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

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### **YOUTH SERVICE REVIEW**

This issue contains the two articles on the Thompson Report that our printing schedule excluded from Vol. 1 No. 3.

The next issue, available in July, will include two more appraisals of the Thompson Report; Marion Leigh on a feminist perspective, and Don Entwistle from a practitioners viewpoint.

Remember, your subscription for Vol. 2 is now due!

# homelessness and young people

GRAHAM DE SMIDT - MINY JANSEN

*"All this talk about our parents being responsible for our homelessness is nonsense. We grow up being taught to be independent and then when the time comes for us to express that independence there is nowhere for us to go." Romaine -20 years old.*

Shock horror stories about young people sniffing glue and making money from prostitution in the West End of London regularly make the inside pages of the national tabloids. If it is not drugs and sex then it is squatting and social security fraud and often in such reports the term young people is prefixed by homeless.

In 1977 the Granada television documentary "Johnny Go Home" gave an account of the sexual abuse of young homeless boys. This caught the imagination of the public and the attention of the local authorities and so for probably the first time in a decade the problem of homelessness amongst young people became an issue for national debate.

In January 1977 the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act became law, thereby laying the groundwork for a comprehensive response to homelessness amongst families, the aged the handicapped. Young people, however, were excluded from its provisions unless they were in some way deemed to be extra vulnerable. If, with their parents they became homeless then the local authorities were bound to provide accommodation. If they were alone, however, they remain, quite literally on their own.

The private rented sector of housing has been on the decline since the turn of the century when 90% of housing was owned and rented out by private landlords. Successive governments throughout the past 80 years have promoted policies which have had the effect of encouraging home ownership or municipalisation or both. The subsidies which have supported such policies have steadily undercut the unsubsidised private rented market. Tenants rights and rents control legislation, while not a casual factor in the demise of private renting, certainly provided the propaganda ammunition which put the whole sector on the defensive.

Excluded from protective legislation and steadily squeezed out of the housing sector traditionally regarded as their niche, the young homeless by the mid-seventies presented a serious problem in the cities of Britain. Since then the rise

in joblessness has exacerbated the problem with a noticeable cycle of homelessness and unemployment governing the lives of an ever increasing number of young people. As unemployment hit the industrial centres of Scotland and the North of England so the nature of migration South and especially to London became ever more related to job-seeking rather than the traditional attractions of London's bright lights, opportunities and independence.

## The Nature of Young Homelessness

As fast as advice agencies and emergency hostels for homeless young people are created so do the numbers of clients on the files. The increase in numbers may reflect a growing awareness of the work of such centres but consistent annual increases in the numbers of homeless young people reported by well established projects such as Stopover Lewisham in London (25%); Lance in Manchester (16% in 1979, 23% in 1980, 26% in 1981); West Yorkshire Single Persons Housing Aid—WYSPHA (95%) all indicate that increased awareness is not the sole explanation and that the sheer volume is reaching crisis proportions.

Traditionally youth homelessness in London has been seen as the by-product of young migrants flocking to the capital in search of the bright lights. Housing aid centres, however, increasingly emphasize the fact that homeless youngsters reporting to them have come in search of work and the numbers of local homeless have risen sharply. Stopover Lewisham received 1,000 referrals of homeless young people in 1981, of whom 93% were from London and a third of these were from the borough of Lewisham itself. West End agencies are likewise alarmed by the increase in local young homelessness. 40% of the 932 seeking assistance from the Alone in London Service (an agency located at Euston Station to meet youngsters coming from the North) last year were from London while 16% of the 12,140 seeking assistance from Centrepoin, the homelessness nightshelter in the West End were Londoners.

Advice and accommodation projects in other cities have also noted a change in the pattern of homelessness amongst young people. St. Basil's Centre in Birmingham reports an increase in the numbers of young people moving from the suburbs to the centre. WYSPHA reports that 95% of its 1,100 clients between 1980 and 1982, of whom 40% were under 24 years of age, came from the Yorkshire and Lancashire

region, while the Lance Project found that the vast majority of its 4,500 clients in 1980 were either from Manchester itself or the peri-urban centres close-by like Stockport. Even in Scotland homelessness is increasing steadily as young people return from the South their search for work having proved futile. In 1981 Stopover Edinburgh had a record 113 referrals of homeless young people over a period of only 3 months. Clearly, homelessness among young people is now largely a local problem.

It is today fairly widely accepted that young people should be able to leave home after they reach 18, go to college or get jobs and live in some form of digs or shared housing if they so desire but each of these options is rapidly disappearing. 18% of the 8,000 homeless enquirers of London's Housing Advisory Switchboard were under 18 (1,440); 45% of Stopover Lewisham's 1,000 in 1980 were under 18 and so were 47% of Centrepoint's 12,140 referrals. Outside London, 53% of the Handsworth Single Homeless Action Group's homeless clients were under 18, 10% of WYSPHA's and 57% of Stopover in Edinburgh's. Agencies dealing exclusively with young people on the whole find that more than one third of their clients are under 18 while those working on the problems of all single people record a fairly consistent 10% to 20% under 18 and a further 30% to 50% under 25 years old.

A high proportion of homeless young people are Black: 40% of homeless young people housed by Stopover Lewisham are Black as are 90% of those helped by the Handsworth Single Housing Action Group. In fact, in London the problem is so serious that a Black single persons housing association (Ujima) is operating with nearly 2,500 referrals a year. Of these 80% are under the age of 25. In the case of Stopover the ratio between Black and White homeless is demonstrably higher than the number of Blacks in the community from which the homeless young people come.

The relationship between homelessness and unemployment is a further factor in this increasingly complex web. Only 29% of young people at Stopover Lewisham are employed on arrival and most of the employed find themselves jobless on departure. 34% of homeless people assisted by Ujima had no wage income. The London Housing Advisory Switchboard found that 27% of enquiries had no wage income while in Northern city centres and Scotland the percentage was in general higher, for example 63% of those assisted by Edinburgh Stopover. Despite these figures which reflect the national growth in unemployment there is no substantial support for unemployment being held entirely responsible for long term homelessness, though unemployment (i.e. lack of productive use of time) may well be a casual factor in very young people becoming homeless as will be discussed later. An analysis of income would be more fruitful in finding root causes for continued homelessness. The London Housing Advisory Switchboard found that although a majority of homeless people were employed, 76% of them were taking home less than £60 per week in a city where private rented rooms average £40 per week. Ujima likewise has a majority of employed homeless applicants but 37% of them earned less than £70 per week. Added to the number of claimants over 80% had incomes too low to meet the financial demands of private landlord housing (including deposits), transport and living expenses. In Birmingham the situation is the same. The Handsworth Single Housing Action Group found that 53% of their homeless enquiries had no wage income and a further

40% earned less than £70 per week.

So why, if faced with such overwhelming odds, do young people leave home? When asked why they do not return home the majority of young people of whatever age give, within one description or another "conflict with parents" as the immediate reason for their predicament. More mature young people likewise describe their need for independence but without necessarily blaming their parents. 21% of the Ujima applicants ascribe their homelessness to disputes with their parents, a further 19% to overcrowding, while 15% left seeking greater independence. A similar pattern was found by the Handsworth Group which found that 57% of their clients left home due to conflict with parents and a further 23% left with no conflict but needing greater independence. Whatever the reason for leaving, more than 50% found temporary shelter with friends and then failed to find alternative accommodation later.

Some agencies attempt a more detailed breakdown of reasons for leaving with a description of the conflict; overcrowding, coming home late, choice of friends, unemployment (hanging around at home), smoking marijuana, etc. Sometimes fault is ascribed to the young people or to the parents, step-parents or guardians. Experience has, however, shown that when young people leave home after conflict with parents, in the majority of cases precise fault lies on both sides but the broader nature of the conflict is a generational one. In many cases current economic conditions are not conducive to 16, 17 and 18 year olds without essential resources (money, good grades or jobs) staying in the parental home where they are constantly reminded of their "uselessness". Teenagers need independence, space and responsibility to ensure that they establish identities separate from the adults who would normally direct their lives.

The adult, especially those who are employed, become frustrated with the way in which young people choose to express their independence or exercise responsibilities. When the young are employed or studying it may be easier for social life often removes them from the focus of quarrels which is the home. When the young people however are unemployed and at home much of the day parents often feel they are losing control of their homes. If one or both parents are at home during the day often due to unemployment conditions can easily become intolerable.

The 'idyllic' 1950s and sixties were by no means free of housing problems for young single people and families. However, in those days the most serious problems concerned families because the more extensive rented house sector, while already in decline, preferred unattached single people who were more likely to be mobile and therefore less likely to become sitting tenants with fixed rents. During the heyday of the private rented sector landlords and ladies took in working class working young people or students and made sure they paid their rents. Few today are prepared to go to the trouble when greater profits may be made by buying and selling their properties on the open market.

Many projects and agencies with a high proportion of Black referrals regard the cause of conflict between the client and the parents as being a "culture clash". Parents are blamed for attempting to impose the traditional social mores and values of their countries of origin on their children. The practices of the parents are often seen as alien to the children growing

up in Britain. Many fainthearted Liberals allow the focus of the problem to become Black families (in their eyes always a social work problem) rather than the racism which prevents youngsters from being housed. There are few Black young people who have made an effort to find accommodation in the private sector let alone the public sector, without coming face to face with either blatant or more subtle forms of racism. As one young person put it to us, "It is not being Black that affects your chances, it is racism. People tend to think of young Blacks as muggers and violent, always the cause of trouble. Racism is there even before you reach the door".

Young people leaving care are another group which experiences repeated homelessness. In March 1978 there were 100,000 young people in care in England and Wales, 24,000 of whom were over the age of sixteen. During that year 8,500 left care at 18 or 19 and approximately 2,000 left home at 16 or 17. While scant research has followed their progress it is known that some 22% of the older group went into independent accommodation with little or no follow-up support. Many homelessness projects find that young people leaving care regularly end up on the street because they have been inappropriately or inadequately provided for and have not had access to that support often provided by parents or close families.

NACRO, in its 1981 report "Homeless Young Offenders" identified what it called a "revolting penal door" with young people leaving home and entering a cycle of chronic homelessness, petty crime, prison and homelessness. With no address they could not claim social benefits and often as a result adopt illegal survival tactics. The Report asserted that food stealing was a noticeably common offence. Homelessness projects around the country would confirm the existence of such a pattern.

### Legislation Excludes Young People

The flurry over "Johnny Go Home" came too late to affect the passage of the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act of 1977. However the DHSS Working Party report of 1976 which specifically identified the risks faced by homeless young people was ignored by the legislation. The best that the nations legislators could do was state in the accompanying Code of Guidance (Para. 2.12.c.iii) that it was considered appropriate that accommodation be sought for homeless young people who are at risk of sexual or financial exploitation. This could hardly be considered more than an **enabling** clause should local authorities wish to house certain young people under the Act. With the large number of homeless families they were already forced to house however they had every excuse to avoid a careful definition of the word vulnerability. The terms "at risk of sexual and financial exploitation" in practice mean that the young person has to demonstrate that such exploitation has **already** taken place!

"Financial exploitation" is also given no definition. Low wages and extortionate rents are not regarded as exploitation. It is not in the interest of Homeless Families Units to honestly interpret the vulnerability clause because of the difficulty in coping with present demands. The ultimate test of effectiveness is the number of applications and acceptances under this vague clause. In England and Wales no such figures are available for single homelessness, under the age of thirty, in spite of constant pestering by Shelter (Campaign for the Single Home-

less). The D.O.E. actually stopped Liverpool from collecting figures claiming that they were irrelevant. Scottish Shelter have however been considerably more successful and after a series of Parliamentary questions found that between 1979 and 1981 an average of 672 people under 30 were applying as homeless each year, and only an average of 146 were being housed. 1981 census figures show the number of young people between 13 and 19 years old in Scotland as 447,000, between 20 and 24 years as 394,000 and between 25 and 29 years as 342,000 giving a total of well over a million young people potentially requiring accommodation independent of their families. Census projections show that by 1986, 23.8% of all Scottish households will consist of single people – a high proportion being young. The 1977 Homeless Persons Act as regards the young homeless appears to be having little impact in Scotland. Although no solid evidence exists for England and Wales there is no reason to believe that the situation is any different. The only housing legislation which even vaguely acknowledges that there might be a homelessness problem amongst young single people ignores the acute lack of suitable housing and thus remains ineffectual.

### Housing Policy

As the national proportion of small households has steadily increased to a point where over 50% consist of single people and childless couples, enormous pressure has been put on existing small housing stock. Council and Housing Association accommodation is primarily for and utilised by families, the elderly and handicapped. Single people are provided with short-life or hard to let property and a few "exhibition schemes" around the country where local authorities might be a little more progressive. Young people who are unable to compete in the private rented sector are dependent even more than ever on central and local government policy in providing a replacement to landlord and landlady private housing.

Official responses throughout the seventies both at local authority and government level, culminating with the 1980 Housing Act have simply attempted to revive the private rented sector along with some resources being put into emergency hostels. Council and Housing Association tenants were permitted to take in lodgers whilst private landlords were given greater flexibility and control over tenancies and grants were made available for the repair and maintenance of private properties for letting. None of these measures produced any change in the trend of a gradual demise of private letting and lodging. In the London Borough of Lewisham for example that decline has been so rapid that it is predicted that the private rented housing sector will no longer exist by 1984.

The main response to homelessness amongst young people has come from non-statutory and voluntary organisations, particularly those which come into regular contact with homeless young people. Stopover Lewisham was set up in the early 1970s in a derelict bathhouse by a group of Youth and Community Workers to shelter local youngsters who were sleeping rough on the streets. St. Basil's night shelter in Birmingham and most of the other emergency hostels around the country began helping young people with their accommodation because no statutory services either housing or social services could be persuaded to take on this new and increasingly serious responsibility.

Very rapidly the night-shelters became bottlenecks with

workers failing to find onward accommodation so that eventually either the length of stay had to be increased or agencies were forced to turn the young people back onto the streets. Either way the increase in numbers outstripped the provision. Most local authorities assumed, and may still do, that homelessness is due to personal inadequacies of one sort or another and that the solution was therefore Social Services sponsored hostels. They consistently confuse the causes of homelessness, which commence with the shortage of appropriate housing, with the dynamics of homelessness. Often the stress involved with homelessness may result in serious social and emotional problems. Social Services departments resisted the responsibility claiming that they were overstretched and that (correctly so, though for the wrong reasons) it is a Housing Department problem anyway. Thus it has been the independent agencies using either local authority or charitable money that have been most active in seeking viable emergency and long term solutions to the problem.

### Local Initiatives

Centrepoint Nightshelter, working mainly with young migrants from the North realised from the onset that emergency accommodation was useless without longer term housing and re-settlement support. A longer stay hostel was therefore opened to take young people from the nightshelter who were having difficulty with employment and social security payments or needed to sort out aspects of their lives related to their homelessness. At the end of their stay again many had problems and so the project working with a Housing Association has converted derelict houses into shared bedsit flats for long term and more independent occupation.

Handsworth Single Homeless Action Group has not set up its own hostel but acts as a central advisory and referring agency which assists Housing Associations to manage houses allocated to young people. If the young people are considered to be vulnerable and in need of a period of supervision they are referred to hostels where they can receive the needed support. If however they are reasonably independent and confident but they lack the financial resources or maturity to manage a flat of their own they can be referred to a newly opened "special accommodation scheme". This consists of half a dozen houses which offer shared kitchen and bathroom facilities for between 2 - 5 people each of whom have their own furnished bed-sits. There is also resident caretaker/good neighbour who has no management or youth work responsibilities but since he or she lives there, can report problems to the housing managers. More mature young people are systematically referred to the Council and Housing Associations although access is still hampered by other priorities in the Council's Housing Department and the small stock available to Housing Associations.

Lewisham Borough Council in London is one of the few to recognise the importance of funding and co-ordinating the provision of housing for single people, especially the young. The Stopover Lewisham hostel workers and other youth workers realised the importance of being able to offer 16 to 21 year olds a range of accommodation to suit their needs, which can change with growing maturity and greater independence. As a result of this awareness two further projects were established with local authority financial support. One is a long-stay hostel for young people in need of counselling and supervision aimed particularly at those who have recently left institutions

and require help in the adjustments they must make. The other is the Longstop Project which is more along the lines of the Handsworth special scheme with 5 (eventually 8) shared houses converted to high Housing Association standards with resident caretakers and extra management. Since rent paying is the prime issue with young people living independently, much time is spent pursuing rent arrears and assisting residents with social security problems.

For the past two years the Lewisham Housing Department has been studying, together with the non-statutory agencies, the whole question of what needs to be done for the young single homeless. They rarely qualify for council housing and when they do they can rarely afford the cost of furniture and upkeep and consequently can acquire staggering rent arrears which ultimately result in eviction. The Lewisham Housing Department made a number of study recommendations which, if implemented, will have far reaching effects in the battle against homelessness in the Borough. Significantly the Housing Committee agreed that youth homelessness is a local problem and that simply advising young people to "go back home" would not resolve it. The Housing Committee acknowledged that in the spirit of the Homeless Persons Act, it is ultimately responsible for accommodating homeless 16 and 17 year olds who are most vulnerable. It has further agreed to alter the points system in order to take into account the potential homelessness of young people including insecurity of tenure in the private rented sector and further accepted that some furnished accommodation is essential for young people who do not have the resources to purchase essentials when they become homeless. Having acknowledged that very young people need additional management resources and that the independent agencies are generally ill equipped to provide these, the Housing Committee has agreed to provide these itself. Already it is developing its own special furnished accommodation scheme with the help of the independent agencies. Black young people are allocated a high proportion of the vacancies both to ensure that the volume of need is met and to control racist victimisation in the shared houses. To meet the problems of young people moving from furnished supported accommodation to unfurnished self-contained flats the Housing Department is in the process of creating a resettlement worker's post. The resettlement officer will help young people to organise their move, get services connected, arrange social security payments and advise and assist in the acquisition of furniture.

In the mid-seventies Norwich City Council realised that the private rented market was dying and decided to provide housing well before the youth agencies began their own schemes. Hoppers Yard is a small red brick estate in the centre of the city with a range of accommodation from 2 bedroomed unfurnished flats to 3 and 5 roomed shared furnished flats offering 300 places in all. Tenants in the larger flats have their own bed-sitter rooms but share kitchens, bathrooms and living rooms. The most innovative aspect of the scheme however lies in its management. Recognising that shared houses can raise problems which may have to be dealt with speedily the roles of caretaker and housing manager were combined in the post of "resident housing assistant". This person is responsible for maintenance surveillance, ensuring that the estate is clean and providing regular contact with tenants. He or she introduces new tenants to the occupants of shared flats, inspects rooms before they are occupied and visits tenants in rent arrears. It is notable that management problems have been

negligible despite the fact that 75% of the tenants are aged between 18 and 25.

New initiatives are also to be found in the Housing Association sector. In Edinburgh the Edinvar Association has shown a special interest in experimental projects for single people. Its Craigmount Brae scheme is similar to Hoppers Yard with 90% of the 320 tenants being young single people. Each individual in the shared houses is given a separate tenancy agreement which states the shared responsibilities the tenant has with the rest of the household. A resident caretaker provides a community development input and is employed to help monitor management problems on the estate as well as maintain its fabric.

## Conclusions

The critical issue at the moment is a need for a recognition of the housing needs of young people, particularly 16 and 17 year olds. At present these are largely ignored in housing legislation and by local authorities with other priorities, provision is thus either inappropriate or insufficient. Tremendous pioneering work has been done in different parts of the country by one or two progressive local authorities, a few Housing Associations and many independent grant funded agencies. The latter bear the brunt because they are cheap and can be offered as a symbol of progress rather than the embodiment of a more expensive commitment to altering development policy for the future. Young homelessness however is not a passing phase. Like unemployment it is here to stay unless preventative measures are taken. Different types of housing (shared, hostel, self-contained, etc.) and different types of management (warden, resident housing assistant/caretaker or ordinary housing management) are needed by young people at different stages of their growing independence. Housing providers should begin now to plan management and housing to meet these requirements. In addition they should, as Lewisham is planning to do, provide for appropriate transfers between one kind of accommodation/management structure and the next to ensure a "through-flow" to the appropriate accommodation.

The Central Government and local authorities need to realise that they can no longer accept single people and childless couples for housing only when they change their status to "family" only to dump them again when they become separated or divorced and then accommodate them again only in old age. There needs to be patterned planning which responds to changes in status. Vulnerability to the effects of homelessness occurs at all ages but it must be recognised that it is particularly severe for immature young people who have recently left home.

Young people, particularly 16 and 17 year olds are vulnerable to sexual or financial exploitation or racism and the effects on both them and society may have long term consequences. It is certainly no secret that many of the young people involved in the confrontations with the police in 1980 and later were homeless. While the root causes of those confrontations lay deeper than their homelessness, the lack of appropriate housing was regularly mentioned in subsequent investigations. Also many young people who leave institutions without adequate provision for their accommodation needs end up back in institutions having failed to cope with the added pressures of homelessness.

There is no indication, regardless of regular legislative boosts, like the Housing Act of 1980, that the private rented sector will revive to meet anything like present needs, nor, in the eventuality of that happening, would it be particularly desirable. It is therefore urgent that Parliament and the Government acknowledge the problem of the young homeless and legislate to end it. Firstly the Homeless Persons Act must be amended to put the onus for housing 16 and 17 year olds on to local authorities. It must also require local housing authorities to plan and co-ordinate provision for young people to account for mobility and changing need both in management and type of housing. Finally it must make available the financial resources.

In the face of the savage cuts imposed on local authority housing budgets by the present Government it is hardly likely that such a course will be followed. Thus the burden of campaigning continues to fall on the shoulders of those few housing authorities like Lewisham and Norwich and the independent organisations. Alone however they can provide little more than a bandaging operation.

## SOME USEFUL REFERENCES

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## lord soper

*This interview, the first of several planned for future issues, was prepared by Keith Popple and Ron McGraw. Lord Soper was interviewed on the 18th January 1983, within a week of his 80th birthday. Still an active political figure, pacifist and preacher, Lord Soper remains Methodism's most powerful voice on issues of church and state.*

**Lord Soper, I believe a leading question which a group of Journal readers such as ours would wish to ask is how well your socialism, pacification and Methodism are sticking together in the sort of society ours now is?**

I think the beginning of the answer is that I've found, over a long time now, that they belong together, and that, therefore, unless I can maintain a relationship between the three, then I think each one of them becomes impoverished. The kind of society in which we live is a divisive one. This puts an even greater responsibility on the wholeness of a response to the problems which such a society presents. I would, as a short answer, say that I'm the more convinced than ever that these three aspects or elements do belong together and that faith in their unity is strengthened by the very divisiveness of the society in which we live.

**Are there points where you feel we've gone so hopelessly wrong that it appears impossible to move in any direction – would nuclear arms be one area?**

I should have thought that in regard to the arms issue we are rapidly approaching a terminal condition from which there can be no retrogression: that is to say, we are committing ourselves to a process which may indeed produce the end of everything we realise and understand as civilization; to that extent we are hopelessly wrong because there is no hope in a situation where we are persistently pursuing a policy which, or a programme which, is manifestly evil. To that extent I should suppose that the pacifist case is the most urgent of all.

**How far do you think the Church has a relevant message in modern society to today's big questions? Is yours a voice so small, so isolated and belonging to so small a minority as to be ineffective?**

I would derive some comfort, and I hope not presumptuously, by saying that I find a greater willingness to consider some of the issues and answers, to which I've been committed for a very long time, than hitherto, and the movement of the Church of England quite recently, in matters of disarmament, I think, is a very hopeful sign, as well as the increasing re-action

of people who have probably a religious background, but who no longer go to church very regularly, in the various peace movements, as further evidence of this groundswell of aware opposition.

As a specific example, Anthony Barnett's book (*Iron Britannia – Why Britain Waged its War in the Falklands*) appears to raise really substantive issues about what he calls the curses of sovereignty, patriotism and nationalism. He calls for socialist alternatives to the politics of Britain's capitalist decline. Is this the large issue? Or is it reflected in Mrs. Thatcher's recent visit to the Falklands and the political mileage to be made from the issue? Short term thinking on the part of politicians acting in the way of making electoral polls and election strategies work in their favour? Barnett suggested both in a *Guardian* article (November 22nd 1982).

I think its incontestable, though I don't want to sound malicious, that the present government was in need of some thing to boost its fading popularity or to counteract the very large areas of critical reaction to it, and it found it a very useful ploy to rediscover and re-animate some of the old colonial, imperialistic ambitions which are still, I suppose, residual in a great many people of advanced years and middle years, and who, perhaps nostalgically, would like to return to a more ancient kind of domination by Great Britain. I'm quite certain that the question of sovereignty is one which cannot be solved in terms of the nation state and if you look at the background of the Falklands, you could make an equal case for the Dutch, the French, the Spaniards and the Portugese: the Falklands issue is one further example of the complete impossibility of solving contemporary problems in terms of colonial ethics.

**May I give you one quote from what Barnett said about the short run approach:**

**'Should we dismiss the Falkland's adventure as an escapist interruption of what is actually British? Nigel Lawson's economic theories were in the process of erosion as they clashed with the stubborn non-compliance of British society. The true passion of the Falklands for him was almost certainly its contrasting decisiveness, which was also what attracted Thatcher into battle in the first place'. (Guardian, November 22nd 1982).**

**If that's true, it is surely a pretty damning picture of our present politicians? But, how much might it be that it is some sort of preamble – as with the Boer War to 1914, and both wars as preamble to 1939?**

I think this psychosis is there: that is why for me the essence of socialism is a revolutionary attitude to contemporary pro-



blems in the belief that the traditional attitudes to them – totalitarian, imperialistic, colonialistic – simply aren't working and are fraught with ever increasing dangers in that regard. I would look at the attitude hitherto taken by the Government to the Falklands as to irrelevant issues which, sooner or later, have to be tested out in a very different kind of cauldron.

**These other questions might be subordinated in the other argument: we are really about taking away the resources for welfare to make them into resources for war in the major states. Reagan's policies on re-armament are clearly endangering the world money systems, which in turn are creating intolerable and ruinous burdens of debt for developing countries? It is suggested that our own increase in defence and Fortress Falklands expenditure will be about £2800 million in each five year period forward – where do we go from there?**

This is the nub of the whole problem. I think we've got our priorities completely wrong and that this massive attention to expenditure in arms precludes the real business of enlightened and civilized government in reclaiming for the world what after all is the purpose we have endeavoured to establish for ourselves – to extend the benefits of science and civilization to all people on the basis of a world which is in need of salvation rather than individual communities or countries which are in need of the preservation of their historic role, so called.

**The questions, and your answers, are clearly related to rather profound questions about the usually superficially presented idea of the generation gap. How do you cross that gap to address your ideas to present day young people?**

May I answer this personally to begin with? I have found it more difficult to bridge that gap in public speaking. Relationships with younger people are difficult: I didn't feel it until I was about 65, but I'm bound to say that there is almost a psychological barrier which is set up. The very appearance of old people, I think, has an effect upon those who listen to what they have to say, and, after all, we're not rational creatures, and, in that regard, I think the generation gap tends to yawn. At the same time, I'm immensely comforted, for I still continue, week by week, to speak in the open air, at the way in which young people are now prepared to listen to propositions which only a few years ago they would have resisted more vigorously than they do now.

**May I be more specific about the young people? You've had a similar experience to my own since the early part of this century. We have seen a large minority of our young, in every generation, laid waste by war, or unemployment, or wasted in ineffective education and in the effects of the diswelfers of our inner cities and urban life. Are they separate issues or is it too facile to see them as related as capitalist effects which wastes young people, women and ethnic minorities in particular?**

I think I could make out a case either way – I think it can be argued, not cynically, but somewhat sadly, the younger generation to not learn, as we would hope they would, from the experiences of their forefathers and so forth. But on the other hand, I don't know to what extent this is a triumph of hope over experience, I would hope that with the proliferation of this information, greater access to what's going on through television and broadcasting, I think there is a larger hope in

the younger generation today than I've found in previous generations. I hope I'm right.

**Yet the growth in anti-nuclear bomb and CND related protests are wider, deeper and more profound, it appears, than the early sixties. Do you think this is merely a cyclical thing or how do you view this remarkable inter-continental outburst of protest since about 1978?**

No, I don't think it is merely cyclical. I think there is a great difference between the earlier days of CND, in which I walked around, sat down and occasionally got arrested, and so forth; I think the emphasis there was in the immorality of war and the testing of weapons, with of course the tincture of the apocalyptic in it, but I think it is the terrifying advance in the capacity to destroy that has deepened the opposition and has turned the emphasis rather to the terminal possibilities of this sort of arms business rather than the extremely dangerous situation which CND found itself operating in earlier days. In other words, I think there's been an intensification of the ultimate fact that we are now confronted with the possibilities of the end of the world.

**How do you align the position of a peer of the realm in a male dominated chamber, still largely based on heredity, and with very few women, young people or black and brown people in it, with your own stands on various questions?**

Well, to be frank, I don't reconcile it, if you mean do I find it easy to equate the various disparate elements which belong to the peerage in a so-called democratic society. It's a compromise, and I think we've got to recognise that in many respects compromise is much a part of it, and, I want to use the word with care here, it is part of the area in which we can operate. There are some things upon which I will not compromise. I will not compromise on matters of fighting a war: I'm bound to say that the old doctrine of original sin means you operate within an environment which is already contaminated and that, therefore, you can't be entirely pure, however much you would like to be. In that regard I think the usefulness, if I may say so, of being in the House of Lords, is a justifiable compromise, even as over against the manifest areas in this field of the peerage system which cannot be reconciled, of course, with true democracy.

**We were thinking of how this compromise works in the sense that it excludes the direct voices of women and ethnic minority people. Is it too impertinent to say you feel a sense of direct representation of their cause, even in the House of Lords?**

As a matter of fact you know, the number of women in the House of Lords has doubled – it's an interesting comparison: it's in the Commons where the number of women has remained the same, more or less, and has even reduced at times. In the Lords there are a number of women operating very effectively. There is a sense of impudence in suggesting women should be represented by men. I welcome the kind of attitude which is now growing that, in our vocabulary as well as our attitudes we have to find words which no longer imply the so-called superiority of one sex over the other.

**So, are our present policies about training young people and giving them employment 'experience' no more than palliative actions or do you think that the actions hide a more serious**

**intent of lowering unit production costs by creating a pool of very cheap labour in a period of deep depression economically, with desperate attempts evident to create again conditions for capital accumulation, alongside necessary attempts, in this view, to return vast financial resources to the privileged?**

In one sense this depends entirely on the availability of young people to have in taking an active part, a realisable part, in the community in which they live and, therefore, one of the greatest evils at the moment is the sense of impotence among young people, with no chance of a job, and, in their most formative years, feeling themselves to be useless: the evil of unemployment isn't so much you haven't anything to get, it's nobody wants you to give anything — nobody expects anything of you and you've nothing to give — that's the evil of the condition. In that sense I feel that a great deal of government activity is palliative, particularly in view of the fact that young people can't be given this sense of the responsibility of giving and then, as young people grow older, they are made to feel so utterly useless.

**Albert Schweitzer once said he was an immediate pessimist but an ultimate optimist — would that describe your position?**

I think it does, yes. I think it's a bit brisk and bare but I think that's so. I wouldn't be much of an optimist unless I regarded hope as equal in value as faith and love in the trilogy of Christian virtues.

**There have been such fundamentals all the time, of course, but where is the optimism in the face of the acts of the Falklands, or the Lebanon, or Israel which could all lead to so much more disastrous and all encompassing a conflagration?**

Yes, the most terrifying fact which does promote cynicism and a sense of pessimism is the terrible facility with which otherwise reasonable people, or reasonable at other times, can behave so unreasonably as to plunge whole areas of the world into trouble, and this is the way wars start. It would do a power of good to those who talk in rational terms, so to speak, about balance in armaments, to realize that wars are not produced by calculated expressions of ultimate truth or ultimate falsehood, they're waged by fallible beings who make incredible mistakes — and we've had, only in recent days, examples of shooting down somebody else's aircraft in which there was someone belonging to the same side as you do; there were five faults in this episode that were not due to rationality but were due to simple behaviour patterns of fallible human beings.

**This also means, doesn't it, destruction optimism as well in other directions? I mean in our present retreat from collective compassion in welfare, privatization of health services, support of privilege in education, reduction in the poverty standards of social security claimants and pensioners: the whole approach which is deepening the experience of poverty and increasing the numbers in that condition? So dismal a reality for many millions?**

You're coming to a very important issue. It is whether we believe in enlightened self-interest to serve the public welfare, or whether we believe that public responsibility is the beginning and server of the welfare of all. I fervently believe in the second, and I've very little use for enlightened self-interest as a moral concept; if you examine it, it is really only a baptismal name for selfishness and I do not believe that selfishness

can ever serve the community in which there are so many needs and so many opportunities in the modern world: selfishness means if you happen to be well off and have the means you can escape the responsibilities.

**We have a report today which suggests that Kensington is considering the possibility of cutting out every part of its social service budget and expenditure, in the middle of the life of a Government which came to power on the idea that it would settle the needs of the most deserving as a high priority.**

Yes, well, if you invite me to make a general comment. I believe the present government and the influences which have marked its progress are wholly bad and ought to be condemned from every Christian standpoint, as well as, I think, from most moral and most modern political standpoints as well.

**There appears to be little of the old radicalism left to answer this. No collective organising, no action about basically humane values in the present working class culture. What Karl Marx designated the mere enjoyments of the worker appear to have wholly substituted for falling real satisfaction. So we have seen a period of increased hedonism and enjoyment of what the capitalist provides. At the same time, the working class is denied access to real satisfactions, yet seems to have accepted its lot. Isn't this what every poll and election of Margaret Thatcher tells us? (We also made reference to Jeremy Seabrook's book — Unemployment — here).**

The process is undermining of the need to reach towards shared benevolent visions. Indeed it belongs to the very nature of the Christian tradition: of heaping up treasures on earth; where your treasure is, there will be your heart also. If your treasure is in switching a knob indolently watching other people for your own amusement or in possessing all kinds of gadgets, dressing yourself up in a variety of clothing for vanity's sake — this is a part of the society in which we now live — and remember that those who are in work in the modern society are much better off than they were, the gap is wider, there is much more affluence, as well as more poverty, and there isn't the grinding poverty, the grinding poverty or, shall we say, the Dickensian era; having said that, surely the real point is there is nothing so dangerous as enjoying yourself without taking any responsibility for sharing that enjoyment with others. It is the divisive enjoyment of joy, or happiness, or perhaps one ought to say, pleasure, as the correct word, which I think is one of the most dangerous and corroding elements of contemporary society.

**This returns us to will and power, doesn't it? Tawney's idea that possessing both, and in parallel, is the essential prerequisites of real re-distributive social justice? The idea that the moral consequences of poverty in a developed society is likely to be far worse than its direct physical results. People accepting that it's far better to be hungry and naked, so long as they keep some semblance of acceptability, as against marginality, in their society? Does this explain why they can hallucinate watching television programmes like Dallas and are led to ignore their awful physical and social circumstances? What Kenneth Galbraith calls being degraded, in the literal sense of living outside the grades and categories which the rest of the community regard as essential and acceptable — thus ignoring the 13 million it has been suggested are in real poverty in Britain?**

This is a massive danger in the process and it enables me to say how much my own thinking has been directed and formed by Tawney – it seems to me that Tawney is the source of so much of what I fundamentally believe and has brought me this strength of the view which is a blending of responsibility with capacity. That is to say, the responsibility that comes with power, that once you have the power you have moral responsibility and obligation to use it – you don't just use it because it is dynamic – you can only use it with a purpose that is morally consistent with the wellbeing of others, and so on. This, in Tawney, has been largely neglected by a great part of the Labour Party, and particularly in its periods of office and power, and it needs to be recovered: it is absolutely essential to the prospects of a decent compassionate society.

**Can we return to young people? How can we hope for a society with social health with so many youngsters shut out-side? The implications of the conditions which Lord Scarman examined in Liverpool and Brixton are surely about a group of youngsters permanently disenfranchised and shut out from even a minimal share of a very abundantly endowed and wealthy country? Is this the real source of white racism and the racial outbursts allowing the National Front and the British Movement to capitalise on young peoples' feelings of alienation?**

It is that the process of capitalism, particularly in a world of growing scientific and technological amenities; I mean, by scientific in general terms – the amenities which come from the possession of scientific knowledge which can turn itself into the availability of pleasure of all kinds. This is what is manifestly wrong and, so to speak, the sore on the surface of it, and a pretty large sore of course, is the conditions which prevail in places like Toxteth and Brixton. We are in an atomic society, whereas the only realisable future must be in a collective society. And, though I'm no Communist, I'm perfectly certain that a great deal more corporate responsibility is required, and if that means a restriction of individual liberty, then, after all, liberty is itself only ordered restraint, at its best that is, and I'm for ordered restraint even if it curbs one man's ability to do what he likes for the benefit of providing another fellow with the opportunity of doing what he ought.

In a wider context again, the retreat from welfare collectivism in Britain is going much further than immiserating, still further, the poor. Richard Titmuss (and more recently, Frank Field, in his book suggesting there are really five welfare states in Britain): that the self-engrossed middle class will protect the welfare state insofar as it serves them effectively. But now, as well as removing higher education in the UK from overseas students in the greatest need, and failing completely to serve working class young people in any significant numbers, we're now beginning to withdraw places (30,000 from the Polytechnics and the public sector and 60,000 to 80,000 places from the University sector). In other words, we're breaking the social demand contract we've had with thousands of middle class parents since Robbins? What thoughts have you this?

This is a very interesting question. It is one which Marx and the communists never envisaged arising – they could not see the emergence of a permanent middle class, they thought the situation was polarised between the working class and the capitalist class, whereas, the inevitable fact is, if you look at

the evidence, that the middle classes have gained a great deal of power but have rested on their oars because they have assumed that the power was theirs, more or less perpetuity: and unless the emergence of the middle class as a dominant class is geared to an appropriate attitude of both mind and action, it's going to be as paralytic as was, shall we say, the power of the unorganised poor in the early days of the industrial revolution.

**Finally, then, Lord Soper, is the way forward, thinking in terms of 1945, or the middle 1920's, or a 1906 period, when the Liberal Government of the day moved to welfare in the next few years: does this really mean a government dedicated to such principles? Is this central?**

I should want to say the chief objection I have to Government today, even among those who subscribe very largely to the political attitudes I hold, is this desperate lack of ultimate thinking, and ultimate thinking is not political, ultimate thinking is moral; unless you have a concept of what society can be, then you will never effectively proceed to the programme to achieve it. In that regard I find the imperative need today is for the extension of the concept of a family – the Christian bond of unity brought to the whole world. In that regard, the nation state is an intolerable intrusion into that hope and wider vision of a world family; war is a calamitous and maybe a terminal conclusion, as terminal conclusions of course are to any hope we have. In this regard I would like to see a blend of that which animated a great deal of Communist thinking with the concepts of the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, put into terms that Jesus expressed when, at the beginning of his ministry, He said He'd come to preach good tidings to the poor, the recovery of sight to the blind, the acceptable year of the Lord – that is to say – the welfare that belongs to the society as a whole and which welfare is governed by the principles of the family table.

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## experience and participation— report of the review group on the youth service

DOUGLAS SMITH RODGER CARTLIDGE

### 'Experience and Participation' or Tension and Contradiction?

Although its political future is uncertain the Review Group's Report 'Experience and Participation' is potentially of great importance for the Youth Service. Notwithstanding the many criticisms which can be directed at the Report for its inadequate treatment of much of the ground it covers, for example racism, sexism or political education, it is nonetheless important that it **did** include many of the issues and concerns which appear within its pages. A feeling of dissatisfaction with the analysis and conclusions about these issues, for example, should not be allowed to override entirely the importance of the fact that they **are** addressed and seen as legitimate and important concerns in working with young people. Similarly, although this review of the Report is itself critical, it should not be seen as negative. For it argues that the inconsistencies, tensions and contradictions which run through the Report, and which originate in political dilemmas and analytical deficiencies, lead to conclusions and recommendations which are themselves characterised by tension and contradiction. This should not be seen as paralysing the Service, however, because the effect of this is to generate new areas of negotiable space and mark out more clearly than before the contestable ground on which work with young people can take place. The key task facing youth workers, then, is not that of pessimistic criticism of the Report. Instead, it is to identify the areas of intervention and work towards the implementation of appropriate practice within these areas. For the radical youth workers there is the need to be aware that if they don't do this then it is possible to state with some certainty that others of a different persuasion will occupy that same ground.

For the purposes of this review, two closely linked central tensions can be seen running through the Review Group's work. There is a confusion and uncertainty surrounding the stated purposes of youth work and the Youth Service. And similarly there are ambiguities and tensions contained within the treatment of the notions of participation and control.

The **sole** objective of the Youth Service, we are told, is the personal development of the individual and the processes by which this is achieved constitute social education. Leaving aside the fact that the Report subsequently identifies many

wider objectives for the Service, it soon becomes clear that this main purpose, personal development through social education, contains a fundamental tension between two component themes. On the one hand there is a theme of self-actualisation, self-realisation, and even liberation by young people. On the other hand, and running alongside this first theme is a second which is concerned with the incorporation of young people into the existing social and economic structure and its associated institutions. Both of these themes can be illustrated directly from the Report.

The Review Group boldly state that 'It is no part of the Youth Service, as we see it, to be simply an instrument of cultural reproduction.' Instead the Service is seen as 'deeply educational' and should be concerned with 'helping, young people to become whatever it is in them to be.' (1). Indeed, a crucial part of personal development is concerned with young people developing the capacity to play an active part in altering their own condition. Alongside this, however, the incorporation theme emerges. In the early part of the Report a warning is issued to the effect that if personal development – the progression to maturity – is not successfully completed through caring relationships then alienation occurs. 'This may lead in extreme cases to a rage against society, which may find expression in delinquency or violence. . .' (2). In other words expressions of frustration or more conscious opposition to the existing social order are clearly seen as individual pathologies. And the role of the Youth Service through social education becomes essentially remedial and is pitched at the level of the individual. As the Report progresses the second theme of incorporation emerges with greater clarity. Political education, which alongside social education is concerned with personal development, has the primary aim of enabling young people to gain knowledge and skills concerning existing political structures for then 'they would be less likely to resort to more violent methods of expressing their views about society.' (3). It is not asked whether young people have the power to use these structures or whether existing arrangements enable young people, or anyone else for that matter, to participate effectively in changing the existing society or controlling their own lives. By the time the Report examines youth unemployment personal development seems to have shifted in meaning towards achieving the skills for coping with

unemployment or retaining employability. Yet again, the emphasis is on incorporating the individual, and societal problems become translated into deficiencies in young people. The personal development of the young unemployed is achieved when they have attained 'the necessary maturity for unemployment and the confidence and coping skills needed to retain this employability.' (4). Indeed, of the Youth Service offerings presented as the five A's of association, activities, advice, action and access the last of these reads in full – 'Access to Life and Vocational Skills.' (5).

The tension within the basic stated purpose of the Youth Service is paralleled by a further tension within the theme of participation and control which runs through the Report. One part of this theme advocates the enhanced participation of young people in the Youth Service. Added to this are calls for greater participation by local communities and especially by ethnic minority groupings. In this way the self-realisation theme within social education becomes reproduced as a qualified call for the devolution of decision-making and control within the Youth Service. However, the second theme within social education also becomes reproduced, in a form which is best understood as corporatist. Notwithstanding the emphasis attached by the Review Group to the effective involvement of young people in local decision-making structures the net result of this corporatist solution can only be to shift decision-making and control away from young people and their local communities. This can be seen in the proposed establishment of an appointed National Advisory Council and in the creation of new local structures. In these the emphasis is laid on managerialism where the main concerns are with efficiency and upward accountability rather than responsiveness to young people's needs and the control of the Service by them and their communities. Similarly emphasis is placed upon the need to achieve greater co-ordination of provision both within the Youth Service and between the Service and other forms of provision for youth. Once again the effect of this is to shift control upwards and diminish any decision-making opportunities for young people.

Corporatism, then stands in opposition to participation and together they reproduce the tension inherent in the Review Group's notion of social education. And an essential underlying assumption on which this corporate approach is based is that different sectors of youth provision have converged in the sense of having common aims. Formal schooling and further education, the MSC through the Youth Training Scheme, and the Youth Service are seen as types of provision with 'large elements in common', where there has been a convergence of 'aims and methods', and where a 'common language' exists. (6).

In these ways the merging of two contradictory themes within social education and personal development is reproduced by the emergence of two further contradictory themes at a more institutional level. Before attempting to consider the implications of this it is necessary to account for these tensions. Why are they there? Was the Review Group simply sloppy in its thinking?

Well, there is plenty of evidence to suggest that this was so. But the real reasons lie in some more fundamental concerns which are inherently political and partially analytical. In effect, the tensions originate in attempting to reconcile the irreconcilable. As such, the Review Group has attempted to identify

what it sees as the 'middle ground' and satisfy a number of competing interests. The problem here is that there is no middle ground as Thompson would understand the term. And the only way in which a middle ground is identified, exemplified in the view that the different sections of the Youth Service and other youth providers had a 'remarkable unanimity about the aims and philosophy of the Service', is by treating as a common language, a language which is not common at all. (7). Once this is recognised then it can be seen that different interests are at work and a primary task of the Review Group has been an attempt to negotiate a political context in producing its report.

There are, in fact, three political levels influencing the work of the Group. The first and most immediate of these are the different perspectives and interests contained within the Youth Service itself. Statements which satisfy the Scouts, for example, are ipso facto likely to leave, say, workers with oppressed black youths feeling less than convinced that the Report has any value. Reversing that position is likely to leave the Scouts wondering whether Thompson has taken leave of his senses or become politically unstable. Other divisions of a different nature, say between the statutory and voluntary sectors, also had to be negotiated. The amalgamation of these differences under the heading of social education derived from a wrongly assumed common language explains the basic lack of clarity over purpose and the tensions it contains. Humpty Dumpty would have a field day with 'social education' as the Review Group recognise. For despite the unanimity of aims and philosophy expressed through 'social education' and the central role it occupies in the Report they eventually admit that they don't know what it means. It means, in fact, whatever you want it to mean and that meaning is conditioned by the perspectives which you bring to bear on youth work. (8)

The second political level is that at which the Government of the day is located. Given the operating philosophies of the Thatcher administration, the Report was a finely tuned document attempting to nudge towards the limits of political acceptability. To be acceptable the Youth Service had to be seen to be helping to solve the problem of youth as the Government understands it. Young people and some sectors of the Youth Service have a different understanding, however, and this divergence of understanding again becomes concealed by the lack of clarity over purpose contained within the Report. (9)

Most fundamentally, though, is the third political level concerned with a wider understanding of Britain as a capitalist society. By accepting British society as essentially pluralist and social-democratic then the Review Group neglects to consider the **differences** in roles, interests and purposes of different state agencies and institutions. In this way different institutions can be seen as having similar aims and methods and all state institutions from schooling to social services, I.T., probation and the MSC can be seen as contributing to personal development. Once the social democratic model is adopted then the problem simply becomes that of co-ordinating provision – for they are all trying to achieve the same thing – the social education of youth.

The social democratic view of Britain connects also to the second main explanation for the tensions running through the Report – analytical deficiency. For the Review Group neglects to consider the real distribution of power in British

society or the divisions of interest which correspond to this distribution of power. And by having an inadequate analysis of society the Review Group has also an inadequate analysis of youth. Notwithstanding the discussion of girls and ethnic minorities the significance of the cleavages among young people springing from gender and race are never properly examined. And at no point is there any recognition of class differences among young people or of the explanatory value of an analysis grounded in class. Youth emerges as a relatively homogenous group although ostensibly concerned with the position of young people and their experiences at no point does the Review Group even pose let alone answer two important questions. **Why** are young people in the position they are, and how do these positions vary by class, gender and race? Second, **why** do they experience what they do, how do those experiences vary, and what does this tell us about British society? Analytical deficiencies of this type again partially account for the confusions which emerge in the Report.

The final question, of course, is to consider the broad implications of the Report. For the purposes of this review the intention is to look at the consequences of the themes identified above rather than look at the Report's recommendations in any detail.

At a first level the tension between participation and corporatism linked to the two themes within social education, potentially pulls the Youth Service at all levels in two different directions. For the Youth Service as a whole the corporatist solution offers the danger of it being swamped by its more powerful neighbours. The problem for the Service and for the national agencies associated with it is that of negotiating the tension – for a shift in one direction can compromise the relationship with Government and put funding at risk – a shift in the other direction can create distance from the field or from the position occupied by youth. Similarly, youth workers will experience an intensification of the dilemma of negotiating between the ground occupied by their employers and that occupied by young people.

At a second level the Report leaves considerable uncertainty over future directions – over a service for all or for the disadvantaged, over the level of resources and the priorities for their use. However, by identifying and legitimising political education, and work on racism and sexism, for example, the way is open to get closer to the real issues affecting young people. Once again, though, the closer the Youth Service moves towards these issues and identifies with young people the greater the tension will be in the corporatist direction. Those are by no means new problems but the Thompson Report heightens and intensifies them.

Rather than view this pessimistically, though, it can mean that there is potential in adding a second understanding, to the view that the future of 'Experience and Participation' is essentially political. For in addition to the question of its formal adoption by Government there is a further political process in which the Service can engage. This process concerns the undefined and negotiable spaces which emerge from the tensions in the Report. By arguing for the more radical views of social and political education these spaces can be occupied and enlarged. The spaces exist where the young people are – not where the Youth Service is being shifted to in the corporatist solution. In doing this the positive sides of the emergent tensions can be pursued. It should be remembered,

though, that others of a different political persuasion will be attempting to work from their own views of the fundamental purpose of the Youth Service. In this way 'Experience and Participation' does not so much identify the middle ground as offer an increased potential for the polarisation of youth work.

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. HMSO, Experience and Participation, Report of the Review Group on the Youth Service in England, Cmnd 8686, 1982, p. 15.
2. *Ibid*, p. 12.
3. *Ibid*, p. 45.
4. *Ibid*, p. 53.
5. *Ibid*, p. 71.
6. *Ibid*, p. 56.
7. *Ibid*, p. 27.
8. In Alice Through the Looking Glass, Humpty Dumpty said 'When I use a word it means just what I choose it to mean – neither more or less.'
9. A further direct effect of the Government of the day can be seen in the identification of many areas of youth work needing additional resources but the absence of any recommendations calling for increased funding for the Youth Service.

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## Thompson and Full Time Initial Youth and Community Work Training

A critical appraisal of the Thompson Report's assessment of the present state of affairs in full time youth and community work training and the recommendations for specific institutional changes in the ways the courses are professionally controlled is important for two major reasons. Firstly, because many of the weaknesses which the Report claims to have perceived in the Youth Service stem from two related problems – poor management within the service and inadequate training of personnel for the management tasks which the service should be fulfilling. Blame is put on the training agencies for not equipping students with appropriate knowledge and skills. Basically the Report's view is that training has gone wrong. In particular it claims there is more than "the normal degree of tension between trainers and employers" (1). Secondly, a study of the Report is important because its specific recommendation for the urgent establishment of a new "national supervisory body" to be "concerned with the nature, quality and extent of the education and training available for those seeking qualified status and for all full time personnel in the Youth Service" is the one single recommendation which will almost certainly be acted upon by the Department of Education and Science. (2) This recommendation follows from the Report's critical assessment of the present arrangements for professionally recognising and endorsing training courses. It is, however, a fact that the DES and other interests in the field have for some time wanted to establish such a body. The DES are at present considering a proposal for a new body which was submitted to them by INSTEP in April 1982 (3). Most people in the full time youth and community work training field expect the DES to announce in the New Year new arrangements for the professional endorsement of initial training. Since it appears, therefore, to be at virtually the rubber stamping stage it is important that this specific development should be critically scrutinised.

For the purpose of the argument I wish to make later, some significant differences in terminology between Thompson and

the new INSTEP document need to be noted. Thompson refers specifically throughout to "the Youth Service" whilst the INSTEP document referred to above uses the commonly accepted term of "youth and community service" (4). Thompson's insistence on sticking to the rigid title of Youth Service can be interpreted as trying to put the clock back. The report acknowledges that many LEA's did respond to the YSDC's "Youth and Community Work in the 70's" by redefining and restructuring their Youth Service and Further/Adult Education Services but interprets this as a response resulting from a "lack of direction in a cold climate" rather than a positive adaptation (and for many ideological and political reorientation) to the social changes occurring in the early 1970's. (5). Significantly all of the training courses established after the YSDC Report have been designated Youth and Community Work courses. Thompson's rigid use of the term Youth Service can be seen as both conservative and reactionary. It goes against patterns and trends which have been forming since the late '60s and can be interpreted as basically an attempt to deradicalise an increasingly politicised youth and community work field. This statement may appear somewhat paradoxical to some given the advocacy in the Report for political education as a necessary part of the personal and social development of young people. The Report, however, is not really taking us beyond recommendations in the Albermarle and YSDC reports. Both of which advocated greater participation and involvement by young people in the decision making processes of both youth organisations and society at large. What the Report has done is to name political education as an objective. This is to be welcomed. What the Report does not do, however, is to present any critical analysis of our present political institutions. The tenor of the report is a generally unquestioning acceptance of these institutions as basically sound despite the fact that these institutions appear not to be able to respond up to the growing inequality and increasing poverty arising particularly out of structural unemployment. The basic criticism I would make, however, of these proposals (symptomatic of the whole Report) is that given the way in which youth is being defined political education and political participation will be around 'youth' issues as though such distinct youth issues exist in isolation from broader community social issues. In this sense the ideas of political education come across as a controlled rehearsal for adult political roles. The Report is clearly working on a traditional model of youth organisations in which they are controlled and managed by adult management bodies, with youth workers having a supervisory responsibility for finding ways of keeping a balance between 'safety' and 'reality'. Any political involvement which becomes real is seen to contain dangers particularly if this entails youth people engaging in 'wider issues' outside of the youth organisations. The Report does not spell out what these obvious dangers are. As I shall show the failure of the Report to grapple with the concept 'youth and community' and its political connotations is in many ways the key to Thompson's essentially conservative approach to political education. In the end it sounds like well controlled tokenism. (6)

The key to this is the Report's clear unease over community work. Community work hangs like a sword of Damocles over the Report, threatening the Report's attempt to re-establish political consensus around youth issues and challenging the analysis that the solution to these youth issues as far as Youth Service is concerned depends on just more effective management and better training. There are many indications that the

Report would have rid itself of community work if it could have found ways of doing so. It in fact fails to achieve this and in so failing leads the Report to contradictory and inconsistent statements about the relationship between youth work and community work, particularly in terms of full time training. It does not, however, explicitly face up to the issues with which community work as an ideology and method has confronted youth work. This is because community work entails a structural analysis of our society and its economic system which puts youth issues into the context of broader social issues, particularly the nature of class, race and gender inequality.

Community work has uncomfortably defined youth issues in relation to capitalism and the manipulation of "youth" as a commodity in the labour market. (7) Certain community work perspectives challenge the dominant naturalistic concept of youth and replace it with a perspective which sees youth as an artificial social category created to the regulated labour needs of a capitalist economy. "Youth" functions to blur the realities of class divisions and class inequalities. In the naturalistic concept 'youth' is a single social category whilst in Marxist sociological definitions the distinctions relating to class, race and gender are more significant to a young person's life chances than the fact of belonging to any single age cohort. Thompson in fact contains no discussion on social class difference and the issues of race and gender are basically seen as attitudinal problems to be resolved through awareness training rather than through any fundamental structural and institutional change in our society. (8)

Overall the Report can be seen as a refracted Tory social policy in which community work is part of the left wing collectivist demonology which must be either exorcised or tamed. Through promoting and encouraging community work some of the full time training agencies, particularly those which have been 'experimental' must be controlled. (9) It is clear, hence, if this analysis is correct that the proposed national supervisory body takes on particular significance in terms of what attitude it will take towards community work. The early signs are not promising.

The terms 'community work' and 'youth work' as used in the Report can be interpreted as a 'code' which refers to two distinct ideologically opposed political and professional positions. 'Community work' stands for politicised practices directed towards social change; particularly a reduction in the levels of inequality. 'Youth work' stands for non-political personalised practice which essentially accepts society as it is and only assesses social problems as attitudinal. Thompson, without being explicit, is supporting 'youth work' and in doing so is essentially passive and conservative in its stance towards capitalism and social inequality. Since Thompson is operating with the conservative 'youth work' code rather than the radical 'community work' code it focuses on youth as a generic social category rather than on the class, race and ethnic structural differentiation within the category. The rigid use of the term "Youth Service" can therefore be read as a form of a shorthand which serves to ideologically focus on assumed youth problems rather than on broad structural problems and in so doing is part of an attempt to depoliticise youth and community work practice. (10) The proposed training supervisory board will therefore have an important part to play if the trend towards a politicised youth work within community work in certain training agencies is to be stopped. (11) These courses are euphemistically referred to as 'experimental' (to

be read as left wing community work).

The tone of the Report on full time training is undisguised criticism. This criticism is oddly summarised in a short paragraph headed "Content of Training" which offers no suggested content at all but lists a "recapitulation of some of the criticisms made about courses". (12)

There are four criticisms. Firstly "a lack of clarity about the aims of youth work has hindered good curriculum development" and thus the need for a 'national supervisory body'. Secondly "the courses with a more experimental approach are criticised by employers for not training students to fill available jobs in the Youth Service". The Report does not elaborate on what is meant by experimental nor does it state which employers. Thirdly "those courses which are more traditional still do not prepare students for the fourfold role outlined at the beginning of this chapter". Again no elaboration on the word 'traditional' and no statement regarding which specific tasks are not being trained for. Finally "the concept of 'youth and community work' has resulted in courses which do not train students for placement in the Youth Service at all". (13) These criticisms can only be located if the code suggested above is applied. In this code 'experimental' translates into community work and 'traditional' into youth work. The key to the negative attitude on community work is contained within the implicit rejection of the concept of 'youth and community' in the final criticism. When we look at the fourfold tasks for which the Report suggests trained workers should be trained, the contradictory and inconsistent nature of the Report and its fundamental unease about community work becomes clearer. This section also shows clearly how the Report has failed to work out any conceptual clarity. As implied above I think this is because the Report has recognised in an unstated manner, the radical stance in some training agencies and in some practice but has not been able to work out how to expunge this from training or practice. Presumably it hopes that the new supervisory body will achieve this; that this body will find some way of defining content of training which will achieve a conceptual clarity at the same time as excluding radical community work. (14) That the Report has not been able to exclude community work is obvious from its statement that in addition to workers being trained to work "directly with young people in providing social education" they also need to be trained to undertake "development work with **communities**, helping both young people and **adults** in the neighbourhood to identify their needs and to create for themselves the means of meeting these needs." The Report does not even attempt to examine whether its concept of community development is compatible with the rigid use of the term "Youth Service" dominating so much of the Report. Alongside these two basic 'face to face' tasks the Report identifies two additional 'management' tasks – firstly "work with other adult, staff, full timers, part timers and volunteers . . . in collaborative activities, leading and directing, supervising and training" and secondly "administration and finance, whether concerned with youth work in general in an area or with a particular centre or project". (15)

This section also needs decodifying. It can be read that "work with other adult staff" refers to 'youth work' rather than 'community work'. There is no elaboration on what specific resources are to be managed. It is only through applying the

'youth work' code that we can assume that the Report is basically referring to youth clubs or youth and community centre buildings. There is also a clear professional hierarchy and controlling function entailed within the notions of 'leading and directing', 'supervising and training'. Needless to say these ideas are counter to the notions of a co-operative egalitarian sharing implied in the 'community work' code.

A further disturbing factor worth noting with regards to full time training is that there appears to be no first hand knowledge of the training agencies themselves and the curricula operating within them. It criticises some courses for being 'experimental' and others for being 'traditional' but does not refer to either specific courses or to any specific examples of good or bad curriculum. There is no mention of any actual developments which have taken place in order to meet changing social circumstances. I suspect that if the Report had been more explicit it would have equated 'experimental' as synonymous with 'community work' and as such ideologically dangerous and 'traditional' as synonymous with 'youth work' and therefore politically safe, supporting conservative dominant practice in the Youth Service. It would also be the case that paradoxically these same 'experimental' courses are the ones with the most developed curriculum in terms of the link between political theory and practice, student involvement in course decision making and with a strong commitment to training students to be able to be involved in political education and action with young people and other in the community. Equally such courses have also developed curriculum for confronting racism and sexism.

The Report's views on training are mediated in fact through the vague abstraction, so popular in youth and community work terminology, called 'the field'. Thompson clearly sees the employer as the most important group, in the field. This is consistent with the overall employer/hierarchy composition of the committee. The Report in fact makes the specific criticism (presumably from employers) that the 'content of courses has little relation to work in the field'. (16) But which field? Which employers? – Youth Service or youth work? Youth and Community Service or youth and community work? The Report is silent on these questions. The distinction drawn between the notions of 'service' and 'work' is that service is single context bound with particularistic knowledge and skills whilst 'work' implies many contexts with universalistic knowledge and skills. As indicated above the Report appears to be trying to narrow into a single context with sharp functional, hierarchical and professional boundaries between Youth Service and other services. Again it is 'community work' which challenges this way of thinking about and responding to social needs and issues. The youth and community work training agencies have been working on providing universalistic knowledge and skills. This pattern was in fact established in the National College for the Training of Youth Leaders and has been developed and extended in the Youth and Community Work Courses. It is this which Thompson appears to wish to change. The national supervisory body will have the job of bringing the experimental community work dominated training courses into line through prescribing qualification conditions for entry and setting curriculum. If this can be achieved then the radical elements which have entered into training, particularly into some of the more recently established courses, can be controlled. Can this be achieved? The answer to this is of course political and will rest on a balance between the 'youth work' (traditional and



conservative) and 'community work' (progressive and radical) forces within the youth and community field. Many of the political dice have already been weighted in the favour of the 'youth work' camp. As suggested above the composition of the Thompson committee largely comprised conservative and traditional elements and the proposals on the table being considered by DES at the moment for a new endorsement body for the training course excludes the Association of Community Workers as one of the organisations representing the field. This Association represents most clearly the definition of radical 'community work' used in this article and opposes the hierarchic inegalitarian values implicit in the 'youth work' orientation. What is more important to note is that this tension and struggle is not only about contexts and methods, which is the explicit level at which it is dealt with in Thompson, but more fundamentally about deep ideological political differences. The Report never touches on ideology, basically because as a conservative perspective on British society it sees for example the basic problems stemming from mass unemployment, can be resolved within the present political arrangements without having to confront class inequalities. For Thompson class is a myth dreamed up by left wing ideologies. Class does not, therefore, have to enter into the discussion about youth at all. Nevertheless the conservative ideology is in the Report without being explicitly stated. In many ways it does not need to be. The term 'youth work' (acceptable) and 'community work' (unacceptable) are the codes used to deflect us away from the fundamental issues. The debate about training has to be seen therefore as having a critical part in the tension between conservatism and radicalism in our society.

Since Thompson never addresses itself directly to these issues and in particular implies a criticism of community work without being prepared to spell this out it must be viewed as essentially an attempt to contain youth and community work within conservative and safe boundaries. It recognises the threat which some training agencies pose to maintaining a non-ideological consensus around youth affairs. Its views on training can, therefore, be seen to further legitimise and strengthen the conservative Youth Service criticism made about training agencies and in particular those which have adopted a radical community work perspective on youth affairs. It lends itself at a timely moment to being used as a tool in the new supervisory body to bring these 'experimental' training courses into line. It reinforces those who wish to move further towards creating a privileged professional cadre socially well distanced from the realities of increasing social inequality. This sort of professionalism with all the barriers of narrow selection and the protectionism of qualification is all right for those seeking some employment security. As we all know the "youth industry" is the one growth area in the unemployment field. The Report will serve well those who wish to establish professional control over this lucrative territory.

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. HMSO "Experience and Participation" (Thompson Committee) Cmnd 8686, 1982 para. 9.25 page 94.
2. Ibid. para. 9.53 page 103.
3. In-Service Training and Education Panel - this is a DES sponsored body with responsibility for the professional endorsement of in-service training programmes for full time youth and community workers. The specific proposals are contained in INSTEP 15/197 dated 16th April 1982.
4. Ibid. para. 8 page 2.

5. Thompson para. 1.12 page 6-7. It is interesting to contrast the position in England and Wales with Scotland. Community Education is now the formally and statutory adopted term to define the youth, further and adult education service in Scotland. The lack of any reference to these developments and some assessment of the benefits or otherwise is deplorable. It can only be seen as an example of the tunnel visioned insularity of those sitting on the Committee. There is also no reference to the Barclay Committee Report on social work which is leading to a profound discussion on social work provision in England and Wales. All of which must reinforce the view that Thompson is trying to turn the clock back.
6. Ibid. paras. 5.34 - 5.42 pages 44-47. Thompson's notion of political education can be contrasted with Bernard Davies developing concept of social education described in "In Whose Interests" NYB Occasional Paper 19, 1979.
7. This form of ideological community work draws much of its structural analysis from the Community Development Programme project reports e.g. "Guiding the Ghetto".
8. Thompson para. 6.35 to 6.54 page 59-64.
9. Ibid. para. 9.36 page 98 and para. 9.30 page 96.
10. The Thompson Committee did not include any trade unionists nor did it include any trainers or academics. Significantly excluded were those who have been developing radical theories and practices for youth work and social work. These radical theories have usually required the incorporation of community work as a form of social criticism. See R. F. Cartlidge "Politics is a Dirty Word" in Youth in Society N. 58, 1981.
11. Community work has also been an uncomfortable bed partner in social work offering a critical social analysis of the Personal Social Services. The recent Barclay Committee's report and CETSW guidelines for social work courses can be seen as an attempt to institutionalise community work within the statutory social services and make it safe.
12. The lack any proposed content contrasts with the detailed suggestions for curriculum in both the Albemarle and YSDC reports.
13. Thompson para. 9.36 page 98.
14. The Association of Community Workers has not been named as one of the representative organisations on the proposed new endorsement body despite the fact that the Youth and Community Work Training Agencies Staff Group have requested on a number of occasions that DES should include ACW. See INSTEP 15/197 referred to above in note 3. ACW makes specific reference to community work confronting discrimination and social inequality in its "Definition of Community Work" - accepted at its 1981 Annual Conference. The exclusion contrasts with ACW's nomination to the recently established Training Committee of the Scottish Community Education Council.
15. Ibid. para. 9.25 page 94.
16. Thompson para. 9.1 page 87-88.

# the youth training scheme — a new deal?

DAN FINN

'We are trying as resources permit, to work towards the point where every 16 and 17 year old not in education or a job will be assured of vocational preparation lasting as necessary up to his or her 18th birthday. This is an extremely ambitious programme. It is nothing less than a new deal for the young unemployed.'

(James Prior, then Employment Secretary, announcing an expansion of the Youth Opportunities Programme in 1980)

As the economic prospects of working class youth have been decimated in the beleaguered conditions of Thatcherite Britain, we have witnessed the construction of a political debate about their vocational preparation which suggests that they will have extended to them, by this conservative government, a new universal right of access to 'quality' training. This 'new deal' however, does not address the manifest material needs of the young for decent housing provision, leisure facilities, a reasonable income or even conventional wage labour. Instead, from September 1983 those young people who continue pouring out of school at the first opportunity will be offered a place for a year on the new Youth Training Scheme (YTS).

To understand the nature of this new deal however, it is not enough to rely on the blandishments of Saatchi and Saatchi advertising campaigns or take the voluminous literature now gushing forth from various state agencies at its face value. Just because we might find ourselves agreeing with their analysis, which suggests that schools are not catering adequately for the mass of young people, or that the apprenticeship system is both inefficient and archaic (and perpetuates racial and sexual divisions), it does not follow that we should accept uncritically the proposed policy solution of a year's post-school training. Indeed, I will go on to argue that far from the extension of a new democratic right to young people this new scheme will effectively remove them from the collective bargaining process and condemns them to a new twilight dependent status suspended midway between school and wage labour (1).

To understand this process, which has effectively seen the young blamed for their own unemployment, we have to examine the rise to power of what has been called 'manpower servicedom'. This state agency, which only came into existence in 1974, has created a set of institutions and

programmes which, in the current year, will be providing over 630,000 places for the young unemployed. Not only is this organisation responsible for the administrative transition from the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) to the YTS, but it has been centrally located in articulating and defining the political and ideological response of the state to the crisis of mass youth unemployment.

In a context where the number of unemployed school leavers has increased from some 5,000 in the Summer of 1974 to an expected 400,000 this year, when the government predicts there could be up to 760,000 unemployed youngsters under 18 years of age (2), how has this new consensus about youth training come about? How is it that most political and editorial comment is unanimous in its praise for the Manpower Services Commission (MSC); that an organisation like the TUC, which is hostile to virtually every other government measure, sees within the YTS a welcome incremental advance in the progress of post-war British society?

## Youth Unemployment and Comprehensive Education

Initially, let us examine the way in which young people, and their education and schools, have been held responsible for youth unemployment. This form of analysis and explanation developed during the period of the Great Debate on Education, which had been launched by the then Labour Prime Minister James Callaghan in 1976, and soon became part of a new common-sense about the inadequacies of comprehensive schools which suggested that they were failing to prepare their pupils for working life; that their curricula and teaching methods were undermining their pupils ability to get work (3). By the late 1970's the views expressed by a House of Commons Select Committee in 1977 had become widely accepted:

'The unqualified school leaver is frequently so defective in the most rudimentary skills required in adult life that his chances of securing employment in today's circumstances are severely limited' (4).

This explanation was constantly repeated by employers, newspaper editors and a host of educational commentators. It was used to justify a whole series of shifts in educational policy - towards 'accountability', more efficient measurement of standards, centralised control of a core curriculum,

and so on. It also legitimated the expansion and growing involvement of the MSC as it reorganised training provision and supervised the task of filling the alleged vocational gaps left by secondary education.

The argument is now taken so much for granted that it is important to remind ourselves what was actually being asserted: that is, the employment problem of young people, namely their inability to get jobs was being interpreted as an **educational** problem. Youth unemployment was blamed on young people.

As youth unemployment escalated employers pointed to an increasing gap between school and work, a gap allegedly caused by schools. They were to explain their refusal to employ school leavers by reference to the fact that an increasing proportion of these youngsters lacked the qualities that employers needed; hence the importance of remedial training schemes. Comprehensive education had undermined the work of schools: standards had slipped, discipline was slack, school leavers were sloppy and incompetent, if not abusive and illiterate! The causes of youth unemployment in this view, which was assiduously promoted in various reports and media, were comprehensive schools, progressive teaching methods, a liberal curriculum, examination reform. The MSC's most extensive survey of employers found that '..... most employers share a low opinion of school leavers. They are particularly critical of their lack of willingness and poor attitudes to work' (5).

The perverse implication of these explanations was that in some way young people had actually chosen to be unemployed: they were the ones who were unwilling to accept the necessary disciplines and rigour of industrial work. It was the schools which were again to blame - because of the academic irrelevance of their curricula and the ignorance and insularity of their teachers. Hence the subsequent emphasis on work experience to be added to the school timetable, for employers to be involved in schools, and for industrial experience to be part of teacher training.

For politicians of all political parties these have proved to be comforting arguments. If only schools turned out pupils with the right skills, the right attitudes, and a realistic sense of their labour market position, then youth unemployment would not be a problem!

When we state the essence of the argument so bluntly it is totally unconvincing. In a 'leaner and fitter' economy, where in its first eighteen months of office the Thatcher government presided over a fall in manufacturing employment of nearly a million, and in service sector employment of nearly a quarter of a million, there is a hollow ring to the suggestion that the employment prospects of young school leavers would improve if they had a better training or attitude.

In reality, youth unemployment came to be treated as a school problem rather than an employment one for **political** reasons. The state can influence and direct schools in a way that it cannot affect employers. The first response of the last Labour government was, in fact, to treat the problem at its source; employers were offered subsidies and incentives to recruit school leavers. This policy did not work because employers cannot be forced to employ the young - this is the reality of market power facing any government. Employers' reasons

for not recruiting school leavers, their accounts of the needs of industry, their criticisms of schooling, were to be taken as given. In political and policy terms youth unemployment is a youth problem: the government could not change the labour process and organisation of work to fit existing school leavers, but it could try to fit school leavers to the existing labour process. Thus, an employment crisis became an education crisis. The question shifted away from the conflicts associated with the capitalist organisation of production, towards what was wrong with the young and their education.

For the state, the problem was that school leavers no longer received immediate work experience and so schools and training programmes had to become the source of the work ethic; the state was increasingly held responsible for the processes of work socialisation that used to be a normal part of leaving school and getting a job. Most of this responsibility was to be borne by the MSC, but schools have been expected to put a new emphasis on vocational preparation.

The issue was not simply that of the usual role of schooling in the certification of labour, but the promotion of a concept of education as a **direct** preparation for work. Schooling for unemployment seems to require, paradoxically, more efficient **education** for employment: teachers it seems, will not have to instil the work ethic deeply enough for it to survive lengthy periods of non-work. Schools are expected to instruct in attitude as well as skills: in preparing their pupils for the local labour market they are expected to prepare them to accept the available jobs. The stress is now on a particular form of realism where work experience schemes become as important as lessons in Maths and English and where money can be found for micro computers but not for school meals. For the 'least able' in particular the emphasis is now on perspiration rather than aspiration.

The strategy has broadly involved fitting schools and education more firmly into the set of institutions in which working class youngsters are directly prepared for work (6). The **accepted** distinction between education and training was blurred, and has now been effectively redefined.

### Youth and the Labour Process

Before moving on to the MSC, the major vehicle through which this redefinition of education and training has been achieved, it is important to say something about the relationship between youth and the labour market. Although, on a crude level, one can simply understand the expansion of temporary youth training schemes as a mechanism for 'laundering' the monthly unemployment statistics, it is more important to remember what those statistics are measuring; that is, a crisis of profitability to which employers have responded by the reorganisation of the material conditions of production - by mass 'shake outs' of labour, new investment and changes in the organisation of work. So whilst employers themselves seem to believe that school leavers are different than they used to be, it has been equally evident that there has been a change in the nature of labour demand.

Apart from a certain strata of white collar work, state employment and traditional apprenticeships, the juvenile labour market has historically been characterised by the existence of a large number of casual, dead-end occupations,

where employers have recruited school leavers only to jettison them, without skills, at the point at which they become entitled to an adult wage. This has happened particularly in the construction industry, distributive trades and certain sectors of manufacturing and clerical work. Indeed, the initial demand for day release education for all young workers was advanced by the labour movement precisely as a way of protecting young workers from such 'blind alley' employers (7).

Since the War this casual labour market has suited many young men, who were having a 'fling' before settling down, and many young women, who saw their initial jobs as an interim between school and marriage. In conditions of full employment the focus of investigation and state policy around the transition to work was on providing 'rational' careers advice to counter the allegedly irrational work behaviour and job changes of young workers (8). Young workers have always been characterised as casual, irresponsible, poorly motivated and quick to change jobs.

In the 1970's what was new was the employers' expectation that school leavers should have the sense of responsibility and commitment usually the products of work experience. This expectation was partly a result of the employers' power in a buyers' market, but, more fundamentally, it also reflected changes in the labour process, changes in the way that labour was used and controlled at work. Not only was there an absolute decline in the number of jobs available for school leavers (9), but there was also a concomitant reorganisation of the labour process in those jobs which remained (10).

For the first time in years, 'steady' adult workers were to be available for jobs that had previously been for young people. An emphasis on direct control and supervision necessitated by the 'irresponsibility' of young workers was costly in terms both of supervisory labour and of potential disruption. The availability of steady adult labour meant that the balance of costs could tilt towards them. This mode of control counted on the self discipline and reliability of the adult worker and so it cut the financial and disruptive costs of direct control. The 1970's thus saw a recomposition of areas of casual labour into semi-skilled labour, and a shift in recruitment away from school leavers towards other adult reserves of labour. Simon Frith concluded an analysis of such shifts in 1977:

'Young workers today enter a labour market in which there are fewer and fewer openings for either skilled craftsmen or for unskilled casual labourers. The dominant demand is for generalised, semi-skilled labour power. The shifting employment opportunities resulting from the rise of service occupations, technological changes in production, the decline of small firms means, too, shifting modes of labour control. It is in this context that the young compete unequally with experienced adults.

They lack commitment and discipline and 'realism'. These are the qualities which have to be instilled by the State, as it takes on responsibility for the now lengthy period of transition from school to work' (11).

The response to youth unemployment, however, reflected more than their numbers. The extent and speed of state intervention was to signal the very real fears of the social and political unrest which could have been precipitated by a

structurally disjointed transition from school to work. It also recognised that a lengthy period of post-school unemployment would deny the exposure of the young to the work socialisation, habituation and dependency which binds the mature, experienced worker to the labour process and which the state had become ever more active in reproducing outside the normal operation of the labour market. Whilst these interventions in the 1970s were extensive and rapid, their mobilisation, however, depended on more than mere administrative, financial or logistical considerations. They required a massive political and ideological realignment of the purposes and defined functions of education and training, an amplification of causes and promotion of explanations of the crisis rather than a simple accommodation of its effects. If 'there was work to be done', as the MSC's first publication on this problem proclaimed (12), that 'work' lay as firmly in the political and ideological terrain as it did in the application of technocratic procedures to the operation of the labour market.

### The MSC and Criticisms of YOP

Taken as a whole, the Manpower Services Commission -whose fortunes have risen with every increase in unemployment - has become perhaps the key state apparatus acting to 'cool out' and mitigate the social and political consequences of the return to mass unemployment. Since its inception, its activities and programmes have affected literally millions of people, kept thousands off the dole queues, and structured the experiences of the vast majority of school leavers as they have made the hazardous transition to work or, increasingly, unemployment.

However, in the last five years its programmes, especially the youth programmes have had to go through various transformations to both retain realistic political support and accommodate the young unemployed. From an initial response which defined unemployment as cyclical, and the problem as temporary and which was designed for the most 'disadvantaged', we now have a scheme which in many areas of the country is the **only** source of work for school leavers.

In its first year, YOP affected one in eight school leavers; by 1982 it was covering one in two; and this year there will be more school leavers on YOP courses than in normal jobs. By January 1982 over a million youngsters had been through the programme; and the end of 1981 had seen up to 12,000 youngsters and more than 2,000 schemes being approved and placed each week. Subsequently, as the 'promise' of YOP as an avenue to full time work grew ever more sour with the arrival of two, then three million unemployed, and the schemes became largely concerned with removing youngsters from the unemployment statistics. At the same time they were to become effectively subordinated and adapted to the priorities of those controlling the labour market, precisely those groups of employers who, in general, were shedding labour and decimating job prospects.

TABLE 1: Composition of YOP Places 1978-82	1978/9	1979/80	1980/1	1981/2
Work Experience (WEEP)	128,200	182,100	304,500	461,500
(% with Private Employers)	(84.5%)	76.2%	(79.5%)	(80.4%)
Work Preparation	34,000	34,300	55,500	91,500
TOTAL - ALL YOP	162,200	216,400	360,000	553,000
Source: Annual Reviews of MSC Special Programmes				

As can be seen in Table 1, youngsters on YOP were overwhelmingly placed with private employers for periods normally lasting six months. Although there are some complications associated with sponsorship and control, and many of the other elements in the programme were provided by colleges and local authorities, it was clear, as Youtheid pointed out in 1981, that 'the majority of WEEP is concentrated in small, low-paying, non-unionised workplaces' (13). It was precisely this element of the scheme that was to attract criticism and controversy as the programme became ever more extensive. Rather than philanthropic employers 'helping' the young unemployed, and providing additional places to their normal workforce, it was increasingly argued that they were using YOP to subsidise their recruitment and screening procedures, if not directly exploiting young trainees as cheap labour.

In the first place, it became impossible to monitor the schemes effectively, particularly when those civil servants who were expected to 'police' the system were also expected to cultivate an ever increasing number of sponsors. As the programme expanded less and less visits were made to schemes, and when a massive backlog was written off in 1981 it was accepted implicitly that many of the 80,000 odd WEEP schemes would only be subject to sporadic monitoring. Moreover, even at this reduced level a civil service union was to complain that only an estimated 30% of target visits were being carried out by December 1981. Although trades unionists have become more sceptical about approving schemes, it is clear that abuse has grown with the size of the programme, and that many schemes operate with the most nominal of trade union approval (14).

Perhaps the most important controversy has been the way in which YOP has been used to replace or substitute for what would have been full time jobs. More and more unions and trades councils objected to WEEP as a form of exploitative cheap labour that had driven down the market rate for young people's wages; masked cuts in public services and thrown (especially part-time) workers out of jobs. In April 1981 the MSC defended themselves against accusations of substitution by pointing to a survey which showed that it occurred in 'only' 30% of WEEP places. In fact, the survey of 302 WEEP sponsors, undertaken in January 1980 by the British Market Research Bureau, merely showed that 30% of those surveyed admitted they were breaking MSC guidelines and using WEEP as cheap labour (15). Moreover, an earlier survey showed that the jobs so displaced were in many cases jobs that would previously have gone to young people (16).

This whole issue of substitution and displacement is even more complex. While it can be difficult to demonstrate in individual cases (17), on an aggregate level the impact on youth job opportunities has been dramatic. Some would argue that YOP itself has in recent times destroyed more young peoples' jobs than the recession. Whereas, in the early period employers were using WEEP to subsidise their recruitment and screening of employees, following its subsequent massive growth in small firms in sectors like retailing and distribution it has reached the point where employers can simply fill jobs with a continual turnover of YOP trainees. This area of criticism is underlined when we grasp that although in its first year of operation 7 out

of 10 of the youngsters were getting full time work after WEEP, in the last year this proportion has fallen to between 3 and 4 out of 10, and in areas badly hit by the recession the numbers are even smaller. The placement rates for youngsters on the other elements of the programme, those designed for the even 'less able', are substantially worse. So, in place of a scheme which was intended to improve the employment prospects of the young unemployed and get them into work, we witness the creation of a pool of cheap labour. At best this MSC scheme redistributed unemployment. It certainly did nothing to reduce it.

In terms of the actual nature of the schemes themselves, their subordination to the definitions and requirements of employers was also demonstrated by the fact that as few as 3 out of 10 of the youngsters were getting day release education. Among those who took up their day release option there was also a substantial decay rate. The Further Education Staff College were to report that in a Gateshead technical college, of 400 YOP youngsters eligible only 259 attended induction sessions and a mere 90 completed the course (18). Although this reflects the attitudes of both young school leavers, as well as their employers, it emphasises the sense in which both groups resist educational definitions of what most experience as temporary work, **not** a training scheme.

The assertion of cheap labour is more than substantiated when we realise that from 1979 to 1982 the trainees were being paid only £23.50 for working a full week in largely unskilled work. Even now they only receive £25 a week. The MSC's insistence on defining them as trainees on an allowance, and not young workers on a wage, has had more to do with excluding them from the coverage of normal employment, collective bargaining and industrial injuries legislation, than it has had to do with the economic contribution they make in the workplace (19). Indeed, if they were 'trainees' in properly supervised placements, then the appalling accident record of YOP, as shown in Table II, would be inconceivable. The limp response of the MSC is to assert without evidence, that this record is no worse than for other workers, and to return the problem to the young trainees by only requiring a more effective induction period emphasising the importance of 'health and safety'.

TABLE 2: Accidents on YOP

	JULY 1980-JUNE 1981	JULY 1981-APRIL 1982
Accidents	2,001	2,615
Amputations	23	32
Deaths	5	5

(Source: TUCRIC Bulletin, No. 26 Autumn 1982 (20))

This is not the place to go on to outline the numerous cases where trainees have been subjected to arbitrary forms of discipline, or outline the hardship caused by the refusal to provide protective equipment or work-clothes, nor demonstrate the strain placed on family budgets already decimated by adult unemployment and low pay. Suffice it to say that for these reasons and those outlined above, 1981 witnessed a groundswell of opposition to the schemes and the first indications that a significant number of youngsters were refusing to take up places.

## Opposition

As a consequence, unions were to become less willing to sanction schemes, and within the manufacturing sector manual unions resisted any involvement with the programme. Through 1981 grass roots criticisms were forcing the T&GWU, USDAW and NUPE to be increasingly critical. Overall, the situation was to be summed up by a London trades council: 'Every major promise that was given by the Manpower Services Commission to the trade union movement when the scheme was first introduced has been broken, ignored or manipulated' (21). By September 1981 NUPE had unionised over a thousand youngsters in its Northern division, and had helped organise two strikes and a local rally. Right to Work marchers, alongside socialist and trades union groups, rejected the schemes as cosmetic; especially after the success of the 'Peoples March For Jobs'. Although the sanitised Jobs for Youth campaign ground to a halt after the Jobs Express train arrived in London it was followed by the more militant YOP Trainees Union Rights campaign, launched in November 1981. Motions were submitted to the annual TUC Conference calling for a withdrawal of union cooperation with WEEP schemes, and as was to be evident in an internal MSC document, this opposition was starting to pose important political problems:

'Union support is wavering . . . a priority must now be to communicate with union officers to ensure they understand the objectives of the programme and the situation which will exist if unions do not involve themselves in the mounting and operation of the schemes. (22)

During the TUC Conference, however, the attempt to secure the withdrawal of union cooperation with WEEP became transformed into a series of demands which, it was alleged, would guarantee good 'quality' training, and achieve the long-standing TUC policy of day-release education for all young workers. This distortion had the effect of undermining the accusation of cheap labour, as the criticism applied to a scheme which was to be superceded, and suggested that this new MSC programme would represent the attainment of a new right for unemployed school leavers. Thus, although the motions carried actually threatened to withdraw union support, the specific questions raised, around substitution and effective monitoring, applied to YOP, and the implicit suggestion was that a new generation of 'quality' training would obviate those abuses (23). Subsequently, the MSC and many trade union officials were to launch a concerted campaign to win support for a new programme which it was consistently, if nebulously claimed, would provide 'quality' training.'

To explain how trade unions who had been critical of YOP, simply endorsed this call for quality training without any clear criteria as to how the abuses of YOP were to be eradicated, it is necessary to grasp how they had become enmeshed in the MSC to begin with; and what the consequences of this involvement were to be for subsequent developments around the politics of youth unemployment.

## Corporatism

In evaluating the nature of the MSC as a state apparatus, it is necessary to locate its ideology and practices within the development of 'corporatism'. This has involved the attempt,

on the one hand, to draw into the terrain of the state the centralised and bureaucratic structures of trade union and capitalist power and, on the other hand, at local level the encouragement of participation by various 'interest' groups and constituencies in state initiatives. Most marked in periods of Labour government, with its special relationship with the unions, corporatism has represented the attempt to harmonise the interests of capital and labour in practice, a harmonisation achieved politically at the rhetorical level of the 'national interest', which includes drawing all sides into an active partnership with the state: to make labour and capital equal interests, under the impartial guidance of the 'neutral' state.

For the TUC, the high point of this collaboration was achieved in the period of the 'social contract', initiated by the 1974/79 Labour government. In return for wage restraint and curbing militancy, the TUC and the official trades union movement were offered a number of legislative concessions (from the repeal of the Industrial Relations Act to the Employment Protection Act) alongside a more direct involvement in the management of the economy and other corporate bodies. It was in this context that the Conservative created MSC came into existence. Its constitution guaranteed union representation on its boards and committees, and in contrast with earlier arrangements, was claimed by the TUC as a major advance; especially as it became more centrally involved in managing the state's response to mass unemployment. Although this cooperation was to be shaken by the 'winter of discontent', it has retained a remarkable tenacity within the corporate structure of the MSC.

Indeed, while the policies of the subsequent Conservative government undercut many of the directly interventionist areas of MSC involvement, especially its cutbacks in adult training programmes and its closure of many Industrial Training Boards. The threat this posed to its corporate strategy was eclipsed by the ever increasing emphasis, and finance, that was directed to the youth elements of its programmes. Thus, the equal representation of trade unions and employers on the MSC reflected, initially, an overall strategy of drawing in the trade union leadership so as to 'win' the consent of unionists to a particular social and economic strategy. Similarly, the creation within the MSC of a tightly structured bureaucracy with its centralised control of data, policy and resources was mirrored by new forms of local involvement in dealing with the young unemployed which it appointed, approved and controlled. This pattern was similar to that analysed by Cynthia Cockburn in 1977, where she described the joint development of corporate management and community participation: the result, at local government level, had been the combination of 'non-political' planning of policy with the 'non-political' involvement of the community in the administration of those plans (24). In effect, the self-presentation of the MSC, which emphasised its consensual approach, has served to obscure the ways in which real operational power has been firmly entrenched in the hands of the Civil Service:

'The boards and offices have the decision-making powers, but between them and MSC headquarters are a smaller group of manpower directors who have carved their own power patches.

The result is that real power lies in the MSC's middle management. They guard this power jealously, in

particular by **dividing** operational responsibility among lots and lots of sponsors ..... Because these sponsors include community groups, employers, local authorities, colleges and voluntary organisations the MSC talks grandly of involving the whole community, but in reality the middle managers divide and rule.' (25)

The MSC cannot then simply be understood as a palliative to unemployment. It was a response to the political problems posed by unemployment, which attempted to evacuate politics from the agenda. This political and ideological work of the MSC - definitions of the issue which had to be 'won' - was embedded in the social relations of its practices and structure. Notwithstanding some of the constructive, even progressive responses to local employment problems that have been developed in some areas, it is only by grasping this broader point that we can fully appreciate the terrain on which the MSC operates.

### **The Achievements of the MSC**

In this context, it is very important to assess the ideological achievements of the MSC. What it was able to create and sustain in the early development of the programme was the politically useful mythology that the major problem of youth unemployment was one of a 'mismatch' between young workers' capacities and aptitudes and those characteristics required by employers. Although they formally acknowledged the economic factors underlying the growth of unemployment, it was the notion of mismatch which ideologically informed the internal development of the programmes for the young unemployed.

Obviously, if we seriously examine this notion of mismatch as an explanation for unemployment it does not stand up. That is to say, even if the courses and placements were 'successful' in transmitting the necessary skills and disciplines, their effect was not to increase the number of jobs available, but rather to change the way in which the jobs that existed were distributed - it simply 'upped' the terms of competition for each job. Unemployment is not the consequence of 'deficiencies' in individuals, but is the result of too few jobs, a scarcity which, while over-determined by periodic recessions, actually reflects a long-term trend in the nature of the labour market. This trend can only accelerate with the increasing application of what are called the new technologies.

Although the notion of mismatch fundamentally misrecognised and obscured the nature and causes of unemployment, it did enable the accomplishment of certain objectives. In the first place, smothered in a rhetoric of social concern, it enabled young people to be taken off the streets into colleges and workplaces, into a 'safe' environment, thereby demonstrating that the state was doing something to tackle unemployment, that it did have the interests of 'our children' at heart. Indeed, those youngsters who refuse and resist places on the schemes can now be defined, pathologically, as in need of greater attention (through outreach careers workers, and so on). It has also opened up the possibility for criminalising those sectors of youth who refuse the discipline of the courses as, evidently, they must be 'up to something' if not taking advantage of their ostensible opportunity. Secondly, the ideology of mismatch firmly located the problem within the unemployed themselves. The almost total focus on the labour market, and on job-finding and job-keeping reinforced the

myth that there were appropriate jobs available to anyone who had the 'social skills' and persistence to find and secure them, a set of ideas which conveniently deflected attention from the long-term structural problems of British capitalism.

Finally, the crisis of youth unemployment and the employers' critique of educational standards created the political and ideological space which facilitated new forms of state intervention into training and education. A redefinition of the aims and objects of education and training took place. Although gestures have been made in the direction of equal opportunities, or in the establishment of new rights of access to training, it was to become clear that the practices and policies of schooling in particular had to be subordinated to the 'needs' of local labour markets.

Overall it would be wrong to simply view the MSC as a means of establishing structures which channelled and restricted political and other responses to mass unemployment. It also had a transformative role, it created training programmes and courses, and developed specific forms of work induction, which were not solely concerned with the transmission of 'objective skills'. These, too, had their hidden curriculum conveying meanings about the nature of wage labour, the nature of youth skills, the nature of responding to unemployment and so on. As part of its wider political objectives, the MSC was also involved in transforming the cultural meanings and definitions of the young, in the attempt to structure and define their response to the experience of cheap labour and unemployment.

In many ways the period between 1978 and 1982 has been marked by a working out in practice of new definitions of the rights, opportunities and possibilities for those young people who, despite mass unemployment, still choose to leave school at the earliest possible moment. Under the leadership of the MSC, and in the form of YOP, new structural relationships between education, training, employers and young people were explored and created. Internally, a new vocabulary of vocational preparation and generic skills was to evolve within the programmes, which presented themselves as meeting the needs of the young unemployed, but in fact defined the young as in need of new forms of provision. In this redefinition of 'youth', young workers were to be effectively separated from the 'political' question of full employment.

By 1982 the opening paragraph of the document on which the YTS is based was able to argue, as if it were a virtue, that: "This report is about providing a permanent bridge between school and work. It is not about youth unemployment". (26) From the early days of MSC interventions, with their ostensible emphasis on job creation and getting the unemployed into jobs, we are now witnessing the construction of a programme which is solely focussed on the 'training' and employability of young school leavers (27). This has released the new Youth Training Scheme from any obligation to actually place the young in jobs. Instead, it is concerned to ensure that when and if capital does offer more work, no matter how deskilled or low the wage, there will be a pool of rudimentarily skilled and disciplined labour available.

### **The Construction of the Youth Training Scheme**

Returning to the political construction of the YTS it is

important to grasp that when young people, trades unionists and segments of the voluntary sector started to express their dissent from schemes which were manifestly subordinated to the interests of employers and were utilising the young unemployed as a source of flexible cheap labour, the framework of criticism and response was firmly located within the assumptions laid down in the original political and ideological work of the MSC.

The focus of the debate that raged in 1981/2 was not on the availability of jobs (which, after all, does not fall within the remit of the MSC!), rather, apart from various pundits floating notions of compulsory military or community service, the issue became one of both expanding the programme, and also of transforming YOP into 'quality' training. Abuses were admitted, unemployment escalated, and there was a search for institutional forms which would deliver quality training and remove the young unemployed from the labour market.

The young working class are not just accidental victims of the recession; they are in fact being actively redefined as an aspect of the state's solution to the recession. The corporate alliance created by the MSC has accepted that youth unemployment is permanent. It reflects not just the recession, but also long term shifts in the labour process. To put it starkly, the argument is that there is no longer a place at work for the young - when they do find jobs they will be expected to display all those qualities which formerly were the products of experience. For those early school leavers who cannot get work the state now has to bear direct responsibility. State agencies are increasingly going to determine what it means to be young.

The Thatcher government also argues that the young have priced themselves out of the labour market. Young labour - that is, labour without skills, discipline or experience - had a market value when it was cheap but cannot otherwise compete with adult labour. Tory policy involves the recreation of blind alley employment by reconstructing youth as cheap labour: its cheapness not the result of free collective bargaining but of direct state intervention. There is no guarantee of work at the end of YTS: indeed, it is structured in such a way that at least half, if not more, of the trainees will be ejected at the end of their year's training. Overall, the MSC aim is to remove school leavers from the dole queue and feed them back to employers as low paid trainees. The mechanism for achieving this reintegration is the YTS, around which there has been much controversy, which will be providing one year's training for up to 450,000 school leavers in 1983/84 - in time it should be noted for the next general election.

The construction of this programme, which took place in a debate about what was called the New Training Initiative (NTI), was in fact a very effective corporate exercise. In the 'blue' corner we had Norman Tebbit, Employment Secretary, saying the allowance would be £15 a week, the scheme would only apply to school leavers who would lose their right to supplementary benefit. In the 'red' corner we had the MSC, already desperately trying to maintain the involvement of trade unions and elements of the voluntary sector, who proposed a scheme at £25 a week for all 16 and 17 year old school leavers without the loss of their right to supplementary benefit (28).

Although there were important issues at stake, it is important

to resist the melodramatic posturing that was evident in the debate and distinguish between the rhetoric and belligerence of initial public positions, and the degree of practical convergence and agreement that actually existed. In effect the argument and conflict around the NTI was firmly located within shared assumptions, practices and policy objectives.

Subsequently, in June 1982, when Norman Tebbit offered his self-proclaimed 'olive branch', by accepting the recommendations of the MSC Task Group Report, it had the appearance of real concessions. However, the TUC and other organisations became further embroiled in a scheme which clearly intends to remove the young from the collective bargaining process, and define them as a new kind of 'dependent' category existing somewhere between school and wage labour. In fact, in its advice to affiliated organisations and trades councils, the TUC had already proclaimed: "As soon as the government gives its full backing to all the Report's recommendations the TUC will do its part to ensure the scheme is successfully launched" (29).

Tebbit has now said to the corporate alliance - 'deliver' and the MSC and TUC are firmly committed to doing just that. In effect, it will be the corporate alliance, not the Thatcher government, who will have to discipline those in their own ranks who will undoubtedly oppose many aspects of the scheme. At the same time Tebbit has explicitly retained in the background the threat of formal compulsion and lower allowances.

The fact that over 200,000 16 year olds who would have got conventional jobs in 1983/84 are now threatened with the status of being a trainee (30), that rates of pay for 16 year olds, even at the more 'generous' level, have been more than halved in a year, that YOP 'graduates' are still confronted by mass unemployment or the threat of part-time labour under the new Community Programme (31). All this disappeared in the rosy euphoria which surrounded the new consensus about 16 year old school leavers. Moreover, subsequent events have emphasised that once the consensus was established, the real concessions gained are being whittled away. Employers are already threatening to exclude the FE sector, unless it responds to the market and provides, as Tebbit expressed it, "relevant and attractive offerings at the right price" (32). The MSC has taken to writing to colleges warning them against 'politics' in YOP courses (33). Threats are being made against the amount, and eligibility of 16 year olds for supplementary benefit, with the further implication that the YTS is likely to be used as an 'availability' for work test with refusal resulting in a reduction or disqualification from benefit. Monitoring is likely to be even more perfunctory and inadequate. Above all, David Young, the new right-wing chairperson of the Commission has ensured that effective control of schemes will remain with employers. In October 1982 he argued:

"Training should not be confused with education. Training is about work related skills and is intimately concerned with employment. It is for this reason that training in this country must be employer-dominated and ultimately employer-directed. (34)."

### A New Deal?

Now that the broad parameters of the YTS have been created the focus is firmly on convincing the young that the scheme really has something to offer. We now witness the 'discovery' of developmental and social inadequacies which apparently



require new forms of training provision. We, the young working class and their parents, are to be constantly informed that 'quality' training will offer them the opportunities to realise a whole set of needs which hitherto have been frustrated. If one is to believe the Saatchi and Saatchi campaign, that will be initiated early this year, it would appear to be the start of a new 'golden age' for youth, rather than a structured exclusion from the limited rights and freedom of wage labour. Thus alongside the political and organisational changes that have occurred, there will now be a ideological offensive to change the way we think about and understand young people. We have to resist that process, articulate an alternative, and ensure that if the young are to be excluded from wage labour then they will be offered real quality provision and education rather than be forced into working as cheap labour for blind-alley employers.

Meanwhile, notwithstanding statistical manipulation, the real level of unemployment continues to increase, and it becomes ever more transparent that the debate about training is intended to divert attention from this problem. Amongst the confusion caused in the labour movement by the seemingly progressive intentions and rhetoric of the MSC – with its almost unique focus on the quality and quantity of training for young working class people, it must be emphasised that it all means very little if there are no jobs at the end of the process. As with many adults, the real problems of most young workers actually concerns the absence of jobs and a wage; not the nature or availability of training.

## REFERENCES AND NOTES

- 1 The argument developed in this paper draws heavily on joint work I have done with Simon Frith, and in particular develops arguments first formulated by him in a paper 'Education, Training and the Labour Process' in M. Cole and B. Skelton (eds), *Blind Alley: Youth in a Crisis of Capital*, GW & A Hesketh, 1980. For a more extensive presentation of the arguments see the Open University Course Unit we wrote together for the third year course in the Sociology of Education, *Education and the Labour Market*, Open University Press, 1980.
  - 2 The forecast on which this projection is based was issued by an MSC Research Officer to the NYB/SSRC sponsored research workshop on the transition from school to work, held at Birmingham University, December 16/17, 1980. It should also be noted, in contrast, that the Warwick University forecasting group was at the same time predicting that 'policy off' under 18 unemployment would reach 936,000 in July 1983 - just under 75% of the labour force aged under 18 years.
  - 3 For an extended discussion of the politics of education in this period see, Education Group, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, *Unpopular Education: Schooling and Social Democracy since 1944*, Hutchinson, 1981, chapters 9 and 10.
  - 4 See article by Rowlands, Education Correspondent, in the Daily Mail, 15 September, 1977, quoting report of a House of Commons Select Committee.
  - 5 Quoted by R. Taylor, 'Firms Will Not Aid Youth', *The Observer*, 12 June, 1977.
  - 6 This process has since accelerated with the MSC now becoming directly involved in restructuring secondary education. Without any reference to local authorities or the DES, in late 1982 Mrs. Thatcher announced a pilot programme, to involve 1,000 14-18 year olds in 10 areas, which would provide something like a technical school option for selected pupils. In case local authorities are reluctant to be involved, David Young at the MSC has since warned that unless projects are forthcoming they would set up their own separate institutions to implement this policy. For details see the various articles in the Times Educational Supplement, 19 November, 1982.
- Moreover, in many local areas a complete transformation in secondary schooling is being precipitated both by mass youth unemployment and the activities of the MSC. In Coventry, the sixth largest LEA in the country, this process has witnessed proposals which seriously question the existence of the examination system, suggest a move towards the continental day, and would attempt to involve all 16-19s in secondary schools. For more information, Coventry City Council have produced a consultative document, *Comprehensive Education for Life*, Coventry Education Committee, Council Offices, Earl Street, CV1 5RS, December, 1982. For a more critical appraisal, see the article by Will Reese, 'Coventry: Falling Rolls/Changing Roles', *Socialist Teacher* No. 18, Oct-Nov 1982.
- 7 For a contemporary account of the 'blind alley' debate in the 1930s, see J. Gollan, *Youth Into British Industry*, Left Book Club, Victor Gollancz, 1937. For a more recent assessment of the debate see the article by Gareth and Teresa Rees, 'Juvenile Unemployment and the State between the Wars', in T. Rees and P. Atkinson (eds), *Youth Unemployment and State Intervention*, RKP, 1982.
  - 8 See, for example, M. Carter, *Into Work*, Pelican, 1966.
  - 9 Between 1966 and 1971, for example, the number of jobs held by young people had fallen by almost 400,000. National Youth Employment Council, *Unqualified, Untrained and Unemployed*, HMSO, 1974, p 1.
  - 10 For useful empirical surveys of changes in concrete juvenile labour markets see the study of three areas by D. Ashton and M. Maguire, *Youth in the Labour Market*, Department of Employment, 1982. Alternatively, see a case study of the juvenile labour market in Salford/Manchester, by myself and G. Markhall, *Young People and the Labour Market: A Case Study*, Department of the Environment, HMSO, 1982.
  - 11 S. Frith, *Education, Training and the Labour Process*, unpublished paper given to the CSE Education Group, Birmingham University, November 1977, p.4.
  - 12 S. Mukherjee, *There's Work to be Done: Unemployment and Manpower Policies*, MSC/HMSO, 1974.
  - 13 Youthaid, *Quality or Collapse? Youthaid Review of the Youth Opportunities Programme*, 1981, p.4. Available from 9 Poland Street, London W1.
  - 14 Evidence suggests that what the TUC defines as the main lever for effective trade union monitoring of WEEP schemes, the Area Boards, have been bypassed by informal MSC administrative criteria. Dennis Gregory, who sits as a TUC representative on the Wales Area Board, was recently forced to conclude:
 

From their inception these bodies have only reviewed those individual proposals which offered more than twenty places. This rule, doubtless originally framed with an eye to administrative expediency, has effectively removed from the scrutiny of the area board members the majority of WEEP proposals, and certainly has pre-empted the more dubious ones (e.g. from the corner shop, massage parlour or turf accountants), in so far as the trade unions are concerned, from being properly vetted. This has led many unionists to conclude that the boards are merely 'rubber stamping' operations. (D. Gregory and C. Noble, 'Trade Unions and Special Measures for the Young Unemployed', in T. Rees and P. Atkinson, op cit, p.80)

There are also other important questions about the absence of effective vetting for WEEP schemes which are renewed or expanded; of for 'block' approvals where a secondary organisation, such as a college, can organise their own work placements. Overall, it is clear that the vast majority of WEEP schemes with private employers operate without any effective involvement or approval from the trade union movement. For a comprehensive outline of the limitations and constraints on trade union involvement, see the discussion in Carter and Stewart (full reference given in footnote 19), 1982, p.5-7.
  - 15 P. Wintour, 'Kids Used as Cheap Labour', *New Statesman*, 15 May, 1981.
  - 16 Network Fact File, 'Employers Survey', in *Network*, early version of the MSC's house-journal, No. 12, August 1979.
  - 17 For an extended analysis of MSC operational guidelines around substitution and displacement, and their actual application to WEEP schemes, see G. Markhall, *The DITB and WEEP in Central Liverpool*, unpublished DITB report, 1982. The substance of the arguments will be published as a Youthaid Occasional Paper in 1983, available from 9 Poland Street, London W1.
  - 18 Quoted by Karen Gould, 'YOPs Education Scheme Under-Used', *Times Educational Supplement*, 12 November, 1982.
  - 19 For a full discussion of the implications of YOP/YTS for trade unions and the collective bargaining process, I would strongly recommend the following publications:

- Sheffield Trades Council, **A Trade Union Response to YOP's and the NTI**, YOP Working Party, Sheffield Trades Council, c/o 18 Parkhead Crescent, Sheffield, S11 9RD, April 1982.
- D. Carter and I. Stewart (TGWU Officers in Manchester), **YOP, Youth Training and the MSC; The need for a new Trade Union response**, 1982. Available from Manchester Employment Research Group, 300 Oxford Road, Manchester M13.
- For detailed negotiations see: General & Municipal Workers Union, **YOPs: Handbook and Model Agreements: A Guide for GMWU Negotiators**, 1982. Available from Thorne House, Ruxley Ridge, Claygate, Esher, Surrey, KT10 0TL.
- 20 Copies of the Bulletin are available from TUCRIC (Leeds Trade Union and Community Resources and Information Centre), 6 Blenheim Terrace, Leeds 2.
- 21 Tower Hamlets Trades Council, **Opportunity Knocks? Youth Unemployment and the Youth Opportunities Programme: A Discussion Paper for Trade Unionists**, 1981, p.11. Available from 196 Cable Street, London, E1.
- 22 Quoted by P. Wintour, 'Free Collective Bargaining by Riot', *New Statesman*, 14 August, 1981.
- 23 See Motions 14 and 15; carried at the 1981 TUC Congress.
- 24 C. Cockburn, **The Local State: Management of Cities and People**, Pluto Press, 1977.
- 25 C. Ball, 'Here Comes Super YOP.', *New Society*, 20 August 1981.
- 26 Manpower Services Commission, **Youth Task Group Report**, MSC, April 1982, para. 1.1.
- 27 It is important to grasp that the only other programme directed specifically at the young unemployed is the Young Workers Subsidy Scheme; directed at 130,000 young people. Under this scheme employers receive a grant of £15 a week in respect of eligible employees earning less than £40 a week, or £7.50 for those earning £40 or more but less than £45. To be eligible, youngsters must be under 18 and in their first year of full time, permanent employment. In other words, this scheme deliberately incites employers to pay their young workers low wages (average earnings for 16 year olds in 1981 were £47.50, New Earnings Survey, 1981).
- Initially, it was thought by the MSC Task Group that this programme would be absorbed by the YTS. However, it now seems clear that the government intends to build this low-wage scheme onto the back of YTS, thus structuring youth for even longer as a source of cheap labour, excluded from the normal collective bargaining process (*Financial Times*, 29 October, 1982).
- 28 The relevant documents issued from the MSC and Department of Employment on the New Training Initiative have been as follows:
- MSC, **A New Training Initiative: A Consultative Document**, May 1981.
  - MSC, **A New Training Initiative: An Agenda for Action**, December 1981.
  - HMSO, **A New Training Initiative: A Programme for Action**, Cmnd 8455, 1981.
  - MSC, **Youth Task Group Report: New Training Initiative**, April 1982.
- 29 Trades Union Congress, **TUC Statement on the MSC's Youth Task Group Report**, 29 April, 1982, p.2.
- 30 When the details of the YTS were being constructed by the MSC Task Group, the unions resisted the removal of a whole age group from ordinary employment, and won the right for 16 year olds within the scheme to be put on permanent contracts by employers. However, in subsequent developments it seems clear that many employers will take advantage of the scheme to transform all their young recruits into trainees; a development which the MSC has done nothing to control as it attempts to 'sell' the scheme to employers. An MSC briefing paper has admitted:
- Such a scheme will inevitably blur the distinction between employed and unemployed young people, and in responding to the need to take on more people than they otherwise would, employers may well decide to defer selection for permanent employment or further skill training until after the young people with them have completed their YTS programme.
- (quoted by D. Hirsch, 'Training on the Dole', *New Statement*, 19 November, 1982).
- 31 It should be emphasised that just as the MSC's youth programme is under-going a fundamental transformation, so too are its adult programmes. Essentially, the Community Enterprise Programme, which provided full time placements for 30,000 long term unemployed adults at wages up to £89 a week, is to be replaced by a new Community Programme (CP). The CP is to cater for up to 130,000 long term unemployed, who will be engaged in temporary part-time work of 'benefit' to the community. This £60 a week average wage scheme has been condemned by many voluntary organisations, local authorities and some unions as cheap labour, paying most of its participants little more than their dole entitlement and providing no education or training. For a comprehensive critique of this programme, see the Unemployment Unit Briefing, **The Unacceptable Face of Special Measures - A Critique of the Government's New Community Programme for the Long-Term Unemployed**, Briefing No. 4, revised October 1982. Available from Unemployment Unit, 9 Poland Street, London W1.
- 32 Quoted in the *Times Educational Supplement*, 15 October 1982. While employers control over the day release component has not been affected, there has since been an agreement between the CBI and LEA's that employers will receive a one-third discount on the cost of sending their trainees to technical and FE colleges as part of YTS (*Guardian*, 30 December, 1982).
- 33 On 29 November, 1982, the *Guardian* reported on a letter which had been sent by the MSC to London technical colleges which, amongst other things, reminded college principals that inclusion in a course of political or related activities 'could be regarded as a breach of your agreement with the MSC and could result in the immediate closure of the course'. Subsequent correspondence in the *Guardian* confirmed that at least one course, in Lancashire, had been terminated because of its 'politics' (7 and 8 December, 1982).
- 34 David Young, Chairperson of the MSC, in the *Director*, October 1982.

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# dreams or strategies: the future of the youth service

DAVID MARSLAND

In the first issue of this journal, Tony Jeffs focussed his analysis of the financial situation of the Youth Service on papers by Digby Anderson and myself (1). He did not actually address himself to answering our arguments. Instead he created a straw-man which he calls “the New Right”; invented a series of simplified arguments designed to make this bogey-man appear as unattractive as possible; and assailed them with mis-construction, invective, and wishful thinking.

Conceding (page 20) that our arguments may prove attractive, he suggested that “it should surprise no one if the position argued by Marsland and Anderson (finds) a ready audience and acquires a presence”. Indeed no.

What does surprise me is his imagining:—

1. That the arguments he represents as those of the New Right are in any sense right wing — except from the perspective of the extreme left.
2. That his attempted rebuttal even of his own formulation of these arguments could be persuasive with an unprejudiced audience.
3. That these arguments do not contain important elements of truth which the Youth Service would do well to take account of.

I will examine each of these arguments in turn, and try to show why even if we do not like them — we cannot afford to ignore them.

## **The economic state of the nation makes financial stringency unavoidable**

This position, which Jeffs calls “the common-sense, good house keeping view”, seems to me irrefutable. It is only on the extreme left and among those who believe that defence savings could finance a free paradise for all, that the essential truth of this first argument is denied.

Tories wet and dry, Liberals and Social Democrats, Labour from right to centre left — all acknowledge that internationally and domestically we face an economic crisis. Their diagnoses of the causes and their prescriptions for a cure vary markedly of course. Nowhere, however, in this broad political spectrum, is there any doubting that in the short term the problem necessitates cuts in many valuable services.

We can argue about how the cuts should be distributed. I believe Youth Service cuts are more damaging than cuts in some other services, and elsewhere we have argued that the cuts have been handled pretty ineffectively by the government (2). But in the end the sums have got to add up. With a declining income, Britain simply has to spend less, like it or not.

## **The Welfare State is a threat to liberty and to economic well-being**

Our critics can perhaps more plausibly classify this second position as right wing than the first. Plausibility, however, does not guarantee accuracy.

Admittedly these two perfectly ordinary words — “welfare” and “state” — seem to constitute in conjunction a magic spell which advanced liberal consciousness finds less difficult to resist, even when the reality they cloak contradicts all the bewitched victim rationally stands for (3). But even among those for whom the Welfare State is unimpeachable as a concept, there is evidence of increasing dissatisfaction at the level of fact and practice.

S.D.P. policy papers insist on “caring and sharing”. But they contain serious criticisms of the cost and inefficiency of many sectors of state welfare (4). Labour Party leaders continue to defend the Welfare State as if it were the pinnacle of civilization’s progress. But they are increasingly forced to acknowledge that other systems in other countries provide services as good or even better, that many of their traditional supporters suspect the Welfare State is operating in someone else’s interest rather than theirs, and that its administrative apparatus is riddled with bureaucracy.

Even the writers whose analyses of the philosophical weaknesses of welfarist thinking and the dangers to political liberty in state monopoly Jeffs criticizes are not in any definitive sense right wing. They are all anti-authoritarian and in the main liberal, rather than conservative in the British sense of these terms. Labels apart, their analyses are powerful, and at least as respectable in intellectual terms and as sensible in practical terms as the Keynesian and Fabian foundations of the Welfare State (5).

There is, moreover, increasing criticism of the Welfare State from the left (6). It is hardly an exclusive prerogative of the right to challenge social arrangements whose primary beneficiaries are those who gain their livelihood from them, and

whose careers require their continuous expansion, regardless of clients' real needs.

In short, the Welfare State is in an economic and ideological crisis worse even than British society as a whole. Its costs are out of control. Its efficiency is demonstrably low. Dissatisfaction among clients is considerable. Few would now deny any of this. Recognition of the dangers to freedom which a Welfare State apparatus necessarily presents is certainly less common. But those who do acknowledge this threat are by no means particularly of the political right, and they are increasing in number rapidly.

Hence perhaps the hysteria of those who would defend the Welfare State at all costs. I can see no reason why supporters of the Youth Service should be expected to throw in their lot with people whose purpose is the political defense of a particular and sectarian way of providing welfare. Of course we should find allies among them if we can, as we should on every front. But our primary concern should be with the Youth Service itself, and with the interests of young people which the Service represents.

Given this perspective, why resist this second argument? If an elected government is taking a stand against dangers and abuses presented by the Welfare State, if their stand is increasingly supported by the people, we should expect and accept that this will have some financial effect on the Youth Service. If we want to resist cuts, we should not, therefore, do so on the grounds that they are an attack on the Welfare State. Instead we should be arguing specifically about the importance of the benefits provided by the Youth Service, and resisting attempts by the entrenched vested interests of the Welfare State to pass on more than our fair share of the cuts to us.

#### **The current financial crisis offers a positive opportunity for evaluation and re-organization**

Jeffs acknowledges that this third position "has a certain accessible, common-sense appeal". He admits that we have "persuasively argued" it in relation to the Youth Service and others in relation to other services.

I shall not, therefore, re-argue it here. I do want, however, to reiterate it strenuously and to resist his counter-arguments. At page 23, despite his earlier concessions to our position, he asserts that "... the whole argument is a placebo without a modicum of evidence to give it respectability. It is founded on a naive belief that after years of bad incremental planning in a conducive supportive atmosphere of growth the same managers when suddenly faced with a crisis of some magnitude will reform themselves into rational creative decision-makers".

I shall take up the important issue of management later. Here I will simply indicate the illogicality and negativism of this counter-argument of Jeffs. We have nowhere suggested that cuts and crisis will **guarantee** sensible thinking and beneficial reforms. In real life there are and can be no structural circumstances which can offer guarantees. That is precisely the reason for my scepticism about utopians of all sorts – who seem to think that some radical transformation of structures will somehow magically resolve all those nasty practical problems about priorities, resources, authority, management, policy, and decisions.

What we **have** argued, and what I want to re-emphasize now, is that our present difficulties in the Youth Service do offer us the **opportunity** to re-think our purposes, policies, structures, and methods. Certainly we may waste the opportunity, or fail even if we attempt to use it. If we allow ourselves to be persuaded by Tony Jeffs, we shall deprive ourselves even of the chance of trying: which would surely be foolish.

#### **Voluntary effort is a fundamental and essential part of the Youth Service's work**

In relation to arguments arising from this fourth position which emphasize the value of voluntary work as an antidote and complement to State provision, Jeffs takes a very tough line. "I wish to argue", he says at page 24, "that it is both a dangerous and impractical option for the foreseeable future and one which all parties within the Service should reject". The professional Youth Service has only had a substantial existence for forty years or so, yet he argues against our re-emphasis of the importance of voluntarism by an implausible attempt to remainder it to some distant, irretrievable past (page 24): "To imagine therefore that it is possible to return to a golden age of voluntarism (if it ever existed) ignores the magnitude of the structural changes that have taken place within Britain since the flowering of the great Victorian charity boom".

On this fourth position, as on the other three, I find Jeffs less than persuasive. The argument for voluntarism in the Youth Service is, whatever he says, cogent intellectually and politically. What limits voluntary activity is not some inevitable structural change, but the prejudice of state collectivists. Minor tax changes could increase voluntary contributions to youth work enormously. He underestimates the dangers of state monopoly, and the positive advantage the Youth Service has because of the significance of the voluntary sector and of voluntary work within the statutory sector.

If we stick to this fourth argument, instead of squandering this major attraction and advantage we have, we shall be **more** persuasive, not less, in the face of increasing pressures on resources. Modest state financing is well-spent in our case precisely because it generates much larger voluntary resources.

Why not stick to this line? A modest, efficient professional service reliant on public funding, working in coherent concert with voluntary effort financed by genuinely private money freely given to help in diverse ways with young people's social educational needs.

In this perspective, our task is twofold: to ensure that the professional sector is efficient, well-managed and responsive; and to develop a capacity for positive, efficient support for the voluntary sector.

In my view, the current financial stringency is a secondary, but nonetheless valid and important, argument for allowing the voluntary sector much more than the "peripheral role" to which Tony Jeffs would restrict it. The primary argument has to do with freedom and diversity, and the economic and political dangers of bureaucratic state monopoly. For both reasons, I believe we should rescue this fourth position from ill-founded criticism, and speak up for the valuable role of voluntary effort in the Youth Service.

### **Towards a more positive approach**

It will surprise few readers to find me resisting Tony Jeffs' argument. However, my purpose is not merely to defend myself, nor even to stand up for a perspective which I believe to be logically and intellectually defensible in the face of criticism which I find unjust and unpersuasive.

**My purpose is practical and political.** We have had the thesis of Albermarle and the antithesis of Milson-Fairbairn. Now the great dialectical synthesis of the Youth Service Review is upon us. Political decisions of the greatest conceivable significance for the future of the Youth Service, youth work, and young people's interests are being taken. Our own attitudes to purposes and resources – the fundamental topic of Jeffs' important analysis – are going to matter enormously in conditioning the outcome of the debate with government nationally and locally, which the Review has triggered.

My view is that we must clarify and specify our purposes carefully and modestly, adopt a realistic attitude to resources, and approach the whole thing positively and confidently. I want to illustrate this sort of approach, and its contrasts with the less realistic and positive perspective espoused by Tony Jeffs, in relation to some of the crucial issues arising out of the Youth Service Review.

### **Participation for what?**

I am not happy with the level of clarity about objectives that the Review has managed to reach. Tony Jeffs exaggerates, in my opinion, when he says (page 19) that: "The Youth and Community Service is a vague imprecise title for a disparate collection of agencies and personnel, many of whom are possibly blissfully unaware that they might be considered by others to be an integral part of it". He exaggerates absurdly, unless he has a micro-biologist's concept of precision" (7). But certainly the Youth Service is a complex structure, with highly differentiated objectives, some of them mutually contradictory.

To a degree, this complexity, differentiation, and diversity is to be positively welcomed. One of the main dangers of any national policy and any national service, especially if they limited the free voluntary sector and local variation, is the paternalistic, bureaucratic straightjacket which characterizes so many of the public services in Welfare State societies.

On the other hand, efficient social organization and action in any sphere presuppose some adequate level of clarity about objectives. Where the expenditure of taxpayers' money is involved, we ought to be able to expect such clarity as of right. Alas, it looks to me as if the Review has to some extent fudged the issue of clarifying Youth Service objectives again.

Certainly their attempted resurrection of the corpse of "participation" makes me suspect that they have not attended adequately to basic objectives. Like the concept of "industrial democracy", "participation" is characteristically used as a way of dodging issues of power, authority, and especially purpose.

What use is it, for example, to encourage increased participation by young people in determining the programme of a youth centre, if there is no agreement about the criteria in terms of which the value of their participation can be judged? Why would a lynch mob or a hooligan raid be unacceptable outcomes of participative programmes unless we had positive

social educational criteria arising coherently from the principles of youth work rather than accidentally out of the natural interactions of young people?

I am not at all opposed in principle to the concept of participation. I am, however, distinctly sceptical about the extent to which it has proved itself over the years, with few exceptions, an excellent subject for talk, and talk, and yet more talk, and hardly conducive to action at all. Too often who says "participation" says "I have no idea at all what I should be doing".

One hopes that the Review has not led us into the tempting trap of focussing our energies and attention on the complex, utopian, and divisive concept of participation, to the detriment of realistic, serious analysis of basic objectives

### **A rationale for lists**

The Review has clarified our target group of clients to a considerable degree. Our clients are young people. Not children. Not adults of any of the multiplicity of categories to whom some people since Milson-Fairbairn have been trying to distract scarce Youth Service resources.

More than this, they have come down conclusively on an extended age range which can be rationally justified in terms of our skills and knowledge vis a vis a coherent concept of youth (8).

We should be very grateful they have achieved as much as this. These proposals will by themselves go a long way towards clarifying our purposes. They will save us much of the wasted energy expended over the past ten years and more in inter-nicene conflict and in paralyzing confusion.

However, I am not sure that they have gone quite far enough in explicating the rationale for these proposals. If they had, they could not also have specified a number of sub-groups—blacks, girls, disabled, unemployed — for special focus in the work of the Youth Service.

These may be intended as advisory priorities, to be treated with discretion in particular local contexts. But the danger is that they will be interpreted as exclusive targets. In this case the Review will have effectively re-defined youth work in an ad hoc way as crisis-and-problem-oriented instead of universal, educational, and developmental.

Ad hoc, because they have provided none of the serious analysis which would be necessary to justify such a switch, and which those of us committed to a developmental Youth Service would demand before we could begin to be persuaded in favour of so radical a change in the purposes of youth work.

In any case, whether the list is interpreted as advisory priorities or exclusive targets, it needs, like any other list, an explicitly formulated rationale. Why these items on the list, and not others? Why all of these, and no others? Why any of these? Targets and priorities cannot be pulled out of thin air without justification. Lists deriving from arbitrary political compromise and the common sense of committees have been a major source of incoherent policy making in Britain for years. If we are to have arbitrary lists, at least it has to be acknowledged that such lists imply policies, and that policies logically entail resource demands or shifts, and unavoidably

have practical consequences for organization, methods, recruitment, and training. I do not think that these implications have been worked out with sufficient clarity.

Certainly the Review has succeeded in taking the important process of clarifying Youth Service purposes a certain distance – **but nothing like far enough.**

#### **Management or barely managing?**

The Review has given special emphasis to the importance of improving management at all levels in the Youth Service. This proposal can be expected, unfortunately, to provoke considerable resistance. For, to the usual and general strains between “bureaucracy” and “professionalism” in welfare services, there is added in the Youth Service a history of difficult relations between Youth Officers and Youth Workers. This has resulted in a widespread reaction against management as such, against any suggestions of hierarchy, and against any serious thinking about responsibility and accountability.

In this difficult context, the Review’s emphasis on management seems to me correct and timely. The general field of industrial relations demonstrates that weak and ineffective management and inefficient, unsuccessful organizations go hand in hand. The causal effect presumably work both ways simultaneously – inefficiency in terms of profit or achievement of objectives weakening the authority of management, and weak management failing to provide the good communication and leadership which are required to turn a failing organization round.

One hopes that the emphasis on management at all levels – i.e. the overdue identification of **the Youth Worker’s managerial role**, alongside the management responsibility of Youth Officers – does not have the effect of detracting from a proper emphasis on **authority**. For a profession whose speciality is adolescence and youth, we have been amazingly unwilling to acknowledge the significance of authority in relation to our own work roles. Denial of the need for authority or, where it exists, of its legitimacy, is after all a classic adolescent defence mechanism.

If we are really going to get this all out in the open and work it through, it will involve almost a revolution in attitudes and in practice on all sides. Managers, at whatever level, will have to be much more open, listen more, allow more discretion, take more risks, and offer more initiatives and genuine leadership. The managed, at whatever level, will need to accept instructions more readily, accept accountability positively rather than grudgingly, learn to trust those above them in hierarchies as much as those below.

There is one other implication of the Review’s attention to management which is even more serious and difficult than these radical changes in our life styles. For **management entails and requires clarity of objectives**. To a significant degree, management has been so ineffective because objectives in the Youth Service have been opaque and confused. One cannot alter this situation substantially simply by “improving management”. To this extent Tony Jeffs is absolutely right. Management can only be effective in relation to some particularized objectives and tasks.

Unless Youth Service objectives, nationally, locally, and in

relation to particular programmes, projects, and centres, are sufficiently clarified and authoritatively agreed, the Review’s emphasis on management will turn out as one fears their treatment of participation may – as an enervating, time-consuming, futile distraction from our real work, and in the long run frustrating disappointment.

#### **Is our training good enough?**

The same argument applies to the Review’s treatment of training. Improvements in training are certainly needed. But many of the weaknesses of training arise from confusions and conflicts about Youth Service objectives, and about what youth work is and should be. For the government to insist on improvements in training will be entirely futile, unless they provide or back some clarification of the tasks youth workers are expected to fulfil. We might have expected the Review itself to go further on this crucial front than it has.

In my opinion, government, employers, leadership in the Youth Service, and the professional associations have allowed training agencies far too much discretion to define for themselves – agency by agency, idiosyncratically – the work and roles they are supposed to train for (9).

The agencies can of course quite properly insist on their right to stimulate critical thinking about youth work. Unless, however, this educational process goes on in the context of and in coherent relation to clear professional definitions of youth work’s purposes, it is bound to become – **and it has become** – negative and self-defeating. In consequence, many students have become confused and dispirited. Too few have gone onto careers in the profession they chose in the first place – youth work. Too many have been distracted into different professions from the one the agencies are designed and financed to serve – again youth work. These distortions have been particularly serious where excessive emphasis has been given to the community dimension, but they seem to me less than rare generally.

The agencies also have a proper right to determine the methods they use in training. No doubt more attention is given in youth work training to fundamental issues of genuine learning than in many other sectors of higher education. But that is hardly a big claim to make. The agencies must, surely, be expected to have their work evaluated toughly in terms of practical, field-relevant criteria, and to change their procedures if it appears they are not working well enough. There are certainly some agencies where substantial changes are necessary, and none which are beyond improvement in this respect. Standards, after all, matter even more in relation to training for professional work than in relation to merely academic courses.

Beyond their academically justified involvement in teaching critical thinking, and their educational right to determine their own methods of training, beyond this **I cannot see that the agencies have any right as such, free of the need for them to consult and persuade, to shape the nature of youth workers’ roles or to define the objectives of the Youth Service.**

But the fact is that they have been allowed an illegitimate degree of discretion in these important matters because of a failure of nerve on the part of those whose proper responsibility it is to do this fundamental work – government, nationally and locally, Youth Service leadership, and the professional

associations (10).

We have to hope that the Review will act as a trigger for getting this work done at last. Only if it is done can the training agencies get on with improving their effectiveness, by concentrating their own energies and efforts and those of their students on in-depth intellectual and practical preparation for roles in youth work which are specified and authoritatively agreed.

Needless to say this analysis applies just as strongly to in-service training and to the training of part-time and voluntary workers. On the former, the work of INSTEP has already made a valuable difference. But much remains to be done, and much of what needs to be done presupposes absolutely the kind of clarification of objectives I have argued for earlier. For example, how can we know which advanced qualifications available through the higher education system can be considered appropriate and beneficial unless we are clear about the knowledge and skills senior Youth Workers and Youth Officers require?

As far as part-time and voluntary workers are concerned, great strides have been made over the past ten years. Nevertheless the task is an enormous one, offering much scope for rationalization and sharing resources and training skills. Tony Jeffs' pessimistic arguments against the role of voluntarism in the Youth Service will indeed become persuasive unless we can successfully demonstrate that all youth workers can offer, over and above their enthusiastic commitment to help young people, deep levels of relevant knowledge and high levels of practical skills.

### **The Youth Service of the future**

It has become more and more obvious that young people as a structural category constitute a major social problem. The Review documents this fact (11).

I do not, of course, mean that – in any sense – young people deserve blame. Rather I mean that the existing social arrangements and policies concerning young people, and established attitudes towards young people are proving deficient; that in consequence young peoples' commitment to and involvement in their society are declining; and that something serious has to be done about it if fundamental difficulties are to be avoided in the future.

In my view the deficiencies in existing arrangements, policies, and attitudes are widespread and deep-seated. For example:—

1. Schooling is a destructive failure for nearly half of young people. Even among those who succeed in the formal education system, there is far too little positive satisfaction, far too much of a merely instrumental attitude. Something has gone seriously wrong in our schools and colleges, and young people are paying a heavy price for it (12).
2. Youth unemployment is to a significant degree structural, arising out of irreversible changes in the market and in technology, entrenched union attitudes, and short-sighted labour-market policies. Government counter-measures, through M.S.C., are largely palliative. They do not begin to get to grips with the causes of structural youth unemployment (13).
3. Young people from the Asian and Afro-Caribbean com-

munities are exposed to especially severe difficulties. Prejudice, alienation, and their lack of effective preparation for competition in education and employment combine to disadvantage them to an unique degree, shared by no other category of young people (14).

4. Delinquency and crime by young people is a more serious problem than many youth workers seem prepared to admit. It has a powerful negative effect on the attitudes of adults. Whatever its, various, causes, it cannot be simply talked out of the way (15).
5. Moral and philosophical confusion among adults, especially adults in leadership positions, in the media, and those with specific responsibilities for young people, such as teachers, youth workers, and not least parents, have reached a point where young people as a consequence, face intolerable pressures and dilemmas almost continuously. Of course issues of right and wrong were never, and can never be, simple. But abdication to the oppressive whims of the peer group and the widely veering fashions of youth culture is hardly an acceptable alternative (16).

If these examples provide an accurate image of the scope of the youth problem, we clearly need a radical re-appraisal and re-structuring of policy, and fundamental changes in education, labour market policy, training programmes, penal policy, and public attitudes. I think, we shall be obliged in the end to develop some such national youth service as Youth Call has proposed. Opinion polls demonstrate massive support, generally and among young people themselves, for the institution of such a programme (17). At all events, by one means or another the youth problem demands bold initiatives.

In the context of radical re-organization of youth policy, **the Youth Service has a crucial, modest role to play.**

Modest because a small-scale service, oriented to and trained for particular types of work with young people, cannot realistically hope to take on more than a modest role in so enormous an enterprise. Crucial because only the Youth Service, and only youth workers, can handle the social educational needs of young people effectively.

Why not, therefore, face up to the current financial stringency realistically? Accept that we shall have to become more cost-effective? Embrace evaluation positively? Proclaim unapologetically the fundamental role of the voluntary work in the Youth Service? Strengthen and tighten up management? Radically improve training to ensure that professional and voluntary youth workers are effectively equipped with the necessary knowledge, attitudes, values, and skills? **And get on with the job?**

**But what job?** All this presupposes that the job we are to get on with is coherently defined, and within reasonable limits agreed.

The Review's important initiative in this respect must be seized on. Another period of confusion and conflict, such as followed Milson-Fairbairn, will guarantee that government and public alike will lose all faith in our capacity to do the job we have to do for young people at all.

In my view, the Youth Service's job is clear enough. **Its sole**

and proper job, which is no one else's job, is youth work. The sole and proper objective of youth work is social education — assistance to young people in their developmental transition towards adulthood. In this task, youth workers use a wide but specifiable range of methods, techniques, and knowledges. They pursue it in a wide range of settings. Among them, youth centres and youth clubs are central, but the open setting of the community, the neighbourhood, and the street is equally essential.

This — hardly novel — concept of the Youth Service becomes clearer if we contrast it with four alternative concepts: Milson-Fairbairn's concept of a **generalized community service**, in which young people figure as merely one category among a wide range of clients; John Ewen's idea of a **generalized organization of youth affairs**, concerned with every aspect and sphere of youth policy; John Eggleston's plan for a **problem-oriented Youth Service**, focussing indeed on young people, but shifting its attention to wherever crisis and difficulty appears, instead of concentrating resolutely on general development; and the vision most clearly expressed by Butters, of a special service which operates as an **instrument of radical social and political change** (18).

One can understand the dissatisfactions and disappointments which have led to the development of these alternatives.

Some of those attracted into the Youth Service have apparently found it too modest a role merely helping individual young people towards becoming their best selves. Some have been persuaded, wrongly in my opinion, that nothing worthwhile can be achieved within the political parameters of the established Youth Service. Others again cannot satisfy themselves with our predominant concern with leisure and activities. I would have thought the grounds for this focus were clear enough — the difficulty of doing effective social education except in a free and voluntary situation, the crucial significance of leisure for young people, the fundamental importance of challenge. I would also have thought the differentiation of our settings into detached work and of our methods beyond group work into community work would have provided sufficient variation outside the base of the building to satisfy most people. However, the fact remains that much dissatisfaction can be put down to this factor.

No doubt there are many other sources of dissatisfaction over and above these. Certainly there can be no doubting that of the alternative concepts of the Youth Service they have provoked each has a certain persuasive logic. They would not otherwise have attracted the support they have. But in the end I do not find any of them either necessary or attractive, and all of them have very serious weaknesses.

I believe the Review offers us an opportunity, which must be seized, to choose among the five models. Certainly it demonstrates that a choice has to be made. We cannot go off successfully in all directions at once. The five models are fundamentally mutually exclusive, in principle probably and in practice without any doubt at all.

If this analysis is correct, and a clear choice has to be made at last about the fundamental purposes and direction of the Youth Service, I put my money on a modest social-educational developmental service for young people. **This is after all what we mostly have, and the best of what we have.** If this choice

is made, the next step is to get some tough thinking going about precisely what such a Service means and entails today in coherent principle and in realistic practice. This in effect is what the Review demands.

We have our dream — the vision which brought the Youth Service into being.

Our task is to translate this vision into effective practice, to correct persisting weaknesses, and to improve the standards of our work to the high level which the pressing needs of young people demand. If we are to succeed in this, we shall need **agreement on a strategy for development.**

In my own preliminary formulation of such a strategy, which I outline below, the first four elements are designed to get the economic infrastructure of the Service right. They comprise, as will be apparent, a modest, realistic programme such as Tony Jeffs' arguments are directed against. Anything more — apparently — ambitious, any sign on our part of unwillingness to get on positively within the limits of realistic budgets, will be dangerously counter-productive.

A second set of elements (5-12) in the strategy picks up what I regard as the persuasive and timely emphasis given by the Review to management and training. Until the end of the century at least, resources will be scarce. It is essential that they are maximised by effective management, and especially that the most valuable resource we have, our personnel, is helped by effective training towards optimal performance.

A third set of elements (13-20) in the strategy is designed to set the agenda for clarifying Youth Service thinking about our purposes and methods. This is fundamental. Unless we take the opportunity of getting on with the **analysis of a coherent concept of youth work and agreeing our conclusions**, economic planning, management, and training are all entirely futile.

Needless to say, none of these ideas are my inventions. They are all of them projects on which many people in the Service have long been hard at work. All I intend here is to put them together in a unified, coherent form, so that the task we face in developing the Youth Service, and the challenge that task sets for us, can be made visible and clear. It is a task we cannot afford to fail in, and a task that demands much more from all of us than merely legislation and re-organisation.

## **ELEMENTS OF A STRATEGY FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE YOUTH SERVICE**

1. Confirm the partnership between the statutory and voluntary sectors, and strengthen the practical arrangements on which it rests.
2. Maximize non-governmental resources by campaigning for voluntary funds and by large-scale recruitment of voluntary workers.
3. Cut all programmes not directed towards our client group — young people — and transfer personnel and resources.
4. Systematize and routinize evaluation in order to maximize cost-effectiveness throughout the Service.
5. Review and improve all management structures, cutting out all unnecessary levels of management.
6. Sort out and re-specify relations between Youth Officers and Youth Workers, and establish a coherent accounta-



- bility and career structure.
7. Clarify and confirm the authority of all managerial roles.
  8. Assess the accountability of all roles, and establish mechanisms for routine monitoring of accountability.
  9. Improve the effectiveness of staff meetings and all managerial communications at all levels.
  10. Systematically review, amend, and rationalize initial training, to make it tougher, more relevant, and more challenging.
  11. Strengthen the development of in-service training through INSTEP.
  12. Initiate coherent mechanisms regionally for up-grading the training of part-time and voluntary workers, and making it more effective.
  13. Clarify and concretely specify the concept of SOCIAL EDUCATION, such that criteria of the effectiveness of diverse types of youth work programmes in facilitating the social education of young people can be agreed.
  14. Review the relevant content and form of AREAS OF BASIC KNOWLEDGE on which youth work depends, especially philosophy, psychology, sociology, economics, and law.
  15. Develop the conceptual and practical bases of youth work's key METHODS OF INTERVENTION: counselling, group work, community work, and activity programming.
  16. Develop appropriate practical forms of youth work's main OPERATIONAL SKILLS management, training, and research, including evaluation.
  17. Assess the appropriateness of the forms of organization of all types of OPERATIONAL UNITS in the Youth Service, including youth centres, youth clubs, detached work programmes, counselling centres, youth workshops, youth theatres and other arts centres, outreach programmes, unemployment centres, etcetera, etcetera, with a view to determining optimal operational structures.
  18. Establish effective LOCAL LIAISON with schools, F.E., M.S.C., Social Services, Probation, Police, etcetera.
  19. PUBLICIZE YOUTH WORK AND THE YOUTH SERVICE, including more effective use of the media.
  20. Develop and strengthen PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION for youth work.

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Michael W. Apple

**EDUCATION AND POWER**

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982

ISBN 0 7100 0977 1

£10.95

pp. 218

David H. Hargreaves

**THE CHALLENGE FOR THE COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOL:  
CULTURE, CURRICULUM AND COMMUNITY**

Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982

ISBN 0 7100 0981 X

£4.95

pp. 243

Although Michael Apple's *Education and Power* and David Hargreaves' *The Challenge for the Comprehensive School* explore several common theoretical and substantive issues, these books are as different as chalk from cheese. The former comprises essays which examine, from a neo-Marxist standpoint, the process of schooling under developed capitalism. Apple's monistic, esoteric discourse is intended for an audience of like-minded intellectuals. Hargreaves' work, in contrast, is an extremely lucid, popular polemic addressed to practising teachers. On the basis of an eclectic analysis of pupil disaffection and urban working class resistance to schooling, Hargreaves provides a scathing critique of the formal and hidden curricula of the comprehensive school and outlines a liberal-democratic programme of curricular and pedagogic reform.

Throughout *Education and Power* Apple repudiates what he characterises as 'mechanistic Marxist' or 'economistic' analyses of schooling. In particular, his critique is directed against Bowles and Gintis' influential work *Schooling in Capitalist America* (1975) in which the educational system is inadequately conceived as an epiphenomenon of the economic base and cultural and social reproduction depicted as an unilinear process occurring without a struggle. In a protacted and pedantic discussion of his own essay collection, *Ideology and the Curriculum* (1979), Apple concedes that his erstwhile analyses share many of the deficiencies of those of Bowles and Gintis. Although his arguments are sometimes obfuscated by jargon, his primary thesis is orthodox (and unoriginal). That is, under capitalism, schooling is a conservative force transmitting a culture supportive of the established social order and implicitly favouring those with access to power and resources. Moreover, the educational system, as an agency of selection and certification, latently recreates the social division of labour (with its attendant mental/manual, racial and sexual divisions). Furthermore, in addition to these functions, Apple stresses

the contribution made by educational institutions in the sphere of capital accumulation and commodity production as 'producers' of forms of technical, scientific and administrative knowledge. The research of Marxist ethnographers, such as Paul Willis, Robert Everhart and Angela McRobbie, is cited in support of the claim that whilst schools function to legitimate the hegemonic culture and reproduce existing hierarchical arrangements and patterns of social inequality, the process of socio-cultural reproduction in schools is replete with contradictions and is variously accommodated to and/or resisted by pupils.

I found the essay "Curricular Form and the Logic of Technical Control" the most engaging (and least derivative) in this otherwise prosaic collection. In this, Apple attempts to show that teachers have not been immune from developments which have continued to affect other occupational groupings (manual and non-manual) and which have transformed the nature of certain forms of work. He suggests that the teacher's task is currently being redefined with the growing use of pre-packaged sets of curricular materials in schools. Apple contends that teachers have been (simultaneously) 'deskilled' and 'reskilled' as a consequence of this development:—'deskilled' in the sense that the form and content of what is taught is largely circumscribed by the publisher and author of the package and 'reskilled' in the sense that the teacher acquires new expertise in the techniques of pupil control and classroom management. He states:

'Skills that teachers used to need, that were deemed necessary to the craft of working with children — such as curriculum deliberation and planning, designing teaching and curricular strategies for particular groups and individuals based on intimate knowledge of these people — are no longer necessary. With the large scale influx of pre-packaged material, planning is separated from execution. The planning is done at the level of production of both the rules for the use of the material and the material itself. The execution is carried out by the teacher. In the process, what were previously considered valuable skills slowly atrophy because they are less often required'. (p. 146).

Undoubtedly, his voluntaristic inclinations prompt the optimistic conclusion that teachers and pupils alike will continue to find ways of challenging this particular innovation.

Whilst many social scientists would applaud the theoretical consistency of Apple's writings and the internal coherence of his arguments, I was left with the distinct impression of an author reluctant even to engage with work outside a Marxist paradigm. On one of the rare occasions where he actually confronts a 'pluralist' position, viz. Human Capital Theory, it

is misrepresented. Despite the emphasis given by Theodore Shultz et al to education as a form of capital (i.e. productive) investment, Apple contends that Human Capital theorists (along with Marxists such as Bowles and Gintis) treat the school solely as a 'distributive institution' thereby ignoring its productive function. (c.f. pp. 42-44). Elsewhere, arguing against economic reductionist accounts of schooling, Apple emphasises the 'relative autonomy' of education, yet fails to consider the thesis of Paul Hirst et al that this conception ultimately rests upon equally economic tenets.

In contrast, Hargreaves could not be accused of selectivity. On the contrary, in *The Challenge for the Comprehensive School*, he discusses and appropriates ideas from a diverse and heterogeneous range of sources, from Marxist sub-cultural theory and ethnography through to Ivan Illich, Emile Durkheim and Geoffrey Bantock.

There is nothing exceptional about Hargreaves' analysis of pupil disaffection and resistance in the comprehensive school. He holds that:— (1) pupils resist schooling because they find it boring and irrelevant; and (2) the hidden curriculum of the comprehensive school (emphasising academic success, the pursuit of credentials and the acquisition of cognitive-intellectual skills) undermines the self-esteem of the majority of pupils by branding them as failures and by stifling their creative and critical capacities. In Hargreaves' view, non-conformist behaviour on the part of pupils may be interpreted as 'a kind of political protest which teachers simply repress' and the school counter-culture as an attempt by pupils 'to remove' and negate the indignities meted out by the hidden curriculum. Following Phil Cohen, he also suggests that the emergence of school counter-cultures — especially among working-class pupils in inner urban areas — may be related to the decline of working-class communities and culture. With a nostalgic and romantic vision of such communities (not dissimilar from that portrayed in *The Blue Lamp*) Hargreaves holds that sub-cultures of resistance to schooling may be interpreted as 'magical attempts' to recover 'a sense of solidarity and community which was now lacking in the home environment'.

Like Durkheim, Hargreaves contends that the schools may be accorded a major role in social reconstruction viz. in the recovery of community and the formation of collective identities and the concomitant dissipation of individualism and forms of social conflict. To this end, he outlines an idealist programme of curricular and pedagogic reform, reminiscent of Paul Goodman's proposals two decades ago. (c.f. *Compulsory Miseducation*, 1962). Every pupil, irrespective of academic ability, aged between eleven and fifteen/sixteen, would spend about half the the school timetable pursuing a compulsory (yet non-examinable) core-curriculum comprising:— community studies, the expressive arts and sport and physical recreation.

A foreign language would not be included within the "core" because 'it is of no immediate or direct value to the community or expressive arts'. The remainder of the timetable would be devoted to multi-disciplinary options (e.g. 'Romantic Poetry', 'Contemporary Science Fiction') and 'remedial work'. (N.B. Insofar as the latter would refer to additional tuition received by all categories of pupil and not only the less able, it would lose its current pejorative connotations). At 15/16, pupils would either begin an 'A' level course of three

years duration, or a one-year pre-vocational course.

How does Hargreaves justify his proposals to broaden the curriculum and abolish 16+ examinations? How would they be implemented? What are the limitations of his programme? Following Ronald Dore et al, he argues that the examination system (and credentialing function of the school) has continued to act as a restraint against innovation and a barrier to educational reform. He contends that the abolition of 16+ examinations would pave the way for a change in curricular emphasis. Affective, practical, aesthetic and physical skills and activities could then be given the same emphasis and accorded the same status as cognitive-intellectual skills and activities. Hargreaves claims that if his reforms were implemented, then the curriculum would have increased relevance for all pupils. Moreover, disaffection and resistance to schooling would be obviated, since the curriculum would no longer be geared towards the needs of an examined minority, or educational success determined solely by academic criteria.

Convinced that schooling is **potentially** a force for social cohesion and integration, Hargreaves justifies the emphasis given to 'community studies' in his programme in liberal-democratic terms:—

"Unless we greatly increase the solidarities in the various communities that comprise democratic society and educate them to resolve their conflicts, we shall create a political vacuum which would most easily be filled by an authoritarian regime of the extreme left, or right". (p. 170).

Despite the internecine differences between teachers' unions, he envisages that they would be the agencies most likely to become the harbingers of educational reform. Aware that the 'middle classes' have a vested interest in maintaining the present system, the author advocates 'anti-credentialist' legislation to curtail their powers.

There are a number of fundamental weaknesses both in Hargreaves' analysis of pupil disaffection and his programme of school reform. Firstly, with continued high levels of unemployment, it is unlikely that curricular and pedagogic reform per se will provide a solution to pupil disaffection. Secondly, whilst I concur with Hargreaves' strictures about the emphasis currently given in schools to the acquisition of cognitive-intellectual skills, I would suggest that his reforms take insufficient cognisance of the schools' functions (as detailed by Michael Apple) in the **production** of forms of cultural capital (including scientific and technical knowledge) and in the **reproduction** of 'mental' and 'manual' divisions in the workforce. Thirdly, even if anti-credentialist legislation were passed, it is unlikely that the cultural advantage of the middle classes, especially in higher education, would be undermined. Finally, against Hargreaves' defence of 'community studies' as a force for social integration, I would argue that this reform — by heightening class, ethnic and other forms of collective identity and awareness — could, if implemented, have the effect of increasing (rather than diminishing) social conflict.

In conclusion, whilst many of Hargreaves' prescriptions are contentious, of the two books his is certainly the more stimulating and thought provoking.

Bruce Carrington.

**Delwyn Tattum**  
**DISRUPTIVE PUPILS IN SCHOOLS AND UNITS**  
John Wiley and Sons, 1982

ISBN 0 471 10157 5  
£13.95 hardback only  
pp. 329

It is a striking if unpalatable fact that one of the few growth areas in education in recent years has been in the provision made for disruptive pupils. The late 1960's and early 70's was a time of major change when faith in the comprehensive ideal was strong and widespread. Today much of that faith and optimism has been dissipated under the combined, if unco-ordinated assaults, of politicians and pupils. Against a background of deepening recession the former have imposed damaging cuts upon schools generally while the latter are perceived to forcibly reject, in ever increasing numbers, the assumption that they provide experiences that are either intrinsically satisfying or instrumentally rewarding. Most local education authorities, seemingly powerless to staunch the flow in the loss of resources, have concentrated their attention on the problem of disruptive behaviour. The most favoured solution, even if it has proved to be only a partial one, has been to establish special units for such pupils either as a part of an existing school on the campus or as a separate institution, off-site and serving a number of schools.

It is with the emergence of these special units and the more long-standing subject of disruptive behaviour in schools that Tattum is concerned. In the course of outlining the current nature of the phenomenon he reviews much of the existing literature both sociological and psychological. He then records his own research in this area before returning us to schools and the part their organisation and function play in the creation of deviance. From here he returns to a consideration of the value of special units (and two illustrations of their practice by teachers working in them) before concluding with some measured prescriptions.

Although it might appear from this brief account of the book's structure that the argument proceeds in a logical and orderly fashion, this in fact is not always the case. Firstly it must be said that the writer's inclusion of many of the ideas and perspectives that are drawn from a sizable literature often tend to confuse rather than illuminate. He might be said to adopt an 'omnibus approach' in his tendency to take on board practically everyone who appears to be travelling in roughly the same direction. The bibliography contains over four hundred references and it is this which helps to explain both the book's length and, given that it is published in hardback, its expense. If Tattum is exhaustive he can also be exhausting!

The author works in teacher training, as a lecturer in sociology. He therefore has a sociologist's regard for a sound theoretical base and his own is quite explicitly located in that of Symbolic Interactionism. Disruptive behaviour, he repeatedly stresses, can only be understood through an appreciation of the context within which it occurs and of the processes whereby only certain behaviours or individuals become successfully defined as deviant. Informed by this perspective in his account of the recent growth of interest in problem pupils and the response to them in the shape of special units he brings us to his own research on the subject.

For the interactionist interested in disruptive behaviour there is however, as Tattum himself concedes, a major difficulty in that owing to its spontaneous nature the researcher cannot guarantee 'to be in the right place at the right time.' Therefore there is an inescapable necessity to concentrate on 'post factum verbal accounts of incidents and documentary evidence.' The interactionist, in other words, must bend to the iron will of circumstance. Thus the author suggests that having become acquainted with one particular unit over a period of years it would be enlightening to examine what the pupils themselves have to say about their motives for behaving in ways that resulted in their removal from school. For a theoretical underpinning he turns to C. Wright Mills and the analysis of the 'vocabulary of motives.'

In saying that we must pay attention to the pupils' accounts of the experience of schooling Tattum is no doubt correct. What is less certain is that the approach he adopts really does provide for in the way that he claims, the ability to 'cross the divide between Symbolic Interactionism and Structural Functionalism.' Without becoming embroiled in a complex theoretical argument the author appears to forget, notwithstanding a brief appendix on methodology, that just as disruptive behaviour always occurs within a specific context that gives it meaning so too does the articulation of those accounts by which it is 'explained.' In omitting to tell us much about the way in which he related to and was perceived by the pupils he interviewed we are left with the impression that this issue was both unproblematic and of little significance. From my own experience in talking to pupils in units I find this difficult to believe. It is surprising that an interactionist should pay little regard to this question of reflexivity or the way he as an individual in a particular setting influenced the pupils' verbal accounts.

Nevertheless it is from an examination of these informal interviews that Tattum takes us back to the school. In two condensed chapters at the heart of the book he investigates his own three R's of schooling; 'rules, roles and relationships'. He takes the view that if teachers are important to the process by which deviant behaviour is identified and deviant individuals labelled then there is much that schools can do to prevent the occurrence of a self-fulfilling prophecy. It is because schools are rule-governed institutions in which teachers often feel constrained to adopt positions that will protect their authority that confrontation and control often become of paramount importance. Tattum believes that much can be done to alter this situation, that confrontation is not inevitable and that schools can and 'do make a difference.'

From here it is but a brief step to the conclusion that the establishment of special units, particularly where they are off-site serves a largely negative function in that they sustain undesirable school practices by channelling out those that pose the greatest problems. If special units must exist then they should be on-site where the communication between school and unit can be developed to the benefit of all concerned. The greatest challenge that schools face however, is, in the opinion of the author, to develop pastoral systems that are genuinely concerned with the welfare of pupils rather than as is so often the case at present, the policing and disciplining of offenders.

A brief judgement of this book is that it is a brave but ultimately over-ambitious attempt to deal with a large and complex area. The book never really makes up its mind whether

it is concerned with disruptive behaviour on the part of pupils or the provision that is made for coping with it. If it is the former then the whole question of special units should not have figured so prominently to obscure this concern and if it was the latter the author might have been led to examine the wider context in which provision is made for disruptive pupils. This would have meant a closer look at both special education and those institutions that are the responsibility of social services departments and the D.H.S.S. It is for instance interesting to note that this book makes very little reference to the development of Intermediate Treatment in the discussion of units. Despite this tendency to diffuseness there is a great deal to be gained from it if one is prepared to persevere. It remains my feeling however that the length of this book in combination with its unfocussed density will restrict, if not the number who lift it from the shelf, those who will draw from it a proportion of what it has to offer.

Rod Ling

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**James McVeigh and Graham Gaskin**

**GASKIN**

Johnathan Cape, 1982

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£7.50

pp. 261

and GASKIN BBC – TVI network, 7th January 1983.

Director Alan Bell

Terrifying though Gaskin's tale is, the worst might still be to come, for the truth is that the Gaskins of today would almost certainly have been incarcerated in some soulless secure unit or Youth Treatment Centre, thus being denied the 'opportunity' to wage the kind of guerilla warfare so powerfully described in this book. We should await these future life histories with trepidation. Meanwhile we have this one, surely destined to become a classic of its kind. While the modern Gaskins, rebels within the system yet little danger without, exist in enclosed worlds surrounded by locked doors and high walls, the original ran the whole gamut; from foster home to childrens home to mental hospital (aged 9) to residential school to Assessment to Remand to CHE to Borstal to a variety of prisons – you name it. And in between there were the nightshelters, the hostels, the cardboard boxes, made bearable by the pills and booze. He was given cold baths by his 'foster' parents and forced by strong adult hands to swallow pills he knew he didn't need in the mental hospital he knew he shouldn't be in. He was regularly thrashed by a variety of housemasters and sexually manipulated by a voluntary 'social worker' with whom the social services department encouraged him to stay when he was homeless. Until he was well into his 'teens, Graham Gaskin was not convicted of any crime. Indeed until the age of fourteen he was under a 'voluntary' care order, thanks to his father, aided and abetted by the Liverpool social services department. And in this Mad Hatter world where nothing adds up it was the evidence of the files, "The only thing which proved I existed", which led to five consecutive custodial sentences when the 'crimes' themselves would, in a sane world, have warranted fines or probation. But of course Gaskin was found guilty the minute he was born.

When future assessments of our childcare system are being made, it is to life-histories like this that social investigators will be turning. There they will find in certain brief phrases the built-in contradictions of a society uncertain of its attitude towards the young. "They had started calling approved schools "community homes" by then (1973) . . . they like their little joke". And again, the whole welfare/justice debate is encapsulated in the description of his stay at St. Vincent's CHE; "I was very conscious of the injustice of my position. The other kids were thieves but I wasn't". But it is not only the contradictions and weaknesses of a system which are highlighted, however, but the sheer incompetence of those whose job it is to implement it comes across in a catalogue of mistakes which is really very hard to credit. The most damaging of which was the collusion of the department with Graham's father in making the classic 'bad object' who must be rejected and punished. (Even that doyen of residential workers, Richard Balbernie, recognised and explored this whole area, and indeed warned of the consequences of incarcerating the family 'scapegoat').

Amidst all this irrationality, this nightmare world in which guilt and innocence are confused, Gaskin's sanity was preserved by a mixture of native Liverpool wit, cunning and 'hardness', combined with the unshakeable belief that he would get back at the bastards at any cost. This was demonstrated in one moment of triumph when he managed to break into a social services office while on the run, pissed in the drawers and covered the hated rows of files with shit, thus demonstrating with admirable dexterity that the medium is undoubtedly the message.

James McVeigh has done well by Graham Gaskin, particularly by writing dialogue which, as a Liverpudlian myself, has the sound of authenticity. With the exception of perhaps a too-optimistic ending in which Graham is given the keys to his own flat, (an event which, as we learn from the television film, was by no means Graham's final 'home'. He's now living in London). It is a generally unromantic book, the matter-of-fact tone of which merely emphasises the horror of it all. There is also an authentic 'feel' to the descriptions of the city as a gigantic 'adventure playground' where there is a constant game going on between the (often very young) kids and 'authority'. James McLures 'Spike Island' bore a similar stamp of realism in his portrait of the Liverpool police, particularly in the theme "The game is on". My experiences as a Liverpool policeman bring vivid memories of chasing nine-year-old 'joyriders' whose feet could hardly reach the pedals of the Ford Cortinas they'd stolen, and of six-year old budding mountain climbers scaling the North Face of the Roman Catholic Cathedral while Morning Mass was in progress beneath. One feels that Graham Gaskin never really lost this sense of it all being a kind of 'game' between him and the loony 'authority' – for example when he was on the run in North Wales, outwitting the local police force constantly. It's as well for him that he didn't.

Making a film of this can't have been easy. Problems of selectivity – picking out the most telling extracts from Gaskin's life; and also trying to tell the tale whilst letting us know the pertinent details of the current litigation, and at the same time being wary of the laws of libel and 'decency', all demanded much of the director, Alan Bell. On the whole I think it worked quite well, though for someone who hadn't read the book, perhaps confusing and with little sense of the physical

maltreatment which Graham had undergone. Perhaps a harder edge was needed, a Garnett and Loach-style black and white production on the lines of *Cathy Come Home* or, more pertinently, the 'Law and Order' trilogy. The technique of a television reporter listening to Gaskin's story was successful, however, and the film managed to convey by flashbacks the feeling of emerging memories as Graham told his story. Paul McGann as the older Gaskin gave a fine, moving performance. The scene where he goes to see John Rossington, the director of 'Crypt' nightshelter, was for me the one which sticks most vividly in the mind. In utter despair he stands naked screaming "Look at me . . . I'm just existing".

In legal terms, it seems Graham has been unsuccessful so far in bringing the city council to court to answer the charge of neglect. Despite all the efforts of that remarkable Liverpool 'character' — for that is what he is — his solicitor, Rex Makin, the case is still lost down the White Rabbit's hole of the Law, from which it may or may not re-emerge. Win or lose, however, his story has been told, and may make a difference to some kid, somewhere.

Anyway Gazer, you showed the bastards didn't yer!

Rob Mawdsley

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G. Cook and V. Richardson

#### JUVENILE JUSTICE AT THE CROSSROADS

Department of Social Administration, University College, Dublin, 1981

This booklet was prepared to give public airing to the proceedings of a conference held in Dublin in 1981 in response to impending changes in the juvenile justice system in Southern Ireland. Although I have only slim knowledge of the Irish scene, I found it valuable reading. The debates, although set in Ireland, bring into sharp relief some key issues, and have helped to clarify my own thinking. Moreover, much of the material is presented without an Irish dimension by familiar figures from the UK: Professor Norman Tutt, Areyeh Leissner and Kay Carmichael. Nevertheless the local contributions do make worthwhile reading, bringing a welcome immediacy and sense of idealism which seems to have been lost in the intricacies of post 1969 Act academic debate and political lobbying in England.

Ironically, the pivotal paper of the booklet, by Norman Tutt, is one not presented at the Conference but included I suspect, to give the authority of a heavyweight to the political objectives of the Conference organisers and pamphlet editors. Doubly ironic is the fact that this paper stands apart from the general thrust of the others. There is none of the concern with social reform; instead familiar arguments for "managing the problem of juvenile crime" and a return to "justice".

Professor Tutt presents The American Bar Association proposals as a model for future developments. He does not acknowledge the increasing questioning of certain parts of this model (Harris 1982); nor that other parts can be incorporated within a welfare system to ensure that individual rights are protected, an approach argued by another contributor. My view is that proposals, however logical, which mean limiting the discretion of the judiciary through restricting sentencing

to a specific schedule of sanctions, and operating on a "least restrictive option" principle, are unrealistic in the present moral panic over juvenile crime and unworkable in a system founded on the sacred principle of judicial independence. The latest sentencing statistics (*Guardian* 21/10/82), showing a lengthening of sentences in the face of William Whitelaw's pleas to the judiciary to reduce the prison population, make the point well.

While Professor Tutt presents "justice" as an all or nothing package, he does not treat the flaws in "welfare" in the same vein. Quite rightly, he identifies the piecemeal implementation of the 1969 legislation in England, and he points to the unintended consequences of more young people drawn into formal court proceedings and the drift towards custodial disposals. But he does not link the latter with the former — that political will to implement key sections of the 1969 Act, would have removed young people from the system "at a stroke" leaving few to be locked up in penal institutions — but these too would have been closed anyway under the Act!

But that's the problem with delinquency management and "justice". It treats the political and economic backdrop of the past ten years in a purely neutral and technical way. The focus is all on "means" to the exclusion of "ends". "Management to what end?" is surely a central question. If as one suspects, Professor Tutt sympathises with the broad intentions of the 1969 legislation, then he should be highly cautious about so wholeheartedly adopting methods of "managing juvenile crime" which are controlled by and have historically been used to the "ends" of people with a very different view of the world and young people than himself.

The remaining papers have very different ends in view. Kay Carmichael and Areyeh Leissner clearly appreciate the politics of juvenile justice: Ms Carmichael demonstrating the link between poverty and being "sent away"; Leissner strongly advocating the contribution to be made by community work. While Ms Carmichael inspires a sense of direction she leaves it to others to provide the practical means of getting there. Areyeh Leissner puts his faith in participation, ignoring the fact that without a sense of direction and SKILLS to match, participation in the hands of community and youth workers has frequently become just another cool out.

If he has got his facts right, Fred Powell, in a paper on the Young Offender in Northern Ireland, provides a devastating critique of the proposals of the recent Black Report. He exposes the contradictions and inconsistencies in a Report which some would argue points the road back to "justice". He shows how the committee, having explicitly refused to confront the conflicts between justice and welfare, has drawn up proposals which, while adopting an almost exclusively justice approach to the young offender, show every sign of dragging those young people in need on "care" into the net as well. Having recently briefly visited Northern Ireland, my own impression of the way facilities are developing, in anticipation of Black being implemented, would confirm Fred Powell's view.

Perhaps appropriately, as they are on home ground, it is the Irish contributors who begin to provide clear indications as to how we might go forward. In a very balanced paper a lawyer, William Duncan argues that the task is not to abandon "welfare" but to control it and he makes specific suggestions for

protecting children's rights. This paper should be read by everyone concerned with juvenile justice.

For practical steps to be taken in face to face work, it is the reports of the Conference discussion groups that make best reading. Repeatedly the participants assert that the problem is located in the distribution of resources, power and opportunities rather than in youth alone, and in the lack of political will to meet the needs of young people. While action is needed on these "deeper socio-economic issues", the groups argue for approaches now that "identify the structure and not the victim as problem". Ideas which emerge include:—"giving money now spent on residential care directly to families"—"standing behind people in their efforts to develop skills to make their own demands for what they should have"—emphasising "skills for social survival"—"devolving power and responsibility to disadvantaged groups rather than developing new services which merely perpetuate existing relationships of power and dependence".

Although it is important that academics examine the issues critically and from a range of theoretical perspectives, it is gratifying that practitioners see clearly what is basically at stake, and are well aware of the steps that need to be taken. While the advance of "justice" may not be resistable at present, it is good to feel assured that through their grasp of realities of the 1980s and inherent sense of humanity, those working with young people in the field will see that the worst excesses are controlled and maybe will create one or two progressive "unintended consequences" for good measure.

David Ward

Reference: Harris, R. Institutionalised Ambivalence; Social Work and the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, British Journal of Social Work, Vol. 12, No. 3, 1982.

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Colin Moore and John Brown  
**COMMUNITY VERSUS CRIME**  
Bedford Square Press, 1982

ISBN 0 7199 1060 9 (paper) 0 7199 1059 5 (hard)  
£4.95 paper  
pp. 150.

John Brown  
**POLICING BY MULTI-RACIAL CONSENT: THE HANDSWORTH EXPERIENCE**  
Bedford Square Press, 1982

ISBN 0 7199 1087 0  
£5.95 paper  
pp. 174.

These two books come at an opportune time in the history of the British Police Service. The streamlining of the 60s and 70s and the drive towards professional efficiency has meant that the main direction in recent years has been organisational and technical. These have been given practical expression in terms of force amalgamations, more and more specialist units, major shifts from foot to vehicle patrolling, more sophisticated information and communication systems, more efficient

weaponry etc. But the experience of policing the riots in major cities of Britain in 1981 shattered the myth that greater police efficiency in these terms meant greater police effectiveness. The riots threw into stark relief the extent to which the police service had drifted away from the preventive role defined by the first Commissioner in 1829 as the "primary object of an efficient police force" and had become more and more a reactive force.

Superintendent Webb, Commander of the Handsworth Sub-Division of Birmingham, had given warning prior to the riots of 1981—"Police and community, we've all got to live together and if we don't get the mixture right, there's going to be demonstrating, there's going to be knocking at the front door, there's going to be brutality, there's going to be violence . . . the warning signs are out." Webb was not prepared to "plod along in the old police way, reacting to each thing as it comes along" but instead asked himself "What are the problems here? How do they relate to each other? How do you direct matters to deal with them? What is the overall strategy going to be?" The riots highlighted disparate perspectives on policing and police strategy. On the one hand is the perspective that "policing is for the police" and which continues to see 'solutions' to crime and disorder mainly in terms of more professional resources and more purposeful police policies. On the other hand is the perspective as spelt out by Webb which insists that professional resources cannot themselves be more than marginal to the control of crime and disorder; that since the primary resources for control lie within society, police must seek to work with and through society as fully and effectively as possible and to link their policies to the public policies in this sphere.

From these perspectives derive very different attitudes on relationships between police and communities. The first understandably views good community relations as essentially marginal to 'real policing', primarily 'a public relations exercise to show the flag, keep the public sweet and on our side'. The second views good community relations as the very essence—"the life blood"—of effective and acceptable policing. The evidence of Handsworth as presented by John Brown implicitly challenges the first perspective and explicitly validates the second. **Policing by Multi-Racial Consent** is a clear account of how this perspective was put into practice. **Community Versus Crime** spells out the process. There are no blue-tinted spectacles here. These are not the works of remote academics. Colin Moore has been a policeman for 25 years. Hard experience has taught him that repressive measures are counter productive and that the way forward is through co-operative action. Professor John Brown is an academic but he is far from remote. He has been studying the Handsworth model of policing for the past five years. Both men report their findings with complete honesty. The dangers of not implementing the Pro-Active approach are spelt out. So, too, are the many obstacles to be overcome. The strength of both books is that they examine in detail not only the advantages of Pro-Active policing but also the difficulties to be encountered in adopting this perspective.

Police experience in Handsworth, like that of the Devon and Cornwall Prevention Unit in Exeter, suggests that a community based approach to policing sets in motion invaluable 'processes of reciprocation between police and public. The more police involve themselves in the community the more the people in the community are willing to involve themselves

with the police and to join in co-operative efforts to keep their locale secure against crime and disorder. The Handsworth experience points to the value of a police strategy which comprehends functions ranging from enforcing the law, through participating in preventative programmes, to advising on public policy issues. And it suggests that such a strategy is likely to be most effective when those functions are conceived and enacted as complementary aspects of an overall plan to tackle both symptoms and causes of crime and disorder, and when in each of them, the police seek to mobilise as fully as possible the active support and resources of local communities and of other agencies of care and order.

But the Handsworth experience also confirms the inherent limitations of policing policy in terms of the purpose for which the police service was created: to protect life and property, to control crime and to keep the peace. It is apparent that public policy decisions in certain spheres, notably those of social and economic policy, are likely to exercise far greater influence over those purposes than policing policy can ever hope to do. On these grounds it clearly becomes essential to consider issues of policing policy in the wider public policy context. Lord Scarman makes the point succinctly: "the policing problem is only one aspect, though admittedly a vital one, of the social problem and cannot be properly understood in isolation . . . good policing will be of no avail, unless we also tackle and eliminate basic flaws in our society". Handsworth sharply reminds us not only that the control of crime and disorder lies far less with the police than with society, but also that order, like care, is rooted in the nature and quality of society's structures, relationships and values: and that – failing other motive forces – loss of communality in these structures, relationships and values means losses in society's ability to protect life and property, to control crime and to keep the peace.

The greatest challenge facing the police service in Britain today is its ability to develop strategies which harmonise preventive and reactive approaches and create balances between them appropriate to the varying needs of local communities in different parts of the country. At an individual level, the test of a policeman's effectiveness is likely to be the ways in which he can both enforce the law and develop preventive activity with other agencies and with people in the community he serves. Both for the individual policeman and for the police organisation as a whole, the acid test of effectiveness will be their ability to use all available means and resources at their disposal to achieve their primary task: to keep the peace.

In his analysis of the Handsworth experience John Brown indicates that the police service can meet the challenge if it follows the lead given by Sir Philip Knights and Supt. Webb in Handsworth and by John Alderson in Devon and Cornwall. Colin Moore in his account of Exeter's Crime Prevention Support Unit lays down a blue print for action. These books must be seen as complementary and essential reading for all those concerned with peace and good order in our society.

W. G. McCarney

**B. Hopson and M. Scally**  
**LIFE SKILLS TEACHING**  
McGraw Hill, 1981

ISBN 0 07 084099 7

No Price Given.

pp. 256

Hopson and Scally in their recent book offer a cause and effect relationship to explain the current crisis in society. They propose, by reference to some occasionally unreferenced statistics, that labour is becoming more and more irrelevant in the labour process. The result of this fatalistic approach to work, is to assume that society is now "post industrial" in composition. People, therefore, have to find new ways and means of occupying their time and sharing their work.

The authors also claim that the "system" fails to liberate people and that there is a need for the expression of individuality. Whilst schools, they claim, need not be the purveyors of the dominant culture, but could in fact be agents of social change. They complete their work by seeking to instil "self empowerment" into individuals by creating appropriate environments for learning, most frequently, through group work.

As their development of the work rests upon their analysis of society, it is at this point that the theory founders. Superficially, their arguments follow on from each other, but their analysis of capitalism hides a honeycomb of naive misconceptions. When the authors propose the reshaping of society, they fail to cite examples of such a thing occurring. For instance, if our economic system that controls society is reformable, why do we repeatedly trundle further and further into the slough of social distress? What explanation exists for the inability of capitalism to prevent the spectre of mass unemployment? It is of course possible to view the present crisis as an unfortunate, but transitory slump in the system which, if only we can ride it out, will lead on to new and exciting life styles with opportunities for many people. But try taking bets on that. Alternatively, it can be suggested that only the erosion of the profit motive in the production process, in favour of production for social utility can serve as a sane basis for future organisation of society. Many of the suggestions in the Lucas Aerospace plan would provide opportunities for such reorganisation.

What Hopson and Scally consistently fail to do is to provide clear examples of how their theory would be accepted by the system. By proposing an alternative to the current educational approach, they have forgotten the lessons of William Tyndale. The only difference between the two cases is that Tyndale represented a radical educational approach and was squashed, whereas the conformist approach contained in "Life Skills Teaching" is bound to prosper. This is the "problem" of the system, and can be seen in its reaction to intellectual challenge at any level. Any fundamental change requires nerve.

The status quo merely calls for an explanation, however philosophically wrapped up. What is needed today is a radical educational theory to attack the conservatism of the system, not highly embroidered buck passing and blame laid at the door of the young unemployed.

Whilst the authors conveniently draw from radical sources



when they hope it supports their case, they are quick to reject the idea of any notion that force has a place in changing the environment. They claim that a more equitable society can not be achieved through violent means. How though, would blacks have reclaimed Zimbabwe, or Portugal rid itself of dictatorship? Presumably not even Hopson and Scally would suggest that "negotiation" would have sufficed. Why, also, do they not have faith in Parliament as an institution, merely because it presides over the freewheeling headlong precipitation of capitalism into a mire, and then appeals to the young to become more attractive to employers by gaining Lifeskills? Surely one of the main gains from the Riots of 1981 was the decision to invest steeply in the New Training Initiative, or perhaps the £1 billion came through the MSC's advanced communication skills.

In 51 pages the book romps through its social critique, only to land firmly on its head and up to its ankles in reactionary educational practice. By promoting "Self empowerment" it is claimed that young people will be able to deal better with everything from stress within themselves, through changed values, new technology, the state of the world and the process of self empowerment in others. These are some of their Lifeskills. By practising love and respect for oneself and others, within an economic system characterised by financial caprice and international bedlam, it is claimed that sense will prevail. Lifeskills, then, can variously be seen as making young people more attractive for employers, or planning for tomorrow, taking stock of life, managing negative emotions, being assertive and learning to compromise, amongst a host of others.

It is, however, at the point where the book enlightens the reader on the importance of "emotional contracts", that the evangelica movement seems a more likely bedfellow for "Lifeskills Teaching", than the often quoted and misrepresented educational radicalism of Paulo Freire. To use such an emancipating and liberated source, to justify the practice of a conformist policy centred upon behavioural modification, is nothing short of insulting. The work wades further and further into swamps of turgid jargon, and discusses the seating arrangement for groups (with plans), how to convey genuineness and, negative and positive climates and their creation.

Hopson and Scally offer no new direction for teachers. Young people who are unemployed suffer a severe form of social exclusion, having been bred on consumerism only to be denied the form of acquisition. It is the nature of an economic system that embodies such a possibility which needs fundamental reorganisation. It is not the educator's job to practice culpable acquiescence in the face of capitalism's social effects, but rather to identify and explain the reason for the occurrence. This is not a difficult process, as history graphically shows, and the MSC firmly bans from classroom debate.

Clearly, one examination into the insanity of capitalism is worth one thousand Lifeskill behaviour sessions.

Steve Waldie

**Peter Alcock and Phil Harris**  
**WELFARE LAW AND ORDER**  
Macmillan, 1982

**ISBN 0 333 294912 (paper) 0 333 29490 4 (hard)**  
**£4.95 paper**  
**£12.50 hard**  
**pp. 192**

This book is the fifth in the series 'Critical Texts in Social Work and the Welfare State', part of a more general, and welcome socialist and feminist critique of welfare practice and ideology. Its recent roots can be traced to some of the work of the CDP's and the pamphlet/book 'In and Against the State', which was influential in popularising the view that socialists could work within the state apparatus whilst at the same time exploiting the contradictions inherent in Welfare State provision and ideology. These ideas thus have a history, which, albeit recent, is not inconsiderable. Peter Leonard, the series editor asserts that the volume's authors provide "a penetrating examination of the major areas of welfare law" and "crucially to a Marxist text, a critical analysis which firmly locates the law within the historically specific conditions which determined it". He and the authors add that the book should have a practical application. One sympathises with Leonard's hyperbole, but it is indeed an ambitious task in a field where theorising is substantially more advanced than practice.

Alcock and Harris tackle their subject in three ways: whilst they do not intend a law textbook, they do present a formidable catalogue of welfare legislation; they attempt to identify economic and political forces and ideological debates which have shaped the historical background and practical context of welfare law, and finally they wish to help practitioners in knowing what advice to give. Chapter 1 provides a useful critical examination of the Politics and Ideology of Law, which challenges the notion of the law as a neutral arbiter in a system of consensually arrived at rules. Chapter 2 considers the operation of law and order in practice and offers an analysis of the notion of crime as a primarily political problem, of the growing political role of the police, and of court strategies used by social workers. In the third chapter on Using the Law, the authors discuss differential access to the law and consider the relative merits of using solicitors and Law Centres.

In the remaining chapters, which are intended to rest on this foundation, the authors address themselves to specific areas of welfare law which affect social workers, and cover Marriage the Family and Sexuality, Children, Mental Deviance, Housing, Social Security and lastly Racism. It is in these crucial chapters that the authors' over-ambition becomes clear, for they achieve none of their aims satisfactorily. The book is simply not detailed enough for use as a handbook (for example, Social Security problems are more adequately covered in the guides by CPAG or Tony Lynes), and deeper discussions of the history, politics and ideology of welfare legislation are contained elsewhere (for example, in Ginsburg's chapters on Social Security and Housing in a previous volume of the series). Radical, let alone Marxist practice implications are scarcely touched upon.

The chapters on the family and children serve to reveal these limitations. They contain an analysis of the ideology of the various acts affecting childcare practice which is essentially

liberal (and occasionally libertarian!). One accepts that a socialist approach to working with children is in its early stages, but the authors needed to be far more rigorous in their critique and analysis of the tasks social workers are expected to perform. Here was the opportunity to look for example at the role of the social worker investigating alleged child abuse, to examine the practical application of Intermediate Treatment (which doesn't get a mention), and to discuss the possibilities of moving towards a socialised childcare. The issue of the sexual abuse of children is absent altogether. Feminists in particular have begun to look at all these areas, and it would have been timely for the authors to consider whether the contradictions which they rightly identify can be exploited to provide a more radical use of the law. Instead, the authors dodge the question with phrases such as "there is little effective guidance as to which aspects of the family life. . . warrant intervention" and "the term 'welfare of the child' is not susceptible to exact definition." They suggest to social workers that "care must be taken not to over-react to . . . chastisement" which offers neither useful advice nor advances the debate about how we treat children. And when they exhort social workers to take a "balanced view of a family situation" it begins to get embarrassing.

Some of this book reads suspiciously like an introductory course on welfare law for first year social/youth work students. It is probably in this area where its potential audience most usefully lies. For practitioners who are already familiar with the substance of these debates (which do already have some tradition), there is little new here which cannot already be found elsewhere.

Paul Sutton

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Edited by Asok Ohri, Basil Manning and Paul Curno  
**COMMUNITY WORK AND RACISM (Community Work Seven)**  
 Routledge and Kegan Paul in association with the ACW, 1982.

ISBN 0 7100 90323  
 £5.95 (paper).

**Community Work and Racism** is a collection of articles written by various people, sectioned under the headings of:

- Part I Racism and community work.
- Part II Racism and the State.
- Part III Black Community Action.
- Part IV Alliance — a way forward?

The book takes as a basic premise the crippling effect that white racism (individual and organised) has on black communities. It deals with the reactions of black communities to racism and alliances that have taken place between various groups to fight white racism. It rejects ideas of liberal "do-goodism" and ideas such as the one that social 'get-togethers' will produce harmony between the races. These 'get-togethers' do not in the end make it easier for black unemployed youth to get jobs, nor does it combat institutionalised racism encountered by black people in schools, hospitals, housing departments and in dealings with the police.

White racism is seen as the fundamental and pervading problem; the "problem" is not the black community who have to

be helped and understood. Most white community workers working with white groups would not organise around issues that combat racism. They feel that black people have to do that; but as in the field of education white people have to be educated about racism; they need to exorcise this evil individually and structurally. A point is made to the effect that black people may be prejudiced (through ignorance) as whites are but that black people unlike whites cannot be racist because being racist means having power to institutionalise prejudice. Racism is not just a matter of personal attitudes but a matter of having power to see that black people suffer from the structures in-built within this society. Racism amounts to prejudice combined with power. Black people in Britain have no power to change or effect structures within this society.

One article advocates that every community worker needs to go through a racism awareness training (a chapter is included on this) and that racism cannot be left to be dealt with by the specialist black worker. That white workers have to challenge it within their own field of work, whether or not they meet any black workers and that "picking-up-the-pieces-of-racism" is not the same as, and not to be confused with, attacking it directly and uprooting it completely from the institutions and minds of white people. White community workers have to realise that purging their racism is a long and painful process. A lifetime process of racist conditioning cannot be overcome overnight.

The state has created race agencies and posts during the 1960's and 1970's to deal with any problems that may crop up in relation to racism. The basic assumption is that racism only manifests itself in isolated freak situations and that it is possible to put right the injustice done. The assumption is that the state is a neutral body and manifests no form of racism. Marxist ideology maintains that racism and the division it breeds within the working class is necessary for the maintenance of a capitalist state system. It is important to remember that there are constraints, (economical, political and ideological) as laid down by the state which define the parameters within which variations are possible. For example, certain local authorities such as Camden, Lewisham, and others can be relatively more progressive but they have to keep within the parameters.

Within black communities there have been a number of distinct phases in terms of organisation:

1. First the age of multi-racial campaign where black communities looked for help from white liberals in order to solve problems they had.
2. Age of Black Power politics. Disillusionment about multi-racial campaigns; saw the tightening of immigration laws and communities working with their own ethnic groups and Trade Unions, for example I.W.A. (Indian Workers' Association).
3. By the third phase black communities were more aware that they faced specific problems to do with structural racism and racist attitudes. They set up organisations of their own to compensate.
4. By the fourth phase black communities were aware that self-help groups were not enough on their own; that they were no longer immigrants but residents and they started campaigns within education, against police harassment, to ensure certain political rights and became involved with broader issues of living in England.

Black communities find it difficult to work or form alliances with white trade unions because of the racist nature of white trade unions. An example was when the London dockers marched in support of Enoch Powell. Very few individuals within the trade unions are not racist and black people cannot wait for the white working class before it organises for itself.

**Community Work and Racism** is very well written; easy to read and yet tackles the fundamental issues head on with each article flowing naturally one from the other. It is hard-hitting, politically and personally correct about the experiences and lives of Black people in Britain; not to be recommended for any soft-bellied liberal worker who might find the challenges too disturbing. Highly recommended for all students on Community and Youth Work courses and Social Work courses and for practitioners as well as for academics.

Shahin Orsborn

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**A. Morris, H. Giller, E. Szwed, H. Geach**  
**JUSTICE FOR CHILDREN**  
Macmillan, 1980

ISBN 0 333 27487 3  
pp. 146

The time honoured maxim that, 'the punishment should fit the crime' is becoming increasingly fashionable and prevalent in the discussion of juvenile justice. Such a belief contradicts the welfare philosophy which informed the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 which stressed that punishment, to put the matter crudely, 'should fit the criminal rather than the crime.' From its inception, this Act, received considerable criticism and Justice for Children advocates a move in the direction of a more legalistically based system of juvenile justice.

The book is ideologically a wolf in sheep's clothing. Superficially it displays the spirit of a radical Liberalism which seeks to protect individual rights against an encroaching state, while at another level it proffers a highly conservative view of justice based on a belief in retribution.

The book is, 'a manifesto for action,' its main principle, 'the limitation of compulsory state intervention in the lives of children,' (p.8) its aim, 'is to provide justice for children.' (p. 9). Injustices arise because 'children in trouble' are of two distinct types although increasingly they are treated as similar cases. A child may be in trouble because she/he is the subject of adult neglect or abuse or because she/he has committed an illegal offence. However, 'the deprived and the depraved' have come to be seen as a single category and this trend 'culminated in the Children and Young Persons Act 1969.' (p.7).

The book suggests a new approach, "the first part . . . is concerned with delinquent children; the second with abused and neglected children." (p.8).

The authors' critique of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 is twofold. First, the Act has produced effects antithetical to its intentions. Second, the Act is based on a philosophy of treatment which is incompatible with justice. In chapter three the authors list and evaluate the basic assump-

tions of the philosophy. (1) troublesome behaviour has antecedent causes; (2) these causes can be discovered; (3) once discovered the behaviour can be treated and controlled; (4) troublesome children share pathological conditions which distinguish them from the law abiding; (5) misconduct gets worse without treatment; (6) treatment has no harmful side effects; (7) involuntary treatment is not punishment. "In essence 'misconduct is seen as a medical problem, a social illness which can be made the subject of 'diagnosis' 'treatment' and 'cure'" (p.34). Each of these assumptions is criticised and declared incoherent and ill-founded.

Children are suffering from state intervention in the name of this philosophy and a 'new direction' is needed. The key concepts in any new system must be justice and fairness and the juvenile justice system must be seen as a small part of a broader response to criminal behaviour the aim of which is social education. To achieve this they offer a number of prescriptions. (1) children, except major offenders, should be kept out of the juvenile courts by increased use of diversion by such agencies as community, family, school, social services and police; (2) the jurisdiction of the juvenile court should be limited to those offences which are punishable when committed by an adult; (3) sanctions should be proportionate to the offence; (4) the child should have the right to counsel; (5) sentences should be determinate and clear. The overall aim of the proposals is to secure justice for children and minimise harmful state intervention.

The second part of the book, entitled 'Care and Justice', spotlights two significant features of the legal status of children received into care. First the criteria for intervention are vaguely defined. The need to show the child is in 'moral danger' or 'neglected' or that decision makers should 'act in the best interests of the child,' give a wide brief to the courts dealing with children.

Second, legal arrangements are designed in adversarial form which leads to a battle between the state and the parents for custody of the child. In this process, 'children -- the subject of the proceedings -- are in fact the objects.' (p.85). Chapters 6 and 7 catalogue the various ways in which children and parents are disadvantaged in the legal struggle for custody. Morris et al suggest that the juvenile court is a clumsy tool to handle such complex civil matters as the relationship between children and their families.

As in the first section, they have a number of proposals for change. (1) the creation of a family court with comprehensive powers over all aspects of family crisis; (2) the need to respect family autonomy and recognise that child rearing practices vary across time, social class, races and religious groups; (3) an increase in voluntary groups and services to support the family; nurseries, day care centres and so on; (4) separate and full legal representation for all parties; (5) an attempt to minimise intervention to those cases where it is absolutely necessary.

The authors conclude that in both its criminal and welfare aspects, the Children and Young Persons Act has (i) intervened unnecessarily in the lives of children and their families, (ii) justified its intervention by reference to a misguided philosophy of treatment and (iii) created a complex bureaucracy which is arbitrary in its judgement, fails to conform to the principles of justice and infringes individual rights and liberties.

While accepting a good deal of their diagnosis, their prescriptions are highly contentious and deserve more detailed examination than can be undertaken here. Two points however should be raised even if only briefly.

First the book often appears to be a plea for families' rights rather than children's'. They place great faith in the family as an institution which I am not convinced is justified. Moreover although they frequently warn that the interests of parents and children are not necessarily coincidental, they often assume that they are for the purposes of their argument. "Parental autonomy in child rearing must be respected," (p.127) they suggest, but seeking to replace the authority of the state by the authority of parents is not an argument guaranteed to win approval from those who seek justice for children.

The second and major reservation concerns their advocacy of an inflexible system of justice bound by precedent, where determinate sentences will be imposed proportionate to the crime. On their account of justice the social circumstance of the offender is not relevant mitigating evidence. Justice will be served when two offenders who commit similar crimes receive the same punishment; all other information is superfluous to a just decision. Even an anti-egalitarian like Aristotle appreciated that injustice arises when: 'unlike cases are treated as like'; in the complex world of young offenders, I would suggest that no two cases are alike.

Bob Franklin

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**Michael and Ann Craft**  
**SEX AND THE MENTALLY HANDICAPPED: A guide for**  
**parents and carers**  
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1978  
Revised edition, 1982

ISBN 0 7100 9293 8  
£3.95 paper  
pp. 127

In the revision of their book **Sex and the Mentally Handicapped** 1978, Michael and Ann Craft bring up to date the materials and make some textual changes to this searching and very necessary book. Four years ago publication was welcomed by pundits in the field of mental handicap, and rightly so, as it was a pioneering work firmly facing the problems and making sound recommendations to practitioners.

The authors are both professionals involved in the field of mental handicap and have considerable experience giving counselling and guidance to handicapped people and carers. They make reference to their research into marriages where one or both partners are mentally handicapped and to their work running courses and conferences. It is this 'practitioner' element that lends the book considerable strength.

The reader is provided with three purposes for the book. Firstly to explain the necessity of sex education and counselling for the mentally handicapped and indicate available resources, secondly to show that marriage for mentally handicapped people is possible, and finally to 'encourage a more normal response to sexuality, that most normal of human

attributes which is shared by handicapped and able bodied alike'.

Common myths surrounding sex and the mentally handicapped are viewed in the light of recent literature and research, and not surprisingly these popular fears have little foundation. The authors make quite an important point, that the mentally handicapped lack learning experience and not self control, but they do not, however, condemn the factors contributing towards this state of affairs. The notion of 'ignorance is bliss' (generally the current practice) is healthily countered and a rationale provided for sex education, counselling and family planning as being an integral part of training and support given to the mentally handicapped.

The chapter on psycho-sexual development seems to deviate somewhat from the subject but does show the serious need for therapy. Problems of adolescence are illustrated by a hypothetical case history of a quite able girl, a portrayal that perhaps misses some of the points applicable to the mentally handicapped; recommendations for dealing with adolescence are, 'counselling and a sense of humour' — well perhaps this is so!

Love and marriage and the mentally handicapped is looked at in some detail. Love, as it only should be, is illustrated by anecdote, and all workers in the field will recognise one or two of the people described here. Surveys into marriages between one or both mentally handicapped are discussed. All studies including the authors' agree that the degree of handicap is not a significant factor when judging partnerships subjectively or objectively. To complete the picture of mentally handicapped marriages there are five short accounts of relationships known to the authors through their research, as they comment, 'facts and figures . . . cannot capture the rich variety of their life styles'.

How the law views sex and the mentally handicapped is dealt with very well, it is clear and concise and draws attention to the various implications for both the cared and carers. The setting up of a health and sex education programme is very valuable; it is both sensible and practical and though the authors do make suggestions they do recognise that individual needs will dictate the provision.

At the end of the book the authors provide a conclusion which is also a personal statement of their conclusions, this contains some broad guidelines and an interesting example of a hospital policy document. It is slightly disturbing that the authors, here, make the observation that 'sex education for the handicapped has now been generally accepted', as there is certainly no evidence to support this view and it may produce complacency within responsible agencies.

Both appendices are excellent. The first, a guide to resources comprehensively covers a wide range of audio visual aids; the second includes useful guidelines and suggestions for the planning of courses and workshops.

It can only be said that this is a good book, it looks carefully at problem areas, explores attitudes and makes sensible recommendations. Apart from one or two journal articles this is the only recent British book looking at this subject and, it's intrinsic merits aside, it must be recommended for just that reason.

Three questions can be asked about this book. Is the institution of marriage perhaps overvalued? Have issues of the profoundly handicapped and their sexual needs been sufficiently dealt with? The work of the National Development Group is mentioned but why no criticism of those government policies which dissolved this Group?

The book is excellent and necessary reading for all carers. It should be included in the reading lists of all initial and, more importantly, in-service training courses.

Steve Welton

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**Kenneth Roberts**  
**LEISURE**  
**Longman, 1981**

**ISBN 0 582 29556 4**  
**£3.95 (paper) pp. 140**

With unemployment around four million and still rising and the majority of school leavers failing to find permanent jobs, is Britain moving toward a new post-industrial society of leisure? Is there a collapse of work? 'No' says Ken Roberts.

In this new edition Roberts seeks to develop the key propositions of his earlier work published ten years ago. Namely, that leisure is growing, that its uses are being released from determination by other statuses, and that leisure is becoming less a residual and more pervasive quality of life. This short introductory text is both readable and informative. It contains a wealth of detail of all the major studies of leisure and recreation in Britain over the last ten years.

The first chapter highlights the inadequacies of much of the research on leisure which is little more than the analysis of market trends. The author makes the case for a new conceptual and theoretical input which he believes sociology can provide. However this is unfortunately not supplied in the text. Those seeking explanations of the transformation of British culture, popular or otherwise, should look elsewhere. Rather the aim is to show the difficulties in explaining individual leisure behaviour. How and why social divisions based on age, gender, occupation and education lead to different uses of leisure.

Chapters two and three deal with the problems of defining leisure, the decline of popular recreations and the emergence of leisure as a separate sphere of life. Leisure it appears is the natural result of the logic of industrialism. Apart from being characterised by impersonal forces and occasionally influenced by the 'powers that be' industrialism is never adequately defined. Three trends are identified which have led to the growth of leisure, these being the containment of work, the rise in real incomes and population changes — falling birth rates and death rates.

Chapter four details the rise of mass leisure, television being the number one leisure pursuit. Whilst leisure spending is concentrated on alcohol, tobacco and gambling. Leisure we are told has been democratised, class boundaries have become blurred. This notion of progressive democratisation is central to Roberts approach yet it is surely questionable whether fragments of life can be democratised piecemeal. Has the con-

sumption of citrus fruit been democratised because it is available all the year round to those who can afford it? It seems little more than an acknowledgement that all aspects of our experience have become commercialised. That money can now buy almost every experience, from a week at Butlins to the journey of a lifetime in the Indonesian jungle. This is not democratisation except in monetarist doublespeak where democracy is freedom, where freedom is choice and choice is the marketplace.

In the section on work and leisure Roberts develops the idea of a leisure democracy. The study of leisure, he argues, has been preoccupied with its relations to work, whereas the reality is that leisure is now insulated from work. He is able to argue this proposition by reducing work to occupation and then demonstrating the difficulty of correlating occupational categories with types of leisure. However at a more fundamental level it is undeniable that the search for individual freedom and choice through leisure can only be understood in relation to the loss of freedom and choice which work entails.

The importance of work has never been simply a consequence of the subjective meaning attributed to it by individuals. It is through work that we collectively construct and transform the material environment within which leisure takes place. Work is the sacrifice of control over the creation of the general material circumstances in exchange for a degree of control over our own individual circumstances. Leisure is inextricably caught up within this central process, the sale and purchase of human experience. The lives we sell from Monday to Friday are sold back to us on Saturday and Sunday. The point is not that leisure is dominated from above by any particular social group in some simplistic conspiratorial manner. What demands examination is the form which leisure, indeed life, takes in modern capitalist societies.

It is Robert's failure to question the market form of social relations which is most disappointing particularly at a time when central government is seeking to impose this form upon basic services such as transport, health, education and housing. The final section on policy implications is inevitably unsatisfactory insofar as we are urged to rely upon the common sense of our elected representatives. Judging by present experience that is a recipe for disaster.

Paul Scofield

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**Intermediate Treatment Resource Centre and Scottish Health Education Group**  
**SOLVENT ABUSE: A Report for Professionals Working in Scotland**

**Available from the I.T. Resource Centre, Quarrier's Road, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire PA11 3SA**  
**25p.**

This report offers a brief examination of a topic of public and professional concern in a highly readable way. It attempts to provide accurate information on the substances used, their effects, their abusers, and the attempts at controlling solvent abuse. The authors offer guidance about how to deal with the practice in young people. They also produce a workshop based on a newspaper report on a "glue-sniffing" death. In the

report's construction, use has been made of a variety of medical, drug abuse, solvent abuse, and health education literature.

Medically, they find that solvent abuse rarely causes damage to the body's organs. Unfortunately, they have not given credence to King's conclusion that regular sniffing of glue proper (toluene solvent) has led to detectable impairment of brain function in several young people studied (*Br. Med. J.*, 5.9.81). They do stress, however, the small but growing number of fatalities which arise either through the direct effect of some solvents especially those in aerosols and dry cleaning products or through the concomitant risks of asphyxiation and other accidents.

In advising on preventive health education, the authors tend to concentrate upon encouraging a negative attitude to solvent sniffing which, in the case of glue, they cannot uphold medically. Perhaps they could have included a strategy based upon analysing the normal rules of behaviour in a situation where the pupil has to handle the opportunity to sniff solvent. In this way, an offer can typically come to join in a pleasurable experience from somebody unscarred by solvent abuse often unaccompanied by peer pressure.

The authors do state that in some areas solvent abuse is part of the youthful lifestyle but that adults find it highly undesirable and seek its prevention. They adopt uncritically the "adult viewpoint". Their focus is essentially a medical model arguing that solvent abuse is often a symptom of underlying problems either environmental or related to poor self-concept.

They do not evaluate the damaging effect of typical stereotypes. Indeed, their use of a newspaper report in the workshop tends to compound the media image of kids suffering from the "killer craze". Unfortunately, they state the boy died from sniffing glue whereas my records suggest that it was sniffing fire extinguisher fluid — a product that is much more dangerous. They also stress that a clear picture of a sniffer's health career should be obtained but fail to include the fact that he had suffered a "personality change" a year previously from a "knife attack".

The report's strength is the amount of information it gives. Had the authors accepted solvent abuse as a normal activity for some young people then they could have concentrated upon the more dangerous aspects of solvent abuse. However, the report is eclectic and does not give a coherent view of the problem. This is exacerbated by the political necessity of not being seen to condone solvent abuse.

Steve Coltman

How can local authorities and activists respond to the problems of communities in need?

#### **COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT ... TOWARDS A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE**

The first overall account of the **Community Projects Foundation** from its beginning in 1978. Major projects in Newport, Sandwell, Swindon, Bedworth Heath, Leeds, Mansfield, Edinburgh, Newcastle, Clwyd, Islington, Leominster, Rochdale and Dunfermline are described. Also summaries of all 45 projects since the birth of the CPF's predecessor, the Young Volunteer Force Foundation, in 1968. Further chapters explain the principles and methods drawn from this continually evolving experience.

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# 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.

Real weekly net income at November 1979 prices

## data

Given the recent controversy concerning the disclosure of Government 'plans' for a re-structuring of policy around the family, the following figures from a House of Commons Written Answer on 7th July 1982 assist in clarifying the present position. The full Hansard entry is included here, so copy service does not apply.

Average earnings are for full-time adult male manual workers. Figures for financial years are based on averages of monthly estimates derived from new earnings survey data for each April and a centred three-month moving average earnings index (whole economy). Figures for 1981-82 are provisional.

Net income equals earnings plus child benefit or family allowance, where appropriate, less income tax and national insurance contributions, assuming that the contributor is not contracted out of the State - earnings related pension scheme. Real net income has been calculated with reference to movements in the general index of retail prices (all items).

	Single (a) £	Married (b) £	Married with one child under 11 years (c) £	Married with two children under 11 years (d) £	Married with two children one under 11 years (e) £	Married with four children two under 11 two 11-16 years (f) £
<b>1976-77</b>						
1/2 Average Earnings	36.70	40.20	43.10	46.90	47.30	53.50
3/4 Average Earnings	51.50	54.90	57.90	61.70	62.10	70.10
Average Earnings	66.30	69.70	72.60	76.50	76.80	84.90
1 1/2 Average Earnings	96.50	99.90	102.80	106.70	107.00	115.10
2 x Average Earnings	125.70	130.10	133.90	138.20	138.60	147.20
<b>1977-78</b>						
1/2 Average Earnings	36.50	40.80	43.70	47.00	47.30	51.80
3/4 Average Earnings	50.90	55.10	58.00	61.40	61.70	68.60
Average Earnings	65.20	69.50	72.40	75.70	76.00	82.90
1 1/2 Average Earnings	94.30	98.60	101.50	104.80	105.10	112.10
2 x Average Earnings	124.50	129.60	132.80	136.20	136.50	143.50
<b>1978-79</b>						
1/2 Average Earnings	39.40	43.40	47.00	50.60	50.80	58.20
3/4 Average Earnings	54.70	58.80	62.60	66.40	66.70	74.50
Average Earnings	70.10	74.20	78.00	81.70	82.00	89.80
1 1/2 Average Earnings	101.40	105.50	109.30	113.10	113.40	121.20
2 x Average Earnings	135.40	139.50	143.30	147.00	147.30	155.10
<b>1979-80</b>						
1/2 Average Earnings	40.30	44.10	48.10	52.20	52.20	60.40
3/4 Average Earnings	56.60	60.40	64.50	68.60	68.60	76.70
Average Earnings	72.90	76.70	80.80	84.90	84.90	93.00
1 1/2 Average Earnings	106.70	110.50	114.60	118.70	118.70	126.80
2 x Average Earnings	142.70	146.60	150.60	154.70	154.70	162.80
<b>1980-81</b>						
1/2 Average Earnings	39.50	43.40	47.10	50.90	50.90	58.30
3/4 Average Earnings	55.80	59.70	63.40	67.10	67.10	74.60
Average Earnings	72.00	75.90	79.70	83.40	83.40	90.90
1 1/2 Average Earnings	105.30	109.20	112.90	116.60	116.60	124.10
2 x Average Earnings	141.30	145.20	148.90	152.70	152.70	160.10
<b>1981-82</b>						
1/2 Average Earnings	37.80	41.30	45.10	49.00	49.00	56.70
3/4 Average Earnings	53.50	57.00	60.90	64.80	64.80	72.50
Average Earnings	69.30	72.80	76.70	80.50	80.50	88.30
1 1/2 Average Earnings	100.90	104.30	108.20	112.10	112.10	119.80
2 x Average Earnings	134.70	139.40	143.30	147.10	147.10	154.90

# politics

'Politics' is an occasional feature which contains manifesto or policy statements from political parties on youth questions, or other relevant material.

The first Parliamentary exchange on the Thompson Report took place on 25th January. The following is the complete Hansard entry (V35: No. 44: Col: 781).

## Youth Service (Thompson Report)

**Mr. Kenneth Carlisle** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science when he expects to make his decision on the Thompson Report on the youth service; and whether he will make a statement.

**The Under-Secretary of State for Education and Science (Mr. William Shelton):** I announced two decisions on the Thompson Report in my reply to my hon. Friend the Member for Bedford (Mr. Skeet) on 17th December 1982. My right hon. Friend has now decided to extend the period of consultation on other matters in the report to 31 March 1983.

**Mr. Carlisle:** Although it is right to have proper consultation on this important matter, is my hon. Friend aware that many people want a speedy decision on the Thompson Report? Is he further aware of the great public support for the youth service and the considerable voluntary effort that goes into it? Therefore, effective action is required. Will he especially look after the interests of 11 to 14 year olds? It is important that that group of youngsters have good occupation off the streets, but often their needs are not catered for.

**Mr. Shelton:** I welcome my hon. Friend's support for the youth service, and that is echoed throughout the country. We are aware of the great interest that has been aroused by the Thompson Report. The hon. Gentleman was correct to mention 11 to 14 year olds, whose case was raised in the report. I hope that the youth service has taken note of that. We shall do whatever we can to implement what was proposed in the report.

**Mr. Greville Janner:** Does the Minister accept that there is a drastic shortage of facilities for youngsters, which is only partly catered for by existing youth service organisations because they do not have the resources or the support that they need? Is he aware that those resources are especially important today when unemployment among young people is so disastrously high? Will the hon. Gentleman announce a decision to enable the youth service to have the security of knowing that it is supported by the Government and that it will not be allowed to fail through lack of funds?

**Mr. Shelton:** The youth service should be well aware that it is supported by the Government. The funding in 1981-82 was £86 million. The figures that we have to date for this Government show higher spending in real terms per capita on youth than in the years of the Labour Administration.

**Mr. Freud:** If the youth service is well aware of that fact will the Minister ask his right hon. Friend to appoint a Minister with special responsibilities for youth matters?

**Mr. Shelton:** As the hon. Gentleman knows, that was one recommendation of the Thompson Report. We have extended the consultation period until the end of March. As soon as possible after that date we shall announce our decisions.

**Mr. Haselhurst:** Will my hon. Friend try to bring finality to the re-organisation and revitalisation of the youth service, in the knowledge that we have had talks about talks about consultations about consultations for as long as anyone can remember?

**Mr. Shelton:** I understand my hon. Friend's point. However, the Government have done something about it. We have set up a review group—[Laughter.] I am sure that the youth service will be distressed by the ribaldry of Labour Members in greeting the setting up of review

group. It is a serious review group, and it has made serious recommendations. The time that we allowed for consultations—two months—was not enough, so we extended it to the end of March. About 25 organisations have not yet written to us, including the two local authority associations, so we are waiting to here from them. It is not a matter for laughter. We are doing something about it at last.

**Mr. Whitehead:** Does the Minister realise that the ribaldry on the Government Benches is about the Government's review of a committee? Will he now say to the House that the Government accept the central principle of the Thompson Report—the importance of social education—and will he say that there should be statutory back-up, as Thompson recommended? If he cannot do that, does he accept that many hon. Members believe that the Government are stalling until a leisure committee of the MSC is set up?

**Mr. Shelton:** I am sure that the hon. Gentleman would not expect us to reach decisions without consultation, especially when we have not received— [Interruption.] The review group reported at the end of October, which is not very long ago. We have not yet received the comments of the local authority associations, and I am sure that the hon. Gentleman would wish us to do nothing until we have received them.

# benefits

'Benefits' is a regular feature on current levels of benefit and prospective changes in rate or procedure. The editor welcomes suggestions and enquiries.

15. Statutory Sick Pay comes into effect from 6th April, 1983. To receive it for any day you must be (a) an employee not excluded from SSP; (b) the day must be a day of incapacity within a period of incapacity, a qualifying day which is not a waiting day, and within an entitlement period. An employee is anyone over the age of 16 employed in G.B. and liable for payment of tax as an employed person. For the first eight weeks an employer will pay minimum level of pay to employees: after that period employees can claim SSP. Injury benefit is abolished.

Rates: amounts depend on average weekly earnings before sickness:

Average Weekly	Weekly SSP
£65.00 or more	£40.25
£48.00 - £64.99	£33.75
£32.50 - £47.99	£27.20

Source: Welfare Rights Bulletin 52, February, 1983; pp 1-3 contains a clear, simplified explanation to SSP. Copies can be obtained from C.P.A.G. 1 Macklin Street, London, WC2 5NH.

## 'ANALYSIS'

Because of lack of space, it has not been possible to bring 'Monitor' up to date with the current parliamentary calendar. Our next issue will give additional space to 'Analysis' in which 'Data' and 'Monitor' will receive extra coverage.



'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.

#### **Police Strength OA**

At 31/3/79 12,675 police officers in Scotland; at 31/3/82 there were 13,221. Exchange and other figures.

#### **Primary Schools Expenditure OA**

LA current expenditure on primary schools (outturn prices) was £636 per pupil in 1980-81; Exchange and other figures.

#### **Renfrew District Council (Lead Pollution Control) OA**

Lead in domestic water; allocation of £2.2 millions in 1982-83 includes £400,000 for lead plumbing grants.

#### **Glasgow OA**

Increase in unemployment in Glasgow from 15,440 in June 1966 to 95,587 in April 1982; exchange.

#### **Solvent Abuse OA**

Govt. at present receiving information.

#### **Continuation from V24 N124 M.S.C. (Schemes) WA**

Supp. Ben. receipt for Wolverhampton and West Midlands; registered unemployed; sick; disabled; long term scale rate; one-parent families; pensioners and others; table.

#### **Disabled Persons WA**

Govt. 'considering' effects of severe disablement in children on their families' income and expenditure.

#### **Deaf Children WA**

At 31/3/82 'about' 3,500 people receiving attendance allowance suffered ear disease; mostly children.

#### **Low Income Families WA**

Exchange around the pamphlet 'Low Income Families - 1979'.

#### **Lead Levels WA**

Table showing permitted lead levels in Europe.

#### **School Milk Subsidy WA**

From 1/6/82 semi-skimmed milk to be added to the school milk programme attracting EEC subsidy.

#### **Atmospheric Lead WA**

Petrol engined vehicles contribute 90 - 95% of atmospheric lead; industrial sources 5 - 10%.

#### **Housing Starts WA**

Housing starts in England, as follows; 1979 69,442 public, 121,137 private; 1980 46,441 public, 83,300 private; 1981 31,401 public, 101,312 private.

#### **(Northern Ireland) University Places WA**

N. Ireland institutions 'would welcome an increase in students from outside Northern Ireland' (said in reference to Rep. of Ireland).

#### **(Northern Ireland) University and Polytechnic Staffs WA**

Not yet possible to assess staffing requirements of amalgamation.

#### **(Northern Ireland) Student Places WA**

Figures for 1985-86 to 1995-96 estimated (table).

#### **(Northern Ireland) Education Funds WA**

Grant levels not yet determined beyond 1981-82.

#### **(Northern Ireland) Primary and Secondary Schools (Expenditure) WA**

Recurrent expenditure per pupil; Primary £329 78-79, £387 79-80, £490 80-81; Secondary £512 78-79, £595 79-80, £749 80-81.

#### **(Northern Ireland) Mature Students WA**

Figures for entry to New University and Queen's University of students 21 and over (table).

#### **Plastic Bullets WA**

Coroners inquest on one of the 7 deaths; others are pending. Since 17/3/81 72 persons 18 or under received hospital treatment for injuries 'allegedly' got from plastic baton rounds.

#### **Riots (Londonderry) WA**

No riots reported on 5/5/82 (anniversary of the death of Robert Sands).

#### **Youth Training Programme WA**

Sec. State Northern Ireland will reply shortly on question of additional funds to Technical Colleges.

#### **Unemployment Statistics WA**

(Wales) Figures for average monthly total (table); women in thousands (table) and quarterly for aged under 20 from 1975 (1981 as; January 26,475; April 23,760; July 34,409; October 33,835).

#### **Unemployment Statistics WA**

May 1982 registered unemployed UK was 2,969,443; increases since 1981 were 16.1% UK (and 17.7% Lancashire); figures for South Yorks for 1979 and latest convenient date by age under 20, male, female, and total; Barnsley also.

#### **Disabled Persons WA**

MSC placements of disabled fell by 34.9% between 1978 and 82.

#### **Job Release Schemes WA**

May 1982; 66,728 supported under scheme.

#### **Youth Opportunities Programme WA**

December 1981 'about' 195,000 in YOP; April 1982 'about' 180,000; decrease of 8%. Full year 1980 to 1981 360,000 entrants; 1981-82 estimated entrants 553,000, an increase of 54%.

#### **Education Statistics WA**

Table of students from Oldham, Kirklees, West Yorks, Greater Manchester, and England who continued in full-time higher education 1979, 1980, 1981.

#### **Teachers WA**

Teachers and lecturers redundant since May 1979 is 6,300.

#### **Nursery Schools WA**

Since Education Act 1980 approval for closure given to 17 nursery schools.

#### **School Meals WA**

Autumn 1981 meals census 89 LEAs had increased charges; average rise 31% to 46p.

## Secondary Schools WA

LEA returns to circular 2/81 on reduced places not yet complete.

## School Places WA

Govt. plans assume that 630,000 will be taken out by March 1984.

## Drunk and Violent Crime WA

(Scotland) No figures available which link these offences.

## Petrol (Lead Content) WA

Normally 20% of body lead in people comes from petrol; exchange.

## Casualty Statistics WA

(N. Ireland) Table of deaths arising out of action by Army, R.U.C. and U.D.R. 1969-1981.

## Students WA

(N. Ireland) Figures give student in/out flow 1970-1981.

## New University of Ulster and Ulster Polytechnic (Merger) WA

Membership of steering group not yet determined.

## Unemployment Statistics WA

(N. Ireland) Registered unemployed at 13/5/82; 112,978; (May 1979 was 60,814) % rates of 19.7 and 10.6.

## Unemployment Benefit WA

Figures (estimates) on restoration of 5% abatement by several categories (table).

## Lead Levels WA

Most recent report does not determine relationship between blood lead levels and lead from petrol (Mr Kenneth Clarke).

## Supplementary Benefit WA

Kilmarnock; table of claimants 1979 and 1982.

## Atmospheric Lead WA

Q. Has Govt. had talks with B.M.A. on reduction; ans. No.

## Education (Administrative Expenses) WA

Costs of education admin. range from 2% to 11%.

## Student Grants WA

(Scotland) No procedures decided yet on hold back of grants from students who re-sit exams.

## Unemployment Statistics (Dundee) WA

Figures of unemployed April 1982 by period of unemployment, total numbers, % share, and Scotland %. Young people as follows: under 18, 1,035; 18's 303; 19's 273; all since leaving education. Total redundancies in Dundee as separate answer. Vacancies in Dundee given as answer in V20 Off. Rep.

## Probation Orders WA

Sec. State Scotland 'satisfied' with present arrangements for compensation as a condition of order.

## V24 N125

## Village Schools D

Mr A. J. Beith (Berwick); positive merits of small schools, particularly in village communities; growing body of research indicates benefits of education in small groups; social value of community involvement; as meeting places; social costs rise in villages with no school; ageing population a consequence; circular 2/81 indicates possibility of making savings on larger schools; depopulation of some coastal villages follows school closure; Beadnell and Craster in Northumberland; strong parental support; reply by Under Sec. State Education (Mr W. Sheldon); Govt. aware of value; to rural community; 'important part of our heritage'; in 1981 275,092 pupils (7%) in primary were in just under

5,000 schools with less than 100 on roll; only 7,000 of these were in schools with 25 or less on the roll; 'we take a sympathetic attitude to village schools'; etc. adj; (4 Pages).

## Security OA

(N. Ireland) Sec. State (Mr James Prior); incidents in May indicate that young children attacked security and police forces; deaths; further exchanges; 'junior savages', etc. 'The answer is for parents to keep their children away', etc.

## Plastic Bullets OA

In 10 years 14 people, seven under 15, have died; 110 required hospital treatment; 3,000 now issued for use by British police forces (Mr Canavan); no escalation in their use, between January and August 1981 29,594 fired; in 9 months since then 225 fired; 'I am not prepared to leave the security forces unprotected' (Mr Prior). Further statements and exchange with some youth references.

## Business of the House

References; video cassettes; hanging of a 14 year old boy in Malaysia; exchange.

## Anorexia Nervosa WA

Research currently being funded by Dept. Education and Science.

## "Further Education in a Multi-racial Society" WA

Dept. of Education and Science encouraging a number of special access courses.

## Supplementary Benefit WA

Claimants totals for Wolverhampton and the West Midlands, (table): November changes in rates also included in comprehensive table.

## Unemployment Statistics WA

(Wales) Annual averages (in thousands) as follows; 1970 37.7; 1974 38.3; 1978 91.5; 1981 157.5; Youth under 20 unemployed 1981; by quarter; January: 26,475; April: 23,760; July: 34,409; October: 33,835. Female unemployment (annual averages) in table; (1978-81 as follows) 1978 28.4; 1979 28.7; 1980 36.6; 1981 46.8.

## "Small Claims in a County Court" WA

Booklet, "Small Claims in a County Court" available for distribution in July.

## Community Enterprise Programme WA

Between April 1981 and March 1982 CEP places in Greater London was 1,990; in 1982-83 the number will be 1,715 places at any one time.

## Humberside and Yorkshire WA

Number of young people unemployed since leaving school for Hull, North Humberside, Humberside County and Yorkshire and Humberside region (table); numbers engaged in MSC schemes for same areas in full table.

## Manchester (Community Enterprise) WA

C.E.P. places available in Manchester and Merseyside for 1981-82 and 1982-83 in table.

## Voluntary Work WA

(Mr Tebbitt) Statement; £8 millions for scheme to encourage voluntary work directed to training for obtaining work.

## Anorexia Nervosa WA

In 1979, 292 cases admitted to hospitals; 1980 (provisional) figure is 331.

## Supplementary Benefit WA

In 1981 average time to hear an SB appeal was 6.2 weeks.

## Volunteering Scheme WA

(Mr Fowler) Statement; £3.3 millions available for expanding opportunities for voluntary work in the health and personal social service

fields; money to be given as grants to voluntary organisations; typical projects may be drop-in centres for parents of under-fives, or neighbourhood care groups; the volunteer centre and the N.C.V.O. have a consortium to receive applications from local groups; list of typical agencies given; projects should demonstrate that they will enable people to undertake voluntary work; grants may be for training; participation will be entirely voluntary; any expenses will not affect entitlement to benefit; pending Parliamentary approval necessary expenditure will be met from the contingency fund.

## V24 N126

### Argentina (Sporting Contacts) Adj D.

(On the World Cup and the Falklands Crisis) Several references to youth, of 'our fans might behave in Spain . . .' etc; Mr. J. Carlise (Luton West); 3 pages.

### Bill Presented (Travel Concessions For The Unemployed)

Mr. A. Morris; Bill to provide travel concessions to (reg) unemployed and YOP workers; 1 R.

### Unification Church Adj D

Sir T. Kitson (Richmond Yorks); the Moonies and charitable status; dubious fund raising; about 40 cover names; youths selling literature in the streets; church now has 100 centres in UK; between 1,400 and 1,500 members full-time; FAIR (Family Action Information and Rescue) now exists.

### Citizens Advice Bureaux Adj D

Mr. A. Dubs (Battersea South); Head Office of CABS in London, 20 regional offices, about 720 local bureaux; 334 full-time paid staff, about 900 part-time staff; 10,000 volunteers; 1.5 million enquiries per year a decade ago, last year there were 4.5 million (staggering); main headings of enquiries are unemployment, social security, housing, matrimony, divorce, consumer queries; total number of queries rose last year by 10%; about 60% of CABS receive less than £5,000 a year; 80% get less than £10,000; etc; some exchange; more figures; 4 pages.

### Crime Prevention Adj D

Mr. J. Wheeler (Paddington); 'crime figures continue to rise, lawlessness remains a major concern,' etc. In London the annual inclusive cost of a police officer is more than £23,000, . . . only 87 officers employed full-time on crime prevention; perhaps only 500 in UK as a whole; most crime is committed by young males; it is casual and opportunist; in 1981 over 48,000 under 21 were arrested for serious offences; 50% of these were between 10 and 16 years; 67% of arrests for burglary were under 21; the resources of the police should therefore be increasingly deployed in the prevention of crime; etc. reply; 3 pages

### Tourism Adj D

Mr. W. R. Rees-Davies (Thanet West); some refs to youth; recommends MSC to enter hotel training etc; 3 pages.

### Unemployment Statistics WA

On 13/5/82 unemployment in Northern Ireland stood at 112,978, or 19.7%.

### Youth Training Programme WA

Extra funds will be available in Northern Ireland for staff and accommodation involved in Youth Training.

### Students Awards WA

Sec. State Wales 'do not propose to offer advice to LA's concerning discretionary awards for study'.

### World Cup WA

Appeal for good behaviour to British fans, etc.

### Unemployment statistics WA

(Table) unemployment in Ayrshire 1979-81.

### Plastic Bullets WA

Orders issued to Scottish Police depts concerning baton rounds in situations of public disorder; a 'last resort' measure.

### Drug Prescriptions WA

Figures for numbers of prescriptions of sedatives, etc. in Scotland between 1975 and 1980 in comprehensive table; (tranquillizers; 1981 2.12 millions).

### Abortion Clinics WA

Names and places of agencies in Scotland approved for the termination of pregnancy (6 orgs; full addresses).

### Police Strength (Lancashire) WA

May 1979, total strength; 3,093.

### Police (Personal Accident Insurance) WA

Govt. 'exploring' the possibility of improving compensation schemes for police, etc.

### School Closures WA

Section 12 of Education Act 1980; procedures for school closure.

### Cycling Experiments WA

Dept. Transport funded LA cycle schemes by £50,000 in 1981-82; programme being expanded in 1982-83, etc.

### Alexandra Street First School, Goole WA

To be used for motor cycle training.

### Female Unemployment WA

Between 1980 and 1981 increases in female unemployment was 54.7%; figures for unemployed in Bury, Heywood, Radcliffe trav. to work areas in table; by males/females, certain age groups.

### Primary Schools (Expenditure) WA

(Wales) 1980-81 expenditure £138 millions; figures for 1977 onwards.

## V25 N127

### Young persons OA

Mr. Ward; are the prospects of employment for the young improving; (Mr. Foster) MSC forecast that prospects will worsen until the third quarter of 1983 when about 60% of youth will be unemployed; exch. with Mr. Tebbit; ½ page.

### School Leavers OA

Up to 13,000 school leavers had entered YOP in April; the Govt. not using unemployment to browbeat people; YOP places have increased this year from 550,000 to 630,000, etc.

### Working Population OA

Brief exch. on size of working population, etc.

### New Training Initiative OA

Exch. on NTI; Govt. making over £1 billion available in first year, etc; not a great deal of abuse, etc; Mr. Tebbit.

### Unemployment Statistics OA

(May) unemployment levels in North West were 425,651 (in UK, 2,969,443); exch. on figures and percentages. etc.

### Unemployment Statistics OA

Suggested figure of 'a third of a million' seeking work but not registered as unemployed (May); exch. 1 page.

### Petrol (Lead Content) WA

For UK in order to raise the octane number of unleaded petrol it would require some two million tonnes of methyl tertiary butyl, etc.

### Petrol (Lead Content) WA

Report entitled Lead in Petrol, etc. available to members; gives cost

estimates of engine modification.

#### **Police Manpower WA**

(Wales) total strength in May 1982 was 6,098.

#### **Video Cassettes (Obscenity) WA**

Provisions of the Obscene Publications Act 1979 apply to video cassettes 'in the same way as other published articles'.

#### **Police (Immediate Response Units) WA**

The term Immediate Response Unit is applied by the Metropolitan Police 'to arrangements developed by them since July 1981. Officers in each police district form two units, with a total compliment of one Inspector, two sergeants and twenty constables.' Further specifications of units, etc.

#### **Urban Programme WA**

Total planned expenditure in 1981-82 is £270 million at outturn prices; up to 98% of U.P. money has been spent annually.

#### **Leicester WA**

Number registered unemployed in May was 24,744.

#### **Youth Opportunities Programme WA**

Exch. Govt. confident of achieving target of places for 1983; etc.

#### **Engineering Students (Work Experience) WA**

Figures on sandwich courses at Polytechnics, etc, funded by MSC.

#### **Ethnic Minorities WA**

February 1982 ethnic minority unemployment from Pakistan or New Commonwealth totalled 119,286, 4.1% of all unemployed.

#### **Young Workers Scheme WA**

So far 70,000 applications under the scheme.

#### **Merseyside and Sefton WA**

Numbers of young people entering various types of youth programme in April 1982 (table).

#### **Free School Meals WA**

Numbers taking free school meals in all Scottish authorities 1980-82, in certain categories. (table).

#### **Unemployment Statistics WA**

Average annual number of unemployed over one year (males only) in Scotland each year for the past ten years (table); for 1981 57,472.

#### **Unemployment Benefit WA**

Estimates of additional costs to exchequer of paying unemployment benefit for an extra twelve months in certain categories, etc.

#### **Child Benefit WA**

Estimates of additional costs to exchequer of paying extra child benefit in certain categories, etc.

#### **Supplementary Benefit WA**

Figures for claimants in Dundee and Scotland; comparisons with one year ago, and certain other categories (table).

### **V25 N128**

#### **Abortions WA**

List of 53 places currently approved under section 1 (3) of Abortion Act 1967 for termination of pregnancy (all listed in table).

#### **Terrorism WA**

Since 1969 total of 33 children under 16 killed in 'circumstances which RUC believe have resulted from criminal activities by Republican terrorists'; in 6 cases liability admitted by such groups; following is list of deaths resulting from criminal activities of terrorist groups - to 30/4/82; totals 646 civilians, 349 army, 122 UDR, 160 RUC; table

giving annual details of each category, etc.

#### **New University of Ulster WA**

Govt. 'concluded' that merger of University of Ulster with Ulster Polytechnic 'only really realistic alternative to closure', etc.

#### **School Leavers WA**

Estimate that 25,000 children will leave school in Ulster in present year; excluding some 2,500 transferring to FE.

#### **School Closures (Suffolk) WA**

Table giving closures in Suffolk 1977 to 1982, etc.

#### **Nursery Education WA**

Expenditure plans only allow for maintenance of NE at present level, not expansion, etc.

#### **Student Loans WA**

Govt. 'continuing' to examine feasibility of student loans, etc.

#### **Handicapped Children WA**

It is for LA's to determine nature of teaching for handicapped children, etc; Circular 12/73 stipulates the benefits of early education, etc.

#### **Special Access Courses WA**

List of agencies involved in research into access education; 23 such courses running at present; mainly (but not exclusively) for ethnic minority entrants; 371 students on such courses; 62 continuing from previous session; 309 entrants in 1981, 150 Caribbean origin; 127 white, and 23 from other groups (sic). Evaluation of such courses being undertaken by Inspectorate.

#### **Toxteth WA**

Sir Keith Joseph reviewing progress of schooling arrangements for Toxteth, etc.

#### **Microelectronics Project WA**

Two lists in table giving individuals and others receiving support for Microelectronics education projects, 1981-82, 1982-83, etc. 'further commitments are under negotiation' (Dr. Boyson).

### **V25 N129**

#### **Middle East Adj D**

Mr. F. Hooley (Sheffield, Heeley) moved; debate on consideration of Israeli forces 'invasion of the Lebanon', etc; reference to 'massacre of mothers, babies, boys and girls'; etc. ½ page.

#### **National Health Service Pay D**

Reference in debate to levels of pay of younger workers, and poverty line, etc. 17 pages and Division.

### **V25 N130**

#### **Travel Facilities For Members' Children (sic)**

Resolved; free travel now extended to members' children, etc.

#### **Obstetric and Neonatal Care Adj D**

Adjournment Debate moved by Mr. Lewis Carter-Jones (Eccles); question of minimum standards of obstetric care referred to the maternal service advisory committee; Fall from 17.7 cases infant mortality per 1,000 births in Eng. and Wales to 13.3 between 1976 and 1980; figures are good, but not good enough; standards must be laid down; the difference for social class V is 'enormous'; etc. exch. 3 pages: adj.

#### **Video Cassettes Adj D**

Sir P. Bryan (Howden) moved changes to copyright; Britain now the world leader in video piracy; 1.5 million video recorders in UK; by the end of 1983 there will be 3 million; piracy now accounts for 'a staggering £100 million per year'; exch. 3 pages.

**Consultant Obstetricians WA**

Number of consultants for each health area in Scotland as at 30/9/81, table.

**Truancy WA**

(Wales) In September 1979, 1980 and 1981, 11% of pupils absent from school; unjustified absence may account for about one third.

**Birth Weight Statistics WA**

(Wales) Under 2,500 gramme births in each health district of Wales 1978 to 1981; (table).

**Temporary Short-Time Working Scheme WA**

Companies involved are requested to keep records for three years; will include payments made to workers and number of working days, etc.

**Community Work Programmes WA**

Govt. asked MSC to work out detailed proposals for a community work programme; Govt. prepared to finance 100,000 places at a net additional cost of £150 million.

**Merseyside WA**

Percentage unemployed for Liverpool, Birkenhead and Widnes, list of employment offices making up these travel to work areas, etc.

**Benefit Plus Scheme WA**

Govt. awaiting detailed reply from MSC concerning the taking of people off the unemployment register for community work, etc.

**Lead Exposure WA**

'No conclusive evidence of harm to children', etc.

**Wales (Population Statistics) WA**

Methods of census used contained in OPCS Occasional Paper 18.

**Birth Weight Statistics WA**

Numbers of births under 2,500 gramme in each regional health authority in England between 1978, 1979, 1980 and 1981, and % of total births, etc. (table).

**Employment Prospects WA**

Northern Ireland figures concerning unemployment and Govt. policy for renewal of the economy (general).

**Sefton WA**

Housing in Sefton; 828 unfit dwellings, of which 576 lack basic amenities; further 6,386 fit but lacking one amenity; Sefton received an additional £750,000 in improvement grants for 1982/83, etc.

**Neighbourhood Energy Action Scheme WA**

Govt. making £201,500 available in 1982/83 to support neighbourhood energy schemes, etc.

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

Unemployment in Kilmarnock, breakdown by classification of work numbers at May 1982.

**Schools (Absenteeism) WA**

(Wales) Percentage absence in Primary and Secondary Schools.

**Family Planning (Departmental Guidance) WA**

Govt. revised guidance on contraception and young people was distributed in January 1982; HN (81)5 refers; list of 47 agencies given to whom circulation was made (very few youth organisations NB); list in table.

**Women Overseas Students WA**

Numbers of women overseas students enrolled in public sector in UK between 1979 and 1981.

**"Public Disorder" (Document) WA**

Home Office Research Study No. 72 entitled 'Public Disorder', no

statement expected.

**Youth Opportunities Projects (Closure) WA**

(The Prime Minister) closure of YOPS in Govan, Glasgow due to 'surplus' of scheme places in the area, etc.

**Training WA**

No structured residential element to be included in NTI, etc.

**Child Benefit WA**

So far 4.5 million people (about 63%) have indicated the preference for weekly payments.

**Drug Abuse Centres WA**

Seven centres in West London are capable of providing advice and treatment to outpatients (not listed), etc.

**V25 N131****Prosecutions Against the Police OA**

Total of 8,830 complaints against the police opened by D.P.P. in 1981; 690 prosecutions – some from previous years; majority Road Traffic Act Offences; of 84 prosecutions remaining, 66 resulted in convictions; 21 prosecutions for assault (10 convictions); 41 for theft (36 convictions); 4 for sexual offences – all convicted; 18 for misc. offences led to 16 convictions; average conviction rate for last five years is 48%

**Charities OA**

(Attorney General) there is adequate protection to the public under present arrangements, etc. exch.

**Industrial Training**

Mr. H. Walker (Doncaster) moved an address to Her Majesty concerning Industrial Training Boards (listed); orders to abolish 8 I.T.B.'s standing, with more to come, etc; 'framework of institutions built up over 20 years is being demolished,' etc; further exch.; total 26 pages; many references to youth and employment; apprenticeships and training; etc. Division, Govt. maj. 52.

**Youth Custody Centres WA**

When borstals become Y.C.C.'s under Criminal Justice Bill, prison officers will wear uniforms.

**Video Films WA**

Home Secretary 'kept informed' of developing video horror, etc.

**Metropolitan Police (Instant Response Units) WA**

On 20/4/82 local I.R.U. dealt with Notting Hill disturbance, etc.

**Metropolitan Police (Support Units) WA**

The term 'police support unit' is "not employed by the Metropolitan Police".

**Senior Attendance Centres WA**

Extension of provision of attendance centres for young men aged between 17 and 21; in 1979 only 2; now senior attendance centres in Manchester, Nottingham, Newcastle-Tyne; Leicester; Runcorn, Knowsley, Sheffield, Birmingham, Fareham, Leeds, Cardiff; Bristol and Middlesborough scheduled to open in Summer 1982; in March 410 offenders were subject of orders at the 9 S.A.C.'s then open.

**Cannabis WA**

No attempt to legalise cannabis proposed; methods of controlling its use are being reviewed.

**Demonstrations and Marches (London) WA**

London, 6/6/82; one demonstration and three marches; public cost £621,000.

**Juvenile Offenders WA**

Home Office grants for adult offender work 'on occasion' used for

projects with young offenders, etc.

**Terrorism WA**

(Northern Ireland) between 1/7/81 and 9/6/82, 17 soldiers, 12 police, 53 civilians died.

**Walsall WA**

May 1982, 20,125 increase in unemployment; table for unemployment in 7 Walsall areas.

**Work Force (Ethnic Minorities) WA**

In 1981 Work Force was 25,737,000; 908,000 (3.8%) identified as non-white.

**Assisted Areas WA**

List of areas to become non-assisted on 1/8/82 with unemployment rate of 12.3% or more.

**Adult Education Fees (Value Added Tax) WA**

Details of regulations concerning VAT and classes, etc.

**Supplementary Benefit WA**

'about' 1.5 million claimants registered for work.

**Unemployed Persons WA**

On 11/2/82 2,703,000 people unemployed claiming benefits or credits; 430,000 of these received neither unemployment nor supplementary benefit, 15.9% of total; when count of unemployed is made at benefit offices instead of job centres, a reduction of 50,000 in unemployment total will result. (Govt.).

**Family Income Supplement WA**

Number of National Health Service employees on F.I.S. not known; of 137,000 F.I.S. recipients in February 1982, 11,000 were employed in 'public sector', etc.

**Juvenile Offenders WA**

Intermediate Treatment fund will receive £450,000 in 1982-83; further grant aid to voluntary bodies developing community based provision for young offenders to a total of £900,000 (1981-82 figure was £758,000).

**Attendance Allowance WA**

Govt. 'satisfied' that the Attendance Allowance Board is fully aware of the problems of hyperactive children; number of children 'not known'.

**School Milk WA**

Govt. considering 'more favourable' arrangement for subsidy on school milk by EEC.

**Unemployment Statistics (Dundee) WA**

Numbers of unemployed in May 1982; percentages; 1979 comparison; stand. Industrial classification; all in comprehensive table.

**V25 N132**

**Squatters D**

Mr. G. Cunningham moved Bill on squatting in LA premises; extension of Section 7 Criminal Law Act 1977, etc: speech.

**Employment (Wider Opportunities for Women Courses) WA**

Centres listed running W.O.W. Courses; total of 493 women began in 1981-82; expansion planned between 1982-86.

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

Unemployment figures for 8 Welsh areas Jan. 1982 and April 1982 in table: figures for unemployed over one year in table and rises 1980 to 1982.

**Robberies (Statistics) WA**

Met. Police figures for robbery, all Met. Districts; post offices; shot-

guns; etc. comprehensive table.

**Cannabis WA**

Up to 31/5/82, 677 persons found possessing cannabis at Heathrow; 240 less than 1 oz.: 579 persons prosecuted. etc.

**Schools (Discontinuance) WA**

Since Education Act 1980, 251 approvals given for school closure; exch.

**Deaf - Blind Persons WA**

(Part) At March 1979 number of blind - deaf persons registered was 0-15 age, 32; 16 - 64 age, 343; (total 1,945): exch.

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

Strathclyde; April 1982, registered unemployed, more than one year, was 69,048.

**V25 N133**

**Lead in Petrol OA**

Exch. on Lead; Govt; '... if we go further than 0.15 g per litre, we would require 2½ per cent more crude - over 600,000 tonnes every year...': etc. exch.

**Tenants (Consultation) D**

Mr. A. Roberts (Bootle) moved Bill on tenants' consultation; duties of LA's and HA'S to consult organisations of tenants when 'formulating housing policy'; etc., Speech: I.R.

**Plastic Erasers WA**

Children choking on imitation-sweet plastic erasers; possible order of safety legislation.

**Gypsy Children WA**

(Dr. Boyson) It is difficult to ensure education of gypsy children, etc.

**School Leavers (Literacy) WA**

Numbers of children leaving school illiterate 'is not available'.

**North West Region (Further Education) WA**

Proportion remaining at maintained schools Jan. 1982 was 21.9% boys, 26.9% girls; etc.

**Police (Consultation Arrangements) WA**

(Mr. Whitelaw) statement outlining guidance on procedures for police-community consultation; one page.

**School Dental Service WA**

Figures on service, treatment, extractions, etc.

**V25 N134**

**Unemployment OA**

Brief exch: on relative cost per unemployed man (about £5,000) and benefits expenditure (about £15,000 million), etc.

**Greater London Council (Money) Bill (By Order) D**

Exchange during 2R on comparable expenditure from Greater London rates; of interest to vol. orgs; several agencies mentioned with figures, ie Operation Springboard, Lambeth Centre for the Unemployed, National Child Care Campaign, etc. etc. 2. Reading.

**Motor Cycle Safety WA**

Govt. 'carrying out research' towards wet braking and daytime running lamps, etc.

**Motor Cyclists (Training) WA**

Grants to RAC/ACU training since 1961, etc.

**Public Disorder (Research) WA**

Home Office Research Study No 72 reviews research into urban dis-

order in Britain and America; young male population, etc.

## Unemployment Benefit WA

Expenditure on U. Ben. from N. Insurance Fund as follows:

1979-80	653 (millions)
1980-81	1,281
1981-82	1,983
1982-83	1,999.

## V25 N135

### Pregnancies WA

Sec. State Scotland will provide details on abortion, births for girls 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19, etc. soon.

### Unemployment Statistics WA

Unemployed registered in 19 Glasgow areas, percentage increases, 1979 to 1981-82, etc (table): total increase with 1979 as 100 below;

Increase in unemployment  
May 1979 to May 1982  
taking May 1979 as 100

	Total	Males
Glasgow travel-to-work area	194.2	194.6
Scotland	196.3	203.5

### School Leavers (Higher Education) WA

The number of leavers with two or more A-level passes in social science subjects only was 3,600. Of these, 1,500 entered degree courses or teacher training courses and 590 entered other further education courses.

### Comprehensive Schools WA

In academic year 1979-80, 81.6 per cent of children in public sector secondary schools in the United Kingdom were in comprehensive schools.

### Mathematics Teachers WA

1977, estimated that there were 47,100 full-time teachers in maintained secondary schools in England and Wales who had studied mathematics as part of their training, of whom 21,200 had mathematics as the main subject of their highest qualification.

### (Scotland) Urban Programme WA

Capital ceiling of £200,000 raising to £500,000. Projects costing more than £200,000 will, however, require to show especially good value for money in relation to the aims of the programme. Also consideration to projects sponsored by community and voluntary groups which will assist in preventing crime.

### Bicycles (Police Forces) WA

The use of bicycles by officers of his force is a matter for the chief constable. We welcome any means of ensuring close contact between the police and local communities.

### Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Mr Peter Morrison: There are no plans to change the status of young people participating in youth opportunities programme schemes, they do not contribute to the national insurance fund. If any national insurance benefit is claimed after leaving the youth opportunities programme, special credits may be available to enable ex-trainees to satisfy the contribution conditions for such benefit.

## V26 N136

### Youth Training Scheme

Mr Tebbit (Sec State Employment) Ministerial Statement. General Outline of Y.T.S. (1 page); exch. details specific, figures, expenditure, etc. 4 pages.

### Unemployment (Young Persons) D

Mr H. Ewing (moved) censure on Govt. for policies resulting in 'unemployment, hardship, demoralisation among young people': long ex-

change (19 pages); on Govt. deliberate 'leaks' of policy, benefit levels under Y.T.S., percentage young jobless, Falklands contribution from youth, domestic expenditure, general economic policy, etc. etc. interesting and relevant debate (copy service); negated.

### Child Benefit WA

Just over 4.5 million mothers entitled to child benefit before 15 March 1982 have opted for weekly payment; about 63 per cent., of the total number of beneficiaries. Of 1,500 new claims made between 15 March 1982 and 31 May 1982, some 400 mothers are receiving payment weekly.

### School Leavers (Qualifications) WA

Qualifications of leavers from English maintained schools in 1980-81 is as follows:

Leavers with	Thousands
Five or more higher* grades at O-level or CSE	150.5
1-4 higher* grades at O-level or CSE	194.3
No higher* grades but one or more other grades	262.3
No CSE or O-level qualifications	82.6
All leavers	689.9

## V26 N138

### Craft Apprenticeships OA

Sec. Sate asked to estimate reduction in craft apprenticeships in Dept. Environment and LA's in the past three years; exchange; figures for reduction/increase; 1 page.

### Inner-Urban Programme OA

Sec. State Environment asked if he intends to extend I.U. Programme; ans. some increases in present year; full details not yet available; exch.

### Petrol (Lead Content) OA

Sec. State Environment asked what representatives received about lead content in petrol; short exchange.

### Lead Free Petrol OA

Mr A, Dubs introduced bill for the compulsory sale of lead free petrol by filling stations; RB1; RB2 on 9/7/82; exchange and quotes supporting argument for lead free petrol.

### Measles WA

Increase of incidence in Wales; vacine uptake in England 1981 55% 'disappointingly low'.

### Public Bodies (Departmental Assistance) WA

Non Official bodies receiving grants from Dept DHSS in last financial year; complete list of organisations and bodies (several youth orgs included); payments to vol orgs for social work students on placements 1981/82, £1,043,464.

### Local Authorities (Departmental Assistance) WA

Local Authorities listed receiving grants from DHSS listed for last financial year; Child Care Act; total £1,747,806; table.

### International Organisations (Departmental Assistance) WA

International organisations receiving grants last financial year listed, with amount to each; table.

### Cytomegalovirus WA

Are women routinely screened for antibodies when in antenatal care? ans. No; exchange; table of figures for stillbirths and infant deaths from cytomegalovirus infection 1971-80; exchange.

### Supplementary Benefit WA

Numbers of people of working age in receipt of Supp. Ben. in Keighley travel to work area May 1979 is 2,700, an increase of 200% in one year.

### Driving Test WA

Proportion of people passing driving test for the first time of trying by age groups; pass rates for age groups in table (for under 21, 48%).

**Justices of the Peace WA**

On 8th January 1982 there were 15,476 male and 10,189 female justices of the peace in England and Wales.

**Immigration WA**

Sec. State for Home asked how many applications pending refer to male fiance from Indian sub Continent; ans. in May 1982, 2,150 pending.

**Community Enterprise Programme WA**

Sec. State Employment asked to explain curtailment of CEP schemes in Yorkshire and Humberside regions; ans. no reduction; allocation remains the same for 1982 as previously, though some re-allocation within the region; 2,800 places CEP.

**Training Opportunities Scheme WA**

State Employment asked what increases in past 4 years; ans. in table.

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

Sec. State Northern Ireland asked to list rate of unemployment; table given for several travel to work areas in the province.

**Public Bodies (Departmental Assistance) WA**

Non-official bodies in Northern Ireland receiving grants in last financial year, and amount in table (several community and youth organisations) 2 pages.

**Opportunities for Volunteering Scheme WA**

What arrangements for the introduction of the scheme in Wales? ans. a committee of six which will administer the scheme chosen, £0.2 million available 'for expanding the opportunities of unemployed people to participate in voluntary work in the health and personal social service fields'; short statement on procedures.

**Child Care WA**

How many parental rights resolutions under section 3 of Child Care Act 1980 taken each year for England and Wales 1973-80? ans. information not available.

**Unemployed Persons (Suicide) WA**

Scottish Health Education Group evidence states workers faced with medical effects of unemployment more likely to resort to suicide; will Minister consider more finance for social support? ans. (Mr G. Finsberg) not aware of any information.

**Supplementary Benefit WA**

Sec. State Social Services asked if he will consider amending the rule whereby claimants in receipt of adoption allowance from LA have the sum of allowance, less £4.00, deducted from weekly benefit claims? ans. referred to answers given on 14/5/82 and 20/5/82.

**Sub Normal Children WA**

How many children under 16 years in long stay subnormality hospitals in each regional health authority Eng. and Wales? on 31/12/80 table gives figures (Trent highest; S. West Thames and Wessex next); exchange.

**Fraudulent Claims WA**

What is formula for deciding savings resulting from fraudulent claims discovered by investigators; id Sec. State satisfied that this truly reflects the savings made? ans. details given in answer on 4/6/81; operational research study later in this year.

**Benefits WA**

How many claims have been stopped as a result of investigators, what % of this restored on appeal? ans. in first six months of operation (from Nov. 81) investigation stopped benefit in 3,369 cases; those subsequently restored not known.

**Single Mothers WA**

Govt. intend to revise guidelines for enquiries concerning single parents

in receipt of benefit; intention not to ask sexual questions; Sec. State does not know how long this will take.

**Unemployment Statistics (Scotland) WA (Sic)**

Glasgow unemployment figures for May '82 available shortly.

**Teachers (Unemployment) (Scotland) WA**

Teachers unemployed in Glasgow travel to work area 1979 and 1982 in table.

**Hippies WA**

Sec. State Environment asked to consider making funds available to provide suitable encampments for hippies; ans. no funds now, nor plans for any; duty of LA under Housing Homeless Persons Act 1977.

**Private Schools (Rate Relief) WA**

What is total revenue lost by 50% rate reduction to charities operating as schools of a type eligible for assistance under assisted places scheme? ans. no information.

**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

## august~november 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.

- 3-8-1982 **Juvenile Crime:** Yeovil, Somerset report that their Juvenile Crime Prevention Panel involves schoolchildren helping to defeat crime among the young. The police emphasise that this does mean informing on their mates but rather to help find out why children commit crimes. (Guardian).
- 6-8-1982 **Smoking:** The Bavarian constitutional court (W. Germany) has sanctioned the provision of special smoking rooms for 17 and 18 year old pupils. (T.E.S.).
- 6-8-1982 **Drunkenness:** Report of the discovery of a pill to combat drunkenness made from natural substances (vitamins, sugar, salts etc) in the USA. (Guardian).
- 6-8-1982 **ALBSU:** William Shelton, Junior Minister of education, announced what the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit would continue until at least March 1985 with the same level of funding and the same remit. (T.E.S.).
- 4-8-1982 **Mentally Ill:** The NIMROD Project (New Ideas for the Care of Mentally Retarded People in Ordinary Dwellings) of Cardiff is the subject of a special feature article. (Guardian).
- 6-8-1982 **Pop Festival:** Jeremy Sandford reports that, 25 years after the first British pop festival took place, it is now possible to spend three months of the year moving from one festival to another. (Guardian).
- 4-8-1982 **Race:** Church of England Research Paper (Race and Crime Statistics) challenges statistics issued by Scotland Yard which included the first racial analysis of violent thefts. It claims that Scotland Yard published misleading interpretations of incomplete information. (Guardian).
- 9-8-1982 **Video:** First prosecution expected in the near future over video films on general hire. Test cases will be brought under the Obscene Publications Act against films seized by Scotland Yard, including *The Driller Killer*. Unclear whether prosecution will be brought under Section 3 of the Act (penalty forfeiture) or Section 2 (which would require full jury trial). (Guardian).
- 11-8-1982 **Gay:** The use of the term "Gay Olympics" was banned in San Francisco by a US judge—the inclusion of the term Olympic was barred despite the lawyer for the games pointing out that there had been Crab Cooking Olympics. (Guardian).
- 10-8-1982 **Homosexuals:** The threat to homosexuals in the work situation is considered both from the point of those who have "come out" and those who haven't. Particular emphasis on the Civil Service. (Guardian).
- 12-8-1982 **Drugs:** The heroin problem in Italy is reaching enormous proportions. The average age of addicts is decreasing: now between 18 & 22 with 100,000 known and involving 400 deaths from overdoses last year. (New Society).
- 16-8-1982 **S.A.S.:** The legalities (or otherwise) of stop and search by the police covered. Indicates that there are proposals to introduce legislation for greater powers to stop and search that this shows no intention on the part of the Government to support policing by consent. (Guardian).
- 18-8-1982 **Homeless:** Reporter goes out to test how young people in London live if they are homeless. The caring agencies dealing with young homeless in London are featured in this article. (Guardian).
- 16-8-1982 **Charities:** Marketing a good cause, the various approaches are discussed including the merits and otherwise of aggressive marketing stances by charities. (Guardian).
- 18-8-1982 **Prisons:** The Association of Members of Boards of Visitors to Prison have written to the Home Secretary complaining about the conditions under which untried prisoners are kept. (Guardian).
- 20-8-1982 **Drugs:** The Home Office is getting increasing demands from the Medical Profession and others to discipline doctors who overprescribe to addicts by removing their licence to prescribe the controlled drugs such as heroin and cocaine. (Guardian).
- 20-8-1982 **Child Care:** Support for comprehensive review of child care continues to grow. Report indicates that present legal system for taking children into care is chaotic. (Guardian)
- 20-8-1982 **Ethnic-teaching:** The Government is strongly criticised for its failure to encourage the teaching of ethnic minority languages in schools in a statement from the CRE. (T.E.S.).
- 27-8-1982 **Sport:** The Sports Council Report "Kick about Areas: providing for sport in areas of special need" criticises local authorities for faulty design and poor maintenance of many kickabout areas and finds little provision of playing areas for girls. (T.E.S.).
- 20-8-1982 Feature article on the **character building** potential of sail training. (T.E.S.).
- 25-8-1982 **Crime:** The legal position of children under the age of criminal responsibility (10 years) considered following the killing of a boy of 12 by a nine year old. (Guardian).
- 25-8-1982 **Birmingham Parent and Child Centre,** established in 1934, threatened with closure. Article spans its history, ideological approaches and conflict with authorities. (Guardian).
- 25-8-1982 David Brandon describes his own **Physical abuse** and its consequences. (Guardian).
- 25-8-1982 **Mentally Ill:** MIND, the national association for mental health, called for a commission to oversee the use of psychiatric drugs under the Mental Health Amendment Bill going through Parliament in the Autumn. (Guardian).
- 26-8-1982 85,000 disabled people in America have been struck off the social security lists in 1981 according to evidence presented to the United Nations Subcommission on Human Rights. (Guardian).
- 27-8-1982 **Adult Education:** Labour Party propose to extend educational opportunities to all over 18 by giving all adults the right to up to one year's education and to change university entrance procedures to open their doors to those without A levels. (T.E.S.).
- 28-8-1982 **Immigration:** Roy Hattersley, Shadow Home Secretary,

- announced the Labour Party's statement on immigration and stated that the core was that immigration must no longer be debated as a numbers game about black people. Labour would establish a humane procedure by which immigrant's rights of entry to the UK would be processed fairly and quickly. (Guardian).
- 3-9-1982 **Delinquency and Young Offenders:** A DES-funded study of schools in Sheffield found that teachers were as often as much to blame for disruptive behaviour by pupils as the family background. (T.E.S.)
- 8-9-1982 DHSS is to restrict the powers of local authorities to lock up difficult children in care. (Guardian).
- 10-9-1982 **Drugs:** An AMA representative has complained about the sale of alcohol to schoolchildren on ferries. The 1964 Licensing Act exempts a vessel at sea from the usual restrictions regarding young people and the sale of alcohol (T.E.S.).
- 18-9-1982 **Parents were blamed for drinking problems** amongst young people by a police representative in Manchester. (Guardian).
- 9-9-1982 **Disablement and Handicap:** Employers are called upon to take on more disabled people following publication of a report giving ways in which unemployment among the disabled can be reduced (currently 5% above national average). (Guardian).
- 10-9-1982 **Child Care;** At least 500,000 of Britain's under 16 year olds are socially disadvantaged according to a report by the National Children's Bureau. (T.E.S.).
- 25-9-1982 **Censorship and Pornography:** Director of Public Prosecutions announces that firms trading in video horror films will in future face criminal prosecutions. (Guardian).
- 24-9-1982 **Drugs:** Drug taking has increased dramatically amongst young people in the Irish Republic. (T.E.S.).
- 18-9-1982 **Homelessness:** Rowton Hotels, the private company which provides hostels for single men (founded in 1892) is pulling out of four hostels which provide 2,500 beds per night in London. (Guardian).
- 3-9-1982 **Literacy:** National Literacy Week was held to highlight the position of at least 2 million adults who cannot read and write properly. (T.E.S.).
- 10-9-1982 The Education Junior Minister, William Shelton pledged continuing financial support for the fight against adult illiteracy to mark International Literacy Day. (T.E.S.).
- 17-9-1982 The organiser of the Federation of Voluntary Literacy Schemes noted that £3.75p. per year was spent on each of the estimated 2 million adults needing assistance. (T.E.S.).
- 1-10-1982 **Political Parties:** The Liberal Party has decided that sixteen year olds should be able to stand for Parliament. (T.E.S.).
- 2-9-1982 **Race Relations:** The new head of the Commission for Racial Equality, Peter Newsam, declared that the issue of immigration was now out of date. (Guardian).
- 14-9-1982 **Race:** An internal enquiry has cleared the CRE of allegations of racial discrimination in its personnel dept. (Guardian).
- 16-9-1982 Ed Berman, appointed by the Government to encourage entrepreneurial activity in inner cities declares that the problems of the areas will not be solved by merely pouring in cash. (Guardian).
- 17-9-1982 A campaign has begun to open an alternative school for black pupils in Willesden (T.E.S.).
- 7-10-1982 **Youth Unemployment:** A report from MSC states that the Government would need to increase job creation budgets from £1.5 billion to £4.2 billion if it was to be able to offer job or training to every unemployed person on the dole for more than one year. (Guardian).
- 12-10-1982 Unemployed people over 18 will not have to register for work to be paid benefit. This proposal was attacked by the TUC. (Guardian).
- 8-10-1982 **Employment:** More than half the school leavers who take part in one year schemes will finish up on the dole claims Claire Short of Youth Aid. (Teacher).
- 22-10-1982 MSC guidelines to employers on the new Youth Training Scheme allow employers to spend as little or as much as they like on the young people and the kind of training they establish. (T.E.S.).
- 21-10-1982 The Community Programme launched by MSC is finding it difficult to recruit people. (Guardian).
- 23-10-1982 The Youth Opportunities Programme gives no legal protection against race or sex employment discrimination ruled an industrial tribunal. (Guardian).
- 11-9-1982 **Trade Unions:** A move to organise a Youth Council of the TUC was defeated at the Annual Congress. (Guardian)
- 16-10-1982 **Probation officers** refuse to co-operate with the Government's plans to impose curfew ban on young offenders. (Guardian).
- 19-10-1982 **Delinquency** among young oriental Jews in Israel is six times greater than among young W. European Jews. (T.E.S.).
- 29-10-1982 **Crime:** NACRO calls for more co-ordination and more referral procedures as well as guidelines under which magistrates would not make custodial orders without first seeing a social inquiry report. (Guardian).
- 22-10-1982 **Political Education:** Teachers in Inner London have been urged to forget about impartiality when discussing political issues in the classroom and make clear their own views. (T.E.S.).
- 10-9-1982 **Youth Workers:** Offences likely to lead to a youth worker being banned from work include convictions for sexual assault on children, crimes of violence, theft of public funds and fraudulent claims about qualifications. (T.E.S.).
- 10-9-1982 **Corporal Punishment:** The NUT has embarked on a major consultative exercise to determine members' views on the phasing out of corporal punishment in schools. (Teacher).
- 12-11-1982 **Race:** 60% of young Afro-Caribbean people in the 16-20 age range are out of work. (Guardian).
- 18-11-1982 New Government guidelines have been issued under Section 11 of the Local Government Act 1966 dealing with salary costs for race relations workers. (Guardian).
- 18-11-1982 The Governors of Kilburn Polytechnic which provides teachers for the Metropolitan Police School have asked the school to re-instate part of its multi-cultural studies course which was dropped during a dispute over its anti-racist content. (Guardian).
- 27-11-1982 The BBC is still considering monitoring the racial origin of new staff. (Guardian).

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## SUBMISSIONS

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

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