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research literature on youth and youthwork

JOHN BALDOCK

To quite a large extent the first issue of *Youth and Policy* reflected, as of course it should, the dilemmas faced by those who work in the youth services and who attempt to study and understand the social forces that must affect young people. The articles did this explicitly in their content, but also I would suggest, implicitly in their very choice of subject matter.

John Pitts's and Keith Popple's articles dealt with those two constant, but unwelcome companions of youth work; delinquency and violence. Tony Jeffs surveyed the related and perennial problem of the Youth and Community Service's political marginality and its vulnerability, both economic and ideological, at times of social stress. Paul Corrigan tackled that difficult conundrum for social analysis: the way in which youth is both separate from and a part of the class structure of our society. Here I wish to argue very tentatively, that one of the ways in which both youth work and the sociology of youth (for they are and should be very closely related), can escape these dilemmas, these political and intellectual corners they find themselves in, is to vigorously reject the common assumption that they are there to deal with the marginal and the exceptional, the "difficult" and the "threatening".

That surely is part of the intention of separating "Youth" from "Policy" in the title of the new journal. Young people are overwhelmingly affected, not by the policies and services specifically designed with youth in mind, but by the constellations of economic and social policy with which the state attempts rule. And yet, youth is also a distinct, if transitory, social status. Young people experience the major forces of the material world in a distinct way. They are relatively free of the strictures of, on one hand, childhood and, on the other, adulthood. The long periods of unemployment many more must now suffer will extend this transitory phase. And yet, it is my opinion, we know relatively little about how the vast majority of young people negotiate their way through both the freedoms and the burdens of this stage of their lives. Progress through adolescence (in terms of education, employment, family and community life) are determined not only by the structure and range of opportunities available, but also by the choices young people make. They make these choices both directly and explicitly in the major decisions of their lives, and indirectly and implicitly in the way in which they construct and organize their material and cultural existences. Their explicit preferences and choices have been fairly well studied (1). And the range, structure and distribution of the opportunities within which these choices are made is currently receiving much

research attention, particularly in relation to employment opportunities. What we know much less about are the ways in which the ordinary everyday character of young peoples' material and cultural lives affect the crucial outcomes of adolescence. Why can two teenagers from the same street, the same school and apparently similar economic and social (family) backgrounds experience adolescence very differently and with very different outcomes?

The existing literature falls chiefly into two limiting categories: firstly, studies in the social work tradition of state and voluntary youth work, usually youth projects; secondly, a sociological literature predominantly concerned with particular, usually delinquent, manifestations of youth culture. This work, except in rare instances, has ignored the vast majority of young people and concentrated on tiny and possibly very exceptional minorities of "problem" adolescents, usually living in "problem" areas. In consequence, both the project studies and the sociological investigations tend to be locked into particular and idiosyncratic moments in social time and space. They provide no insight into the broader patterns to which their findings may or may not be exceptions. While there has been a considerable increase in research into the particular problems facing significant minorities of young people, most of all unemployment, we do not know enough about how the majority either avoid or overcome these difficulties. Thus existing knowledge offers little help to those who make youth policies and run services and may even overemphasize the separateness of youth and its "problems".

Attention has inevitably been concentrated on the more sensational and alarming aspects of adolescent life, helping to maintain the impression (even where that is not the intention) that youth itself is a problem. We know relatively little about how the vast mass of unexceptional, conforming young people live and think. So, even when the folk devils have been redeemed and the delinquents naturalistically explained, there is no systematic image of youth to slot these findings into to compare them with.

There is not even any agreement about what "adolescence" or "youth" actually refer to in a social rather than purely physiological sense (2). The transition from the status of child to adult, from dependent consumer to family breadwinner, has been well documented in the case of relatively simple, agrarian societies. In industrial, urban communities, where this transition

is long-drawn out, its presentation has been left largely to the commercial synthesizers of pop culture and fashion. They, like researchers into delinquency and other adolescent "problems", have emphasized the distinctiveness, the separateness, of youth. Consequently, we lack information about how most young people successfully negotiate the journey from school to work, from parental home to independent family life, from childhood to adulthood. We know most about those who do so unsuccessfully, or at least in ways that sufficiently disturb those around them to react with social policies of one sort or another. Designed to deal with the exceptions, but in ignorance of the rule, these policies are unlikely to be effective.

With these criticisms in mind, I shall attempt here to summarize some of the findings of these two sociological literatures. I am not attempting to deal with the huge psychological literature on adolescence nor the important literary tradition of "investigation" into the experience of youth, represented by a spectrum of work from **Huckleberry Finn** and **Manon Lescaut** at one end and **Catcher in the Rye** and **Portnoy's Complaint** at the other.

Modern studies of youth work and youth projects owe a great deal of their character to the "renaissance" of the early sixties when the youth services were responding to the Albemarle Report (3) which drew attention to the large numbers of 14-20 year olds not "attached" to any kind of youth club. Using the same term, the same point had been made as early as 1950 by the Westhill College study of Birmingham's youth (4). But in the years following the Albemarle Report tens, if not hundreds, of experimental projects were set up throughout the country in attempts to reach these "unattached", to club the unclubbables. Very often these efforts were based upon another institution resonant of the early 'sixties', the informal, "drop-in" coffee bar. The popularity of these coffee bars did not extend much beyond 1965 and most projects were 'unmonitored and un-evaluated' (5). Nonetheless, in some cases fairly elaborate monitoring and research did accompany the projects, or were even their principal object (6).

The same period saw the emergence of a new breed of youth worker, the "unattached" or sometimes "detached" worker; a brave, and often very young, missionary who went out alone into the streets, pubs and inevitable coffee bars to meet and befriend the unclubbable youth. This difficult work put an enormous strain on the individual workers and success, even in just meeting a few of those they wished to help, depended upon a delicate combination of luck and personality. The workers' stories of their efforts still make nail-biting reading (e.g. the account of the 'Seagate' worker in Morse (7)). When later these now older and battle-scarred workers were absorbed into the mainstream of youth and community work, they had a stimulating and radicalising effect quite out of proportion to their relatively small numbers.

In proportion to the hopes and effort that went into the unattached youth club and detached worker projects the returns were disappointing. In addition, the relentless growth of the youth 'problem', particularly delinquency statistics, together with the appearance of more sophisticated sociological critiques of the whole area of youth culture and behaviour, have meant that the energetic post-Albemarle efforts are now either forgotten or dismissed as naive and simplistic. However, the many project reports produced throughout the 'sixties and 'seventies provide a valuable source of experience to build upon. Indeed it is remarkable how little some of the key characteristics of

youth and youth work have changed. If one reads recent reports, for example Andy Wilson-Chalon's study "Youth in the New Towns" (8) or Paul Stepney's account of the Cavendish Youth Club in Swindon (9) and compares these with the description of the "Toffs, Bums and Expressos" in the report about Bristol in the mid-fifties (10), one is struck by the lack of change over twenty five years. Mary Andes' Expressos Club contained young people just as bizarre, independent and delinquent as any today and her way of relating to them was just as unconventional and radical as could be found now. The fact that the best youth projects have not progressed noticeably beyond those of over two decades ago indicates either a failure to learn from other's experience or a fault in central conceptions of 'The Problem'.

The lessons of past projects for the unattached can perhaps be summarized in the following way. Work with adolescents in clubs, or in the community does not produce clear evidence of success or failure. Here, of course, the question of the aims about which such judgements might be made is important. Early projects tended to be more explicit about reducing delinquency (11), while later ones were more careful about adopting such clear identifications with social control (12). However, even where a reduction in crime and convictions has been the goal, the results were varied. A few projects felt this had been achieved (13), most doubted it. Amongst more recent students of the field there does seem to be a general agreement that there is little evidence that better youth facilities and services do reduce delinquency (14) although there are still a few who have argued cogently that the impact of good youth services on levels of delinquency is very much underrated (15). Even those projects which have described their goals in more general terms of social adjustment have disagreed about whether they have affected behaviour or merely attitudes (16). Perhaps the most ubiquitous point made about outcomes is that the youth workers felt that they had personally gained more from the experience than their clients (17). A contemporary consequence of all this uncertainty about outcomes is confusion about how clearly goals ought to be specified.

What is clear from the literature is that effective youth work from the point of view of those who wish to alter behaviour, particularly with the unattached, is likely to be very expensive (18), and rarely satisfactory unless the groups of young people involved are small (19). Bazalgette (20) argues convincingly that where a worker is dealing with more than ten or twelve difficult adolescents it becomes impossible for him or her to maintain their "adulthood", their own attitudes and modes of behaviour, in the face of the group pressure. In this context almost all project reports draw attention to the problems that arise when the work is carried out in specially obtained accommodation rather than on the streets or in public houses and cafes. The workers find their task degenerates into one of protecting the physical premises, of keeping order and maintaining rules (21). Very often the key to these dilemmas, the difference between success or failure, confrontation or co-operation, seems to lie in significant but elusive qualities in the workers themselves. Personalities like Jumbo of the Paddington Project, Mary Andes of the Bristol Project, the anonymous untrained 22 year-old in the Seagate experiment, Paddy Macarthy of the Portobello Project, stand out like beacons of rare talent and intuition.

The most obvious contribution of all these projects and the studies made of them, and perhaps the most important contri-

bution in the long run, is the enormous amount of information produced about how the young people contacted thought and behaved in their daily lives. I say long run importance because at the moment the literature provides very little guidance about how to interpret or order this hard won information. As one acute article put it, "Existing work on youth tends to present us with an evergrowing list of factors which seem to be influential but little or no attempt is made to specify their interrelation," (22).

However, a number of observations have appeared regularly in this literature throughout the last three decades. It is often observed that young peoples' thinking and behaviour, inconvenient as they are to those in authority, tend to be rational in the context of the opportunities they face (23). They are realistic about their future work and circumstances. Young people overall are also particularly conservative and conformist in terms of attitudes and values (24). Their opinions of adults are much more positive, accepting and uncritical compared with adult opinions of them (25). They are particularly anxious to participate responsibly in adult organisations and are not keen to be herded together exclusively amongst those of their own age group. Above all the importance of work, or future work, for their lives and identities is keenly appreciated and valued (26). Many young people see their problems chiefly in terms of work and somewhere to live. They require practical advice on the first (27) and short-term accommodation to ease the second (28). This does not mean that the literature understates the more notorious aspects of adolescent behaviour which often seem irrational and threatening to most of the public. Indeed such is the nature of record-keeping that the youth project reports comment on their tendency to note the exceptional rather than the routine. Yet the final impression is that adolescents are no more likely to behave in exceptional or purposeless ways than adults. Rather, when they do so, circumstances are likely to make their behaviour more public or it is more likely to be defined as unacceptable.

These then are the characteristics of the "unattached" and "delinquent" youth with which the literature is largely concerned. What of the vast body of young people not thought to be contained in these categories? To what extent are the unattached likely to be exceptional, to what extent do they share characteristics with other young people or even other age groups?

In one way or another, and over a considerable period, all the reports and studies comment on their inability to fit their findings and the problems they seek to tackle within a broader frame of reference; for example: "It was disappointing that it was impossible to develop a theoretical basis for the programme. It is not possible therefore, in theoretical terms to say what it was about the programme which led to a reduction in delinquency," (29). It is unlikely that progress will be made in either the provision of youth services or attempts to assess their outcomes until a theoretical apparatus is developed which provides this framework.

The other major source of knowledge about the sociology of youth is the more "purely" academic. While youth workers face particular tasks in carrying out their work, "getting youth to act in certain specifically approved ways, to stay on at school or college, to take and hold certain kinds of jobs, to reject delinquent peers such ideological and legal contexts do not bind the sociologist in his analysis" (30). Nonetheless, the

tradition of a disinterested sociology of youth is much less strong than that which has tackled young people as a set of social problems requiring social work solutions. Even academics have tended to be preoccupied with delinquent rather than "ordinary" young people, assuming for the moment that the two are distinct. However, recently the issues raised by a few earlier writers in the field like Musgrove, Willmott and Downes (31), have been re-opened and enlivened by a loose school of critical sociologists concerned principally with the cultural manifestations of youth such as Willis, Pearson, Mungham, Marsh, Rosser and Harre, and Kitwood (32). In this context their most significant contribution has been to question the existence of youth or adolescence as a distinct social and cultural category transcending the more universal structural division in society.

The varieties of interpretation amongst these critics is necessarily considerable. They are inevitably more united in their disapproval of conventional approaches to youth than in their ability to offer alternatives:

"The make-up of present statements about youth is itself symptomatic of the conventional wisdom which discusses youth only as a problem. It follows that anyone who has run a youth club, witnessed a gang fight, attended a pop-concert or been around during a football riot assumes license to produce their own treatise on 'Youth Today' (33).

However, the critiques of conventional wisdom have in their turn,

"..... concentrated on unconventional fractions of youth - especially working class youth. The fascination for the bizarre, the esoteric, the pathological, the marginal elements of youth behaviour and ideology has, in some respects, had effects other than those the researchers intended Though they would be dismayed by the proposition, it is at least arguable that the particular orientation of their work (in terms of subject matter) has tended to underwrite popular notions about the uniqueness and separateness and abnormality of youth." (34)

Nonetheless, some of this more recent research has attempted to study the lives of young people from perspectives which do not attach particular importance to the fact that they might be seen as "problems" by some agencies, that they may or may not be delinquent or even that they are within that particular age-range commonly dubbed as youth or adolescence. Such work has sought to discover the particular patterns and constraints which govern the lives of their subjects and to determine the theoretical links which may explain them. The conclusions reached are inevitably tentative but may be simply summarised. On one hand, some researchers have concluded that age-based categories, such as various types of "youth culture", have very limited explanatory power. Paul Willis's remarkable study (35) of small groups of boys at the point of leaving school and moving into a working life describes the complex ways in which their oppositional school-culture was related to, but in no way entirely determined by, their ultimate class position. Their vigorous teacher-tormenting behaviour, he argued, relies for its essential themes and patterns on well-established elements in working-class culture. He sees the boys' behaviour as almost a "celebration" of class ethics, a time of "impregnable confidence" when nonetheless "all the major decisions of their lives are being settled to their disadvantage" (36),

settled essentially by the constraints of their position within a class structure. A gap in Willis's study, from our point of view, is that he offers little explanation of the behaviour of the majority of more conforming boys of all classes (the "ear 'oles"), though his research method, close observation of small groups, clearly has the potential to produce answers to that problem when applied by a researcher of his ability. Howard Parker (37) used a similar method in his study of a group of boys in a neighbourhood in Liverpool and also concluded that the images of youth projected by the pop and media world affected their behaviour in only a marginal and ritualistic way. They shared so much culturally and structurally with the rest of their community they were in harmony more than in opposition to it.

On the other hand, some less recent observers did attach some importance to the fact of being part of an adolescent culture without wishing to give it explanatory pride of place. David Hargreaves (38) and David Downes (39), in their studies of predominantly delinquent boys in the sixties, see them as subject to a competing multiplicity of influence: working class culture, teenage leisure culture and a delinquent sub-culture. Clarke and Jefferson (40) suggest that some elements of "youth culture", identification with a group image - mods, skinheads, crombies, punks - may in part represent an attempt to recreate a now destroyed sense of working class community (41). After a detailed survey of the British and American literature on the sociology of youth, Mike Brake (42) emphasises the variety of ways in which fundamental class positions can be mediated, and even escaped from, by entering a self-conscious youth culture based upon creative combinations of such elements as music, drugs, race, sex and sport. Frank Musgrove, one of the few researchers who has attempted to learn something of the lives of the great mass of conforming, often middle-class, youth sees the young as occupying an "ill defined no-man's land" (43). At work they are "increasingly classified and underpaid", in leisure herded unwillingly and artificially "into spaces insulated from all adult concerns" (44). But again he sees the precise explanatory factors in terms of class and social structure. The young are temporarily removed from the sphere of production, and consigned to a separate, subordinate social class (45).

However, existing literature presents only partial explanations of the links between the organisation of daily life, materially and culturally, and its crucial outcomes. One problem is that the outcomes concerned tend to be either those the writers regard as undesirable (e.g. delinquency) or desirable (e.g. forms of resistance to exploitation and subordination), and the cultural and material forms of life discussed tend to be those represented in the group life of educationally unsuccessful male adolescents in so far as they are conducted in public arenas outside the home and family. This allows sharply focussed but only partial explanations of the social character of adolescence. Angela McRobbie has made a similar point very acutely:

"If we look at the structured absences in this youth literature it is the sphere of the family and domestic life that is missing..... Only what happened out there on the streets mattered Willis's emphasis on the cohesion of tight-knit groups tends to bind us to the ways that the lads' immersion in and expression of working-class culture also takes place outside the public sphere. It happens as much around the breakfast table and in the bedroom as in the school and workplace (46) I don't know of a study that considers, never mind prioritises youth and the family (47)".

Angela McRobbie's concern here is largely to point out how youth culture has been conceived of and studied in entirely masculine terms, but, in doing so, she draws attention to how curtailed a view of even the boys' world is revealed.

This brief survey of the two strands of enquiry into adolescent life described above reveals how slight is our knowledge of how most young people live. The first strand, that of monitored social work, initiatives within the framework and traditions of the youth service, has suffered from a tendency to identify certain young people as problems themselves; to see them in terms of their assumed maladjustment or lack of integration into some more normal adolescent culture. There is no point in repeating these attempts to research the outcomes of youth projects until it is possible to situate the findings within at least a tentative theory of the principle determinants of young people's lives, both in structural and cultural terms.

The second strand of enquiry, more critical and sociological, has drawn attention to these problems and, in particular, questioned conventional notions of "teenage culture". But again, there has been a concentration on the behaviour and attitudes of the more sensational and apparently disruptive teenagers, if only to clear away false stereotypes of them.

In conclusion, I would only reiterate my belief that a genuinely critical approach to state policy from the point of view of its relation to young people, as well as the guilt-free "progressive youth work" Paul Corrigan wrote of in the last issue, is much more likely to succeed if your knowledge of young peoples' lives is rescued from its marginal and recuperative emphases.

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young people need incomes too

LINDSEY RHODES

The sixteen to eighteen year old age group has become a byword for concern in political rhetoric in recent years. Policy considerations, however do not seem to have extended to the income maintenance of this group.

In the first place, little attention has been given to the adequacy or otherwise of the income support given to young people at school or as school-leavers. Secondly, income maintenance policy has failed to provide a consistent support to the heralded objectives of encouraging young people to fulfil their potential and take up appropriate educational, training and work opportunities.

In 1980 there were 477,000 males and 397,000 females in full time education between the ages of 16 and 18 in Great Britain (1). A comparison with the number of 16 - 18 year olds continuing full-time education in the ten E.E.C. countries shows only the Irish Republic to have a lower percentage of this age group in full-time education (2).

TABLE 1.

INCOME MAINTENANCE PAID TO PARENTS FOR 16 YEAR OLDS IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION

BENEFIT	VALUE OF DEPENDENTS ADDITION	CHILD BENEFIT	TOTAL WEEKLY SUPPORT
NON-MEANS TESTED BENEFITS			
Unemployment Benefit	£00.80	£5.25	£06.05
Sickness Benefit	£00.80	£5.25	£06.05
Widows Benefit	£07.70	£5.25	£12.95
Invalidity Benefit	£07.70	£5.25	£12.95
Retirement Pension	£07.70	£5.25	£12.95
MEANS TESTED BENEFITS			
Supplementary Benefit	£14.30	£5.25	£14.30 (*)
Family Income Supplement	£ 4.00	£5.25	£ 9.25 (**)

(*) S.B. is paid net of child benefit

(**) The value of rent and rate rebates and allowances varies between £1.18 and £1.67 for each dependent child.

Income maintenance for this group continues to treat the young person as a child dependent. The child benefit (£5.25 a week) paid to the parent (3) supporting the young person is the only financial assistance available in the vast majority of cases. Parents of 16-18 year olds in full-time education who are in receipt of Supplementary Benefit or National Insurance Benefits continue to receive a dependent's addition in respect of the student. Means-tests for Family Income Supplement and rent and rate rebates and allowances also include the sixteen plus student as a dependent. Table 1. illustrates the inconsistency and inadequacy of provision thus provided.

The only income scheme available that aims to provide for the special needs of a young person undergoing education is the Education Maintenance Allowance. The Holland Report (4) indicated an average level of Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) of £2.22 a week in 1974. Little information is currently available about the actual levels of payment made by local authorities under this non-mandatory scheme (5) but anecdotal evidence from contact with other advice agencies would suggest that like other welfare measures EMA's have taken the brunt of cuts within many education authorities. Even in authorities such as North Tyneside and Newcastle which have recognised the protection of EMA's as a priority the level of benefit provided is low (£448 a year or the equivalent of £8.61 a week maximum) and the test of means stringent with the maximum benefit being paid only to those whose parents earn £2295 net income a year or less (6). Anyone whose parents earn a net income of over £3555 a year is disqualified from benefit.

A Government report in 1957 (7) recommended that Educational Maintenance Allowances should be related to the maintenance needs of the pupil i.e. to the cost of the student's food, clothing, holidays, spending money and the heating and lighting of a study bedroom. This level of maintenance was costed by a Manpower Services Commission report (8) at one and a half times the Supplementary Benefit level for an adult non-householder. This would put the required level at £27.90 at today's prices. The non introduction of statutory EMA's means that the real choice facing most young people and their families is between £5.25 a week child benefit, paid to the parent, and the £16.85 independent income available to the school-leaver in receipt of Supplementary Benefit. The choice is clearly not a real one for low income families.

There is evidence from some research conducted by Oliver Fulton and Alan Goren in 1977 (9) that income choices were persuasive to school-leavers. They contacted nearly 3000 fifth formers. Of those leaving school, 42% of the boys and 49% of the girls said they would stay on at school if a grant (paid to them) to the modest value of £7.50 were available. The researchers estimated at that time that an extra 33,000 sixteen year olds would have stayed on at school if an EMA to the value of £7.50 a week had been available to them. It was the school-leavers who had obtained some academic success at school that were more likely to take advantage of the hypothetical grant, Social Trends (10) shows that increasing numbers of educational attainees are leaving school. The number of boys leaving school with at least one 'O' level pass increased by nearly one-half in absolute terms between 1970-71 and 1979-80 to nearly 201,000, whereas the number of girls leaving with similar qualifications increased by over three-fifths in the same period to nearly 212,000 (11). It seems reasonable to assume therefore that an adequate system of income support would encourage considerably more than the estimated 33,000 students to remain in full-time education.

Shirley Williams proposed improvements in the Educational Maintenance Scheme as Education Minister in the last Labour Government but the election defeat in 1979 left the Labour Government's proposals as a manifesto pledge. The present Government have been opposed to EMA's but recent press reports seem to indicate interest in a scheme, which perhaps to save their embarrassment, they call a school wage.

If an enhanced income for the 16-18 year olds who stays on at school is to be effective in giving a real choice to the potential school-leaver it must be paid both on a universal basis and direct to the school student. The option of a payment based on a parental means-test fails to confer on the school student the same financial status as the school leaver.

The concept of a non-means tested education grant seems to create rancour in the breasts of those who abhor means-testing in other contexts. Higher education has been so much the province of the middle classes that a universal benefit, though it may attempt to redress the balance in favour of lower income groups, would seem to be benefiting the traditional users of education services more.

A claw back on parental income, through taxation, is a possible solution to the high cost of a universal payment but at present tax thresholds such a solution would create unwelcome costs for many low income families. The key to accepting a universal approach is to see it as an aspect of the disaggregation of financial dependency within the family. The arguments that are put so powerfully in favour of women having a right to their own incomes within a family need now to be applied to the young person within the family. For if prolonged education is to mean prolonged dependency, it is a choice that 40% of our 16-18 year olds will continue to turn their backs on.

School-leavers were treated as financially independent until 1980, when the Social Security (No 2) Act amended the Supplementary Benefit Scheme. The withdrawal of the right to Supplementary Benefit was proposed by the review team (12) of the Supplementary Benefit scheme because it was argued that school-leavers artificially inflated the unemployment figures and placed a heavy burden on the DHSS local offices and the

Careers Service. The Report contended that school-leavers were applying for Supplementary Benefit even though they intended to return to school. The team considered it a socially undesirable trend for children to enter adult life by moving straight from school to benefit (13):

This extra-ordinary argument has been used to create a situation where children instead enter adult life without work, income or any other form of acknowledgement. School-leavers now have no income in their own right until the first Monday in January if they leave school in the Autumn term: the first Monday after Easter if they leave school at Easter or the first Monday in September if they leave school in Summer. Hence, the policy has a differential effect on groups of school-leavers. Easter-leavers cannot claim for two weeks. Those who stay on an extra term, perhaps to re-sit exams and leave in the Autumn term may lose 6-8 weeks income and summer-leavers go without an income for fourteen weeks. Child income support does of course continue, but to the parents with Child Benefit being paid (14) as are dependents additions to Supplementary and other benefits. The net cost of disentanglement to the family is £11.60 a week at current benefit prices. The school-leaver loses an independent income of £16.85, thus this summer's school leaver is £16.85 a week worse off than her/his class mate who left at Easter.

A further consequence of disentanglement, which is particularly harsh on low income families, is that job opportunities may have to be foregone if necessary work clothes and tools can not be afforded. A supplementary benefit claimant only can get help with the cost of work clothing and tools and equipment.

The argument proffered by the review team that school-leavers form a burden on the Careers Service is clearly spurious. Not only were the Careers Service amongst the opponents of disentanglement, they still encourage school-leavers to use their services when they first leave school. The only explanation for the restriction given that holds any water is the 'massaging' effect it has on the unemployment figures. Clearly the surge of unemployed school-leavers onto the register is an embarrassment to the government. Disentanglement has been a cost saving exercise with a high price in terms of the dignity and rights of school-leavers.

A further effect of disentanglement may yet prove to be that many sixteen year olds leave full-time education prematurely both before Easter and before taking qualifying examinations. Under pressure from the Education Lobby the Department of Science and Education undertook to look at the effect of the rule on school leavers last year. Evidently no marked difference could be discerned. However the full impact of the rule may not have been apparent to school-leavers and their parents at Easter 1981. Whether the ruling robs 16 year olds of the chance to take qualifications or not, it will still be the children of the poor who loose the most as a result of disentangling the school-leaver.

Supplementary Benefit regulations introduced in 1981 (15) hold that attendance at part-time course of education (less than twenty one hours a week) is not incompatible with claiming Supplementary Benefit, provided that the claimant can show s/he continues to be available for work. Quick to take advantage of a potential source of custom, colleges began to offer a variety of '21-hour' courses to attract the unemployed. In particular it should be noted that those under 21 year old did not have to be out of work a year before being able to take up such a course.

Rubbing shoulders with those in full-time education were 21 hour course and Youth Opportunities Programme trainees taking life and social skills course. The situation highlighted the anomaly of income maintenance provision between groups of the same age. The YOP trainee receives £25 a week, the Supplementary Benefit claimant £16.85 and the full-time student pocket money if their parents can afford it. Early in 1982 the Chief Supplementary Benefit Officer (CSBO) produced some guidelines on the 21 hour rule (16). The guidelines were considerably more restricting than advice workers used to the rulings of National Insurance Commissioners on similar matters would have predicted (17). On the meaning of the words 'attending at' the CSBO instructs "Do not limit the hours of attendance at the course to hours of direct classroom, workshop or field instruction but include private study and lunch breaks." It is difficult to understand how a student can be attending a course during a lunch break but the inclusion of private study strained the wording of the regulation beyond acceptable limits. Restrictions on the activities of the unemployed had never before strayed in to their private activities in the home. The Guidance also questioned the type of course that was compatible with Supplementary Benefit. It was acceptable it seemed for an unemployed person to fill in her/his time usefully but "the fact that he is, for example, studying for A levels with the intention of going to university, may give grounds for reasonable doubt" (18) that s/he is eligible for Supplementary Benefit.

At the same time as many claimants were losing entitlement to benefit or leaving part-time courses, the DES was funding a £33,000 study to improve and expand such courses. Once again income maintenance policy was serving to contradict Government stated policy. The Government were at least on this occasion embarrassed by the inconsistency and have now undertaken to amend regulations to make explicit that private study should not be counted as part of a part-time course of study. As Mr Newton speaking on behalf of the Minister responsible was obliged to concede "the regulation needs to be recast to reflect more accurately the Government's continuing objective of providing the maximum scope for unemployed people to occupy their time usefully whilst seeking work." (19)

The new regulations will however make participation in a 21 hour course more difficult for the school-leaver. A participant will have to have been eligible for Supplementary Benefit or Unemployment Benefit for at least three months. The Summer school-leaver will therefore be debarred from any courses that follow the normal academic year and start in September. The measure has clearly been designed to have precisely this affect. Mr Newton completed his statement quoted above with the caveat, "but at the same time excluding from benefit people who have withdrawn from the employment field to devote themselves primarily to study". It is surely a damning indictment of our educational income support system that a school-leaver or anyone else should have to resort to the state poverty income to be able to pursue an education option.

The area of income support for young people of 16 -18 that has received most attention in recent years is the financing of training, work experience and subsidised jobs. In numerical terms the most important scheme has been the Youth Opportunities Programme. YOP began under the Labour Government in 1978 has increased three fold, so that over 550,000 young people participated during 1981-2. Payment has always been a flat rate allowance, not subject to tax or national insurance payments. The allowance level in 1978 was £19.50. This

increased to £23.50 and was pegged to that level until a recent small rise brought the allowance to £25. From their current payment of £25 a week trainees are expected to meet up to £4 in fares to and from work. Although YOP trainees appear to be better off than the unemployed sixteen year old, however as Table 2 shows a situation commonly arises whereby the YOP trainee is worse off than when s/he was out of work.

TABLE 2

A COMPARISON OF A 16 YEAR OLD ON A YOP ALLOWANCE AND ON SUPPLEMENTARY BENEFIT

YOP TRAINEE	SUPPLEMENTARY BENEFIT CLAIMANT
Receives: £25 a week	Receives: £16.85 a week
Fares - to work = £4	Fares - to sign on = £0.40
Work expenses - breaks tea fund = £2	
Parents who are on Supplementary benefit lose £5.40 a week in benefit because YOP trainee is in the household. They expect the trainee to make this up	Parents who are on Supplementary benefit lose £2.55 a week in benefit because S.B. claimant is in the household.
= £5.40	= £2.55
NET ALLOWANCE = £13.60	NET BENEFIT = £13.90

YOP trainees are often assessed to pay Health and Welfare benefit charges (prescriptions, glasses) because the DHSS fail to take work costs into account in calculating their entitlement. The low level of allowance is made more serious by the admission of the Manpower Services Commission (20) that 30% of Work Experience Projects (WEEP, a substantial part of the YOP scheme) are used as substitutes for permanent employees thus 60,000 jobs are being lost to WEEP on the present size programme if the MSC figures are correct. Since these figures are produced by management admission, they are likely however to underestimate the true situation.

Union responses have varied. Some trades councils have sought to black YOP schemes. NUPE, on the other hand has followed a strategy of encouraging union membership amongst YOP trainees and using the traditional union approach of fighting for better pay for these members. It is at least refreshing to find one small sector of the 16-18 year old age group with the rudiments of bargaining power.

The most recent employment subsidy scheme offers employers, who employ under 18 year olds, subsidies for the first year of employment provided they pay less than £40 a week to the young person. The Department of Employment does not produce information on the firms that take advantage of the scheme and employers tend not to admit to claiming a subsidy. However, in reviewing all the jobs available, through the Careers Service in North Tyneside, I could not find a single job that offered a 16 - 17 year old more than £40 a week.

Clare Short aptly describes the package as, "Mrs Thatcher's final gift to the young, a straight forward attempt to cut the wages of the few who do manage to find jobs." (21).

The 'New Training Initiative' to be introduced by September

1983, now proposes an allowance level of £25. By pitching their initial recommended level of allowance as low as £15, the Government have succeeded in making the £25 figure acceptable to the majority. It should be remembered however that the MSC proposed a £28 level for the present YOP scheme and by the time the new training initiative starts the inadequate £25 level will have remained the same for two years. It seems likely, too, that Supplementary Benefit will be withdrawn, or at least reduced for a period of six weeks if a 'suitable' training opportunity is turned down. Once again since Norman Tebitt first envisaged the total denial of the right to Supplementary Benefit if a training scheme was turned down, the six week sanction is a welcomed compromise. The six week rule will still make a nonsense of any claim to give young people a choice about their future development.

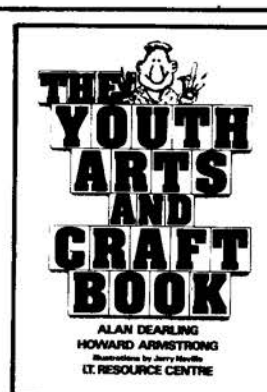
In this paper some of the consequences of an inconsistent income maintenance policy for young people have been highlighted. What is missing is an attempt to find a level of income adequacy for this age group which could form the basis of an acceptable strategy. It is missing because too little information is available to make such a judgement.

David Piachaud has recently attempted a modern minimum calculation for the under 16's (22), a similar research approach might be useful which continued this appraisal for those aged 16 to 21. In the meantime political realities will dictate the level of income and the withdrawal of income will be used to shore up the inconsistencies in the benefit system.

References and Notes

- 1 HMSO, Social Trends, Central Statistics Office, 1982.
- 2 Ibid. Countries compared were UK, France, Italy, West Germany, Holland, Belgium, Greece, Denmark, Luxembourg and the Irish Republic.
- 3 Or other person with whom the young person is living.
- 4 Manpower Services Commission, Young People and Work, May, 1977.
- 5 Child Poverty Action Group is currently undertaking research into the provision of EMA's.
- 6 Net income in this context means income after tax, N.I., work expenses, housing costs and essential H.P.
- 7 HMSO, Report of the Working Party on Educational Maintenance Allowances, Ministry of Education, 1957.
- 8 MSC, 1977 (Ibid).
- 9 Education Studies, Vol. 5, No 2, p. 157.
- 10 HMSO, Social Trends, C.S.O. 1982.
- 11 Ibid, page 52.
- 12 DHSS, Social Assistance: A Review of the Supplementary Benefits Scheme, 1978.
- 13 Ibid, para 4.4.
- 14 Child Benefit was withdrawn however from school-leavers who are fortunate enough to get employment or a YOP place from 31.5.82
- 15 Regulation 7(2) of the Supplementary Benefit (Conditions of Entitlement) Regulations, 1981.

- 16 Chief Supplementary Benefit Officers Office, claims from persons attending courses of education or training for not more than 21 hours a week, 1982.
- 17 Digest of Commissioner Decisions E.G. R(U) 15/56:R(U) 11/54.
- 18 CSBO Guidelines, 1982
- 19 Hansard, 10.5.82, page 198.
- 20 Reported in Burghes, L. and Lister, R. (eds) Unemployment Who Pays the Price. CPAG, 1981, p. 58.
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All part of a uniform series of 30 facsimiles published as follows:

Meacham, S. (series ed.)
The English Working Class
Garland Publishing Inc. New York: 1980

British Representative: Ms H. Hockliffe
Garland Publishing Inc.
Ashburn: The Green, Horsted Keynes:
West Sussex: RH17 7AW.

The increasingly significant role that youth has come to play since the 1880's as a distinct category of population in the industrially advanced societies has been largely neglected by social historians. It is now generally accepted that among the basic changes effected by industrialization, age inevitably begins to structure society in ways at times as important, albeit very differently, as class, sex, and ethnicity. Clearly, age is not a primary component of social structure because it is

not in general as fundamental as either of the others in its effects. However, there are specific periods in the history of particular countries such as Germany between 1900 and 1914, or Britain in the 1960's where the social role of youth as an agent of change has encouraged many historians and sociologists to believe the reverse. The sense in which age becomes a paramount factor is in the individual life-span when much more so than class, sex or ethnicity, it conditions production relations, status, and access to power. These circumstances may be temporary, and highly variable, but it cannot be denied that at the very beginning of adult life, and at the very end of it, the individual in our society shares a pervasive marginality which is defined by age, and that that itself is the chief factor which influences virtually all the social policy directed at the group.

This is a very crude statement of the theory, but even in this form the implications are obvious. Our ignorance of youth in history is almost habitual, and is dangerous. It indicates the relationship of young people to society in general, of their relative unimportance outside of specific moments of crisis. In another it points to the fraudulence of those rhetorical procedures by which youth, like women, are supposed to be 'emancipated', that is, assumed to possess an enhanced participation and a greater voice in social affairs. If we examine what this 'voice' of youth actually says, then the falsity is uncovered. Most often communication between young and adult generations is a 'one-way dialogue'. Mannheim, like Freud, thought that youth constituted a frequent mainspring of social change, one of the dynamic forces in history itself. But when we read that history we find that though youth often make it, it is almost always adults who write it. This fact is magnified when we analyse the limited historical studies of youth groups, movements and organisations. These expressions of activity which by their very nature are essentially youthful are virtually without exception produced as interpretations of it by the adults who (usually) merely supervised or controlled it. This seems to apply to work with youth groups in all the advanced societies, but is especially pernicious perhaps in England where, though most youth organisations have historically stipulated 'participation' in some form or other as a worthwhile objective - indeed, a necessity for social education to maturity and 'citizenship' in a civilized world - very few appear to have achieved it in any realistic sense. Once we begin to examine our practice in youthwork from a specifically historical perspective, then the sense of profound bad faith in which a great many of us adults do our work with young people becomes apparent. And once we can begin to analyse that, the nature of guilt involved in practicing Youth Work methods from the ostensible aim of participation whilst con-

tinually permitting our practice to effect control and/or containment, then there is the possibility that we can emancipate not only young people but also ourselves.

At present the major obstacle to practice cultivating a retrospective definition of itself as the manipulator of the 'one-way dialogue' is a lack of reliable historical material. Several writers have pointed out that we do not yet have an adequate, much less a standard, history of British Youth Work. Moreover, despite recent work (1) we are still some way from producing an authentic understanding of youth in history, and in particular its social role in certain periods such as those of rapid social change or economic crisis. Those works of history that have been introduced from Youth Service interests have generally been the commissioned biographies of individual agencies or organisations. They are most often written within a celebratory rhetoric which is self-satisfying, invariably partisan and, worse, patronizes young people by glorifying the work of adults - any work, any adults - that is done with them. The assumption behind this attitude is the same as that which perpetrates the prevailing mediocrity of much Youth Service approach, that any kind of youth work is better than none. The hope is that this might change with a better historical understanding. In the past few years there have been signs though that the lack of material is perhaps about to be corrected, and this process will undoubtedly continue as more research is undertaken.

The new series by Garland Publishing entitled 'The English Working Class' is a major step forward in correcting the inadequacies of material from which our histories of youth have so far been drawn. It is a series of thirty titles reprinted as facsimiles from 'clean' copies of important or influential books published in Britain between the 1880's and 1916, all contemporarily well known works on issues around the quality of life and in particular, the debate on the urban working class. Very many authors of acknowledged classics from the period are included in the series, Besant, Freeman, Money, Rowntree, Russell, Bosanquet, Booth and Beveridge. Of these we are only concerned here with those volumes which are of specific relevance to youth as subject, though clearly other titles would have an indirect relevance, and the whole series is significant in terms of providing part of the framework within which any study of youth in the period might be undertaken.

'Youth' had become a public question of some concern by the 1890's. Changes in family patterns and work habits after 1850, an increasing population combined with decreasing early mortality and improved health, the appalling conditions of the urban areas; all these factors conspired to basically alter the nature of age-bounded relations. By the 1870's perhaps the first individual philanthropists engaged in practice that we would now identify as 'youth work'. This early work, together with those of the humanist reformers and the behaviour of young people themselves, both reflected further change, and stimulated it. By the turn of the century the previously chaotic performances of the early ameliorist youthworkers such as Pilkington (2) had given way to more systematic methods and more deeply considered approaches. In addition specialist investigators began to direct their attention to the role and position of youth in society. One of these was Reginald Bray, whose 'Boy Labour and Apprenticeship' of 1911 is included in this series. Despite the rise of Britain to new heights of Imperial power after 1900, or perhaps because of it, the status of the young worker was little changed from the later years of Victoria's reign. Changing technology, then

as now, had instituted a decline of craft apprenticeship and a consequent rise in the demand for semi-skilled as opposed to skilled labour. Like most of his contemporary reformers, Bray wished to retain the perceived benefits of efficient industry whilst minimizing the social effects on youth of unregulated laissez-faire labour management. Interestingly, and again one must point to parallels with the 1980's, the reformist concern generated around the 'Boy Labour Problem' saw that adequate training of youth should not only include the craft skills of the apprentice scheme, but also another dimension, a combination of social and formal education, designed to equip the young boy with the range of social skills, values and attitudes, that would assist them in avoiding the moral pitfalls that 'imperil the passage to manhood'. The Boy Labour problem was something of a cause-celebre by the beginning of the First World War. Very many young researcher-reformers gave it their attention. Tawney wrote on the economics of boy-labour (3), and Chamberlain contributed a curious little cameo on one of its attendant side effects, hanging around, in 'The Station Lounger'. Chamberlain's odd paper is included in the Urwick volume of this series, as is Cloete's study of special occupations and the iniquities of unskilled work. However, the most well known single work on the problem is Freeman's 'Boy Life and Labour: the Manufacture of Inefficiency' of 1914, also fortunately included. Again we see with Freeman the differences between the late Victorian and Edwardian reformist attitudes. By 1914 the critical tone is sharper, the study deeper and much more methodical. By then, of course, social enquiry was itself more self-consciously practical and directive in its prescription. Freeman quotes extensively from the boys themselves, uses figures with confidence, even getting his respondents to complete diaries concerning their work and leisure. This kind of formal research into the youth question was quite common by 1914. It gives to Freeman's work a curiously modern tone. Again the parallels. After reading Freeman one wonders if in **fundamentals** the conditions of life for the typical employed working class boy have actually changed in any remarkable way. It is an interesting exercise to compare these adolescent diaries with those of Wilmott sixty years later (4).

SATURDAY

I got up at 7.25. Put on my boots and had breakfast which consisted of toast and two cups of tea. Went to work at 7.55 which is about a quarter of a mile of course I walked.

The Factory I work at is a manufacturers of furniture and coppersmiths; they also make wire handles for lard pans. These handles are made from 3.45 and 6 guage wire which arrives at our factory in coils. These coils are first weighted and then lain by the side of the cutter which is a large iron thing. This machine is worked with a treadle. First of all I undo the coil and then the wire is pushed through a small hole in the side of the machine to a distance of about 7½ inches which is stopped by a piece of iron. Then with my foot I push down the treadle cuts the wire which is bent into shape by a woman on a press. I knocked off at 12.30. I drew my money and then went home to dinner which consisted of bread and beef steak. I then went out into the street came back and payed a shilling club money.

At about 1.30 went with some friends and played Football for about two hours and then went to the match Birmingham v Preston North End. The latter are top of the second divison while Birmingham are in the third. At First it was

an exciting game first the ball would be up one end of the field and then up the other end. Birm. got a runaway through A.R. Smith who centred to Hall who missed. Play went into mid-field for about 15 minutes where Prestons inside right secured the ball and run down the field passed to the centre who dribbled through the goal. Birm. then began to press but did no good and in the second Half missed several open goals. Preston won by 1.0. In the evening I got ready and then we walked all about the town through the market hall and then we came down Jamaica Row through the Rag Market in which we walked about watching things get sold at about half past nine we came home. When I came home I began to read that book you gave me which is a fine sea story written by G.A. Henry. (5:p. 115)

This is only a brief quotation from one diary, and by no means a particularly dramatic one, but it demonstrates quite clearly the impoverishment of a typical young boy: boring, repetitive work, a narrow culture, a stunted life. This was the kind of material that roused the middle-class conscience into greater effort and more thorough youth work interventions. By 1916, with the social dislocation created by war production, it became obvious that the state must play a more definite role in providing the kind of facilities that the voluntary organisations claimed were the only alternative to a brutalized - and thus socially unpredictable - working class, urban youth. At this point, however, the first pioneering wave of voluntary youth work was over. The club movement that had (probably) found one of its earliest formal expressions in Maude Stanley's work with girls, and which had developed through the progress of individuals such as Russell, had achieved a limited but gratifying public recognition. Much of this is reflected in specific volumes from this series. Paterson's 'Across The Bridges' is one of its more considered, less self-congratulatory statements. Urwick's 'Studies of Boy Life in Our Cities' contains Braithwaite's chapter comparing boys' clubs to existing evening schools, and advocating an extension of informal education. Freeman not only covered the boy labour problem but also studied the boy after school and work, the influences on his culture and the conditions of his socialization. Also there is the negative element. From the complete Garland list of thirty titles there are several which were originally the product of writers seeking to fill the gaps in existing knowledge of the changing role of women. These cannot be our concern here since they were not received for review, but it is interesting and significant that of the wealth of growing attention given to 'youth' as a new social problem, almost all of it revolved around the boy. This despite the fact that by the time Freeman had produced his highly influential volume Stanley's 'Girls' Clubs' (not, unfortunately in this series) had been in print for over twenty years (6). Suffragism is only glimpsed briefly here, though in a manner which states the problem only too eloquently: in Lily Montague's contribution to Urwick's collection, a chapter entitled 'The Girl in the Background'.

The kind of information on youth typically represented in these volumes became the validation of club-based youth work. By 1916 when the state prepared its first intervention, the justification for club-work and its general public credibility inevitably determined that the new Juvenile Organisation Committees would have a philanthropist-boys' club ambience. C.E.B. Russell quickly became the J.O.C.'s first chairman. He was a club worker himself, a Mancunian, liberal but tough,

who had made a national name for himself as a critical social observer with a specialism in working class youth. His occasional pieces for the Manchester Guardian on the 'Tykes' and the 'Scufflers' are among the earliest observations of sub-cultures that we have (7). Later in 1908, he produced his classic 'Working Lads' Clubs' which, together with Stanley, is still a relevant book for the face-to-face youth worker. Russell is represented in the Garland series by his lesser known 'Social problems of the North, London and Oxford', of 1913. This is more or less typical of the small-scale survey work that the individual, committed reformer of the period turned out almost to order. The genre here is a combination of painstaking thoroughness in applying the relatively new science of statistics to a social problem, whilst stirring the conscience - in this case under the imprint of the Christian Social Union - with a suitably graphic and descriptive style:

'..... Newcastle stands, for the year 1911, the seventh most drunken amongst sixty-six towns of England and Wales, the convictions amounting to 97.91 per 10,000 of the population. This is far exceeded by Middlesbrough with 111.75, and Liverpool with 152.93 per 10,000 inhabitants. Newcastle has one public house to every 112 families, or if 'on' and 'off' licences are reckoned together, one licence to every 86 families. (The Royal Commission on Liquor Licensing Law (1899) advises one to each 750). Its drink bill for 1912 was £990,500. The county of Northumberland is of all the English counties by far the most drunken, showing for the year 1911 127.31 convictions per 10,000 of the population. (8: pp. 150-151)

By 1913 when Russell was writing, the focus of the 'youth problem' was changing. The club movement had begun its transformation from an ad hoc, individualized collection of local organisations to a federated unity of opinion and method. Their best attempts at material unification were frustrated by internal wrangling between regional groupings, and the national association itself would not emerge until 1924, but the process was under way. The day of the hardworking and individualist pioneer such as Neuman (9) who was a combination of entrepreneurial skill and idealistic intentions resistant to co-operation was over. Of course, other developments in work with young people had also stimulated change. The rapid success of uniformed work after the 1880's, when Smith had stumbled on the idea of dressing his lads up as soldiers in order to instil discipline into his Sunday School class, had culminated in a widespread national network of brigades, but it was the phenomenal growth of Scouting after 1907 that represented the genuinely new departure. Its paramilitarism was public, its politics ostensibly consensual, and its culture emphasized all that was best in the English middle class, good deeds, clean thoughts and healthy, outdoor activities. Baden-Powell's dream was the near perfect expression of British Imperial self-consciousness prior to 1914, the strong, morally upright and fair-minded policeman of a naughty world. Nor was it just the middle-class right-wing that rationalized in these terms. Clem Attlee as a young, briefless barrister, working out his idea of socialism whilst managing the Hailebury Boys Club saw cadet-work as the best method of inducing self-discipline, cleanliness and orderly habits among his boys. By 1914, however, BP seemed to have the future secrets of successful work with youth within his grasp. Russell never liked scouting very much, though was always reluctant to publicly criticize it. The basis of his reservations was in his

own roots, relatively humble origins and a personal struggle for survival, with the odds against much upward mobility. It conditioned his whole attitude to youth work and in particular the boys' club. He vacillated between genuine reformist desires promoted by his own experience with working class youth, and the cherished values of the lower middle class who wanted some social change without any major social upheaval. As a consequence of this personal conflict the boys' club rationale saw informal education as the means, and personal, individual 'improvement' of the boy as the end. The whole spirit is best described by Russell's own phrase as to the ultimate goal of the club movement, 'Making Men'.

Much of the contemporary idealism that saw early youth work in these terms is here in the Garland volumes, together with some of the confusion that lay beneath the confidence. Reformist enquiries were often reluctant to discuss social problems in terms of class, and when they did, it was common to attribute the condition of the class as much to profligacy and personal inadequacy as to social and economic causes. Since 'youth' was a contemporary problem without any tradition of special enquiry, and comparatively small scale in its overall public effect - more of a social nuisance than a social problem - the belief that, at least some, if not most, working class youth could be 'improved' to the point of incorporation within society was very strongly held. In turn this belief was reflected in methods of work. Systems of participation were as widely debated within youth work up to the 1920's as they are today, particularly in the club movement. It was not, of course, called 'participation' then, but usually 'self-government', or 'self-management'. It is all the same thing in the end; the issue is the emancipation of a category of people who are themselves part of a larger category that remains unemancipated. It is not surprising therefore to find amongst this evidence of early youth work the 'One-Way Dialogue' in which adults talk to adults about youth participation, but only ever talk to youth about discipline:

'But who that knows boys - and especially city boys - would not recognize that they need external discipline and control? A "club" implies a self-centred democracy. Boys are indeed self-centred, and their interests and ideas are narrow. But this is not the basis of a true democracy, this is the very reason why boys need guidance by others. We hear in America of boys' clubs which exist on "purely democratic lines", and are told that complete self-management by the boys is the secret of success in that country. In England our youth are not yet, upon the whole, quite so precocious. It may be feared, however, that in some clubs we too are not ignorant of a democracy of an even more modern kind: the democracy under which, as in the modern state, the "masses" or the boys, call the tune, while the "classes", or the managers, pay the piper. . . .'

(10: p.174)

One detects here the strongest odour of adult bad faith. Then, as now, it was endemic in virtually all youth work and in attitudes to young people. It will be very surprising indeed if the forthcoming Youth Service Review (1982) does not speak at some point about participation, and when/if it does, the tone will most likely be a modern language version of Braithwaite's quote above.

If one responsibility of the historian is to imply parallels between past and present, another is to determine origins. This

series actually helps in clarifying the beginnings of youth work in Britain by rendering accessible texts which previously have only hardly ever been available outside the reading room of the British Library. Youth work in Britain was probably the first concerted and systematic practice in any modern state.

It emerged as a response to the social conditions of 'mass' urban industrialization, and Britain was the first society to experience the structural problems arising from this. There are several theories as to the institutional nature of early youth work; McG. Eagar (11) believed that the boys' club was a logical extension of the Working Men's social club, and that the earliest district youth units, such as the Islington Youth's Institute of the 1860's, were also a kind of continuation of the Educational Institutes that had become virtually inseparable from the Men's Clubs by then. Another body of opinion would claim that the Ragged School Union had conceived informal and associative methods of work around a nominally academic curriculum in several ragged schools after the 1840's. Certainly in the early ragged schools 'getting them off the street', i.e. containment, was as important a stated aim as education. Then there is the American view (12), that 'child-saving' as a form of early social work intervention with juveniles, practiced with a specifically reformist eye to the eventual modification of the Juvenile Justice system, was the first identifiable 'youth work'. There are, however, other possibilities which future researchers may find profitable. In particular the apparently large amount of informal, recreationally based, but not institutionalized, kind of work that women organizers were doing with factory girls from the 1850's onwards. Very little factual evidence for this has survived, though the memory of such work was frequently alluded to in the writings of those pioneers we find in this series, Russell, Braithwaite, Montague, et.al. Feminist historians on youth have a rich vein to work here, and its future implications might just revise all of our present knowledge.

One book in the Garland series that contributes directly to this search for origins is that of Henry Solly, his classic 'Working Men's Social Clubs and Educational Institutes' of 1904. Solly was the founder and first secretary of the Working Men's Club and Institute Union which began its work in 1862. Solly's life is an interesting and anarchic amalgam of hard work and frustrated ambition, in which he attempted several conventional careers, such as banking and science, only to fail miserably and revert to nonconformist preaching and the study of theology. The pastoral responsibilities of this took him to an active role in, as his obituary states it, 'an ameliorative labour which was to bring blessings to many, and to himself something like fame.' He regarded clubs as the only obvious way in which the working man could be organised and educated simultaneously. At one and the same time they could reclaim drunks, teach basic literacy, provide opportunity for individual 'improvement' within the context of a collective activity, operate as the institutional umbrella for provident and friendly societies, and provide alternative models of self-organising such as the co-operative. Though the early clubs in the union were non-political in constitution, they were certainly not apolitical, since in periods when direct trades union activity and combination was illegal they provided one of the very few social opportunities for working men to actually gather together. Moreover, they were not the heavy drinking bastions of chauvinism that they have become, education and a self-conscious ethic of 'culture' in Mathew Arnold's sense, or at least in F.D. Maurice's, was an item on their permanent agenda of achievable goals. By the time that Solly produced his book the movement was flourish-

ing under his general guidance. However, problems arose directly from this success. Opportunities and facilities for worthwhile recreation, particularly indoors, were then so restricted for the working class that working men's clubs found that they were frequently inundated with teenage boys who, when they were allowed entry, annoyed the adults or disrupted sessions. The problem was so widespread that many clubs were abandoned by their regular members. Several clubs reconstituted themselves around the rule 'For Men Above Twenty-Five Years Only—, but the problem persisted to the point where the very Union itself was threatened. Solly himself was in favour of a compromise, and tried to steer the Union to provide separate premises for boys. Sandford, an H.M.I., recommended that night schools should add recreation to their programmes in order to attract a more youthful membership. Neither his nor Solly's suggestions were pursued, instead several new facilities of a completely different kind were established by the end of the 1860's. Called 'Youth's Institutes' or, occasionally, 'Youth Club and Institute', they operated usually during evenings and weekends, offering rather crude programmes of basic education with limited recreation available. A feature of their regular use as informal meeting places was the coffee-bar, or cocoa-shop. Gradually, the educational function was displaced by a wholly recreative purpose. This is the most likely origin of the modern youth club.

The link with education gone, the title 'Institute' was dropped, and the word 'club' retained. As youth institutes they had lasted for a very short space of time; they do not seem to be recorded before 1860, and the boys' club model of wholly recreational facilities had emerged to replace them by the early 1870's. A few lingered. Russell's survey of 1907 notes the existence of one youths' institute at Reigate, the manager of which answered somewhat despairingly to Russell's query; 'Dwindling membership, and attendance at classes has practically ceased. Twelve years ago over 200 members; only claims to be doing a negative good.' (13)

Typical opinions in the contemporary debate around youth can be found in this timely Garland reprint of Solly which, like other volumes in this series, is a classic source of period attitude. However, there is one reservation, though it perhaps applies only to those with a special interest in youth. The edition of Solly that is reprinted here is the 1904 version published by Simpkin and Kent. This was in fact a memorial volume brought out soon after Solly's death. The original "Working Men's Social Clubs and Educational Institutes" was published in 1867, and had contained as a separate chapter a paper given by Arthur Sweatman to the Social Science Association of 1863 on 'Youths' Clubs and Institutes', in which Sweatman takes up the union problem of disruptive lads and argues for separate youth provision; in a fascinating footnote, he also added several hints on 'How To Deal With The Youths'. It is probably our earliest documented suggestion that work with young people warrants consideration as a distinct activity and it is most unfortunate that this edition does not include it.

It must be emphasized that this latter point is of concern only to those whose interest in this series of 'The English Working Class' remains specific to youth. Overall the editors truly deserve to be congratulated on producing a range of works from the period that contain the kind of analysis of youth as a contemporary problem that indicate its true period extent. Social historians have generally chosen to neglect the significance of youth. In particular, the reprinting here of such works as those by Bray, Freeman and Urwick will make it

difficult for them to do so in future, together with the other volumes they are a very valuable addition to accessible material on the subject. To produce a facsimile series such as this is impressive in itself, but to carefully select thirty titles as fully representative as these are on prevailing issues of the time from the wealth of period work that exists is a genuinely notable achievement. Moreover, the standard of the individual volumes is also creditable. The entire series is available in library standard binding and printed on long life paper to a very high quality. Simply to handle these was a self-indulgent joy, to read again some of the seven volumes mentioned here was a great experience.

Frank Booton

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youth policy and the labour party

DAVID SMITH

There is little support in the Labour Party for the idea that young people are a distinctive section of society requiring special consideration. There is however a general belief - on both right and left - that young people's interests are identical with those of the Labour Movement as a whole. Class interests are considered to be paramount, and other distinctions between people divisive and reactionary. The effect of this is that young people in the Labour Party have a lower status and a lower level of organisation than in any other political party. It traditionally sees no reason for any collective presence or identity within the 'youth and student' world.

It is at the level of policy that the problem is most acute. The failure of the Labour Party to appreciate the problems of young people can be graphically illustrated by reference to the 1979 manifesto. It stated:

"Britain has the best youth programme in Europe. We have the Youth Opportunities Programme, which guarantees every school leaver either a job or employment experience. We are supporting a great range of opportunities for the youth service to meet the social and recreational needs of young people."

The guiding philosophy of that manifesto equally understates the scale of what some have now christened 'the youth problem'. Possibly the most famous phrase in that manifesto (invented, so we are told, by Tony Benn) calls for 'an irreversible shift in wealth and power towards working people and their families' (my emphasis). Labour's commitment to the family has been bad news for young people. While the slogan means increasing people's political power and giving them more control over their own lives, young people's control over their own lives has been limited by attitudes and authority within the family. That other great institution to which Labour has so far entrusted Britain's youth, the state schooling system is even more characterised by coercion.

The motivation of coercion in these institutions is in the main benevolent, dominated by what Bernard Davies has called 'liberal and person centred values' (1). These values are concerned with the development of young people as individuals, with presenting a range of experiences and different values required to enable the individual to reach her/his full potential. The ages of 11 to 21 are looked at almost exclusively as a time of development towards adulthood. The frag-

ility of youth is such that they need to be protected from society, from the worries and responsibilities of independence and marriage, employment and income. On the other hand, according to the theory the education system broadens horizons, and given to young people the skills and values they need to achieve a very different (and higher) situation in society from that which their family and community and perhaps their own inclination would lead them towards.

Those young people who reject these institutions are marginalised. They are labelled the 'rough and tumble', the 'unclubbables'. They are frequently contrasted with the vast majority who are supposed to make the transition into adult society with ease. Should society however provide a safety net for these misfits, or the memorable short sharp shock?

The paternalism which underpins coercive social policies towards young people is justified on grounds of both age and class. The familiar 19th century comparison between poverty and childhood ('the rich should be in loco parentis to the poor, guiding and restraining them like children' (2)) sums up the equation perfectly. It ensures that most young people inherit the powerlessness of the rest of the community, imposed on them by family and school. The normal state of young people in our society is subjection to unaccountable adult authority which is often exercised in ways that are contrary to young people's own interests. That statement can be justified by looking at a number of areas of young people's lives. The development of training schemes to cater for the dramatic increase in youth unemployment in the last few years has in effect cost a growing proportion of school-leavers the right to work and there is strong evidence that young people's income has declined as a result. The context for such a decline is an already widespread assumption - reflected in young people's rates of pay at work; any income to which they are entitled if in full-time education, or supplementary benefit entitlement - that young people should be economically dependent on their family. This situation has important implications for their independence in other areas - for instance lifestyles, sexuality or leisure.

Against this background briefly outlined I would argue that a youth policy must attempt to:

- A), establish clear and widely understood principles that represent a radical challenge to young people's present situation across a wide range of provision for young people.

(B) put forward policies which will directly improve young people's situation,

(C) stimulate the development of a democratic youth movement in Britain.

These three objectives are very closely related and in particular I have organised my discussion of the sort of measures to be considered under (B) and (C) in an outline of five principles which should underpin future youth policy.

1. There Should Be A Consistent Age Of Majority

There is a body of legislation concerned with the age at which certain adult rights are conferred. It is clear from the jumble that exists that legislators in a variety of contexts have gone through an argument about the appropriate minimum age for certain activities which fall within an extended period from about 14 to 21. Someone concerned with youth policy should now ask 'At what age does it make sense to allow young people to decide for themselves about matters such as drug use; sexual relationships and personal financial affairs, most of which are regarded to be in the area of legitimate personal freedom? It strikes many young people that the age of majority should be 16 because this coincides with the school leaving age. If this seems logical, we should see legislation fixing the age of majority at 16. There might be exceptions, for instance driving lorries or adoption, but these would have to be argued on a case by case basis. Rather than legislators deciding for themselves what the age of majority should be in relation to each individual piece of legislation, there would be a norm which was assumed unless contrary arguments were made. If the case went unargued, or was not proven, the standardised 16 would apply. There would of course remain a continuing debate about what the age of majority should be, but this would represent an important focus for the discussion of young people's status.

2. Young People Should Be Given As Much Control Over Their Own Lives As Possible

Young people want the status, income and independence that they associate with a 'real job'. For many, anything is preferable to unemployment (except school). However the substitutes are judged by how far they mirror what a real job would be like, and bring a real job closer. And this is the justification which is often advanced by society for continuing education, whether it is compulsory state schooling or special programmes like YOP. Current levels of youth unemployment are bound to undermine this justification. There is little evidence that young people are convinced that education is a good thing in itself. Whilst 67% of school students leave at the minimum leaving age, and 52% effectively become permanent truants in their last year, it can be said with some credence that the state schooling system effectively turns the vast majority of the population into 'drop-outs' (3). 'O' Levels are aimed at only the top 20% and up to 40% of the students are expected to leave with no formal qualifications to show for their attendance.

Current trends in government policies (which have their roots in the Job Creation Programme instigated by the last Labour Government) are eroding young people's right to employment, and the level of income they receive. There is a widespread consensus in support of comprehensive training for school leavers, but no corresponding commitment to a guarantee of a job at the end of it. Rather, the Government and MSC are pre-

paring schemes for the young people who will not find a job after a year on the Youth Training Scheme.

It is obvious that patterns of employment in Britain are changing fast. The sort of jobs that used to give young people their start in working life will not return, but this should not mean that young people postpone for some years their chance of employment. Rather it should lead to a radical reassessment of the nature of education, and the relationship between education and work, in the context of an economic strategy which has as its first priority a reduction in levels of unemployment. The Education system needs to give young people and their communities much more control over the education process, at all levels. We need to ask ourselves the most fundamental question about the democracy of education - is compulsory schooling to the age of 16 justified? And we need to break down the barriers between the school and the community to make it a genuine service to that community rather than a centre of excellence which will discard the vast majority. The loss of working class traditions of democratic forms of education, still very much alive in some European countries for example Sweden, is nothing less than a national tragedy (4).

Other important areas of young people's lives need to be looked at with this principle in mind. Two that are of particular importance are housing - which is crucially linked to the question of income - and sexuality.

Whilst it cannot be disputed that acceptance of this principle means far reaching changes in the way our society organises itself, there are less dramatic developments which would be both valuable in themselves and which would make such changes more likely. There is too little information and advice available to young people independent of the main institutions which at the moment determine their lives. As far as possible these services should be organised by young people themselves, drawing on the resources of adults to meet needs which they have defined.

3. Ensure Effective Representation For Young People's Views

Young people's interests and concerns are unrepresented in Britain's political life and consequently young people lack any real collective power to bring about changes, or prevent changes which are detrimental to them. They do not get the vote till 18 and most do not join a political party. If they do, they find these parties unresponsive to young people's needs, and far more concerned about the effect of their policies on OAPs or the disabled than young people. In the past, young people have had little influence within the trade union movement, nor have their concerns been given much attention by trade unions, though there are some signs that this is changing.

Until recently, it would not have been possible to talk about a significant 'youth lobby' in Britain. Voluntary youth organisations shied away from or were actively discouraged from engaging in politics, even in relation to subjects of direct concern to their young members. However a number of important developments have changed this. The British Youth Council (BYC) following its reconstitution in 1977 has developed very rapidly as a credible democratic national forum for young people from national voluntary youth organisations and local youth councils. It has found recognition for this role in its recent inclusion on the Government's Review Group looking at the youth service, and the 'Youth Task Force' set up to

examine the proposal for a new 'Youth Training Scheme' to replace YOP. The National Union of Students has attempted to develop its membership and structures outside higher education, and has recently agreed to attempt to bring students in sixth form colleges into membership. Other youth organisations have provided opportunities for their young members to discuss issues of concern, but less progress has been made in involving them in the political process, representing the interests of their young members. The work which is done lacks an adequate research base, despite the valuable work on youth affairs done by the National Youth Bureau and Youthaid.

The 'youth lobby' has already succeeded in forming a number of alliances with on the one hand, youth service and on the other, trade union movement in the form of the TUC. The National Youth Bureau has played a significant role in supporting the youth work and policy research which is necessary if such developments are to realise their potential. However, the problem that all the different components of the 'youth lobby' face is now how to root national political work in the experiences of young people. The BYC's efforts in this direction have been concentrated on Local Youth Councils. Their experience suggests that much needs to be done to persuade local authorities, the youth service and other local bodies that young people should have an assertive and effective voice in political decision making. This in some way reflects the more intense experience which self-organising black youth groups have gone through in attempting to negotiate resources for use on their own terms rather than those of a white dominated society. However I firmly believe that the way forward is to remove obstacles and give positive support to the formation of self organising youth groups. An outline of the ways in which a youth policy could help in this is given later.

There is one other important way in which young people's views could be very easily accorded a greater status in our society. In line with the proposal that the age of majority should be lowered to 16, I believe that consideration should be given to a lowering of the voting age to 16 also. On average, young people first vote in a general election at the age of 20 or 21. This proposal would reduce that to 18 or 19. It is true that many young people are cynical about the electoral system and would question whether their vote made much difference (as many others do). But it would be an important symbolic statement of the new approach towards young people that this article argues for. It would also challenge some of those widely held attitudes which serve to limit young people's control over their own lives.

4. Enhance Young People's Status In Schools, Colleges and Work Places, And In The Determination Of All Aspects of Youth Provision.

There has rightly been a great deal of discussion within the youth service about 'youth participation', that is the extent to which the young members of youth organisations should be enabled to run their own organisations. Broadly speaking, three models for involvement exist, with various combinations.

Firstly, there are paternalistic structures where by and large adults determine what happens and young people like it or lump it. There may be tokenistic representation of young

people, but they are given little real opportunity to affect the decisions made.

Secondly, there are parallel and subordinate structure for young people within the organisation for example a young members committee, or annual youth conference.

Thirdly, there are democratic organisations, where the organisation is run and controlled by people who are directly accountable to the members.

There is no consensus within the youth service about which of these models should be encouraged; nor is the youth service the most important area in which 'youth participation' needs to be developed. However there is a role for the youth service in posing some of the challenges about young people's role in decision making in other institutions making provision for young people. The most important areas are in the spheres of education and employment.

Outside higher education, it can hardly be said that there is any recognition that students have a right to form independent associations to defend their interests. Even in higher education, such organisations have only been built up as a result of many years of work at local and national level and not a little political conflict. The scale of the achievement which the National Union of Students represents cannot be exaggerated. It does not offer a blueprint for those committed to bring a democratic youth movement into being, but many of the problems it faces - such as attacks on the political legitimacy of its leadership, maintaining the commitment of its membership to its structures, financing its activities, involving sectors of students with little history of self organisation - are problems which any group of self organising young people do and will face. However they face rather different problems at the moment. There is only a grudging acknowledgement, such as that given in the MSC Youth Task Force Report, or in the inclusion of school students in various non-voting capacities in the government of schools, to the idea of democracy but its development has little real impetus at the moment.

The question of young people's status at work is rather different. Any developments in this area must be carried out in close co-operation with the trade unions. Paternalistic attitudes still prevail in the organised labour movement, exemplified by the TUC's 'Youth Award'. Trade unions have been slow to recognise the need for democratic forums for young people, particularly at local level. When such bodies have been attempted, there has been evidence of a top-down approach with low levels of representation and inadequate support. However there are some encouraging signs of a re-think, with a number of unions looking at the problems of YOP trainees, and the TUC initiating the 'Jobs For Youth' campaign in co-operation with progressive youth and student organisations.

Youth provision in Britain is on the whole run by adults, who tend to express many fears about greater democracy. These fears and doubts mean that frequently their efforts in this direction are half-hearted, however well intentioned. We've all heard the statement 'I tried to involve the membership once, and they just weren't interested!'. We cannot afford to give up so easily. Radical changes do not have to be leaps in the dark, based on instinctive faith and hope rather than good sense. Different areas of provision require different strategies and I do not have space to go into detail here. But it seems to me that

the starting point is the development of successful local projects rather than ambitious national organisations.

The approach underlying both these previous two principles has been the development of self organising, self representing groups of young people. The role of national organisations, and a national youth policy in this regard is however important. There are five main points I wish to make concerning this:-

- A) there is a need for work to be done at a national level to remove obstacles to successful local work, and to provide services which are independent of local limitations,
- B) there is a need to encourage the sharing of experiences from different areas and within regions,
- C) there is a need for research to evaluate the effectiveness of different models of 'youth participation',
- D) there is a need to promote the principles behind successful local work,
- E) there is a need to apply the lessons of this work to national policy development in youth provision.

5. Underpinning All Four Previous Principles Must Be an Acceptance Of The Need For Positive Discrimination And Special Provision For Young Women, Black Youth, And Minority Groups

Whilst young people are a distinctive section of society, facing particular problems, it is important not to lose sight of the divisions among them, particularly those of sex, sexual orientation and race, which are often ignored or treated as secondary to class divisions, particularly in the Labour Party. Young people's own attitudes reflect the views of society as a whole.

Despite the serious implications of sexist and/or racist views in our society, astonishingly little is done or said in formal or informal education to challenge such attitudes. It is clear from the little work that has been done how great the need for this is. A project looking at sexism in schools and developing teaching materials to overcome it, DASI (Developing Anti-Sexist Initiatives) has been running for some time in two North London schools (5). In the area of racism, there are at least about 1,500 self help groups aimed at young people. The youth service has completely failed to come to terms with the existence of such groups; it seems to be more interested in integrating them into 'mainstream' provision rather than acknowledging that the isolation of such groups is an inevitable response to a profoundly racist society.

The principles of positive discrimination and special provision are still controversial; there seems to be little understanding that a racist and sexist society has been positively discriminating in favour of white males for years. Special provision - such as all black youth organisations or girls nights at youth clubs - are often justified as a necessary step towards integration rather than essential measures to combat particular forms of oppression.

What chance is there then of persuading a political party to adopt policies based on these principles rather than the 'liberal' and paternalistic approach which underpins the 1944

Education Act, or the more authoritarian trends evident in some recent developments?

The first thing that needs to be said is that unless those who are committed to young people's interests have reached a consensus among themselves, they are in no position to prevent unwelcome developments. The development of alternative youth policies must therefore be done in such a way that a consensus is created around a clearly understood democratic youth policy. I have tried to outline what I mean by this, although it is in the nature of such a project that it must be continually developing both in its general analysis, and its application to particular areas of provision. Hand in hand with this must go the development of a democratic youth movement in Britain pressing for a better deal for young people. I have suggested briefly how such a youth policy could make such developments more likely. This however brings us face to face with the task of changing attitudes, strategies and policies in political parties. There is one model for this so far. In 1977 the Conservative Party set up a study group under the chairmanship of Alan Haslehurst MP to develop radical youth policies for the Conservative Party. Its report 'A Time for Youth' (6) very quickly proved an embarrassment to the incoming Conservative Government in 1979 and the report is no longer even available from Conservative Central Office but the work bore important results. First of all, Trevor Skeet's Youth & Community Bill got to a third reading, the first time such a bill had progressed so far, largely because of the support it got from back bench Conservative MPs. Secondly, the attitudes of Education Ministers towards, for instance, the British Youth Council and local youth councils, has been markedly more favourable than that of their Labour predecessors. The base for this work was the leadership of the Young Conservatives, and until its takeover in 1979 by the ultra right, the Federation of Conservative Students. Their aim is to develop, deepen, and strengthen the hold of conservative ideas over youth provision and among young people themselves; but their commitment to extending democratic rights for young people is real enough. If the development of such policies has had little input from the left, this is due to our silence and the lamentable record of the Labour Party, at all levels, on youth issues.

Work within the Labour Party's formal policy making structures on youth policies has been pioneered by the National Organisation of Labour Students (NOLS). This is not to diminish the work done by individual members of the Labour Party on vital issues of concern to young people, but this work had made little impact within the policy making of the Labour Party itself. By 1978 NOLS had started to play a significant role in the British Youth Council, and in the National Union of Students, and it was seeking to win support for the ideas its involvement in these areas had led to. At its instigation, the Home Policy Committee's Education and Science Subcommittee established a youth policy working group in 1978 to bring together education interests, the LPYS and individual members of the Labour Party who had wider experience of youth politics. The aim of the group was to draft proposals for the 1979 manifesto. Despite its lack of cohesion the working group did reach some agreement and a measure of common ground with the Cabinet working group, the conclusions of these discussions were not however reflected in the manifesto as a result of the general conflict over the drafting of this (7).

The 'Youth Policy Working Group' ceased to exist after the 1979 election. However its work had at least achieved an awareness that there was a gap in party policy. It was re-established in late 1981 to construct a youth policy for the Labour Party. The aim was to produce a discussion document which would act as a catalyst to engender a complete rethink at all levels in the party regarding its approach towards young people. It was hoped that a consultative conference would be organised to bring together those interested.

However the formulation of Labour's Programme 1982 in the first six months of 1982 provided an opportunity to make an early input into Labour Party policy. The original paper submitted by the working group to the Home Policy Committee reflected the preliminary character of the group's discussions, and proposed some limited measures designed to secure an early rethink of Youth provision by the next Labour Government. This approach was regarded as inadequate by the Home Policy Committee, who asked for a summary of party policy across a range of different subjects relevant to young people. The conclusions of these discussions form the programme on 'The Rights of Young People'. These cover education and training, employment, young people's representation, the age of consent, the youth service, racism, sexism and the police. It concludes a general statement about young people's situation which is a very considerable advance on anything that has been said to date. The proposals are essentially an amalgam of some of those made by the Youth Policy Working Group, some made by the Education and Science Sub-Committee on provision for 16-19 year olds; and some made by the LPYS in their 'Youth Charter'. (N.B. The sections of Labour's Programme 1982 relating to youth policy are reprinted in the Analysis section of this edition of Youth and Policy).

The youth section of the Labour Party has not historically given a very high priority to youth issues. It does not regard young people as a distinctive section of society, and believes that young people's interests are virtually identical with those of the labour movement as a whole. It also has little contact or involvement with non-party political progressive youth and student organisations. However it has reacted to rising youth unemployment by promoting a 'Youth Charter', whose main strength is the emphasis it gives to young people's right to work. It has lobbied within the Party on this Charter, and won significant support, although it is mainly confined to its traditional allies on the so-called 'hard left'. It has also organised a large lobby of parliament by YOP trainee and others. The main problem with their work is that it seriously underestimates the extent of young people's alienation from the Labour Movement and the Labour Party, and rejects the need for alliances outside the traditional labour movement. Nevertheless, its present position, like Labour's Programme 1982 is a significant step forward, and it is contributing towards the shift in thinking that the new programme represents.

The statement in Labour's Programme 1982 is however far from perfect. It does not lay enough emphasis on young people's right to work, and places too much on traditional education and training type 'solutions'. In this area its thinking is too heavily dependent on the MSC. The statement it makes about the right to adult status at 16 is not backed up by any policy commitment to achieve this. The two which were suggested - lowering of the age of consent from 16, and consideration to be given to lowering the voting age, were both rejected. Its comments on sexism and racism are inadequate. It

puts forward no distinctive policy on what it calls 'the treatment of juvenile delinquents'. But more important, despite the existence of the section of the programme on young people, there is not reference to the distinctive problems of young people in the introduction entitled 'a socialist community based on equality'. This stems from a general failure within the document to analyse properly the deep rooted divisions in our society based on sex, race and age, as well as class.

Beyond these limitations, the development of youth policy within the Labour Party can only be protected to a small extent from the overall internal political situation. As with the 1979 manifesto, even a large measure of consensus can count for little when the issues involved are regarded as essentially marginal. Labour's Programme is not a properly prioritised programme for an incoming Labour Government. There is every likelihood that its proposals on youth will be given a very low priority, by both the Parliamentary Labour Party and the National Executive. This points to the second weakness of the Programme. It does not contain an adequate statement of a political strategy with any likelihood of success. This problem is closely linked to the failure to properly prioritise a future parliamentary programme, and relate it to a political strategy to bring about a democratic transformation of society which goes beyond the parliamentary process.

It would be a serious error therefore to place too much emphasis on Labour's Programme. The policy I have outlined is one which needs active support and understanding at many different levels if it is to be realised; the actions of a future Labour Government are one element of that, which can either support or undermine developments outside parliament. Local authorities determine the nature of much youth provision, and it was the local authorities that were most opposed to, the Skeet Youth and Community Bill, whether Labour or Conservative. The Labour Councillors who closed down a youth newspaper for using the word 'fuck' are not untypical (8). It is essential to promote discussion about the problems facing local authorities in this area, rather than imposing 'ideal' structures for youth provision as is so often the approach. As already outlined, the trade union movement has an important role to play; and individual members of the party working with young people have much to contribute. In a sense the whole problem is that the Labour Party membership has never brought their experiences to bear on its organisation or policy making.

I have used the word policy in a much broader sense than is usual. I hope it is obvious that I regard policy as intermeshing and over-lapping with a political strategy that is designed to bring about a democratic youth movement in Britain and a fundamental change in the situation of young people. The role of a political party within that strategy is limited. Some would belittle the limited role I envisage and rightly assert that you cannot legislate a youth movement into existence where none exists. This is obvious. But I do believe actions of politicians and political parties at local and national level can either support and legitimise or undermine and prevent such developments. I firmly believe that a democratic youth movement, organised and led by young people, will come about in Britain. I would like to think, as a minimum, that the Labour Party in the eighties and nineties will represent less of an obstacle to that movement than it has done in the past.

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towards pro-active youth work

ALAN DEARLING - ALISTAIR SINCLAIR

THE IMAGE OF YOUTH WORK

'Youth Work' has become, on one hand, a professionalised state of service delivery - the management and direct provision of facilities and amenities for young people. On the other, it is a term which is often used to describe the methods employed by the workers - i.e. group; counselling; use of activities and social education. Even with this seeming plethora of 'Raison d'être', the Youth Service is still viewed by many people as merely a means of "Keeping Kids off the Streets". This view is not only held by critical sociologists, it is current and widely held amongst a considerable proportion of the Youth Work staff as well. Many social workers and community workers are especially scathing, pointing out that much youth work consists primarily of providing young people with a pre-programmed range of activities. The teaching of 'youth work' as a discipline in colleges has reified this position. The notion of 'good' youth work has too often been allied to a simplistic model of the good organisation of a building, staff team and its programme. Built on the lines of a large boat, the structures have lumbered on, their outsides receiving an occasional face-lift and their interiors a regular refit, to accommodate the need to 'change'. However, the change which is allowed to occur in this setting is about as real as the participatory democracy of a School Council, which allows pupils the power to determine the menu in the coffee bar, but no discretion concerning the nature and development of the curriculum. The use of youth activities may often have the same effect. It presents the superficial pretence of being flexible and responsive, by the use of hollow forms of participation - the nominal, token, junior (non-voting) member on the Management Committee, or the discussion meeting on club night concerning which trip should be planned for the future. It may represent a marginal step towards what Paul Corrigan calls, "Social Democratic Youth Work" (1) but is far from the pro-active model of youth work which we, in this article, will be arguing for. The model of 'Youth Work' as a giant container, which offers a basic level of recreation for the participants and a form of protection for the adult society is not satisfactory. It has, though, been the justification for introducing, through youth work provision, so many young people to activities. These activities (often sports) have generally been well within the range of activities acceptable to a majority of adults in Society. (By this we mean that although the term "Majority of Adult Society" (MoAS) is an amorphous one the strata of society to which we refer is spread across a wide range of social classes. This tends to be

largely identifiable with, but not entirely synonymous with the 'Middle Class'). This direction of young people towards acceptable activities is normally a reaction of society, (via the youth worker) to activities hitherto undertaken by the youngsters, which were unacceptable activities to a majority of adult society. This situation has been further exacerbated in the case of young females, who have generally been offered little provision of any kind. Such an approach to youth work can be described as REACTIVE.

UNACCEPTABLE YOUTH ACTIVITIES

REACTION FROM MoAS

INTERVENTION BY YOUTH WORK

SUBSTITUTE YOUTH ACTIVITIES (ACCEPTABLE)

The above is a model in which unacceptable youth activities for example truancy, vandalism and solvent abuse are seen by many in society as a widespread form of "sickness", for which the "cure" in the case of each individual youngster might be a "dose" of activity-based youth work. Supporters of this model might even suggest that the sickness might be prevented by the intervention of youth work at an early age. This type of social pathology model looms high in present government thinking. It has certainly encouraged the re-orientation of Intermediate Treatment to become a method of working solely with young offenders, which may further stigmatise their position (2). Often, Youth Workers are instrumental in creating the alienation felt by young people, by responding to unacceptable forms of behaviour in a punitive manner. Long suspensions and banning youngsters from clubs accentuate this social control role for youth workers.

AWAY FROM THE SOCIAL PATHOLOGY MODEL?

Critics of social pathology models, such as that outlined above, generally argue that by reacting to the symptom (in this case the unacceptable activity) we are failing to deal with the cause. There are however some difficulties with this line of argument. Some youth workers, often the more reactionary ones, will

argue that young people do not know what is best for them therefore need to be "guided". Other youth workers/theorists have accepted the symptom-cause concept to an extent, but have identified causes which rely heavily on individualistic psychological theories. Adolescence, puberty, lack of parental support and many other maladies are seen as the causes of juvenile frustration, leading in turn to such symptoms as under-age drinking and solvent abuse. It is perhaps predictable that such adult analyses often produces a cure which includes some form of physical activity - mainly sport. It is interesting to note at this point, that the 1962 Education (Scotland) Act - which provided for the establishment, maintenance, and management of, camps, holiday classes, playing fields, play centres, and other places (including playgrounds, gymnasiums and swimming baths not appropriated to any school educational establishment)" but no-where in the Act was there any mention of discos, pool rooms, cafes, etc., far less information centres! This Act was clearly aimed at reinforcing a model of youth work geared towards the provision of organised activity-based facilities.

From this stance, we would not necessarily rush into defining commercial-style discos as a radical answer to youth work's problems but we would go along with Paul Corrigan (3) in his analysis and critique of libertarian reactions to Social Democracy. For this group have tended to simplistically confuse any form of 'action' with working class youth as being social control and may have over-reacted with a total rejection of youth work, despite the continual pressure, exerted by the young themselves on housing schemes throughout Britain, for youth facilities of their own.

REJECTION OF YOUTH BY COMMUNITY WORKERS

We wonder perhaps if it is the historically strong connection between youth work and physical activities which has led many community workers to give a wide berth to work with youngsters. How often have radical community workers pushed for the involvement of tenants' associations and their like in decision-making, whilst ignoring the views of young people in the same neighbourhood? How many community workers have colluded with adult community groups, in seeing the answers to local "juvenile delinquency" in bigger and better sports facilities? How many times have community workers "palmed off" enthusiastic local youngsters with the excuses: "Well actually it's not really my job to set up youth clubs - why don't you see the community education worker down the road?" In general, we - (and probably many other community workers) would need to admit that we have sometimes avoided youth work as something which we felt to be 'non-political'. Identifying with the adult community often means accepting a negative image of the young in that community. In doing so, the community worker becomes yet another reactionary element in the equation.

If one examines the ideological differences between Community Education and Community Development, there appear to be two quite discrete emphases. The former is attempting to provide an "educational" experience - often through the participation in activities (e.g. motor-cycle maintenance classes). Participation in the activity thereby becomes the end in itself. The latter attempts to involve people in the "decision-making process" and uses activities as a means of bringing people together in order to take joint action on issues for example campaigns around the issue of youth unemployment.

We realise that we are taking something of an absolutist stance. In reality, the same motor-cycle maintenance class might well be, in our terms, a community development model, allowing real partnership between adult and youth members of the group. This is the grey terrain which much of the work inhabits. It is important that political rhetoric does not replace adult responsiveness. An off-road motor-cycle group called RUTS has been started in Lothian, with another pilot group in Dunfermline, using the interest and involvement of youngsters in biking as a focus for that group of youngsters to participate legally in an activity, which would normally cause them to come into contact with the police. The scheme concentrates on linking a large group of volunteer adult 'bikers' with interested youth workers and thence with the youngsters who have opted to join the project. (A report of this project is now available from the I.T. Resource Centre (4)). That takes us on to our description of pro-active work.

A PRO-ACTIVE MODEL

The following should not be regarded in any way as a blueprint, but merely as a set of very rough concepts. Like other models of youth work and community work, it must inevitably be refined in practice. The model of pro-active youth work is based upon the implementation of 4 broad strategies:

1. Creating Potential Groups.
2. Groups' Identification of Needs.
3. Support and Development of Groups.
4. Developing Recognition for Groups (by Society).

Such a model or a similar one will be recognised as a fairly common model in community work, and this is quite intentional. While such strategies are commonplace in work with Tenants' Associations and Claimants' Unions we would suggest that they are relatively uncommon in youth work. The "community work strategies" do however we argue require some modification for implementation in the youth work context.

1. **Creating Potential Groups.** Put crudely, the community workers' two main alternative strategies to establish groups consist of the following: either, (a) bringing a group together on the basis of some form of 'community service' (e.g. establishing a playgroup or voluntary services to the elderly) and then progressing towards identification of action on local issues; or (b) organising public meetings and pressure group activity around a local conflict in order to create an organisation. The latter may well not attract youngsters in particular who are unaccustomed to attending meetings and/or articulating issues in large groupings. The former is also problematic in that the establishment of an activity-based organisation as a first step is likely to be indistinguishable from existing youth clubs and centres. There are however few examples of "traditional" activity-based youth clubs moving into youth pressure groups, which represent the interests of young people. A good example though is the Nottingham Youth Volunteers who have developed, through experience, strategies for applying pro-active methods to work with young people. Mark Harrison and Dave Ward argue that the youth groups who have "engaged in a variety of activities: negotiating and fund-raising for their own Youth Centre, or in conjunction with local residents planning for a new Community Centre" have developed a new range of skills and abilities. Allowing young people access to, and thence control over funds and particip-

ation in schemes for the communities they live in, seems a reasonable starting place. To quote from a recent N.Y.V. paper:

“Resources must be put closer to the consumers and be managed by them..... Young people should be helped through difficulties and allowed to make mistakes. As things stand it seems that one law operates for ‘them’ and another for the professionals - only the government and local authorities are allowed to make mistakes!”(5)

They had not it should be stressed developed this stance ‘overnight’. It was a strategy which in particular related to their work with the Ainsley Teenage Action Group and which is outlined in an article published last year (6). Many recently-formed I.T. schemes have drawn on the groupwork style of operation, concentrating on the personal development of individuals to the development of the large impersonal youth clubs, which have typified much of the centre-based work of the Community Education Service. Although the development of the individual is a part of the PRO-ACTIVE process it is not sufficient in itself. In a recent paper (7), Bernard Davies advocates a ‘collective’ response:

“Unquestionably, the sensitive, caring, responsive work directly with individual young people has to continue. But increasingly this must be complemented by organised collective activity, with, and on behalf of young people, which is set in the broader context.”

The pro-active youth worker is therefore faced with the dilemma of either trying to develop new models of working from a traditional youth club, or else finding a new type of youth group which can commence as an issue-based group. One option which might be possible is where the youth worker is meeting regularly (i.e. several times a week) with a group and where the group is fairly small. (A good example of this might be the drop-in cafe-type centre operating in a detached youth work model). In such a model the worker must depart from the role of “leader”. Instead they must become an enabler facilitator whose role is, (a) to raise the consciousness both of the group and individuals, and (b) to provide them with the necessary information and strategies to undertake actions which they wish to pursue. An alternative option might be to develop links with young people, through Tenants’ Associations, using perhaps the youth sub-committee. There are examples (mostly outside the U.K.) of youth organisations engaged in consciousness-raising, often using activities such as drama and arts as their medium. One “home-grown” example is Strathclyde Region’s ‘Speak Out’ Campaign (Reports are available from Strathclyde Region Social Work Department, Strathclyde House, India Street, Glasgow), in which Conferences were organised to provide an opportunity for young people in the Region’s care to meet and question Senior Social Work staff and hopefully influence child care policies. These encounters were intended to enable them (the young people in care) to influence decisions which affected their own lives.

One view may be that suitable organisations already exist in the U.K. in the form of youth branches of political parties; and at a national level, organisations such as Youth Aid and the British Youth Council. In practice, workers are frequently constrained by their employing agencies from involvement in organisations with direct links to political parties. Often it is

the case that these organisations do not offer a programme which will attract young people who have not already been through a consciousness-raising experience.

2. **Group’s Identification of Needs.** In assisting groups of young people to identify their aims and objectives there are two main strategies, again analogous to community work. These will involve:

(a) consciousness-raising to encourage youngsters to challenge accepted values into which they have been socialised. Young people are often discouraged from challenging adult decisions either at home or in school. There is a major task to be undertaken by youth workers in this respect. However, not all youth workers will find it as easy as the youngsters, since this may lead to a challenging of the youth workers themselves. Although Members’ Committees exist in many youth clubs and centres, they have (like School’s Councils) only limited decision-making powers.

Similarly, most I.T. groups encourage participation of members in decisions about the group, but within clearly defined boundaries.

(b) It would be irresponsible to teach youngsters to challenge adult society if they were not also clear about the nature of the insitutions which they were challenging; the legal means available to them to challenge society; and the complexities surrounding issues which they identify as important to them. Such a strategy would therefore require an educational input - albeit informal - to equip the group with the knowledge necessary for them to make any impact on a society which may be less than enthusiastic about challenges anyway. The youth worker, in constructing the educational input would be required to avoid modelling it on their own middle-class values. This is, in essence arguing for the adoption of the model proposed by Robins and Cohen in “Knuckle Sandwich”, which would allow for the development of socialist provision for youth on estates and elsewhere. (8)

3. **Support and Development of Groups.** As stated in point 1, it is relatively easy to start a group. Community Workers however, often distinguish “good” practice from “bad” by assessing how the groups progress beyond the initial stage. Often youth workers have been too easily satisfied by the number of youngsters attending and/or the range of placatory activities undertaken. The prime failing of reactive work is its DIRECTIVE nature. The clearly defined role of the adult leader, already referred to in strategy 1 is a barrier to progression beyond the traditional youth club. While we would accept that many youngsters don’t want to do anything other than play “ping-pong” or do disco dancing, we find it hard to believe that so few wish to participate in making decisions affecting their present and future lives. Their dissatisfaction with existing youth provision has been best expressed by their decision not to participate, and their rejection of Society at large. The illegal and often violent activities of last year demonstrate this.

The following strategies will we argue be required if youngsters are to be encouraged to participate in a positive way:

(a) There is a need to develop the skills of individual youngsters to enable them to take part in the running of their

own organisation as a start.

- (b) The structure of most youth organisations at present put the control of those organisations in the hands of adults. Changes in these structures will need considerable support from youth workers to assist groups to develop into a form which will enable them to actively challenge societal norms.
- (c) During the last decade, Tenants' groups have discovered (or perhaps re-discovered!) a range of tactics and strategies to present their views to government and other institutions and to back them up with action. Youth organisations may well learn from their strategies, or they may need to look for new strategies more suited to their needs. The youth worker would have an important role in assisting youngsters to identify and assess the variety of strategies available to them. Also in examining the strategies it will be important for young people to be aware of the power held in British society by commercial and industrial interests. Consequently the young people need to seek suitable allies in their struggle.

As Paul Corrigan (9) warns:

“to neglect at every stage the possible links with the organised Labour Movement, even as at present constituted, is to ensure you end up in a blind alley.”

4. **Developing Recognition of Groups.** Making protests is one thing, but if those to whom you are protesting (or for that matter, society at large) refuse to listen, or worse still, refuse to recognise your existence, then it is difficult to know where to turn.

Youth workers who take youth groups to the level of development sufficient to promote their views, have, in our view, a role to play in (a) developing recognition of the group as a legitimate voice in society, and (b) gaining acceptance of the issue, raised by youth, as part of a legitimate agenda. This is not to suggest that the worker should rush to take up issues on their behalf, but merely assist them to reach a starting position to present their views.

The notion of 'youth advocacy' has some relevance here. It is sometimes necessary to **support** youth groups by presenting their views and indeed introducing the group itself to policy and decision makers. If this is ignored, there is a danger that youngsters will have an expectation which cannot be realised, without adult assistance, in a partnership relationship. From the youth worker's point of view, the advocacy role may mean 'educating' other adults and working on other agencies to operate an open policy of youth involvement. This will involve overcoming considerable adult prejudices, particularly when young people are enabled to speak completely for themselves.

Of the issues on which youth may wish to campaign, two in particular (which have been consistently referred to both in academic and popular writings) have come to the fore in recent years. The first is: youth unemployment, and the second is juvenile delinquency. Government response to both have been disappointing, as has the lack of consultation with young people. In the run-up to the last General Election, none of the four major political parties in Scotland, offered any kind of clearly objectives, a process of incremental policy

kind of clearly defined policy for youth in their manifestoes. Where policy is not linked to clear objectives, a process of incremental policy making takes its place. That is, an ad hoc growth of legislation which whilst unrelated at a policy level, when taken as a whole constitutes a series of measures on 'youth'. When analysed these affirm the opinion that avoidance of a clearly thought out policy results in the ever more reactionary treatment of young people. Never has there been a time during this century when youngsters had more need of a voice, and yet the present governments attempt to introduce a compulsory employment scheme at reduced pay shows just how weak the voice of young people is. (The Youth Training Scheme, which was out-lined as a replacement for Y.O.P. - in the White Paper, "A New Training Initiative: A Programme for Action" and which advocated withdrawal of Supplementary Benefit from young people who decline to participate). Similarly earlier in the life-time of the present government, plans were drawn up for heavily punitive social control resources (short, sharp shock centres) as a replacement for recent reforms. Some of these were indeed opened and are being used as alternatives to community-based provision. In England more children than ever are now being placed in residential establishments.

CRITICISMS OF THE PRO-ACTIVE MODEL

It will be argued by those on the political right that such a model is dangerous, that "children should be seen and not heard", that youth workers are the "agents provocateur" behind recent riots by creating discontent amongst youth. We would totally refute that view. If youngsters are denied the opportunity to freely express their needs then they will become frustrated and it is such frustration that leads to the kind of direct action which many British cities experienced last summer. There is of course an alternative argument (from the political left) that the pro-active model (and community work per se) is merely a more subtle form of social control. Whilst we have sympathy with this view, particularly at an ideological level, in practice we believe that it is possible to assist people without controlling them. Sometimes it is argued that employing structures cannot allow the pro-active model to be developed but we would accept Paul Corrigan's argument that:

“this possibility emerges from the failure of the State or any other institution to create a water-tight ideology, which would enable community workers to carry out their work purely on the basis of the intentions of the State”. (11)

To facilitate the positive role of the pro-active approach, it is necessary to overcome the suspicions which can be aroused amongst young people who may see the worker's role as the representative of the State. In his recent 'Youth and Policy' article (12), Corrigan mistakenly identifies detached work/non-directive work with 'inaction'. We would still argue that given the right staff that the outreach approach, without the structural constraints of being responsible for a building and programme, may in fact provide one of the ways forward for positive pro-active youth work. The detached worker should be both allowing young people to develop coping behaviour and offering opportunities for experimentation. In Scotland, at least, this would mark a departure from the rigidity of a Community Education approach, which through being generic has often forgotten that each group of constituents in the community may require their own individual space in which to interact, learn to take responsibility for personal action, and, of course, make mistakes.


As we noted in our opening paragraph the present image of Youth Work is one of "keeping kids off the streets". Both practitioners and policy-makers need to look critically at what is being done in the name of Youth Work to assess why this image remains. If recent "improvements" in Youth Work fail (albeit by their lack of real change) to check the rising tide of hostility by youth against society, then the government's pursuance of increasingly reactionary youth policies will be given added credence in the eyes of the electorate.

We have noted the rejection by young people of present youth provision. A pro-active approach is, we would suggest, the means by which Youth Work may regain the credibility and involvement of young people. We contend that failure to adopt such an approach can only increase the hostility of youth and consequently fuel the hostility of society against youth. Such a spiral would have tragic consequences for all concerned - not least those involved in Youth Work.

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Note: A shorter version of this article first appeared in I.T. News, June 1982.



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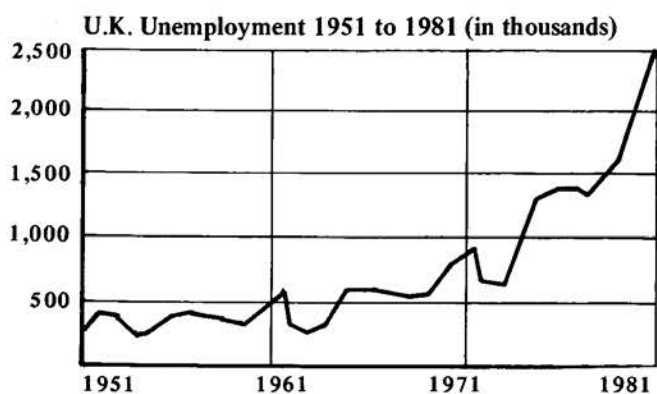
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unemployment: causes and palliatives

CLARE SHORT - DAVID TAYLOR

As can be seen from Fig. 1, rising unemployment is not a new phenomenon. The secular trend has been rising throughout most of the post War period. However, over the past decade the position has deteriorated dramatically, unemployment having reached levels previously thought impossible. The number of unemployed now stands at around fifteen times what it was in 1955, and many forecasts predict that it will rise still further.



Source: Economic Trends

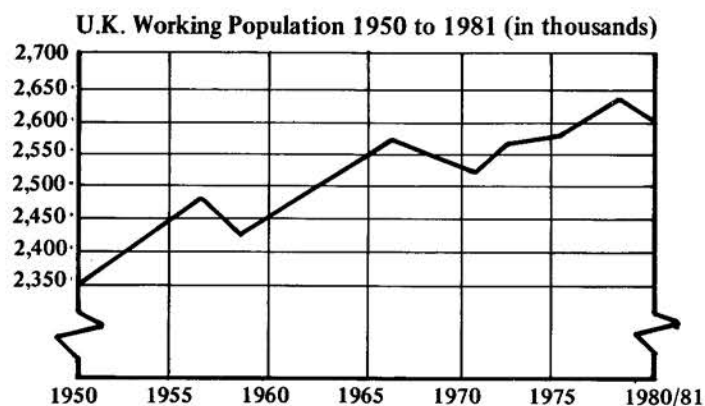
Fig. 1

Unfortunately, even Fig. 1 disguises the seriousness of the unemployment problem for many of those involved. This is because the burden is by no means spread evenly over the labour force. Instead, it tends to be concentrated among a small number of particularly vulnerable groups, such as the unskilled, the poorly qualified, ethnic minorities, the disabled and the young. Not only are these people more likely to become unemployed, they are more likely to stay unemployed for longer periods than other members of the workforce. For example, under twenty-five year olds account for roughly 22% of the working population, 37% of the unemployed and 25% of the long term unemployed.

The emphasis of this paper is on youth unemployment. However, as Makeham observes: "Those conditions which produce high overall unemployment, produce high youth unemployment. The most important reason why youth unemployment is higher in one town than another is that the local economy is more depressed and overall unemployment is higher, when changes in the whole economy take place and total unemployment rises or falls, youth unemployment also rises and falls, but to a much greater extent." (1) It is not surprising that this should be the case. Young people are newcomers to the labour force. They are the least

experienced and initially the least skilled. At a time when many firms are contemplating sacking existing workers, would-be new recruits have little chance of finding vacancies. Even the few firms willing to take on new staff often prefer to look to the large pool of unemployed skilled and experienced workers rather than the ranks of untried newcomers.

To understand why youth unemployment is high therefore, we need to understand why unemployment generally is high. At best this is not easy, but it is made considerably more difficult by the welter of conflicting claims advanced by politicians and economists. The first part of this paper attempts to clarify matters slightly by examining three of the most frequently cited causes of current high unemployment levels, while the second part looks at the Government response to high unemployment among the young.



Source: Economic Trends

Fig. 2

Increases in the Working Population

Rising unemployment levels are sometimes blamed on the increase in the working population since the War (see Fig.2). This rise can be attributed to two main causes. First, the 'baby boom' of the 1960s meant that whereas the number of school leavers stood at 613,000 in 1960/61, it reached 820,000 during the peak year of 1981 (roughly 14% of the 1960/61 number and 20% of the 1981 number went on to full-time further or higher education). The second cause is the rise in female participation in the labour force. Table 2 shows male and female participation rates since 1960. Figs. 3 and 4 show male and female working population since 1970. A particularly striking feature of Fig. 4 and Table 1 is the way in which both female participation rates and female working population have fallen since 1979/80. Male participation rates

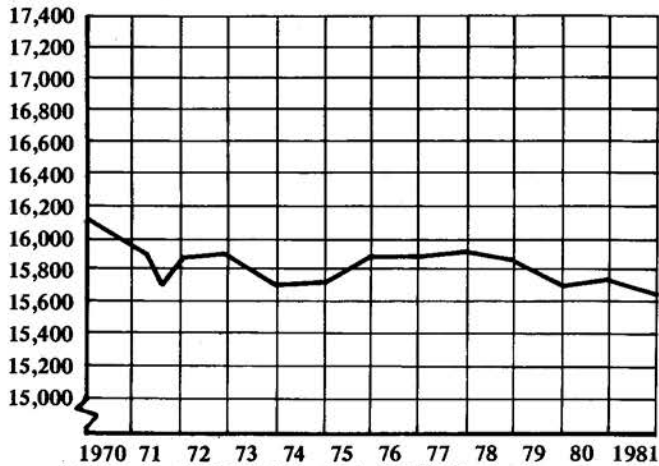
Table 1

LABOUR FORCE PARTICIPATION RATES 1960-80 (GB)

Year	Male	Female	both Sexes	Year	Male	Female	both Sexes
1960	87.9	39.5	62.4	1970	81.4	42.0	61.3
1961	87.4	40.0	62.5	1971	81.3	42.4	60.8
1962	86.8	40.3	62.5	1972	81.3	43.2	61.3
1963	86.7	40.7	63.5	1973	82.5	45.0	62.8
1964	85.9	41.0	62.5	1974	80.9	46.1	62.6
1965	85.3	41.6	62.5	1975	81.2	46.6	63.0
1966	84.8	42.0	62.6	1976	81.4	47.1	63.3
1967	84.6	41.8	62.3	1977	81.1	47.5	63.4
1968	83.4	41.7	61.9	1978	80.4	48.1	63.4
1969	82.5	41.8	61.7	1979	79.2	48.0	62.8
				1980	78.0	47.6	62.1

Source: US Department of Labor Bureau of Labor Statistics

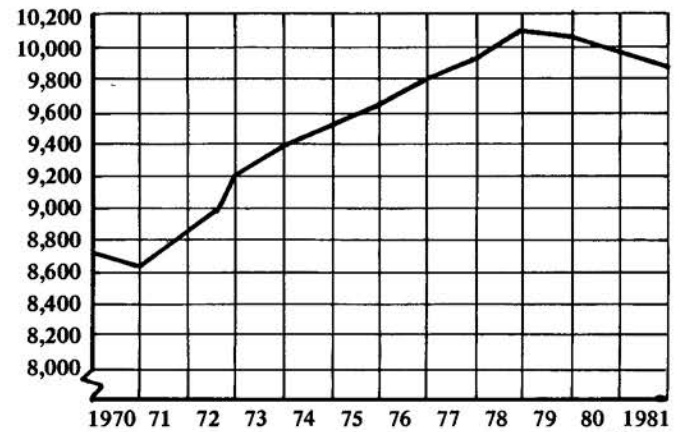
Male Working Population, G.B. Seasonally Adjusted (thousands)



Source: DE Gazette, British Labour Statistics Yearbook.

Fig. 3

Female Working Population, G.B. Seasonally Adjusted (thousands)



Source: DE Gazette, British Labour Statistics Yearbook.

Fig. 4

and male working population have been falling steadily throughout the period, mainly as a result of high male participation rates at the start of the period being reduced by an increase in early retirement, a fall in the number of males working past the official retirement age, and an increase in the number of males in further and higher education. From Fig. 4 however, it can be seen that female working population has fallen quite suddenly by some 269,000 between its December 1979 peak of 10,086,000 and the June 1981 figure of 9,817,000.

Reasons for this fall are difficult to pinpoint with certainty, though as with the fall in male working population, the 300,000 or so taken out of the working population by Government special employment programmes of one kind or another has had a considerable recent impact. It is also possible that the number of single women retiring early has increased, and there may have been some fall in economic activity among women of child bearing age as a result of an increase in fertility rates (or vice versa). However, these two factors are unlikely to account for more than a small proportion of the fall.

Two plausible explanations offered by the Manpower Services Commission (2) are that "more women may have abandoned any idea of working, either because jobs are scarce (the 'discouraged worker' effect) or for other reasons; or larger numbers of unemployed women may have decided not to register with the public employment service even though they are still genuinely seeking work (the 'unregistered unemployed')". Whatever the cause however, the fall of more than half a million in the size of the total working population bet-

ween March 1979 and December 1981 makes it very difficult to invoke increasing working population as the cause of the recent sharp rise in unemployment levels. In fact the working population is now in the region of 1¼ million below the level that might be expected given the size of the population of working age (see for example, 'New projections of future labour force', DE Gazette, June 1977).

There is of course no a priori reason why the economy should not expand sufficiently to accommodate any increase in the working population. New workers produce more goods and services for which they receive payment, which they spend on more goods and services However, as will be seen below, this convenient circular flow is vulnerable to disruption by both internal and external forces.

Inflation

Inflation first began to take on its present importance as a political and economic issue following the particularly high wage round of 1970. The situation was made worse when a series of poor harvests in countries supplying food to the UK resulted in large increases in the price of food imports, and exacerbated still further when towards the end of 1973 and beginning of 1974 and the oil exporting countries of the Organisation of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) imposed a fourfold increase on the world price of oil. As a result of a combination of these factors, the annual rate of inflation in the UK exceeded 16% during 1974. Wage negotiators responded by securing increases of 29%, and in the following year prices, reflecting both higher import costs and higher labour costs, increased by 24.2%. Inflation has continued to be a major problem, and in 1979 the world price of

oil underwent a further, threefold increase, giving another hard push to prices.

However, the relationship between inflation and unemployment is not a simple one. Conventional wisdom states that high and variable rates of inflation create an uncertain economic climate in which it is impossible for businessmen to forecast future costs, future demand and future profit margins. This together with high interest rates means that investment slows down and employment creating industrial expansion ceases. It is also argued that if inflation is allowed to climb unchecked the inevitable consequence will be economic collapse and political upheaval on the pattern of pre-War Germany.

These claims, while plausible remain unproven. The foreign trade consequences at least seem clearer, even if in reality they are not. If exchange rates are fixed and UK inflation is higher than that of our trading partners, the price of UK exports in both pounds and foreign currency will rise, so that they become relatively more expensive to overseas buyers. If exports are price sensitive, this means we will be able to sell fewer of them. If they are not price sensitive, we will sell the same as before, earning more foreign currency and more pounds. Other things being equal, the price of imports will remain unchanged, and they will thus be cheaper than UK produced goods. If exports are not price sensitive they will pay for more imports than before. If they are price sensitive, whether they pay for more or fewer imports depends on whether the reduction in sales of exports is sufficient to outweigh their increased price.

If exchange rates are flexible (as they supposedly are at present), domestic inflation will result in an offsetting fall in the value of the pound against other currencies. This means that the price of exports to foreign buyers remains more or less unchanged, even though their price in pounds has increas-

omists is divided. Some invoke pre-War European experience to illustrate inflation's evil consequences. Others look to the examples set by countries that apparently manage to survive quite well with inflation levels as yet undreamt of in the UK, claiming that with a floating exchange rate and a judicious use of indexation inflation can be lived with.

Nevertheless, the idea of inflation as an all destructive force has been a potent one in the minds of all recent governments. Moreover, they seem to have had little doubt as to where most of the blame for UK inflation lay: with wage negotiators. This has been acknowledged both explicitly by the imposition of a seemingly endless stream of pay 'norms', 'pauses', 'freezes' and 'social contracts', and implicitly, by deflationary economic policies designed to put pressure on wage settlements by taking spending power out of the economy; reducing the demand for goods and services and the workers that produce them.

It is true that wage settlements have reached very high levels at times during the past twelve years, and this has undoubtedly had an inflationary effect. However, it is instructive to look at rises in UK earnings in their international context. Table 2 shows that when compared with rises in Japan, Germany, France, Italy, Canada, and the USA, recent increases in UK hourly earnings have been by no means out of line. What has been out of line has been UK production - which has been low; and UK unit labour costs - which have been high. Thus a 13.5% rise in UK hourly earnings between 1972 and 1977, with its consequent 11.5% increase in unit labour costs was far more inflationary than the 15.9% rise in Japanese hourly earnings, which only resulted in an 8.1% increase in unit labour costs.

A clue to what lies behind these results is to be found in columns (1), (2) and (3) of Table 2, showing gross capital formation per head of population in six countries for the

Table 2

	Gross Capital Formation per head of population (\$000)			Hourly Earnings	1963-73 Production	Annual Rates of Increase		(manufacturing industry only)	
	1974	1976	1977			Unit Labour Costs	Hourly Earnings	1967-77 Production	Unit Labour Costs
Japan	1.4	1.5	1.8	14.5	12.8	3.3	15.9	7.3	8.1
Germany	1.4	1.5	1.7	8.6	5.7	4.4	9.0	4.6 (c)	5.2 (c)
France	1.3	1.5	1.6	9.3	5.9	3.5	13.4	4.6 (c)	7.7 (b)
Italy	0.63	0.61	0.69	11.0	5.4	5.4	17.6	3.5	12.8
Canada	-	-	-	7.0	5.8	2.6	10.3	4.3	5.8
USA	1.2	1.3	1.5	5.2	4.7	2.2	7.2	3.0	4.4
UK	0.68	0.75	0.79	8.9	3.2	5.2	13.5	1.6 (c)	11.5

Notes: (a) Mining & manufacture. (b) Industry. (c) Excluding construction

Source: Pollard, A., 'The Wasting of the British Economy', Croom Helm, 1982, Tables 2.4 and 3.3

ed. The cost of imports to UK buyers however, will rise in line with UK inflation, though their foreign currency cost will be unchanged. Thus, if the value of the pound is fixed against that of other currencies, the foreign trade implications (and therefore employment implications) of UK inflation depends on whether and to what extent exports and imports are price sensitive. If the value of the pound is free to move vis a vis other currencies, UK inflation should have little impact on either exports or imports.

In conclusion, the overall effects of inflation seem to be indeterminate, and not surprisingly, opinion among econ-

years 1974, 1976 and 1977. Although these figures should be interpreted with caution because of their limited coverage, it is significant that only Italy - the one country to have performed worse than the UK in terms of unit labour costs - has a lower level of capital formation. Moreover, poor UK investment performance cannot itself be blamed entirely on high inflation. Between 1953 and 1960, when inflation averaged 2.8% per year, UK net investment in manufacturing industry amounted to 5.9% of Gross National Product. Comparable figures for Italy and West Germany are 11.6% and 11.0%.

Seen in this light, the fault of wage negotiators seems not to have been that they demanded settlements that were out of line with those obtained in other countries, but that they sought settlements that were out of line with the UK economy's abysmal investment and productivity record. On this analysis the present government's strategy of seeking to control inflation solely by means of massive (investment halting) deflation seems at best questionable.

World Recession

The sharp rise in the price of oil has had far wider repercussions than merely adding to the UK rate of inflation. The value of Middle East oil exports are considerable. In 1980 it is estimated that they amounted to around 200 billion U.S. dollars: this is equivalent to 2 per cent of the total income of the rest of the world. However, the Middle East's imports of goods and services back from the rest of the world fall a long way short of this level. In 1980 their imports equalled under half the value of their exports. As a result the Middle East enjoys a very substantial trade surplus with the oil importing countries, while the oil importing countries as a whole are consistently in trading deficit with the Middle East. Each time oil prices are increased, this problem is aggravated.

Oil importing countries can respond to this situation in four ways. They can cut back on their oil using activities (for example manufacturing) to a level where they will only need to spend as much on imported oil as can be balanced by their exports. They can finance their trade deficits by borrowing from countries with trade surpluses (such as the oil producers of the Middle East). They can exploit alternative energy resources, or they can embark on massive energy conservation programmes (as Japan has done). Individually, they can also try to balance their books by exporting more to one another and importing less. However, each country can only improve its position in this way at the expense of its trading partners.

To a greater or lesser extent, most oil importing countries have tried to offset some of their increasing energy costs by the first of the above methods. That is, they have sought to control their oil bill by constraining economic activity in some way. The result is the world recession. The effects of this recession have not been confined to the oil importing countries. Because the economies of these countries are operating at a reduced level, they are importing less than they would normally do both from one another and from non-oil importers, depressing their level of industrial activity. Recession is thus reinforced and spread, affecting oil importers and non-oil importers, and as it spreads so does unemployment.

The UK has, of course, not escaped the effects of the world recession, but because we achieved self sufficiency in oil around 1980/81 we should be better placed to insulate ourselves against its worst effects than many of our European trading partners. Yet two-fifths of the 4 million jobs in manufacturing industry lost in the Common Market since 1973 - most of them recently - have been in the UK. It is interesting to ponder on the fact that over the period 1979 to 1982 - as oil self sufficiency was being realised - the unemployment rate in the UK doubled. The most recently available internationally comparable quarterly unemployment rates, for the first quarter of 1982, show UK unemployment standing at 13%; USA, 8.8%; Canada, 8.6%; Japan, 2.2%; France, 8.4%; Germany, 5.5%; Italy, 4.6% and Sweden, 3.0%. (3)

It is clear from the first part of this article that the only real and lasting answer to high youth unemployment is economic policies which generate investment, economic expansion and jobs. The Government argues that the policies currently being adopted will eventually produce economic health and expansion. The metaphors are many but a nasty medicine which will eventually restore health is frequently invoked as an explanatory device. A basic part of the analysis is that in order to get investment, profits must be increased and therefore wages must be cut. A second part of the argument is that lower taxes and therefore less public services will produce more incentives, more enterprise and therefore more jobs. The view of the Government is that suffering now and more inequality will restore economic health.

Unemployment is a useful tool for bringing about the necessary adjustment because it encourages workers to lower their wage expectations. It is not however an unmixed blessing. Young people bear a disproportionate part of the burden of unemployment for the reasons explained above. Young people tend to be restless and possibly explosive. There is considerable public sympathy for their plight. Every family contains some school leavers and it is now widely appreciated that their chances of obtaining a job are very poor. More than half of all under 18 year olds are now unemployed or on YOP and the forecast is that the proportion will rise to nearly 70% over the next two years. For this mixture of reasons Governments, whose strategy explicitly embraces an increase in unemployment, are anxious to be seen to be doing something to help the young. Out of such a bundle of contradictory instincts special programmes for the young unemployed were born.

As youth unemployment started to become a serious problem from the mid 1970's onwards a series of ad hoc initiatives were taken to attempt to ease the situation. There was Community Industry targetted at the most disadvantaged young, the Job Creation Programme creating jobs for unemployed people of all ages in projects "of benefit to the community" (a phrase which recurs), short training courses at skill centres which would give three months familiarisation with basic tools and machinery and the Work Experience Programme which placed young people with employers on a state allowance so that they could learn about the reality of the world of work.

In 1976 the then Labour Government asked Geoffrey Holland, a then unknown official at the Manpower Services Commission, to chair a committee to consider whether it would be possible to design a scheme which would offer every unemployed school leaver either a training or a work experience placement. The results of the committee's deliberations were published in May 1977 in a report entitled "Young People and Work" and more widely known as the Holland report. The report's recommendations were accepted by the Government and on April 1st 1978 all the previous initiatives with the exception of Community Industry were drawn together into two new programmes: the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) and the Special Temporary Employment Programme (STEP).

The Holland report provided more than a blue-print for a new and more coherent system of special measures. It also provided a rationale for such measures. Taking the question of school-leavers first; the report argued that high youth unemployment was caused by two factors: firstly, temporary economic recession and secondly the boom in the number of school

leavers which would continue until 1981. What was required was not therefore any permanent scheme, but temporary measures lasting five years. The justification for providing special assistance to the young was quite simply that they were bearing a disproportionate part of the burden of unemployment and therefore it was right to seek to redistribute the burden away from them. The purpose of special measures for the young would be "to sharpen their competitive edge" so that they could compete better for jobs. The report recognised that the group with whom they were most frequently in competition was married women seeking to return to the labour market. The method of sharpening the competitive edge would be twofold, firstly, to provide work experience to overcome the trap "that without a job you can't get experience and without experience you can't get a job". Secondly, there would be training in job search and interview techniques which came to be known as life and social skills.

YOP was therefore launched in 1978 and a guarantee was given by the Government to every school leaver that if they could not find a job by the Easter after they left school they would be offered a place on the programme. This guarantee was imposed on the MSC by the Government. Many argued that it was impossible to deliver and would lead to a concentration on quantity rather than quality. With hindsight most would agree that the guarantee was a good thing. Unlike other country's model schemes for a few, Britain's programmes for the young unemployed were forced to embrace all.

In its early years YOP was generally thought to be a great success. In the first year 1 in 8 of all school leavers entered and 70% got jobs on leaving. In May 1979 the Conservative Government came to power. During the election campaign leading members of the party were critical of special schemes for the unemployed and suggested they should be replaced by an economic strategy which would create real jobs. The incoming administration gave serious consideration to the abolition of YOP. They finally decided to retain the programme because as many as 70% of its products found jobs.

Following the election of the Conservative Government, unemployment began again to increase very rapidly. The proportion of school leavers who could not find jobs and therefore looked for places on YOP grew dramatically. In its second year YOP catered for 1 in 5 school leavers and 60% got jobs, in the third year it was 1 in 3 and last year (1981/82) 1 in 2. In 1982/83, the final year of YOP, 650,000 school leavers, considerably more than half the total will enter YOP. The "success" rate into jobs has continued to deteriorate and is now between 35 and 40 per cent.

Unsurprisingly, YOP has come under increasing criticism. In addition to the declining "success" of its graduates, the allowance paid to trainees has not retained its original value. It is now £25 but should be more than £30. The most strident criticism of the programme however is the claim that trainees are being used as cheap labour and as substitutes for permanent employees. MSC research indicates that this is true on 30% of work experience placements and that the jobs being lost are young people jobs. This means that 50,000 young people jobs were lost to YOP last year. For all these reasons YOP has been rapidly losing favour. The truth of the matter is that it makes sense to target such a programme at 1 in 10 of all school leavers to give them a 'leg-up' into a job, it makes no sense at all to train more than half the age group to compete better against each other for a diminishing number of

jobs. All that is achieved is what we almost certainly have, the most sophisticated generation of unemployed job applicants the country has every seen.

In search of a new philosophy and justification, special programmes for the young were retargetted at 'training'. There was widespread agreement that Britain was providing too little training particularly to the young. In the past, 40% of school leavers entered employment and received no education or training for the rest of their lives. There are fewer young people between 16 and 18 being educated and trained in Britain than in any other OECD country. Employers have become increasingly aware that more training for the young is necessary to produce the more skilled and flexible workforce of the future. The trade unions are aware that with new technology waiting in the wings the proportion of unskilled jobs in the economy, which is already declining, will decline very much more rapidly and that those without the capacity to undertake skilled work will have no place in the economy of the future. And young people are keen and eager to obtain training. Their motivation contrasts vividly with their disinterest in more education. In training therefore, we have a policy of which all approve and which will keep the young off-the-streets and occupied.

This policy is however not just a cynical manipulation. The best of YOP, perhaps 20% of the whole, has shown that the rejects of the school system have untapped talent and ability and enormous enthusiasm to learn if opportunities are provided in a way they find interesting. The second important feature of the training which is being advocated is that it is not specific skill training. The objective is "vocational preparation" which is a preparation for working life. The skills aimed at are the ability to communicate verbally, work in co-operation with others, take responsibility, achieve basic numeracy and literacy, manual dexterity and the ability to train and retrain throughout life. And thus in the best of YOP we have seen educational experiment and achievement which is of far greater significance in achieving equality of opportunity in education than comprehensivisation ever was. The other contradiction for Government is that young people with such abilities will undoubtedly be more capable and flexible workers, but if there is no work for them in the future they are more likely to protest at such injustice after vocational preparation than before.

The Government and the MSC are now committed to the conversion of YOP into a 12 month training programme for all 16 and 17 year old school leavers in work or unemployed. 1982/83 is to be a year of conversion and in September 1983 YOP will cease to exist and the Youth Training Scheme will take over. It will contain all the contradictions that are contained in YOP, but almost without doubt young people will enter it in massive numbers and therefore the option of rejecting the whole programme as a 'con' and a massaging of the unemployment figures is not really available. If the young enter Youth Training then those who are concerned for their future must stand alongside them in order to extract the best that is available from such programmes.

There is also another battle which has only temporarily been won. On December 15th in his White Paper on Youth Training, Mr. Tebbit announced that because the new training would be of such value to the young, they must help to pay for it by accepting an allowance of £15 rather than the £25 they get on YOP. He also said that they should not be paid for

refusing to accept such training and therefore those who refused places would lose their right to supplementary benefit. The real intention of the Government is not just to make the new training scheme compulsory but to cut the income and wages of all young workers. This proposal however produced such hostility that on 21st June Mr. Tebbit announced that he would not impose the low allowance or the withdrawal of supplementary benefit. He said however that the Government still believed these proposals were right, they had backed down because those who would have to deliver the scheme had asked them to but they would be reviewing the situation in 12 months time.

Special Measures for Adults

The story of special measures for the adult unemployed is much shorter because considerably less has been provided. The Holland report recommended that the Job Creation Programme should be converted to STEP and should cater for the long-term unemployed. They were defined as 19-25 year olds unemployed for 6 months or more and over 25 year olds unemployed for 12 months or more. What was to be provided, were temporary jobs lasting 12 months in projects of benefit to the community. At the insistence of the unions it was agreed that the wages paid would be the local rate for the job up to a maximum (currently £89). The reasons for providing temporary work were twofold. Firstly that people who have been without work for a long time become demoralised and lose motivation. The experience of work would be likely to restore their confidence. Secondly employers are biased against the long-term unemployed, a temporary job would give them a recent reference.

STEP started off small, with a target of 25,000 places, its target was expanded under the Labour Government to 30 - 35,000 places. Then at the Labour Party Conference in October 1978 Mr. Callaghan gave an undertaking that a guarantee would be given to the long-term unemployed just as it had been to the young under YOP. MSC officials worked frantically during the election period to prepare for such a massive expansion in special programmes for adults. The Conservative Government decided however on a contraction rather than an expansion and STEP was cut back to 12,000 places and confined to assisted and inner city areas.

In October 1980 Mr. Prior renamed STEP to make it the Community Enterprise Programme (CEP), expanded it to 25,000 places and restored it to a nationwide operation, but in comparison with YOP, running at 550,000 places, it was still a low priority programme which drew little concern, attention or public debate.

Meanwhile the numbers of long-term unemployed were escalating rapidly. There are now more than a million people who have been without work for 12 months or more and a quarter of them are aged between 19 and 25. For a considerable time the MSC has been calling for an expansion of provision for this group. The only response until very recently was that CEP was expanded from 25,000 to 30,000 places to meet the needs of more than a million entitled individuals. The Government said repeatedly that the only answer for the long-term unemployed would be a restoration of economic health.

Then, out of the blue, in his budget speech of March 9th 1982 Sir Geoffrey Howe referred to Lord Scarman's report. He said

that the Government agreed that it was undesirable that so many people should be unemployed and doing nothing when there was so much work to be done. He therefore offered £150 million to provide 100,000 places for unemployed adults in projects of benefit to the community. He suggested that they could be paid something on top of their benefit to cover the expenses of working. Press reports then revealed that the Government was proposing to pay £15 on top of benefit. The scheme was instantly denounced on all sides. It was thought it might be the first step towards making payment of benefit conditional on working in such projects, it was also seen as a direct threat to wages and jobs in the public sector.

As we write the MSC is desperately trying to find an alternative scheme which will be acceptable to all concerned. The Government have refused to contemplate an expansion of CEP despite the fact that the £150 million net which the Chancellor promised would pay for a 100,000 expansion of CEP. (The net cost of CEP taking into account savings in benefit, tax and national insurance is less than £30 per place per week). We do not know the reason for this but the rumour is that Professor Walters, Mrs Thatcher's economic adviser, thinks that £89 per week is too generous for an unemployment scheme.

Two alternative models have been contemplated. The first would have paid £37.50 for 2½ days work and offered education and training during the other part of the week. Single people would have been better off on £37.50 than on benefit and those with dependants would have been able to claim additional supplementary benefit. The A.M.A. considered this scheme and denounced it as unacceptable. They helped to put forward a new package known as "the flexible option". This would abolish CEP and put all the money in one project. Sponsors in local authorities and voluntary organisations would then be paid an average of £60 in wage costs per week to provide a mixture of full time and part time jobs paid the rate for the job. The Government have let it be known that this scheme is acceptable to them and that once 100,000 places have been created more money will be available. The voluntary sector is deeply uneasy about the scheme and the TUC is listening to representations. This scheme is due to be considered at the meeting of the Commission on 27th June. If it is not accepted we can be sure that further efforts will be made to find new schemes for the long term unemployed. As the numbers grow the political focus is shifting from school-leavers to this group.

Our conclusion from this two part analysis is that it is only through changes in economic policy that unemployment can be reduced, but that special measures for the unemployed play a very important role in the management of the problem. Such measures are riven with contradictions but unemployed individuals young and old make use of such schemes because their needs are pressing and immediate. Our judgement is that those who seek to wash their hands of all such schemes and instead find political solutions to unemployment are leaving the unemployed to fight alone in an unequal contest. There have been features of YOP and CEP which have been entirely positive, the most important being that well run schemes bring unemployed individuals together and strengthen their belief in their ability and talents. Economic solutions to the problems of unemployment will only be found when working people become convinced that they can and must be found. The contradictions of special programmes can sometimes be

used to strengthen that demand amongst the unemployed.

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THE UNEMPLOYMENT UNIT was launched on August 21st. 1981. Its immediate aim is to promote an awareness of the problems facing the unemployed, particularly the long term and recurrently unemployed and their families. The unit provides information on unemployment-related topics for the press, policy makers, pressure groups and workers in the field.

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the UNEMPLOYMENT UNIT

juvenile justice in confusion

BERNARD DAVIES

Social work's retreat from a "welfare" approach to the young offender is now proceeding apace. The sixties' faith in the social worker's ability to "diagnose" the underlying causes of youthful deviance, especially delinquency, and then to "treat" these has over the past decade come to seem more and more misplaced, and even oppressive. Increasingly, the discretion this gave to social workers to act on their "professional" judgement of a young person's deeper "needs" has been re-defined as a form of arbitrary power. This, it is said, has subjected large numbers of young people to apparently non-accountable state procedures and has resulted far too often in their being deprived unjustifiably of their liberty.

These arguments undoubtedly carry considerable force. There is now ample evidence both in the form of disturbing individual case-studies and statistical and other "objective" material of, for example, the malevolent consequences for some young people and their families of social enquiry reports to the courts; of child care orders being used to place young people in residential, including custodial, institutions for petty misdemeanours, often for long periods; and of "community-based" forms of provision, including intermediate treatment, feeding "at risk" young people very rapidly up to the higher levels of the tariff system.

The positive alternative to the present system which has been advocated most strongly in recent years has been a much clearer legalistic basis for deciding how to deal with the delinquent young. This would involve laying down through the law much more precisely the penalties which would be attached to particular deviant acts and the procedures for responding to these. In this way, it is argued justice would be done and would be seen and felt to have been done and young people would be protected from the present highly subjective judgements - not to say prejudices - or overpowerful state functionaries and in particular social workers.

It is not necessary to fall into a simplistic defence of social work however to suggest that, before social policies for youth are taken over by what at times seems to have become another "progressive" fad, this alternative juvenile justice strategy should be subjected to a much more searching debate. It seems important too to locate this debate much more fully than seems to have been done so far in the economic and political conditions and the ideological climate which are currently shaping all social policy developments.

For at the very least the present enthusiasm for justice rather than welfare largely ignores the considerable degrees of discretion with which apparently objective legalistic principles can be and indeed are applied in the juvenile court. Evidence of this has been around for some time and has again been demonstrated recently by Howard Parker, Maggie Casburn and David Turnbull in their book **Receiving Juvenile Justice** (1). The police, court officials and even solicitors ostensibly employed to represent the child's interests, to say nothing of the magistrates themselves, cannot be relied on any more than treatment-oriented social workers to act strictly according to judicial standards. "Discretion" has an uncomfortable habit of creeping into all areas of the juvenile justice system.

Secondly and much more profound in its implications, this renewed faith in legalism is being advocated at precisely the moment that, in the highest political quarters, "youth" is once again being seen as particularly threatening and so as requiring, not release and self-realisation, but greater degrees of containment and control. This view is not by any means confined solely to the juvenile justice field. That universal provision, education, is clearly in the process of shifting its priorities fundamentally. No longer is official stress placed, as it was by the 1944 Education Act, on catering for the young according to age, aptitude and ability. Today indeed it seems highly eccentric to recall that in 1959 the influential Crowther Report, 15-18, asserted that adolescence "is surely the period in which the welfare of the individual ought to come before any marginal contribution he or she could make to the national income"; and that, if young people do go to work, this should **not** be justified "by any reference to industry's need for juvenile labour." (2)

Indeed, if Rhodes Boyson is to be believed such person-centred ideas are not only ineffectual: they are positively subversive not least for the way they breed indisciplined young people - and subsequently parents (3).

Instead of Crowther therefore we have the McFarlane Report with its bald assertion that educational provision for 16-19 year olds will need to be developed "in directions reflecting the well recognised need for more vocational education of a high standard in the face of major changes in the nature of employment" (4). Moreover, the report goes on to emphasise, such developments will be required not simply to counter the immediate problems of unemployment but also "to produce

the skilled and versatile workforce needed for the future".

Nor are these shifts just influencing philosophy. Methods and indeed overall style are being affected, too. During the so-called affluent and consensual sixties for example it seemed safe to assume that stage agencies could adopt a "winning-by-consent" approach to young people and that the vast majority of them, including many who were deviant, would ultimately be persuaded into a "voluntary" commitment to our society's institutions and dominant values.

And so during the 1960's even that highly authoritarian institution, the school, embraced the notion of "pastoral care" while attendance officers were finally converted at least into school welfare officers and often even into education social workers.

Of course, ever since these state agencies were created in the nineteenth century working class young people, where they have not actually resisted these blandishments in organised or disorganised ways, have at the very least used them very instrumentally. That is, they have taken from them what, according to their own criteria, they have found practically useful (such as paper qualifications) or personally interesting (like scarce opportunities to canoe or simply just play football). And yet while doing this they have usually remained extremely selective in their adoption of some of the additional philosophical messages embedded within such activities.

In the crisis conditions of the seventies, this kind of voluntaristic strategy has come to appear more and more anachronistic, not to say self-indulgent. For politicians and policy-makers confronted with a "youth crisis" looking more and more like a metaphor for general economic, political and social upheaval, the need for more effective and more cost-effective responses has become very urgent indeed. Reliance has therefore been shifted from "winning-by-consent" to coercive measures whether these be indirect, via removing the right to supplementary benefit of 16 year olds who refuse to join new government "training" schemes, or direct, through the courts.

It is against this background that any proposals for fundamentally altering the basis of juvenile justice policies must be judged. And yet what is happening in this field repeats much that has happened in the past within social policy generally. A specific set of solutions is being defined and pushed as if these could somehow remain independent of and untouched by the politics, the economics and the dominant ideas of their time. In other words, would-be social policy-makers are acting as if they could generate their own autonomous conceptions of what can and should be done for young offenders, and substantially control how these will be translated into legislation and action. The fact that at present those with the power to make and apply "the law" see it, not primarily as a means of protecting the young from arbitrary "welfare" discretion but as a way of guaranteeing order to "the community at large" is somehow being glossed over by the new "justice" progressives.

Nothing illustrates these trends more clearly than the way that "community-based" provision for young offenders is being radically reshaped in a law-and-order image. Developments here are complicated by the fact that even those committed to non-punitive "person-centred" provision have significantly

changed their position. This shift was signalled nearly four years ago, by one of the most influential figures in the juvenile justice field, David Thorpe, now a key contributor to the work of the Centre for Youth, Crime and Community at the University of Lancaster. Speaking at a National Intermediate Treatment Forum conference in January 1979 he considered, albeit briefly, the impact during the 1960's of the youth service and in particular of the report of the Youth Service Development Council, **Youth and Community Work in the 70's**, published in 1969 (4). This had reasserted in unambiguous terms that "the primary goal of youth work is the social education of young people". Yet, as Thorpe correctly emphasised, much of this kind of work - recommended also by the Newsom report and other major state papers on education in this period - "never developed beyond the experimental stage in the education and youth work systems." Instead, "it emerged ten years later as Intermediate Treatment, largely in social services departments.

For Thorpe, the result was a form of intermediate treatment (IT) which rather than being specifically "a service for the courts" had become overwhelmingly - and distractingly - "a service for the kids" concentrating on pre-delinquent, "at risk" young people in need of "socialisation" rather than rehabilitation facilities. This, he argued, should more properly have been left to the Youth Service and those other educational agencies explicitly committed to such purposes, so that IT could concentrate on diverting labelled offenders from custodial institutions and perhaps decarcerating those already going through them.

What Thorpe did not make clear however - no doubt because at the time the facts were not precisely known - was that during the later seventies it was just these "socialisation" facilities which, for ideological as well as economic reasons, were being run down. Moreover, this was happening at the very moment that, firstly, spending on IT was beginning to grow, and secondly - though probably not coincidentally - IT was very deliberately being redefined as a court-related facility.

Two sets of figures - significantly collected quite separately within the National Youth Bureau but never examined specifically for the related messages they contain - clearly reveal the rebalancing of public expenditure on youth provision. One gathered by Douglas Smith, NYB's research officer, shows that between 1975-6 and 1979-80, the planned real expenditure by LEA's on the Youth Service fell by 8.2 per cent and by a further 6.7 per cent between 1979-80 and 1980-81. On the other hand, according to NYB's Youth Social Work Unit, between 1977-78 and 1978-79 SSD spending on IT rose by 42 per cent; between 1978-79 and 1979-80 by 17 per cent; and between 1979-80 and 1980-81 by a predicted 29 per cent, giving an average overall growth for the three years of 30 per cent. (in fact according to figures collected from local authorities in England and Wales by the Chartered Institute of Public Finance and Accountancy actual expenditure on IT between 1979-80 and 1980-81 increased by 33 per cent - a figure which the Youth Social Work Unit regards as still greatly understating the level of growth then taking place).

Comparative staffing trends are also revealing. Between 1976-77 and 1979-80, full-time Youth Service staff equivalents fell by some 16 per cent whereas in the IT field in the twenty months between January 1978 and September 1979 the number of full-time staff increased by 85 per cent. Since these figures were collected the trends they reveal have almost certainly accelerated.

As always, such statistics have to be treated with some caution. Obviously they do not represent a direct transfer of resources from one local authority service to another. Nonetheless such a financial trend does need explaining, especially at a time when the overall expectation has been that public expenditure - above all on welfare and education - will be cut. How is it that, though this policy has been applied ruthlessly to one form of state youth provision, the Youth Service, another - IT - has been treated as an exception?

The answer lies of course in the fact that here as elsewhere "the cuts" have not had only economic purposes. Far from being aimed only at saving money, they have - often even more importantly - been designed to restructure the welfare state, including youth provision, in line with the ideological shifts outlined earlier. This means that it would be extremely risky for "progressives" in the juvenile justice field, of whatever persuasion, to interpret the relative swing to IT in the later seventies as in any way furthering their cause.

It is not clear in fact how this lesson could ever have been missed since the reality behind the extra support given to IT was made explicit by the present government within weeks of its coming to power. In July 1979 a long-planned conference sponsored by the DHSS and aimed at stimulating the development of IT locally attracted a highly prestigious audience of senior magistrates, chief officers and committee chairmen in charge of local authority services, senior policemen and others. Ministers took full advantage of the occasion to make IT the offer it couldn't refuse. The then Secretary of State for Social Services, Patrick Jenkin, uncompromisingly restated the priority attached by the Conservatives to law-and-order. He then asserted that "many parts of the local authorities' child care services share a major responsibility with the police, probation and the prison service for coping with delinquent young people." And he concluded: "To this extent the government are prepared to regard the child care services as an integral part of the national pattern of law-and-order services" (5).

A few days later, the same message was spelt out even more clearly in the Commons by - significantly - a non-social services minister, Michael Heseltine, Secretary of State for the Environment. "It is the government's view," he said, "that priority should be given to law-and-order, and in particular the plans for court, police and probation services and for intermediate treatment for young offenders should not undergo any reductions," (6). Since then of course the official redefinition (both explicit and implicit) of IT as a law-and-order facility has been pushed still further by the 1980 White Paper on young offenders and by the plans embodied in the 1982 Criminal Justice Bill. In particular, the suggestion that the much-debated curfew for young people should be introduced, not as a "free-standing" order enforced by the police but as part of a supervision order enforced by social workers, illustrates just how radically "community-based" provision has been re-interpreted.

Nor has this reinterpretation occurred only at remote national level. In one local authority after another in the past two or three years, IT policies have been re-examined with a view to recasting them in a tougher mould shaped to deal with "the heavy end". With local as well as national politicians, magistrates and other key decision-makers demanding policies and provision which concentrate very specifically on eradicating

the deviance, and especially the delinquencies, of the young, it is hardly surprising that hard-pressed social services departments have been trying to convert IT into Thorpe's service to the courts which is as credible and direct as possible.

Thus in recent years these two apparently contradictory pressures to change community-based juvenile justice provision - the "progressive" one concerned with diverting the young from oppressive institutions and the "reactionary" one interested in cheaper but still highly controlling non-custodial facilities - have begun to converge in a rather uncanny way. Indeed, now this convergence seems to be taking a very concrete form, which is euphemistically being called "the tracking scheme". By seeking to monitor and constrain the movements and activities of young offenders 24 hours a day, while allowing them to live (or at least sleep) at home, these US-inspired projects seem in effect to involve transferring the tough regime of the detention centre or borstal to a setting which, it can be said, continues to justify the benevolent-sounding label "community based".

This confusing and contradictory picture does not mean that we should simply reject decarceration or justice strategies for dealing with young offenders any more than it points to an uncritical return to sixties-style welfarism. The juvenile justice field is far too complicated to permit such one-dimensional responses. The contradictions do however contain a number of warnings about developing these newer strategies on the at least implicit assumption that the political and economic world is the social worker's - or indeed the "progressive" social policy-maker's - oyster.

Indeed, it demonstrates the need to locate juvenile justice policies in the context of contemporary conditions and ideas. And this in turn seems to point to the need not just for greater judicial safeguards for young people caught up in the court process and for their diversion from inhumane and ineffective custodial institutions, but also for a selective but very determined defence of some of welfarism's central, "caring" concerns and practices.

More fundamentally however the complexities of the juvenile justice field - and of course of the lives of those who actually become young offenders - raises still deeper questions. It is still very far from clear that we can even begin to reduce the delinquencies of the young until we confront the conditions - including the poverty, inequality and powerlessness - which dominate their lives and which help to generate their delinquent behaviour in the first place.

Where, it is important constantly to ask, are the youth policy-makers - and indeed the practitioners - placing that on their agendas?

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Anne Campbell

GIRL DELINQUENTS

Basil Blackwell, 1981

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If we only received our knowledge from newspaper headlines we could be forgiven for thinking that the Women's Liberation Movement has generated violent and unfettered anarchic behaviour by adolescent girls. Images of wild, rampaging girls abound in certain sections of the press, implying that women are incapable of autonomous lifestyles. Yet 'bad' or 'fallen' women have always been a source of vicarious media interest, any woman who so definitely refuses to fall neatly into archetypal Mother Earth images is bound to receive some measure of public opprobrium.

Conventional academic literature has not done much better, though there is the inevitable recourse to pseudo-rational argument. According to this logic, women who break the law must, by 'their very nature' have something 'wrong' (they are "unloved", have had "poor mothering", are not "physically attractive" and generally unable "to get a man"). There is an important contrast between this kind of individualistic analysis of girls' delinquency and the now firmly established recognition of the significance of culture, class and community in shaping boys delinquency. Campbell succinctly encapsulates the inherent sexist bias of these perspectives when she draws our attention to their basic assumption that delinquent girls are:

'able to relate to others only from a horizontal position'
(page 74)

Such "sexualisation" of delinquency provides one of the core themes for this book. Anne Campbell offers one of the first comprehensive British attempts to tackle some of these assumptions and in doing so she suggests new threads to unravel if female delinquents are to be rendered visible both to academics and welfare practitioners. That this account is so comprehensive in its sweep is simultaneously a source of strength and weakness. We are presented with what is undoubtedly an invaluable and critical overview of research and writing in the field. However, at times the overall project has a patchwork quality to it and we are left yearning for more of the thematic threads to be drawn out and developed. Campbell's underlying plea is for an approach that integrates an understanding of class divisions with that of gender differences.

The book begins with a reminder of some of the problems of definition endemic to all enquiries into social deviance. Self-

report studies help to refute the dominant assumption that female juvenile delinquency is predominantly sexually-related; girls are apparently likely to be involved in similar patterns of offending to their male counterparts though the involvement may be less intense. However, we need to go further and probe the interaction between the labelled wrong-doer and agencies of social control (the police, social services, the courts and so on) since it is on this terrain that most significant gender-related differences occur. If girls' delinquency is sexualised by these agencies then we want to know why and how this is so.

Readers' anger may be healthily provoked when Campbell takes us through a fairly concise overview of orthodox research in the area; through what she terms 'Second Rate Theories for the Second Sex'. She recalls the exceptionally sexist and arrogant assumptions made by some male researchers; they generally characterised delinquent girls as:

"passive, vaeuous, waiting for their parents or their sexuality to push them into delinquency" (page 37).

Moreover, the advent of new radical approaches to criminology should not lull us into any false sense of hope. Whilst they have certainly inserted economic and political questions into their modes of enquiry, nonetheless they often implicitly perpetuate the belief that women's subordinated sexual and social roles render them marginal to criminal activity. Delinquent girls are not, on the whole, portrayed like their male counterparts as imaginative, flamboyant critics of capitalism (such as the male dominated Hell's Angels and Skinheads).

It is suggested that we dispel with passive approaches to social control (perceiving girls as being rejected by 'the system' because they are 'unloved', 'insufficiently feminine' etc'). Instead we must adopt a more active perspective, turning questions around and probing issues such as girls' incentives to conform. Given the power relations between men and women in our society, it seems reasonable to suggest that girls may have more reasons to engage in social and legal rule-breaking than their male peers. This theme is developed more fully in the ensuing discussions on shoplifting and aggression.

The chapter on shoplifting presents us with important statistics on shoplifting. Evidently girls have increased their share of conviction rates for shoplifting, though

"They may feel freer to break the law of the land but not necessarily the law of the female's position in a consumer society, where women are still a commodity."
(Page 94)

Shoplifting, one might think, was one offence which would hardly be susceptible to any sexual interpretation (compared, for example to the status pseudo-offence of being 'beyond parental control' or 'in moral danger'). Yet orthodox criminology has argued that girls, unlike boys, steal not for kicks, for material gain, or because of peer group pressures. Instead, the argument has run, girls shoplift because of maladjustment to their roles as prospective wives and mothers. They are defined as inherently weak, passive, and timid people who do not have the wish or the bravado to commit anti-social acts. Campbell suggests that academia operates a double-bind; whilst shoplifting is sexualised for girl offenders, rape, which is surely the most sexual criminal act and a 100% male offence, is explained by recourse to the existence of fundamental biological urges and the result of women's provocative behaviour. Unresolved Oedipal complexes rarely surface as part of the explanatory framework for rape.

When teenage girls walk into High Street fashion stores they will be actively encouraged to try out the "current look"; advertising will have already attempted to convince them that they must have the latest ra-ra skirt, hair dye, or whatever. Consumer fetishism aggravates the need to want because of the supposed power imparted by possession of the object (the latest record, lipstick, magazine, etc). Such pressures place working class girls in a particular double-bind; as much as any teenage girl they will want cosmetics and clothes but they may lack the economic wherewithal to obtain them legitimately. Teenage girl self-concepts are closely bound up with "looking good". If you look good... you feel good ... and are good ... and so more likely, the cultural theory goes, to achieve the best mate, home and family life. Campbell explores these themes in a lucid way although more focus on the ways working class girls cope and respond to these contradictions would have been useful.

Media attention has increasingly focussed on links between the supposed enhancement of women's freedom and their increased likelihood to become involved in crimes against the person. Official statistics suggest that the rates of involvement of girls in such crimes is greater than for young males; though clearly such figures must be considered with care, given the wholly problematic nature of official crime statistics. In a sense I found this section on 'Aggression' most captivating because we are offered some original and highly pertinent material. In Campbell's predominately working-class sample of schoolgirls and slightly older Borstal girls, violence was a significant part of the girls behavioural repertoire. Contrary to the newspaper headlines referred to earlier, their aggression and violence was not anarchic or lacking in rationale; clear-cut rules marked out social and physical boundaries for fighting. Schoolgirls would fight to save face and uphold their personal integrity, but, unlike boys, fights were rarely about territory or to demonstrate bravery. Depressingly perhaps, these girls endorsed the idea of the dominant and decisive male.

In contrast the Borstal girls were more likely to hold men in contempt and generally to be more active and positive about the need to defend their reputations. I was disappointed with Campbell's unfinished analysis of the differences in patterns of violence and aggression between her two samples. She suggests that, to the Borstal girls,

"Violence serves less a social function than a personal one" (Page 196)

and argues that personal family history pre-dispose these girls to violence. I felt that there was a danger here in reverting back to an individual pathology mode of explanation; surely the impact of institutional life and the associated relationship with state systems of social control is likely to shape the girls' behaviour and its meaning for them.

The final section of the book is entitled 'Care Orders' and tries to grapple with gender differentiated practices within the Welfare State. On the face of it, girls could be seen to get a better deal from welfare and juvenile justice agencies (e.g. via police cautioning practices) but if we look deeper we discover that girls often receive a double punishment. They are vulnerable both to sanctions for any criminal offence they have committed and additionally (unlike boys) for any apparent flouting of social prescriptions, for example overt sexual behaviour; inappropriate dress and so on. This is the "Whore-Madonna" syndrome in action: girls will be protected by the juvenile justice system's concern to be 'chivalrous' and to keep girls away from contact with the nasty world of crime. However, if girls err too far away from the straight and narrow, they are susceptible to far heavier sanctions than their male peers; so they may be put on care orders rather than being fined or given a conditional discharge.

Campbell makes some pertinent points about the content and context of society's apparent concern for the moral behaviour of girls. When girls do not conform to dominant expectations by running away from home, truanting from school or expressing their sexuality, they are breaking away from the informal systems of social control. Hence they are intrinsically threatening the twin institutions of heterosexual monogomy and marriage. This is surely one of the currents underpinning the over-employed and vaguely defined label of 'at risk'. Though, in making these points, it also seems important to remind ourselves that adolescent girls (like all women) may be at risk both when they are on the streets and in their own homes; the point is that they are at risk not from themselves but from men.

Girl Delinquents is a highly informative book that reminds us of the assumptions which feminists as well as traditional criminologists may make. Occasionally I found the text to be slightly lacking in vigour and life but when the momentum does pick up notably in the chapters on "Aggression" and "Care Orders" I was very impressed by Campbell's careful discussion and analysis. At times she does leave some assumptions unturned, for example when she considers research into Borstal girls and the tendency to assume these girls are in trouble because of their 'physical unattractiveness'. She only goes part of the way in questioning the implicit values of the researchers. She suggests that the girls plumpness may be the result of poor institutional diets, boredom and depression. Surely it might also be appropriate to look at the meaning of physical attractiveness and fatness in our culture.

Similarly there was a gap in exploring the strategies of resistance and control employed by both girls and the state; for example, how do social workers and probation officers exert their influences on the processes of juvenile justice for girls? My guess is that there are important links to be made here with an understanding of the forms of social control of girls within families as well as within formal state structures. However, I recognise fully that these are the kinds of issues and questions which only emerge out of a pioneering work of this

kind. It is important and not before time that many of the questions raised in this book are being given the space and attention they clearly warrant.

Annie Hudson

John Holmes
"PROFESSIONALISATION - A MISLEADING MYTH? - a study of the careers of ex-students of youth and community work courses in England and Wales from 1970-1978
National Youth Bureau, 1981
ISBN 086155 0455 £4.95

'The time has come,' the Worker said,
'To talk of many things:
Of keys, accounts and toilet rolls -
And management meetings.'

My parody of Lewis Carroll is inspired not by an anal fixation, but by what I found to be the dominant themes of John Holmes' book, misleadingly called "Professionalisation - a Misleading Myth?". I do not feel that the book is about "professionalisation", though it has excellent chapters analysing youth and community work as an emerging profession. For me, the book seemed to be about centre based youth work and its management demands. The research returns obsessively to this central theme, analysing most of the trends in relation to whether graduates of the specialist courses enter or leave centre based work, and how that relates to their previous experience. From the employers' point of view, Holmes says, "centre based work was seen as the basis of youth and Community work" (P. 229) and management and administration as central to that role. From the ex-students perspective, centre based work is often seen as being consumed with routine jobs (even the toilet rolls get a mention! p. 75), bureaucratic, and limiting in terms of strategic work with the local community.

It seems to me that the pressures from the various parties with an interest in this research (notably the D.E.S., the local authority employers, the youth officers, the training agencies and N.Y.B. itself), have combined to produce a leaning away from the main aim of the project, which was "to obtain a clear and detailed picture of the careers of the 'graduates' of the specialist youth and community work courses", towards the secondary aim, which was to obtain a picture of the "full-time staffing position of the (Education-based) Youth and Community Service". My guess is that the concern over the shortfall of qualified applicants for the expanding Youth and Community Service in the mid-70s was the driving force behind this tendency, fuelled by what Holmes describes as "the resentment from employers that a significant proportion of those from the existing specialist courses chose not to enter Youth and Community posts". Hence the careers of ex-students tend to be analysed in ways relevant to this concern, and other fields such as community work or the growing youth treatment area receive rather less emphasis, while some interesting variables such as the sex of the student, political commitment or the nature of the training received are not examined in any depth for their influence on career path.

Let me make clear at this point that I enjoyed reading this study, and feel that it has much to commend it to anyone who

is seriously interested in the shape of the Youth and Community Service and the training which services it. I have a number of methodological quibbles about the research but I found it a stimulating piece of work that pointed up very sharply the dilemmas facing a Service which is still trying to find its identity.

My problems with the methodology lie firstly with the numbers game. I regretted that Holmes opted for "estimates of the significance of findings" rather than for "tests of significance" (p. 280). Although I grant his view that statistics can be used to give a "spurious objectivity", I feel it is often difficult to extrapolate trends reliably from his data. There are often for instance cells in tables with less than five respondents. There could have been useful mileage in statistical analysis of a limited number of variables, and for such an analysis there are suitable non-parametric tests.

More importantly, Holmes opts for a phenomenological approach which concentrates on the perceptions of ex-students themselves of their careers and their training. There are inter-related problems here. For me, the phenomenological standpoint is useful, but I felt that the issues could not fully be understood even from an inter-actionist viewpoint until the views of the employers were more fully explored, and the perspectives of the training agencies examined. Clearly this would have widened the research, but it might have thrown light on the emphasis on centre-based work outlined above. Holmes notes "the wider general issue of how close a fit there should be between training and the field", but of course the students are only one party whose perception of that divergence needs to be taken into account. The other problem of phenomenology is that it leaves some of the wider structural issues without debate, and for me the understanding of the funding and consequent staffing of the Youth and Community Service would have to include the reasons why such a Service is included in the range of provision of a capitalist state.

The point at which the book excited me was in the dilemmas it raises about the Service - a series of Catch 22 questions, which need to be resolved if the Service is to attract staffing or obtain any recognition as a "profession" or even a "semi-profession". I list some of these questions here:

- How can centre-based work attract new staff if it lacks vibrance and inspiration? Dull placements from college courses do not draw new recruits; first jobs are all too often like "Stephen's" where "the club itself was very run down and no young people turned up burst pipes leaky roof inadequate heating" (p. 201). Centre based work need not be like that, but if it is a staffing problem will remain. It can be orientated to issues of youth need, to the local community, and it can offer a first rate recreation, education and counselling service.

- If there is no career structure how can people avoid 'getting stuck'? Youth work has tried to develop career paths through links with adult education and community work with adults, but the result has been a widening of the remit for training and still further confusion of identity.

- Why are other aspects of youth work such as detached work or counselling regarded by officers as fringe activities, while on

the other hand they seem so attractive to people leaving courses? How is the Service going to integrate the insights from those methods? And if buildings are so important, why is the work within them so often seen as lacking a cutting edge?

- Is there a way of giving staff support, that can provide accountability without degenerating into the unnecessary bureaucracy so dreaded by the students?

- Why cannot good management and administration be covered by training courses to the satisfaction of employers? Has the emphasis on 'social education' and 'relationships' meant that we have tended to deny the need for skilled management to match a high quality recreational service for young people?

It may be that John Holmes' proposition of an alternative model of professionalism has something to offer in the resolution of these problems. The Youth and Community Service has too many strengths to offer to waste time agonising over its precise professional status, perhaps it should emphasise its values instead. John Holmes has produced a book of some depth which raises hard issues. Perhaps the time has come to find some answers, but then again maybe "pigs have wings"

Liz Hoggarth

Stephen Humphries
HOOLIGANS OR REBELS? An Oral History of Working Class Childhood and Youth 1889-1939
Blackwell 1981, 279pp.
ISBN 0-631-12982-0 £12.50 hardback.

Carol Dyhouse
GIRLS GROWING UP IN LATE VICTORIAN AND EDWARDIAN ENGLAND
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, 224 pp.
ISBN 0-7100-0821-X £8.95 hardback.

Jerry White
ROTHSCHILD BUILDINGS: Life in an East End Tenement Block 1887-1921
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1980, 310 pp.
ISBN 0-7100-0603-9 £6.95 paperback

Raphael Samuel
EAST END UNDERWORLD: Chapters in the Life of Arthur Harding.
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1981, 355pp.
ISBN 0-7100-0726-4 £6.95 paperback

The urgent problems facing Britain's youth, no less than the whole of our troubled nation, seem to insist on urgent remedies. History must appear to be a queer recruit, then, to our current needs. History is about things that are dead-and-gone, and who-cares about the past when you are living head-on in the present? That is certainly the common attitude of young people themselves, and it is also a dominant characteristic of postwar deliberations on the youth question to suppose that it is something entirely unprecedented - a symptom of the post-war 'permissive' society.

Here is a collection of books which all have something to say

about the lives of young people in the past, and which suggest that the postwar notion of the peaceful traditions of the 'British way of life' suddenly and rudely interrupted by a new generation of 'mixed-up teenagers', 'wild ones' and 'mindless yobbos' is somewhat wide of the mark. In the late nineteenth and early twentieth century young people were every bit as much a source of worried concern to their elders as today, if not more so. Thieving and hooliganism were commonplace features of the turbulent street life of working class neighbourhoods - indeed, the work 'Hooligan' itself was coined in this period to describe gangs of rowdy youths, who were dressed in the visible signs of an identifiable 'youth style', although this is a detail which these authors appear to have missed. Respectable England was consumed by massive fears about the original 'Hooligan' gangs who were taken as a sign of the deterioration of the 'Imperial Race', and this was reflected in any number of schemes to reclaim the rising generation - most notably Baden-Powell's Boy Scouts which were launched in 1908 amidst shuddering prophecies of imminent racial doom. The Board Schools (also known as the 'Bored Schools') were understood to be failing in their task, and the turn-of-the-century also coined the terms 'dead-end' job and 'blind-alley' employment in the face of considerable apprehension that the so-called 'boy labour' problem was failing to reproduce steady work disciplines in the working class: whether through the excessive 'affluence' that was so often said to be heaped upon the young, or the structural unemployment which regularly visited them in their late or early twenties. Surrounding the young, in fact, there was an entirely familiar set of complaints and realities - partly resolved, in another grimly familiar detail, by marching them off to war in 1914.

Stephen Humphries addresses these questions most directly in an 'oral history' which draws on the recollections of old people about their early lives - indeed, among the books reviewed here only Carol Dyhouse's does not employ the oral history approach. Humphries looks at different aspects of young people's lives: misbehaviour and rebellion in the classroom, including a detailed examination of the school strikes in 1889 and 1911; street life and street gangs; the part played by 'social crime' within the local economy; and the everyday realities of life in reformatories. He interprets his evidence within the framework of the new deviancy theories and the 'new criminologies'. He writes of a 'powerful undercurrent of resistance' among the young which 'cannot be dismissed simply as an expression of the ignorance, immorality and immaturity that middle-class commentators have commonly attributed to working-class youth', arguing that it must be understood as 'a discriminating response to the contradictions and inequality that were experienced in all spheres of life'.

There is more than a whiff of 'radical deviancy theory' romanticism in some of Humphries' arguments, but nonetheless this is a book to be warmly recommended. Particularly relevant to the present day are his accounts of 'racial' gangs fights between Jewish and non-Jewish youth in London, Manchester and elsewhere. Among the photographs which illustrate his book, there is one of a large crowd cheerfully wrecking the premises of a German shopkeeper in 1915. But where are the 'riot police' with their batons, shields and paddy-wagons? By contrast with our customary nostalgia for the 'good old days', this was an extremely rough and effectively un-policed form of street life.

As in most discussions of the contemporary youth question, the lives of young women and girls are often hidden from history. Carol Dyhouse's book is, therefore, especially welcome - and it also looks at respectable middle-class girls as well as their working-class cousins, which is another habitual blind-spot in the traditions of youth studies - tracing the experiences of girls in the contexts of family, school and work. Where girls are concerned, of course, it is not 'crime' that is usually the focus of anxiety, and I found her account of the various moral and hygienic crusades particularly interesting - the 'Snowdrop Bands', for example, who were dedicated to preserving purity of body and mind among working class girls.

The late Victorian and Edwardian era was decisive in the formation of our modern conceptions of 'adolescence', and Carol Dyhouse illuminates the gender specificities embodied within these ideologies. Education and physical exercise alike were seen as a strain on the intellect and physique of the gentle sex, distracting them also from their preparations for the duties of motherhood. The girl who showed 'tomboy' inclinations was described by one moral crusader as 'a rosebud set with little wilful thorns'. Of course, feminism was spreading its wings among the thorny little women of this period and Dyhouse concludes her rewarding book with a discussion of feminist responses, particularly in the context of the movement for women's education.

Jerry White puts on offer another oral history. But whereas Humphries drew his evidence from many parts of the country, White focusses on a tenement block in the Jewish quarter of the East End, piecing together the recollections of its inhabitants into a detailed reconstruction of everyday life. His narrative, which starts with the original 'Jack the Ripper' outrages in Whitechapel, ranges wider than the question of youth to incorporate the organisation of family life and work, the meanings and realities of community, and some aspects of politics, offering a vivid portrait of what it must have been like to grow up in this kind of world. In an issue of *History Workshop* (no. 8, 1979) Jerry White used the same tactic to good effect, reconstructing the 'lumpen' realities of the Campbell Road in Islington - which had the reputation of being the worst street in North London between the wars - and in *Rothschild Buildings* he has again shown us what a detailed and creative use of the oral history method can do for our understanding of working class life.

Last, but certainly not least, is Raphael Samuel's *East End Underworld* which tells the story of one man's life - Arthur Harding, a villain of considerable ill-repute, who worked his way from the notorious criminal slum of the 'Jago', via an apprenticeship as a Barnardo Boy and a Borstal Boy, to become a gun-slinging hoodlum and race-course mobster. Spending many years of his life behind prison walls, he also got mixed up with Mosley's men and during the General Strike he was employed as a 'bodyguard' on behalf of the forces of 'law-and-order'. It was 'better than fighting', says Arthur as he describes his strike-breaking activities, 'The art of terrorism is not to hurt anybody, just frighten them'.

Raphael Samuel has produced an absolute masterpiece, knitting together hours of taped conversation into a riveting narrative in which Arthur Harding tells his own story in his own words. The fluctuations in his moods and attitudes, together with the nuances of his East End speech - beautifully captured without any need of phoney dialect spellings such as

'muvver' and 'bovver' - are so life-like that you feel as if you were actually sitting down in the old man's living room, listening to the tale of his extraordinary life. It is a magnificent achievement. Raphael Samuel promises another volume soon on the political economy of crime in Bethnal Green, and the moral and cultural peculiarities of the area within which Arthur Harding's life must be situated. It will be worth waiting for.

Geoffrey Pearson

Review of **YOUNG PEOPLE, THE YOUTH SERVICE, AND YOUTH PROVISION**: The written Submission of the National Bureau to the Department and Science Review Group on the Youth Service. Available from the NYB at £1.50 (inc. p & p) for 1 copy and £2.50 (incl. p & p) for 2 copies.

This is at once a frustrating and interesting document. While merely intended as a submission to the DES Review Group on the Youth Service, an institution in whose outcome few are likely to place much hope, it goes beyond its narrow brief and takes us on a thoughtful sometimes radical journey through present and past thinking, practise and ideology informing the Youth Service and youth work. But for a quite lengthy paper its format is discouraging, making it an effort to read. And then for us at least, most important, there's what seems the often poor fit between the breadth of its analysis and the poverty and blandness of many of its recommendations.

Someone looking for a brief but critical discussion of the Youth Service might do well to turn to it for this alone. It charts its history, dominated by ruling class needs for its coning role over young people. It describes the way that the statutory Youth Service adopted the consensual values of its voluntary predecessor with the Albemarle package containing "many of the received dogma". It points to its increasing professionalization. At the same time it recognises young people's lack of say in the Youth Service and its failure to enable any effective increase in that say. But as it points out young people do have a form of control - voting with their feet. "The vast majority of young people at any one time have little or not contact with the Youth Service" - particularly the "older" teenagers with whom the Youth Service claims a special understanding. As it says "an adult ordered" Youth Service "sponsoring" provision for young people will always remain marginal to the vast majority of them". The submission details the Youth Service's limitations in the areas of young people's greatest needs - unemployment, housing, the inner city, work with young black people and its patchy response to young people in trouble with the law. It also condemns the failure for racism and sexism generally to be seen as vitally important issues in the Youth Service despite the challenge of feminist and black youth workers. The submission emphatically rejects the consensus model of society on which the Youth Service is now based.

The National Youth Bureau submission condemns the Youth Service for its lack of clear policy. "The 'received dogma' of a universal leisure service with broad educational aims, largely remains intact, yet conflicts sharply with those who argue for a service that meets the needs of disadvantaged young people and clearly relates to the issues they face." But the National Youth Bureau submission does not successfully grapple with the Youth Service's ambiguous role between leisure, recreat-

ion, social education and personal development. This is probably because it retains a commitment to "social education" as the primary aim and focus of the Youth Service, despite its own condemnation of the individualising and controlling role this has served in the past. What is has tried to do is overcome this problem by extending its definition of social education so that it should now include the Youth Service using its resources to promote understanding and change of political factors by young people and others. But again this is framed in terms of enabling their "personal development". Why does it make sense for all of this to be included as social education? Nor can these aims as it suggests be recognised as neutral educational aims. They are and rightly so political and ideological aims if they are to mean anything. Few youth workers now campaign as a method of responding to the problems young people face. Is the definitional framework this submission suggests really going to change that? Similarly there is little in the document about increased recruitment of 16 - 19 year olds as paid workers in the Youth Service as a means to their more effective say and involvement.

The submission sees the Youth Service as an educational service and wants it to remain the responsibility of the Department of Education and Science. That might seem sensible if the alternative is for it to be shifted off into leisure or even social services departments. But bigger questions are raised here. Would we think of the interests of any other age or other group being best served by coming under an educational department? Once we start to think in those terms of old people, black people or handicapped people the whole idea seems at least anomalous, at worst taking us on a road to paternalism and control. It is also interesting what coming under the education department has meant for the Youth Service as opposed to what it has meant for higher education. Perhaps if the conditions and opportunities for self and collective development and action higher education offers relatively privileged young people could be replicated for those using the Youth Service then the same concern might not arise. What all this suggests to us is just how much a debate about the Youth Service and Youth Policy there still needs to be. This submission has made a small but brave attempt, stymied as much by the lack of other shoulders to build on and the poverty of official response it can expect. But it should be seen as one more message to all of us to sharpen our minds to the coming debates and action with the young there must be if they are to have an alternative to insurrection to make themselves heard.

Peter Beresford and Susy Croft

Ronald and Juliette Goldman
CHILDREN'S SEXUAL THINKING
Routledge Kegan and Paul. 1982

ISBN 0 7100 0883 £11.95 pp. 485

Definition of puberty (Swedish girl, aged 9) "When you become a teenager and quarrel with your parents".

The authors' starting point is the surprising lack of attention given to the development of sexual thought in human beings when compared to the extensive psychological work which has been carried out on other aspects of children's cognition. Since

thinking is to a large extent socially and sexually determined, despite its undeniably physiological basis, is also a cultural product, it was necessary to look at different nations in an attempt to gauge how far children's sexual thinking differs in different social contexts. The purpose of the research was to measure the extent of children's sexual knowledge, to discover if there were detectable sequences and stages in their sexual thinking (in this, they draw on the work of Piaget) and what processes of thought they used to describe the biological functions of their bodies.

The authors managed to interview children in Australia, North America (principally Canada, as there were "political problems" in the US), Britain and Sweden, although not in any "developing" countries - which is a pity, as the inclusion of such countries would have led to a richer data-set. Their respondents, some 800 children, were aged 5 to 15 years, equally divided between the sexes, with more respondents in Australia and England (40 in each country in each of 6 age groupings) than in Sweden and North America. The sample was drawn from urban-suburban areas in each country which contained mixed socio-economic groups. Because of the small sample sizes in each country's age group, it was decided to include only caucasian children from two-parent families with at least one younger sibling. Parents were asked permission for their child to be interviewed, and it is worrying, in terms of possible sample biases, to note that about a fifth of parents refused, except in Sweden where only one-twentieth refused.

Interviews were conducted face to face by a same-sex interviewer. Topics covered included: the ageing process, the best time to be alive, why people get married, difference between men and women, the origin of babies, how not to have babies, perceptions of nakedness and of sex education and the young person's understanding of sexual vocabulary. Each of these topics (and a few more) are given a chapter to themselves, in which they receive thorough treatment; the result is a lengthy volume with extensive appendices and a bibliography of 20 pages. It's readable, if rather repetitive (if I read once more that sex education is compulsory in Sweden from the age of 8, I'll) and if you haven't the time for all the tabulations, there are useful summaries at the ends of each chapter. It is also interesting and sometimes amusing about an under-researched subject.

The focus of the work is on the **development** of children's sexual thinking. The authors conclude that in all the countries studied except Sweden young people are retarded in their sexual thinking. They argue that only two of the topics about which they asked children questions would be inappropriate for the Primary School curriculum because they demand a higher level of thought processes. These topics are: the cause of childbirth at a particular time and the sex determination of babies. Everything else should at least begin to be taught at the Primary School level. My favourite quotation in the book is on the former topic. The respondent is an Australian boy, aged 7.

- Q. Why would the baby have to come out of the mother?
A. To see the world, to see its mother and family.
Q. Why?
A. So it can learn to live, so it can learn to write and learn how not to spill things over the carpet .

Sexual education may be more appropriately taught to younger children since they are able to accept what they are taught

without the complications of the inevitable emotional involvement of adolescents in the subject. However, in fact few children received sex education; less than 40% of the English sample said they received sex education at primary school. Yet, as the authors found, there is plenty of teaching material. What is needed is a clearly formulated developmentally based programme of sex education - something which the authors are intending to create using the research reported here as the theoretical basis for this.

Even more important, I'd say, is the necessary political will to teach children about sex, and in eighties Britain this is even less evident than in the sixties and seventies. The Health Education Council is coming under closer political control and schools are increasingly constrained in the curriculum they offer. The recent abolition of the Schools Council in favour of a more closely controlled curriculum council is just one aspect of this.

If evidence of the need for sex education is required, the Goldmans point out that "it is astonishing that so many 15-year-old girls in particular are so vague about the measuring of "uterus", in England only 13% of 15 year-olds (and only 3% of 13 year-olds) gave a "fully appropriate" definition. There is also extreme ignorance about VD - only 10% of English 15-year-olds had a "fully appropriate" understanding of the term, and hardly any of the younger children did.

The report questions some of the myths surrounding children's sexual thinking - the most important being, in my view, the long-overdue demolition of the notion of a latency period when children cease to think about sex. The report consistently contradicts this theory, in finding that there is a continuous increase in sophistication of children's sexual concepts as they get older. The home is still the main source of sex education, but children are cautious about the kind of questions they could ask their parents and those they feel they could not. Maybe this is due to the sexless way children perceive their parents' relationship - only 4.5% of the sample gave sexual reasons for marrying, and many fail to report sexual differences between mum and dad.

There were, of course, clear gender differences on many of the measures, the most interesting being in answer to a question about the purpose of coitus other than for procreation; girls mainly answered in terms of love, and boys mainly in terms of enjoyment. Boys in general had a better understanding of sexual matters, perhaps because of their scientific bias (although in the UK at least, more girls study biology).

Unfortunately, because of the "sensitivity" of the topics, masturbation and homosexuality are not covered - no doubt there would have been an even higher refusal rate if these had been included. There is no doubt from the evidence of this book - sex education is totally inadequate and its inadequacy is damaging to the understanding and behaviour of children and young people. While reading it, I kept remembering that those who were interviewed were relatively privileged - from two parent families with a younger sibling and whose parents allowed an interview to take place. I'm now very anxious about the hidden fifth, whose parents refused to allow an interview.

Richard Ives

"NO MORE KIDDING": Young People, Participation & Power
Battersea Community Action, 27 Winders Road, Battersea,
London SW11.

Price 50p & 30 p p&p, single copies (80p postage up to 5 copies).

The lack of power amongst young people. The constraining nature of existing youth participation exercises. Strategies for increasing young peoples' voice in youth affairs.

These are the issues to which this 20 page report addresses itself. Its format juxtaposes the text with succinct headings, direct quotes, and a large number of newspaper clippings and photographs designed to reinforce and illustrate the central theme stated in the opening paragraph: "The fundamental problem of young people is their powerlessness"

The authors want this material to be used by young people, and it is presented in a style which should appeal. Many older teenagers may struggle with some of the language ("rhetoric", "capital colonisation", "Recalcitrant"), but overall, the booklet provides a wealth of stimulating material which could be used in private reading, workshops, group discussions and classrooms. Youth workers, work supervisors, and teachers who do use it will need to be committed to the ideas being proposed, since the booklet encourages youngsters to demand ways of participating in the decisions which affect them, whilst also defining the role of such workers as a liberating one in which they should facilitate and support the involvement of young people on their own terms.

The concluding section on 'strategies' is the most difficult issue to approach. The report narrowly avoids a deterministic approach telling youngsters how to gain more influence, by suggesting a wide range of possible options (including, for instance, forging links with trades unions, community groups, political groups and the development of collective action). It could also have fallen into the error of providing such vague suggestions as to render the ideas too abstract for young people. Happily, I feel the authors have found a valid compromise.

The booklet recognises the absence of youth participation in so many areas of their lives - jobs, housing, school, leisure - but restricts most of its consideration to the role the Youth Service could, or should, be playing in transferring power to young people. Whilst it is intended that the material be used by young people, I suspect that many may require some assistance in using it, and that many of the points are addressed as much to the staff running facilities as to the young people who attend.

Timothy Pickles



Please send your orders to:
NATIONAL YOUTH BUREAU, Sales Department,
 17-23 Albion Street, Leicester LE1 6GD Telephone: 0533 554775

Publications

A Democratic Voice? The Changing Role of Youth Councils

John Denham and Martin Notley



In recent years there has been a steady growth of interest in the encouragement of youth participation and political education. The British Youth Council has been developing and assessing youth councils as a means of promoting and achieving these aims, and this report should enable the Youth Service to achieve a significant increase in the numbers and effectiveness of young people taking an active role in the affairs of the community, both locally and nationally.

Published 1982 ISBN 0 86155 054 4
 Price £2.50

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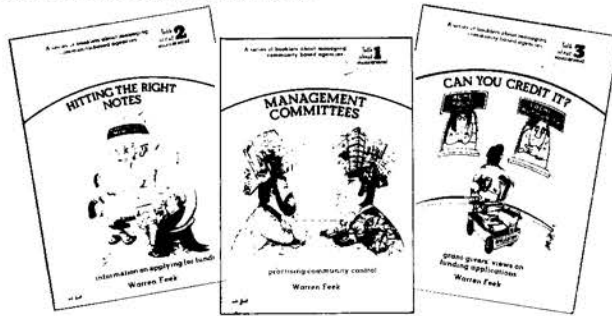


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FIVE YEARS



Five Years

Howard and Pip Williamson

The true story of five teenagers who grew up together in an area of classic social deprivation and got into the usual kinds of 'trouble' associated with working class youth. The authors describe family influences, peer group expectations and personal anxieties, and by the liberal use of quotes they allow the boys to speak for themselves.

Published 1981 ISBN 0 86155 046 3
 Price £2.25

analysis

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

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

Fig. 2: Estimated Costs of Unemployment 1981-1982: Two projections.

Manpower Services Commission (M.S.C.),
Institute of Fiscal Studies (I.F.S.).

Exchequer Loss/Cost	I.F.S.	M.S.C.
Unemployment Benefit	1.6	2.0
Supplementary Benefit	2.6	2.0
Rent-Rate Rebates	0.1	
Free School Meals - Milk	0.2	
Income Tax	3.1	4.2
National Insurance	2.6	3.2
Indirect Taxes (inc. VAT)	2.5	0.9
Totals: BILLIONS	12.7	12.3

Figures are rounded down slightly: IFS forecast £12,700,000,000 on 2.9 million unemployed; MSC forecast £12,300,000,000 on 2.84 million unemployed.

Sources: IFS 'The Exchequer Costs of Unemployment' IFS Nov. 1981 'Fiscal Studies'.
MSC Quoted by Financial Times 9/11/81.

N.B. The advisability of 'grossing up' figures is frequently debated. This method was contested by Sir G. Howe (Chancellor) in Parliament: see; Hansard; 20/11/81; Col. 255 W.

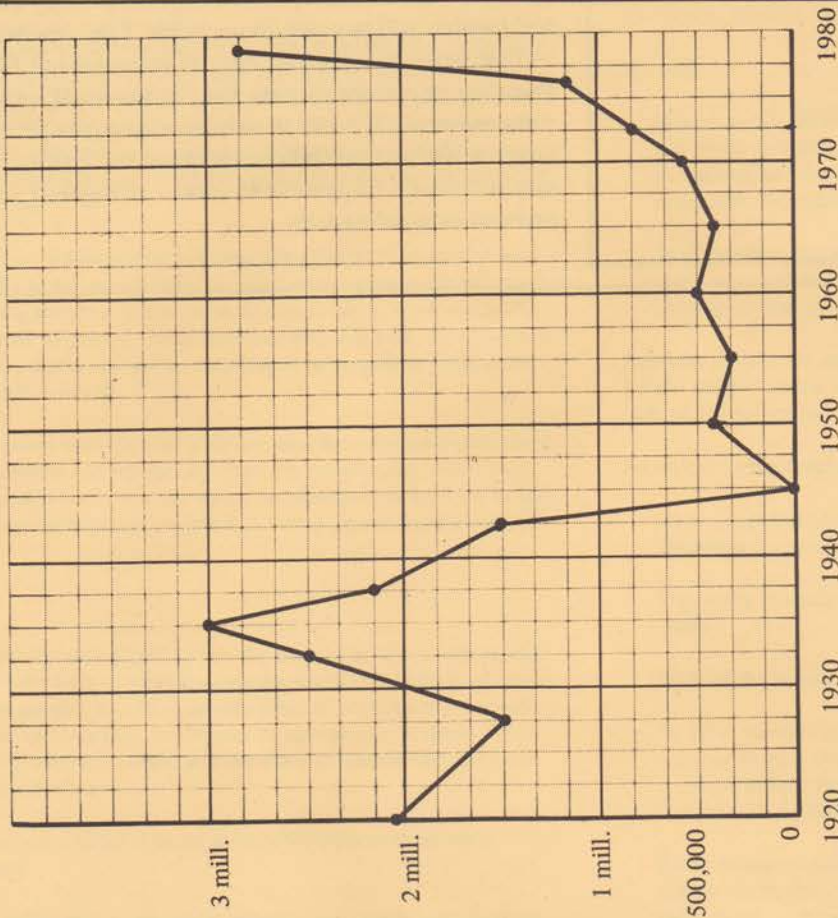


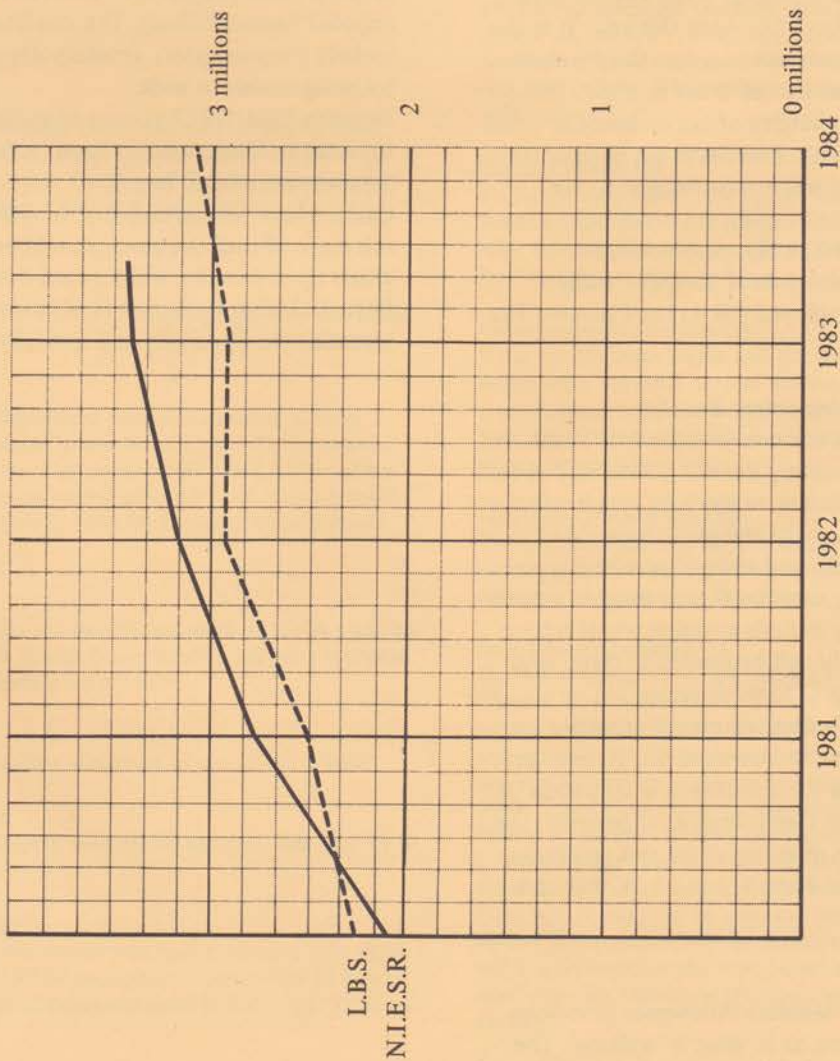
Fig. 1: Unemployment 1920 - 1980

Millions by Decade

Source: Halsey: Change in British Society
Oxford: 1981

Fig. 4: Unemployment projections: Two Forecasts 1980-1984.
London Business School (Feb 1982)

National Institute of Economic and Social Research (Feb 1982)



N.B. Figures are for 'wholly unemployed', but N.I.E.S.R. is a fourth quarter estimate excluding school leavers.
Total registered unemployment U.K. Jan 1982 was 3,070,600.
Sources: London Business School: National Institute of Economic and Social Research: Background paper No 99, House of Commons Library Research Division, March 1982.

Fig. 3: Unemployment: Individual Costs: A 'Typical' Case.

Costs of unemployment during the first year of a married man with two children who loses his job on April 1st, 1981.

Costs	£
Unemployment Benefit	1,892.63
Supplementary Benefit	1,142.63
Free School Meals	87.75
Free Welfare Milk	67.56
Total Public Expenditure Costs	3,190.57

N.B. Two children are assumed, aged under 5, and 5 to 10;

Wife not working;

Between 1/4/81 and 31/3/82 310 days benefit paid;

School meals paid in term time for 39 weeks @ 45p per day;

Unlikely to receive tax refunds;

Child benefits excluded as they would be paid anyway.

Sources: Hansard: 16/12/81; Col: 164 W.

House of Commons Research Note: No 64; March 1982.

9. Training.

Under the Tebbit training plans for young people the withdrawal of rights to Supplementary Benefits unless young people accept training direction has now been itself withdrawn by the Government. The scheme will also pay £25 (not £15) plus expenses allowances. The scheme still does not apply to young people in full-time education at FE colleges or in sixth forms. This still leaves a wholesale inequality in the system, and gives the incentive, particularly to youngsters in working class and low income families, to leave school for 'dole' training, rather than exist on wholly inadequate education maintenance grants. In not co-operating with each other the Department of Education and Science, the Department of Health and Social Security, the Department of Employment and the Cabinet continue to extract a phenomenal level of opportunity cost from those most in need.

10. Taxation.

The Government's plans to tax social security benefits paid to the unemployed, the sick and to strikers took effect during the current tax year, 1982/83. The first stage of the plan – the withholding of tax refunds – has already been implemented with effect from 6th April this year. It is also the intent of the Government not to return the 5% abatement which was docked in lieu of taxes in 1980. The second stage – the actual charging of tax on benefits – will start from the 5th July, 1982: benefits in the current tax year, paid before that date will not be charged to tax. The detailed procedures for bringing the benefits into tax are set out in the Income Tax (Employments) No 13 Regulations, 1982. See also Inland Revenue leaflets – Income Tax and the Unemployed (IR 41) and Income Tax and Strikes (IR 43).

11. Part-time Study and Supplementary Benefits.

Following the inclusion of our note in issue 1 of Youth and Policy, the Chief Supplementary Benefit Officer had in fact published a guidance document on students which said that their time spent in private study and lunch breaks had to be included in the 21 hours allowed and still receive Supplementary Benefits. The Government will now bring in amended regulations so that only periods covering actual tuition will be counted: the benefit will be limited to those who have been in SB for 3 months (over or under 21). An impending Commissioner's decision on retrospective payments after appeal will have to be waited for. If necessary, payment can be made now to claimants in anticipation of new regulations and under transitional arrangements, the requirement for the three month waiting and qualifying period will be waived (See Note 1, Issue 1, Youth and Policy, Summer 1982).

12. To walk, or not to walk.

The administrators of the Mobility Allowance have been concerned, over a long time, as to what is 'walking'. The question affects thousands of physically and mentally handicapped people. The same base problems affect the

Attendance Allowance, as also 240,000 married and co-habiting women, who cannot get the Housewife's Non-Contributory Invalidity Pension, (because they have failed the discriminatory 'normal household duties test'. Add to this at least 110,000 married women who stay home to care for the handicapped: who are not entitled to the Invalid Care Allowance, paid to men and single women. Commissioners File No 7/81, and the decisions (CSM 1/81) are of real importance in widening debate on the issue. Medical tribunals have now been instructed to make findings of fact, (for example, on Regulation 3(1) of the Mobility Allowance Regulations), as to whether a person is unable to walk, virtually unable to walk, or whether the exertion to walk would constitute a danger to his health, life or limb, or be contributory to deteriorating health. The tribunals must make findings on physical activity, distance of movement, speed of movement, the length of time taken to move, and the manner in which a claimant can move without great discomfort.

The need for adults, or young people, to give constant support and/or controlling restraint, (particularly when tribunals have refused Attendance Allowances where such unaided movement constitutes mortal danger from traffic, or, even other people, as in a recent Northern case of a crippled haemophiliac). The conditions, therefore, particularly for youngsters, crucially depend on what is meant by being unable to walk.

Decision CSM/1/81 has been of guiding importance about the level at which walking can be achieved with constant support, attendance or aid.

Cases, where 'virtual inability' to walk are affected by the relevance of such decisions, should be reported nationally, either by us (and we will forward them), or direct to Child Poverty Action Group, or to voluntary organisations representing the physically and mentally handicapped.

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis **AND POLICY**

monitor:
april~may~june 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.

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

V22:N107

Cinematographic Bill RB1

First Reading (20 pages) minimal direct relevance to youth; video pirating, seizure of apparatus; proposed changes to regulations concerning local (village hall etc) showings of films; exchange around amendment No 19; sex films, videos and 'ugly features of society' (Mr Farr).

Fine Defaulters WA

Figures for imprisonment for default of fine including those for under 21 years (table).

Unemployed Persons WA

In 1982/83 number of unemployed persons estimated to have exhausted their right to unemployment benefit is 1,040,000, average; abolition of one-year limit on entitlement would cost £1,470 million in the year; to restore earnings-related supp. on basis which applied before Social Security Act (No 2) 1980 for unemployed only would cost £770 million.

Family Planning

Will Sec. State Social Services run specific campaign on family planning for 16 to 19 age range? Ans. Health Education Council plans to repeat recent adverts, and is considering other action.

Unclaimed Benefits WA

Latest estimate of DHSS benefits unclaimed is 'some £400 million'.

Supplementary Benefit WA

Number of Claimants in Islington local offices and GLC area May 1979 and Feb. 1982 (table).

Unemployment Benefit WA

Percentage of claimants in Manchester who have exhausted their right to unem. ben. and figures; 19,500 unemployed claimants at 13 benefit offices in Manch. area who had exhausted claim in Feb 1982; 32.3% of total claimants in area.

V23:N108

Temporary Short Time Working Compensation Scheme OA

Number of people assisted by scheme in sharing short-time working in past 12 months is 'almost 1.3 million'; exchange on unemployment in general.

Unemployment Statistics OA

On 15 April provisional number unemployed in UK (registered) was 3,007,726; possible that in 1979-80 'a third of a million' people were seeking work not registered as unemployed; Mr Canavan asked if the true figure for unemployed is not 'over 4 million'? Is it not time that the Tory Party hired Saatchi and Saatchi to design a new poster showing an ever increasing dole queue with a caption declaring that Thatcherism is not working? Ans. (Mr Tebbit) the hon. Gentleman has a liking for some subjective interpretations of highly selective statistics, etc; further exchange. Question (Miss J Lestor), why are the Govt to change the method of compiling statistics after October, the rt. hon. Gentleman agreed that this will take some 65,000 off the register? Ans (Mr Tebbit), it is a consequence of voluntary registration, short exchange.

Training Boards OA

Exchange on subject; 'widespread unease' concerning abolition of Boards; Govt. (Mr Morrison) have put training high on list of priorities with new training initiative and £1,000 million per year to youth training scheme; short exchange.

Unemployment Statistics OA

Rates for Northern region and UK nationally are 16.3% and 12.6% respectively 15/4/82; further exchange around regionalism and unemployment; Govt. allocating £400 million to area in last financial year; Govt. to review travel to work area network when complete census figures are available.

Jobcentre (Ponders End) OA

Question (Mr Eggar), is Minister satisfied with conditions for staff and applicants at Ponders End Jobcentre? Ans. Have been unsatisfactory, necessary to make some changes.

New Training Initiative OA

Mr Tebbit (Sec State Employment) took questions on youth and training; Youth Task Group Report received from MSC; the group puts proposals for future training for young school leavers, employed and unemployed; Govt. considering with view to decision early this summer; arrangements can then be made to replace YOP in September 1983; Select Committee on Employment considering report also; further exchange as follows, (Mr Haselhurst) general agreement between TUC and CBI is significant; (Mr Marlow) will rt. hon. Friend consider expansion of community service activities? Ans. (Mr Tebbit) 'hope that there will continue to be a substantial role for voluntary service'; further exchange, on Training Boards and youth; question (Mr J Grant) will Sec State accept that MSC report excludes any form of compulsion? Ans. (Mr Tebbit) no proposals for any compulsion; further (short) exchange.

Training Boards OA

Between Nov 1981 and March 1982 424 Industrial Training Boards staff made redundant, 16 Boards wound up; exchange.

Abolition of The Commission for Racial Equality

Mr Ivor Stanbrook begged leave to bring in a Bill under Ten Minute Rule to abolish the Commission for Racial Equality; exchange (3 pages) of indirect relevance to youth; Division No 135 Ayes 51, Noes 283; defeated.

Employment WA

Total numbers assisted by special employment and training measures at March 82 was 565,000 people.

Unemployment Statistics WA

In April numbers unemployed in UK 3,007,726 seasonally adjusted figures excluding school leavers was 2,850,400; further exchange and comparative figures North West & South East people in employment 1971 to 1981; 39 areas in April where unemployment is above 20%.

Job Vacancies WA

Improved trend in job vacancies; 110,000 up to April compared to 108,000 in previous three months; similar figures for different three month periods.

Youth Training WA

Govt 'keeping itself informed' about differences in expenditure on youth training between Britain, France and Germany.

Serious Offences WA

Clear Up rates for serious offences in 1981 in each police area of England and Wales (table).

Sentencing Statistics (Cumbria) WA

Figures for males aged between 17 and 21 sentenced for indictable offences in 1979 and 1980, by Cumbrian area (table).

Royal Parks (Violent Crime) WA

Violent crime increased in Hyde Park by 100% between 1979 and 1981; exchange and some figures.

Further Education WA

Significant increase in number staying on at school recently to take full-time courses including A levels; Govt to make additional £100 million available in 1982/83.

Unemployment (West Midlands) WA

Mr Winnick and the Prime Minister, exchange on West Midlands unemployment.

Manchester WA

Costs per pupil of primary and secondary education in Manchester, Wigan and similar districts (table).

National Child Minding Association WA

Exhibition in the Upper Waiting Hall during June 1982.

Social Workers WA

Govt intends to study the subject of social worker monitoring 'carefully' with publication of the Barclay Report.

Child Benefit WA

Administrative costs of decision not to pay school leavers child benefit if they find places on YOP or employment will be £1 million per year; £10 million will be saved in benefit.

Prescription Charges WA

Most young people between 16 and 19 in full time education or

unemployed are exempt prescription charges; Govt. have 'no plans' to automatically exempt this age group.

Cyclists (Accident Statistics) WA

Table of accident figures for cyclists in 1980.

Pedal Cycles WA

Sources for estimated numbers of pedal cycles in 1980.

Nursery and Playgroup Places WA

Comprehensive table of figures giving nursery school, day nursery and playgroup places in each regional Scottish authority area from 1976 to 1980.

V23:N109

School Transport (Clwyd) D

Mr T Ellis raised the subject of the rate support grant and its effect on education in Clwyd; the transport of children to school; children from five or six villages which are some distance from school have had bus passes withdrawn despite parental protest; at present some 500 children are not attending lessons; commercial bus fares are between £5.00 and £6.00 per week; families with 3 children are faced with a bill of £70.00 per month; local unemployment is about 20%; one family with 3 children at school has a total income of £78.00 per week; why should it cost (my) constituents proportionately more to send their children to school than it does the parent of a child at Eton College? Ans. (Mr M Roberts) Under Sec. State Wales, RSG settlement for Wales 1982/83 is 'a very fair and generous one' at £94 million, or 9.2% increase; the amount spent on education is solely a matter for the county council; there has been no reduction in Welsh local authority expenditure; local authorities may decide to reduce levels of some services; (I) do not dispute the figures; the law provides that local education authorities must put on transport from home to a suitable school where the child lives more than three miles away, or over two miles away if it is aged 8 and under; (but) it is entirely right for parents to have certain responsibilities upon them for getting their children to school; Clwyd council already spends £3.5 million per year on school transport; adj.

"Short, Sharp Shock" (sic) WA

Scheme began end of April 1980, between then and 31/3/82 'about' 3,500 young offenders in detention centres 'had been received into centres operating the tougher regimes pilot project'; further figures.

Metropolitan Police (Protective Overalls) WA

Arrangements being made for identification numbers to be shown on police fire-resistant overalls.

Vigilante Groups WA

No vigilante groups have been encountered by police patrols in any part of the Merseyside police area.

Village Schools WA

How many village schools have been permitted to close in Wales during the last 2 years? Between Jan. 1980 and Jan. 1982 54 primary schools were closed, of which 14 had fewer than 20 pupils, and 8 had between 20 and 50 pupils; further figures.

Wider Opportunity Courses WA

Women completing Wider Opportunity Courses since their inception in 1978 totals 1,018; MSC in 1982 is committed to a modest expansion of such courses.

Information Technology Centres (Training) WA

MSC in conjunction with D. of Ind. is planning to establish 100 or so information technology centres by end of current financial year, offering places to some 3,000 trainees; in March 1982 there were 12 such centres in operation providing places for 415 trainees; all places are open to both sexes.

Waltham Forest WA

Figures for redundancies and closures between 1979 and 1982.

Females WA

Number of females in employment in all industries and services in UK at Dec. 1981 was 8.6 million, or 42.4% of all employees in employment.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Exchange between Mr Parry and Mr P Morrison concerning reduction of YOP places in Liverpool and Merseyside; Govt denies any reduction; Govt satisfied with working of YOP as it is developed towards the new training scheme for young people to start in 1983.

North East Lancashire WA

Blackburn and certain other areas; age breakdown of unemployment figures will be provided 'shortly'; number of redundancies notified in Blackburn, Accrington, Burnley, Nelson and Rossendale travel to work areas in 1979, 1980 and 1981 subdivided by standard industrial (job) classification; 2 pages of tables; but statistics 'not comprehensive'.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Male and female plus overall unemployment rate for each quarter 1981 and first quarter 1982 in travel to work areas with intermediate area status and development area status (selected tables).

North West Norfolk WA

Number of total unemployed, number jobless for over one year for 1979, 1980, 1981, 1982, for several travel to work areas in N.W. Norfolk; figures on YOP schemes not available for local areas.

Manchester WA

Unemployed figures including school leavers for Manchester at April 1982.

Supplementary Benefit WA

Total estimate of 90,000 people with unclaimed entitlement, amounting to £30 million.

Community Care WA

Govt asked to provide some finance for community care and primary medical care in view of extra work linked to poverty and unemployment; ans. (Mr K Clarke) 'no evidence (demonstrating) that either poverty or unemployment in themselves create increasing work loads'.

Playgroup Facilities (cost) WA

Not possible to estimate the cost of providing free playgroup facilities.

Cot Deaths WA

Number of deaths of infants under one year, 'cot deaths' for 1978 - 927; 1979 - 1,025; 1980 - 1,147.

School Leavers (Academic Qualifications) WA

In 1980/81 11.4% of school leavers in England had no graded CSE or GCE results; this proportion has decreased over the years, particularly after introduction of CSE in 1965; comparable figures for 1960/61 and 1970/71 were 72.6% and 44.5%.

Polytechnics and Colleges of Further Education WA

Student numbers at Nov 1980, expenditure for financial year 80/81 and unit costs, given for years compared to 1975 figures; table.

Boarding School Allowances WA

Govt 'regret' figures for boarding school allowances granted to members of armed forces for schools in Scotland not available.

Glasgow (Population) WA

Estimated population (mid-year) for Glasgow District provided in table; figures by age groups for 1979 and 1981.

Young Offenders WA

Number of persons aged 16 to 20 against whom a charge was proved (Scotland) in period 1975 to 1980 is as follows,

1975	55,894
1976	55,495
1977	54,127
1978	58,600
1979	55,748
1980	65,976

Criminal Proceedings (Statistics) WA

Total number of persons called for trial in Scotland 1970/74/78 and 1981, and numbers of these under 16 offered in 'Criminal Statistics Scotland 1979' (Cmnd 8218); figs for 1981 not yet available.

Unemployed Persons (Voluntary Work) WA

Provision of opportunities for voluntary by unemployed in Scotland, short reply by Mr Younger; figures of expenditure.

V23:N110

Wales (Economy and Unemployment) D

Mr A Jones (Rhondda); adj. debate; 1,710,000 Welsh unemployed, rate of 16.1%; young and long term jobless particularly disadvantaged; unemployed school leavers totals 7,973 with additional 12,791 on YOP; 73% increase in unemployed school leavers in recent years; 21 hours rule prevents them improving job prospects; will Sec. State review 21 hours rule? Other members; apprentice schemes closed; under 25's, an increase of from 52,000 to 66,383 in unemployed; example of arcade mechanic working 40 hour week for £32, exploited; Mr D Williams (Montgomery) unemployment in 15-19 age is a problem to every advanced nation; World recession, baby boom; technological advance; increased labour costs, and competition are responsible for unemployment; high wages by youth have added to problem; since 1973 youth wages in Britain have risen by 446%; all our EEC neighbours have conscription; in France survey shows that costs of conscription are less than unemployment benefit; though effect of conscription of unemployment marginal; Mr Coleman (Neath) discussion on MSC Task Group Report; Mr Roberts (U. Sec. State Wales) in 1982/83 MSC will continue to provide support for 35,000 apprentices at cost of £56 million; adj; total of 38 pages, with further youth references.

Child Benefit WA

About 1.5 million children in families with income below tax threshold; about 10.4 million in families with income taxed at basic rate; about 0.8 million in families with income taxed at higher rates; level of take up very high.

Job Creation (Agriculture) WA

No job creation schemes as such in agriculture; under YOP 18,000 work experience places in agriculture are available.

Unemployed Persons (Statistics) WA

Proportion of those registered unemployed less than 3 months, and no longer registered on 14/1/82, by age 16-19, other age categories; table.

School Leavers (Islington) WA

On 30/4/82 there were 446 young people under 18 registered as unemployed who had no job since leaving school.

Cot Deaths WA

'Sudden Infant Syndrome', cot deaths in Scotland in last 3 years; table.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for Scotland, unemployment with removal from register after three months, by age and % of unemployment total; (table); registered unemployed in Scotland, and Glasgow, compared with figures for 1966 and 1979 (table); number of young people in Glasgow registered and not having had a job since leaving school (under 18) on 5/4/82 was 5,214; comprehensive table giving unemployed by standard industrial classification and unfilled vacancies for 1979 and 1981; other information on questions concerning redundancies in Glasgow, males out of work, duration of unemployment for males, etc. not specifically youth related.

Employment Glasgow WA

Figures between Feb and April 1982 for each of the special employment and training schemes in Glasgow; YOP 5,350; CEP 1,400; CI 349; Job Release 769; Temp. Short Time Working Scheme 749; table.

V23:N111

Cinematographic Bill R3

Mr J Farr (Harborough) on Saturday Morning Cinema for children, 'the practice has ended now'; Mr P Bottomley (Woolwich West) agreed, 'wholesome entertainment' and 'welcome break for my parents', etc. Other members in debate; no positive evidence relating crime to pornography and violence; Kung Fu films arouse sadistic pleasure; rape and multiple rape also; in future local clubs such as British Legion, Boy Scouts, etc, will require certificates to show films from Home Office; Mr Eldon Griffiths (Bury St Edmunds) sought assurance that if the Allotment Holders Association of Walsham Le Willows did not slip a Kung Fu film into its programme it will have a certificate that lasts for 'a number of years'; further exchanges; (10 pages).

Firearms Bill (Clause 1) Amm.

In discussion of the amendment; now only 50,000 to 60,000 licensed handguns in Britain; police estimate the pool of illegal handguns is about 350,000; police estimate 250,000 replica firearms used in crime; replicas available to youngsters; etc. (7 pages).

Education (Mandatory awards) Regulations WA

From Sept 1982, refugees whose studies abroad interrupted under certain conditions will be exempt from previous study restrictions on entitlement to mandatory award.

Prisoners (Family Statistics) WA

Question to Sec. State Home, how many prisoners have children under 16? Ans. Information not available.

Penal Establishments (Running Costs) WA

Estimated running costs per place in penal establishments in year 1980/81; full answer in Cmnd 8543 para 81; Borstals and YP centres is £180

weekly; Detention Centres is £156 weekly; (table)

Industrial Training Boards WA

Figures for industrial TB's with classification, total workforce and female employees as % of workforce, for the 16 ITB's to be abolished; table.

N23:N112

Toxteth Disturbances (Report) WA

Sec State Home gives details of disturbances in Toxteth on Sat 24/4/82 to Thurs 5/5/82; 'gangs of youths' references; brief.

Liverpool (Ministerial Visit) WA

Home Sec has no present plans to visit Liverpool to meet community groups.

Toxteth (Visit) WA

Prime Minister asked if she plans to visit Toxteth; ans. No.

Code.

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings as are published.

The following code describes the references used.

DIV	Division
D	in debate
S	statement
WA	written answer
AMM	ammendment moved
OA	oral answer
RB	reading of Bill, 1, 2 or 3.
V	volume of report
N	number of report
etc;	this item continued as such
adj;	adjourned
ans.	answer
exchange;	comment by Members on the subject at some length
table;	figures given in chart form.

reporting

april~may 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.

- 1-4-1982 **Police and Racism:** Metropolitan Police announce the introduction of tests designed to weed out recruits with extreme attitudes including racial bias. (Times)
- 1-4-1982 **Solvent Abuse:** Mr Alan Roberts adds amendment to Criminal Justice Bill which will force manufacturers to add "a foul-smelling chemical" to their products to deter solvent abuse. Criticised by British Adhesive Manufacturers' Association who point out that five American States have such legislation but that it merely increases the danger of vomiting. (Times)
- 1-4-1982 **Education E.E.C.:** Heads of the Common Market government at their summit meeting committed themselves to a European youth guarantee. They pledged that within 5 years all school leavers will get work, education or training up to the age of 18. (T.E.S.)
- 2-4-1982 **Education:** In a random survey 176 head-teachers of comprehensive schools it was found that 35 sent their own children to private schools. (Sunday Times)
- 3-4-1982 **Moral Decay:** Speaking to a Conservative meeting in Abingdon, Rhodes Boyson Minister of State at the D.E.S. claimed that Labour councils were threatening school discipline by prohibiting corporal punishment. (Times)
- 5-4-1982 **Lead Poisoning:** Richard Lansdown (Principal Clinical Psychologist at Great Ormond Street, Hospital) speaking at annual conference of the British Psychological Society said, "there was no scientific evidence" that lead from the atmosphere was to blame for the relatively poor IQ of children living in inner cities. (Times)
- 6-4-1982 **Education Cuts:** D.E.S. publish report prepared by HMI argues that local authority expenditure cuts are posing a serious threat to the maintenance of standards. Three-quarters of L.E.A.s cut their expenditure last year of which 16 implemented cuts described as "moderate to considerable". (Times)
- 12-4-1982 **Corporal Punishment:** The executive of the NUT called for the annual conference to support the retention of corporal punishment in schools. (Times)
- 15-4-82 **Community Enterprise:** M.S.C. funded research report published by YOUTH AID calls for an expansion of the Community Enterprise Programme (CEP) from the current provision of 30,000 places p.a. to 1,000,000. (Times)
- 16-4-1982 **Corporal Punishment:** Despite the policy directive of the executive the N.U.T. conference voted to campaign for the abolition of corporal punishment. On the same day the NAS/U.W.T. conference voted to fight for the retention of caning. (Times)
- 20-4-1982 **Vandalism.** Police and Education authorities in South Wales launch a new programme designed to reduce vandalism and the destruction of school premises. Called "operation schoolwatch" it is hoped to reduce the annual cost of vandalism put at £500,000 by Mid-Glamorgan alone. (Times)
- 22-4-1982 **Brixton:** Scotland Yard confirm the sending of 100 police officers in riot gear to tackle disturbances in Brixton the previous evening. Seven men and one woman were arrested. (Times)
- 23-4-1982 **Employment Discrimination:** Bradford College Transition to Work Project report that Asian school-leavers due to racial discrimination are twice as likely to be unemployed.
- Young Workers:** Cheshire County Council publish research that shows that 4 out of 5 employers are satisfied with the work of their young employees. (T.E.S.)
- 26-4-1982 **Penal Institutions:** Report published by the London I.T. Assoc. (43, Butlers Road, Harrow, HA1 4DS) shows that the number of young people sent to borstals and detention centres has risen five-fold in the last 15 years, but that only one fifth related to increased offending. It claims that penal institutions are attracting a younger less criminal and less violent population but that more are re-offending after release. Calls for the abolition of these institutions. (Times)
- Police Confessions:** Research published by two Birmingham law lecturers argues that wide discrepancies exist between racial groups in terms of the likelihood of them confessing to a crime. 60% of black defendants compared to 49% of whites made confessions. In London 52% of whites under 21 as opposed to 69% of West Indians made confessions. (Times)
- 27-4-1982 **Short, Sharp, Shock:** Prison Officers Association circular to its branches says the new 'Tougher' detention centre regimes are in fact easier than those they replaced. Out of 1,070 trainees sent to New Hall since the start of the 'Short, Sharp, Shock' experiment, 76 have had to be transferred elsewhere as being unable to cope. Drill it argues is a waste of everyone's time. (Times)

- 30-4-1982 **Youth Unemployment:** Somerset announce launching of 81.6 million plan to beat youth unemployment. £100,000 of which is to be spent on additional youth workers. (T.E.S.)
- 3-5-1982 **Unemployment/Suicide:** The experience of unemployment is so depressing to young people that according to research published in the Unemployment Unit Bulletin as many as a quarter have contemplated suicide. (Times)
- 5-5-1982 **Penal Institutions:** Mr David Thompson governor of Portland Borstal (Dorset) appeals for courts to use borstal as a first not a last resort in the punishment of young offenders. (Times)
- New Training Initiatives:** Publication of M.S.C. proposals that those aged 16 whether they have a job or not should be designated trainees. That the training allowance should be £28 p.w. not £15 p.w. as recommended by the govt. Further, that a block grant of £1,856 be provided for each trainee to the sponsoring employer offering one year's training with at least 13 weeks off-the-job tuition. (Times)
- 5-5-1982 **Young Conservatives:** Chairman of the Conservative Party announces setting up of enquiry into malpractices in the running of the Federation of Conservative Students. (Times)
- 7-5-1982 **T.V. and Violence:** Authoritative official review of research on television violence in the U.S.A. claims that the evidence is overwhelming that it leads to aggressive behaviour in young people. (Times)
- Educational Maintenance Allowance:** Reported that Government ministers are considering the introduction of educational maintenance allowances for 16 to 19 year olds remaining in full-time education (T.E.S.).
- 11-5-1982 **Unemployment/Homelessness:** Rising youth unemployment has been accompanied by a dramatic increase in homelessness among young people according to research published in Roof the Journal of Shelter.
- 14-5-1982 **Abortion:** High Court judge after taking account of the girls views agreed that a 15 year old London girl should be allowed to have an abortion against the wishes of her parents. (Times)
- Student Loans:** Government announce the tendering of research to examine the feasibility of student credit transfer schemes (loans). (Times)
- Teenage Marriage:** Latest Office of Population Censuses and Survey report shows that the marriage rate for teenagers in 1980 was only half that of 1971. (Times)
- 17-5-1982 **Young People in Care:** Publication of report prepared by The Children's Legal Centre (2, Malden Road, London NW5 3HR) argues that increasing numbers of children in care, some as young as 10 and 11 are being locked up in cells or secure detention rooms. Child care system now contains 558 secure places and a further 122 are planned, a three fold increase during the last decade.
- 18-5-1982 **Police and Race:** Home Office plans for positive discrimination in the recruitment of police officers from ethnic minorities opposed by Police Federation. (Times)
- 19-5-1982 **Sex Education:** Assistant Director of the Health Education Council denies that any evidence exists relating sex education in schools to increased sexual experimentation amongst young people. (Guardian)
- 20-5-1982 **Stop and Search:** Speeches at the Police Federation annual conference indicated that there would be a new Police Bill put before Parliament in the Autumn containing new stop and search powers. (Times)
- 21-5-1982 **Schoolgirl Mothers:** Conference "Parenting in the 1980's" told that only one in four school girl mothers receives home tuition after leaving to have her baby. (T.E.S.)
- Education E.E.C.:** Publication of E.E.C. report shows that British spending on education is well behind that of all the member states apart from Eire and Italy. (T.E.S.)
- 22-5-1982 **Brixton "Mugging" Statistics:** Howard League question accuracy of Police statistics on mugging in Brixton. (Guardian)
- 25-5-1982 **Female Crime:** Yorkshire Women Conservatives appeal to Home Secretary for girls aged 10-17 who commit criminal offences to receive the same punishments as boys including detention in short, sharp, shock institutions. (Guardian)
- 26-5-1982 **Intermediate Treatment:** Government announce allocations of £1.5m grant to voluntary organisations to develop more community help schemes to keep young offenders out of custody. Intermediate Treatment Fund which helps groups and individuals to set up local projects to receive an increased annual grant of £450,000. (Times)
- Juvenile Crime:** Launch of Juvenile Crime Unit run by NACRO (National Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders). The unit with staff based in London and Manchester intends to promote coordinated local approaches to juvenile crime.
- 28-5-1982 **Racial Attacks:** N.U.T. report claims that fear of racial attacks is keeping 200 children at home amongst the Bengali community in the East End of London. (T.E.S.)

Before the General Election which is expected in 1983 we hope to publish the relevant manifesto material of each party insofar as it is applicable to youth specifically. The Labour Party's programme published here is the first in this series. Contributions from other parties will follow in future issues. Enquiries concerning the Labour Party programme may be addressed to, The Labour Party, 150 Walworth Road; London, E17.

LABOUR'S PROGRAMME 1982

ESTABLISHING RIGHTS FOR YOUNG PEOPLE

The plight of young people in this country has now reached a crisis. Two out of three school leavers will become unemployed this year. One quarter of a million people under 25 have been unemployed for over a year. Unemployment on this scale is a personal tragedy for thousands of young people who feel they have been rejected without even being given the chance to prove their worth. There is increasing bitterness and disaffection among many young people who have been encouraged at school to have high aspirations only to find them shattered on leaving. Not surprisingly, most of the young people involved in the recent rioting were from inner city areas - with very high unemployment, poor housing, run down schools, little recreational facilities and a decaying environment.

The government's response to youth unemployment has been totally negative. It has refused to expand the economy and create more jobs for young people. It is at present proposing to replace the Youth Opportunities Programme with a Youth Training Scheme that is aimed at forcing unemployed 16 year olds into a one year low grade training scheme. In contrast, the Manpower Services Commission's Youth Task Group, supported by the TUC, has opposed any element of compulsion in the scheme and has recommended a Youth Training Scheme which is entirely voluntary. It will take the form of a one year foundation of work-based training for all 16 and 17 year old school leavers, closely integrated with off-the-job education and training.

The government have also introduced a Young Workers' Scheme, aimed at forcing down youth wages. Employers are being subsidised by as much as £15 per week for every young person they employ on less than £40 per week. Employers will not even be given an obligation to provide opportunities for education and training.

One of the major injustices concerning young people is the lack of education and training opportunities in this country. Only 42 per cent of 16 year olds and 27 per cent of 17 year olds stayed on in full-time education in 1979-80. Of the few who manage to find work, only 40 per cent of boys and 10 per cent of girls receive day or block release. Young people are not properly equipped or encouraged to actively participate in the world of work and society as a whole.

Most young people who have reached 16 see themselves as adults. But because society refuses to accord them this status, they see themselves as under-privileged. They are often dependent on their parents for financial support; they cannot stand for public office until 21; few join one of the major political parties or feel that their views are adequately represented by them; and some organisations in closer contact with young people - whether local authority-run youth clubs or perhaps one of the more traditional voluntary youth organisations - have shied away from, or been actively discouraged from, representing the interests of their members on matters of concern. The present crisis is not merely a matter of social or economic policy; it is also a failure of the institutions or our democracy to represent the interests and concerns of young people.

A New Deal for Youth

The Labour Party recognises that young people are a distinctive section

of society whose special needs and aspirations must be provided for. We recognise that young people have the right to control their own lives as far as possible - and to collectively assert their needs along with those of other sections of the population. The task of the next Labour government must be to establish new rights for young people and more resources for our youth.

First, we must end the scourge of youth unemployment and prepare young people for long-term employment. Our programme of economic expansion and industrial reconstruction will be designed to ensure that there are jobs for young people. Training schemes for the young unemployed are no substitute for jobs, and they must certainly not be used to take young people off the labour market and cause job substitution. Our aim is to use such schemes to prepare young people to take up jobs created through our economic and industrial strategy.

We will:

Give all 16 and 17 year olds, whether they wish to enter full-time education, whether they are in work, or whether they have no work, the right and opportunity to receive education, training and work experience within our two year student-traineeship. We set out our policy on this in the chapter on education. The one year Youth Training Scheme, as proposed by the MSC's Youth Task Group, would be integrated within our two-year student-traineeship and such education and training would be of high quality. As the Youth Task Group have also proposed, we would abolish the Young Workers Scheme and guarantee the right of all unemployed young people to claim supplementary benefit.

Increase the basic allowance to young people in the Youth Training Scheme to at least £30 per week (at 1982 prices) to rise with the increases in average earnings. Travel expenses would continue to be paid. Trade unions should, however, be free to negotiate contracts of employment with employers for their members who are trainees in the MSC's proposed Youth Training Scheme or in our proposed student-traineeship. Such contracts could be entered into at the beginning of - or during - the training period. Those young people who enter such contracts would have the status of employees and would receive a wage rather than a basic allowance which could be negotiated in the usual way.

Encourage all young people in employment to join a trade union and to receive the rate for the job. Trade unions to be given the right to be involved in the approval of training schemes; to monitor the schemes to ensure that they are of good quality; and to veto any training placement they feel is exploiting young people.

Continue the right of unemployed young people to enrol on courses of up to 21 hours a week tuition and receive employment/supplementary benefit.

Ensure that all 16-19 year olds in full-time, non-advanced education receive a standard educational maintenance allowance to meet their needs, as proposed in the chapter on education. The allowance should be at least £20 per week at 1981 prices, covering 52 weeks in the year.

All colleges catering for the needs of young people should provide student union facilities to meet their recreational, social and representational needs. Schools, colleges and universities should open up their recreational and social facilities for community use, particularly for the use of young people as a whole.

Second, a Labour government will accept the general principle that young people of 16 and above are adults and will introduce measures which will move towards granting them such status. There is also a need to ensure that their views are effectively represented to government.

We will:

Give consideration to reducing the minimum age of candidature to 18.

Ensure that the age of consent is reduced from 21 to 18 for homosexuals and we will then consider introducing equality before the law with heterosexuals.

Give young people of 16 and above in secondary schools the right to represent the views of pupils as full members of governing bodies.

Expand funding and staffing for the provision of social studies and political education in youth clubs and schools with the aim of informing young people of their civil and trade union rights and responsibilities as citizens. Accredited trade union representative should be given access to secondary school students in the context of such education, with full facilities for such representatives at all careers days.

Give a greater recognition and financial support through a 'Youth Initiatives Fund' to organisations and trade union projects which give young people a greater voice in education, at work and in the community in general and at local and national level. Local authorities in particular, should be encouraged to support representative local youth councils.

Third, we believe that the youth service must become more orientated towards the needs and aspirations of young people aged 14 to 21. It must particularly concern itself with disadvantaged groups such as the young unemployed, young women and young people from the ethnic minorities.

We will:

Introduce legislation setting out the aims of a new youth service based on the need to meet the broader social and recreational needs of young people. We aim to enable them to participate in decisions about the services they receive and to take action on issues which are of importance to them, and for them to initiate and run their own organisations.

Place statutory obligations on local authorities to make such provision.

Provide additional resources to projects and youth organisations that further these aims, and maintain support for national resource centres for those working with young people committed to these aims.

Establish central machinery for youth policy to review and co-ordinate the work of the various government departments and agencies, local authorities and youth organisations in respect of their responsibilities for youth.

Fourth, we will take action to meet the needs of young women to ensure that they have the same opportunities as young men.

We will:

Take steps to remove the inequalities in the education system, as proposed in the chapter on education. This will include the establishment of special programmes to ensure that schools and colleges provide girls with genuine opportunities in a range of areas including science, technology and mathematics.

Ensure that girls train and apply for the better paid, more skilled jobs, which are now dominated by men, through positive action programmes, as proposed in the chapter on employment.

Fifth, we will take action to meet the particular needs of handicapped young people.

We will:

Ensure that opportunities are provided within the student-traineeships to meet the education and training needs of all 16-19 year olds who are handicapped, and that schools and colleges adapt to meet their special needs.

Sixth, we intend to deal in particular with the problems faced by young people from the ethnic minorities, the majority of whom live in

deprived inner city areas. Unemployment among ethnic minorities is higher, and they are under represented in post 16 education compared with other young people. In addition, they are subjected to racist violence and intimidation. Some young deprived whites are encouraged by racist organisations to blame their problems on the ethnic minorities and become fodder for such organisations. Harrassment by the police also occurs in some areas.

We will:

Outlaw racial discrimination and extend existing programmes for the ethnic minorities to include the funding of capital expenditure and grants to voluntary bodies to cover all disadvantaged ethnic minorities, as proposed in the chapter on human rights.

Take positive action to increase the employment, education and training opportunities for ethnic minority youth as proposed in the chapter on employment.

Seventh, there is an urgent need to establish trust between young people and the police - and to ensure that our legal system is not prejudiced against young people but protects their rights.

As set out in the chapter on human rights, we will:

Make the police force more accountable to the local community and introduce community policing schemes;

Take steps to eradicate racist behaviour and attitudes within the police;

Disband the Special Patrol Group;

Prohibit searches of persons in the street unless an arrest has been made or there is clear evidence that an offence has been committed. A police officer would be obliged to serve a notice - stating the reasons - on the persons he or she proposes to search;

Promote community initiatives for the treatment of juvenile delinquents - in contrast to the present penal measures such as the 'short, sharp shock' treatment.

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SUBMISSIONS

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 may be included in each issue. For reasons of space editing may be necessary without consultation, but where possible extensive alterations will be returned to the contributor for approval. All submissions should be typed in double spacing on white paper for photocopying. Additional material such as diagrams, tables and charts should be clearly marked and included in the relevant place. Material not published will be returned if possible, but contributors should note that this cannot be guaranteed and are advised to keep copies. All materials should be sent to the editors.

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