

Not insignificantly, the book pays fief to the political analyses of P. R. Ehrlich and G. Myrdahl, but, nowhere, to Karl Marx. If the latter's analysis is not politically relevant to the problems outlined, to what else of significance, pray, can it be relevant?

36 of every 100 of our present world population of about 4500m are children: and well over 50% of them, in every generation since the early part of this century, have lead, will lead stunted lives, suffer deeply from malnutrition and many, many will die earlier than necessary. There are profound moral and ethical issues in the middle of the need for population policies, not least associated with the consumption and life styles of the peoples in the North and West of the world. So to 'go for a policy formulated in the light of population patterns' is to, massively, beg the question. The resultant argument tends to suggest we have passed the period of the worst of our fears about over population and, therefore, no not need a population policy cast in a world context. A world context, be it particularly noted, of diminishing fossil fuels, minerals and agricultural capacity related to exponential technologically induced increases. Self altruism in Britain and the USA seems a poor tool to prevent 5000m to 7000m people inhabiting this globe by the year 2000 or to prevent ourselves destroying each other in some transglobal (and extra terrestrial) war of holocaust proportions.

Reaching for the growth overdrive seems an extremely doubtful programmatic response particularly when the core centre of the problems is also associated with about 90% of the world population having access to 50,000 plus nuclear missiles in some 19 - 20 countries, now spending 9 - 12% of their GDP's on armaments, and with many developing countries seeking to join the same club. The division of the 'big sticks' seems fairly equi-balanced across the three main camps of the world in the 90%, staring with increasing hostility at each other and

staring with increasing hostility at each other and staring ever more avidly at those among them who actually do possess the minerals, energy resources and the technical resources for a new phase of automated industrial and commercial technology, now inducing unemployment on a large scale among those with the most know how and the highest paid labour forces. This is a world where civilised 'talk balance' is increasingly difficult to sustain: a world in which many attractive and effective social policies are in competition with an ever diminishing supply of resources, set in a context of the nationalistic, chauvinistic and virile male big brothers, in a Strange-love scenario of their own sexual, political and military rivalry. The characters of Saul Bellow, John Irving, John Updike, Harold Robbins and James Baldwin writ large in reality.

The book is an analysis of the demographic transition model of population and of the downturn of births in the West in the late 1960's, after the boom of the post 1945 era. Our 'bulge' is still providing a wave increase through further and higher education now, with the downturn beginning which has already been experienced in the primary and secondary education sectors. It is still questionable, and unsettled, as to whether the downturn represents a permanent and further reduction in family size, or is a postponement of first child and a return to a wider gap in ordinal order. The 'bulge' appears, indeed, to have added to our educational, crime, youth service, vandalism and inner urban problems. And it clearly aggravates our nearly permanent problem of under-education, post 16 unemployment, the results of bad training and lack of skills-qualifications problems.

It is hard to accept that there is any other explanation than that these problems are produced structurally and are not produced by mere increases in numbers. Prof. Steinberg's "more of what we've had and more of the same will make things better" approach, I hasten to add this is not direct quotation from the book, gives an honourable option and is the best optimism of the romantic liberal gradualist, which yet seems now so inadequate. Keynes and Galbraith, with a nod to Malthus and Friedman, and the best of pluralism that is to come in the best of all possible consensualist worlds seems strangely imperfect.

Initiatives encouraged in a number of public and private enterprise schemes seems to pre-date the New Deal:

"minimal central interference in that we are more likely to create chaos by trying to make things better than if we leave them to themselves; or what often amounts to the same thing if we permit entrepreneurs and individuals to pursue their own perceived interests." But then, Prof. Steinberg, acknowledges, there is "little evidence that private initiative will express itself in full employment, growth economics".

Precisely! Even the most optimistic among us seem to see a world of no work in some societies to be still dominated by the urgent exigencies of the regulations and poor law attitudes of a firm and puritanical work ethic.

In such a context, exacerbated by crisis, we struggle with and in, class, sexism, ageism and racism, through a morass of token Equal Rights, Equal Pay and Equal Access Legislation but, at the same time, shut the doors of institutions providing the chances of opportunities of equal outcomes; making passing mention of the bottle bombers of Toxteth, making no more impact than a TV picture, on the problems the legislation is designed to confront. So its no coincidence that the conditions and consequences have produced, as they did in 1905, 1913, 1933 and 1939, an alliance of the deprived and the

affluent, to indulge an intercontinental and transnational bout of moral panic. To lend support to a battering of the poorest and the weakest and to take the narrowing pathways of the libertarian against those of the egalitarian and to push the clock some more seconds towards midnight by producing the single minded barbarisms of Ronald Regan and Margaret Thatcher.

This is not merely a tension of numbers: more tragically, perhaps, it is not even a tension of mutuality, nor a tension of the dynamic tension of conflict. It is the real, joyless, uncommunicative tension of deeper and deeper alienation: that which springs from the regulated atomisation, disconnectedness and permanent uselessness of non-work in a world of work-values and work-rewards.

These problems, for the succeeding 'lost parts' of the generations, are not new; they are endemic to the system and will not go away, for this, or any succeeding generation, until we change the system. I mean this in the sense that R. H. Tawney's socialism based itself not merely upon the idea that Capitalism was ineffective, but that it was also morally cruel and repugnant. This is the simple, human truth, in the most apparently complicated stories, in Wigan, among the Chicago minorities, and among the rightful citizens of Africa in Soweto.

This is to say that the emphasis on one generation, or even in increases in one generation, though it produces a new pivot point for analysis, as with Prof. Steinberg showing a new view of the panic reporting of a 26% increase in violent adolescent crime and suicides is, in fact, only 3 in 100,000, when standardised as a proportion of the increased 'baby boom' related adolescents. Problems, and they are vast problems, of crime and career opportunities do not disappear by accounting for a super baby boom. There is a mistaken optimism, on unproven assumptions, about our problems of urban youth crises, violence, crime and unemployment only remotely related to solutions if they are related to being 30 or 40 in a crowd, as against 15 or 20: counting the numbers again upstairs in a broken down bus may be reassuring but it doesn't really help, nor will making them permanently unemployed on below subsistence poverty level hand-outs, in a wasted urban dust bin.

There is a very real sense in which the book, in raising the right problems, also demonstrates how the real solutions have constantly eluded us. But there is no real sign of the 'why?'. No really valid signs of a relevant framework reference of analysis of the depth of political, social and structural change necessary either to the adequate life standard survival of the babies in the booms or to the necessary re-distribution of world resources necessary to a reduction, by methods other than Malthusian starvation, of the number of babes in future.

Bob Dylan's jingle persists, as one reads this provocative and evocative book:

'Bullets can harm you, Death can disarm you,
But no, you will not be deceived,
Stripped of all virtue as you crawl through the dust
You can give but you cannot receive'.

RON MCGRAW.

youth and community service and the cuts

TONY JEFFS

The Youth and Community Service is a vague imprecise title for a disparate collection of agencies and personnel, many of whom are possibly blissfully unaware that they might be considered by others to be an integral part of it. This cocktail of the statutory and voluntary, paid and unpaid, is almost impossible to define with any degree of precision not least when it comes to quantifying its staffing, budget and plant. Like the oft-quoted elephant we may not be able to describe the Youth and Community Service but most commentators when pressed seem able to assure all and sundry that they would recognise it if it came bursting through the door. Yet however extensive the boundaries we choose to draw for the Youth and Community Service it cannot be disputed that in comparison to other areas of welfare activity it is a small, some might say insignificant, part of the Welfare State. Representing "an incorrigibly heterogeneous and contradictory field of activities" (1) the Youth and Community Service does not easily lend itself to research regarding levels of expenditure. What does exist though tends to support the notion of marginality. The Youth and Community Service residing within the D.E.S.'s area of responsibility, for example, currently consumes around 0.8% of the education budget. (2) In terms of staffing, the Local Education Authority sector employed in 1979, 5,112 full-time equivalent youth and community workers (3) or roughly one for every 87 school-teachers and only slightly over double the number of Local Authority advisers. These figures do not of course take into account workers employed by voluntary agencies without resource to L.E.A. subsidy but these, are unlikely to exceed in total those employed directly or indirectly by L.E.A.'s if past evidence offers a guide. (5)

The 1970's have seen the Local Authorities trapped within an accelerating cycle of growing demand and rising costs which have led in many areas of provision to a decline in the quality if not always the quantity of many services. No uniform pattern of expenditure exists between authorities, except in the most generalised sense, for individual councils do possess a degree of flexibility regarding the priorities they set themselves, what poundage of rates they levy and what fees and charges they wish to raise from the users of a given service. Thus the wide variations in spending on Youth and Community Services between authorities highlighted by Smith and earlier surveys (6) are not surprisingly replicated in a similar divergence of the funds allocated to other areas of education (7) and the Personal Social Services. (8) Many factors might explain these variations such as the interests and prejudices of particular councillors or officers, the traditions of a given area and the pattern of political control (9), what must not be assumed from the available evidence is that the sharp dif-

ferences reflect a response to particular local needs. (10) If local authorities "enjoy considerable scope for exercising local priorities in the budgetary process" (11), it should be stressed that particularly during the last decade all have operated in a hostile climate and been faced with common problems over which they could exercise scant control. Inflation has hit local authorities disproportionately hard in terms of wages, fuel costs and capital projects (12), whilst in addition local government re-organisation and the implementation of the Seebohm Report on the Personal Social Services placed exceptional demands upon them in the early 1970's the legacies of which still remain. More recently local councils have had to face the mounting social costs of unemployment and under-employment, the impact on existing services of a growing elderly population and all whilst attempting to operate on diminishing levels of transfers from central government. In this climate when most local authorities are actively seeking areas for reductions in expenditure the Youth and Community Service as an appendage to the largest spending of all the departments is particularly at risk. Its staff many of whom are part-time with fixed term contracts and no strong trade union to protect their interests are relatively easy to dismiss, its officers are often isolated marginal figures in the hierarchy of local government possessing none of the clout of the senior officers in the major departments and to make matters worse the Service itself, rightly or wrongly, retains an image in the minds of certain councillors and officials that enables them to dismiss it as a luxury-money for fun. In one sense the Youth and Community Service is a luxury for unlike many of the other services provided by a local authority it is hardly a statutory obligation upon them in any real meaning of the term. The closing of every youth club and community centre, the withdrawal of all grants to voluntary groups and the dismissal of every full and part-time worker, apart that is from a titular organising officer for the authority, would not in all likelihood lay them open to prosecution. Given then the legal obligations embodied in the Education Acts, the strength of teachers unions, the growing community penetration of schools, the power and quasi-independence of head-teachers and the backgrounds of Chief Education Officers, we should not be surprised that when the schools service sneezes the Youth and Community Service runs the very real risk of catching pneumonia.

The start of the present cut-backs in the Youth and Community can be traced to the halving of the expenditure on Capital projects which took place between 1971 and 1974. These have continued and now "two-thirds of the local authorities have no Capital programme in this area whatsoever. (13) The long-term effects of cutting a Capital programme

which stood at over £2,000,000 (1974 prices) ten years ago to virtually nil today although less dramatic than those of the present round of cuts has been and remains significant. For as a recent H.M.I.s report notes lack of investment in the past means that we are now saddled with a legacy wherein

"Buildings present serious problems for any inner-city youth service and many of the premises available are old, in poor repair and in urgent need of redecoration. That constructive youth work is achieved in some of these is a testimony both to the need of young people for the service and to the dedication of the youth workers" (14)

Increasingly the ageing fabric of the buildings have been matched by a steady erosion in the size of the full-time equivalent work force. Between 1975 - 76 and 1979 - 80 the number of workers fell by 17%. The cuts in capital expenditure were somewhat anonymous "for one does not miss what one has never had", and indeed that was why they were selected during the first round. Now, however, the reductions in staffing, maintenance and equipment are having a much more obvious and dramatic impact. They have at local level in a number of instances aroused effective, articulate opposition (16), but despite the severity of the cuts if placed in a national context little centralised opposition has so far developed.

Those responsible for the implementation of the reductions in the Youth and Community Service budget have, publicly at least, tended to disclaim responsibility by laying blame on such external factors as 'the economic climate' or 'government policy', few have attempted to justify the process either ideologically or intellectually. All parties in the controversy appear in the main to have suppressed differences regarding the role and functioning of the service in order to unite in an often somewhat unholy alliance to deprecate the cuts themselves. This alliance now arguably appears to be cracking, at least at the edges with the publication of two articles both involving Digby Anderson and David Marsland. (17) Although these may in themselves amount to very little they do offer a new point of reference in the debate. They might be dismissed as the work of monetarist Trojan Horses, which I believe they are, but that does not mean they will prove incapable of attracting around them elements within the service who feel politically and socially uncomfortable about displaying open opposition towards the present government and its Local Authority allies. A great deal is often made by right-wing ideologies of the ambivalence, although they more often use the term hypocrisy, of socialists and radicals who argue against cuts in, for example, education whilst attacking the education system as a class biased agent of social control. Due possibly to its weakness and the need for allies, the 'left' however has appeared reluctant to comment on the often grotesque inconsistencies of many on the political right regarding the whole question of reductions in Local Authority or central state spending on welfare programmes. Individuals who vote Conservative and then bleat about cuts which effect them or their family; colleagues who call for lower taxes or rates, reduced public expenditure and a rolling back of the State and then oppose their own redundancy rather than welcoming it as an essential part of the much needed restructuring of the British economy; and finally, the Hayek mini-clones who, whilst drawing hefty state salaries in Universities or Polytechnics, attack the Welfare State as being incompatible with liberty without seemingly being even dimly aware of the contradiction they themselves embody. These and many others require a way of explaining to themselves and the world the inconsistencies of the contorted intellectual position they now occupy. Inevitably, they feel both exposed and uncomfortable and in that state of mind are anxious to find any vaguely suitable niche and therefore it should surprise no-one if the position argued by Marsland and Anderson,

whatever its transparent weaknesses, does gain a substantive ready audience and acquire a presence.

Although new to the discussion concerning the cut-backs in the Youth and Community Service, the arguments of what we might label the New Right are really a familiar re-play of well rehearsed views originally spelt out in the context of debates around such areas as the Health Service, income maintenance programmes and education. (18) Obviously those who for a variety of reasons opposed the post-war growth of welfare spending and who published a great number of individual attacks on welfare services, often under the aegis of the Institute of Economic Affairs (I.E.A.) in all probability, if asked, would question the value of a central or local state Youth and Community Services. What should not be overlooked of course is a degree of ambivalence in the attitude of many of those most critical of state funding of any social education orientated intervention. For this grouping includes many individuals who will be the strongest supporters of the militarisation of young people via compulsory national service or community service. A point well illustrated by even the most cursory examination of the leading advocates of the Youth Call proposals. Such is the marginality of the Service however that no specific attack has been published on state involvement in this area until recently. (19)

The case for reducing, curtailing or totally eliminating state involvement in Youth and Community work rests I wish to argue on four distinct pillars. Obviously they are related to one another, but they can be argued for independently. Indeed one of the problems for those wishing to argue against the cuts is knowing which particular position will be adopted by a given spokesman on which particular occasion. Each must therefore be effectively challenged for failure to discredit one merely allows opponents to deftly switch ground and argue the case from another redoubt.

I would now like to examine in turn what I see as the four pillars of the New Rights case.

The cuts are unfortunate but unavoidable due to world recession and the declining productivity of the British economy. The result is that we can no longer afford the levels of welfare previously enjoyed or to carry the unproductive workers it employs. To continue at present levels of welfare spending, however morally and socially desirable, is economic suicide leading to further possibly irreversible economic decline.

This common-sense good house-keeping view of Britain's economic plight and the need for shared sacrifice of course has a certain immediacy of appeal. It has the ring of truth for many individuals who see the economic problems of the nation as merely a replication of those of the average householder writ large. As Thatcher has shown, the housewife metaphor does not go amiss on occasions. The reality is a mite more complex and brings into question many of the assumptions that have under-pinned the whole cuts programme.

First, we have certainly not as a nation been excessive welfare spenders. Under both Labour and Conservative Governments during the 1970's Britain began to fall behind other European countries in terms of the percentage of its G.N.P. spent of welfare programmes. Between 1975 - 1980 the proportion of G.N.P. spent on welfare in the U.K. fell from 21.3% to 20.6% which was the second lowest in the E.E.C. 50% below the average and 10% short of 'unsuccessful' economies as Luxembourg, Netherlands and West Germany. (20) Quite patently, there is no correlation between levels of expenditure on welfare and economic performance, even Japan has during the 1960's and 1970's, initiated a programme of expansion in welfare provision. (21) Cutting welfare is hardly an elixir leading

to economic recovery.

Secondly, welfare according to writers such as Bacon and Eltis has drained the Labour market of productive workers and thus accelerated the process of de-industrialisation:

"hence most of the extra goods for the consumption of the vastly larger numbers of teachers, social workers and civil servants and the extra buildings to house them (which were particularly needed as a result of local government re-organisation), could only be supplied by building fewer factories in industry itself, by allowing industrial workers to consume a smaller fraction of what they produced, and by exporting less or importing more." (22)

However, what they ignore is that the rise in welfare-public sector employment has been achieved primarily by drawing into the workforce individuals, especially married women (23), who were previously not in it, whilst at the same time there was a growing pool of unemployed labour that would have welcomed work in the 'productive' non-welfare sector if it had been available. The shift to welfare work has been no more substantive in Britain than in any European state and the decline in the percentage of the Labour force employed in industry no higher. (24) Although as Thirwall has shown the actual decline in the numbers employed in manufacturing industry in the U.K. has been greater than almost any other industrialised nation. (25) As many of the contributors to the volume edited by Blackaby stress, cutting welfare expenditure is almost totally irrelevant to the core economic problems. (26)

Not surprisingly, given earlier comments it is not possible to argue that welfare spending has led to a disproportionately high tax burden being placed on the British wage earner. Ample evidence exists to show that in terms of taxation the U.K. is very much in the middle rank of developed nations. (27) This also applies to employers National Insurance contributions which

"seems to be about the EEC or OECD average; it is about the same as in the U.S. and Germany, more than in Japan and considerably less than in France and Italy." (28)

By international standards taxation in Britain could by no stretch of the imagination be described as punitive in either aggregate or individual terms. Contrary to a widely held belief it is also not an agent for the re-distribution of wealth, due to a complex system of allowances and subsidies it may if anything transfer some of the wealth from the poor to the better-off, but certainly no evidence exists to indicate any movement in the opposite direction. (29) In fact, our twenty largest companies effectively pay no tax whatsoever (30) and estate duty designed to reduce large holdings of inherited wealth has become no more than a mild irritant to the rich, a 'voluntary tax' paid only by the "misanthropic, the patriotic, the absent-minded, or the unlucky." (31)

To lay our economic problems at the door of a mythically over generous welfare system is as dishonest a ploy as putting the blame on to the supposedly idle, over-paid and strike-prone workforce. The causes are structural and long-term and although a great deal of debate exists regarding the relative impact of differing elements in the equation of decline, two by common consent stand out. (32) One is the impact of a decline in world demand which has led to surplus capacity in every OECD state — an element barely within the power of the British Government to influence. The second is Britain's appallingly low levels of investments since the war and the

wasteful way in which much of what has been invested has been employed. Between 1961 — 1973 for example Japan re-invested 35% of its G.N.P., Germany 25%, Italy 23% and the U.K. 18%, not surprisingly it is now estimated that currently the U.K. employs only £7,500 worth of assets per employee compared with £23,000 in Germany and £30,000 in Japan. (33)

To argue, therefore, against welfare cuts must entail an attempt to realistically explain Britain's relative economic decline over the last Century and the accelerated decline of the last two decades. It must also imply a comparative discussion of welfare provision in similar industrial nations otherwise we will continue to pay a high price in terms of services and jobs for the naive perpetuation of a xenophobic belief that the British Welfare State is the envy of the world.

I believe there exists no privatised response for the Youth and Community Service to this particular attack for the attacks are upon the whole economic basis of the welfare system. Other areas of the Welfare State have in the past and will inevitably in the future continue to bear the brunt of this attack, even though low budget services such as Youth and Community and Adult Education may suffer disproportionately high reductions in their already minute budgets.

It will, therefore, be around the large welfare consumers such as health, education and income maintenance that the real and decisive battles will be fought over resources. Obviously youth and community workers will have an important propaganda role to play but they also have specialist skills to contribute. Tasks such as the gathering of comparative data on similar provision to their own in other countries or the clear analysis of the probable long-term social costs of reducing the overall scope of services and most significantly of all, using their expertise and contacts to show the ways in which particular social groups are being cumulatively affected by the incremental reductions in welfare provision. It may not be glamorous work but it is essential if the 'common-sense' assumptions upon which the justifications for the cuts are based are to be effectively challenged.

The Welfare State may have had a role to play in British society although many would question that that was ever the case. Now it is at best an irrelevance and at worst a positive threat to the liberty and economic well-being of both society and the individual. Political freedom can only survive alongside economic freedom enshrined in the free market of goods and labour. The Welfare State agencies undermine the free market by denying choice and endeavouring to take certain goods and services out of the realm of the market. This is dangerous for it justifies the expansion of the state, creates a class of professional administrators who neither understand or support the free market and encourage, either through self-interest or elitism, a paternalism which saps the individuality, dynamism and self-reliance of the populace.

It would be mistaken to see this attack upon welfare as being of recent origin, its arguments were well rehearsed in the early post-war years by writers such as Hayek and Friedman, organisations such as the I.E.A. and politicians such as Enoch Powell and later Keith Joseph. Indeed one of the most significant welfare debates of the 1960's for example was between a group of I.E.A. social market economists and Richard Titmuss (34) over the case for encouraging blood donorship via the payment of a fee. At the time few disputed that Titmuss routed the opposition but the ease of that initial victory may well prove to have been dangerously misleading.

As Gamble (35) has stressed, the emergence into prominence

of the social marketeers has coincided with a growing crisis of confidence amongst large sections of the population regarding the ability of governments of whatever political hue to effectively manage an economy threatened by the twin evils of stagflation and unemployment. Keynesianism and Social Democracy by implication became stigmatized as failures and not surprisingly large sections of the Conservative Party turned back to social market ideas in order to rediscover the secrets of a 'successful' past. They, and to a large extent the Right of the Labour Party, also began to examine and implement a deformed variety of monetarism, for as Holland has noted the Howe budgets have merely followed the patterns set by his predecessor, Healey. (36) What I wish to argue is that monetarism and social market theories are not different words for the same thing, they can and have as Healey demonstrated, exist independently one of the other. In a number of different settings the conjunction of the two has taken disparate forms, but they have both inspired and drawn strength from what has been called the 'welfare backlash'. (37) Thus as Gough points out while for Labour the cuts were a temporary hiatus in welfare expenditure, for the Conservatives they are an expression of deliberate intent to erode the Welfare State itself as part of the ideology of anti-collectivism. (38) The problem is that the Labour Party's pragmatic monetarism served to legitimate the actions of the Conservatives by linking welfare expenditure with financial waste. The very theme which the popularist assault on social democracy and Keynesianism has centred upon, excessive taxation to pay for inefficient public provision much of which is abused by scroungers, (39) immigrants (40) and such folk devils as 'leftie' teachers, radical social workers, striking hospital workers and hippie community workers, builds upon this base assumption.

Thatcherism may speak the language of the social market whilst attempting to hold a vaguely monetarist course in its management of the economy but in many aspects it adopts the posture of authoritarian populism. The moral justification for this is to an extent drawn from a crude Christianity. Margaret Thatcher argues this in a telling comment:

"I believe that economic freedom is a necessary but not a sufficient condition of our own national recovery and prosperity. There is another dimension — a moral one. For a nation to be noted for its industry, honesty and responsibility and justice, its people need a purpose and an ethic. The state cannot provide these — they can only come from the teachings of a Faith. And the Church must be the instrument of that work. Freedom will destroy itself if it is not exercised within some sort of moral framework, some body of shared beliefs, some spiritual heritage transmitted through the Church, the family and the school." (40)

The notion of freedom however sits uneasily alongside such fundamentalism particularly when she adds the rider that

"man is inherently sinful and in order to sustain a civilised and harmonious society we need laws backed by effective sanctions." (42)

Thus many people are deemed to be simply not ready for or incapable of self-government, so emerge the contradictions behind such a slogan as "set the people free" for the reality is that the market economy and Thatcherism demand as a condition for their existence a strong state capable of containing social conflict such as the riots of last summer during a period of reconstruction.

If individuals are to be made entirely responsible for their

life-chances as Josephs demands (43) and market imperfections such as trade unions are to be weakened then the Government is obliged to intervene more not less in the management of social arrangements.

Regarding welfare the Thatcherite philosophy attempts to have the best of both worlds. Both Friedman and Hayek are quoted to illustrate the inherent fairness of the market place. The former argues that capitalism has actually operated to reduce inequality (44), whilst the latter defends free enterprise on the grounds that it free's men to seek equality (45). However, underneath this vague promise lies the gospel of self-help, the regulated struggle of all against all where poverty and lack of success are shown to be due to individual failure and irresponsibility. Such a system, as even its advocates recognise, may exacerbate conflicts by widening the gap between privilege and misery. Ideology and the transparent trappings of a recently acquired Christian faith are of themselves unlikely to be able to contain these conflicts which is why free marketeers are so strong on issues such as law and order. It is this tortured logic which lies behind moves to initiate schemes whereby young people are taken from the dole into the armed forces, (46) whilst other services and alternatives are starved of funds. The former representing an acceptable arm of the state, the latter a deviant welfare ideology which unlike the former embodies ethics rejected by Thatcherism.

Thatcherism represents a partial but never the less radical break with consensus welfare politics and with the ideology of a cohesive organic society whose members have reciprocal caring responsibilities. In a sense it has re-politicised welfare for significant sections of the population who during the post-war years had come to see welfare services as a fixed benchmark within society that like the monarchy was somehow above political conflict and who could argue without an awareness of any contradiction for education or health to be taken out of politics. That option is no longer possible, for Thatcher in combining an ideological with an economic attack has cut the ground from underneath their feet. Under Labour only the size of the budget itself was on the agenda as a result the Left were driven on the defensive and forced to largely defend the status-quo of welfare and the individual services. Now in a real sense with the ideological justification of the service being questioned it is not only possible but essential to raise questions of service content for now both the Left and Right albeit from different perspectives acknowledge the political role played by the Youth and Community Service. With the middle ground less secure it is therefore now that much easier to argue both for the welfare state in the abstract while criticising its structure and content. Thatcher has drawn a great deal of strength from the dissatisfaction of working people with the workings of the Welfare State and has articulated these in a way that the Left has been unwilling to do — not least because so many spokesmen have been welfare practitioners who felt that such criticisms belonged within their own professional setting. Now that welfarism is under ideological attack such privatised soul searching is no longer a viable option. Youth and community workers cannot claim political neutrality and seek isolation, the new environment obliges even the most reluctant to recognise their political role and either accept it or endeavour to restructure it. The latter option will entail the creation of alliances with other welfare workers and the negotiation of new relationships with clients — a process the left has been advocating somewhat mutedly for sometime but which events have now thrust into the forefront of their minds. Without wishing to appear naive or romantic it is possible to argue, I believe, that Thatcherism has unleashed a new creativity and willingness to examine theory in the light of practice among many sections of welfare workers and for the first time the

possibility of developing real alliances between welfare recipients and welfare workers. The questions then arise as to whether these would survive a further dismantling of the Welfare State when the retention of employment by the professionals may be dependant upon adoption of a more repressive role or, alternatively, a reprieve which will give welfare workers the option of returning to their previous isolationist professional bolt holes.

The present crisis is unfortunate but should not be seen in a negative light. It offers an excellent opportunity to restructure the Welfare State which has grown middle-aged and bureaucratic in the last thirty years. In the case of the Youth and Community Service we should carefully evaluate the various types of provision and argue for the retention of what we can justify against the needs of the client groups being served by different sections of the Welfare State.

Like the previous arguments examined this too has a certain accessible common-sense appeal and has been persuasively argued for by Anderson and Marsland (47) in the context of the Youth and Community Service and by others in relation to health, income maintenance, the personal social services and education. It is however I would argue a somewhat dishonest position. For by implication accepting as given the whole *raison d'être* for the cuts in the wider context of the welfare system it does little more than attempt to make a virtue out of a necessity. Furthermore by design it cannot but fail to generate conflict between different sectors of the welfare state as they endeavour to justify their continued existence by the denigration of other in order to reduce or eliminate the claims of rivals upon the reduced welfare budget. Thus at all levels, departments great and small, sectional groups and individuals are positively encouraged to enter into a war of attrition over access to resources in which none are the winners but some are promised that they will emerge from the fray less bloodied, more intact than others. For those who ideologically favour the reduction or even the elimination of state welfare in our society this divide and rule play possesses a number of obvious advantages. Firstly it actually ensures that potential opponents within the state sector do the ground work of constructing and evaluating the case for cuts albeit in a piecemeal fashion whilst leaving those who wish to implement the cuts with the more manageable task of simply collating the assembled data. Secondly it weakens if not totally destroys the whole idea of integrated services and the notion of a comprehensive "cradle to grave" welfare system, not only in the eyes of the public but it also drives it from the consciousness of the employees. Finally it enables those who oppose the whole notion of the state welfare except in its most residual form to pose as honest brokers adjudicating between fractious warring children in the interests of the innocent tax-payer, concerned only with ensuring that public money is protected from the profligate bureaucrat and pampered state employee.

For all this air of bluff Saloon Bar practicability the whole idea rests on a naive and simplistic view of the decision-making process in our society. The cutting of public expenditure quite simply does not follow the rational lines implied by this argument. As Wright (48) shows in his excellent paper it is a messy, hurried, ill-considered exercise that by design I would argue rather that accident allows scant space on the agenda for the evaluation of the merits or de-merits of particular forms of provision. Quite sensibly, for very good reasons of their own, both national governments and local authorities whether they are cutting expenditure willingly or unwillingly prefer to rush cuts through the system with the minimum of delay between inception and implementation. Firstly the shorter time-span the less chance for disparate groups to come

together and form a troublesome coherent opposition capable of eroding the existing support of individual M.P.'s or councillors for either part or the whole of the package of cuts. Secondly, the longer the period prior to implementation the more opportunities senior civil servants and chief officers have to engage in blocking moves to protect their particular interests and re-gig the package, all of which can strengthen the hand of opposition groups and divide the controlling elite both from its supporters and amongst itself. Finally speed serves to minimise the impact of the cuts upon the next elections, based on Wilson's notion that 'a week is a long time in politics' those introducing cuts will always endeavour to get them through with the least fuss and debate in order to reduce the ability of their opponents to gain political capital from measures that cannot help but lead to the alienation of certain interest groups.

Cuts in all services have been made in the most pragmatic, politically painless way possible. Wherever possible they have been spread across the board between and within departments in what might be termed 'a sharing the pain' exercise. Thus the process effectively and deliberately avoids the difficult question of identifying relative priorities and re-opening negotiated agreements. The sharing of the burden gives the whole exercise a spurious aura of fairness which is designed to reduce the probability of sectional protest. Also they have overwhelmingly been applied by cutting Capital Projects, freezing recruitment and leaving vacancies unfilled. These of course administratively buy time and preserve options but in no way rationalise the service. Indeed in the atmosphere created by the cuts the whole idea of long-term planning is abandoned to be replaced by a pragmatic de-incrementalism; crisis management becomes the order of the day. As a survey by the Personal Social Services council concluded,

"Cuts for 1979 - 80 have had to be made in great haste, with predictable consequences: a lack of regard for long-term policy and a tendency to look for quick and easy reductions in expenditure rather than for those which are least damaging". (49)

As the experience of the Youth and Community Service shows and the recent survey of the pattern of cut-backs in the University sector (50) endorses those areas most likely to be removed or cut-back are not the inefficient units but the small least powerful ones. For the debate is not one held between equals, but a power struggle which favours those who control resources, the full-timer over the part-timer and the administrator over the field-worker. The same also applies to client-groups, the most troublesome, most expensive and most inaccessible are those most likely to be deprived of help rather than those in least need, particularly when they require support that can only be generated by the bringing into play of inter-agency and inter-professional co-operation. (51) For as Steward points out the affect of expenditure restraint has been to actually increase organisational conflict, and reinforce departmentalism in defence of existing expenditure (52)

Quite honestly the whole argument is a placebo without a modicum of evidence to give it respectability. It is founded on a naive belief that after years of bad incremental planning in a conducive supportive atmosphere of growth the same managers when suddenly faced with a crisis of some magnitude will reform themselves into rational creative decision-makers. Also that they will surrender some of their authority to engender a meaningful debate regarding the distribution of resources. When funding was more plentiful it was difficult enough to

create real avenues for participation now in a new climate the task is not made easier but far, far harder. Within the present power structure to debate priorities is in essence to present hostages to fortune. As the discussion around the document "Social Assistance" (53) showed a hostile government will carefully collate your criticisms and use them to justify cut-backs but ignore your suggested reforms on the grounds that they cost money. This does not mean that one accepts the status quo as immutable but that we adjust our tactics to the circumstances. As the present juncture the tasks are to concentrate on exposing unmet needs in every area of the welfare system not merely the one we work in. We must also begin the slow painful process of protecting the welfare budget whilst creating an atmosphere favourable to growth and which will be conducive to worthwhile reform. However first the forums and organisations must be established in which debates around future structures and patterns of provision can take place. These must be supportive and politically sophisticated enough to separate short and long term priorities, and above all else strong enough to resist the temptation to engage in phoney debates about priorities with national and local state agencies that will attempt to promote such happenings in order to weaken the opposition to cuts.

The Welfare State grew from the efforts of volunteers freely giving of their time to help those younger or less fortunate than themselves. The growth of local and central state welfare has devalued the contribution of the volunteer and made many voluntary organisations dependent on state handouts. Now is the time to re-assess the value of the voluntary worker and offer greater opportunities for the free and creative use of their talents unfettered by bureaucratic state interference.

It must at first glance appear somewhat churlish for anyone connected with the Youth and Community Service which involves an estimated 400,000 volunteers (54) in its organisation to even question the assumptions behind this oft quoted apologia for a reduction or freezing of the full-time i.e.a. workforce. However I wish to argue that it is both a dangerous and impractical option for the foreseeable future and one which all parties within the Service should reject.

A major problem with this argument is that it is based on a belief that there exists in Britain great untapped human resources for voluntarism to recruit. In a sense one might make the case that this is self evidently so for research can be quoted which purports to show that fewer than one in five of the population are currently engaged in any form of voluntary work. (55) However great methodological problems arise as soon as one tries to define what precisely is meant by involvement in voluntary work or community care, but even allowing for the grey areas there must exist many individuals with time and resources at their disposal who might be recruited to voluntary work of one type or another. However that really takes us no further forward for it raises more questions than it answers, for example are the social values of society compatible with the generation of mass voluntarism? Also what sort of voluntary work or community care are these individuals capable and willing to undertake? And are present participation rates rising, falling or holding constant, in other words will each new recruit actually do more than replace the jaded and disheartened whose contribution has ceased to all intents and purpose?

I think the first of the questions is by far the most crucial and unless one can answer it confidently in the affirmative it is nothing less than a dereliction of professional responsibility to abandon clients to voluntary provision which can have little hope of offering more than a stop-gap service. In all probability the answer however must be no for we live in what

Hirsh has aptly termed a society dominated by the "economics of bad neighbours". (56) In the final analysis the ideology of the market is the dominant one in our society and it is one which bestows prestige upon those who accumulate wealth rather than those who give service without economic reward. As Shikelsky comments,

"The business ethic tends to reduce social relationships to a 'cash nexus' destroying earlier ideas of an organic society. Such events as the first-ever strike of Britain's firemen in 1977 make one realise how much the capitalist economy has depended on an older tradition of public service which its own logic has slowly undermined". (57)

To imagine therefore that it is possible to return to a golden age of voluntarism (if it ever existed) ignores the magnitude of the structural changes that have taken place within Britain since the flowering of the great Victorian charity boom. The Victorian bourgeoisie who recognised that "mobilisation of charity played an important part in cementing social bonds in a period of tension" (58) nevertheless were determined to place it within bounds which would ensure that charity did not undermine the work ethic and the social arrangements most notably the family which supported it. Then however the working-class lacked defensive organisations such as trade unions and the economy despite its periodic down-turns offered until the end of the nineteenth century the optimistic vision of unlimited growth and the promise that given time all dissatisfaction could be bought-off by rising living standards. The strength of the organised working-class and the weakness of the economy now severely limit the options open to the ruling class and one should hardly be surprised if some elements come to see the re-creation of mass charity as a means by which the social tensions that a massive reduction in the social wage might bring about could be contained. However to perceive the same problem does not imply that the same structures exist to re-produce the earlier solution. Certainly the last eighty years have seen virtually no significant change in the patterns of wealth distribution in Britain. Likewise the social and spatial divides that physically and socially separate class from class remain and have indeed grown more acute during the last thirty years as our council housing has become increasingly a housing of last resort, ghettoising the poor and deprived. (59) So that the relevance of the comments of Helen Bosanquet, a leading figure in the Charity Organising Society writing in 1898, have apart from the use of language hardly dated,

"The separation between rich and poor in our large towns, and more especially in London, has often been pointed out as one of the most characteristic and threatening signs of the times. On the one hand, it is said, we have a large number of wealthy people, living an idle, luxurious life in their own quarter, and knowing or caring little about anything outside; on the other hand, we have a much larger number of poverty stricken people herded together at the opposite extreme of the town, with all their energies exhausted in the futile endeavour to secure a tolerable existence." (60)

The relative deprivation, the ghetto's and the transitory nature of employment might remain a constant factor of working-class life but the class structure does alter in detail if not in substance. Just as the great landowning families that comprised the aristocracy of the shires have lost their hegemonic control in the rural areas so slowly we have witnessed the eclipse of the powerful urban manufacturing class. Some of the great dynastic families remain but increasingly they and their control of land, capital and productive units have come to reside more and more in national and multi-national group-

ings. Ownership becoming both defused and more distant from the point of production. (61) The great companies rather than individuals are now the source of potential funds for charity and these measure expenditure in terms of profitability rather than local prestige or religious impact. Getting your name on the Liverpool team shirt or investing in a fleet of cars for obscenely over-paid footballers to drive around in offers for the multi-nationals a better return than bath-aids for elderly ladies in Skelmersdale. The voluntary organisations have recognised this new reality by entering into uneasy alliances with major companies by for example getting members to buy expensive products and then collecting the labels for a small pay-off or alternatively by appealing to the state for aid. The latter has been the most profitable of the two so far and now voluntary agencies draw about 11% of their funds from the state, not necessarily from choice but because as Margaret Hyde of the National Council for Social Service stresses "there is now 'little new' money to had from non-government sources". (62) Perhaps one should not therefore be surprised to see some of the voluntary organisations so desperately courting the Government and queuing up to take advantage of the £150,000,000 offered in the last budget to fund community work for the long-term unemployed.

The relationship between the present Government and the voluntary sector including the Youth and Community organisations for all the high hopes of certain individuals and the dropped hints of Ministers is unlikely to be a cosy one. Firstly the Government is unlikely to allow itself to be saddled with any avoidable responsibility for direct funding. It simply goes against the whole grain of current policy and the decision to transfer control over the provision of financial assistance to capital projects mounted by voluntary Youth and Community organisations to local authorities well illustrates this desire to avoid expanding direct funding and control in the welfare sector. (63) Secondly like its Victorian predecessors it cannot ignore the potential damage that unrestrained voluntarism might have upon the ideological basis of Thatcherism. If any remnants of the old paternalistic Disraeli brand of Conservatism with its emphasis on shared interest and its opposition "to all that was worst in Liberalism: the apotheosis of the greed of the industrial middle classes" (64) remains in the thinking of the present Government it is well hidden. Certainly Reg Prentice attempted to spell out the end of the old paternalistic noblesse oblige tradition within Conservatism when he informed his audience that,

"If you believe economic salvation can only be achieved by rewarding success and the national income is not increasing, then you have no alternative but to make the unsuccessful poorer". (65)

A view that could not fail but to inspire the 1980 Social Security Act which gives powers to officers to deduct benefit from claimants who do work in the voluntary capacity for organisations and/or individuals whom the officer decides could afford to pay for that service. Or which can issue DHSS circular 80/11 which calls upon Area and Regional Health Authorities to seek out ways of raising funds via projects and activities in the same way as voluntary organisations. Perhaps not surprisingly some of our most prominent voluntary organisations are now busy lobbying Ministers to get 80/11 withdrawn, for they do not relish the prospect of competing in the charity market place with appeals set up to raise funds to keep open the local accident unit or children's ward.

Voluntary organisations who co-operate with the present Government are likely to find that they have been riding on a

tiger. For to imagine that it is feasible to expand the voluntary sector against the background of Government attacks upon state welfare seems naive in the extreme. If the Government succeeds in increasing further the penetration of an ideology based on naked competition and conflict then this cannot but fail to erode the whole social basis of altruism from which the voluntary sector draws its strength (66). Certainly the history of the Youth Service offers substantial evidence that high state commitment produces a correspondingly high voluntary commitment and vice-a-versa. To quote only the most recent example;

"In 1957 - 58 local authorities spent £2.58 million, in the 1960's the figure was well over £10 million. In the nine years after Albemarle, there was a large increase in the number of voluntary workers and the number of youth groups shot up by 112%". (67)

Of course the Youth and Community Services proves daily that there is a valuable role for the volunteer to play but it is simply not realistic to expect them to fulfil many of the roles currently carried out by professionals. Indeed as Obler shows helping the disadvantaged is for many middle-class 'volunteers' largely a matter of raising money through social events in order to pay someone else to actually engage in the unpleasant task of meeting and helping the "unfortunates". (68) Voluntarism and community care are also as Abrahms in his seminal article stresses likely to be "volatile, spasmodic and unreliable". (69) This is hardly surprising for in the main they are even less accountable to clients and the public than state agencies, a point so often ignored by their supporters. The quality of the voluntary work is as varied as that of those employed by the state and it is impossible to imagine that they will ever vary widely for both are children of the same social system. No more than Victorian voluntarism was capable of solving the crisis of the Irish Potato Famine, Cholera, or aged poverty are their modern counterparts fitted to overcome the Giants that now block the way to progress. They have a role to play but only a peripheral one for the main task is as always to create social policies which as Titmuss stressed will mold people's values and encourage a genuine commitment to altruism, and such policies do not come to pass from the mere rattling of collecting tins.

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The status of residential care has never been at a lower ebb than present day. Residential workers, viewed as the pariahs of the Personal Social Services, struggle in the face of hostile criticism from all quarters, to offer some form of meaningful service to those clients who have been dumped into their care — the delinquents, the handicapped, the elderly — those that nobody wants.

In a society where the nuclear family is sacrosanct and vital to the prevailing social, political and economic order, state residential care has become a highly stigmatised form of welfare, still tinged with the imagery of the workhouse and aimed at those who are the most economically and socially deprived.

The cost to the State of residential care is substantial, eating up as it does nearly half of all the expenditure on the Personal Social Services. In the present climate of 'Thatcherism' and the Tories virulent attack on the welfare state, this provides the backcloth for a further denigrating of residential care as cheaper cost solutions are sought.

Dictated by the needs of capital, Government policy towards residential care has constantly altered. During the last war for instance with women required in the munitions factories, residential provision was cultivated and promoted freeing women from their previous caring roles. Women again play a key part as Government policy changes in regard to residential care.

Community Care is now pushed as the ideal, dressed up in an altruistic gloss, removing residents from the dehumanising squalor of institutional care and placing them back in the bosom of the community. However, Community Care is only a euphemism for family care, and in a society still riven with sex discrimination, family care inevitably means care by women, with the added bonus that such full-time caring responsibilities helps reduce the pressure on a contracted job market.

Residential care itself offers a very uneven service, from the progressively enterprising through to fascist regimentation. Plagued by lack of resources, low status and perennial staffing problems residential care stands at a historic watershed, as it views its own future imbued with a debilitating lack of self confidence.

Jeff Ormesher in his short pamphlet has offered a brief glimpse behind the doors of residential care, highlighting for the perceptive, the demanding, emotive and painful cauldron that traps residents and workers alike in the day to day life of a home. It is achieved in a deceptively simple way, resembling a fiction style narrative, leaving the reader to visualise the flesh and bones of the actors caught in this particular stage of residential care.

Firstly there is Stephen.

"Sixteen, tall, well built, and a thug." Tortured by his homosexuality and an unquestioning adherence to his Roman Catholic faith, Stephen passes through the care system and into the inevitable penal institutional career that so often follows. It culminates with Stephen committing murder. They are all there, the precocious Tina, Michael and his fantasy world, the bellicose Ali, beautiful Sharon, Paul the fledgling drag queen and many more.

A human mixture of despair, humiliation and rejection.

Residential care is said to be peopled by three types of person — the optimists, the pessimists and the radicals. Ormesher seems to come from the first camp, that believes in the potential, value and success of residential care given the proper support, staff, training and resources.

At present residential care is seen as a residual service receiving the most difficult, distrustful and dependent clients. This demands that the workers are able to supply the necessary highly specialised service that is required. However with barely 4% of all residential staff having received any form of professional training, the quality of care offered is all too frequently patchy and poor. This emphasises to those outside the service the view of residential care as being a last resort, thus completing a form of vicious circle that must be broken if residential care is ever to make any advances.

Residential care has in the past been the hidden area of the welfare state, catering for those clients the people we prefer to be kept out of sight and forgotten about. Ormesher's pamphlet hopefully will lead its readers to a better understanding of life in a residential setting for as one of the boys David says at the end "People should know about places like this shouldn't they?"

Yes they should, so that future discussion of Residential care is based more on understanding rather than ignorance.

A. HADDOW.

Schrag, P. and Diveky, D.

'THE MYTH OF THE HYPERACTIVE CHILD AND OTHER MEANS OF CHILD CONTROL'

Pelican 1981. pp 281.

ISBN 0 14 02.2179 4. £2.95.

Child abuse is about Power; the actual or attempted imposition of the will of the adult over the child. When such abuse is sponsored by the State, it becomes a political act which is both calculated and deliberate. Among the many and shocking statistics which abound in Peter Schrag and Diane Diveky's well-rehearsed book, that fact is the most disturbing and sinister — we would do well to remember it in all our analysis of youth policy.

'The Myth of the Hyperactive Child' examines three types of control exerted over large numbers of children in America: the 'invention' of childhood behaviour disorders, in particular that of hyperactivity, and the wholesale prescription of drugs which have been produced to 'cure' these quasi-illnesses; the screening of those deemed 'likely to become disordered or delinquent'; and the distortion of a child's personality in school and other files, which in turn legitimise all kinds of intervention 'in the child's best interests'. Further, the authors regard these activities as signs of an ever-expanding field of socio-medical technology designed to control what amounts usually to no more than 'misbehaviour'.

Although we can retain our sense of outrage — without which our ability to criticise could not function with potency — those of us involved in youth work should not be surprised, given the trends of the past decade not only in the United States but in Britain as well. For example, admissions of children under fifteen into mental hospitals increased in Britain by 60% between 1965 and 1975 (those under ten, by 210%). And there has been similar increase in those 'diagnosed' as being 'maladjusted' by the DES, from 8,000 in 1966 to around 20,000 by 1976.

But the issue of child control goes far beyond the narrow administrative confines of what might be broadly termed the psychiatric services (sic), nor even — though it is indicative of the scale of the problem — should we confine our criticisms to the vast army of young people presently incarcerated in all types of State institutions (more, incidentally, than at any time this century). If we are to present a radical critique of youth policy it does not do to be parochial, but rather to view the above trends as symptomatic of the insidious grip which the modern State is increasingly exerting on all its citizens, and particularly the politically weak — the child, the mental patient, the prisoner, the unemployed worker, the black. This is something which is lacking in Schrag and Diveky's analysis and thus can be considered a limitation of their study, provocative though it is. It is proposed then to raise some of the broader issues here. Necessarily this will be a somewhat superficial examination, though perhaps it can provide fuel for deeper debate in these columns and in other forums.

A direct consequence of industrialisation and the emergence of capitalism was that the very nature of State power changed from a haphazard, overtly violent form into more subtle means to ensure mass discipline — what Foucault has referred to as 'the calculated technology of subjection'. Thus 'The Institution' in its modern form — prisons, hospitals, schools, juvenile reformatories, indeed the factory itself — can all be traced to the period of the rise of capitalism. Coupled with this was the emergence of a 'human science' and the dominance of positivist philosophy which provided really the perfect rationale for subjection of the individual, for, far from being at odds with the prevailing socio-economic ideology it complemented it

by making the individual the target of State action whilst leaving social conditions untouched. Thus whilst report after report noted that slums bred crime, it was nevertheless the individual criminal who was diseased and the young delinquent who could be cured if removed in time to reformatories.

With the development of the human sciences, including medical science from whom the terminology of deviance was to be borrowed and developed, came a process of 'Normalisation'. Criminals and other rebels, truants for example (following compulsory education) came under the constant glare of 'observation', aided by the tool of report-writing which was and remains a primary means of social control. Knowledge of individuals meant power over individuals as the concept of the 'Normal' as defined by the State through the human sciences, came to be at the centre of a self-justifying system of labelling and carceral power. As some historians of penal policy have realised, Ignatieff in particular, once such a system of control has been established it can do nothing apparently but regenerate itself into even more sophisticated forms as the State demands more, not less, discipline and social order. Thus the new branches of knowledge which give birth to new professions — social worker, psychologist and so on — can be regarded as the means by which the State increases its surveillance of individuals, develops new categories of deviation from an over-refined concept of 'the Norm', and by this justifies the imposition of restrictions upon those who do not measure up to this 'yardstick'. The ultimate logic of this movement has a nightmarish quality, Kafkaesque in its implications, but which on the evidence of Schrag and Diveky is being rapidly approached for younger members of society — following animals, mental patients and criminals this is the usual course of events, children are always the next target. The final implication of course is that the techniques of assessment at their most refined must, as Foucault declared "(be) the permanent measure of a gap in relation to an inaccessible norm and the asymptotic movement that strives to meet in infinity".

So relentless and insidious is the growth of State power over individuals, so perfectly traceable is its expansion, that it surpasses all the apparent philosophies of social policy at any given moment. Thus when social workers and social work educators declare with conviction that the medical model is passe, one has the right to be incredulous. Taking a narrow view, then perhaps Freudian theory is less in evidence in casework than it was (though this writer has come across numerous examples of s.w.s engaged in play therapy with three-year-old 'deviants', too much of a control problem for the local nursery!). But in a broader sense, the elements of surveillance, observation, assessment, — and, yes, diagnosis, remain central features of general social work practice; one just has to peruse a few character assassinations masquerading as casework reports to see that this is so. But when the juvenile justice system is examined, even superficially, it can soon be ascertained that due process and basic human rights have been consistently overridden no matter what the prevalent 'hard' or 'soft' policies are supposed to be. Whether or not certain sections of the 1969 Act were never implemented is totally irrelevant when the majority of those incarcerated under its aegis were so because the triviality of their offences was added to by a host of speculations and assumptions unconnected with the seriousness of the 'crimes'. Indeed, like its nineteenth century predecessors, the Act was individualist in character despite passing references to social conditions.

Similarly, the fiscal crisis of the State might have theoretically committed it to alternatives to long-term custody of juveniles. But the carceral power of the State increases irrespective through other means — intermediate treatment for example, and by erecting new Panopticons like the Orchard Lodge

Observation and Assessment centre which keeps computerised files and prides itself on its army of psychologists and its batteries of 'tests'. And whilst ever-closer surveillance of children in their own community is taking place, the latest example of which is the aptly-named 'Tracking' system in Coventry, the whole concept of 'decarceration' is merely an example of that rhetoric which is employed at various times to give us comfort — like 'Community Home'. In non-custodial measures (which in any case are usually backed up by threats of detention) prisons are being created without visible walls which extend still further into the private world of the child and into the wider community, and moreover make it far more likely that new categories such as 'pre-delinquent' will be drawn into a community-based carceral net.

The above may be a bleak picture, but it is not a hopeless one. By recognising what is really happening behind the rhetoric and the apparently 'progressive' measures, by being aware that what is happening to children now we will soon find other objects of attention — the unemployed for example — those of us concerned with youth work in its widest sense can surely find a new role which reverses the old one. In my view all youth work agencies should consider fulfilling the same function as Mind does for mental patients; that is, they must work from the premise that young people are a politically powerless group who are subjected to all manner of indignity at the hands of State, and the role of Advocate is thus the most appropriate one for youth workers to take. Just as Mind has nothing to do with the **implementation** of State policy, with the 'treatment' and detention of patients, so youth workers should sever all connections with the State by 'having nothing to do with' the apparatus which seeks to assess, homogenise, normalise, 'treat', observe and control young people. And this must surely include all schemes to regiment young unemployed workers.

Unless youth workers — and I include residential and field social workers, teachers and so on — are willing to do this in a united way, then the State will always have an army of people willing to oppress the young, to produce that docile and disciplined race which it requires. Youth workers will become a part of that 'calculated technology of subjection' which Schrag and Diveky have done so much to concretise in their excellent study.

ROB MAWDSLEY.

Bob Holman, 1981.

"KIDS AT THE DOOR"

Basil Blackwell, Oxford.

ISBN 0 631 12587 6. £4.95 paperback, library edition £14.00.

"The purpose of this book is to describe a community child care project" — this is a graphic description of typical days, kids succeeding and failing, personal pressures and local reactions to a small project striving to meet some of the needs of residents, particularly young people on a small, relatively impoverished housing estate; no premises, operating from home, often working solo, yet gaining the acceptance and support of the residents and many of the kids. "The book does not claim to be a piece of pure, academic research. Rather it is a personal and subjective account." Though an ex-academic, Bob uses only a few limited figures to evaluate the work, relying instead comments from participants and the demand for the nature of the work itself to justify it.

This account shows clearly the central elements of a community project: located in the neighbourhood; providing only what the community wants; accessible; small scale and responsive. There is no value in providing services in which the consumer has no investment — only what is desirable and demanded can survive in a project such as this. The book's description of kids, clubs and parents — though over long — should serve to make readers question the relevance of their approach to community development. How many "professionals" engaged in community support and development work would be prepared to give the same time, energy and commitment to their contact work?

The project — and this account — are miniscule. Bob is aware that compared with the social and political realities of life for many working-class families, and with the number of such neighbourhoods, this work appears trivial. But it is not insignificant. It does help people to change and regain some power in their lives — often in a more real way than professional intervention can achieve.

Yet the emphasis on conveying day to day life throughout the book can only be at the expense of any systematic evaluation. Care Orders did decline proportionately and that appears the most demanded statistic by budget conscious Social Services Departments today. But this account will not provide proven arguments or simple formulae for radical change in social provision. It is not a heavy book. Its readability makes it attractive to the non-professional wanting to work at the neighbourhood level; its simple message will challenge the common working patterns of social workers and youth workers who can so easily hide behind their self imposed anti-client defences.

TIMOTHY C. PICKLES.

Juliet Cheetham, Walter James, Martin Loney, Barbara Mayor and William Prescott (editors).

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY WORK IN A MULTI-RACIAL SOCIETY.

Haper and Row, 1981.

ISBN 006 31811983. £5.95 (paper).

Recently published as an Open University Set book and prepared for the course "Ethnic Minorities and Community Relations" (E 354) this publication has a substantial section entitled "Working With Youth".

Walter James introduces the section stating that the Youth Service has been renamed but otherwise unchanged during the 1970's. It has been retitled the Youth and Community Services. More recently, in order to help certain groups of unemployed youth, the Youth Opportunities Programmes have been set up under the authority of the Manpower Services.

C.R.C.'s have been partially responsible for the development and scope of the Youth Service in relation to ethnic minorities but the increasing numbers of ethnic youth raises doubts about the adequacy of these services.

A former Permanent Secretary of the Minister of Education defined the aims of the Youth Service as:

"To offer individual young people in their leisure time opportunities of various kinds complementary to those of home, formal education and work, to discover and develop their personal resources of body, mind and spirit and thus better to equip themselves to live the life of mature creative and responsible members of society".

Voluntary youth organisations all to some extent reflect these attitudes. Walter James goes on to say that this is an inadequate definition, making assumptions that home, education and so on are agencies that exist in co-operation and complement each other. There is no awareness of the deep conflict that often exists between the agencies. Notions of "Free Society" do not take into account institutionalised racism and no account of the structural powerlessness that black (and white) groups encounter.

Emergence of Ethnic youth services means to some white organisations that work with Ethnic minorities can be left to the few small ethnic minority agencies and the white organisations have no need to handle any of the situations to do with blacks.

Walter James believes that there must be more employment of black workers to work with black youth.

Darcus Howe, in his decriptive article "Brixton's Battle of Jerico", relates a situation where an occupation of a youth club by its members achieved the result of getting the club re-opened which had been closed by the management body consisting of the Methodist Church and ILEA. The management body also had to reinstate the Black youth worker they had sacked. The Action Committee which had gained this victory suggested then to the authorities a programme which would enthuse the Black youth in the club into action. The Action Committee stated that the officials from the ILEA and the Methodist Church on the Management Committee were hamfisted and set, and had to be got rid of. Older users of the club alongside with younger ones were to be members of the Management Committee. They would not throw the old order out entirely, but would incorporate some of the old in the new, and they would allow for representatives of the Church and ILEA.

The Church and ILEA responded by saying that they wanted a reduction in number of club members of the Committee. Thus started another conflict situation where the Railton Youth Club has gained a lot of support from parents, artists, teachers and other members of the community. The article ends by saying that the frustration may erupt into a more explosive situation if the Church or ILEA continue to be stubborn.

Another article follows, where the BYCWA (organisation representing black youth and community workers in London and Home Counties) analyse the situation thus; in order to compensate for the numerous disadvantages suffered by black people in a white racist society it is vital to train more full-time youth and community workers from the black community. According to BYCWA it is very unsettling to see the very few black youth and community workers entering the white orientated training institutions. There is not enough understanding in these institutions of issues that affect the lives of black people. Phil Coughlin follows with an article about being a white worker with black kids. This concerns a well-intentioned white worker trying to find out about black people. His attitudes appear very paternalistic and superficial. The worker found it difficult to operate in a black club and the blacks did not accept him readily.

He therefore concluded the blacks were not white, or equal or ordinary in the same way whites are white, equal or ordinary! He displays some mythological generalisations about the sexual experience of black people. Saying that black people lack organisational sensitivity (another vast generalisation). The article ends though by making the very valuable point that Racism is a white problem and that white educators have to educate themselves about their own attitudes of racism; especially if they labour under the illusion that they do not need it. P. Reid of Hatfield Polytechnic finds the article by P. Coughlin all too patronising and dangerous and says it is full of generalisations.

A paper written by CRE talks of Black self-help groups as funded by CRE. How CRE funded many of these projects involving black youth, where the latter has become alienated beyond the reach of the more orthodox organisations. These self-help groups provide a valid and valuable local service that was not being provided by statutory organisations.

Gus John states that black self-help projects were set up to help alienated black youth with special needs. A person chosen from the black community works for these projects. Gus John argues that these projects are peripheral and that black people have to work in more mainstream organisations such as those to do with Housing, Education, Social Work and so on in order to end the alienation they suffer. Also that the black youth cannot be dealt with as a phenomenon in isolation from the class and other important social factors.

The CRC in 1977 declared the Youth Service not relevant to the many problems of youth in multi-racial areas. Despite reports and various studies, the Youth Service has not been able to adapt to the needs of the majority of youth in society, it also has not adapted to the specific needs of Ethnic minorities. Some of the reasons for this are a lack of national policy and leadership, lack of resources; little appreciation of the disadvantages and needs of black youth.

Unwillingness and a lack of enthusiasm to support black self-help schemes and greater inability to cope with alienated young blacks. One great weakness perhaps is that the Youth Service is seen as the Cinderella of the Education Committees and Youth Service Officers are usually low ranking in the Education departments. Another reason for the lack of pro-

gress is that the Youth Service is too introspective and does not seek to liaise with other important services within the community such as Education.

Gus John then talks of Black Youth as an Ideology and says that one line of thinking in order to solve the problems of black youth is to say that all we need is the training and employment of more black people as social workers, youth workers, teachers and so on. Black youth (and white youth) are members of a class and black youth suffer the same disadvantages that other black people do. Gus says that this argument maintains that black parents have done well in society and it is only the youth that are disadvantaged. Gus closes the section on youth by saying that black youth is one section that won't necessarily be bought off by the State in the way that black community workers and social workers might have been.

The above series of articles make some very important points about black youth and the lack of resources for them and makes the fundamental point that racism affects all black people not just youth. The articles question all pretentious do-gooding attitudes. Black youth, in this section of the book, refers only to Afro-Caribbean Youth and no mention of Asian youth is made. Also all along youth are young men — no mention is made of young black women; nevertheless the articles destroy a lot of dangerous myths and give a picture of the whole range of an area where resources have not helped black youth and they provide a study into the political nature of the problem.

This book also has comprehensive sections on Social Services in The Community, Health Services in The Community, Working With Children and Families, Working With The Elderly and Working With The Community.

SHAHIN OSBORN.

W. Swann (editor).
THE PRACTICE OF SPECIAL EDUCATION
Blackwell, 1981.
ISBN 0 631 12885 9.

Although ostensibly concerned with the position of the young person with special needs within the educational setting, the book's sociological perspective necessarily leads to the consideration of issues which have a direct bearing on the treatment of all young people in society. The subject matter of this volume ranges from the relationship between the individual and the environment to questions of social policy and administration, and includes a review of the variety and history of special educational provision.

In the examination of those factors which influence the child's development, and in particular those which are likely to restrict that development, the book takes a different position to many others dealing with handicap. Until fairly recently most textbooks on the care and education of young people with special needs concentrated on the individual and his or her "symptoms" of disability emphasising medical and hereditary causal agents.

This reader looks at the social factors involved in the processors of young people being categorised as having special needs, and for example includes an analysis of the effects of lead pollution (extracts from the Lawther Report) and later a discussion by Bowman of the conflict over such terms as 'mal-adjustment' between different professional groups.

In the past the focus on the individual young person and 'his' problem has diverted attention from the social aspects of disability and consequently the 'answers' to the 'individuals difficulties' have been seen in terms of improving the quantity and quality of professionals, in particular medical or quasi-medical and specialist educational personnel. This is not to say that well educated staff are not important when caring for young people who may have gross physical disabilities or debilitating medical conditions, but the maintenance of a medical model in our perception of handicap diverts us from political and social action which may be necessary to improve the position of this group of young people.

The articles on social policy by Lukes and Booth illustrate rather well the disparity between government rhetoric about education i.e. "the pursuit of excellence", "the development of the individual", "parental choice", and the reality of the overriding economic objectives of both parties over the past eight years. Stephen's contribution on the position of young people in Northern Ireland indicates the degree of discrimination against the province that there has been over a considerable time by successive governments.

It is refreshing to find a book which critically examines so many of the assumptions and practices which accompany adults dealing with young people, whilst at the same time maintaining a high level of readability and interest. It is one of those rare volumes which offers rewarding insights to people outside the narrow group at whom it is ostensibly aimed, namely teachers working in the field of special education, with well written articles covering intermediate treatment, mal-adjustment, post-school education, the role of research and its relationship to practice and the integration of young people with disabilities into mainstream educational settings. It will serve as an excellent reader for anyone working with young people in school, youth clubs or colleges who might wish to gain some understanding of contemporary thinking about several educational issues. It therefore seems a great shame that the choice of title will probably restrict its readership to a small proportion of those who could and indeed **should** read and enjoy it.

DON BLACKBURN.

Kitty Weaver.

RUSSIA'S FUTURE: THE COMMUNIST EDUCATION OF SOVIET YOUTH.

Praeger Publishers, 1981.

ISBN 0 03 059028 0. £8.25 (paper).

Most of us in the West have little detailed knowledge of the Soviet Union, and consequently we tend to use mythology in order to understand it. We change these myths from time to time, and perhaps at present they are in the process of another revision. To Shaw and the Webbs, Russia offered conclusive proof of the arrival of communist Utopia. This myth was replaced twenty five years later by Orwell's totalitarian horror of the ultra efficient planned state with its basis in millions of midnight arrests. Since the cold war and the neurotic diplomacy of the nuclear age, the prevailing myth has been that of a grey, dreary Russia, paranoid and resentful of Western economic and military superiority, in which an enormous, simple population are goaded into dragging a largely undeveloped economy into a technological era. All myth has elements of truth; but why bother with truth when myth protects us from our own insecurity so much more effectively?

Like all modern, industrial societies, the U.S.S.R. has had to develop a large apparatus for the formal organisation of youth. Previously our knowledge of this has been limited to books such as Armstrong's (1) or Nigel Grant's readable Penguin (2). As useful as these still are in other ways, Kitty Weaver, who is neither an academic nor a professional 'Sovietist', has produced a book which in respect of the Youth Movement renders them redundant. Like Western systems, Soviet youth work functions both as an agency of socialisation and as an instrument of social control. The system is divided basically into three age-bound categories: The Octobrists (7-10); The Pioneers (young, middle and senior 10-15); and the Komsomol (15-25+). Though formally non-vocational and non-academic, the whole system carefully keys into schooling, and it does so with the objectives of collective development though, surprisingly, without compromising the capability to recognise and respond to individual difficulties. It is the primary medium of ideological education, literally the political 'school' of a mass society. Membership is notionally voluntary, that is non-compulsory but, in effect, in some way coercive since the overwhelming majority of children and young people join. Kitty Weaver does not adequately explain this aspect of the movement, a pity since the system is highly effective; the Komsomol currently has a total membership of about 34 million, with a further 22-25 million in the Pioneers, and possibly another 20 million Octobrists — give or take a million. We have customarily believed here that any youth movement with such numerical penetration can only be compulsory and highly regimented, but this is not so. Membership is seen as a kind of privilege, with the near unanimity being achieved apparently through the successful exploitation of a complex and frequently lavish range of facilities. With the younger age-group this is geared to the satisfaction of the natural desires for play and games that are quite normally competitive as well as co-operative. By the time the little Octobrist reaches ten, they are being introduced by their teachers and older Pioneer leaders to the principles and practices of pioneering. Several previous writers have drawn a parallel between this system of upward graduation and that which exists elsewhere from brownies and cubs to guides and scouts. Kitty Weaver repeats the analogy, but points out in a very interesting chapter 'The Early Years', that in fact this was quite deliberate. Krupskaya who was initially influential in forging the youth organisations from Lenin's firm belief that socialism must be built by youth, modelled state intervention on the existing Czarist-army sponsored scouts, themselves a cadet variant of Baden-Powell's. Since their experience as Octobrists is most

often a happy one of informal play, almost all young people reach the age of entry to the Pioneers actually wanting to join. On acceptance they receive their red necktie, make the Pioneer's promise (again familiar echoes: the scout must 'Be Prepared', the Pioneer is 'Always Ready'), and become one of Lenin's Grandchildren'. There is no myth-making here. With a slight tone of American embarrassment Kitty Weaver acknowledges that — ideology apart — on the basic level of efficiency the system works: ask any Soviet citizen if they remember when they joined the Pioneers and they will reply, 'Of course, it was the happiest day of my life'.

Perhaps it is a fruitless exercise to try and compare the system of Soviet youth organisation with Western counterparts, no matter how tempting. In One-Party-States, youth work systems are rationalised in terms of political education, in pluralist societies in terms of social education or social welfare. It is the difference that is significant — and that is basically a profoundly different concept of political activity. The clear aim of Soviet youthwork is to make young people become political individuals:

'We want a well rounded personality, though the basic task ...is to teach the Pioneer devotion to the work of the Communist Party with the accent first of all on political education'.

The programmes designed to achieve this are not, as we popularly conceive in the West, a combination of militaristic drill, physical fitness and endless, drab harangues about the Imperialist Aggressor. The system is designed from the top down to complement the world of schooled learning with active recreation, constructive cultural hobbies and 'socially useful labour' — this latter element meaning, as Kitty Weaver describes it — the sort of conservation or rehabilitative work that here in Britain a young person can do only if they are a middle-class (unpaid) Venture Scout or on a working-class (unemployed) C.E.P. scheme. Almost every school has a salaried, trained Pioneer leader who co-ordinates out of hours activity with what appears to be the full freedom to use school facilities. A very large network of summer camps ensure that once involved, a young person's motivation is sustained through school holidays and, one supposes, parental support is continued too. Again it has to be emphasised that Kitty Weaver is not discussing the merits of the ideology, and there is no intention here to glorify the U.S.S.R. Ultimately, the thing that impressed the author most is precisely that aspect of this book that the reader concerned with youth in this country will also be attracted by, that is the extent of the organised system, its facilities and planning, and the simple fact, repeated over and over again, that the party has an unequivocal concern for its youth, has rationalised that into a scheme of objectives, and pursues these goals with a rigorous efficiency that includes no stinting of resources. The book makes it clear that this policy is the expression of 'Russia's Future'.


There is no doubt that this is the best study of the Pioneers that we yet have. It is a great shame that no similar study exists of the Komsomol since in many ways it is in the work with the older age-groups that the Soviet Union system is most sharply differentiated from Western models yet still offers us valuable lessons in respect of programmes and managerial structures. Despite a somewhat journalistic style and perhaps too much personalised reminiscing, Kitty Weaver describes Russian work with young people in a manner that will present quite serious difficulties to the British reader with a youth work interest. Again — and insistently — it is not legitimate to dismiss the Russian system merely on ideological grounds. Behind that are the simple comparisons of facilities, resources,

planning, training, these are organisational considerations and not per se political – though undoubtedly the order of priorities is itself ideological. In the last analysis readers from Youth and Community work will have to make some kind of comparisons, and we are likely to come out of it badly. If one considers the stumbling, medieval impoverishment of British youthwork, its basic primitive level of resources and plant, the fact that most publicly owned buildings such as schools are closed to it whilst the majority of face to face youth work is still done in tin huts or church halls, the overall Cinderella ethos, then that, in Soviet terms, is 'Britain's Future', and what kind of ideology is that? Strangely, at the end of Kitty Weaver's story I was left pondering on the comparisons. If the fundamental aim of the Pioneers and the Komsomol is to **guarantee** that each young Soviet person becomes a political individual, then the underlying function of Youth Service can only be to ensure that every young British person is actually **prevented** from that.

(1) Armstrong, J. A. *Ideology, Politics and Government in The Soviet Union*. Praeger, 1978.

(2) Grant, N. *Soviet Education*. Penguin, 1968.

FRANK BOOTON.



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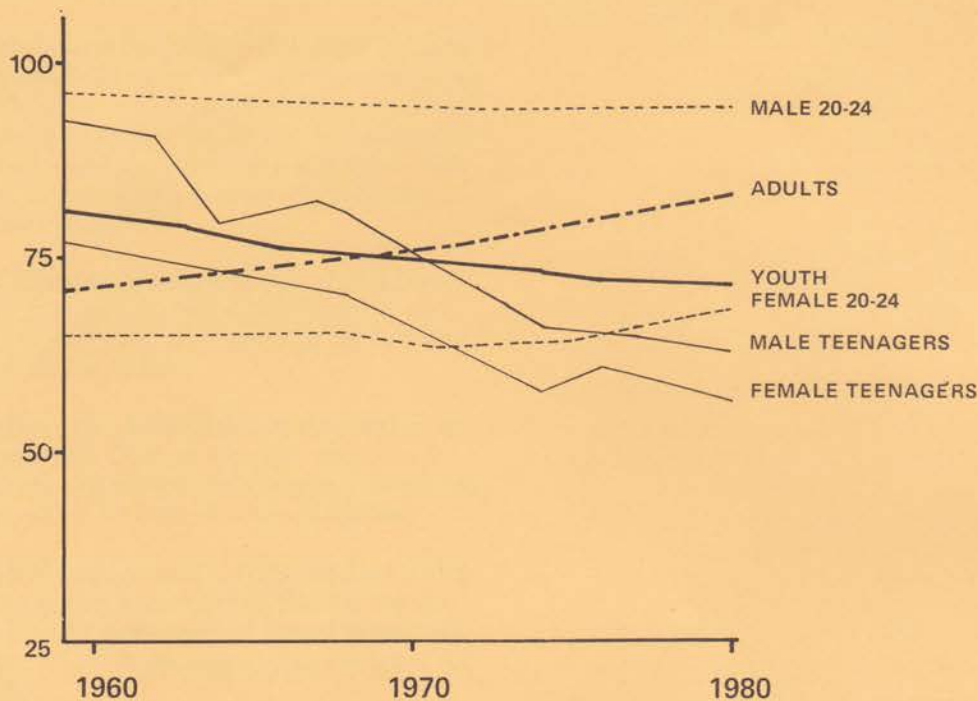
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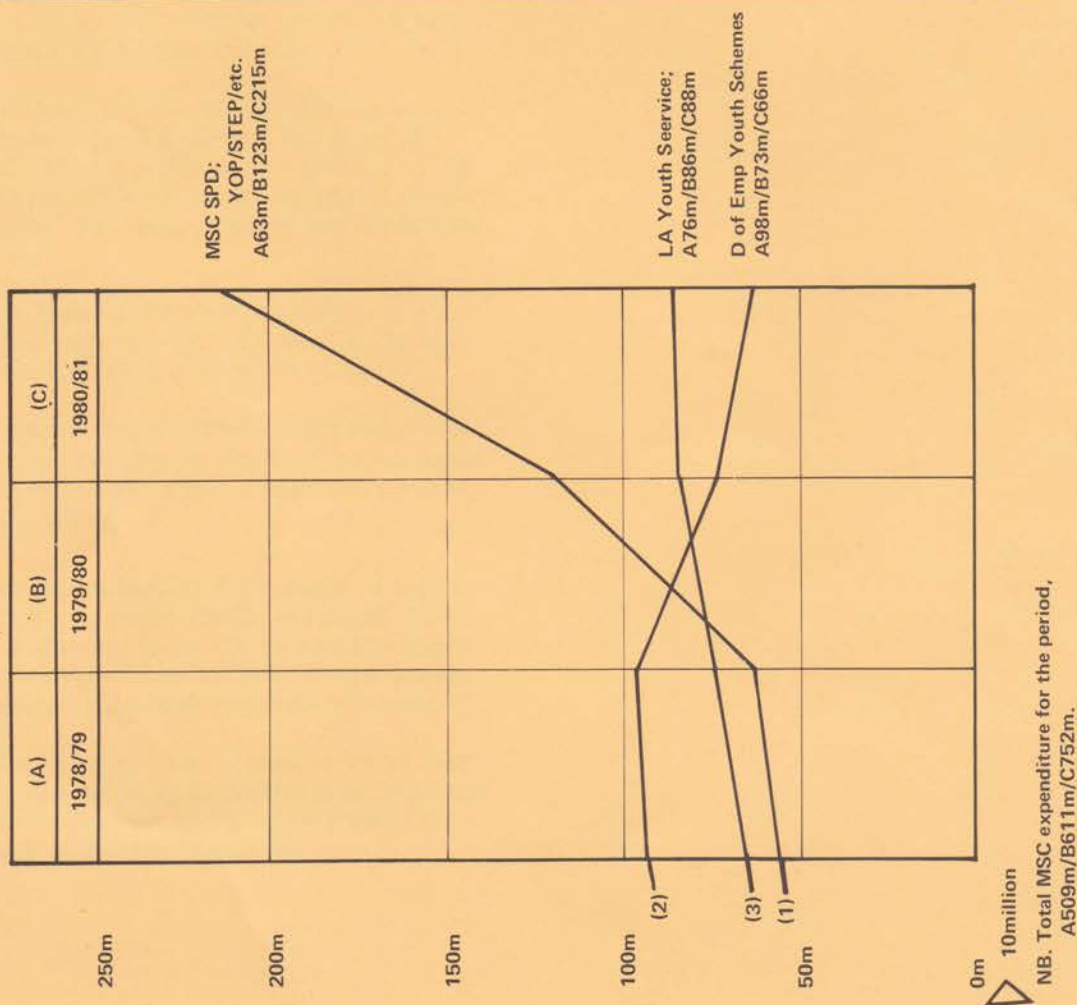
analysis



Employment Activity : Age-specific participation rates; UK 1959-1979 (thousands) (OECD: Dem.Trends: Paris 1979)

COMPARATIVE GROWTH OF YOUTH-RELATED EXPENDITURE 1978-1981

- (1) MSC Special Programmes Division;
- (2) Dept. of Employment Youth Unemployment Schemes;
- (3) Local Authority Expenditure on Youth Service.

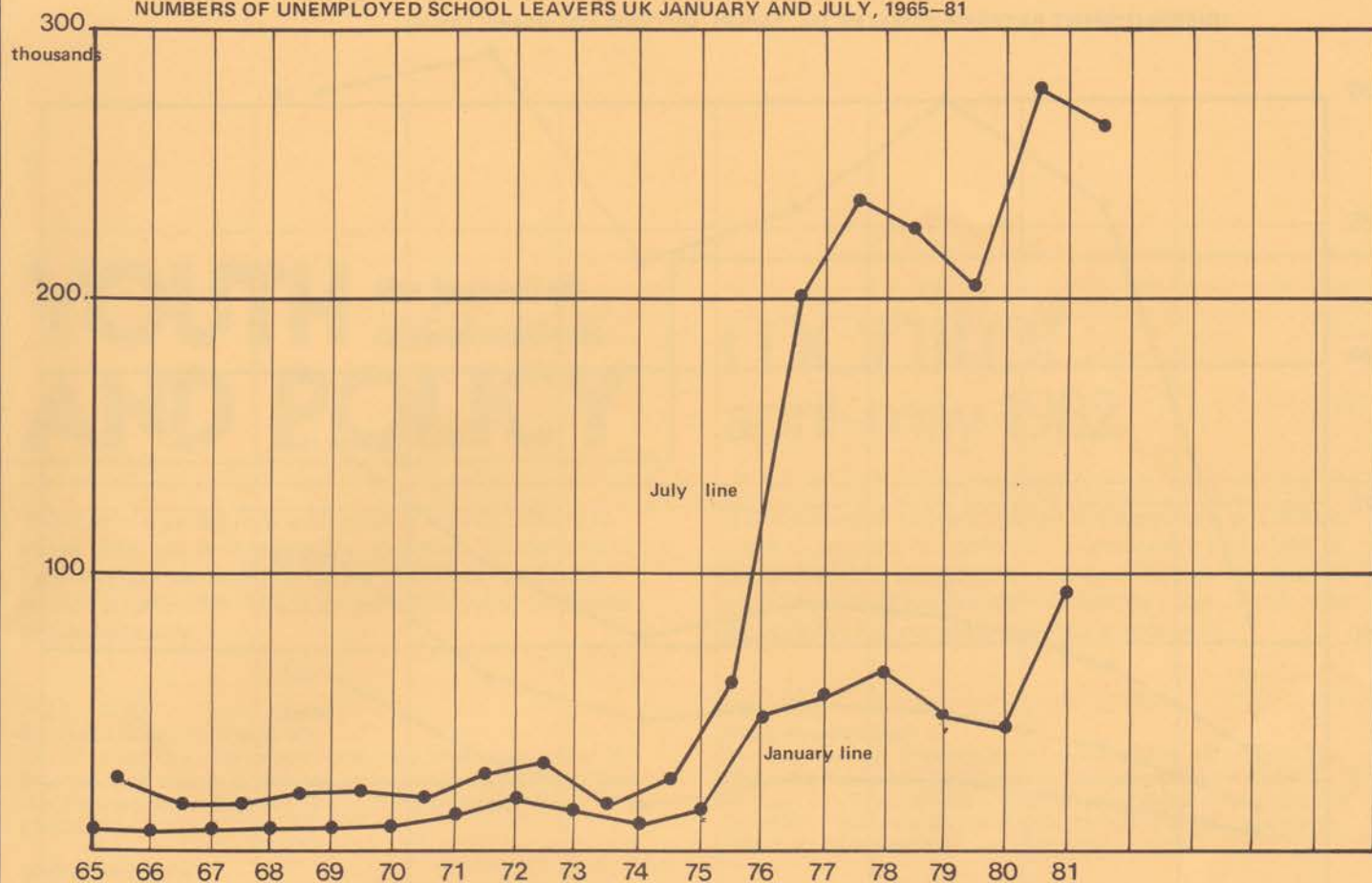


NB. Total MSC expenditure for the period, A509m/B611m/C752m.

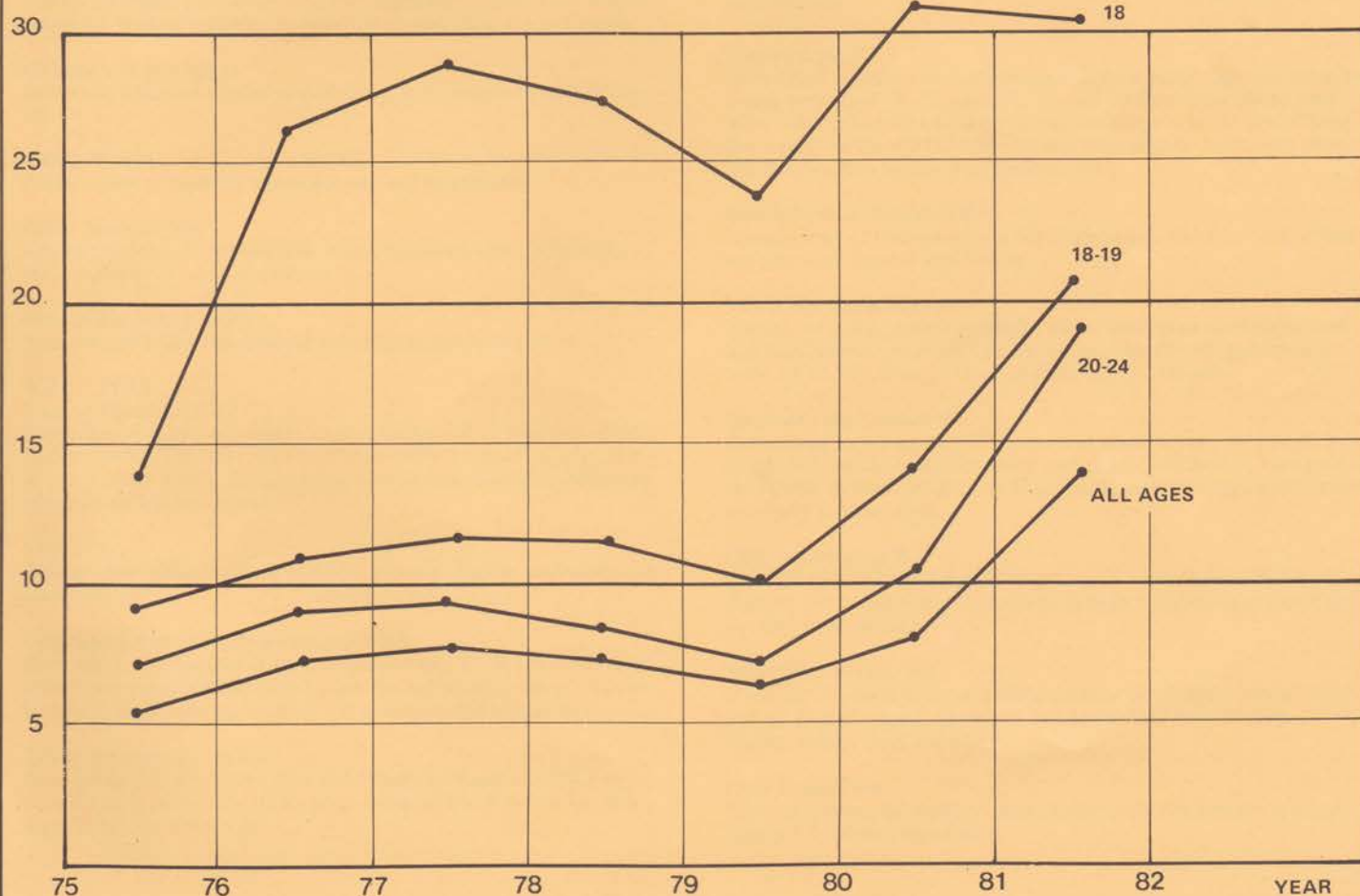
Dept of Employment youth schemes (Job Creation/Community Industry/etc) were brought under MSC Special Programmes Division after 1978 and became YOP, STEP, etc. Gradual increases in Local Authority Youth Service budgets from £41m (108 LA's) in 1974 tended to level after 1979.

Sources: MSC Annual Reports and Youth Service Expenditure (NYB)

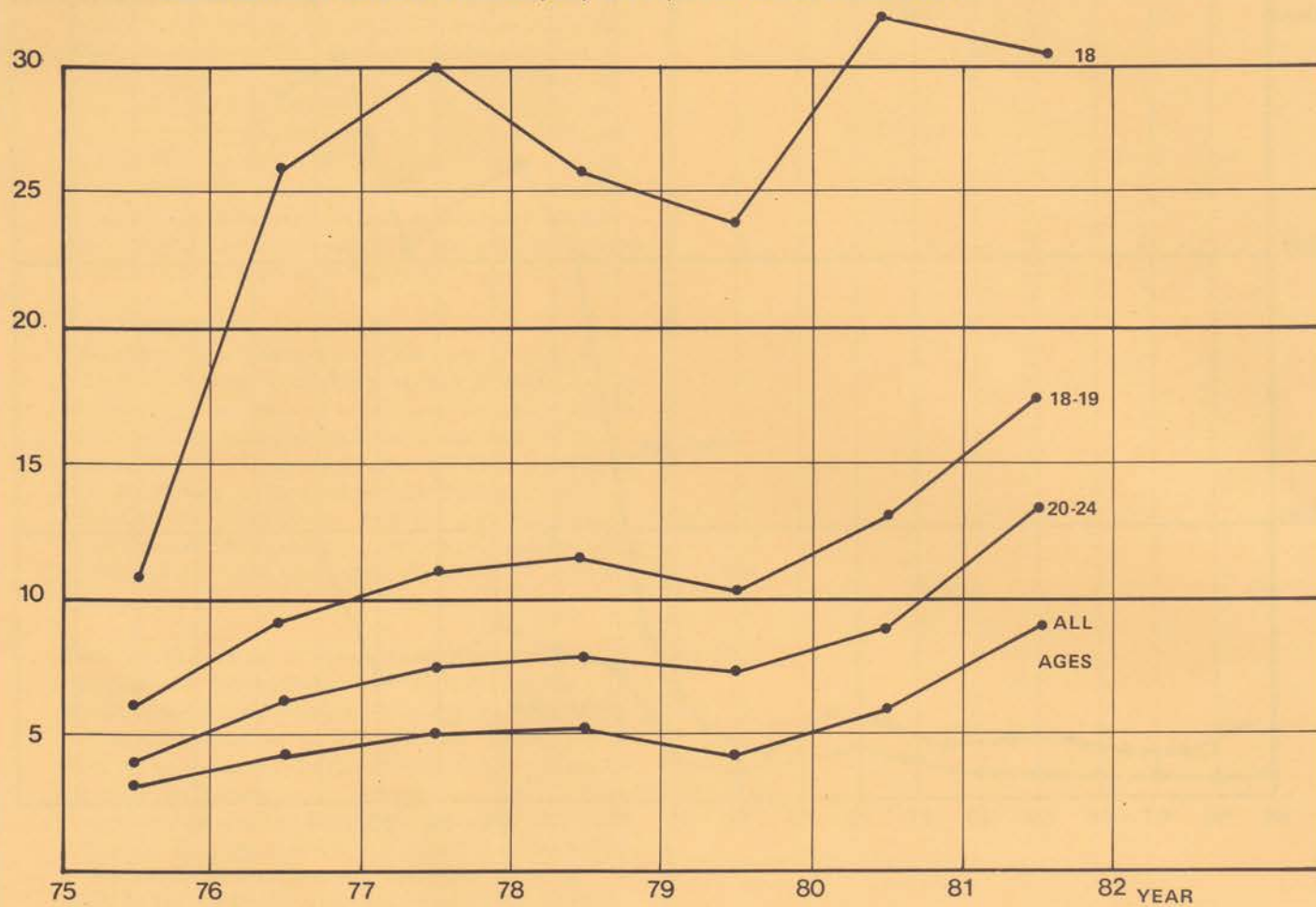
NUMBERS OF UNEMPLOYED SCHOOL LEAVERS UK JANUARY AND JULY, 1965-81



UNEMPLOYMENT: RATES OF MALES, UK: 1975-81: SPECIFIC AGE BANDS (JULY : thousands)



UNEMPLOYMENT RATES OF FEMALES, UK, 1975-81, SPECIFIC AGE BANDS (JULY)



YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

monitor:
april~may 1982

'Monitor' is a partial review of political activity relating to youth questions in chronological sequence. The amount of Parliamentary business referring to youth has recently increased considerably. This is a digest of House of Commons proceedings only.

V21 : N90

Education Grants (Scotland) WA

List of education grants to community education organisations in Scotland, with amount in each case; in two categories, National Voluntary Organisations and Adult Education Organisations; (total £1,426,253).

Birth Statistics WA

Listed 20 local authorities with highest percentage of live births to mothers born outside UK, and the New Commonwealth and Pakistan (tables).

V21 : N91

Northern Ireland (higher Education) D

Debate on Higher Education in Ulster; exchange around youth related issues, i.e. student numbers, 'exodus' of 18 year olds, etc. (11 pages).

Children's Homes Bill D

Debate on Bill, exchange of amendments; accommodation; registration; adj.

Millisle Borstal (Northern Ireland) WA

Public access to facilities requested; ans. not practicable.

Crime Statistics WA

Request to Govt. to publish Met. Police figures on crime by ethnicity, sex, employed or unemployed; ans. No.

Foreign Students (fees) WA

Fees charged to foreign students attending in Scotland (table).

V21 : N93

Further Education WA

Expansion of further education to accommodate 16-19 year olds; details of Govt policy 1982-83, 1984-85 (Cmnd 8499; increase (nearly) 25% in the number within the age group on full time courses; additional £85 million; further figures.

York WA

Pupil-teacher ratios for York 1980-81; primary, middle, secondary and grammar; table.

Community Enterprise Project (Leeds) WA

Govt asked why number of these employed on CEP in Leeds has been halved; ans. more suitable distribution throughout the region; responsibility of MSC; existing schemes will continue until completion.

Young Persons (Wages) WA

Govt asked if it was aware that some employers cannot afford to recruit young people at existing wage levels, in which industries, how many jobs? No record kept.

It is not possible to cover the Lords, Committees or Lobbies, nor is it practical to provide a comprehensive extraction of Official Reports. Readers who require additional information on Parliamentary activity may contact the editor. Please note the code for sources when using this supplement.

V21 : N94

Police Accountability D

Exchange around considerations of accountability, referring to The Police Act 1964; should chief officers continue to have complete discretion?; ans. 'No politician or pressure group should be able to direct the police. That could lead to disaster' Mr Mayhew Min. State Home Office; etc (four pages).

Supplementary Benefit OA

December 1981 3.7 million people receiving Supp. Ben.; 2 million of these below retirement age; 1.7 million supplementary pensioners; present total 'probably' nearing 4 million (Govt); (Mr Meacher) 'now about 6.5 million people, including dependents living on the Supp. Ben. poverty line'; the Govt will resolve by solving the underlying economic problems; etc.

Employment WA

Govt asked to list for each wages council the weekly wage laid down for young persons of 16, 17, and 18, 19, and 20 years respectively, and what this represents as a percentage of the single person's rate of Supp. Ben.; reply in figures for each council estimated to have more than 100,000 workers within their field (table).

Unemployment Statistics WA

Average level of unemployment for England and Wales for each of last ten years and current year (table).

Youth Unemployment WA

Number of young people unemployed for more than six months, but less than twelve, and more than twelve months; Jan 82, published in table 2.6 of Feb. issue of Dept. of Employment Gazette.

Elephant Jobs Limited WA

Govt asked to report on 142 young and adult persons employed by Elephant Jobs Ltd currently under notice; MSC declines to fund jobs for further twelve months; ans. do not fully meet the eligibility requirement of CE Programme.

Civil Disturbances WA

Govt asked why has it taken so long to get a breakdown of numbers charged and found guilty after the riots twelve months ago? ans. it will be completed shortly.

Police (Merseyside) WA

Numbers of police officers, grades, number of auxiliary officers employed in Birkenhead, Liverpool and Merseyside in last ten years (table). (tables three pages).

Child Benefit WA

What proportion of mothers have elected to collect benefits weekly? Nearly 3.9 million, about 65%.

Young Persons (Wages) WA

Sec. State Employment asked to publish updated analysis of research paper No 10 (relative earnings and youth unemployment); ans. it is not proposed to publish the report.

Child Benefit WA

Benefit at present payable to a young person who has left school up to the end of the school holiday which follows the term in which education ceased; regulations take effect from 31/5/82; benefit will no longer be paid to those who work full time or on YOP; change will save estimated £10 million in a full year.

Recruitment

members recruited for the armed forces from Wales in 1980/81, 81/82, and numbers from each recruiting centre respectively (table).

V21 : N95**Accident Statistics OA**

Latest figures for accidents, pedestrians, vehicles, motor cycles; some exchange.

Police Equipment(WA

Some (limited) information on police expenditure 1980/81.

Prison Population WA

At 2/4/82, 44,200.

Community Projects Foundation WA

Details of CPF; date of incorporation; terms of reference; details of its constitution; names of trustees; financial position (grant of £695,000 in 1981/82).

Women (employment) WA

Female employed labour force 16 to 59 years as a percentage of total female population 16 to 59 years, in 1978 to 1981.

Young Workers Scheme WA

When first payments will be made to employers under the young workers scheme; Parliamentary acceptance of estimate pending.

School Meals WA

Take up of entitled children to free school meals not available as information.

Micros In Schools (Training) WA

Details of teachers using in-service training schemes supported by the micro electronics education programme 1981-83.

Information Technology WA

Microcomputer as aid to teaching and learning will receive particular attention during 1982 as part of Info. Tech. Year.

Under Fives (Wales) WA

Total population of children under five years in each local authority with Social Service responsibilities in Wales (table).

Day Nurseries (Wales) WA

Percentage of Social Service Day Nursery places per thousand children under five years in Wales (table).

Single Parents (Wales) WA

Incidence of single parents in each local authority with Social Services responsibility in Wales; information contained in table 39 of Welsh Dwelling and Housing Survey.

Unemployment Statistics (Scotland) WA

Current total and male rates for Scotland (table); total and men in Kilmarnock (table); corresponding figures for 1979.

Under Fives (Scotland) WA

Total population of under fives in each local authority in Scotland (table).

Day Nurseries (Scotland) WA

Percentage of social services day nursery places available per thousand of under fives in Scotland (table).

Single Parents (Scotland) WA

Information not yet available.

Family Income Supplement WA

About 132,000 recipients of FI supp. in G. Britain at 29/12/81; table by occupational category.

Under Fives WA

'Population Estimates 1980' HMSO Series PPI No 5 table 5 contains information on total population of under fives in each local authority in England.

Free Milk WA

Proportion of families entitled to free milk (welfare) on grounds of low income that do not currently claim is not available; total claiming in UK rose from 16,600 in 1977 to 29,630 in 1980.

Prescription Charges WA

About 60% of all prescription items dispensed free of charge; further 6% to holders of 'season tickets'.

One-Parent Families WA

About 30% of potential claimants do not receive benefit; total unclaimed about £25 million; incidence of one-parent families in each local authority area in England (1981 Census) full table (total 353,614 or 2.1% of all households).

Nursery Education WA

Full-time day nursery places provided by English local authorities at 31/3/81, and rates per 1,000 children under five, by each local authority (table).

Income Levels WA

Number of children living below supp. ben. levels (table); etc. Pursuant to replies; Mr F. Field requested latest family expenditure survey data on numbers of poor households; ans. cannot be published in Official Report, hon Member will receive a copy.

V22 : N96**Outer City Areas D**

Comments; Toxteth post-riot; inner-city v outer-city values behind renewal; Granby Ward in Toxteth 47% of 'young men' unemployed; some other ward comparisons around indicators of social need.

Unemployment Benefit OA

Chanc. Excheq. asked to delay taxation on unemployment benefit until he has restored 5% abatement of benefit; ans. No; etc.

Religious Education D

Inspector's Report 1979 58% of schools, and 50% of comprehensives, offered RE to all pupils; 18% of all schools, and 22% of comprehensive, offered no RE beyond third year; 'RE is being buried increasingly within the humanities area of the school curriculum' (Mr H. Greenway; Ealing North); further figures and exchange.

Unemployment (North West Norfolk) D

Comments and exchange; '... during the last three years unemployment has increased by 1,652,000, an average of 62 people per hour, or 1,509 people per day ...' (Mr C. Brocklebank-Fowler; Norfolk North West); after agriculture the recreation and tourist industries are Norfolk's largest employer; difficult to motivate the young to face expensive travel for temporary training when net (training allowance) is £21.00 compared to £22.50 Supp. Ben.; past twelve months 3,400 people in north and west Norfolk placed in jobs by MSC services; details of New Training Initiative; YOP in 1982 will have (about) 550,000 entrants; in Norfolk alone almost 4,500 young people entered YOP between December 1981 and February, little more than half that number in whole of last year; adj.

Violent Crime Statistics (Ethnic Origins) WA

From what date Metropolitan Police began collecting such statistics?
Answer shortly.

Prison Population WA

Adult male prisoners in police cells on each night in 1982 (table).

Complaints against the Police WA

In 1980 of all the complaints against the police in England and Wales 49% withdrawn; 54% against the Met. withdrawn.

Police (Riot Equipment) WA

Stock; 5,000 baton rounds and 1,000 CS projectiles; not appropriate to give details of its distribution.

Replica Firearms WA

About 2½% of serious offences since between 1974-80 involved use of replica firearms; some exchange.

Religious Education WA

Comment and exchange.

Disabled Students WA

Allowance payable to disabled students paid under mandatory awards at discretion of local authorities; maximum payable to be increased from £250 to £500 from 1982/83 academic year; some exchange.

Overseas Students WA

Numbers for 1980/81 in tables, and fees payable.

Cot Deaths WA

Government has not yet studied Ruhr University research; report expected shortly.

Community Homes Regulations WA

Regulations will be revised after passing of bills, Criminal Justice Bill, Children's Homes Bill.

Family Incomes Supplement WA

To 29/12/81, table of F.I. Supp for One-Parent Families, Two-Parent Families, all families by amounts and totals.

Child Benefit WA

Estimated costs of rise in Child Benefits under certain hypothetical conditions.

Benefits (Publicity) WA

Cost of publicity for major social security benefits in last 12 months; figures.

Magistrate's Courts (Ethnic Minorities) WA

Brief exchange on training of magistrates in respect of understanding the way of life of ethnic minorities.

Unemployment Benefit (Taxation) WA

Return in full year of taxation of benefits approx. £650 million.

Recruitment (Wales) WA

Figures for 1980/81 for the three armed services from Wales (table).

Northern Ireland (Soldiers) WA

Number of soldiers (excluding marines and UDR) in NI on Jan. 1982 at 11,040; figures for 1979-81 (table).

Charities WA

Sec. State Scotland asked if he will introduce legislation to make Scottish charity organisations open books for public scrutiny; ans. No.

Youth Opportunities Programmes Schemes (Report) WA

Report on YOP carried out by Civil Service Dept last year will not be published.

Community Enterprise Programme WA

CEP being expanded from 25,000 places in 1981/82 to 30,000 in 1982/82 at cost of £60 million additional.

Information Technology WA

Some (limited) information on school-leaver take-up of technology courses (computers).

Criminal Injuries (Northern Ireland) WA

Compensation paid under Criminal Injuries in N. Ireland each year since 1968, by persons, property, year and amount (table).

V22 : N98**Unemployment Statistics (Wales) OA**

Figures (percentages) of unemployed in Deeside (Clwyd); increase since May 1979 is 177.8%; exchange.

Schoolchildren (Bus Passes) OA

No discussion with County Councils on free provision of bus passes; some exchange.

Detained Children WA

Number of children under 17 currently detained under section 53 of Children and Young Persons Act 1933; in prison dept. establishments, community homes, youth treatment centres respectively, 42, 11, 25, respectively.

Females WA

Registered unemployed women by regions, same date in 1979, and percentage increase (table).

Unemployment Statistics WA

Percentage rate in Wales and North of England 1972-82 (table); some exchange.

Young Persons (Cumbria) WA

Total of young people registered at Careers Offices in each area of Cumbria in last month (table).

Community Industry WA

Monthly increase of persons employed by CI in West Cumbria in last month; figures.

Workington WA

Number of persons placed by Workington job centre in last month; figures.

Free School Meal Allowances WA

Govt asked estimated cost of providing free school meals in holidays to those currently entitled; 856,000 now receive; at 50p. per day would be (about) £30 million.

School Closures (Sheffield)

List of schools projected 'cease to maintain'.

Unemployment Statistics (Scotland)

Kilmarnock; comment and exchange; numbers of unemployed; numbers of young people never having had a job since leaving school; firms ceased operation since 1979; numbers unemployed over different periods, compared to percentages for Scotland; etc. (tables and figures).

Job Vacancies WA

Vacant jobs in Kilmarnock at present by occupational trade (table).

Health Education Council WA

Grants to Health Ed. Council since 1979 (table).

Haringay Disablement Association (Urban Aid Grant) WA

Grant aid for one year only under urban programme circular 22, capital cost plus one year's revenue.

V22 : N99

Village Schools OA

Number closed in last 12 months is 79.

Youth Training Scheme OA

Comment and some exchange concerning adequacy of services in Birmingham.

New Training Initiative OA

Comment and exchange concerning aspects on NTF; few representations from local authorities; responsibilities of FE Colleges in White Paper 'A New Training Initiative'; element of compulsion.

Universities OA

Some consideration being given to two year degree courses; some exchange

Education Standards OA

Comment on adequacy of present arrangements for 'bottom 40% of achievers.

School Meals OA

October 1981 take up of school meals; 3.5 million, inc. 0.9 million free; about 49% of pupils present; 1979 figure was 64%; free meal take up for both years (about) 12%.

Comprehensive Education OA

Comment and brief exchange on development for 16 to 19's provision.

Youth Training Scheme OA

Comment and brief exchange on adequacy of arrangements in FE and other institutions.

Detained Persons (Ethnic Origins) WA

Metropolitan Police categorise's in its statistics those individuals of mixed ethnic origins by 'visual assessment'.

Prison Sentences WA

Figures relating to robbery and murder an last ten years (incomplete).

Community Enterprise Programme WA

Comment and brief exchange on transfer of CEP from SP Division of MSC to ES Division; cost figures.

Political Education WA

Funds for research into political education £90,000.

Student Grants WA

Figures for real value of grants 1982/83 compared to 1981/82.

Schools Council WA

Figures for cost for Schools Council.

Schoolchildren (Training and Education) WA

Comment on arrangements permitting training away from school.

Free Milk WA

Govt asked in view of continued surplus of milk in EEC if he is to offer advice to LEA's; ans. No.

Day Nurseries (Scotland) WA

Incidence of single parents in each local authority with social services responsibility in Scotland; (table).

V22 : N100

Glue Sniffing D

Comments; 22 deaths officially reported 1980; only 3 over 16 years; Request for national figures; Government's view expressed by Under Sec. State; transitory problem; more research needed; reliable information not yet available; results of Govt seminar to be published shortly in 'Human Toxicology'; training film for prevention planned; possibility of a book for professionals; paper addressed to medical profession shortly to appear in 'HealthTrends'; four pages.

Homeless Persons OA

Government allocation 1981-82 £12 million; hostel provision for single homeless.

Public Expenditure D

Comments on Education, HMI's reports on effects of cuts in primary sector; 70,000 staff left public services, 60,000 of which were from education; numbers claiming supplementary benefit in three offices in Haringay, Archway, Wood Green, Tottenham; increase in education expenditure for next year projected at (only) £400 million.

Primary Schools (Scotland) WA

Composite classes and number of pupils in (table).

Community Industry OA

Role of Community Industry in Government plans for post-school employment and training; possibilities of extension from one year to two? Community Industry is considering its role; no representations for extended places.

Voluntary Service Unit WA

List of grants by VSU to organisations in 1981/82, by amount to each (table); (several youth organisations included).

Police Activities (Media Access) WA

Would not be in public interest to introduce legislation preventing Chief Constables from denying media access to certain police activities (such as riot control exercises).

School Meals WA

DES Census for October 1981 shows 71 LEA's (73%) provide free meals for children in addition to those receiving supp. ben. or F.I. Supp.

Universities WA

Number of students at university October 1981, 75-76, 70-71; recurrent grant and grant per student (table).

Family Income Supplement WA

Comment on projected costs of F.I. Supp. where child benefit is raised to £12.95; several figures actual and projected for F.I. Supp.

Dependent Children WA

April 1981 there were 1.3 million families in Britain with three or more dependent children, constituting 18% of all families with at least one dependent child; 4.3 million dependent children in families of three or more dependent children.

Urban Programme WA

Total projects approved under Circular 22 is 890, worth £24.6 million.

Magistrates WA

Proportion of female to male magistrates in Lancashire, Greater Manchester and Merseyside 35% in 1974, since then 39%; in Bolton proportion approx. 43%; total in the three areas is 978.

V22 : N101

Chief Constables (Powers) D

Brief (adj) debate around accountability of Chief Constables and other relevant aspects of policing; four pages (adj).

Serious Crime OA

Comment and exchange on increase in serious crime.

Special Constabulary OA

Comment on recruitment to special constabulary.

Serious Offences (Statistics) OA

Increase in number of recorded offences since 1977/78 in violence against the person, burglary and robbery; decrease in sexual offences; (no figures).

Outer London (Crime) OA
Comment on (largely) burglary.

Chief Constables (Appointments)
Comment on present appointment system.

Youth Unemployment OA
Govt asked if they will review evidence on relation between youth unemployment and recorded crime; ans. 'under review'; comments in respect of need to consult with Youth Service (sic) personnel; further exchange.

National Police Computer OA
Comment and exchange on proposals in Govt White Paper on Data protection.

Violent Crime (Statistics) OA
Capital Punishment abolished in 1965; since then annual rate of increase in recorded violent crime has been 9%; in the comparable period before the abolition the rate of increase was 10%; exchange.

Metropolitan Police (Foot Patrols) OA
In last year an increase of over 1,600 uniformed constables, most of whom are engaged in street foot patrols.

Children and Young Persons Act 1969 OA
Govt asked if operation of the Act is satisfactory, comment and some exchange (with figures).

Schools Council ST.
Sec. State Ed. statement on Schools Council; exchange on Govt proposals to replace existing council with two related bodies (four pages); note appended with details of proposals.

North East Lancashire (Government Assistance) D
Comment and exchange (four pages) around the case (Mr Jack Straw: Blackburn) for the granting of development areas status to North-East Lancashire; unemployment; redundancies; etc.

Criminal Statistics (Scotland) WA
Percentage detection rates for each police force and Scotland overall for various classes of crime (table).

Stop and Search Legislation WA
Sec. State asked what representations he has received in respect of future legislation; several letters.

Suspected Persons (Tape Recorded Interviews) WA
Sec. State asked what progress in experiments with tape recorded interviews; only experiments currently are in Scotland; ans. under consideration.

West Midlands WA
Percentage increase in unemployment May 1979/82 in W. Midlands; table (including school leavers); 27 separate areas (Dudley and Sandwell highest at 271.8%); (table).

Birth Rates WA
Boroughs where the birth rate to mothers of foreign birth or non-United Kingdom ethnic origin is in excess of 40%; (table).

V22 : N102
Children's Homes Bill RB3
Privately run children's homes; introduce a system of registration by local authorities, and inspection; LA costs increased by £100,000 in a full year; about 175 homes privately run for commercial purposes; about 2,500 children in them.

Royal Yacht 'Brittania' WA
Will the Sec. State Defence consider offering Britannia as replacement school ship for the SS Uganda? No.

Education WA
Report of HMI's available on the effects of LEA's expenditure policies on the education services in Wales.

Eton College WA
Eton College given £12,080 for the solar heating of swimming pool under EEC regulation 1302/78.

Detained Persons WA
Average time elapsing between arrest and charge on release in Metropolitan Police Area not available as information; in England and Wales as a whole about six hours for 75% of persons.

Criminal Statistics WA
Serious offences clear-up rate in Borough of Newham, 1979, 1980 and 1981; (table).

Homeless Persons (Scotland) WA
Grant aid to Scottish Council for the Single Homeless and Scottish Women's Aid, 1979-1982, (tables).

Urban Aid Programme (Scotland) WA
Sec. State for Scotland examining how urban programme might attract private resources for urban renewal.

Sandwell WA
Number of unemployed in Sandwell 11/3/82 27,434 all categories; number of vacancies 5/3/82, 334; percentage rate in Dudley and Sandwell travel to work area 14.9%.

Community Work WA
Budget Statement Chanc. Excheq. announced examination of possibilities for unemployed to do community work; MSC now asked to consider how best a scheme might operate; no proposals yet forthcoming.

Long Term Unemployed (Voluntary Organisations) WA
Planned expenditure of £12 million to help voluntary organisations devise new schemes of work with the long term unemployed.

V22 : N103
Young Persons (Businesses) OA
Govt asked if assistance to young people wishing to start businesses is satisfactory; ans. Govt prepared to consider suggestions; exchange.

Police (complaints) OA
Average prosecution rate by DPP from complaints against the police is 14%, 1975-1979; exchange concerning types of offence.

Careers Officers (Wales) WA
Young people registering at the offices in Deeside, Wrexham and Rhyl in month ending 11th March 1982 is 552, 668, 229 respectively.

Juvenile Offenders (Convictions) WA
Figures for the number of juveniles cautioned in Met. Police area convicted within two years; (about) 18%.

Civil Disturbance (Notting Hill) WA
Sec. State asked to call for a report on civil disturbance in Notting Hill on April 20 1982, number of arrests, and to make a statement; brief exchange; 27 arrests; offences include assault on an officer, possession offensive weapon, threatening behaviour, insulting words.

Metropolitan Police (Protective Overalls) WA
Will police wear identification numbers on fireproof clothing? ans. clothing being modified to carry identity.

Crime Statistics WA
Analysis of statistics by the appearance of attacker and/or ethnic appearance of victim in table; categories of information recorded by the police in relation to all offences for which a crime is completed.

Violent Crime Statistics (Ethnic Origins) WA

Govt asked when collections of statistics enabling ethnic origins of victims and perpetrators began; ans. 1974, but figures before 1976 less reliable.

Delinquency WA

Govt asked if they will initiate an investigation into delinquency in schools; ans. No.

School Meals WA

Number of officials in DES involved with school meals provision in any way since 1975, positions and duties; (table); exchange.

V22 : N104**Criminal Statistics (Scotland) WA**

Number of persons against whom a charge proved; age and disposal in 1980; Community Service Orders by age, sex, period of service, in 1980-81 (tables); Proceedings against by crime, offence group, type of proceedings 1980 (tables); reports on children by police, to whom referred, reports per 1,000 children ages 8-15 in 1980, (tables).

Job Creation (Manchester) WA

Number of Jobs in Manchester supported by special employment measures, as follows;

Short-time compensation scheme	1,012		
Job Release	868		
YOP	13,170		
CEP	1,730		
	Community	Industry	99
Young Workers Scheme	6,857		

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for Greater London; Kilburn area; Wembley area; Willesden area; by age and length of unemployment (incomplete) (tables).

YOP (Wales) WA

Percentage of YOP finding jobs post-programme 1981 is 40%

Birth Statistics (Wales) WA

Number of infants born with congenital malformation (table).

Inner Urban Areas Act 1978 WA

List 43 district included under the Act in England.

Northern Ireland WA

Plastic Bullets; death of Stephen Conway; subject to RUC investigation.

V22 : N105**Crime (Scotland) OA**

Exchange on increasing crime and Govt's 'law and order' pledge; age group 16-20 some relevance.

Crime (Scotland) OA

Increases in the Strathclyde region; recorded crime up by 24,859 to 223,685 in 1981 (excluding motoring and miscellaneous).

Secondary Schools (Scotland) OA

Per pupil expenditure £1,016 in 1980-81 (excluding meals and milk).

Crimes of Violence (Scotland) OA

Exchange in relation of unemployment to increasing crime, and '...the trendy practices in schools and homes which have led to a breakdown in ... discipline ...'; etc.

Northern Ireland (Schools) WA

List of schools with computers installed (49) in Western Board area, and cost.

Birth Statistics (Scotland) WA

Number of births with congenital malformation 1976-80 (tables).

Teacher Supply (Scotland) WA

Shortage of secondary teachers in maths, physics and tech. ed at present; numbers 53, 56 and 65 respectively; priorities for colleges, etc.

Birth Statistics WA

Boroughs where birth to mothers born overseas or non-British mothers is over 20% in 1980; list of boroughs and percentages in table (highest, Brent); etc.

V22 : N106**Northern Ireland (Unemployment) WA OA**

Total on 15/4/82, 111,925.

Unemployment (Wolverhampton) WA

Percentage unemployment rate 1872-81 Wolverhampton and West Midlands (tables).

Child Abuse WA

Question: increase in last two years? ans. no reliable information; DHSS to publish report on cases of abuse with a view to improving professional practice.

Smoking WA

Total of £2 million available to Health Education Council 1982/83 for 'anti-smoking activities mainly directed at young people'.

Non-Academic Pupils WA

Govt proposals to be published shortly on a new qualification at 17 plus for young people choosing to remain in education; will affect about 80,000 young people annually.

Police (Scotland) WA

Total police manpower in years since 1975; total police expenditure 1975-82; homicide by sex and age group; homicide by type of weapon; location; age, sex and numbers of those accused; relationship of accused to victim; previous convictions not yet available; disposal of accused; (several tables).

Bail (Scotland) WA

Figures from 28 police divisions; numbers in breach of bail.

Detained Persons (Scotland) WA

On 28/4/82 613 persons awaited trial in custody; figures for each year since 1974 (1982 the highest); (tables).

Schools (Assisted Places) WA

Allocations for fee remission; £1,177,500 to Grant Aided Schools; £495,000 to Independent Schools; schools listed in table.

V22 : N107**Criminal Statistics (Scotland) WA**

Number of persons against whom charge proved, by age, disposal, 1980, 1981; (table).

Community Service Orders (Scotland) WA

Number of CSO's 1980 and 1981 by age group, sex and period of service; (table - full figures for 1981 not available); number of persons proceeded against by crime, offence group and type of proceedings in 1980, 1981; (table); number of initial reports made by the police, to whom referred, number per 1,000 children aged 8 to 15, in 1980 and 1981, (table).

Children (Police Reports) (Scotland) WA

Number and breakdown of initial reports on children by police in 1980 and 1981 by crime and offence group, (table).

Job Creation (Manchester) WA

Number of jobs in Manchester currently being supported by job protection and job creation schemes, and breakdown, (table and notes).

Unemployment Statistics WA

Latest unemployment figures in Greater London, Kilburn area, Wembley area, Willesden area, with average length and age breakdown in each case, (table including school-leavers).

Code.

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings as are published.

The following code describes the references used.

D in debate

S statement

WA written answer

OA oral answer

RB reading of Bill, 1, 2 or 3.

V volume of report

N number of report

etc; this item continues as such

adj; adjourned

ans. answer

exchange; comment by Members on the subject at some length

table; figures given in chart form.

benefits

1. 21 Hours Rule.

Some years ago, emanating from activity by Claimants Union and Colleges in South Shields, appeal cases brought agreement that students, post 16 years old, and in Further Education, could, if they were undertaking 'part-time courses', also draw Supplementary Benefit. The agreement as to what qualified for 'part-time' differed from area to area and case to case. Most cases seemed successful if the courses covered no more than 3 days of sessions and, later 21 hours per week. The DES/DHSS later jointly agreed on 21 hours and stipulated that those undertaking part-time study would not lose benefit entitlement, and the rule register and be available for work was waived, if a student was on a course which did not involve attendance for more than 21 hours per week. At first, this meant 21 hours of formal timetabled class attendance and formal tuition.

This interpretation could, and did, include students taking A levels, certainly in the F. E. Colleges and, in some areas, at school. The latter were clearly to be taken as undertaking full time study.

As stated in the House of Commons on the 29th January 1982, by the Secretary of State for Social Services, the period of 21 hours would now include all the time spent on the course(s). That is hours of attendance at the establishment, including lunch breaks, project work and private study. On the other hand, the Guardian has reported that the DES is funding YouthAid (£35,000) to sponsor and expand 21 hour courses! (Welfare Rights Bulletin, CPAG, No. 47, April 1982). At the same time as the DHSS are counting both private study and lunch-breaks in the courses, designed obviously to reduce the numbers drawing SB, and in some areas attempts are being made to include travel time to and from college and school. General advice, as before, is to appeal on every case.

2. Overseas and Visitors.

It is clear that overseas and racially different young people will still be affected by the decision to charge overseas visitors for NHS services. These charges will now cover both hospital and GP services. A concession has been made, since the original announcement and pilot feasibility scheme, in that students who have been in the UK for more than one year will not now be charged during further year's of study or courses, in full time attendance. Obviously young people in the UK from all countries except those in the E.E.C. arranged dependencies (for which the British new Commonwealth countries do not count) should be advised to take out medical insurance coverage.

How the NHS staffs will know the difference between the different and deserving is another matter.

3. Current SB statistics and benefit rates.

As at November 1981: December (1980) — total number of claimants 3.7m. Total number dependent on benefits 6.5m.

Main categories:	Pensioners	1.69m.
	Unemployed	1.42m.
	Sick	57,000
	One Parent Families	
	(not otherwise classified)	316,000
		(over 1 year)

Rates (November 1981) Ordinary Rate. Long Term Rate

Aged 18 or over	£18.60	£23.66
Aged 16 to 17	£14.30	£18.15

4. Social Services Economies.

An economy measure, to save £10m., announced by Social Services Secretary Norman Fowler, will remove payment of child benefits from youngsters who leave school in Summer, if they get a job or join a Youth Opportunity course. The ability to receive Supplementary Benefit immediately after leaving school was removed to the end of the vacation after leaving — making large numbers opt for Easter leaving. But, whilst young people could not, since 1981, have SB until, say, the end of the Summer vacation, parents and guardians were still able to draw child benefits until the start of the next academic terms, and for longer if the young person stayed on at school or FE. Interestingly, in making this change, the Secretary of State did not consult the Social Security Advisory Committee before the decision was made but is referring the decision for consideration after it was announced.

5. First Report of the Social Security Advisory Committee

The report suggests that the denial of the long term rate of unemployment benefit to unemployed claimants is wholly unjust, as was also suggested to the Labour Government by the DHSS's own investigating committee, and many bodies who responded to the only invitation to consult by the DHSS on benefits in the 20th century, and also by the now defunct Supplementary Benefits Commission. The new independent watchdog committee points out that 60% of the unemployed will soon be wholly dependent on the short term supplementary benefit rates.

Two of the committee's recommendations have been acted upon by the Government: restoring the two per cent shortfall in last year's uprating (but not replacing the tax related 5% abatement and, when the new housing benefit scheme places whole responsibility on Local Authorities, ignoring housing costs calculations in price index relationship in SB, which will again reduce future uprating), the Government has also implemented the Committee's request to raise SB capital cut off figures. The Committee also expresses concern about the levels of scale rates and about the deferral of school leavers' entitlement, with no compensatory increase for Education Maintenance Grants.

6. Increased Means Testing.

Since both 1980 Acts of Social Security the rigours of being poor and young are increasing. Regulations governing clothing grants, diets, heating and laundry have been considerably tightened. Death will also be a condition in which state grants will be means tested and costs thrust upon relatives. In addition, levels of benefit are well below 1979 wage related indexation; price and wage indexation has been lost, a 5% abatement in 1980 will not be given back when benefits are income taxed in 1982, sickness benefits are to be administered by employers and paid on a flat rate, without payments for dependants, and disability benefits are in total disarray.

7. Disconnections.

Fuel bill disconnections now include a larger number of young people and students. Rent and fuel payments defaults are now a major problem for large numbers of poor people: there were 700 daily disconnections by the Gas and Electricity boards in the harsh 1981-82 winter; two thirds affect poor people living on incomes below SB levels, three fifths are unemployed and three fifths are families with a young child. The Code of Practice is obviously not working and no government seems capable (or willing) of enforcing equitable and humane systems despite the reviews of the impact of our present practices in rent and fuel supports on the poor.

8. Training Proposals.

Education maintenance is also (See Item 5) an underlying issue in the new training proposals produced by the Government. The issue of educational financial support for the sixteen year old has been known but action avoided by every Government since the Crowther Report. Not surprisingly, among industrialised nations, many of which are our competitors, with the only exceptions being Greece and Ireland, our numbers of young people in whole and part time training for tertiary level qualifications are the lowest.

There are three areas of concern about the proposals, which are our first real effort to reach the 60/70% of British young people who leave school at 16 and have no further life connection to education and training programmes of any kind: (1) The concern that the proposals are really tied to an attempt to produce a watered down compulsory community service programme, (2) the concern about the present levels of subsistence payments to young people on work training schemes to a £15 per week, below SB levels, from September 1983, and (3) concern about the proposal, which appears to have produced most opposition, that any youngster refusing to take part, or failing to attend, should not be allowed to receive Supplementary Benefit.

The Manpower Services Commission wants the weekly allowance raised from £15 to £27.50 and the scheme opened to any young people, even those at work. This would raise potential participants to 500,000 from the 300,000, which the present proposals envisage, and would raise the cost well above the £1000m. already estimated.

reporting

january-march 1982

'Reporting' is a ready reference digest and source-list of press reporting on the general subject of youth affairs. The feature will be continued chronologically in future issues, but it should be noted that the sub-headings do not form a consistent index. The editor welcomes comment on the feature and suggestions for its future content and format.

- 4-1-1982 **Employment:** Dept. of Employment Young Workers Scheme comes into effect. The scheme allows employers to claim £15 per week for each under 18 year old employed earning less than £40 per week.
- Sexual Morality:** Contraceptives are being given too freely to under-age children despite tougher guidelines issued by D.H.S.S., according to survey published by pressure group, The Responsible Society. (Times)
- 8-1-1982 **Public Service Employment:** Compulsory redundancies among teachers should be used not only to save money but also to rid the education service of "ineffective" teachers according to Sir Keith Joseph speaking to the North of England Education Conference. (T.E.S.)
- New Training Initiative:** Confederation of Shipbuilding and Engineering Unions decided to oppose the proposed £1,000 million Youth Training Scheme. (Times)
- 13-1-1982 **Racism:** Editor of Young National Front paper Bulldog, Joseph Pearce jailed for six months for publishing material likely to stir up racial hatred.
- Unemployment:** M.S.C. issue draft report predicting that unemployment will remain at or around 3,000,000 until 1985. (Times)
- 15-1-1982 **Youth Training:** Reported that M.S.C. have prepared plans which would involve banning all young people from ordinary jobs before they reach 17 years of age. (T.E.S.)
- Education:** D.E.S. issue figures showing a 10% rise in number of 16 year olds staying on at school during last year. (T.E.S.)
- 18-1-1982 **Rastafarianism/Catholicism:** Catholic Commission for Racial Justice publish report that calls for Rastafarians to be allowed to enjoy full religious rights.
- 21-1-1982 **Adult Literacy:** Adult Literacy 1979-80 report produced by Adult Literacy Unit (D.E.S) shows that financial cut-backs have seriously effected adult literacy courses. Fewer than one third of the students were being taught individually in 1979-80 compared with over half in 1976-77.
- 28-1-1982 **Sex Discrimination:** Equal Opportunities Commission publish research showing extent to which girls are steered by teachers, etc., into low paid traditional 'girls' work. (Times)
- 29-1-1982 **Youth Unemployment:** M.S.C. publish figures claiming that only 1 in 15 of last years unemployment school-leavers turned down a YOP place. (T.E.S.)
- Incomes Maintenance:** Announced by Lynda Chalker for the D.H.S.S. that there would be no change in the supplementary benefit rules for school-leavers until Sept. 1983 when N.T.I. will come into force. (Times)
- 5-2-1982 **Gay Rights:** Plans by the I.L.E.A. to pay for two youth leaders to work "with groups of homosexuals aged 16 to 21" are being investigated on the orders of Sir Keith Joseph. (T.E.S.)
- Adult Education:** National Institute of Adult Education publish findings of a survey showing rise of nearly 25% in course fees nationally during previous year. (T.E.S.)
- 10-2-1982 **Girls Borstal:** Report published by Keep Out describes the girls borstal, Bullwood Hall, as the most violent and troubled prison establishments in England and Wales. (available 71 Elfindale Road, London SE24)
- 11-2-1982 **Summer Riots:** Ratepayers in cities affected by last summers riots will have to pay over £8 million to cover cost of damage, rest of £20 million bill will be met by Government. In Liverpool claims currently stand at £11 million. (Times)
- 12-2-1982 **Truancy:** H.M.I.'s report published which argues that more than one third of less able pupils in Wales regularly play truant. (T.E.S.)
- 18-2-1982 **Higher Education:** Participation rate for 18 year olds in Higher Education rose in 1981 to 12.9%. "The lack of jobs is now thought to be driving young people back into H.E." (Times)
- 19-2-1982 **Red Menace:** Mrs Thatcher's Office announced that the Home Office had been asked to arrange for the Special Branch to investigate the activities of a training centre for the young unemployed run by the Workers' Revolutionary Party in Liverpool. (Times)
- 25-2-1982 **Girls Assessment Unit:** Cost of keeping one girl at the new Spurstove Terrace Regional Assessment in Hackney will be in the region of £875 per week. Ten times greater than the cost of the most expensive girls' boarding school. (Times)
- 26-2-1982 **Vandalism:** Young people in Gwent are to be offered cash rewards for informing on vandals. (Times)
- 27-2-1982 **Adventure Training:** Min. of Defence to offer adventure training courses for up to 10,000 young people this summer. Cost of exercise £1,500,000 to be met from Defence Budget. (Times)
- 24-2-1982 **Philately:** Four stamps featuring British youth organisations issued by G.P.O.

- 1-3-1982 **Unemployed Young People:** Research by Barry and O'Connor argues that unemployed young people who take part in M.S.C. work experience scheme improve their chances of getting a job. 28% were recruited to the sponsors permanent work force. (Dept. of Employment Gazette — March 1982)
- 9-3-1982 **Budget News:** Chancellor of Exchequer announces a £150 million scheme to provide voluntary work of 100,000 people. Aimed at the long-term unemployed who apart from receiving their unemployment or social security benefit will get an additional £15 per week allowance. Details to be worked out by M.S.C.
- 12-3-1982 **Girls Educational Performance:** I.L.E.A. report shows that girls do better than boys in both GCE 'O' level and CSE exams in all subjects except maths. (T.E.S.)
- 20-3-1982 **Abortion:** The British Medical Association announced that Doctors who give abortions to under-age girls without their parents' consent are acting within the code of ethics. (Guardian)
- 22-3-1982 **Pocket Money:** Annual T. Walls and Sons Gallup Poll on pocket money shows that for the first time in eight years levels of pocket money fell. During 1981 they decreased by an average of 4%. (Times)
- 25-3-1982 **Age of Consent:** Survey published by 19 magazines shows that over 25% of girls under 16 have had sex.
- 26-3-1982 **Youth Training:** Proposal by M.S.C. to take all school leavers out of labour market has been dropped. (T.E.S.) [See Vol 1(1) — 15-1-1982]
- Moral Decay:** Rhodes Boyson speaking to Conservatives in Poole announced that many of Britains present problems were spawned by the permissive 1960s which left a heritage of brutality, muggings, fear, agony, isolation and degeneration. (T.E.S.)
- Youth Training:** National Association of Head teachers calls for work experience to be built into the curriculum of all pupils. (T.E.S.)
- 29-3-1982 **Police Cadet Corps?:** Thames Valley Police to set up a new cadet corp for about 160 boys and girls aged 15 to 18 with a budget of around £10,000 p.a. (Guardian)
- 31-3-1982 **Racial Discrimination:** Commission of Racial Equality is to decide whether to formally investigate recruitment to the Guards regiments following growing evidence that they operate a colour bar against young black applicants. (Guardian)
- Curfew:** A curfew order to allow courts to make young offenders stay the night is to be introduced by the Government at the report stage of the Criminal Justice Bill. (Guardian)

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youth and policy

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CONTENT

Submissions of material for the journal, including correspondence are 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 will 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 and 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 material should be sent to the editor:

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

ADVERTISING

A limited amount of advertising space will usually be available in each issue of Youth and Policy. A separate leaflet outlining rates and procedures for submission is obtainable on request from the editorial address. Usually graphics and layout can be prepared from typed copy and returned for the advertiser's approval.

FEEDBACK, ERRORS AND INDEXING

The editors welcome general comment on any aspect of the journal, and would be particularly interested in recommendations for future content and the information needs of the readership. 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. An index will be published in the first issue of each subsequent volume.

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