

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

**ISSN 0262 - 9798**

**VOL.2 NO.1 SUMMER 1983**

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Youth and Policy  
ISSN 0262-9798

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

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

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

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

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Typeset and Printed by: Mayfair Printers  
Print House, Factory 3, Sans Street South, Sunderland,  
Tyne and Wear - 79326

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# power, politics and the youth training scheme

SUZY CROFT & PETER BERESFORD

While right wing ideologues like Anderson, Marsland and Lait have sought to prove the failure of state intervention,<sup>(1)</sup> the enormous irony is that Thatcherite government, their political soul-mate, is the most interventionist peace-time regime Britain has known. This is reflected not only in its particular intrusiveness in people's lives through immigration, policing and social security policy and legislation; the abrogation of local authority powers, and its military and economic intervention in the Malvinas/Falklands. Its most conspicuous and perhaps most important expression is to be found in the alternatives to employment policy it has developed in association with its restructuring and run-down of the economy and employment.

The Manpower Services Commission has become an arm of government almost rivalling social security in its scale and ramifications and as McLardy has argued, youth has come to be perceived as the focus of its remedial action, although no less claims could be made by other unemployed people.<sup>(2)</sup> Over 50% of under 18s are unemployed. The MSC itself predicts that this will rise to 63% by the mid 1980s, in some areas to 90%. The government has placed an enormous ideological, economic and political commitment in the massive new Youth Training Scheme. We don't need to detail here what it is about: its fraudulent "training" for non-existent deskilled jobs where training was never needed before, the laundering of employment statistics and the disciplining, occupation and cold storage of young people for a notional labour market in the future.

Most important, we believe it and its predecessors offer government a perhaps originally unenvisaged opportunity to regulate the lives and information received by young people on an unprecedented scale. We do not see young people as passive recipients of such a process, but we do see them exposed to a huge orchestrated apparatus, geared to channel, limit and pre-judge information, learning, thinking and action. The Cabinet Family Policy Group proposals, provoked an outcry of liberal opinion, yet they do no more than state what the government has already begun to do. The YTS is a conspicuous part of that process of, for example, "encouraging the development of children into ... (a Thatcherite image of) self reliant, responsible, enterprising and fulfilled adults."<sup>(3)</sup>

We have argued that we see the social education, or what might better be called the crypto-political educational aspect of MSC/YTS as its most important and disturbing for young people and those expressing solidarity with them. There is already consid-

erable evidence and examples of MSC's appalling track record over political education and "political" issues; closing down projects, curtailing activities and stopping materials and programmes which it sees as conflicting with its own Thatcherite ethos.

We want to pursue this consideration of social/political education, the MSC/YTS and young people through a particular case study. The case study concerns learning material. It is one we know about because it has involved us personally. We also think though that it throws helpful light on some of the key issues concerning government interventions with young people, as well as highlighting the real threats these pose young people and the need to publicise their covert agendas and to develop concerted action against them. What stands revealed is the way in which the unstated remit of YTS and related government "training/education" interventions for working class young people are recognised, anticipated and reinforced by those participants, interests and processes which are part of their overall social construction. We don't think such a micro approach needs any apology because it spells out so simply and starkly the unambiguous reality of government policy. It is perhaps that essential unambiguity we must first accept and internalise if we are ever to challenge such policy effectively.

In late October 1982 we were approached as potential contributors by two college of further education based editors appointed by Longmans Publishers for a new "collection of materials aimed at the rapidly expanding market of 16 and 17 year olds undertaking schemes of pre-vocational education and training (i.e. YTS 17+ and City and Guilds 365)"<sup>(4)</sup> The materials were to be in the form of 28 page, A4 booklets. The plan was for them to be published by September 1983 "ready for the launch of YTS".<sup>(5)</sup>

Detailed guidelines were enclosed by the editors indicating the proposed content and nature of the materials and the form in which submissions should be made. They wrote:

"We have started our analysis of what this collection of materials should contain with the "Common Core of Skills for Vocational Preparation", published by FEU as an amendment to the suggested core in "A Basis For Choice".<sup>(6)</sup>

They identified a number of "content areas" for the collection

of materials. The group titles for these were "Personal Development"; "Roles and Relationships"; "About Work"; "Politics and Resources"; "New Technology"; "The Law: In and Out of Trouble"; "Spare Time and Leisure Interests". A total of 13 to 15 booklets was envisaged.

The "general content" of "Politics and Resources" was listed as "Personal Economics, Macro-economics - the allocation of resources, Politics - decisions and power." "Politics" was spelled out in more detail to be:

"Dealt with via issues rather than the information-based "civics" approach. The aim is to develop "political literacy". What is a political decision? How and by whom is it made. Factors influencing the making of decisions, resources, strength (physical, numbers, economics) power and authority. Choice and the formulation of policy. The organisation and simulation of elections - how candidates influence opinion. Pressure groups - local and national. Bias e.g. in reporting - its effect on opinions."<sup>(7)</sup>

We wrote back to the editors saying that we would be interested in submitting an outline on the issue/area of young people and power, which fitted into their group title category "Politics and Resources". We wrote:

"I guess the kind of group it might cover would be young people and power issues relating to school, race, gender, youth services, government, police, housing, etc., etc."<sup>(8)</sup>

Conscious of the constraints often operating on private enterprise publishers, not to mention the directivist aura of the MSC, we thought it prudent to ask:

"First ... would (this) be seen as a suitable subject for one of the booklets? Second (we) would want to discuss issues of power in such a booklet in a frank and by no means consensual way, dealing with the subject in such a way that the issues of inequality, powerlessness and prejudice that confront young people could be properly brought out and examined. Would this be possible and permissible within this series?"

One of the editors phoned back to say this was fine and for us to go ahead with our submission. We submitted an outline of November 27th, 1982, arranging it in terms of "content" and "student" activities "as indicated", although we did not have time to categorise the suggested "skills" column or add "notes and comments".<sup>(10)</sup> However as we wrote at the time, "from looking though the FEU Common Core it's clear we are covering the areas included in it".<sup>(11)</sup>

It is not possible here to set out our outline in full as it ran to six pages of typescript.<sup>(12)</sup> However it is possible we hope to be able to detail the framework of both the content and student activities proposed in the outline and to give some overall feel of it.

Content was divided into sections with the following headings:

1. Introduction: Power
2. Young People and Power
3. Young People's Access to Power
4. Power Issues for Young People:

1. young people, power and the family
  2. young people, power and school
  3. young people, power, recreation and the youth service
  4. young people, power and state services
  5. young people and power, in and out of employment
  6. young people, power and gender
  7. young people, power and racism
  8. young people, power, the police and juvenile justice
  9. youth culture and power
5. Young People: Getting More Power

Let's look in more details at a few of those issues. For example:

#### **Young People and Power, In and Out of Employment**

The relationship between power and occupation (e.g. differences in power associated with different occupations, i.e. professions, unskilled manual workers, housewives)

1. **In work**
  - low income
  - lack of say
  - lack of training leading to the acquisition of skills - decline in apprenticeships
  - preponderance of menial-defined work without prospects
  - low priority as a trade union issue
2. **Out of work**
  - general problems: financial dependence, lack of status, demoralisation
- 2a **Government training schemes**
  - young people's lack of say in them
  - low income
  - poor prospects
  - training not recognised
- 2b **Unemployed**
  - dependent on poverty level benefits
  - stigma
  - boredom
  - isolation

#### **Young People, Power, the Police and Juvenile Justice**

Young people's powerlessness and their public visibility (e.g. their unmet needs for housing, recreational facilities etc.)

Young people's sense of being harassed by the police

The limits of their effective say and rights in relation to the police

Young people's inadequate rights in juvenile justice processing.

#### **Young People: Getting More Power**

Evidence of young people's desire for more say

Organising for a greater say:

- school students associations/unions
- unemployed workers unions
- trade unions
- alliances with issue and community organisations
- girls only events and the women's movement, consciousness raising and assertion training
- black organisations
- producing young people's accounts.

#### **Young People, Power and the Family**

Power in personal relationships

Parents/young people relationships

Economic dependence of young people in the family

A wide range of students activities was proposed. Unifying these was the idea of drawing on young people's own ideas and experience of the issues; them being able to discuss and share these with each other, gaining insights and information from outside resources, from written material like "Girls Are Powerful" to people involved in power issues affecting young people, from state workers to representatives from community and workplace organisations, as a basis for further consideration and group discussion. So, for example, if we look at the "student activities" suggested for two of the proposed issues:

#### **Young People, Power and School**

Using primary material from school student organisations  
Individually considering their own experience of school and issues of power there  
Bringing these to group discussion and relating them to analysis of the general issues of school and young people's power

#### **Young People: Getting More Power**

Group discussion bringing together individual experience (or the lack of it) of organising; the difficulties involved and the potential.  
Examining successful campaign material and campaign case studies  
Visits to and speakers from community and workplace organisations of interest to the students involved  
Follow-up discussion on getting more power, both personal and political.

We stressed in a cover note that a variety of different students activities were available to be drawn upon and that while certain in the outline were set against each section under the heading of "students activities", "there should be considerable room for flexibility, allowing for the use of role play, discussion with outsiders and the recording of material for wider accessibility, for example, throughout the content of the programme". Also consideration of alternatives was envisaged as a theme running through its entirety as well as one discussed and examined in the last part. We ended by saying:

"It is seen as particularly appropriate that a unit dealing with young people and power should offer the maximum possible participation by students themselves in shaping the course itself and the choice of activities to be carried out."

This was an initial submission. We are certainly not suggesting it represented a full or adequate programme for the issues with which it was concerned. It would have needed further discussion and development, not least with young people themselves. We based the content and the methods on what had come out of work we had been involved in with young people, involving issues of power and powerlessness, but the further discussion with them that was necessary had so far been precluded by the very tight schedule demanded by the publishers and editors.

Belatedly on the 31st January, 1983 a letter was written by one of the project editors to us in response to our submission. It is worth quoting it in full because of the light it casts on the politics of the decision-making process, and to avoid any suggestion of misrepresentation.

"We have spent a long time deliberating about this and we have finally decided not to ask you to go ahead with it. It has been a very difficult decision as there is a very great deal of merit in your proposals. In particular we are very impressed

by the way in which you have dissected the issue of young people's powerlessness and how you have sought to show young people how they can have a much greater influence over the things that affect them. However, the difficulty lies largely in the fact that you seem to be addressing young people collectively rather than individually. Thus, although there are many references to individuals and to the development of individual capabilities and awarenesses, the general tenor seems to be towards mobilising collective action.

Now privately, many of us would agree with the need for such an approach but it is not one which we could adopt in this series. Certainly we wish to develop political awareness in young people and yes it is the intention that young people develop the skills they need in order to lobby effectively on their own behalf. But, in view of the many organisations that will be only too quick to spot what they might view as 'indoctrination', the approach to political education in this series must be very carefully considered. It must be addressed to the individual because we cannot afford to carry any material that smacks of an attempt to mobilise collective action.

I am sorry that we cannot go ahead with your proposal and sorry too that it has taken so long to get back to you, to let you know our decision (The fault is largely mine alone). But, I would stress that we think there is a very great deal of merit in your proposal and would suggest that you canvas other publishers or perhaps consider publishing on your own. In any event we wish you the best of luck - and again - my apologies for taking so long to reply to you."

This statement stands in significant contrast to the original positive response made to our question whether a frank and not necessarily consensual approach to issues of power would be acceptable in this series. It is important to run through some of the arguments and contradictions contained in the statement - a surprisingly frank one perhaps of self-censorship and editorial inhibition.

First we would dispute that the "general tenor" of the submission was towards some exceptional "mobilising (of) collective action". For example, the issues addressed and the methods proposed are unremarkable and quite likely to be found in settings like intermediate treatment, girls only nights, self assertion and race awareness programmes. The choice of language here, "mobilising collective action" is also interesting, because of its particularly loaded nature in this context. Why not "enabling young people to work together" or to "co-operate to improve their situation" - the sort of language that would hardly seem out of place or smacking of subversion in the most traditional youth club. Our submission would not seem to be at odds with the rhetoric of participation and political education contained in the Thompson Report.<sup>(13)</sup> It might well be true to say that the project's definition of politics was much narrower than ours, but that is quite a different issue and we had made explicit in our original letter in response to their initial inquiry, our definition and the nature of the issue of power as we saw it.<sup>(14)</sup>

Second, we would ask how any discussion of power and young people that was not subject to external and arbitrary constraints, could not embrace the possibility of "collective action". The submission discussed both personal, political and other forms of power. All are essentially social and bound up with structural issues. What seems to be being suggested here is

that any consideration of such issues which is not solitary; that is to say, like the group discussions we proposed, may bring with it the possibility of a shared response and a collective reaction. It is this that is unacceptable. At the same time, the editor argues that they "wish to develop political awareness" and that "it is the intention that young people develop the skills they need in order to lobby on their own behalf". How can that possibly be reconciled with their rejection of anything that they see enabling young people to learn to work together in response to a situation of powerlessness?

Perhaps they have in mind a model of skill development regarding power issues rather like the models of skill development that have generally informed YOP and now YTS, which would put it at the fatuous level of how you as an individual, for example, learn how to phone or write to your local authority to complain about the dampness/lack of maintenance/poor street cleaning where you live. It would become part of the "personal development" approach of MSC that assumes the inadequacy of the individual rather than being directed to the emancipation and giving them access to choice. Young People's powerlessness would be reframed as one of those newly discovered "developmental and social inadequacies", as Finn said, "which apparently require new forms of training provision".<sup>(15)</sup> Yet as we have recently seen from the example of the Citizens Advice Bureaux, even agencies and approaches traditionally seen as consensual and non-threatening are coming into the firing line as Thatcherite government pushes forward the frontiers of political control over independent but financially vulnerable agencies.

What the editors seem to be saying is that the approach to the issue of power that would be acceptable to their material is one which individualises it, and that individualisation might seem to extend both to the means and the content of the programme. The logic is clear. As we all know, "united we stand, divided we fall". Thus an atomised examination of power should ensure that it remains a strictly academic exercise. According to the editors, the approach must "be addressed to the individual because we cannot afford to carry any material that smacks off an attempt to mobilise collective action". Is the suggestion that any campaign, for example to provide a road crossing, raise funds for a kidney machine or to object to a planning application, questionable, and that learning about it entails indoctrination? What they really seem to mean is that there is no place for material that "smacks" of anything other than acquiescence to the status quo.

If we accept a definition of political education as that which enables young people to have an understanding and involvement in their situation and which helps equip them with the resources to change it, then that is being ruled out here. We are told that the approach to political education must be very carefully considered because of the many organisations who will be quick to spot "what they might view as indoctrination". But there will be many others, like youth groups, trade unions, community projects and so on, who may see **this** as indoctrination. What the editors would actually seem to be talking about is not offending the definitions of indoctrination of ruling organisations, particularly we may imagine of the MSC itself.

The editors' caution over this major new YTS orientated project may seem eminently understandable in view of the determination we have already seen from the MSC to reject or squash anything that might represent a threat to its orthodoxy.

What we actually seem to be seeing from this example of the social construction of material for young people though, is the development of a hidden curriculum for their social education through covert constraints at work on it and the contribution of commercial and academic interests to this process.

Such a collusion between state, market and educationalists - to perpetuate government versions of events through control and consorship of the material involved in their learning and training, poses an enormous threat to young people's freedom of choice and action. YTS may be laughable. Young people may ridicule and reject it. But in a world where their access to ideas and viewpoints, like that of the rest of us, is heavily screened and filtered by state, market and ruling media, it can still exert a significant influence, if only by what perspectives and values it can distance them from.

The MSC has never involved only government. Academic, trade union and other interests have also had a hand in it. While there is widespread criticism of YTS, there is no general rejection or boycott of it. Indeed in some quarters it is argued that engagement in it may be a more effective means of challenging it.

After the experience so far with YOP, for example, we believe a good case for that has still to be made.

What our example indicates is how deep set some of the problems of collaboration are that need to be faced. We believe that for talk of MSC entryism to be anything more than wishful thinking rhetoric, sometimes underpinned with self-interest, examples like the one we have experienced need to be identified, collated, publicised and challenged. Young people may be able to some extent to buck the MSC system, but on their own they can't beat it or gain alternatives to it. Educationalists and the labour movement must more determinedly show where their loyalties lie, since it is becoming increasingly difficult to trust to the ambiguities of the situation. It would also be valuable if they were to produce more of the kind of "alternative" material and information that is now being screened out of young people's experience.

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3. The Guardian, 17th February, 1983.
4. Covering letter to Suzy Croft from the editors, 20th October, 1982.
5. Ibid
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# the welfare state and adolescent femininity

ANNIE HUDSON

*"By hypothesis most of those who provide bad parenting tend to be the least disciplined and with short-term horizons . . . . Those girls who are at risk will tend neither to restrain themselves nor to insist on or use contraceptives nor to have sufficient grip even to consider abortion in sufficient time. Can their attitudes be changed?"*

(Sir Keith Joseph)<sup>(1)</sup>

Sir Keith Joseph's approach to the 'problem' of a rise in teenage pregnancies displays all the hallmarks of the individualistic and sexist philosophy underpinning much of the welfare state's understanding of girls needs, (his suggestions include an educational programme on the lines of the anti-smoking campaigns). Joseph's comments are contained in one of the documents 'leaked' to the Guardian earlier this year on the work of Mrs. Thatcher's Family Policy Group. They provide a pertinent opening to this article highlighting as they do some of the State's central beliefs and attitudes about female adolescent behaviour. For the State has frequently responded to girls as if they are unable to determine and define their lives; there is an intrinsic belief that some girls will be feckless and irresponsible unless their lives, particularly their sexual behaviour, are brought under the control of some authority, preferably their parents but, in the last resort, the State itself. Boys too are subject to familial and State control, however, not only is the character of the control different for girls and boys but the purposes of such control are substantially different. This is particularly so in terms of the different pictures of 'normal' gender role development which are presented by welfare practitioners as well as by policy makers and the media.

This article traces some of the material and ideological practices which have formed the cornerstone of the Welfare State's, and specifically the personal social services' approach to the needs of adolescent girls. Such practices generate considerable ambiguities and contradictions not only for girls and their families but for social workers as well. Social workers are frequently set up to become the guardians of the dominant morality yet in their daily work with girls they also face (even if they do not always recognise) the private expressions of such public contradictions. Girls who are depressed, who apparently cannot communicate with their families or professionals, who slash their wrists, girls who run away from home and reject family contact are not, as the social science patriarchs would allege, expressing their family or individual psychopathology. Such personal troubles, and they are very distressing and emotion-

ally painful for the girls concerned, are a manifestation of the contradiction between what a girl's perceived and apparently taken for granted needs are, and those needs which often remain denied or invisible. The unequal position which women are accorded in our society is both supported and suggested by welfare policies and practices that deny any recognition of these hidden needs. They serve to contain and constrain a girl within a set of role obligations which give her little social power and status. Nor is it a simple matter of applying a formalistic analysis of social control. Not only would a denial of the personal distress be unrealistic and inhumane, but the patterns of control are exceedingly complex and rely as much on the internalised beliefs held by women as well as by men about 'a woman's place'. In this context, in particular, there are strongly embedded expectations that women are likely to be sick rather than sinful, childish rather than mature, and feckless rather than autonomous and self-responsible. Thus the form of classifying girls' problems has been a morally-partisan exercise. Indeed in the post 1950's era a pseudo moral panic about girls in trouble has gradually escalated and centred on fears that the precocious school-girl of today will produce the psycho-social problems of the future.<sup>(2)</sup>

Before digging down into some of this material, it may be useful to begin with a subjective account from my own work history. I first became interested in the issue of the personal social services and adolescent girls when I was a social worker in an area social services team in the mid seventies. As a team, we were aware of how boys frequently had different experiences of the pathways into welfare networks. In those days there was not much empirical evidence or theory to hand, however, we were nonetheless conscious that boys did seem more likely to enter the welfare system via referrals for truancy and criminal offending from official or social control agencies, very largely the police. In contrast, girls were much more likely to come to our notice because of the concern of informal agencies of social control, notably the family. A common scenario with our girl clients was a harassed, anxious mother who would come into the office and request that 'something be done' about her teenage daughter. The mother might be concerned that her daughter was depressed and withdrawn, or living out her life in ways which did not concur with what the family expected and wished for their daughter; staying out late at night or spending time with 'undesirable lads' were frequent complaints. Concern would often escalate dramatically when there were anxieties around a girl's sexual behaviour, most particularly if it was

feared that she might become 'promiscuous' or pregnant.

It was moreover, not just the presenting concerns and problems that were different for girls and boys; it was also possible to discern different social work responses. Boys were more likely to be treated or punished for their misdemeanours by way of recourse to the juvenile court, or perhaps increasingly to judicially sanctioned schemes such as Intermediate Treatment. We would much more frequently work with girls in the context of the family nexus, usually with an objective of achieving a greater degree of intergenerational co-operation. In short, we would do all we could to maintain a girl in her own home and avoid a reception into care unless the circumstances, parental pressure and evidence suggested that a girl was in such 'moral danger' or so 'uncontrollable' that we felt that we had no real alternative but to take such a step. As social workers, many of us felt caught in a dilemma; we recognised the inequity (as did many of our teenage clients) of the different forms of control exerted on boys and girls respectively. Yet it was sometimes very difficult to evolve a solution which was satisfactory to all parties (parents, girl, agencies). The problem was intensified by the relative lack of resources for creative work with girls in this kind of 'trouble' (especially when legal offending was minimal) compared for example to the rapidly increasing Intermediate Treatment resources for children in trouble with the law (who were predominantly boys). So, as social workers, many of us felt caught on the horns of a dilemma; different forms of practice were not encouraged yet we recognised that the value of residential care placements was little more than as a short-term tranquilliser. In deciding to receive some girls into care, we were unwittingly upholding so-called commonsense preconceptions about the needs of teenage girls (to be protected from themselves and others, particularly men). Not that a refusal to receive a girl into care would necessarily have always been more equitable and humane since on many occasions the girl herself would be pleading to be put into care believing that this would be preferable to the strife and hassle of family life. The grass was not greener on either side of the fence, rather it was pretty brown on both sides.

### **The Welfare State's Hidden Agendas for Family Life**

A discussion of the welfare state's response and construction of adolescent femininity cannot be divorced from an understanding of the ways in which welfare services have defined the needs of the family and specifically of girls in the family. For, as the social services scenario described earlier depicts it is often women in their roles as mothers who seek the intervention of social workers for 'problems' with their daughters. Unlike with boys who are much more likely to be referred by the formal agents of social control (predominantly the police) the behaviour of girls is often, initially at least, the source of consternation for families. The processes of control are more subtle, hidden and diffuse; a comprehensive understanding of the means by which family life, but particularly the life of female members is regulated by welfare services is thus very necessary in this context.

Family policy has recently come into the political ascendancy again in particular the Conservative Family Policy Group are evolving a potentially powerful, it at times highly contradictory and inconsistent, package of policies for 'The Family'. The fate of these policies is not yet clear; what is evident, however, is that we cannot dismiss them as did a Guardian editorial, as unsophisticated "ramblings which are about as fresh as last week's loaf".<sup>(5)</sup> Moreover, many of the ideas contained in the

documents hardly constitute any radical departure from Labour government programmes; they represent instead accentuated forms of previous government welfare policies. The handles have been there since Beveridge; the Conservatives are just pulling on them extra hard.

Barrett and McIntosh have recently discussed the development of the 'anti-social' family and how values of domestic privacy and autonomy have worked against the individualising of the different and sometimes conflicting needs of family members.<sup>(6)</sup> Traditional divisions of family labour with women as unpaid carers and housekeepers bound financially to their husbands have found wholehearted expression in welfare policies. The value that women should be financially dependant on men is replicated in the social security regulations on co-habitation, in the taxation system and so on. More generally from Beveridge onwards<sup>(5)</sup> services have been developed to intervene when the family 'fails'; the Welfare State is there only to provide a minimum 'safety net'. That the family should be front-line providers of care remains a dominant ethic in all our welfare policies. The rush to policies for the community care of the elderly and the handicapped in particular has often been a metaphor for intensifying the emotional and material burdens of caring on women.<sup>(6)</sup> There is little recognition of the interdependency of needs between different social groups or indeed of the importance of projecting images of co-operative care in the community. Instead the family is presented as an undifferentiated package whose duty is to care for its members; there is little analysis of the internal conflicts which may occur between members, for example between adolescents and their parents or between the very aged and their working daughters.

Moreover social policy has taken for granted traditional family forms and not recognised the diversity of patterns across ethnic groups, classes and even regions. It is as if we all live in the near mythological pattern of male breadwinner, female unwaged housewife and 2.4 dependant children when in fact only about 10% of us live in such a unit. Policy makers have hardly confronted the fact that evidence does not accord with such an image.<sup>(7)</sup> Instead State policies have promoted its own ideals about the family. Rather than providing resources to enable the family to meet the material, social and psychological needs of its members it has defined dependency needs as 'problematic' and only stepped in when families 'fail'. Inevitably this penalises status minorities such as women, black people, the elderly and the working class generally; this is apparent in the inadequate resources for children in care and the similarly inadequate resources for young people in disadvantaged inner city areas.

**Welfare practice** have set up a series of contradictions around its policies on the family. For on the one hand the family is to be protected from State intervention (the emphasis on parental responsibility as opposed to the coercion of State professionals was a strong theme in the Family Policy Group documents) but on the other hand it will intervene to protect its vision about how family life generally but particularly how the division of labour between women and men should be. This is another representation of the public-private split which publicly the State likes to maintain but in practice and in its ideology it needs to resist. In such resistance right-wing Conservatives are paradoxically in agreement with feminists. But the similarity ends there; for whilst Conservatives want to preserve the social and moral domination of the male ruling class and use the family as an instrument for their policies, feminists have sought to break



down the walls of illusion that family and inter-personal relations warrant less political analysis and intervention than the battles and struggles on the industrial front.

The contemporary intensification of State intervention in family life has been discussed at length by Jacques Donzelot in his rather densely written but provocative book 'The Policing of Families'.<sup>(8)</sup> He argues that the family has in effect been colonized by the State and that the authority of the family has been gradually broken down by family affairs 'technicians' such as social workers, psychiatrists and counsellors. He maintains that psychoanalysis has been one of the key methods for breaking down familial authority. Psychoanalysis has allowed the family to be

"divested of many of its ancient powers - over the social destiny of its children in particular - yet without disabling it to a point where it could not be furnished with new educative and health-promoting tasks".<sup>(9)</sup>

But Donzelot's analysis falls down in some important respects and Barrett and McIntosh have argued, for instance, that the text has an incipiently anti-feminist tone in the view of women as collaborating with those he terms as the 'psy' experts - as they put it!

"The demise of the authoritarian patriarchal family is mourned and women are blamed for colluding with the demise of this organic basis of social order".<sup>(10)</sup>

Furthermore, Donzelot appears to forget conveniently that patriarchal family forms work against the interests and rights of children as well as women. Notwithstanding these crucial limitations, Donzelot has nevertheless made a significant attempt to trace the complex webs that welfare professionals in particular have woven in assuming their pre-eminence in the State regulation of family life. He draws our attention to the ways in which the 'psy' agencies of the State can, by professing a morally neutral attitude in fact exert material and political domination over working class families. His analysis is useful in considering the means by which adolescent girls are policed by welfare service professionals. For the professional mode of control does not just rely in its claim for authority, on its moral 'rightness' but also and of increasing importance in a technological society, on its ability to claim a scientific base for its work.<sup>(11)</sup> The professionalisation of welfare has diversified the opportunities for increasing social workers claims for intervention; the use of a treatment paradigm in particular legitimates the discretionary use of different forms of intervention and often for unspecified times with the rationale that it is for 'the client's own good'. The discretionary aspect of treatment ideologies has a particularly important resonance for adolescent girls. Their problems are frequently defined as being related to some problem or lack in their personality; the obvious response thus becomes remedial treatment of some kind (family casework or residential care for example). This is not to decry the sensitive attempts of many social workers to offer constructive support to these girls and to endeavour to raise their self-esteem. Sensitive support, however, needs to be accompanied by a similarly acute awareness of the effects of social workers utilising their discretionary powers.

The Welfare State contains many hidden agendas for family life; these have a crucial and determining significance on the ways in which adolescent femininity is construed and thereby

has affected the methods of responding to adolescent girls 'in trouble'. Firstly however, it is useful to clarify what is being meant here by the rather loose concept of 'girls in trouble'. Definitions of delinquency are notoriously difficult so the term 'delinquent girls' has been abandoned in this context (except when referring explicitly to criminal offending by girls). For, whilst some girls do find their way into welfare networks because they have been found guilty of criminal offences, many do so, in large part because they are seen to be transgressing social rules and norms particularly about their perceived sexual behaviour and because they are the source of parental and official concern for being 'at risk' of falling into either category (criminal or social offending). The less specific and looser concept of 'girls in trouble' is thus a more useful term for my purpose here in examining some of the broader contextual and ideological issues around the ways in which girls are perceived and responded to by the personal social services.

### Deviance and the Feminine Role

Until recently sociological explanations of the different careers of girls and boys falling into the welfare net have been posited on ideas of girls 'troubles' being inextricably linked to their deviance from the feminine role. Thus girls who get into trouble (both through criminal offending and the more diffuse moral deviance categories) have been regarded as having problems in adjusting to the feminine role, that is as a non-assertive and passive future home maker and child carer.<sup>(12)</sup> The equation particularly of juvenile female delinquency with a confused sexual identity can be traced in much of the academic literature. One of the most influential accounts has been the work by Cowie, Cowie and Slater.<sup>(13)</sup> They assume that because girls' perceived deviancy centres around sexual behaviour then the precipitating factors for a girl's delinquency often reside in her physical characteristics. They assert with positivistic confidence that the girls they studied

"are noticed to be over-sized, lumpish, uncouth and graceless, with a varied incidence of minor physical defects".<sup>(14)</sup>

Delinquent girls, in their view, have problems because they are not sufficiently feminine according to cultural norms of attractiveness. There is an almost total absence of any discussion of the social contexts of the girls lives both before and after they come into care. The theme of the 'sexualisation of female delinquency' recurs again and again in the traditional literature and has now been justifiably criticised by feminist criminologists such as Smart and Smith in this country and Chesney-Lind<sup>(15)</sup> in the United States. Traditional criminological approaches, Campbell reminds us, present delinquent girls are "able to relate to others only from a horizontal position".<sup>(16)</sup> It is as if girls, unlike their male counterparts, are not credited with the will, the bravado or the ability to engage in acts of deviance for excitement, for cash or as a way of kicking against a system which offers very little material or social reward. The new criminologists, moreover, have largely taken on board such assumptions and only gradually are these being whittled away. Girls are often seen as passive or at least as lacking in any assertive will to fight back. Moreover their teenage culture has been presented largely as individualistic and orientated towards boys, marriage and romance. McRobbie and Garber have suggested that we need to tease out some of these assumptions precisely because 'the street' is not always safe for girls. Girls' sub-cultures may be less visible but not necessarily less organised to those of boys.<sup>(17)</sup> The tensions and contradictions which girls, especially working class girls, experience will have

a different shape to that of their male peers. Moreover, within girls cultures there will be many varieties of opposition and these need to be understood sensitively so that class and race centric assumptions are not made. Amos and Parmar<sup>(18)</sup> make some telling points when they remind us of how academics and the 'helping and caring' professions have problematised Afro-Caribbean and Asian cultures. They quote from white social workers who underscore this point, for example one comments:

"Particularly with the West Indians, there are problems with teenage girls. Their **culture** is so different and the girls want more freedom."<sup>(19)</sup> (their emphasis)

By diverting our attention from the racist character of British society and by pathologising black culture and the black family, welfare practitioners are denying black girls the integrity and right to define their own culture.

Girls are subject to the tension between the social preparation for marriage and motherhood and the desire to have a good time while they can. 'Larking around' for boys (including a not 'unacceptable' slice of delinquency) will not threaten a boy's future status as husband and worker in the way that falling off the narrow tightrope of social respectability will jeopardise a girl's future status as a mother and wife. The discourse of adolescence thus runs a different path for girls; it is inextricably bound up with an acute anticipation of the future. Girls, parents and welfare workers are all likely to have a keen sense of the significance for the future of present behaviour. Hence there is a ready-made justification for the surveillance, under the guise of protective paternalism,<sup>(20)</sup> of adolescent girls' general moral behaviour: "It's for her own future good that we want to protect her now."

Traditional criminological approaches are limited not merely in terms of their intrinsic perpetuation of a dominant ideology of women's status and role but also because, as the work of Smith and Campbell<sup>(21)</sup> has highlighted, such perspectives take for granted the official statistics. The actual rate of criminal offending for girls is often greater than the official statistics suggest; additionally the patterns of offending are not that dissimilar, if less intensive, than those of boys.

The picture painted by traditional criminology is essentially a partial one reflecting in part the sexist bias of predominantly male researchers. Such social science assumptions have been mirrored in welfare policy and practice; the statement by Sir Keith Joseph quoted earlier is one example of the kind of thinking - if an extreme and blatant form - which has so often been dominant in welfare practice. Casburn's research into the workings of a juvenile court in a London borough underlines the specifically moral concerns by magistrates and social workers about girls appearing in juvenile court.<sup>(22)</sup> Her study suggests that if a girl does appear before a court she will be vulnerable to greater judicial sanction, proportional to offences, than boys. Thus, for similar offences and antecedent histories girls were more likely to be placed on care orders than boys who were more likely to be given a fine or conditional discharge. Casburn suggests that a girl is thereby being 'doubly punished'; a girl is often penalised both for the criminal offences of which she has been found guilty and for the social and moral 'crimes' of wayward behaviour, inappropriate dress, 'promiscuous' behaviour and generally non-conforming feminine behaviour. Moreover, in her study recommendations in the social enquiry reports

written by social workers were very largely followed by magistrates so the latter cannot always be made the scapegoats of social services practices and stereotypes.

### **Welfare and Justice System Responses**

Whilst number crunching the official statistics inevitably provides us with an occluded picture of reality and fails to yield understandings of the meanings of actions given by the different participants involved, they do nonetheless proffer a useful starting point for a skeletal sense of some of the issues involved. Traditional criminology has long operated with the notion that women and girls are subject to what has euphemistically been referred to as the 'chivalry factor in the criminal justice system.' Women and girls, it has been asserted, get an easier deal for their criminal offending; they are more likely to receive a caution, receive an individualised sentence and less likely to go to prison. If we probe deeper, as Smart<sup>(23)</sup> has done with considerable care and precision, we find a more complex pattern that emphasises that the criminal justice system in fact frequently perpetuates women's subordination. For the criminal justice system responds to women and girls who break the law as if they were not 'true criminals' but who instead are passive victims of their circumstances whether this is their individual psychopathology, the domination of their male mate, or simple helplessness. Smart points out moreover, that the use of supposedly more lenient sanctions (such as individualised sentencing and orders for psychiatric treatment) reinforces women's subordination by defining their personalities in certain fixed ways. The implication of such sentences is that women are 'sick'; they are neurotic and irrational and 'need' some help to re-adjust their personality away from deviant behaviour. The most blatant example of this is evidenced in the criminal justice system's response to prostitution. The double standard about prostitution frees men from intervention by the law whilst women constantly run the risk of imprisonment and definitions that her life-style is a reflection of an inadequate psychological make-up. This helps to explain the orientation of the probation service towards counselling prostitute clients about their emotional and material problems as a way of diverting them away from soliciting.<sup>(24)</sup>

Within the juvenile justice system girls do seem more likely to receive a caution for their legal misdemeanours. In 1981, for example, 69% of boys aged 10-14 received a caution for indictable offences whilst 87% of girls in this age group received a caution. In the 14-17 age group the gap is proportionally even greater; 34% of boys were cautioned whilst 60% of girls received such a disposal.<sup>(25)</sup> Such figures are problematic, however, in that they do not tell us anything about the seriousness of the offences committed. Moreover, when girls do appear before the court, Casburn's<sup>(26)</sup> work suggests, then they may receive additional penalties for flouting social as well as the legal rules. For boys, offending usually only challenges proscribed legal norms, and may in part, providing the pattern of offending is not too intense, be containable within current discourses about male adolescence. In other words, boys will be boys and get into trouble, but this can be deemed to be appropriate gender behaviour and is all part of their growing up. For, it needs to be remembered, the vast majority of children who get into criminal trouble will never come near the courts in their adult life.

For girls, the fact of getting into criminal and thus social trouble may well be perceived by adults (parents and officials) as an indicator of not following 'normal' gender role development. A

girl, who for example, flouts sexual mores by seemingly having sexual relations with more than one person (or is at risk of so doing) may be seen as rejecting deeply embedded codes about feminine behaviour and particularly the code of monogamy. Smith's study adds empirical weight to this view; she found that girls in need of care and protection and control and known to have had sexual intercourse were seven times more likely to be incarcerated than those found guilty of criminal offences.<sup>(27)</sup> There is a sense then, that girls may receive more favourable treatment by the welfare and justice system unless or until they transgress moral codes when an over-emphasis of their sexual misdemeanours may occur.

Boys and girls in both the 10-14 and 14-17 age groups are more or less equally likely to receive a community-based disposal for offences (absolute and conditional discharge, fine, probation or supervision order, or attendance centre order; the latter is in reality rarely used for girls because of the very limited number of such centres for girls). 88% of girls and 92% of boys will receive one of these disposals for indictable offences in the 10-14 age group, and 87% of girls and 83% of boys in the 14-17 age group. It is in the non-community disposals that the patterns seem to diverge most significantly. 3% of boys in the 14-17 year group will receive a care order, but 6% of girls will receive this form of disposal. In contrast only 1.5% of girls were sent for Borstal training but 4% and 10% of boys were sent to Borstal and Detention Centre (the latter being a punishment reserved for boys alone).<sup>(28)</sup> These are important differences which demand explanation and critical analysis.

Similarly, even a superficial reading of the statistics relating to the categories by which children came into care via the courts under the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act reveal other important gender-related patterns.

**Children coming into Care under the Children and Young Persons Act 1969 during the year ending 31st March 1980<sup>(29)</sup> England (actual numbers and percentage)**

		Male	Female	Male	Female
Section 1 (2)	Development neglected, Impaired etc.	1238	1109	52.7	43.3
Section 1 (2) C	Exposed to Moral Danger	52	1198	20.8	79.2
Section 1 (2) D	Beyond Parental Control	414	373	52.6	47.4
Section 1 (2) E	Not Receiving Full-Time Education	607	500	54.8	45.2
Section 1 (2) F	Guilty of an Offence	2742	538	83.6	16.4
Sectand 7 (7)	(excluding homicide)				

The table reveals that the vast majority (79.2%) of children entering care through the courts under the 'moral danger' category are girls, whilst also a small proportion (16.4%) of those come into care under the criminal offence clause. While the 'moral danger' category only accounts for a small percentage (3.2%) of the total number of children entering care under Section 1 of the Children and Young Persons Act 1969, the overwhelming differences in these particular categories emphasise the different passages and responses to the careers of girls and boys in trouble.

To date there has been little research into the ways in which 'moral danger' is defined either by magistrates or social workers. However, it is possible to categorise 'moral danger' as a status offence, that is it relates to a young person's general

behaviour (like being 'beyond parental control') rather than to specific criminal actions such as theft and burglary. Gelsthorpe suggests that 'moral danger' sometimes

"can mean girls staying out late, being disobedient **and** committing offences. It appears that in the case of boys it is their offending which is concentrated on even if they are disobedient and stay out late."<sup>(30)</sup>

(her emphasis)

Parker, Casburn and Turnbull<sup>(31)</sup> also encountered the phenomenon of tariff jumping with many of the girls in their study. They found that girls charged with criminal offences often faced a 'hidden offence' which was inappropriately in terms of due process, included in the sentence. This tariff jumping can be explained partly by differential attitudes towards girls' and boys' appearances in court and partly by the absence of an extensive tariff range for girls. Such an absence

"makes the bumping up from middle to high tariff much more problematic."<sup>(32)</sup>

Furthermore tentative statements can also be made concerning the use of care and supervision orders for girls and boys respectively when non-school attendance is at issue. The work of one area social services team locally highlights this. In a survey of their recommendations, 90% of supervision orders have been for boys, whilst 60% of care order recommendations in such circumstances have been for girls.

Casburn suggests that the juvenile court can thus be seen

"as a management tool, equipped to correct and survey female behaviour which is not 'sugar and spice and all nice things' but, rather flaunts normative expectations by challenging family authority and threatening truancy and sexual promiscuity."<sup>(33)</sup>

The greater use of care orders for girls over borstal training might seem to be more benign and a reflection again of the 'chivalry factor'. Certainly it may indeed be the articulation of an unconscious wish to protect girls from the harsh 'masculine' world of the Borstal. However, to imply that care is not experienced as a punishment denies the fact that for many the punishment is experienced as greater given that the care order lasts till a young person is 18 unless the order is rescinded by a court. Both Borstal and Detention Centre orders are of a determinate length. Once a care order is made, decision-making becomes both more invisible and diffuse; whilst increasingly children are involved in their own case conferences, decisions are frequently still 'out of their reach' by virtue of the professional power that welfare workers can use to protect them from real client participation.

The statistics about court disposals are revealing it should be stressed only about decision-making at a relatively late stage in the welfare pathways. To develop a more comprehensive critique we need to move back to earlier stages in a girl's career in the welfare and justice system. This will help to elucidate some of the processes and contradictions which girls who have contact with the personal social services are often subject to.

An over-reliance on statistics is problematic not just because of difficulties in the ways in which they are collected.<sup>(34)</sup> More specifically, in the case of teenage girls as my own recent discussions

with social services area teams have emphasised, many girls are referred to social services by informal networks, particularly their parents, and to a lesser extent, schools and medical practitioners. Very often, as was suggested earlier, girls are referred because of concern for their moodiness, depression, staying out late and 'difficult' behaviour generally. Such informal referrals to social services are most likely to be met by some form (if resources allow) of family casework intervention. Whilst this response may have the advantage of not pushing girls into more formal judicial forms of control, it does emphasise Donzelot's thesis that the twentieth century welfare state has witnessed an increase in the extent of government through the family.

We have to look however, beyond the nature of the referrals themselves and understand both the discourses involved in the relationship between the family and the state and how these effect teenage girls who come to the notice of the personal social services. Many girls who are referred have very poor-esteem, are depressed and lacking in confidence. Such difficulties cannot be dismissed with the rhetoric that they are 'oppressed'; these are real personal dilemmas that demand support and sensitivity. Yet they can only be satisfactorily responded to within a broader social critique of the position of young women in their families and in society generally. Social work methods typically ignore the latter dimension and hence bolster a psychopathology orientation to girls' troubles. Sexuality is clearly a central point of reference in this part of the discussion and it is to this that I now turn.

#### Adolescent Girls and Sexuality

The shape and meaning of sexuality on what Nava calls the 'contradictory quagmire' of adolescence and femininity<sup>(35)</sup> constitutes one of the core themes permeating welfare practice and policy. Sexual attractiveness is traditionally regarded as a woman's pre-eminent vehicle for achieving social status and reward. The less she has access to economic autonomy, the more she will have to rely on her sexual attractiveness to achieve social status. But such social values put young women in a double bind; in the words of Connell et al., they are "caught between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea".<sup>(36)</sup> For if a girl is assertive and too open in expressing her sexuality, she becomes, under certain circumstances vulnerable to the negative category of 'slag'<sup>(37)</sup> and hence susceptible to anxieties amongst her family, school and neighbourhood that she is in 'moral danger' or 'at risk'. Moreover, advertising, peer group pressure and generalised social expectations exhort girls to ensure constantly that they dress and 'look right'. Working class girls will not have the same material power as their middle class peers to join in the latest fashion; this may, Campbell<sup>(38)</sup> has suggested, push some girls into illegitimate activities.

Such tensions reflect the contradiction between the discourses of morality and permissiveness which all teenage girls are susceptible to. They must very adeptly walk a tightrope between 'public decency' and evident 'sexual attraction'; the risks and dangers which accrue from falling off this tightrope will be particularly great for working class girls, not least because working class girls lack the social leverage needed to steer clear of some of the controlling and stigmatising aspects of the personal social services. Girls, then, occupy a kind of sexual twilight zone; their future status and social relations are crucially bound up with their adolescent experiences. In many senses, the dilemmas have been intensified in the post-war era with the arrival of the era of 'sexual permissiveness'. The permissive society may have finally asserted that women could experience sexual plea-

sure but women have still not been accorded with the same rights to define such pleasure. In fact women have been exhorted to engage in more sexual behaviour but in a way that is essentially reactive and subservient to the needs of men. The traditional pictures of romance may have become more complicated but they have not been denuded of their previous meanings.<sup>(39)</sup> To say 'no' renders a girl vulnerable to the repercussions of the other negative label, 'drag'.<sup>(40)</sup> Indeed the language itself is significant and highlights how we lack a language to describe the expression of teenage boys' sexuality. Boys are given more opportunity to define their own sexual behaviour so that the same kind of simplistic linguistic labels have not been generated.

Young women's sexuality is presented as passive and potentially vulnerable to the exploitation by men. This has an obvious element of reality in that all women are exploited by the social and material power relationship men have over them. However, such a view denies young women any right to choose and determine their sexuality; instead their sexuality is placed under surveillance lest they tread 'forbidden territories'.

#### Girls and the Family

Mothers are also in a double bind; the traditional emotional division of labour in families gives mothers the caring and expressive roles so that they are seen and usually see themselves as carrying the affective needs of the family members. This places them in a position whereby they will worry about their daughter's present behaviour and be anxious in case this jeopardises their future status as a wife and mother. In the family situations referred to social services departments it is often the mother who is pleading for 'something to be done' about their daughters socially problematic behaviour or general unhappiness, yet a formalistic analysis of patterns of the social control of women can over-simplify the power dynamics within families. The work in the sixties by Laing et al.<sup>(41)</sup> emphasised the crucial role of family dynamics in engineering the labelling of 'problematic youngsters', particularly young women. However Laing's approach reflected an essentially patriarchal conceptualisation of family relations and did not take account of the subtle power relations between women and men in the home. A more comprehensive recognition of the ways in which the needs and behaviour of adolescent girls are responded to and controlled by internalised ideologies about family life and the appropriate gender roles for its members needs to take account of the invisible but entrenched way in which male power is exerted behind the family's front door.

The report from Battersea Community Action on 'Being a Girl in the Family' yields evidence of girls' own feelings about the differential standards of expectation in the family between themselves and their brothers. Two of their respondents commented:

"Another thing is the boys are allowed out anytime they want, you know, but when you go out parents go on and on."

"When I go to a party my mum says 'watch your drink, what no-one puts anything in your drink' an' all this lot and I say to her - 'what do you think I go to - orgies?'"<sup>(42)</sup>

In many respects, girls tend to share the experiences of their mothers in that their subordination is less spoken of and thus denied. Dahl and Snare<sup>(43)</sup> suggest that the State constructs the

domestic sphere as a private prison for women. Such a 'coercion of privacy' results from the State's failure to protect women and its simultaneous handing over control of this sphere of social life to men. This 'coercion of privacy' operates equally for adolescent girls. Their ability to develop an autonomous life and relationships outside the family is constantly curtailed by the State's need to ensure that such behaviour accords with socially acceptable norms and values. The 'coercion of privacy' thesis is given added weight in the light of the increasing evidence about the extensiveness of incest in families. Nelson's recent study has highlighted how research statistics demonstrate that up to 90% of victims are female and more than 95% of offenders are male.<sup>(44)</sup> So strong are the taboos on the subject that it is a problem that remains largely invisible, or at least unresponded to by professionals. Nelson comments:

"Incest is supposed to be a tiny and remote problem; it is also supposed to be taboo. Yet as soon as you start talking about it, the wall of silence is broken by a flood of information, the remote experience of other people becomes an experience from 'close to home' - or from outside it."<sup>(45)</sup>

The under-reporting of incest is clearly related to the shame, humiliation and reluctance to break up the home. Although some of the silence on the issue is now beginning to evaporate, the reluctance of the personal social services to identify the problem and to relate it to patterns of male power reflects (as it has done with marital violence) the Welfare State's preference for upholding forms of family life which accord with a familist ideology.

In view of the specific contradiction around adolescent girls sexuality and their general social behaviour it follows that parents, but particularly mothers, are likely to feel more concerned about their daughters. For boys can be given more space and leverage than their sisters to explore their social and geographical surroundings. Girls 'problems' cannot as a consequence be divorced from an understanding of the sexual divisions in the family.

### **Welfare Intervention and the Culture of Femininity**

When the welfare services enter the family lives of adolescent girls, professionals are likely to carry what Barbara Hudson appositely terms a 'hidden curriculum'. She suggests that social workers often unwittingly pass on to their adolescent female clients dominant expectations about appropriate female behaviour. She cites the reaction to aggression in girls as an example of such gender stereotyping;

"Social workers are still bound by psychoanalytic imagery of aggression as masculine, passivity as feminine. This imagery, broken adrift from its Freudian moorings and floating freely as the 'common knowledge' and 'popular stereotype' of outrage, is so culturally pervasive that it is difficult to imagine how social works, or anyone else could escape its influence."<sup>(46)</sup>

Certainly my own experiences of talking to social workers and social work students sustain her ideas. For it is startling how often they have commented on their experiences of girls as being 'difficult to work with', how they find girls' violence and anger as 'harder to control', how girls seem more likely to 'keep things to themselves' and finally how hard it is to know how to engage the interest of their adolescent girl clients. Boys are regarded as easier to engage in activity based work and provide

social workers with a more accessible vehicle for that font of social work offerings, 'the social work relationship'. One implication of this is clearly that practice needs to get beyond these assumptions and pro-actively create situations in which girls can be encouraged to explore interests and activities which help give them a sense of themselves that is both more self-affirming and assertive.

Intervention by social services (or child guidance) may lead to the application of the label 'at risk'; a term which seems largely to be reserved, in the child-care field at least, for children at risk of non-accidental injury or adolescent girls 'at risk' of becoming promiscuous and/or pregnant. The label does not, of itself, specify, however, the nature of the risk, instead it is frequently used in a somewhat vague and diffuse way. It is important to be clear what these risks are and who is defining girls in this way. The label often implies a predictive assessment of future rather than current or past behaviour. Social control and concern is thus being exercised through an expectation of what may happen in the future. For example a girl may be deemed to be 'at risk' of getting in with the 'wrong crowd of men', or of becoming pregnant out of wedlock; in essence contravening key social prescriptions of femininity. Having completed a placement in a girl's community home (CHE) a social work student pertinently commented that the residential process resembled the ways in which wild horses are 'rounded up' and put in a corral to be tamed and trained. The metaphor powerfully captures some of the concerns around 'uncontrollable' female behaviour; society generally, and social workers specifically, are threatened by 'acting out' and assertive behaviour by girls. Girls are undoubtedly 'at risk' when they are in public places; it would be naive to suggest otherwise. What needs to be contested, however, is whether they are at risk from themselves (as may be implied by reception into care) or rather whether the dangers lie in the potential of male violence and exploitation 'on the street'. Implicit in the idea of protection and encouraging girls to stay at home is that then they would be safe. There are two paradoxes here: firstly, as we have seen, the research on incest highlights how the home is not a safe place for all young women. Secondly, the 'rounding up' idea presumes that girls need and can be 'tamed' and 'trained'. Life in care does not preclude a girl from becoming pregnant and moreover brings a stigma and other social and emotional disadvantages which may be difficult to shake off.

Beneath these processes lies an implication that when girls are passive and in the home, their femininity will not be questioned, but if a girl crosses conventional boundaries about femininity, by openly expressing her sexuality, or by speaking out then she, becomes intrinsically threatening to capitalism and to patriarchy. Such control is the other side of chivalry and is a representation of the 'whore-madonna' syndrome in action; a girl is expected to demonstrate her interest and ability in preparing for her future role as wife and mother. If she errs to much from this path then she may become the focus for concern and supervision and be re-defined by others as not 'fully feminine'. Moreover she can become a kind of state devil marking out the boundaries between 'moral' and 'immoral' behaviour.

Significantly too, there is a considerable hiatus between the kind of explanatory paradigms which social workers are likely to use to understand girls' troublesome behaviour and that of boys. Such a hiatus underscores the divergence referred to earlier between the sociological and subcultural explanatory

theories used for boys delinquency, and the essentially individualistic and psychopathological explanations used for girls in trouble. The training and orientation of social workers inevitably locks them into a mode of making sense of girls behaviour that finds fault with girl's learning of appropriate role behaviour or her personality structure rather than exploring the influence of the social context of behaviour.

An examination of the different methods of social work employed for girls and boys reveals difference in the resources available for intervention. The expansion of Intermediate Treatment reflects the political concern for the delinquent whose behaviour is visible and thus is a thorn in the flesh of the dominant social order. Moreover, the increased use of I.T. reflects a professional recognition both of the influence of peer groups and of the limited effectiveness and validity of individual casework with male adolescents in trouble. The proliferation of I.T. methods and research whilst receiving due critical attention, nonetheless has encouraged a much more creative and flexible welfare response to the needs of youth in trouble. However 'youth' in this case is gender blind; girls' needs remain once more invisible and unnoticed. There is no intrinsic reason why I.T. resources should not be used for adolescent girls but the reality has been that the orientation has been specifically geared towards the needs and interests of boys. The emphasis on traditional teenage male pursuits in many projects and centres (such as pot-holing, motor bike maintenance and rock climbing), together with, increasingly, the use of I.T. for those at 'the hard end' of the delinquency spiral has constrained the development of I.T. as a resource for boys and girls equally. Typically I.T. projects proclaim that they would like to work more extensively with girls and point to the lack of referrals from social workers. However, it is not difficult to understand why referrals are so overwhelmingly for boys. Social workers recognise that many I.T. projects do not currently cater for the different needs, resources and problems of girls. Not that work with girls should focus solely on traditional adolescent female hobbies (such as cookery and hairdressing) and exclude girls from having access to traditional teenage male pastimes. Indeed many of the more innovative approaches to youth work with girls have discovered that girls enjoy, for example, learning judo and to ride motorbicycles. It is rather than such activities need to be offered in a separate setting which is sensitive to the difficulty girls can have in joining in those activities which traditionally they have had only minimal access. The net effect has, together with the apprehensions many social workers have about working with girls in groups, constrained the development of alternative strategies for social work with girls in trouble.

Social casework has maintained its hegemony in the armory of welfare methods. Though it would be hard to argue now that the psychoanalytic is the only psychological perspective used by social work practitioners, nonetheless most social casework approaches borrow implicitly or explicitly from psycho-analytical perspectives. As we have seen orthodox casework approaches detract attention from the broader social forces shaping a girls life experience, and particularly some of the contradictions which being a young woman in our culture present for individual girls.

Casework need not intrinsically be oppressing of girls' needs. So some social workers are attempting to develop methods of working with girls in their families that actively try to enable girls to unravel their personal problems (for example depres-

sion, poor self-esteem or rows with parents) with an understanding of their position as young women, rather than blaming themselves when things go wrong. Increasingly too, some social workers are challenging the organisational orthodoxy and using groupwork as a vehicle for bringing their teenage female clients together to explore common and shared needs, difficulties and resources. The work Orbach and Eichenbaum<sup>(47)</sup> is relevant here in its attempt to develop a theory and practice of women's needs and how such needs have been denied by a malecentric social and emotional culture. The emotional problems experienced by many teenage girls need to be theorised not around family socialisation or inadequate child-rearing, but rather around the way in which girls learn to suppress their needs and creativity. Such denial of the needs for expression and personal development leads many girls into the cycles of despair, guilt and self-loathing that propell them into welfare networks.

When family casework 'fails', when the police or even a girl herself finds the home situation too distressing, (for it is not unusual for a girl herself to request reception into care), the local authority social worker is often faced with a decision to take a girl into care either voluntarily or statutorily through the juvenile courts. There is a "leapfrog" effect whereby girls often jump over intermediate forms of support into the care alternative. This is more commonplace than with boys since boys' problems (evolving largely around criminal offending) can, when voluntary supervision is no longer viable, be dealt with by use of Intermediate Treatment or Attendance Centre orders. These kind of intermediary resources are not generally so available for girls.

Finally, it is also important to develop a feminist critique of the ways in which residential care establishments are themselves constructed around dominant ideas about femininity. To date, the evidence is somewhat scanty, largely because researchers have not linked gender identity with the workings of social services residential establishments. Ackland's recent work on a girls' community home (CHE) provides a glimpse of a more critical analysis though his analysis remains very unfinished and only occasionally does his study discuss the social and ideological structures underpinning the girls' experiences of being in care. He concludes however that

"the traditional stereotype of women's role in society as essentially submissive and non-aggressive and in which child-rearing and caring for a home are regarded as primary obligations, had a strong effect on what the staff considered as appropriate and acceptable behaviour."<sup>(48)</sup>

Moreover, 'improvement' was evaluated on the basis of a girl's behaviour towards other girls and the staff or of being better able to carry out domestic duties. The primary emphasis on domestic tasks as being women's primary obligations is not only sexist in preparing young women for a narrow and constrained set of social roles but it is also an inaccurate perception of what most working-class women's lives are actually like. For women's lives are no longer centred around the cradle and the cooker; the majority of married women are in waged work for most of their adult lives.<sup>(49)</sup>

### Concluding Comments

In work with adolescent girls, social workers are themselves often caught between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea. Their roles are essentially contradictory, founded, as they are both on the pressures to be State surveillance workers and on the pos-

sibilities of giving active support to girls whose personal troubles are but a manifestation of broader public issues. The active development of the latter however relies essentially on a feminist critique of the prevailing, if diffuse, assumptions about adolescent femininity. It is not sufficient to re-define girls' problems as being social rather than individual in origin; the complex links between State ideology and practice and the power dynamics of family suggest the need for a comprehensive framework that recognises the mutual dependency of both institutions in maintaining class and male power. Hopefully, this will allow some welfare practitioners at least to evolve methods of work which enable girls' personal and collective needs and resources to be expressed rather than denied and misunderstood.

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# review symposium

## part II

# experience and participation - report of the review group on the youth service a step forward?

MARION LEIGH

Government reports and reviews come and go with varying effects. Some sink rapidly without a trace. Others loom like giants on the landscape, and have profound and far-reaching effects long after their publication. Others are identified retrospectively by one or two features, as for example with *Albermarle* and buildings. What then is the future for Thompson?

The Thompson Report deserves to be remembered as one of the great education reports if two of its recommendations<sup>(1)</sup> are implemented. Statutory grants for initial training and a redressing of the imbalance between the sexes in use, opportunity and staffing would between them bring about such a transformation both in youth work and the Youth and Community Service as to be breathtaking in the possibilities which are opened up. On these two counts alone the Report is to be welcomed. I wish to discuss these recommendations in greater detail, but before doing so, there are some general points about the Report and the Review Group which seem worthy of note.

There was a departure from precedent in the appointment of the Chair to the Review Group. Whilst there is no reason why this should not be a recently retired civil servant, such an appointment does suggest a strong government orientation. There are some important recommendations and comment for the field, even if narrowly referred to throughout as the Youth Service. The overall impression however, is that this is a report addressed primarily to government departments and all the recommendations should, on my reading, be interpreted in the light of that orientation.

In the radical monetarist climate of the present the need for the DES to argue the case for education, including youth work, with other government departments is sharply increased. The cut-backs in the size of the Inspectorate by one-third, means there is a greater dependence on other sources for the collection, collation and even the evaluation of information from the field which the hard-pressed Inspectorate will need in this task. Comments on the role of the National Youth bureau seem to bear this out<sup>(2)</sup> and in looking round for such assistance, it must

have seemed the obvious candidate. If the NYB were to take on a servicing role for central government, which is itself open to question, there is still the need for it to provide support for the field which was the purpose for which the Bureau was originally set up. Even if these two functions were compatible, which is certainly open to doubt, this would involve a substantial increase in resources for what is at present a much smaller organisation than is sometimes realised. With a national remit, its professional staff amount to no more than a small to medium department in a college.

The phraseology of the Report throughout<sup>(3)</sup> suggests that the youth club is the norm in youth and community work. It appears to make many assumptions based on this regarding management, training and the nature of social and political education, which take no account of the complexity of provision, method or ages which are encompassed within youth and community work. In this it seems more concerned in addressing the departmental and organisational problems of central government than the issues confronting the field.

The transfer of the Youth Service from Other Further Education to Special Services within the DES itself has gone largely unremarked and the full implications of this move are still not clear. This change is likely to have increased the need to argue its case within the DES and from a different base. The proposals for a central body with accountability for training can be interpreted in this context.

Support for the transfer of responsibility for education from local to central government surfaces intermittently, and did so during the period in which the Report was being prepared. These proposals and those for the National Advisory Council with appointed membership would strengthen the DES arm departmentally if this transfer took place. If local authorities retain control however, the effect of such bodies might be a further distancing of the DES Inspectorate from the field.

A central body on training will have to prove its worth and such



bodies have a chequered history. The equivalent body on teacher training, for example, has been blacked by the NUT for the past two years. A fixed period contracts system and secondment to the body, as with the FE Curriculum Development Unit, might however do something to alleviate anxieties about elitism and control and provide a better basis for dialogue. There is already of course a more coherent and organised training pattern in youth and community work than in FE. The maintenance of something as sensitive as the Professional Register should surely remain in the care of the Inspectorate and the Department, or at least for the next five years until the new central body has been able to build up trust and credibility.

There is throughout the Report an inconsistency between the specificity of some proposals compared with the generalised comments elsewhere in the Report on, for example, the need to work with young people and adults in a wide variety of settings and contexts, where the assumption of consensus is unhelpful.<sup>(4)</sup> In general there could not have been a more urgent need, nor a more challenging task than that involved in preparing a national review at this point of time. The title pages and summaries of recommendations show the all-inclusive nature of the Thompson Report. It provides a very useful guide to the Youth Service for those outside it and it will be a useful document to put into the hands of the interested but uninformed outside education, and perhaps inside it too. What appear as generalised statements in the text may be supported by the substantial survey of young people (the Q-search) which was conducted for the Review Body. Whatever the limitations of survey material, the publication of this survey will surely provide a valuable resource in a field starved of research material, on which to draw, or to make reference to in decisions on policy and resources.

Neatly tucked away on an unlisted page, between two listed ones, is a clear summary of the weaknesses of the Youth Services and these spell out for the field what should be addressed. It restates elsewhere that social education is the basis of youth work and this is welcome, especially when political education is explicitly included in this. That it should be necessary to comment on the position of girls and women in youth work and on political education as a part of social education, are different aspects of the same problem. It is also a measure of how much ground has been lost. The changes in funding and policy for work with young people have cut back the field in which the Youth and Community Service operates<sup>(5)</sup>. The strength of that anomaly called Life and Social Skills is an example of such encroachment, and has dictated for too long the narrowing terms on which the social education of young people has been debated. The inclusion in the Report of a section on political education and the firm statement of its appropriateness and importance is valuable. It is hoped that it will bring much needed support in this area, and particularly so in discussions with the MSC. The Review points out that youth work is little known or understood outside its own boundaries and that the Service is inward-looking is understandable. This is indicated not least by the need in 1983 still to define what we mean by social education, and is a sad commentary on a service which has identified crucial issues but rarely had the resources to work them through. There have over the last decade been few consistent defences or explanations of social education<sup>(6)</sup>. The youth work field can justifiably lay claim to the unique contribution it could make to the education service of which it is part. Social education, characterised by its concern for young people as

whole persons and with their right to personal development as individuals, says something qualitatively different about the process and purpose of education. Its holistic vision stands in sharp contrast to the narrow view implied by much vocational training and the preparation for predetermined work roles or for that matter in higher education with its subject specialisms and academic disciplines.

At the practical debating level in the field, the concern of much social work, with the view of casework discredited as an agent of control, locks horns with the equally intractable concern in education over knowledge and its definition and dispensation as a means of control wherein individuals are reconstructed as competing isolates. This debate is often conducted in the same sentence, with words which mean substantially different things determined by the perspectives of those taking part. This means that youth work (and social education) is viewed with suspicion by those educationalists of a libertarian bent because its holistic approach strikes a chord of fear in the post-holocaust basis of that work, but who might actually be natural allies. It also antagonises radical social work practitioners by those same references to the 'individual' and the casework apprehensions this arouses. When to this is added the absence of adult awareness or debate of the political dimension to our lives, to which the Report refers, this outcome is hardly surprising.

The reference in the Report to adult political illiteracy is useful. However, the thinking seems to waver uncertainly, trapped in the very language, phraseology and priorities of what it repudiates. The references to programmes, organisation and political parties<sup>(7)</sup> suggests the attenuated, highly ritualised and institutionalised aspects of political behaviour and a limited view of political activity which is at variance with other statements in the same section - that political education is not 'civics', for example. This is indicative of the very problem it identifies. This was illustrated in the media's trivialised discussion about extra-parliamentary activity, on the one hand, and the differing treatment by the media of that, compared with the coverage of, say, Greenham Common or pre-election activity in the City and banking circles. If it can get a hearing, the political consciousness of women has much to offer on the diverse arena's in which political activity is manifested and enacted, which Ann Oakley<sup>(8)</sup> epitomised in the felicitous phrase - the personal is political.

Political education is more than what is often summarised in youth service shorthand as participation. Here the Albemarle-buildings inheritance perpetuates the assumption that the participative democratic activity will be in running the club, in the highly-structured and very specific management groups and in youth councils. Whilst these may be useful training grounds for a minority they are still the highly formalised links between young people and the institutions of the adult world. They are not primarily concerned with, and do not spring from, the needs and interests of particular young people and reflect rather an occasional co-incidence of interest. Political education surely lies in the working-through of the needs and interests of particular young people and in the negotiation and resolution of their interests. In this detached youth work has much to offer, as has the area of work with girls. The capacity and skill to create and hold space is outstandingly one practised and understood by women youth workers. It is one that is essential in the process of enfranchisement and political education. There is also the fact that space for the educative process

of analysis and evaluation cannot easily be provided by the same staff who provide the introduction to the full range of political ideas and knowledge for democracy, although they may work together at times. There are resource implications here which need to be followed through. Thompson also points out that democracy necessarily involves controversy. Unfortunately, the case for the urgent recognition of the constraints on workers made so clearly by Andy Smart in a recent article in *Youth in Society*<sup>(9)</sup> is not supported by recommendations here.

The mandatory grants would remove training courses from their present insecurity and poor relation status in the institutions in which they are based and are surely essential. I was sorry however to see management and training combined under the same heading<sup>(10)</sup> since it implies a commonality with which I am uneasy. Encapsulated phrases about meeting the needs of employers gloss over the complexities of training, management and democratic accountability. It is open to question whether the request for more management skills for full-time workers has as much to do with effective work with young people as it has with the demands of an administrative machinery in a contracting service. Adequate back-up services and some clerical help in my experience go a long way towards solving problems for youth work staff. There is still too the question of i.e.a servicing and support for voluntary organisation in their areas, which was based originally on the recognition that i.e.a's were likely to be able to offer this. There seems to be an implicit assumption that the concept of management itself is not debatable. Comments such as 'the local authority is fully equipped both for policy-making and for delivery of services' (p.81) placed alongside references to a national responsibility for 'general policy making and review' (p.79) and compared with the attribution of failure in the Youth Service to failure in management (and training) contain similar assumptions at operational level. I fully support the need to clarify what is being attempted in policy as in practice. I hope, however, that this section will not mean that we are to embark on the ritualised defences against anxiety which are implicit in summative approaches to training (and management).

Discussion about management is rooted predominantly in industrial concerns and frames of reference. This produces a mix of factors in consideration of training. The moves from apprenticeship and period of training as the qualifying factor in industrial training entailed the replacement of the criteria of length of training by alternative criteria - that of detailed objectives. These may be appropriate where a measurable product is concerned, such as cars or biscuits. The application of product-based criteria and the simple equation of cars, youth workers and biscuits is surely questionable in work which is process-orientated. To this must be added the weakness of product-based criteria for training (or management) during periods of rapid social change.

The summative approach precludes analysis and the nearest we get to it is in the sensible suggestions on a regional approach to in-service training for part-timers. It is unreasonable in the face of evidence, however, to assume that the relationship between practice, policy and theory is resolved. It is also indicative of the difficulties which face those involved in change that one of the most notable contributors to developments in relating these three, and with process related criteria and the whole field to curriculum development in this country is now working elsewhere.<sup>(11)</sup>

Process evaluation ought surely begin to get a look in (and is doing so already on some initial courses) as a more appropriate method of evaluation in this field and one which moreover acknowledges accountability to the client.<sup>(12)</sup>

To turn now to the recommendation on imbalance between the sexes. When the journalist Mary Stott was invited to be the first editor of the *Womens Page* on the *Guardian* she was overjoyed at what seemed to be a great breakthrough for women - a space in a serious paper. Her autobiography records that experience subsequently changed her mind, and concluded that the page had actually achieved the opposite by maintaining narrow stereotypes of women.

The effect had been to keep women away from the policy pages and the main content of the paper as contributors and possible as readers too. It is important that the policy decisions and developments which flow from the welcome identification of the needs of girls and women avoid that particular pitfall. To ensure that girls and women are not neatly corralled away from the main opportunities and decisions will involve considerable commitment and planning. The Report does seem to be aware of this danger notably in its unequivocal statement on the changes which are needed in staffing.

The Review Group itself of course reflected this imbalance in its original membership of six men and one woman. It was only two-thirds of the way through its deliberations that a second woman was appointed, on the basis of her youth and membership of the black community. There is certainly inherent in the explanation of that appointment a double-barbed sexism, some lack of clarity about what constitutes youth, and at other points in the Report an equation and collapsing of racism and sexism which will need some sensitive unravelling. Is it to her membership that we owe the careful analysis of the problems and effects of unemployment? It seems also, in this context, a pity, to one involved in the setting-up of Community Industry (if only marginally), that the lessons learned by that are glossed over - perhaps as politically unacceptable now as at the time?

The degree of gender imbalance in youth work is considerable. A survey<sup>(13)</sup> into opportunities and use by girls conducted in 1979 in the largest LEA in the country showed that provision for boys outweighed that for girls by five to one. The absence of girls from most youth work provision is masked partly by their attendance as the younger age group. There is no reason to suppose that the example given is an exception and young women in the 16-19 age group are conspicuous by their absence.

The imbalance in staffing is equally marked. Although the arguments for women working with girls are different from those relating to the imbalance in staffing these are connected especially in the area of attitudes which determine policy, for it is not that there have been no women youth workers. However, in 1982, for example, there were only 19 full-time i.e.a. workers with a full-time brief to work with girls and of these only 8 were in permanent posts. A random check on two of the largest i.e.a.s showed that in 1981 out of a total of 44 officers in one, only 8 were women and that in the other out of a total of 17 only 4 were women. A glance down the lists of committee members of both local and national organisations and in the voluntary sector shows the same lack of any gender balance. In the two major associations of youth service staff a similar state of affairs exists. NAYCEO last elected a woman President in 1965 and

currently has only two women on its executive; CYWU has one woman on the executive. It would certainly be interesting to know what proportion of funding for action research in youth work has been devoted to girls, and what bias is perpetuated in those projects which were intended for both but actually were heavily weighted in favour of boys. There is some useful investigation to be done in this area.

This is not a simple matter of head counting alone. One stumbling block for women is still that of formal qualifications. Even the expansion of Higher Education in the late 60s has not changed the low take-up and the subsequent retraction will clearly not have helped. This is why mandatory grants are so important. Since most senior officer appointments in I.e.a.s stipulate a degree this must automatically disqualify many women with relevant experience. An interim measure at senior post level would be to include an alternative experience clause, as is the practise when new criteria are applied and to provide adequate funding, leave and working conditions for staff development for women and for further qualifications in post on appointment. This illustrates the complexity of the problem. A properly formulated and instituted affirmative action policy will be necessary to remove the present tokenism. There have been for too long women working as the only woman in teams or on committees, and this situation is to be deplored. An equal number of women and men on committees and decision-making groups is one real indication of balance, which could be monitored over the next year to test the effect of the Review recommendations. The informal power networks also contribute to invisibility of women. There is a de facto exclusion of women from these networks to which our male colleagues have automatic access. Women are not asked, for example, 'to join us for a round of golf', or to the Free Masons or Round Table, and tend to be excluded even from trips to the local pub and an exclusion that helps to keep us invisible because we are 'unknown'. It also allows myths to go unchallenged. This is not to construct a theory of male conspiracy against women, but is rather a feature of the behaviour exhibited by any dominant group. Since this behaviour is intimately linked with a defence against anxiety which is generated by the very social system, of which all groups are part, the solutions are not simple.<sup>(14)</sup> One characteristic of dominant groups which has far-reaching effects in youth work, as elsewhere, is their construction of prestige, achievement and success on their own terms. Nor is it in their interests in maintaining dominance to admit alternatives. Particular modes of behaviour - distance, competitiveness, impersonality and objectification - are all useful mechanisms in a capital-based industrial society.

They are also the stereotypes of male behaviour within it. The elaborate structures of games, organisation, hierarchies are a framework which maintain, control and use them.

The attitudes implicit in the phrase 'best person for the job' reflect this, despite the fact that there are usually many different ways in which a job may be done, all equally valid. The implications of this are that the present restricted criteria for achievement and value will also need scrutiny and a staffing and appointments policy which recognised a number of possible alternatives would begin to redress the balance.

The Report refers to the challenge to prevailing stereotypes offered by changing roles. The socialisation process which leads to an attention to affiliative needs for women requires of men a

denial of those same feelings if they are to play the adult male stereotype roles as competitive, power-seeking and dominating. There is some evidence<sup>(15)</sup> to suggest that over the past 30 years the pattern of basic motivation has changed and this has led to an increased concern by men in acquiring power over others and less in affiliation. The depression of human relationships to achieve significance in the social environment is a price which men are beginning now to question and a few of these questions have emerged in the Youth Service. The recommendations in this Report may be one reflection of this. Work with young women and men would also need to take account of this. If girls learn to construe relationships primarily in terms of the effectiveness of affiliative bonds (liking) and young men construe those same relationships primarily in terms of the balance of power, control and dominance, then mixed work will be counter-productive if the aim is to increase choice for young women. It also means that the relationships as experienced are qualitatively different. It is in this domain that much of the argument rests for the present need for separate provision. There is the added difficulty in the implementation of non-sexist work with young men in ensuring that it does not tilt resources still further in their direction, and this will also call for some thoughtful appraisal of priorities.

In practical terms the right to space is one of the hardest battles which have to be fought, both for young women and the issues. This relates to both the perception and determination of criteria by which importance and relevance is assessed and to which reference has already been made. The assumption is that the dominant group speaks for all. The experience of the Enfranchisement Development Project and research elsewhere<sup>(16)</sup> indicates the difficulties of getting space and a recognition that alternative criteria exist, despite awareness of the need. This is not an argument about primary differences between women and men but of the different opportunities and the differing criteria which each bring to any experience all of which are as mediated by membership of a subordinate or dominant group. The extension of choice and of equality is based on an assumption of a capacity and potential to be in ways at present seriously restricted by gender stereotyping and its relationship to the socio-economic system.

I referred in the opening paragraph to the importance of the recommendations on both gender imbalance and on grants and to the profound effect their combined implementation could have. As mounting evidence<sup>(17)</sup> shows, the access to and take-up of Further Education and training is still heavily weighted against women. Because discretionary grants tend not to be awarded to part-time workers who in youth work are predominantly women, this has a far-reaching effect. There is concern<sup>(18)</sup> also that the work needs and priorities implicit in equality are not dealt with, although explicitly stated. This has implications for working conditions, hours and pay. In youth work as elsewhere they are based at present on an assumption of men as the major wage earner in the family, and women as the reserve labour force (along with the young), and of a 'wife at home' to support the worker. This ignores also such demographic changes as the increase in single-parent families (to over 11%) and of single households in the total population<sup>(19)</sup>.

The Report has left the youth work field undefended in arguing for resources for developmental work and its lack of a proposed timetable leaves initiatives to the Government. We have therefore to look to see what opportunities it offers to make space

and to use the footholds it affords.


The effect of present assumptions and criteria is to perpetuate the invisibility and the absence of girls and women in youth work. If equality is to be understood and implemented a recognition of the value systems of the oppressed is a pre-requisite.

I can illustrate, many times over, the difficulty which women experience in getting styles of work and viewpoints acknowledged. What tends to happen is that the very things which speak to the experience of women and which are appreciated and valued are defined as irrelevant, unimportant or - that pseudo-scientific sin - subjective.

This Report recommends the setting up of a National Advisory Council. A staffing and appointments policy which recognises the need for less restricted criteria would be a start. There already exist in the youth work field at least three national groups of women - workers, lecturers and officers in youth work - who between them have the necessary expertise to provide an initial advisory panel on policy, resources, training and staffing for affirmative action. I hope that the setting-up of such a panel with appropriate resources and powers, will be the first step to be taken by whatever national body is established as a result of the publication of this Report.

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# sure and steadfast re-assessing the history of the boys' brigade

JOHN SPRINGHALL

'The Boy Scouts get all the publicity,' complained a Boys' Brigade 'old boy' in 1933 at the time of the latter's Golden Jubilee celebrations in Glasgow, 'Why is not The Boys' Brigade ever mentioned? It is the oldest and most important movement in the world.' Nearly fifty years later a sixteen year old in the 2nd. Southampton Company of the Brigade repeated the same lament in **The Daily Mail** letters section:

It distresses me how little publicity the [Boys'] Brigade generally receives. The Scouts receive far more space and yet they were formed by Baden-Powell after he learned about the Boys' Brigade. If it weren't for the Boys' Brigade there might have been no Scouts!<sup>(1)</sup>

The major reason why we (the general reader) need a new history of the Boys' Brigade, in other words, is to help correct this serious imbalance between public perception of the movement and its actual historical importance; to make it clear that the organization founded by William Alexander Smith (1854-1914) in a Glasgow Mission Hall in October 1883 was the world's first successful voluntary uniformed youth movement, started almost a quarter of a century before the first Boy Scout took up his wooden pole and put on his bush hat. The authors of this new history, **Sure and Steadfast**,<sup>(2)</sup> also hope to illuminate the ways in which a social and religious movement is both shaped by and helps to give shape to the historical circumstances through which it has travelled. As well as disposing of certain historical 'myths' which have gathered around the origins of this hundred year old movement in Scotland, the book may also indicate how a new history of the Boys' Brigade can be of relevance to the analysis of the issues surrounding youth and adolescence in modern society.

As the opening quotations suggest, the pioneering role of the Boys' Brigade has been given far less attention than it merits in the general historical and sociological writing about youth and youth movements, while their traditional competitors the Boy Scouts and their founder, Baden-Powell, appear to capture much more public recognition and to figure more prominently in historical and popular writing about modern British society. When the Brigade has been mentioned by the historian it has, until recently, been misleadingly portrayed. Thus it has been described as 'a scout-like, militaristic organization for Sunday School scholars,' a movement which in general 'fostered the traits of working-class jingoism'; or, again, as 'highly disciplinarian with much emphasis on drill and little concern for the development of the individual character.'<sup>(3)</sup> **Sure and Steadfast** sets out to correct such misleading assumptions about

militarism and evangelicalsism that have so frequently been attributed to the Boys' Brigade, assumptions which are all too often based on hearsay rather than on direct observation or historical evidence. The emphasis on drill has declined considerably since the 1964 Report of the Haynes Committee on the Boys' Brigade and much more time is now devoted by the average company to such open-air pursuits as the Duke of Edinburgh's Award Scheme, while the 'canard' of militarism and jingoism that has, almost since its inception, attached itself to the Brigade is contradicted by many of the events that are recounted in the new history. 'We are asked to extend our sympathy to these Brigades, and they are extolled as being of immense value to the Army,' War Minister H.O. Arnold Forster fulminated in a 1904 Minute to his Adjutant-General:

Yet the moment we take a direct step towards utilizing their services, we are informed that these young Christians are too good for the British Army, and that their parents who never sacrifice a farthing of their money or a particle of their skins for the Nation, will be frightened out of their wits if we suggest that their boys should serve in a British regiment.<sup>(4)</sup>

An effort has been made in writing **Sure and Steadfast** to examine and narrate the history of the Boys' Brigade as a voluntary church youth movement located within a broader social and historical context, an element usually lacking in most authorized accounts of youth organizations, which more often than not present isolated institutional history written within what Frank Booton has called 'a celebratory rhetoric'. Or as Bernard Davies put it a few years ago:

Because youth work histories are usually written by 'insiders', self-congratulation is often their dominant characteristic. Open-ended questions which might point to adversely critical conclusions are rarely asked, while efforts systematically to set youth organizations in their full social and especially economic and political contexts are exceptional.<sup>(5)</sup>

Thus some effort has been made to place the Boys' Brigade in its proper historical context which has entailed looking at its development in the light of recent academic interest in the relationship between religion and society, and in the historical emergence of the concepts of 'youth' and 'adolescence' in modern British society. For it has been our prime intention not only to provide fresh insights into the highlights of the Brigade's past, the 1933 Golden Jubilee might serve as a prominent example, but also to show the B.B. more clearly as a movement that was both a reflection of as well as a contributor to its culture and

society. In the historical introduction to the book, the origins of the Brigade in late Victorian Glasgow are presented as being conditioned by: the cult of Christian manliness; the evangelical campaigns of the Americans Moody and Sankey; the increasing recognition of adolescence as a 'problem' and the growing association between religion and the military in British society.

There is space here to consider only the third among such conditioning factors, for it can be no simple coincidence that the age group we would now describe as adolescents first came to be seen as a distinct category, with their own peculiar difficulties of social and physical adjustment, during the first twenty five years of the Boys' Brigade. G. Stanley Hall, one of the major figures in early American educational psychology and author of the monumental but now unread two volume survey of *Adolescence* (1904), first drew attention to the importance of adolescence as a separate stage of development in an article which appeared long before the B.B. in the January 1882 *Princeton Review* - although its significance as an age susceptible to religious conversion had even been apparent in colonial America. The recognition of adolescence as a social 'problem' during the late nineteenth century (predating the structural-functionalist perspective on youth!) was, however, also directly related to economic changes, such as the marked expansion of 'boy labour' occupations in all the major commercial centres of Britain, that is, the recruitment of large numbers of adolescents into short-term unskilled jobs with few prospects. During the 1980s and 1990s, concern for the employment opportunities of the adolescent was to be as pronounced among middle class reformers and youth workers as the attention given by them in the early nineteenth century to the 'problem' of child labour in the factories and mines. 'The "Boy problem" is much discussed in its relation to the great question of unemployment,' pointed out William Smith in 1909, adding, 'the more serious questions of Boy life need to be discussed as thoroughly, if the race is to maintain its supremacy.' Thus notice was taken of the adolescent in the late Victorian period - particularly in the large conurbations where his or her visibility was so much more heightened - both by the established authorities, who wished to regulate uncontrolled youthful behaviour, and by the Christian community, who were concerned for the moral and spiritual guidance of the adolescent in an increasingly 'corrupt' and secular environment.<sup>(6)</sup>

The success of the Y.M.C.A. in Glasgow and many other Victorian cities highlighted the absence of a church organization catering for the mid-adolescent years, for most boys left Sunday School in their early teens before they were old enough to join the more senior organization at seventeen ('during that gap period, many working class boys ran wild, became hooligans and street-corner loafers. What else was there for them in those days, to do?'). Leaving school and becoming an independent wage-earner meant that Sunday School no longer held an attraction for the adolescent who considered himself superior to such a 'small boy' activity and this meant that he was, accordingly, lost to the influence of the Christian religion. It was primarily to bridge this gap between the Sunday School and the Y.M.C.A. that William Smith - who had had experience of both - utilized his Volunteer training to invent the Boys' Brigade for the North Woodside Free Church Mission in the West End of Glasgow. So successful was he that even fifty five years after its foundation seventy two per cent of B.B. members were between fourteen and eighteen, whereas today nearly seventy eight per cent are under fourteen - a reflection of the modern B.B.'s inability to attract the older teenage boy among

a more self-aware adolescent generation. Thus the youth movements - Brigades, Scouts, Cadets, Boys' Clubs - started in the late Victorian and Edwardian periods were often expressly formed to deal with the 'problem' of adolescence, especially that of the young working class school leaver and wage earner who appeared beyond 'respectable' moral and social control. This new awareness of the 'problem' of adolescence does much to explain the social and historical circumstances within which William Smith created the Boys' Brigade.<sup>(7)</sup>

If it is asked why the placing of this particular youth organization in its appropriate historical context has had to await the centenary of its birth, perhaps it is not so difficult to understand when one considers the neglect by social historians of the instinctively conservative organizations in our society, such as the uniformed youth movements themselves. For, as Brian Harrison pointed out in his account of the opposition to women's suffrage in Britain, when historians reach middle age they lack the time and energy for doing justice to such topics, and when they are young they are not tempted by them. Hence inherently traditional, church-centred, establishment-supported youth organizations, such as the Boys' Brigade, are hardly likely to inspire the more leftward-leaning social historian. Which is a pity, since it can be argued that the historian's technical abilities are, paradoxically, far more likely to be tested by a topic which is alien to his or her ideological preconceptions than one which, as is so often the case, simply serves to confirm them. The very fact that a movement dedicated to the late Victorian-sounding Object of 'the advancement of Christ's Kingdom among Boys and the promotion of habits of Obedience, Reverence, Discipline, Self-respect and all that tends towards a true Christian Manliness', could have arisen in 1883 and remained in existence to meet the entirely different historical conditions of the late twentieth century, in itself provides a fascinating challenge to the understanding of the inquiring social historian - however much the 'B.B. spirit' may or may not agree with his or her own temperament and general outlook.<sup>(8)</sup>

Furthermore, an analysis of those historical forces which act as a mechanism for social stability rather than for change, for the traditional values of discipline and obedience rather than for those of disorder and rejection of authority, can be a useful means to comprehend not only the political, moral and social conservatism of so much modern British society but also its members respect, until comparatively recently, for the institutional forms of authority by which they are governed. 'The custom of saluting Officers in the streets by the boys of The Boys' Brigade has spread to most of the lads in the vicinity of its operations,' wrote a satisfied Sunday School Superintendent of the 1st. Aston Manor Company, Birmingham, in the mid-1890s, 'and has caused a respectful salute to the Clergy and (Sunday School) teachers to take the place of a disrespectful "Hallo!" in many of our streets.' The association between the Boys' Brigade and church discipline is made even more prominent by further reports in the log book of this company. Yet it oversimplifies merely to see this process in terms of a reductionist social control argument, for while the maintenance of social order and stability was possibly an important factor in the motives of some early B.B. leaders, there is a danger in underestimating the genuinely felt awareness of adolescent social deprivation among evangelical church youth workers of this period. As far as the boys themselves were concerned, the B.B. recreations in which they might participate, such as company football matches or swimming galas, were sufficiently attractive to them for Bible Class or drill to be tolerated for the access

they provided to such scarce resources in a working class environment as organized leisure.<sup>(9)</sup>

Some may doubt its ultimate relevance but the ability to test and explore both Church and Nonconformist tolerance for military values and practices may be one of the least publicized but nonetheless real bequeathals of the B.B. to the history of religion in Britain. Thus the Brigade has been criticized by the eminent historian H.J. Hanham for securing a greater degree of Nonconformist recognition for the military values of the Volunteers (later the Territorials) - who provided many of the early Glasgow B.B. officers - than they might otherwise have found, so creating a sort of link connecting the Army with the everyday life of the country. The Brigade stands accused in this indictment not only of helping to prepare the way for the recruiting drives of the First World War but also of helping to undermine the essentially civilian system of values which had guided English Nonconformity for two centuries. Thus we need a new history of the Boys' Brigade if for no other reason than to demonstrate how this is to load the burden of historical guilt onto what was, and still is, basically a church-orientated youth movement which happens to have employed fashionably late Victorian military and 'scientific' methods of boy management to achieve its ultimately religious aims. The Boys' Brigade was not so much a cause of militarism in late Victorian society as it was one of its unexceptionable effects. Even so, there is no shortage of prominent differences of opinion between the Boys' Brigade and the military authorities, such as the refusal of the Brigade to apply to their local Territorials for official 'recognition' as cadets from 1910-11, on pain of forfeiting the military and financial assistance which they had been accustomed to receive from the War Office. The Brigade's willingness to pass a resolution at their Annual Council in 1924 to abandon the use of the dummy rifle and to sever all links with the Government's Cadet Scheme, together with their amalgamation with the anti-military Boys' Life Brigade two years later, are fairly conclusive evidence of their lack of any real attachment to the military ethos in the twentieth century.<sup>(10)</sup>

Thus the over-riding argument for proving a new history of the Boys' Brigade, apart from the natural desire of the movement to commission such a work to help celebrate its centenary this year, is the simple one of neglect and lack of public recognition for its not insignificant contribution to religion and society and Britain and overseas. It is worth recalling, for example, the possible ecumenical effects of its interdenominational nature among the Protestant Churches; its popularization among the young of camping holidays, competitive football and band music; and its enlivening of many individual church congregations - not simply by encouraging young men to take up church membership but also by drawing in families on the periphery of the religious life of the community. The historical role of the Boys' Brigade in pioneering voluntary church youth work has over the years also led to an important contribution to the life of the nation -- the creation of the voluntary and statutory Youth Service. Not only was the Brigade the first voluntary uniformed youth movement (until 1884 there were no self-administered cadet corps run independently of Volunteer units), but it also provided the model for much of what followed and actively assisted in the emergence of the Boy Scouts. At the turn of the century, the B.B. stimulated the even more revolutionary idea of uniformed girls' organizations, for it was a Brigade captain who in 1900 started the Girls' Guildry in Glasgow as a female equivalent to the boys' organization, the forerunner of the present day Girls' Brigade.

Hence **Sure and Stedfast** is aimed at both the ordinary B.B. member interested in acquiring some sort of historical perspective on the movement to which he belongs and also at the general reader who wishes to learn what it is that the Boys' Brigade is all about, apart from the 'pillbox' hat and church parades with which it is most commonly associated. (The B.B. forage cap or 'pillbox' disappeared after 1970-71 but still remains firmly planted, like the Boy Scout shorts, in the public imagination.) 'This book not only traces the development of The Boys' Brigade but also assesses its contribution to the life of the nation,' as the Brigade Secretary has put it in the **B.B. Gazette**, 'it also looks at the way the Brigade itself has adapted to the changes in the social and spiritual life which has occurred since it was founded in 1883.' In short, the answer to the question why do we need a new history of the Boys' Brigade is that it will help to enlarge the ordinary reader's knowledge of an interest in what is, historically, an important and prototype voluntary organization for boys and young men. It will help increase public awareness of a movement that even today, with its parallel movements overseas, has a world-wide membership in all ranks of over 400,000 in some sixty countries. Each generation we are told needs to reinterpret its past anew and **Sure and Stedfast** is meant to be the history of the Boys' Brigade for our own times written from the perspective of the 1980s. Ultimately, only you the potential reader will be able to judge whether or not we have been successful in the task we have set ourselves.<sup>(11)</sup>

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# youth in the cinema

STUART NORMAN

This article intends to briefly examine some of the ways in which the popular cinema has dealt with the idea of 'youth' on film. It will concentrate on the post-war period when elements of a so-called youth culture were identified and when young people were often depicted on screen, and in society generally, as some kind of 'problem', worthy of both concerned analysis and blatant exploitation.

Compared to this post-war boom, the phase of adolescence or youth (here, loosely used to cover the period of transition between childhood and full adult status) received little serious attention from the cinema in earlier decades. When young people did appear they were most frequently portrayed as well intergrated into the adult world and accepted within the community, rather than as individuals endeavouring to establish separate identities of their own. They were not seen as particularly exploitable box-office material. In the thirties, the young principally served to bolster up the kind of cosy and optimistic family comedies that reflected the spirit of the New Deal. These films painted family life as secure, warm and escapistly innocent: the kind of life that was continually threatened by the realities of the Depression. The **Andy Hardy** series, from 1935 onwards, was typical of the trend with a mood of solid small town innocence in which the young stars, Mickey Rooney and Judy Garland, experienced minimal high school adventures and drugstore romances over nothing stronger than milkshakes. It was a rosy and successful formula, and one which Mickey Rooney in the Hardy persona continued to pursue, somewhat anachronistically, until well into the fifties.

In **One Hundred Men and a Girl** (1937) a young Deanna Durbin, another New Deal favourite, heroically took on the spectre of the Depression and won, much to the relief of her musician father and his unemployed orchestra. Her ruse was to invite Stokowski to set up and conduct a concert in the all-purpose small home-town setting, thus putting the orchestra back on its feet again and restoring belief in the future. The renewal of confidence was the overriding concern, and youth was very much a part of it, with little time given over to the more uncomfortable images of poverty and suffering that provided a backdrop to the thirties. Even when elements of social realism did intrude in such films as **Dead End** (1937) and **Angels with Dirty Faces** (1938), both featuring the adolescent 'Dead End Kids' (later reincarnated as the 'Bowery Boys'), the environmentalist arguments depicting slums as the breeding ground of crime and delinquency were quickly sacrificed for limp comedy and

slapstick in a series of cheap sequels, including **The Angels Wash Their Faces** in 1939. The humanitarian and reformist zeal of the original films were laughed away: it was clear that it was actually a whole lot of fun to be a no-hope bowery boy. This was in keeping, for rather than being employed to critically highlight social and economic realities in the pre-war years, youth on the screen was merely part of the overall New Deal panacea that the movies offered to an audience seeking escape, optimism and a vision of security. Its purpose primarily to ensure that the nation could laugh, sing and dance its way out of the Depression.

In the forties, the presence of war brought a new maturity to films that did produce a willingness to deal with serious problems of national importance. Although these films were often evasive and compromised in their efforts to reach a mass audience, or even pious and self-congratulatory, they did at least attempt to tackle sensitive subjects that had been largely ignored before the post war decade. These subjects included the difficulties of servicemen adapting to civilian life after fighting a war (**The Best Years Of Our Lives**, 1946); anti-semitism (**Crossfire**, 1947; **Gentleman's Agreement**, 1947); racism (**Home Of The Brave**, 1949; **Pinky**, 1949); alcoholism (**The Lost Weekend**, 1945); and mental illness in the worthy but unconvincing **The Snake Pit** (1948). The concept of youth, however, received no major treatment by the cinema during this period. The concerns of the young had not yet been identified as problematical for society - unless it was in terms of the fear, engendered by the McCarthy witch-hunts of the late forties, that the impressionable young could be seduced by the political extremism of the supposed 'red menace': in the distasteful and anti-intellectual **My Son John**, a spiritual companion piece to **I Married a Communist** and **I was a Communist for the F.B.I.**, the young here had to swear to his mother on the Bible that he was not (and, presumably, nor had he ever been) a member of the Communist Party

It was not until the mid-fifties that films for and about youth really began to proliferate with the appearance in 1955 of **The Blackboard Jungle**, **Rebel Without a Cause** and **East of Eden**. The cinema industry was discovering that an ever increasing percentage of the viewing population was under twenty. With this audience in mind, it seemed the right time to focus on the needs and problems of the young individual: parental conflict and the breakdown of communication between generations, with associated themes of delinquency, drug taking and gang



fighters becoming almost infallible as ingredients for box office success. Inevitably, the sincere and comparatively honest attempts to understand the young on screen came off a poor second to assembly line products made by purely commercial film-makers who simply saw the opening up of a new market, ripe for exploitation.

In wider society, this teenage culture boom and the subsequent identification, from some quarters, of a social 'problem' attracted many explanations. This has been variously interpreted in terms of a clash between earlier sexual maturity and the postponement of adult status until the age of (then) twenty one, which leaves the adolescent floundering in an ill-defined limbo with inadequate guide lines of expected behaviour; in terms of the changing roles of traditional beliefs, attitudes and assumptions that are associated with living in a society in transition - even on national and global levels (the backdrop of the cold war and the ever present threat of The Bomb) - again, with no established responses or clear alternatives available; in terms of social class and educational inequality, which produces a sense of frustration and failure in a large segment of the young, predominantly working class, population; and in economic terms with much popular mythology about affluence, boredom and lack of discipline. In fact, the young as a group frequently did have higher standards of living than ever before, but moralizing critics often unsatisfactorily abstracted this observation from the whole picture of overall rising standards in society. In any case, they presented no convincing argument as to why it should be deemed wrong or bad for the young to have more money than their parents had at the same age. Social envy and even resentment seemed to play some part in this over-reaction to the allegedly wild moral values of the newly emerging teenage cults and fashions. Whatever the validity of the various explanations, 'youth' in all its forms loomed large in the public eye and provided the cinema with a rich and often sensational source of material, as well as a growing proportion of the audience for its product.

The concept of rebellion was clearly a relative one: most young people passed through adolescence without becoming involved in any subcultures - or at least not those likely to be perceived as deviant or threatening to society - but, to the cinema, this was precisely the kind of area in which they found most inspiration and profit. The widespread concern over juvenile delinquency and the sense of urban threat to the traditional values of property, order and secure family life were obvious targets for exploitation. Leader of the pack in this respect was the **Blackboard Jungle**. In Britain, the over-reaction by the mass media and public to the exaggerated and stereotyped activities of youthful groups and subcultures has been characterised as a 'moral panic' in response to the spectre of contemporary 'folk devils'.<sup>(1)</sup> This was often seen to exacerbate the situation by unwarranted publicity and other inappropriate forms of response. Similarly, **The Blackboard Jungle** with the theme-song 'Rock around the clock' by Bill Haley and the Comets ensured that rock and roll would be inextricably linked, in the public imagination, with delinquency and drop-outs and probably increased the glamorous appeal of both the music and the lifestyle.

In fact the film, directed by Richard Brooks, presented a veneer of sincerity with the drama of an idealistic teacher (Glen Ford) who finally 'breaks through' to his class of mixed-up kids, with unusual and un-cynical dedication (though - apparently - this success is mostly due to his enthusiastic use of visual aids

and tape recorders). Despite being well made with an intelligent script, the film side-steps several crucial issues and provides unconvincing solutions to problems that, unfortunately, cannot be so easily resolved. Apart from the unpleasant distinction the film makes between the salvageable delinquents (Sidney Poitier, for instance) and those not worth saving (the Brandoesque hood played by Vic Morrow), the chief failing is the way in which the film pretends there are no grounds for the rebellion of the 'mixed-up kids' by refusing to examine what it is these products of impoverished and brutal backgrounds are rejecting. It seems dishonest that, by implication, all the delinquent needs - the 'good' delinquent, that is - is understanding or love in order to adjust to the value system of a society which insists that all is well with its economic and social order. Although the film takes youthful social discontent for a theme, the sacrifice of any real social criticism for an easier short-cut optimism seems particularly inadequate.

The film spawned many lesser forays into the same genre, and the trend continued, with similar shortcomings, into the sixties: most entertainingly in Britain with **To Sir With Love**, and in America with **Up The Down Staircase**. The former was humorous and touching, if somewhat over-sentimental, with the idealistic teacher played here, coincidentally, by the new mature Sidney Poitier, who by patience and dedication almost magically transforms a class of East End apprentice thugs and criminals into responsible citizens of the future - all in one term. The latter film, set in a chaotic New York high school where bureaucracy, noise, administration and violence sometimes seemed to leave little time for teaching, appeared more realistic and perceptive. The film was less melodramatic and sensational than **The Blackboard Jungle** and honestly showed how ill-equipped the well-meaning middle class teacher (played by Sandy Dennis) was in trying to understand - let alone solve - the many personal, social, economic and racial problems of her pupils. The class, with a background of overcrowded slums and poverty, appeared to her both sullen and frightening; and she could achieve no more than a few small victories whilst suffering many defeats. But again this film failed to press home its attack. Rather than aiming its critical and reforming impulses towards social problems of entire environments, it seemed to suggest that the major stumbling block to effective education lay in the bureaucratic form-filling facing the teaching staff, and preferred to side itself with some kind of rosily optimistic and inspirational 'faith in the human spirit' to combat the obvious and massive inequalities of opportunity facing the pupils.

In the same year as **The Blackboard Jungle** the young found a new folkhero who gave (often inarticulate) voice to their own sense of alienation. In just three films, **Rebel without a cause**, **East of Eden** and **Giant**, James Dean was imprinted on the consciousness of a generation as a symbol of revolt, restlessness, brooding unpredictability and unspoken yearnings. Both on screen and off Dean was seen to be at odds with parents, authority and the world in general. When he literally destroyed himself in a car accident before the release of **Giant** in 1955, his death was greeted by an outburst of necrophilia that elevated Dean to a legendary status of near-martyrdom. In his first major film, from the Steinbeck novel **East of Eden**, Dean established his personal of the moody misunderstood son; here, envious of the love his brother receives from the stuffy and ever-religious father. Finding, also, that his 'dead' mother is actually the Madam of a local brothel, the film climaxes with Dean explosively clashing both with his brother and his insensitive father.

It was however **Rebel without a cause** that really caught the youthful imagination, and showed that discontent and violence could erupt from comfortable middle class homes as well as those of the less well off. The conflict between Dean and his bickering parents (particularly his weak indecisive father), and the community they represent, is run at fever pitch and results in two deaths: that of a rival driver in a 'chicken run' episode, into which Dean is drawn after forlornly seeking advice from his uncomprehending father; and that of his younger, hero-worshipping companion ('Plate', portrayed by Sal Mince), who is wastefully and mistakenly shot down by the police - and who himself, earlier in the film, is shown vainly yearning for a demonstration of love from his own wealthy and uncaring father. From the climax, the film too quickly passes on to the beaming smiles of Dean's parents - so soon after the accumulation of several tragedies - as they seem to see glimpses of reconciliation on the horizon. Overall, however, the mood of the film provided many truthful and emotional reference points for huge numbers of the youthful audience, and the cinema was not slow to capitalize on it.

One of the best and most sensitive treatments of a similar theme was found in **The Young Stranger** (directed in 1957 by John Frankenheimer) in which a sixteen year old boy is falsely charged with assault. This accusation highlights the teenager's relationship with his father, who refuses to take time off from his busy schedule to try and understand his son. Perhaps this story of a boy whose father is all too quick to believe the worst of him appears as particularly convincing because the director, the writer, the producer and the young leading actors were all under 26 years old at the time of shooting. In film circles **The Young Stranger** was known as the 'crew cut project', a reflection of the contemporary youth fashion which is explored.

In the main however, most of the films which scored off the 'Rebel' success were routine. Sal Mince was quickly resurrected to play a delinquent in both **Six Bridges to Cross** (1955) and **Dino** (1957), where he was rescued from a life of crime, and conflict with dad, by an avuncular social worker (Brian Keith) and the attentions of his 'good' girlfriend from down the block. (It is worth mentioning here that the girls in this genre rarely merited central consideration themselves, and mostly featured as some sort of appendage to the masculine focus - either as tarts and molls, or as angelic virgins and symbols of redemption.) Elsewhere, their misunderstood-rebel clones predominated. Such films as **Blue Denim** (1959) with Brandon de Wilde, and **Crime in the Streets** with Mark Rydell carried on the trend in America. West Germany found a replacement for James Dean in Horst Buchholz as the 'bad' brother in **Die Halbstarcken** (1956); Poland delivered Zbigniew Cybulski as the complex and confused partisan hero of **Ashes and Diamonds** (1958); and Britain chipped in with David McCallum as yet another blond and handsomely moody juvenile delinquent in **Violent Play-ground** (1958), set in the tenement slums of Liverpool - a film which, incidentally, distortedly presented the jive-style dancing favoured by the young of the time as a frenzied, rather orgiastic affair: presumably to be suggestive of the loose moral and sexual standards supposedly embraced by the young deviants.

Undoubtedly, the kings of the teenage exploitation market were the phenomenally successful James Nicholson and Samuel Arkoff, who started American International Pictures in 1954. Equipped with the knowledge that 60% of the American movie audience were between twelve and twenty-four, they concentrated on producing low budget - and often low quality -

films with sensational and provocative titles, such as **Dragstrip Riot**, **Diary of a High School Bride** and their first feature made by Roger Corman, **The Fast and the Furious**. Fast, hard-sell advertising and saturation booking at hundreds of cinemas and drive-in's drew huge audiences before word spread round that the film's content did not live up to the titillating and eye-catching promise of the title. Their major breakthrough came when A.I.P. decided to combine their two areas of past success: the teenage scene (**Runaway Daughters**, **Reform School Girls**, etc.) and the horror field (such cheap 'Z - movies as **The Beast with a Million Eyes**, **It Conquered the World** and **Attack of the Crab Monsters**). The recipe proved to be astonishingly successful. **I was a Teenage Werewolf**, made for 100,000 dollars, took over two million at the box office despite being poorly made with a liberal helping of unintentional laughs. **I was a Teenage Frankenstein** and **The Ghost of Dragstrip Hollow** followed close on the furry heels of the **Werewolf**. The films were made with amazing speed: **The Little Shop of Horrors** was shot in under three days, although Roger Corman was quoted as saying, "if you are an experienced, craftsman-like director it is possible to make a good clean picture like **Bucket of Blood** in five days . . . but you cannot do it in two."

By the beginning of the sixties, however, A.I.P. were able to substantially increase their production budgets. They also more thoroughly analysed the teenage market to which they had so successfully catered. The 'reasoning' behind their commercial triumphs was known as the 'Peter Pan Syndrom', and their publicity hand-outs claimed that:-

- (a) a younger child will watch anything an older child will watch
- (b) an older child will not watch anything a younger child will watch
- (c) a girl will watch anything a boy will watch
- (d) a boy will not watch anything a girl will watch

Therefore,

- (e) to catch your greatest audience you zero-in on a nineteen year old male.

Their research department also decided that the most likely place to find a nineteen year old male was on one of California's sun-drenched beaches healthily surfing, swimming, singing or dancing. This clean-cut group were speedily made the subject of a multitude of insipid films including **Beach Party**, **Muscle Beach Party** and **How to Stuff a Wild Bikini**. Imaginative and provocative publicity was still employed ('What happens when 10,000 kids meet on 5,000 beach blankets', one lad knowingly asked) and a great deal of swimming-costumed flesh was exhibited, but overall make believe innocence predominated. Smoking, drinking and sexual activity - apart from the chaste kiss - were banned; delinquency and drug-taking did not exist; adults only appeared as fantasy villains (e.g. Vincent Price) or buffoon father-figures (Mickey Rooney, and even, in one sadly bizarre case, Buster Keaton); and the ideal hero and heroine were manufactured pop singers like Frankie Avalon and Annette Funicello. A.I.P. cleaned up as 22 million youngsters trooped to the cinemas.

Mainstream cinema also tried to cash in on the trend by guest starring heart-throb pop stars in 'serious' films for example Rick Nelson in **Rio Bravo**, Frankie Avalon in **The Alamo**, and Fabian in **North To Alaska**. Even **King of Kings** (1961) cast a baby faced Jeff Hunter as Christ and was known in the trade as 'I was a teenage Jesus.' In Britain, pop singers in films also led the field in the teenage market. Limited acting ability was no

deterrent to stars like Billy Fury, Joe Brown and, particularly, Cliff Richard who early in his career modelled himself on Elvis Presley, yet another singer who triumphantly transferred to the screen - at least in the adoring eyes of millions of loyal fans. The poster advertising for Cliff's film, **Summer Holiday** clearly showed some deference to the success of the 'muscle beach' films by incongruously topping two strappingly brawny torsos with the heads of Jeremy Bulloch and Melvyn Hayes - one of Britain's most diminutive and skinniest actors. Far more inventive was Richard Lester's stylish and surrealistic **Hard Day's Night**, which broke the trend of merely serving up limp screen vehicles for well known pop stars. While superficially following the Beatles on tour, the film was richly packed with comic sequences, bizarre viewpoints, enigmatic behaviour and dislocations of images, words and places. **Hard Day's Night** was energetically made with a sense of pressing urgency, and to some observers it suggested that some kind of change was in the air.

The feeling of expectation was experienced by A.I.P. too, who in 1965 finally lost their innocence: they decided that their next market would have to deal with 'relevant' contemporary issues of particular concern to the young. Their first venture into the field derived from the cult motorcycle movie of 1953, **The Wild One**, which featured Marlon Brando as the outlaw biker - which was a film that caused some moral panic in America and a complete banning in Britain. The new production, **The Wild Angels**, starring a second generation acting team of Peter Fonda and Nancy Sinatra, was by turns savage, sleazy and tedious. It was also shallow - not surprisingly, as it was shot in just four weeks by Roger Corman for just half a million dollars. Nevertheless, it took six million dollars in the first year; and earned further notoriety when it too was banned in Britain. The team's next effort, **The Trip** (1967), met with a similar fate, prompting Arkoff to comment in 1968, 'The only countries where you can't see these films are Britain and Outer Mongolia.' It was not so much the latter film's theme of drug-taking that seemed to account for its out-lawing, but rather the fact that the story made me moral judgements about the activity. Instead of censuring such behaviour, the film tried to honestly portray - with whatever degree of accuracy - the effects of a fourteen hour LSD trip.

Having dealt with drugs and violence (and to some extent, sex, in **Three in the Attic**), A.I.P. turned to the world of politics with a characteristically individual perspective. **Wild in the Streets** (1968) imagined a near-future society, where the voting age would be lowered to fourteen; where the new president would be a twenty four year old rock star; and where everyone over thirty would be retired to 'homes', closely resembling concentration camps. Despite some cartoon-style simplicity, the film in fact captured the undertone of discontent with contemporary leadership, and probed at the social unrest that was beginning to make itself felt among the young - it foreshadowed the student riots that caused a crisis in Paris and produced other disruptions in many European cities.

It was becoming apparent that an increasing proportion of an idealistic younger generation in America and elsewhere were growing restless and discontented with a system that seemed to put money before people, and which was prepared to send its young men to fight an unwinnable war in Vietnam. The film that summed up this lack of confidence, and expressed the counter-cultural rejection of dominant values, was made relatively cheaply by Dennis Hopper and Peter Fonda - back in the

saddle again - and featured Jack Nicholson as an alcoholic small-town lawyer, all three of whom were graduates of Roger Corman's A.I.P. film school. **Easy Rider**, in 1969, was made for the young and by the young, and in its unconventional structure tried to capture the blurred, fragmentary and drifting nature of everyday contemporary life. The story was slight: two hippie motorcyclists sell some dope in California and take off on a jaunt across America to New Orleans, and their experiences in doing so reveal much about prejudice and intolerance in a gun happy society - although it reveals it rather too simplistically in its depiction of the wicked 'red-necks' as people who will hate and even kill the bikers for what they represent, i.e. freedom. The film gains strengths though, by not presenting its protagonists as clear-cut heroes. Indeed, they are often inarticulate and speak vapid banalities. Fonda in particular, posturing on his expensive Harley-Davidson, plays his role in a self-conscious and narcissistic way, which may or may not be in keeping with the character he is portraying. To some extent emotionally manipulative, **Easy Rider** still seems to carry conviction in being the first widely appreciated film that presented the youthful hippie, drug counter culture from the viewpoint of that culture, rather than treating it with at worst contempt or condescension, and at best with a superficial but uncomprehending tolerance.

Another massively popular film of this era, which was heavily publicised as a 'youth' product, was **The Graduate**. If it was a youth film in terms of subject matter, then it was made - in contrast to **Easy Rider** - by an older generation for people of any generation. Although utilising a distinct dramatic scenario, i.e. the return of a college graduate to his parents' affluent upper-middle class home, a world which he inwardly rejects, the film deals more with the universal idea of alienation and the need to discover significant personal values which cannot be easily transferred from others - and in doing so probably becomes a more durable work. That the alienation is emotional and psychological rather than political is clear in the way that the graduate (Dustin Hoffman) remains indifferent to the revolutionary dropping-out and drug taking, which is so much a part of his sixties generation: he vigorously denies to a Berkeley landlord that he is 'one of those student agitators'; he dresses conservatively, and is conventional and hard working; he initially responds with priggish disapproval when the wife of his father's partner tries to seduce him; and, as if to emphasise the point, the male virgin of twenty-two is played by a thirty year old actor. By not seeing the young hero's problems, sexual or otherwise, simply in terms of some kind of generation gap, the film found great and well deserved favour among young and old alike; and despite many comical interludes it seemed to sacrifice little in terms of emotional honesty. Particularly effective is the open-ended final sequence where, instead of showing a happy and conventional conclusion full of cosy smiles and reassurances, the film opts for viewing the runaway couple as a pair staring blankly and somewhat apprehensively ahead to face whatever new trials await them as they are carried off in the getaway bus without any sense of certainty, direction or destination.

A feature of the film above which greatly added to its commercial appeal was the judicious use of Simon and Garfunkel's sensitive song compositions and background music. The recognition that rock music reflected the concerns of the young, and could often win a larger audience, was taken a step further in Arthur Penn's **Alice's Restaurant** (1970). Here an entire film took its impetus from a single rambling, talking-blues song writ-

ten by Arlo Guthrie. The incidents therein comically described how Arlo - then staying with Ray and Alice, in their deconsecrated church which was run as a haven for friends, hippies and dropouts - illegally dumped some garbage after a feast on Thanks-Giving Day. This act brought him face to face with the full force of the law; jailed and fined for this heinous crime, Arlo later discovered his criminal record rendered him morally unfit to be drafted - after all his own ruses to avoid call-up had failed. In the film an incredulous and unrehabilitated Arlo asks, 'You wanna know if I'm moral enough to join the army; burn women, kids, houses and villages after being a litter bug?' The draft officer answers, 'Kid, we don't like your kind...'

The gulf between 'Arol's kind' and the rest of society is neatly illustrated in a scene where young Arlo hitches a ride with a tough truck driver. Although previously amicable, the trucker turns cold and unfriendly, pointedly tuning to a noisy football game on his radio, as soon as Arlo removes his floppy hat to reveal cascades of long hair. A double point is made here as one realises this is just the kind of working man who would have instantly struck up a friendship with Arlo's father, the folk singer Woody Guthrie, famous for countless protest ballads and union songs. In fact, in following the theme of Arlo's search for an aim in life, the film pin-points two dominant responses to a society perceived as corrupt, violent and unfulfilling for a growing number of its members. There is the committed, political response, symbolised in the film by the radical old left: Woody and 'the movement' who sought actively to change the system. Then there is the complete rejection of that system: the attempt to opt-out and set up alternative communities - represented by the life-style of Ray and Alice, surrogate parents to the rootless young and the misfits who gravitate to their 'church'. The merits and validity of each course of action is not analysed or appraised in the film, and no easy answers are provided. The questions however, are the real problems facing the protagonist who, at one point in the film, wonders if he would have the courage to go to prison for his beliefs as his father did before him.

With no paternal advice from Woody, who during the action lies literally speechless in the terminal stages of Huntington's Chorea, Arlo realises he must travel his own road to find conviction and fulfilment - for although he's part of Ray and Alice's world, he shows an obvious detachment from their self-conscious rituals and celebrations which echo those of wider society, even to the extent of Ray assuming an authoritarian role of 'property owner' when he says to Arlo, in order to establish his territorial rights, 'I'm in my church - where are you?' Though generally sympathetic to the hippie life-style, the film is not complacent or uncritical. It clearly shows, for instance, how Alice and Ray use the counter-culture community as much as it uses them, to compensate for weaknesses in their own relationship. Eventually this culminates in the recourse to hard drugs and, finally, the death of one of their more vulnerable charges, Shelly, who earlier had a brief affair with Alice. It is after Shelly's funeral and the death of his father that Arlo decides to move on, leaving Ray and Alice to sell up and perhaps start a communal farm in Vermont. In turn both funny and tragic, **Alice's Restaurant** seems the best film treatment of the counter-culture theme in that it always treats the subject matter in a realistic and natural manner, neither ridiculing nor sensationalising in the way of most films dealing with the hippy ethos.

Typical of the commercialisation of the hippy sub-culture, for

instance, **Psych-Out** (produced, unsurprisingly, by A.I.P. in 1968, but not released till 1973 in Britain) homes in on all the easily exploitable aspects of the 'flower power' era, from experimentation with mind-distorting drugs in the Haight-Ashby district of San Francisco, through the psychedelic imagery and the acid-rock sound track of the Strawberry Alarm Clock, to the communal life-style enjoyed by its band of spaced out hippies. The minimal storyline ends in melodrama when the leading character (Dean Stockwell), tripping on STP, is buffeted by several cars on the Golden Gate bridge while pushing the leading lady - also on the same drug - to safety. Mortally wounded, he props himself up in the manner of a winged desperado from an Audie Murphy western and delivers the feeble last line, 'New Orleans is a deadly place . . . I hope this trip is a good one.' Already poor, this line causes some confusion to the audience since New Orleans features in the film not at all.

More successful at putting alternative cultural values and youthful ideals on the screen were films that did not take the hippy scene at fashionable face-value, but gave it a more allegorical and less direct treatment. Such films include John Huston's seldom seen 1968 version of Hans Koningsberger's novel **A Walk with Love and Death** (a story of a pacifist student and his young lover caught up in the turmoil of war in fourteenth century France - paradoxically, the action was shot in Austria when the political events of May 1968 forced the crew to abandon their attempts to film in France); the ecologically conscious science fiction film **Silent Running** (with Bruce Dern as the last caring guardian of an experimental forest, enclosed by a huge geodesic dome, hanging noiselessly in space - while the unseen Earth itself remains a devastated and defoliated post-nuclear wasteland); the faithfully made **Siddhartha**, set twenty five centuries ago but beautifully filmed in India with a pervasive sense of timelessness and tranquillity (a film which captured the elements of the book that made Hermann Hesse a cult author among the introspective young of San Francisco and elsewhere during the late sixties, with its accent on self knowledge and inner-peace, free from the constraining authoritarianism of the state and church); and perhaps most of all, Franco Zeffirelli's **Brother Sun Sister Moon**, the story of St. Francis of Assisi. Again flawlessly filmed, and with an apparently ageless theme of anti-materialism, the film goes far beyond the dictates of fashion to become a beguiling visual poem exalting the beauty and sanctity of life. It may be argued that the contemporary connections are too glibly made: the hippy dropout, Francesco, too neatly identified as a Vietnam war rebel, rejecting the values of consumer society, setting up an alternative commune with his flower power girlfriend Clare, and having the whole message sweetened by the easily accessible songs of Donovan on the soundtrack. In fact, it is the necessary open simplicity of the film rather than any shallowness which allows these parallels to be drawn; and it is a strength that this can be done without demeaning the film in any way - which remains valid for any era or social group which espouses spiritual wealth and non-violence over aggression and the tireless pursuit of money and opulence.

The harder edge of youthful concerns in the late sixties and early seventies, particularly political activity and student rebellion, received scant serious attention from the popular cinema, with only a few American films dealing directly with campus unrest. Most widely shown were **The Strawberry Statement**, **Getting Straight** and **Zabriskie Point**, all released in 1970. The first film had a politically indifferent protagonist, Simon, initially more interested in casual sex and rowing for the boat-

house team, than in the social concerns of the revolutionary students. In time, with the intervention of a new forceful girlfriend dedicated to 'the cause', he develops into a radical, or sorts - one who can keep up his rowing practice during the sit-ins. The film remains very ambiguous, and it is not clear if the girl acts as a catalyst who alerts Simon to the needs of an unjust society, or if she is merely the 'bait' who motivates Simon to support the right cause for the wrong reasons i.e. purely for sex and other forms of self-gratification (and at times, it seems, he is viewed as a useful revolutionary only because he knows how to use the xerox machine). With the screenplay basically sympathetic to the 'protest', this ambivalence in some respects makes the storyline less didactically black and white, and therefore more credible: as for instance when a large group of students are seen to attack a small posse of policemen prior to the mass storming - by the National Guard - of the student-held administration building. The merit of the film is that, despite using exploitable material and championing one side over the other, it does not whitewash or simplify characters to fit into the overall scheme, but leaves the audience free to make its own judgements.

**Getting Straight** covers similar ground with the revolutionary campus activity viewed through the weary, cynical eyes of a lapsed student activist and embryonic teacher played by Elliott Gould. He sees the youthful revolt as adolescent diletantism, divorced from the unglamorous realities of wider social concerns and of the genuine violence experienced in clashing with troops and tear-gas. However, his own repeated clashes with out-dated irrelevancies and unbending prejudice, both in the college administration and in his course content (culminating in an explosive oral examination scene which spurs the Gould character to rediscover his previous ideals and beliefs) leads him to wildly sabotage his own teaching-career chances, and to throw in his lot with the students confronting the riot-squads outside. This climax is furiously emotional, with the 'establishment' literally depicted as caricatures, and there is only a minimal appeal to the viewer's reason, but this is counter-acted by many sharply truthful and convincing scenes. It is the most consistently rewarding of the campus films as well as being the most witty and literate.

Antonioni's first American venture **Zabriskie Point** offered a more individual view of student unrest. His protagonist, Mark, is quickly bored by the endless debating and revolutionary talk of his fellow students and decides to make his own personal statement of rebellion. The storyline that follows is thin and un compelling, and also rather jumbled. Mark steals a plane, flies it to Death Valley, makes love to a girl he encounters on the way (travelling in a 'borrowed' car), returns the plane and meets death as his retribution. The film is often visually beautiful and contains stunning images in several scenes where wish-fulfilment supersedes reality (as in the multiple love-in, when numberless torsos blossom around the entwined bodies of Mark and his transient lover in the dusty, cracked lake beds of Death Valley; and in the final sequence when the house that, in the context of the film, symbolises the dehumanised and profiteering materialistic world explodes, in slow motion, time and time again), but a central weakness is with the casting of Mark Frechette as the leading character. Though apparently a committed radical in real life, he delivers a singularly inept, wooden and unattractive performance that leaves the audience unconcerned about his eventual fate. This uninvolved spreads into other areas and finally undermines any trenchancy or genuine punch that the film may have carried - despite the appealing imagery and seductive photography.

Britain's contribution to the student rebellion theme was delivered by Lyndsey Anderson in his idiosyncratic **IF...** (1970), though his intentions go much further in using the authoritarian public school system as a metaphor for our own hierarchical society. The story relates how three of the boys ultimately rebel against senseless repression, discipline and beatings meted out by the senior prefects and staff. After a number of slyly revealing episodes and several fantasy interludes, both violent and sexual, the small band of revolutionaries take up their roof-top positions with an armoury of machine guns and bombs, and proceed to indiscriminately mow down masters, parents, pupils and visiting dignitaries alike. Though suffering from over-emphasis (for example, the chaplain quivers with homosexual lust, the headmaster speaks endless and pompous, platitudes) the film powerfully conveys the snobbery of a closed community. One where preparation for the adult world is brutal and vicious, and where new boys, bullied by prefects, look eagerly forward to the day when they can, in turn, take some kind of revenge on their underlings.

A category of film persistently popular with mainly youthful audiences which deserve some mention in the concert documentary. Although examples are too numerous to mention, the most legendary manifestation was **Woodstock**, 'three days of peace, music and love', exhibited in 1970. This gathering of 400,000 people (which incidentally caused the biggest traffic jam in the history of New York State) self-consciously viewed itself as more of a celebration than a rock spectacle, and under the cameras of Mike Wadleigh the audience became performers on the screen as much as the bands on the stage. The film reveals a commendable lack of violence and hysteria normally associated with huge congregations of people, but leaves the viewer with images of vast fields of consumer garbage half sunk in churned mud. The illusion of a new revolutionary age of Aquarius dawning is further sabotaged by stage-warnings of 'bad acid' being circulated, and by the queues of people to the telephone wanting to assure parents of their safety, and finally by shots of weekend hippies worrying about getting back for work on time Monday morning. But for such a massive meeting of tribes to be carried off so peaceably did little damage to the image of youth festivals, at least until the apparent murder of a rock fan at a Rolling Stones concert a few years later.

The keynote of youth films in the seventies and up to the present time has been, paradoxically, nostalgia. While half the film goes in the world are still under twenty five, it is films portraying youth in earlier eras that have drawn the crowds. With the optimism of the sixties giving way to a sour Nixonian decade, and followed ten years later by the equally austere and depressive nuclear-age under Reagan and Thatcher, the hopefulness and fondly-held innocence of the past has proved doubly attractive. The era of The Beatles when it seemed working class heroes could make the good-times with an old guitar and a few poems was efficiently detailed with a great deal of affection in **That'll be the Day** (and the sequel **Stardust**) in the early seventies. Later on there was even a reprise of the dated street-gang films. Characteristically though, they took their impetus more from the stylistic **West Side Story** rather than from any truly menacing visions of street warfare. In the 1979 film **The Warriors**, despite the film's opening being reputedly accompanied by riots in American cinemas; the street-fight scenes, in the supposed urban battleground, closely resemble carefully choreographed ballets; and the summit of leading New York gangs - enthusiastically proposing to take over the city - dissolves in panic with the arrival of a few police cars. To dispel any

remaining fears the audience might have, there is even a final, artfully posed beach scene with a suitably banal accompanying song: 'I know there must be something better...'. The author of the original 1965 novel, Sol Yurik, disclaimed any responsibility for the film. **The Wanderers** (1980) covers similar ground, but with more humour and less of the mock heroics of the **Warriors** film. Set in 1963, the young mobsters remain throughout very conscious of parental disapproval, and even the toughest in the gang arrives home to be sent out on sundry errands by his 'Mom'. This meandering film seems to point out that the boys really are just boys. Needless to say, in the new cycle of street gang movies (including the relentlessly Macho **Boulevard Nights**, 1979) the girls, as fully rounded and autonomous characters, still hardly get a look-in.

It is apparent that in Britain too, it has been thought safer to deal with groups, popularly identified as deviant or threatening, in retrospect where they can be viewed with nostalgic safety: such as the rampant, pill-popping mods in **Quadrophonia** (1979). Culturally nonconformist, but essentially middle class groups such as hippies and student dropouts, found little difficulty in having their life-styles - or popular interpretations of it - portrayed in widely shown films of the sixties, but contemporary subcultures (self-identified as punks, rastafarians, skinheads, etc) with predominantly working class origins are scarcely touched by the cinema. Only Derek Jarman's richly imaginative **Jubilee** (1978) springs to mind as not being immediately confined to the 'lost' film shelves after a poor distribution. His film, set shortly in the future, shows an England of uncaring cynicism and chaos, inhabited by punks, police thugs and megalomaniacs. Using pre-fame punk actor/singers such as Toyah Wilcox and Adam Ant, Jarman produced a very tough satire on an unsettled England still firmly and inappropriately rooted in the 'glorious' past (symbolised in the film by Jenny Runacre as Elizabeth I), and one in which the youth of the country face a very bleak and uncertain future.

Currently, however, it is the fifties and sixties that live again in an endless stream of high school adolescent fantasy films (and at one point there was even a brief revival of flower power in 1979 when **Hair** was belatedly filmed 12 years too late - though it was made proficiently by Milos Forman, who in 1971 conceived one of the best screen treatments of alienated runaway teenagers, and their uncomprehending parents, in **Taking Off**). Most notable - or notorious - of the high school films was the limp, condescending and self congratulatory **Grease** (thought by some to be the worst film ever made - until the appearance of **Grease 2**, four years later in 1982), which had its eyes more firmly fixed on box office trends at any cost, than on any honest revelations about growing up in the fifties. Further films in this school have been of variable quality, mostly at the lower end of the scale, and have included **Lemon Popsicle** (1977); **Cooley High** (1975); **National Lampoon's Animal House** (1978), which managed to be both tasteless and funny; **Going Steady** (1979), which managed to be just tasteless (with grotesque 'jokes' including gang-rapes and other forms of abuse towards women); and recently **Porky's** (1982), which scores most of its humour from sex (or sexism) and slapstick - mostly at the same time.

Undoubtedly the best film of the adolescent nostalgia boom was the one that probably started it: **American Graffiti** (1974). Whereas the crude imitations of this film have tended to evoke times and places set in a past that seems more imaginary than real, full of obvious anachronisms and stereotypes (sexual and

otherwise), the original film plunges the viewer into a small Californian town in 1962, and the feeling of familiarity and authenticity is immediate. The director, George Lucas, never looks down on his subject matter, but places the audience along side the action to share it with his cast. As a result he produces a gallery of young male and female characters who, though distant in time, have an existence which is both tangibly accessible and touchingly believable. Lucas wisely moved on from this genre but still proved adept at recognizing and providing what young cinema audiences wanted, and he chose to illustrate their dreams, needs and fears in a science fiction format, with the **Star Wars** cycle. Elements of science fiction mythology can be recognized in the world cruised by the teenagers of **American Graffiti** too, with the cool handling of the lovingly photographed hardware, the neon-lit landscape, the gliding transport, the gleaming chrome, etc - with the whole 'strip' universe presided over by the omnipotent disc-jockey 'Wolfman Jack'. A sequel appeared in 1980, **More American Graffiti**, but it was directed by a lesser talent with none of the consummate assurance of Lucas, and proved to be disappointingly routine.

The British director Alan Parker has also been successful at producing observant and ingenious films portraying, and aimed at, youth. His **Midnight Express** (1978) - with the tale of the incarceration of Billy Hayes in a Turkish prison for smuggling hashish - contained all the elements of youthful alienation and isolation that had made **The Graduate** a world wide success a decade earlier. Just as with that film it was unnecessary to have personal knowledge of a particular kind of upper-middle class life in swimming-pool America (the kind of emotional and physical imprisonment that Benjamin faced), it was equally unnecessary with **Midnight Express** to have experienced the brutality of Turkish prisons in order to share Billy's sense of personal deprivation and displacement. Parker had identified adolescent dreads and insecurities of a more universal kind, that reached far beyond the surface plot-isolation of his film, and consequently found a huge market amongst the young. He continued the ideas of isolation and emotional starvation with his study of a disintegrating personality, in transferring Pink Floyd's **The Wall** (1982) to the screen - but the film's inherent misogyny made it less appealing. Parker also provided a message of hope and success for the young in the high vitality and freshly filmed **Fame** (1980). Set in New York's High School for the Performing Arts, it is excitingly and tirelessly dedicated to the virtues of perseverance, hardwork, talent and upward mobility. It has since given birth to a tiresome, formula t.v. series.

The way in which other media have influenced youth films of the last decade can be illustrated by the immensely successful and fashion-conscious 1978 film **Saturday Night Fever**. There was the electric night life setting; the gaudy disco dancing; the use of a cult t.v. star (John Travolta, from the hit series **Welcome Back Kotter**); and the relentlessly uniform musical coating provided by The Bee Gees and company. The latter device being an increasingly popular one which can serve to attract audiences when the script and much else is well below par - although a pervasive fifties soundtrack was tastefully and effectively used to intensify situations and emotions in another poignant drama about growing up in small town America: Peter Bogdanovich's **The Last Picture Show** (1971). Despite its trendy opportunism, **Saturday Night Fever** did receive good notices for the realistic treatment of social and sexual rituals among youthful ethnic minorities. This positive factor possibly springs from the concerns of the director John Avildsen (later

fired from the film) who worked on **Rocky** (1976), the movie that made working class heroes acceptable, and profitable, in major Hollywood films of the seventies - in recent decades the American film industry's major preoccupation seemed to be with a non-ethnic middle class, of the Doris Day variety. But even in **Saturday Night Fever**, despite the apparent understanding of working class realities (of dead-end jobs; claustrophobic family life; decaying neighbourhoods; the sense of intimidation when confronted by higher social groups, or their agents; and an empty youth culture based primarily on manufactured pop fantasy and sexual ranking - the good-girl/whore dichotomy; etc), the plot construction manages to side step any rigorous critical analysis, and settles instead for melodrama and easy solutions. The Travolta character receives a 'second chance' through his relationship with a girl who provides him with a means of escape from his class and destructive neighbourhood. Though he does this with commendable willpower, the bleak realities of such working class existences - with overt racism, sexism and oppression - cannot be so conveniently or cosily spirited away.

In the current era, apart from nostalgia, the blatant exploitation of fashion, and the occasional harsh, almost documentary approach to specific adolescent problems - for instance, the harrowing teenage drug film **Christine F** (1982), and **Scum** (1979) with graphic depictions of violence perpetrated by and against young male offenders (which was recently counterpointed with a female perspective, and lesser impact, in the 1982 film **Scrubbers**) - there has been a new and perceptive intimacy in presenting the young on screen, without recourse to the conventional images of mumbling, leather-jacketed delinquent and empty-headed nympho girlfriend, or to any other equally asinine stereotype. Among them, **Breaking Away** (1979) relates the quietly effective tale of an Indiana teenager who endeavours to convert himself into a champion Italian cyclist, in order to regain a sense of purpose after graduating from High School. **Ordinary People** (1981), though humourless in its treatment of a wealthy, self indulgent and self analysing family, gives a convincing picture of the emotionally disturbed son who seems unable to communicate with an unapproachable mother and an ineffective father. **My Bodyguard** (1980) is an unpretentious study of adolescent intimidation and bullying in an American state school - hardly the driving excitement of **Blackboard Jungle** but just as acceptable, with the modern reaction to provocation and pent-up frustration exhibited not in terms of moronic violence and flick-knives, as in the fifties, but with individual humour and other idiosyncratic strategies of response.

In Britain too there are hopeful signs that modern depictions of youth will continue to be less stereotypical and more richly individual, especially in the films of Bill Forsyth and Ken Loach. Forsyth's first film **That Sinking Feeling** (1979) is a gentle comedy built round an ever present sense of poverty and chronic unemployment in Glasgow, with a wholly believable bunch of school leavers who can only foresee a lifetime on the dole. The good natured friends plan to counter-act this state of affairs with a nocturnal raid on a warehouse full of stainless steel sinks - with the proceeds of the robbery supposedly ending their difficulties. Despite the implicitly depressive setting the tone of the film is never jaundiced, and even the representative of the law who collars one of the naïve heroes turns out to be an old schoolmate whose only desire is to proudly show off his new whistle and handcuffs - to which, of course, he loses the key. Forsyth's second film, **Gregory's Girl**, moved in the same

refreshingly relaxed and amusing groove with unstrained but detailed character studies. In this tale of Gregory's infatuation with a female football player at his school, again it is the teenage boys who display a woeful incompetence in dealing with life's vicissitudes. The girls on the other hand are relatively unflappable and self-possessed, while the adults in the film seem even less grown up than the adolescents themselves. Bill Forsyth perfectly conjures up a twilight-zone world in these films, with a well judged sense of youthful unreality in which he keenly observes the speech patterns, behaviour and mannerisms that go to make up real characters rather than just types.

Ken Loach is another director who consistently puts young and old on the screen with a great deal of realism and sincerity, but without shortcuts or sentimentality. Rather than using sledge hammer propaganda, his social criticism is also presented with subtlety and humour - of the kind which springs from natural human situations, not from crudely contrived melodrama: a virtue which is often missing from other treatments of 'worthy' subjects by the cinema. In **Kes** (1970) written by Barry Hines, Billy a Barnsley schoolboy, finds a deal more meaning in his life through capturing and training a kestrel than through his relationships with the boorish and uncaring inhabitants of his dull and unpromising environment - from the frustrated and sadistic P.E. teacher and the archaic headmaster, who wields his cane with relish, to the brutal brother and the widowed and pre-occupied mother. The inability of the seemingly indifferent adult world to provide someone as sensitive and distinctly individual as Billy with any kind of chance to a real and satisfying future - outside of a passive and docile labour force - is satirically, if depressingly, displayed in the interview scene with the school 'careers officer'. His strategy is to offer Billy a choice between mental or manual labour, the boredom of routine office work or the unrewarding prospect of performing society's most unpleasant, dirty and back-breaking tasks. Billy, to his credit, moré aware of the dismal realities than his clueless interviewer, cuts the meeting short as though he has better things to do.

Twelve years later in **Looks and Smiles** (1982 - screened at various film festivals, but since seen on British television), Ken Loach and Barry Hines have lost none of their ability to blend the particular concerns of the young with recognizable social realism that does not need, or receive, a heavy hand to make it valid political points. The current economic state of the country hangs like a dark pall over the characters who, having just left school, are faced with the unappetizing choice of signing on the dole for the foreseeable future, or joining the armed forces - or the rarer opportunity of actually being sent in pursuit of a vacancy by the ill-named 'Job Centre', usually a dull and tedious post far removed from the hopeful dreams and desires of the young applicants. But lack of work, though ever-present with the dispiriting rituals acted out at the unemployment office and the concomitant dearth of money, is only one factor in a richly evoked glimpse of modern life in an unhysterical and almost documentary-like film. There is petty crime, disco fights, a gently underplayed love story, and many other difficulties that can beset contemporary teenagers; but most of all, there is the voicing of a semi-articulate anger at a system that condemns a vast segment of the population to feel wasted and useless at seventeen.

Clearly, the concerned, humorous and subtle films of Forsyth and Loach - which make relevant social observations about

youth without being overly propagandist - offer a positive and hopeful outlook for the treatment of young people on the cinema screen. They do not underestimate the intelligence of the viewer, and they produce satisfying pieces of entertainment - without having to divine the 'lowest common denominator' in order to reach a mass audience. While it is sadly obvious that some film-makers will always take the easy route and favour the use of teenage 'types', whether it is that of the insensitive thug or beaming Disneyesque adolescent (with the females nearly always in secondary roles), it is the honesty in the kind of films discussed above that provides truly believable characters who move in real and satisfying three-dimensional worlds, and who have concerns and predicaments that are entirely convincing. In the end it is this kind of honesty - without the necessity of resorting to sombre pessimism or self-righteous pomposity - which serves to dissolve the barrier of involvement and acceptance that exists between the voyeur and the screen.

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# youth and politics

RAYMOND COCHRAN AND MICHAEL BILLIG

## Introduction

Many studies of the political opinions of young people have confined themselves to surveys of voting intention or to determining support for specific issues or pressure groups. There has been little detailed analysis, in this country at least, of the ways in which political views are affected by and integrated into the broader view adolescents may have of their own position in society both in the present and in the future. At the invitation of the Social Science Research Council (under their Young People in Society Initiative) we have just completed a three year study which had the very broad objective of examining the political identifications and attitudes of adolescents and relating these to a variety of aspects of their own experience. What we hoped would be one of the most interesting aspects of the project was our intention to compare information gained about adolescent political views by the use of traditional survey methods with that gained by ideographic methods. It was assumed that the two kinds of approaches would yield different kinds of data which could be used to complement each other in developing a more complete psychological appreciation of the political identifications of young people.

Most of the details of the methodology we employed have been described in other papers which are referred to later. We propose therefore to outline the structure of the project in a few sentences only and then to give an account of some of the paradoxes in political identification that we encountered.

The project began in the autumn of 1979 with a questionnaire survey of 1500 fifth formers in West Midland schools. Some of the items were purpose designed while others were taken from questionnaires used in a number of previous studies. The questionnaire tapped many aspects of political identification and beliefs such as party choice, knowledge of policies, attitudes towards the political system, political views and class identification. After completing the basic analysis of these data, we embarked upon discussions of a wide range of political issues with groups of four or five people drawn from another cohort of fifth formers in the same schools. A series of discussions was held with each of about 20 such groups over a period of about a year. As far as was possible, sessions were contrived to be discussions between peers with minimal intervention from us although one or other of us was always present and the sessions were tape recorded. No claim is made that these samples are representative of school leavers, but the fact that the same schools were involved throughout the three years of the project, allows us to examine changes that occurred within this particular area.

A second questionnaire survey became necessary for various

reasons and this was carried out in the same schools again in the winter of 1982. This questionnaire was a modified version of that used on the first occasion.<sup>(1)</sup> Our main studies were supplemented by participant observation of political meetings of the youth wings of the Conservative and Labour parties.

Several new factors emerged during the course of the study which has an enormous impact upon the political attitudes of the adolescents we were studying and consequently reshaped much of our thinking about our findings.

**First**, the rapid growth in the level of unemployment in the West Midlands following the Conservative victory in the 1979 General Election, undoubtedly influenced the way many of the youngsters involved in our study felt about politics. Whereas in 1979/80 only 4 percent of the fathers of our respondents were unemployed, by 1981/2 this figure had grown to 15 percent. Employment prospects for school leavers deteriorated even faster and to such an extent that hardly any of the fifth formers who left several of the schools we studied obtained immediate employment.

**Second**, between conducting the survey of the political views of adolescents and completing the in-depth interviews, the Social Democratic Party emerged as a political force. Obviously the advent of the SDP was unforeseen by us, but what we found more surprising was its ready appeal to our young respondents and the reasons behind the willingness of the adolescents to give their allegiance to the SDP.<sup>(2)</sup>

**Third**, at the same time as support was shifting from the traditional parties to the SDP, it was also shifting to the National Front and other fascist parties. Whereas in our first survey (carried out in 1979/80), NF support was confined to a small minority, it soon became apparent in the discussion groups which followed this survey that identification with the NF as a party and even more so with its ideology, was becoming more widespread and that this was often accompanied by unashamed racist opinions openly expressed. Indeed, by the time of the second survey (carried out in the winter of 1981/82), over 30 percent of the white fifth formers in our sample expressed some support for the NF or British Movement.

It was, in fact, the discrepancies that emerged between the results of our first questionnaire survey and the feelings that communicated themselves in the small group discussions that led us to repeat the questionnaire survey two years later.

What was apparently happening was the steady growth of a strong feeling of pessimism, hopelessness and a poorly articu-

lated, but real, conviction that things in general, and the life circumstances of our respondents in particular, had slipped out of control. Not out of their own control, because this had never been the case, but a pervasive feeling that no one, and certainly not the political leaders of the country had a grip on the way events were turning out. These feelings were partly, no doubt, a realistic interpretation of what was happening to an area which for generations had known only economic prosperity and full time employment but which, almost overnight, became an unemployment blackspot. These feelings were however, also contributed to by other factors as well. There were, for example, the well publicized and oft repeated statements by the government that our recession was only a reflection of a world wide slump that Britain as a country could not influence. There was also the indirect impact of some of the SDP's propaganda which gave legitimacy and credibility to the notion that the old political system was failing and was unable to meet the challenge of problems the size of Britain's.

The corollary of these developments was **first**, a marked decline in support for the major political parties which, previously it could have been assumed, on the basis of their class position, the adolescents in our samples would have supported. What communicated itself to us very strongly during our conversations with the youngsters was the utter failure of the Labour and Conservative parties to inspire any idealism, hope or belief in their ability to reverse the economic and social decline on which it was, universally believed, Britain had embarked. Even those who retained allegiance to one or other of these parties did so with little conviction or enthusiasm. **Secondly**, there appeared a strong tendency to respond to the perceived lack of control over events by accepting apparently simple, often nationalist, sometimes authoritarian, solutions to economic problems. Some of the consequences of these tendencies are revealed in the political discussions of the school leavers in our sample will be examined in the remainder of this paper.

### The Social Democratic Party

The spectacular rise in the popularity of the SDP nationally was reflected in our, largely working class, sample. Whereas in 1979/80 the Liberals attracted the sympathy of only 6 percent of our respondents, by 1982 over 24 percent of them indicated support for the Alliance. This growth in support may be seen as just a reflection of the impact of the SDP on the parents of our sample but we found SDP support amongst adolescents to be a phenomenon which is paradoxical in ways not yet reported for adults.

Although the leaders of the SDP might continually preach against the dangers of extremist intolerance, it was not the case that all their young supporters shared this outlook. In fact, a new party, by its very novelty and its lack of a distinctive outline, might attract people who are disaffected by, and impatient with, conventional politics for a variety of reasons. In this respect, the rise of the SDP presents a curious phenomenon in that it has taken place against a background of economic decline and rising unemployment - the very conditions which have often been considered to lead people to forsake traditional political loyalties and to seek **extremist** solutions. Some of the comments of our teenagers suggested that the rise of the SDP may not in practice be simply a reflection of a desire for moderation, but, in part, may itself be a product of the very mood which its leaders seek to combat.

One fifth form girl summed up her views about politics by saying, "I don't understand politics very well, but I think we should get rid of all the Blacks and put them back where they belong." Another fifth former, this time a boy, dismissed politics as "a waste of time and money", and stated that "there should be just one single party or plan to run the country".

These kinds of views were by no means uncommon. The surprise in these cases was that neither supported the National Front or some other authoritarian party which explicitly stands for such racist and anti-democratic points of view. Instead, both were pinning their hopes on the SDP.

Although there were a fair number of SDP supporters who were attracted by the appeal to moderation and a fear of 'extremism' there were many others who supported the SDP because of their general loathing of 'high and mighty' politicians and a desire for a qualitatively different sort of politics. There was a mood of impatience with political debate and even democratic processes themselves. One SDP supporter suggested "if the MP's want to play at politics, lock them in a nice padded room and let them get on with it". Meanwhile a strong populist government formed from one powerful party that did not have to bother with argument and dissent could get on with running the country. This party was to be the SDP.

This state of mind has been described as 'extremism of the centre'; it is an attitude which seeks to replace democratic discussion by some sort of united national will. It seems unlikely that people with these beliefs will, in the long run, be satisfied by the studied moderation of Roy Jenkins and his colleagues in the SDP. In consequence, a serious question hangs over the future political affiliations of those young SDP supporters who have projected their anti-political and populist yearnings on to the SDP. Having broken the mould once, it is possible that they will be more receptive to further unconventional political choices<sup>(3)</sup>.

### The Fascist Parties

There was more than a little evidence from our group discussions and our second survey that support for fascist parties and ideas was growing at the same time as support for the SDP. Again a paradox presents itself. As political forces in Britain today the fascist parties seem dead (as evidenced by their pathetic showing in elections since 1979 and the fragmentation of the National Front and British Movement into squabbling factions). The evidence from our study however was much less encouraging. Not only had support for the NF and BM amongst youngsters in the schools we surveyed held up, it more than doubled between 1979 and 1982. Furthermore, the appeal of NF policy of the forcible expulsion of immigrants spread far beyond those who indicated that the NF was the party they would be willing to support.

At the beginning of our study expressed support for fascist parties was confined to a small and fairly easily identifiable group in each school although they did, in fact, come from a variety of family backgrounds<sup>(4)</sup>. They were almost all boys, often skinheads - the kind of pupil who sits at the back of the class passing comments and making rude noises. These hard core fascist sympathizers rejoiced in their prejudices and openly boasted of their real or imagined assaults on immigrants. Over the three years of the study, however, the crude bigots were joined in their support for the NF by a more representative and respectable cross section of school children: a trend which again

reflected the growing despair with conventional politics ever regaining control of the economic and social situation. Those new NF supporters shared with the SDP supporters the belief that "Thatcher does not give a damn about us or anyone else and this goes for all parties" and that politicians were just "rich snobs". Where they differed was in their belief that Britain's problems would be solved by expelling three million immigrants and thereby releasing three million jobs for people like themselves.

Indeed this aspect of National Front policy was the single most clearly recognized aspect of the policy of any Party. Whereas most adolescents were at a loss to say what were the aims and policies of the main parties they all immediately recognized that the NF stood for "getting the Blacks out". What was the most worrying of all was not the appeal of this policy to supporters of fascist parties but the fact that it was widely diffused amongst those adolescents who tried to distance themselves from crude bigotry. On many occasions we encountered an evident reluctance to endorse a point of view which was recognized as inhumane but which was seen as the only way out of a crisis. Lacking any clearly defined political alternatives, these youngsters found themselves drifting towards accepting an idea which symbolized a quick solution to intractable economic problems. They often prefaced their comments with the phrase, "I'm not National Front myself, but ...."<sup>(6)</sup>.

Obviously the support for the fascist parties and their ideology was divorced from actual political involvement. Indeed, were the fascist parties stronger the grubby reality of their politics and leaders might well work to the detriment of this symbolic attachment. It would, however, be dangerous to dismiss this trend as only symbolic because a potential reservoir of support may continue to exist ready to be exploited by unscrupulous politicians, and parties, who wish to gain some electoral advantage.

### **The Labour Party**

Our surveys reveal that the growth of support for the extreme right has not been matched in any way by a corresponding growth in support for the far left. The numbers of adolescents reporting support for Communist Parties was miniscule compared to those prepared to support fascist ones. Whereas the far right has an issue, that of race, which can strike an immediate chord in large numbers of the white respondents, there is no immediate far left issue.

In fact, the decline in the support for the Labour Party recorded nationally among adult voters since 1979 was also reflected in the attitudes of our young sample but, as with the rise of the SDP, it may be that different processes were at work. Whereas adult disaffection with the Labour Party may be partly attributed to internal quarrelling and fear of extremists having taken over, the youngsters in our sample had little knowledge, and even less interest, in these events. To take an example, one response to a question about the views of Tony Benn was, "Tony who?".

Unlike any previous generation these children have lived in an age when Labour was more often in, than out, of office. At the same time the Labour Party had applied an essentially 'pragmatic' conception of socialism, first under Wilson and then under Callaghan. The very success of Labour's recent electoral history has created a particular problem for adolescents who might otherwise identify with the Party. Previously during periods of

Conservative rule it may have been possible to maintain a belief that when Labour came to power things would be radically different. However, for the current generation of adolescents, this forward-looking, optimistic view of socialism had become less credible: for them the Labour Party has represented the political establishment during most of their lives.

The effects of this process could be seen in the comments of those youngsters who still supported Labour. Even an uncompromising rejection of Thatcher and the Conservatives was often not accompanied by an optimistic radicalism. Abusive references to the Prime Minister were common, but amongst those who supported the Labour Party the mood of anger was contained within a 'pragmatic conception'. Time and again, even those school leavers who said they would support Labour did so because "things weren't so bad under a Labour government".

Many of the residual Labour supporters did have this kind of nostalgic view of the Party but shared few of the traditional ideals of socialism. Indeed they saw the Labour Party as essentially conservative. Perhaps the most dramatic example of this was provided by a young girl who wanted to be a social worker but who was leaving school with no qualifications and no job. She rejected Mrs. Thatcher because she was allowing immigrants to 'pour in' and with a backward glance which encompassed both personal experience and wider political views, pointed out that a row of shops which were now all owned by Pakistanis had all been owned by English people when Labour was in power.

Such views illustrate how the Labour Party is not currently projecting itself as a force against racism and, in particular, how it is failing to communicate a convincing explanation of unemployment to counteract the simplistic view, held by many of the white youngsters in our sample, that the problem could be solved, at a stroke, by the expulsion of non-Whites.

Just as the Labour Party appeared to be attracting support from those who expressed non-socialist attitudes, so conversely it was failing to translate a significant number of those who did have left-wing attitudes into supporters. We constructed a measure of Socialist Attitudes, based on responses to questions on topics such as nationalization, trade union power and the redistribution of wealth, and found that about fifty percent of those with high scores on this scale said they would not support Labour. Nor were they turning further to the left than Labour, for the numbers supporting the Communist Party, or other Marxist groups, was miniscule. Instead it was the SDP and the National Front and British Movement, who were picking up their support or, even more commonly, there was a general rejection of any political involvement whatsoever.

For example, there was the girl who thought that the main problems of the country arose from "low wages" and the "stupidity by some people in high places"; there were "too many Big Bosses closing down firms for their own good" and wealth should be re-distributed so that "everyone should have roughly the same". Unusually this girl did have a positive image of a possible future society, where "everyone contributes to society and everyone gets listened to" and where politicians would "take note of what ordinary people want, instead of working against the less well-off people". Far from this girl seeing her utopian and egalitarian hopes expressed within the Labour movement, she condemned all politicians equally, and despite an interest in politics, she declared that she would not

vote - for her all politicians were equally to blame<sup>(6)</sup>

In addition, our ethnographic study of the Young Conservative and the Young Socialists suggested the extent to which socialist ideas have been cut off from the mainstream of contemporary culture, with the result that they appear incomprehensible or irrelevant to many. For the Young Conservatives the question of culture is not problematic. The branches investigated were composed almost entirely of middle class members, who had joined the party for social, not political, reasons. They were quite open in their aim of having a good time, and the activities of the branches were arranged around conventional social activities. To be sure, the trips to cinemas, bowling alleys and parachuting centres would be balanced by talks on politics, sometimes apologetically introduced as boring, but necessary, intrusions on the good times to be had by one and all. Also the members knew that when elections came round, they were expected to help address letters, stick up posters and distribute pamphlets, but even these activities could be made to appear as forms of 'fun'.

For the Young Socialists, by contrast, it is inconceivable that fun, rather than politics, should be the dominant motif. Instead there was an earnest pre-occupation with the drafting of resolutions, the passing of motions and the showing of solidarity with workers around the world. The limited appeal of this sort of activity was recognized, and there was constant discussion of the ways of broadening the branch's appeal, especially to recruit genuinely working class youth. Whereas the Young Conservatives could base their appeal to the non-politically interested by offering a range of 'normal' social activities, a radical group, opposed to the dominant culture, has particular problems in choosing politically acceptable, yet genuinely attractive, forms of fun<sup>(7)</sup>

For example, one of the Young Conservative's non-political social events was a Monopoly Competition, in which all participated without any thought that the activity could be politically symbolic in any sense whatever, so integrated has the game become in the culturally available sources of fun. Such a competition would clearly be out of place amongst the serious minded Young Socialists, although in one branch a game was played in which players took the role of industrialized or Third World countries. The didactic aim of the exercise was clear, and the game was not a game in the true sense of the word, for winners and losers were known at the outset: the object of the exercise was, of course, to show in a game simulation just how the Third World countries lose out to the richer nations. To the extent to which participants enjoyed the exercise, they, in practice, broke out of the didactic mode of the game, to play it in the spirit of the Monopoly Competition with some of the richer country players enjoying their winning roles, cutting off aid with relish and exploiting market forces to the hilt. In this instance, the lack of radical culture, and the antithesis between radicalism and fun, was dramatically illustrated by the radical game either ceasing to be radical or a game. This small event (and ethnographic observations seek to catch events with are trivial in themselves<sup>(8)</sup>) illustrates the extent to which radicalism finds itself fenced off from the dominant cultural modes, and thus finds little opportunity for making direct contact except with those who possess a specialized interest in political meetings.

### Conclusion

It is possible, of course, to overstate the significance of the

political views of 15/16 year olds as indicators of future voting intentions or other forms of adult political activity. Indeed, the traditional view has been that while at school political opinions are unrestrained by reality and therefore tend towards the fantastic; the schoolboy or girl is therefore, able to show off his or her daring, shocking or extreme views. When, however, the young person is exposed to reality of the workplace then harder economic influences take over and the vast majority of people become socialized into accepting one of the (up until now) two main parties. In our working class sample this socialization would often naturally occur via Trade Unions and they would tend to lead towards support for the Labour Party. The middle class minority who went into family businesses or white collar jobs would encounter similar pressures towards voting Conservative.

There are two points to be made about these assumptions: **First**, is it not in itself significant that, within the White youth culture that we studied, such showing off as was evident practically always took the form of racial bigotry? It was not just that people could find some peer status in boasting extreme views - there were no self styled Communists, Marxists or Trotskyites. We are convinced that racism was endemic in our sample and that many people would retain an inclination towards supporting a policy of forced repatriation if it were ever offered.

**Second**, the traditional dismissive view of adolescent politics is based on the assumption that school leavers will get jobs. This assumption is clearly no longer viable in many areas. Up to 80 percent of some of the classes we looked at left school with no job and no immediate prospects of finding one. For them the foreseeable future was to drift from training courses to Youth Opportunities Programmes to the dole. Some of our sample will be 18 this year and never have had a job, perhaps some will reach 25 or 35 and never have jobs. If, because of this, they escape countervailing socialization pressures, then the frightening prospect emerges of their symbolic politics becoming political practice.

### REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Copies of questionnaires are available from the authors and the raw data derived from them are being deposited with SSRC Survey Archive at Essex University.
2. Support for the political parties by fifth form pupils in the West Midlands schools changed between 1979/80 and 1982 as follows:

Party	1979/80	1982
Communist	11.0	11.3
Conservative	34.6	16.7
Labour	51.5	43.2
Liberal/SDP*	66.3	24.6
NF/BM	66.6	14.2
Base	1200	1045

\*SDP not included in 1979/80 survey

3. For more detailed discussion of these issues see our article in *New Society*, 29th May 1982.
4. See Cochrane, R. and Billig, M. Adolescent support for the National Front: a test of three models of political extremism. *New Community*, 1982, 10, 86-94.
5. See our article in *New Socialist*, July/August 1983 for a further discussion of this trend.
6. See our article in *New Socialist*, Nov/Dec 1982 for more detail
7. For a contrast between the political ethic of a Young Socialist branch and that of the Young Conservatives see our article in *New Society*, 1983.
8. For an analysis of one such meeting see Billig, M. Conservative ideology and race: a case study of an unimportant episode. In C. Husband (ed.) *Social policy in inter-ethnic situations: a social psychological perspective*. London: Academic Press (in press).

# how far further for further education?

MERILYN MOOS

During the 1960s and 1970s, further education flourished at the crossroads of diverse developments in the education system. Further education's flexibility towards local industrial demands gave rise to an expansion in its 'vocational skill' training, at the same time as the expansion in post-sixteen education and a commonly held commitment to education as the great equaliser brought in increasing takers for 'A' and 'O' levels.

This degree of decentralised development is however being increasingly brought under control by the state which is centralising training for both employed and unemployed, as well as developing a more interventionist approach in the organisation of 'academic' education. For example, BEC and TEC are institutionalising 'national' standards for business and technical education, which can be seen to prepare the student more for an economic position within the 'national economy', rather than responding to local 'needs'. This article is however going to concentrate on the impact of the MSC on further education. The MSC was developed to centralise training, taking it out of the hands of the employers who were failing to ensure the maintenance of an adequate national level and standards. Subsequently, soaring youth unemployment precipitated the Labour government into initiating a national youth unemployed training programme through the MSC.

In a period when the education system has been severely deprived of money, funds transferred to the MSC and its youth unemployment programmes in particular have been massive. It is difficult to distinguish the causes of the MSC's impact on further education from its effects. To what degree was the grudging but accommodating attitude of the local education authorities (LEAs) towards the MSC takeover of their control and power in further education a result of their need for its money? Or was it that the government and some LEAs welcomed the degree to which MSC ideology and practices marked a 'break' with previous further education teaching practices, particularly given the supposed radicalisation of teachers trained in the 1960s and 1970s and their emphasis on more democratic, less hierarchical, practices and ideas?

The MSC's ease of entry into further education was facilitated by a view held by many teachers as well as sections of the

Labour Party, articulated through the LEAs, of the MSC as a 'neutral' body. This image was gained partly through its corporatist practice of involving interested parties, in particular the trade unions; in further education, partly through the MSC's early programmes for relatively illiterate youth, which some 'radical' teachers perceived as an attempt at creating greater educational equality. The image of MSC as a further stage in state reformism towards education and training does not however fit the reality of its reorganisation of training. In the training for apprenticeships, where local employers have always had an input into the further education syllabus, the MSC has tried to further limit the space previously left by local industry's less directed and enforced controls. Their emphasis on 'training' the young unemployed to make them employable for a market which offers few jobs, highlights their exclusively vocational approach. Unlike this new MSC youth 'training', skill training used to be geared to training for a specific job and, in the case of male training, the people were already workers, receiving wages (even if youth wages). (Women have, of course, not traditionally been eligible for skilled jobs which received training and have tended to go directly into further education for training for jobs in offices, hospitals, etc, often not characterised as skilled because of their unrestricted access). It can thus be argued that the **the function of the MSC was to create a flexible labour force, not tied to traditional job demarcations and union 'restrictions'**, to aid the profitability of industry.

The MSC's unemployment training clearly undercuts existing levels and methods of skill training. The Task Group's proposals indicated a belief that the young unemployed no longer require the broader, more abstract, teaching received in colleges, where teaching or training is not directly tied to the immediate job and interests of the employer whilst the MSC's attempt to withdraw training from further education suggests that they do not see training for an adaptable **employed** labour force as a priority. Indeed the degree to which the MSC have ceased to be committed to real training as indicated by their failure to maintain TOPS numbers, one of the only genuine retraining schemes, and one significantly often taught in further education. This is undoubtedly in part due to the closer control of the MSC by the Conservative government, whose 'training

policy' includes axing most of the ITBs (Industrial Training Boards), which were responsible for a major share of skill training. The MSC's training has been consequently used to reinforce divisions within the working class.

Significantly the MSC have acted as the ideological pace-setters in explaining economic failure as a consequence of educational failure, an ideological shift legitimised by the 1974-79 Labour government's orchestration of the Great Debate. They suggest that the failure to get a job is because of the individual's failure to achieve adequate education and training, yet the jobs are not there and no number of qualifications could create them. The fear that young people may cease to feel any allegiance to a system which offers them unemployment and at best intermittent low status jobs, also gives rise to a demand for social control which is probably a more important factor in ensuring the maintenance of an MSC intervention than any phoney equation of training with jobs.

The MSC's increasing emphasis on the need for a flexible labour force raises the question as to whether this is proving compatible with its original function of providing industrial capital's needs for skilled labour. This emphasis may well indicate the government's priorities. Certainly, the distance between the MSC and the government has been sharply curtailed by the Tory government. By for example, their successful displacement of the previous chairperson of the MSC with their man, David Young, as well as their 'encouragement', expressed by the Prime Minister herself, of the MSC's new intervention into secondary schooling and with traineeships being implemented to include the first year of apprenticeships, thus further cutting back on the apprenticeship system and lessening trade union controls over their market situation. The MSC's 'qualifications' are designed in 'generic' or 'adaptable' skills, as outlined previously in this magazine<sup>(1)</sup>. This training in skills supposedly common to a variety of jobs, such as 'pulling and pushing' and 'relating to other people'<sup>(2)</sup>, is in reality a training in social skills, in a willingness to be adaptable and to accept taking a variety of intermittent jobs.

As has been argued elsewhere by writers such as Hussein<sup>(3)</sup> and Bowles and Gintis<sup>(4)</sup>, the importance of qualifications is not simply to indicate technical competence for a job, but also to reinforce a set of social relationships based on differentiating between different levels of the labour market. So that while qualifications have been important in maintaining social relationships, until recently they have validated employers maintaining differentials within the **employed** and **waged** working class. On the other hand, the purpose, not just effect, of the MSC's unemployed training programme has been to develop a 'sub-proletariat', a group in and out of work and willing to accept rotten jobs at rotten rates of pay. This aim which can usefully be compared to Tory spokespersons' stated intention to bring down wage levels and to break up the apprenticeship system is one which the TUC unfortunately seem willing to go along with. The MSC has not developed or adopted a national system of certification and their 'passports' individuals, or other forms of internal certification, will not be recognised as having the same exchange value as those qualified by a nationally credited and recognised system, such as under the independent City and Guilds system.

Later in this article it will be argued that the shifting emphasis by the MSC onto training for the unemployed within industry acts to mask their perception of education. Also that this

encroachment on the MSC's 'autonomy' has of course severely and possibly irretrievably damaged their carefully nurtured image of neutrality.

One of the arguments being developed is that the role of the MSC has significantly shifted from its initial primary concern with training for jobs to one of social training for the young unemployed, and that increasingly the development of the so called youth training programmes are part of a Tory policy of attempting to limit working class and youth organisation and power. Further education's future role has to be interpreted within this framework and also as a state educational institution which is becoming increasingly privatised, and pushed into segregating levels, rather than its previous comprehensive practices. Given the likelihood of continuing high youth unemployment and unrest, it seems unlikely that a future Labour government would do little besides modify this pattern.

### Education out, free enterprise in

The MSC's newest Task Group Report differs from previous MSC Reports in that it ignores further education<sup>(5)</sup>. Until now, the MSC has built further education into its programmes, even if in a fashion which many in further education opposed. Now the Task Group states a preference for industry as sponsors for the schemes, which would allow all elements of training to take place within industry. Under the pressure of industrial protests at paying fees for sending trainees into further education colleges, the MSC has explicitly accepted that 'off-the-job' training can be run on the job. (A compromise has now been reached where LEAs will subsidise college places for the MSC trainees, thus reducing the cost to the MSC and the employer and increasing it for the LEAs). Industry is thus being preferred because it offers a more vocational orientation. This explicit policy represents a significant change in direction given that the policy of all governments during the last twenty years has been directed towards removing training from the employer and offering centralised provision, particularly in further education.

The MSC expressed from the beginning a perception of the education system as insufficiently to the needs of industry. Its unemployment programme of 1978, which followed a few years after its initial intervention into further education, was explicit about the desirability of making the young 'employable' by improving their flexibility. The degree of their success is indicated by the extent to which over five years the definition of educational success has come to be widely expressed in these terms and education blurred into training. Clearly MSC practices did represent a break from previous 'social-democratic' thinking<sup>(6)</sup>. The government reports of the 1950s and 1960s arguing for an expanded education system saw no incongruity between developing education as a means of individual fulfilment, and as a means of meeting industry's changing needs. That is one of the education system's most important characteristics in this period - that two potentially conflicting demands, of the right of the individual to educational opportunity, and of the allocation to one's place in the economic order, temporarily became complementary. The MSC's perception of training as preparing fodder for industry fails however to even maintain the possibility and the ideology of a potential equality between classes and individuals, which could be realised, at least partially, through the education system. The MSC substitutes a 'deficit' model of people who cannot succeed, for a model of 'educational opportunity' based on potential ability. As their 'trainees' are drawn substantially from the

working class, they reinforce class divisions as well as a model of the apparent inevitability of such divisions. The MSC's aims are clearly those of the market place and the employer.

The MSC as noted earlier are now extending their vocationalism to those below the compulsory school leaving age. Following an invitation by Thatcher herself, the MSC are planning to extend vocational education to, to quote Norman Tebbit "those who would prefer a rather more nourishing technical diet and who do not receive the rich academic diet". The MSC, willing to 'co-operate'(!) with the LEAs are nevertheless insisting on controlling the schemes, and are even making explicit that they are willing to establish alternative insitutional arrangements themselves for pupils' training sessions. The LEAs nevertheless seem willing to volunteer for the pilot schemes. The MSC's successful and rapid march into the heartlands of the education system has been along a road paved with gold.

The MSC argue that the DES have failed to cater for a substantial (working class) minority who will gain more from work experience than traditional education under LEA control. The MSC however are now bringing the 'technical education' of this section of the age group under the control and definition of a body whose terms of reference are based on the interests of industry. It complements the government's elitist policy towards education of preserving the grammar schools and public schools (which none of the Parliamentary parties even challenge) and analysing the 'bottom forty per cent' as requiring special education or rather vocational training. As Neil Kinnock, Labour Shadow Education Minister, is not slow to point out, this system returns education back to the divisions and inequalities of tripartism. Yet it was a Labour government which initiated the Great Debate, that produced the Green Paper and uncritically allowed the MSC space for its organisational and ideological intervention into the education system. Outspoken in opposition, the Labour governments' record does not lead one to assume that they would in power get the MSC out of the schools again.

The extent to which the MSC succeeds in turning training over to industry is of course dependent on the degree to which industry wishes to sponsor the scheme. It may often be the case that industry, especially large and international organisations, may prefer to concentrate its resources upon proper skill training and not wish to assume responsibility for the social control of the young. Undoubtedly, the MSC and government have attempted to offer them short and long-term financial advantages. The Task Group proposals allow them £1,850 per trainee as a sponsor, as long as they take on two extra young people to their normal recruitment of three, now **also** being paid for by the MSC. Not only therefore has job substitution become institutionalised, despite MSC's professed opposition, but the employers get their 'workers' back to them as trainees at half the previous rate of pay - around £25 per week. Certain industries have quickly detected the financial advantages of sponsoring the MSC programmes, such as Sight and Sound, who are running typing and commercial courses on government money, previously located in further education. It seems likely however that the MSC will not obtain the numbers of industrial sponsors necessary, for after all, the areas of highest youth unemployment will tend to be the areas where industry and jobs are collapsing, and will at the last moment be pushed back into using the existing institutional framework of further education.

Another control on the degree to which industry takes over the new programme is that some LEAs will bid for sponsorship, in some cases due to a political commitment to education being under the control of the education authority rather than industry, but also because this is the only money likely to be available to expand education for the post-sixteens. How far the MSC will be willing or pushed into accepting any terms the LEAs may lay down in terms of controls or length of work experience has yet to be seen.

### Impact on further education

As last year's Central Policy Review Staff Document showed, rather too clearly for even many Conservatives' liking, the present government's intention is to turn state services over to private enterprise and to define success in terms of profit. While there has been no suggestion of private enterprise taking over parts of further education institutions (unlike the universities - presumably there would be no takers), the terms on which further education is being assessed by the government are the same as those of a market economy, terms on which it cannot succeed. Not least because as past experience has shown no means of assessing the returns of 'capital' put into education have ever proved successful.

The MSC and the LEAs are now warning further education that it must not price itself out of the market. The possibility of industrial sponsorship at lower costs per trainee is becoming a major argument for larger classes, longer hours, unpaid overtime, less class contact remission and an extended college year. Education, even within the state sector, is being defined in terms of cost effectiveness. It is being assessed in the terms of the market place. This pressure is moreover difficult to resist. The MSC has bought itself into the colleges. Many jobs, even whole departments, now rely on its money. The degree to which LEAs have taken on MSC courses has contributed to their failure to develop alternative schemes. Despite much widespread criticism of MSC practices, in many colleges trade unionists and staff no longer see it as possible to oppose the MSC outright, only the terms on which their programmes are run.

Another aspect of privatisation is when further education teachers service industry's training schemes. This may be to teach in the colleges the 'off-the-job' element. But they may also be asked (and agree) to writing the syllabus for industry or to actually teach on the employers' premises, marking the disappearance of education or training not tied to the immediate work situation of the employer. Even when the scheme is being run in and by further education, serious problems are created. The MSC expect to vet if not control the content of what is taught in further education, as well as in industry or their own centres. The MSC's practice has been sufficiently validated that they have now made public that they may withdraw funds if there is a political content to what is being taught. Their opposition to giving more conceptual education to those seen as not requiring such a level of understanding was previously implicitly suggested by their stress on Social and Life Skills and their opposition to the more radical and controversial topics, such as Womens' or Black Studies, which are often the 'core' subjects from the viewpoint of the trainee. The MSC's present preference for industrial sponsorship is also an expression of their distrust of teachers, often perceived as the product of the radical 1960s, carrying the wrong messages to their pupils and students. What is required is an appropriate 'industrial orienta-

tion', a recognition by the teacher of the need for a compliant labour force; the last Think Tank Report even recommends teachers taking on extra industrial or commercial experience part-time. Thus an alternative system of validation and course legitimisation is being developed which sidesteps college and staff controls over what courses are run and how they are taught, and is also in effect an attack on the way the education system operates.

The change in further education conditions which the MSC usually demands is also associated with increased segregation within the teaching staff, as well as increased productivity. While the MSC's training programme is now often recognised as a process of deskilling, a similar less visible pattern is also occurring for teachers. Teachers are increasingly appointed to only teach on 'low level' courses, and in a growing number of instances they are employed on different and worse conditions. They are also less likely to have established jobs because of the MSC's opposition to giving money for permanent jobs and even if full-time, the grade of lecturer is roughly correlated with the grade of work. They are also perhaps, not surprisingly more likely to be women and they are also more likely to teach only this type of work, whereas previously further education staff often taught across a range of levels and types of work. This process of segregation is reinforced by the frequency with which this work is organised in isolation from other departments or sections, often physically so in separate and inferior buildings. The comprehensive concept behind further education is therefore being directly undermined.

The MSC's recognition of the need to gain credibility for an MSC training programme has encouraged their adoption of a system of profiling as a form of continuous assessment. It is largely based on a behaviourist model of inadequate or anti-social behaviour which has to be modified, the teachers being required to give their assessment of the trainees' personal qualities, such as the ability to get on with other people (how, one wonders, would the teachers score?). The DES goes along with these records of achievement, seeing them as particularly suitable for assessing the bottom end of the ability range; its effect is thus to further segregate between levels of the future potential labour force. Profiling is time-consuming; it involves teachers in discussions with each other as well as with the trainee yet adequate time allowance is rarely given by the MSC or the college both of whom are attempting to make cuts on hours, rather than handing out more. Yet despite its ideological and work implications, many teachers see no alternative and consequently go along with it. The supervision of work experience and the development of the new courses similarly carry a heavy but unrecognised workload, and the MSC's unwarranted insistence on the necessity of the extended college year for staff involved with MSC programmes further divides one group of staff from another, probably newer group.

### **Trainees**

The processes described in relation to the staff are mirrored for the trainees. The MSC does not have an ideology of educational progression and their programmes do not lead on to other college courses, with recognised qualifications. The segregation of trainees is frequently reinforced by geographical isolation which inhibits an identification with other students, any upward aspirations and maybe critical attitudes. The MSC and others defend their programmes as giving increased confidence to youth, yet there are serious contrary arguments. Young people are encouraged to identify with getting a job with

the result that their inability to do so is likely to be interpreted in terms of personal failure. This structure of thought is encouraged by and reflected in the MSC's emphasis on counselling. It is not the capitalist system which is at fault, but the individual who is unable to negotiate it adequately. Thus the young person is encouraged to interpret his or her experience individually, not as part of a collective experience.

According to the Task Group, all sixteen year old school-leavers should now become trainees. Although not compulsory, the scheme effectively prevents young people from freely entering the labour market and extends the young person's dependence on the education/training system, but not by being at school, but being tied to an industrial scheme. While it is clear that many young people do enjoy work experience more than waiting in line at the dole queue, research is now beginning to show <sup>7)</sup> a keen awareness by many trainees that they are being used and abused. Yet the scheme has the attraction of an allowance and may well draw young people out of the schools and the 'proper' further education courses and onto the MSC programmes.

The MSC initiative must crucially be interpreted as an expression of panic, in which the young unemployed, in particular black male youth, are seen as the 'problem'. Yet the overall level of active resistance is low, although there are some important examples of trade union initiatives to recruit YOP trainees particularly by NUPE and at least in some areas, such as Merseyside famous for its high unemployment, youth have talked with their feet, leaving empty places on the existing schemes.

### **Opposition**

There has in general been little consistent opposition to the massive intervention of MSC into further education and its present process of privatising its area of work.

College staff have been encouraged to see themselves as being not only in competition with industry, but also with the schools. Even before the MSC's new proposals, school heads were demanding that the MSC use their staff and premises. As school rolls fall, school-teachers have accepted or been pushed into accepting the implication of possible redundancy and that therefore the option of the use of schools for NTI programmes has become a very real one.

The role of the teachers' union in further education, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, has been crucial. NATFHE's attitude towards the MSC training initiative has been one of critical acclaim. In terms of the Task Group recommendations, they were welcomed partly as being preferable to Tebbit's proposals, which effectively made youth training compulsory. Yet in siding with the apparently moderate MSC proposals, NATFHE came to identify with them and failed to see many of the fundamental similarities between the two. The degree to which, until now, the MSC has incorporated and gained the identification of union leaderships is also indicated in that one of the NATFHE National Executive members contributed to the final Task Group document. The MSC is seen as extending education to a sector of working class youth previously ignored by the elitism of the DES, and as moving towards their old demand for day release. NATFHE also argue that as the MSC has become an inevitable institution, it has to be accommodated too. But the NEC of NATFHE increasingly lack independence from MSC and they have recently produced a joint booklet on how to



organise YTS, but not on how to oppose the problems it brings with it into the branches. Their attitude is however representative of a significant section of their membership. The Broad Left in the union, articulated around the National Executive, express the attitude that it should be the LEAs running the scheme rather than private industry, which would guarantee its quality (quality of what is not quite clear). There is also significantly a larger number of staff who maintain professional attitudes. They define themselves in terms of the organisation for whom they work, and wish to do the best for their students ('clients'). This attitude is increasingly characteristic among the new 'low-level' teachers who are more likely to define their jobs within the terms for which they were appointed and may well be selected for their 'counselling' as opposed to more militant perspectives on this type of work.

The revolutionary left tend to regard the MSC as part of an attempt by the state to create further class divisions and to limit working class and youth organisation. They continue to oppose the introduction of the MSC into the colleges either outright or by insisting that present conditions and controls are maintained.

They have little impact at a national level, partly because of a general right wing swing within the union and elsewhere but also to an extent because they have concentrated on opposing the MSC in their own branches and colleges. Indeed the National Executive does not represent the degree to which individual and isolated college branches have opposed the introduction of MSC courses as alternatives to what is already being taught, or even prevented their introduction altogether. Most opposition however which has existed, has been less ideologically based and been rather more concentrated on ensuring that the MSC does not cause a deterioration in working conditions, whether through increased productivity or worse timetables.

### Conclusion

The MSC offers neither education nor training. Yet it is likely to remain as a contribution to the social control of unemployed and potentially dissident youth.

Where the MSC programmes will be primarily organised is not as yet clear, although their preferences are. Further education could well turn into the dumping ground for the more dissident and uncontrollable youth whom industry refuses to take (an analogy already exists with the 'best' kids, disproportionately white, attending the previous work experience projects, rather than the other YOP schemes). Alternatively, LEAs and the MSC may agree to operating independent structures, tied in closely with MSC control, which would further ghettoise the young trainee, and where the rates of pay and conditions of the teachers (or trainers) would seriously undercut existing further education standards. It has already been calculated by some LEAs that sending school leavers to MSC training workshops is much cheaper than into further education. Thus we are witnessing the growth of a tripartite tertiary structure. At the top will continue academic provision, possibly rationalised into the centralised sixth forms of tertiary colleges. It has been argued that these centres provide a greater range and assurance of quality. Yet in a period when Conservatives (and Labour) are running down education as part of a non-profit making sector (unlike arms, one supposes), such rationalisation can and has meant a loss of teachers' jobs, and in some circumstances a limiting of real choice for the sixteen year old. Bussing has occurred where the 'poorer' schools only end up without sixth forms, sending

their pupils to a distant or, in some instances a variety, of distant buildings. The process can be interpreted as creating a form of sixteen-plus, a hurdle which working class youth are less likely to surmount. Also these centralised institutions do not all offer the same range of subjects, nor the combination of different levels as at school. The second rung of the ladder will be those on training and vocational courses within further education, whose qualifications are accepted as giving access to real jobs. Finally, will be those segregated onto MSC programmes, not necessarily organised into further education.

While the MSC was created as a body to reorganise training with a view to servicing the economy as a whole, the impact of current governmental policies is to return training for skilled and unskilled to the employer, who, as before, is more likely to fit it to his or her particular requirements rather than some abstract concept of a market economy.

The main economic area of expansion has been associated with microchip technology which is probably the only current area of innovation in the schools and, to a lesser degree, in further education: Yet the major organisation developing training for the young unemployed in the area of computing and electronics is not the MSC but the new Information Technology Centre. In 1982 the government sanctioned one hundred new centres which are totally separate from further education, but neither are they under MSC control. They are under the Department of Industry, which has also been responsible for funding computers in the schools. Further the ITECs are perhaps the first 'state capitalist' educational institutions as they are also partially privately funded. The MSC is therefore not even responsible for training in one of the few areas of economic innovation - though not always of job expansion.

The MSC now emphasises training, not the job placement of youth. Yet it clearly cannot resolve the problem of a lack of jobs, caused by world recession and monetarist policies, by training young people. Even where jobs do exist it should be remembered they are the very jobs that young people previously went into without requiring qualifications.

As previously argued, qualifications have always had the effect of giving individuals access to certain jobs. This pattern of education providing opportunity has been maintained through the days and years of educational expansion. Those reformers who believed that greater educational opportunity would mean fewer class divisions have been proved wrong. But against an background of relative economic prosperity and expansion, educational expansion did occur, associated with the breaking down of the previous rigid segregation into 'academic' levels after the age of eleven. This allowed more working class youth to achieve higher educational qualifications and entry into one sort or other of middle class jobs. However limited this may be as an achievement in breaking down inequality, the MSC's intervention into further education marks a break with that practice and a return to 'education' as a 'disqualifier' for much of the working class. The new ideology, articulated by the MSC, also breaks with another aspect of the 'social democratic' perspective namely that the young person has (possibly inherent) potential which education can develop this being replaced by a model whereby educational failure is assumed as inevitable for a significant percentage of the population. Education is to be largely for the middle class, training for the working class.

The current reorganisation of education could also result in

teachers themselves becoming increasingly segregated. The MSC have already introduced their own training schemes for teachers involved in their programmes, much shorter than the PGCE (Post-Graduate Certificate of Education) and, unlike the PGCE, largely limited in its application to this one type of work. The LEAs are willing to accept this alternative in-service training as they have no alternative source of funds. Thus the MSC attempts to develop an ideological control of those teaching as well as those taught. This can and will be reinforced by the process of selection of new staff and the degree to which teachers on these programmes are kept apart from others, by being organised into separate units and buildings, and having different conditions of employment and service. In general, increasing segregation of teachers into different levels of teaching deskills the teacher; and the gradual undermining of conditions increases the 'intensity' of labour.

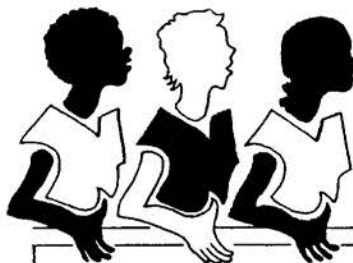
For all the inconsistencies of its practice, it is the MSC that has set the terms of the new educational debate, terms now being applied by the Conservatives to the secondary school sector. It is important that trade unionists and socialists do not give in to what appears to be the inevitable, or co-operate because the educational system is correctly seen as having failed to provide for much of the working class. For this reorganisation of education and training offers no solutions - the MSC's training is in social skills and represents an attempt at the restructuring and 'infantilising' of youth. The reorganisation is an attack on comprehensive principles of education and an attempt to legitimate class and individual inequality. It is not in the interests of the youth or of the working class. The success of that reorganisation cannot be assumed and we should resist it in whatever way is open to us.

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# WORKING WITH GIRLS

## newsletter



The Working with Girls Newsletter keeps youth workers (and others working with young people) in touch with current developments and debates in the area of work with girls and young women. It is the only UK-wide publication which is specifically concerned with promoting and developing this area of work.

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# reviews

**Teresa L. Rees and Paul Atkinson**  
**YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND STATE INTERVENTION**  
Routledge Direct Editions

ISBN 0 7100 9263 6  
£5.95  
pp. 127

This book is unquestionably a good read, but whether it is a good buy at £6 for 68,000 words depends on how much money you have to spend.

The book is a collection of nine papers involving ten authors. The papers cover various aspects of state provision for the young unemployed. The general theme of the book is suspicious and critical of MSC schemes because the authors believe that they tend to treat and explain unemployment as a consequence of individual inadequacy rather than a failure in the national economy. The criticism is not, however, sloganised or generalised. The papers are all thoughtful, readable and carefully researched. Perhaps the most useful service I can provide is to sketch out the arguments put forward in each of the papers.

Gareth Rees and Teresa L. Rees provide a fascinating glimpse of the response of government to youth unemployment between the wars. We are told that juvenile unemployment was seen as a temporary phenomenon, that 'juvenile' instruction centres were established in 180 places to "prevent demoralisation . . . to teach . . . something which will be of real use to them whether at home or work, and, without trying to train them for specific occupations, to give them the type of mental and manual instruction which will help them to become absorbed or reabsorbed into employment as soon as an opportunity may occur". The concept is all too familiar.

Geoff Mungham's paper rejects the view of the young unemployed as an 'unexploded time bomb' which is so central to press and government attitudes. He argues that this view is false and that the young unemployed are more accurately seen as passive and alienated. "In historical terms the workless young have never been able to discharge the revolutionary load laid upon them, and there is nothing in the present circumstances to suggest that 'youth' is at last ready to indulge the hopes of political activists or the fears of those who at a distance imagine every kind of convulsion and youthful infamy."

This contribution does not mention the riots of 1981 and was presumably written before then. Nevertheless in my opinion this hard-headed view of the effects of unemployment on the young themselves is a truth that needs facing before we can develop a realistic debate about the political solutions to youth unemployment.

Dan Finn, in whom I must declare a warm and friendly interest, since he now works for the Unemployment Unit, contributes an extremely valuable paper on the way in which "the new right has succeeded in shifting the whole terrain of the debate about education means and ends". He reminds us of the contrast between the period of educational consensus and expansion in the 1960s when it was believed that comprehensive schools would produce a new classless and capable generation and the current view of the same schools as "concrete jungles", undermined by subversive teachers and progressive teaching methods, which were producing illiterate and innumerate young workers who could not get jobs".

His loyalty to the traditional values of education is expressed beautifully and brazenly. He claims that the nub of the industrialists' complaint, that schools are not producing young people willing to accept workplace discipline, is a measure of the success of the education system "in giving their pupils a sense of their potential, an expectation that work in industry or at school - should involve some degree of self-fulfilment". His conclusion is that "Most school-leavers will never express their potential at work . . . industrialists have had no compunction in criticising education in terms of the needs of industry, educators should have no compunction in criticising industry in terms of human needs".

Graham Markall and Dennis Gregory provide an account of the history and growth of the MSC. They argue that the MSC cannot be seen simply as a palliative to unemployment but must be seen as "a key apparatus in a long term political strategy to restructure production . . . it is not simply absorbing or distracting the young unemployed, it is also actively and increasingly intervening in the cultural and material processes whereby young people learn about the nature of wage labour".

They go on to argue, however, that this is not a straightforward or deterministic process. They do not wish to denigrate some of the good work which is being done in MSC schemes but they suggest that "the appearance of mass youth unemployment has reopened the profoundly political question of the purpose of education and training." They conclude that what is needed are modes of resistance and political struggle "in opposition to a currently predominant ideology of education and vocational preparation which will never produce 'educated' workers (and certainly not full employment) but rather 'spare parts' for industry and the reproduction of a labour force accustomed to deskilled, intermittent employment in a labour market whose oppressive requirements go formally unquestioned".

Dennis Gregory and Christine Noble contribute a paper on "Trade Unions and Special Measures for

the Young Unemployed". They begin by describing the backdrop to present arrangements with successive governments in the post-war world accepting an increasingly interventionist role in order to guide the performance of the economy and shape industrial structures. The growing involvement of the trade union movement in the development of such policies culminated in the social contract of the Callaghan government. It was through this understanding that the TUC was able to pressurise the Government 'to do something' about the growing problem of youth unemployment. And thus YOP and STEP were born. The authors argue that this platform on which special measures were built is becoming increasingly unsteady since the election of 1979 brought the social contract to an end.

They then go on to categorise the familiar trade union criticism of YOP as cosmetic, diversionary and exploitative. Surveys of the attitudes of shop stewards in 1979 and 1980 revealed that all these criticisms were widespread but nonetheless on balance the view was that the schemes were better than nothing.

The authors conclude that because there are structural shifts taking place in the economy that there may have to be a more or less permanent version of the Youth Opportunities Programme. They suggest some improvements which could be made in the programme and stress in particular the need to involve trade unionists in the negotiation of the allowance. They end with the hope - expressed some considerable time ago - that the Youth Training Scheme might overcome all or most of these criticisms.

Graham Markall contributes a paper on the Job Creation Programme and suggests that it was better than YOP in laying stress on the need for work rather than training programmes for the unemployed. His case study of one successful JCP scheme, however, demonstrates that the scheme inevitably slotted into the competitive structures of the Labour market in seeking to recruit the most experienced workers available rather than the inexperienced and disadvantaged which the MSC claim are given top priority.

Howard Williamson provides a fascinating study of the attitudes of 50 young men on Project Based Work Experience Schemes in the West Midlands in 1979-80. They all had two or three CSE's and in better times could have expected entry to skilled or semi-skilled work. They saw their YOP scheme as an alternative route into the jobs in carpentry, plumbing, bricklaying etc which they had always wanted. Williamson comments on the differences between the middle-class caring professional supervisors on such schemes and the older skilled workers. He suggests that frequently the trainees liked the carers as individuals but they respected

the craftsmen more because they had skills which they wished to learn and possible influence with those who might employ them.

The final contribution, from Paul Atkinson, Teresa L. Rees, David Shore and Howard Williamson, questions the whole concept of Life and Social Skills as yet another development in ideas of compensatory education which are built around the idea that there is a need to remedy the deficiencies of in this instance working-class adolescents. They suggest without really arguing the case that it might be possible to subvert the curriculum to create positive gains rather than negative self images for the unemployed young.

The book does not by its nature provide a comprehensive critique of special measures for the young unemployed. It is, however, an enormously rich assortment of jumping-off points for those who are struggling to understand or work with such schemes. Sadly, although most of it was written some considerable time ago, the criticisms ring true more clearly for the emerging YTS than did for YOP. It should be compulsory reading for all who are involved in YOP and YTS so that they can help to develop "modes of resistance and political struggle". For too long the critics have kept their distance from such schemes and those who are involved have been apologists. What is needed now is clear-headed critics struggling alongside the young unemployed to demand something better.

Clajre Short

**Eva Noren-Bjorn**  
**THE IMPOSSIBLE PLAYGROUND**  
Leisure Press (NY/USA)

ISBN 0 918438 88 8

**John Mason**  
**THE ENVIRONMENT OF PLAY**  
Leisure Press (NY/USA)

ISBN 0 918438 90 x

**Paul Hogan**  
**THE NUTS AND BOLTS OF PLAYGROUND CONSTRUCTION**  
Leisure Press (NY/USA)

ISBN 0 918438 37 3

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If 1985 is to be The Year of Youth, it will serve us well to reflect on the contributions made to, and the benefits derived from, earlier celebratory years, whether these be in respect of the child, the disabled or the tree. At the same time, we should also bear in mind that in spite of the Government's reluctance to accept the Thompson recommendations, The International Year Organisation will almost certainly give guidelines on age spans. Will we be working with and for Albermarle's 15 pluses, Thompson's 11 pluses or the five pluses of the former London County Council, whose own

survey and report on the youth service in London coincided with the publication of the Albermarle Report?

The importance of questions such as these is seen more clearly in retrospect, and the books presently under review give as good an indication as any that, whether it be play or youth work, we still lack a philosophy, a theory, a body of objective knowledge, even a definition and, worse, are blind, (The Year of the Blind has yet to come, and may well take on an entirely new meaning for professionals in many fields who cannot or will not see). The three books, although by different authors - Swedish, Australian and American - are published as Volumes No's 1 (Why?), 2 (Where?) and 3 (How?) respectively, but leave the question 'For whom?' unanswered. It is precisely because youth workers should be, and sometimes are, consulted by other professions regarding provision, resources, environment, and purpose, for the young that they should seriously study and try to understand the subject of play - and not ask 'For whom?' the bell tolls . . . .

**The Impossible Playground** (Play has never been short of good titles) is an excellent introduction, and the author, Eva Noren-Bjorn, is able to introduce her subject on the basis of Piagetian Theory, and also on research carried out by the Swedish Council for Children's Play, a government sponsored quango. It matters not that Piaget is no longer the god he was - what does matter is that before the election the Sports Minister, Neil Macfarlane was briefed to establish a National Play Service "with a budget likely to run into six figures". (Times Educational Supplement 24/4/83). It matters not that when you have got over your euphoria you realise that this means less than one million pounds (Against the many millions local authorities had to prune from their earlier budgets, greatly affecting the play provision, the present move is ironic, to say the least.) - what matters is that play's knock-on-the-door seems to have been heard. And while I remain sad that the Youth Service, in the various stages of its own development, never quite saw the relevance of play, I am sadder, if not astonished, when, even today, I hear a teacher instructing (?) a child to "Stop playing"! It is no wonder that Social Service departments are showing an increasing and direct interest in the field.

It is obvious that we know little or nothing about play, its place in child development, growth, discovery, education, and community involvement. So - back to Noren-Bjorn's awareness of reality: "In Sweden's present welfare society, most of the poverty that was once so oppressive has been removed . . . . there is a new kind of poverty in children's lives . . . . that comes from a lack of things happening, an absence of demands on them, and the want of an ideological approach to child rearing".

**The Impossible Playground** contains just over 200 pages, and numerous illustrations. Within this framework it touches upon history (The Swedish Play Council was established twelve years before Neil Macfarlane was even briefed), research, play culture, the views of children, the memories of adults, theory, practice, environmental factors, and the process of "playing one's way into the adult world" which, surely, must take us through the youth service age span. We do need, if we are interested in young people, to exercise a degree of social responsibility, based on accumulated knowledge. At the end of a four page essay on 'Play and

Society', Eva Noren-Bjorn writes "A large share of this (Swedish government grants) goes to help purchase play equipment . . . . Many hopeful new manufacturers have gone into the business . . . . Someone benefits from sprucing up dreary environments . . . . but it surely is not the children".

**The Environment of Play** has an Australian background, but is similar in so far as its 300 pages are largely made up of photographs and line drawings supported by a bitty, though I hasten to add, useful text. It is certainly much more than a handbook, and covers everything from abseiling to zoology. If you are lucky enough to be away from the problems of inner city areas, then the holiday brochure approach to the outback trails in the national recreation parks of Australia must surely attract you.

The author/editor, John Mason, is a playground builder, horticulturalist and park manager; more to the point, he is observant, imaginative and creative, with an adaptability of mind which enables him to see the possibilities of neighbourhood playgrounds, whether these are (necessarily) structured and equipped or free and adventurously creative. Indeed, he has packed in an incredible amount of useful, varied and intriguing data, ranging from Thrill Centres ("The experience is usually strongly sensory and intensive, but inevitably wears thin if pursued for any length of time") and Park Interpretation ("The Chief aim of interpretation is not instruction by provocation" - bless him!) to Growing and Using Herbs, making cable runways and rope bridges and play in hospital much of it drawn from, and with reference to, the British and European experience! But all in all, it is a happy confusion of good things, and something to bear in mind when there are opportunities to break out, breathe and explore.

Appendix E comprises two pages on "Community Participation - How to make it work" and is, at the same time, funny, naive, sad and entirely to the point. But the point, as far as we are concerned, is that the Australians and the Americans are much nearer the roots of their own community development - while we, in attempting to rediscover our own roots, more often find ourselves in areas of manipulation rather than participation. I can but commend you to Mason's maxim: "Do not have too many meetings".

Paul Hogan, author of **The Nuts and Bolts of Playground Construction**, was Honorary Commissioner to the US Commission for the International Year of the Child. His book, an impassioned plea, is unashamedly sentimental in the most positive way. It is by no means, as might be thought, about fixed equipment only; it is about play in all but its most fundamental forms - and the imagination and effort exercised by adults in order to meet the energy, enterprise and educational needs of their children (The book's 334 pages include nearly five hundred photographs and line drawings showing examples!) It is, indeed, an inspiring, if not distracting book, and will stimulate all, like those Swedish manufacturers, who enjoy cashing in on their own and other people's good intentions whence, we need to be reminded, the road to hell lies!

Perhaps we need to re-start - with a simple definition of play as being a brief and treasured moment in a child's day when he or she is alone, imagining, discovering, testing, finding and developing a friendship, all without any adult intrusion or manipulation. When we do know more, we may even

come to the conclusion that play is a figment of an adult's imagination that to a child it is a scientific process of discovery or work!

Joe Benjamin

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**Longstop Project, Theshold Centre and Stopover, Lewisham in association with Albany Video.**

**A PLACE OF MY OWN**

(Video film available on VHS, U-matic or 1/2inch reel)

Available from Albany Video, Douglas Way, Deptford, London SE8.

Hire of the video costs approximately £10 for forty-eight hours.

The twin labels of 'jobless' and 'homeless' are all too easily applied to a whole generation of young people in Britain today. The professionalisation of these categories into some form of pathologising of young people, as socially inadequate and in need of curative action, is, at present, indicative of many schemes which have been established to 'deal' with these 'problem' cases. This both tends to individuate the label, with its built-in assumption that the person concerned is partly, or wholly to blame for their condition, and creates a response from the welfare services (not to mention the media and many members of the public) which reinforces the stigmatisation already faced by young people who are finding jobs and accommodation hard to obtain. That response is frequently an emergency, short-term provision of supervised lodgings, often in a hostel, which are, perhaps a better answer to the problems of employment-finding for community workers than an appropriate form of solution-seeking to the shortage of reasonable, cheap accommodation for young people!

It is, therefore, in the context of the above, that I viewed the two parts of this video film. The first section of the film, under the title, 'Looking for a place', lasts 27 minutes, is filmed in black and white and follows youngsters through what must be 'typical' experiences of rejection for countless thousands of young people. Linked by a subtle and imaginatively interweaved soundtrack of music by popular bands such as UB 40, the film allows young people to recount their own reasons for leaving home and then follows a young lad in and out of the labyrinthine jungle of employment offices, estate agents, private landlords and emergency hostels. The production is slick, if, at times necessarily over-played, but this does not detract from the messages which are being conveyed. If anything it widens the potential audience for the film by presenting the material in a familiar 'sit-com' format, with a number of linking comments from Donovan, Alison and other young adults, who have in real-life been on the receiving end of many of the discomforts doled out by Society to its youth. Caricature is perhaps a dangerous weapon for film-makers where it serves to enrage, without any positive suggestions. **A place of my own** just about avoids this criticism by the use of the two-segment format.

Part Two of the film, produced in colour, lasting 22 minutes and entitled, 'Finding a place' features a group of the young film-makers debating both what needs to be put into the film and the solutions, such as they are, to the condition of either

being homeless or looking for accommodation. The fact that the film is heavily concerned with the specific **additional** problems faced by young blacks adds an extra dimension to both the problems faced and the solutions suggested and actively sought. It can, however, be a slight problem for regional users of the video film, where the problems encountered by racial or religious groups may be different, thus making the film one which is hard to identify with. This is probably not significant in the Training Arena, where staff will be trying to widen their students' horizons beyond local considerations, but, for instance, in testing this film with an adolescent audience in Glasgow, there were a number of predictably racist comments, which widened our discussion into a debate on prejudices and stereotypes. This wasn't a bad thing at all, but it did divert attention from the central theme of the film which seems to be one of animating young people to explore some of the possible options which may be open to them, even given all the blocks and barriers which the adult world appears to construct to prevent the young from exercising power.

The above may sound a wonderfully naive bit of liberalism, but, it is consistent with the construct of the world as perceived by many young people, and ideologically it may still be a radical reaction in community development terms to try to adapt methods of animation and consciousness - raising to the issues of how young people may be enabled to find somewhere to live away from the parental home and, conjointly, develop strategies to survive the indignities of probable unemployment.

The second part of the film is a bit brash in some of its assumptions that the sponsoring bodies making the film are adopting significant methods of providing acceptable, permanent places to live for young people. That may well be a criticism more of the presentation of the material, rather than of the projects themselves. The style of the second film is quite good as far as young people-talking-to-young-people is concerned, but, is not so satisfactory at the level of a film which might be considered for use in trying to influence policy-makers and politicians. Once again, speaking from a Scottish perspective, the legal differences north of the border make the active encouragement of squatting extremely hazardous. Where the film does make important statements concerns Housing Co-operatives. These and other forms of Housing Associations and shared tenancies seem to be among the more hopeful ways forward, both for the young people themselves, but also as organisational ways of putting pressure on bodies controlling the housing stock. The other major point made by the film concerns the need for adequate advice centres and perhaps resource people, who can suggest the best ways in which to obtain benefit entitlements and can link people in need of accommodation with something other than an emergency crash-pad service.

The films underline the fact that much is said within the education process about young people needing to become independent; Society, through the systems which exist to control access to the public housing stock and the significantly dwindling supply of privately owned, rented property, is not allowing youth a chance to exercise that independence on leaving school. The second film showed the positive aspects of this, by offering examples of young adults who, through achieving independent-status, had been able to establish relationships with parents on a different basis. That is one of the basic rights of adulthood and

this film is another step on the stairway to proclaiming the fundamental need for young people to have a space of their own.

Finally, looking at the ways in which the film might be used, it seems useful to add that the presentation itself is excellent enough to commend it to workers who may wish to learn some of the mechanics of video film making. It also provides, by example, good instances of how role-plays can explain situations and experiences in a far more forceful, punchy way than hours of sanctimonious preaching from so-called experts, speaking from the security of their book-lined college rooms. **A place of my own** is not the whole synopsis of the youth accommodation question which is perhaps needed. It does, however, fill a gap in the range of resources for workers and trainers who wish to engender debate both among young people and adults working with youth, about the strategies and solutions which can be considered to allow young people the chance to develop. (A teaching pack to accompany the video is in the process of being prepared by Pam Schweitzer at the LMS Publishing Centre, Highbury Station Road, London N11 1SB. In the meantime, and possibly even later on, as the reviewer of this subject matter, I'd like to put in a plug for the very useful and relevant range of material on homelessness and single accommodation, produced by the National Association of Youth Clubs, 30 Peacock Lane, Leicester LE1 5NY. These include two recent books, **Away from the Bright Lights** by Andy Wiggans and **A place of my own** by Anne Masterton. This latter book, by dint of its title is causing some confusion in the field. But the story of how two organisations came to publish a video and a book of the same title, in the same month, is outside the remit of a Review article!)

Alan Dearing

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**Paul Brearley, Jim Black, Penny Gutridge, Gwyneth Roberts and Elizabeth Tarran**  
**LEAVING RESIDENTIAL CARE**  
**Tavistock Publications 1982**

ISBN 0 422 77930 X paperback  
pp. 200

The last two years has seen a needed increase in writings on residential care. It may be that at last, in the 1980's, the skills of working with people in residential settings are recognised as complex and need to be based in clearly defined knowledge and research. This increase has been speeded along by a second book from lecturers and a research officer at the University of N. Wales. **Leaving residential care** continues to be a clumsy and often unhappy process for the majority of children and adults who must necessarily pass through the process. The book **Leaving Residential Care** attempts to remedy such situations.

This carefully written collection of papers is a complimentary volume to **Admission to Residential Care**, and similarly, looks at the issues, policies and implications for practice of the client groups which make up the majority of people received into institutional care for long or short periods.

The book is divided into two parts: Part 1 forms an

introduction to the more general and legal issues associated with the process of leaving residential care, and Part 2 is made up of four papers dealing with specific client groups; children, elderly people, psychiatric patients and handicapped children.

Each chapter is complete in itself, but the several parts are skillfully made a whole by the leading and final chapters written by Paul Brearley. He offers a model of practice which begins at admission, moving through a planned and detailed process towards departure and after-care.

The legal aspects of leaving an institution are covered by Gwyneth Roberts. Workers with children will find this a very helpful source of information on the complexities surrounding assumption of parental rights, appeals, applications for discharge of a care order and the natural parents' position in relation to care proceedings, are explained in a simple and direct way. She also writes very helpfully on the law in relation to care of the elderly and that other complex legal area, patients detained under the Mental Health Act, 1959.

The issues surrounding children leaving residential care, either to return to their natural families, to a foster home, or to independent living, are made explicit by Penny Gutridge. She writes sensitively of the anxiety which such changes generate in children moving out of a community home, offering a range of suggestions and models for good practice. The paper poses questions which staff should ask the children, and which children should be prompted to ask of themselves. It also sets out a series of tasks which should be completed if this particular life crisis is to develop into a satisfying and fulfilling learning experience for the child who is moving on.

In a paper focussing on handicapped children leaving care, Elizabeth Tarran draws attention to the need for the period of care to be part of a continuum of care, with the residential and field workers fulfilling clearly defined, and separate tasks. She also draws attention to the need for social workers to influence the practice and policy of the agency's "departure" process.

Few practitioners, and possibly even fewer of the elderly and their relatives, consider rehabilitation a possible alternative to prolonged institutional living. Paul Brearley offers considerable hope, that with more thoughtful and professional planning, return to an independent lifestyle is a definite possibility for many elderly people currently living in residential homes. He admits to an idealistic approach, but in fact describes practical methods and identifies necessary resources which would make rehabilitation a possibility for many institutionalised elderly people.

The final chapter on discharge from a mental hospital by Jim Black takes a different style from the previous sections. Following a theoretical outline of the process of institutionalisation, he uses case studies to illustrate the problems of preparing a patient for discharge, both for the hospital staff, social workers and those receiving the ex-patient. They were contrasting cases; Mrs Jones wanting to return home earlier than was thought to be appropriate or helpful to her, and Mr. Smith who was fearful of moving away from a safe and known environment. The writer explains in great detail the various stages patients, social workers and nurses move through before a satisfactory

rehabilitation is reached.

This is a book which should be read from cover to cover as each chapter has something to offer to every institutionalised client group. Elizabeth Tarran's suggestion that parents should stay overnight at the home from which their handicapped child is to be discharged the following day, would be suitable practice in a community home or hostel, and Penny Gutridge's check-lists of needs at the physical and emotional level should be seen as necessary for the adult leaving a home or hospital. On the other hand, some aspects of leaving care were repetitive, such as, each writer emphasising the importance of field and residential workers having a close and trusting liaison, and that on completion of the move help is given to ensure a developing sense of identity within the community. For myself, to re-read in each paper that residential and field workers must work together, only served to reinforce a belief in the need for co-operation across the residential and field work boundaries. There is often a need for reassurance that all social workers, whatever their specialism, are aware of their interdependence.

The writers give guidelines for practice, some of which involve the residential worker in sensitive and often painful but healing work with a resident. Penny Gutridge points out the importance of piecing a child's past together, of keeping careful recordings, written memories or recollections of the child, belongings which can be perceived as quite trivial by outsiders, photographs, school reports, and letters. She suggests that files may contain letters from parents which may help a child understand why they have spent their childhood in residential care and which would also, by their personal significance, bring their own special healing properties. All of the writers point out how detailed and specific, frequently very emotional, is the work of preparing a resident to come to terms with their past, accept the present, and look forward to the future. The preferred models for practice also lead to a consideration of the structure of residential and field work, and of the roles residential and field workers play. Good practice would seem to lead to less division between the areas of work, and less specificity within the roles. With more trained staff, in residential units, who have developed a wider range of skills and roles, fewer social workers may be involved with any particular person. Instead, the "key worker", whether she/he is based in an area office or in a residential setting would take on a large part of the work and the relationship involved in the "leaving" task.

**Leaving Residential Care** is essential reading for policy makers as well as practitioners. Each section of the book draws attention to the need for extra resources, sometimes in the form of bricks and mortar, if young people in particular are to be rehabilitated reasonably comfortably and securely into the community. An important concern is that the explicit title might lead practitioners and managers to assume that it is essential reading only for residential workers. Unless the recommendations and guidelines are read by social work staff across the total spectrum of responsibilities, only partial implementation of the suggested practice procedures can be implemented. Everyone should of course also read, **Admission to Residential Care**, because, as each of the contributors sets out so clearly, **Leaving Residential Care** begins at admission.

Ivis Lasson

**Richard Jenkins**  
**HIGHTOWN RULES**  
**- Growing up on a Belfast Housing Estate**  
**National Youth Bureau 1982**  
**17-23 Albion Street, Leicester**

**ISBN 0 86155 0617**  
**£2.50**  
**pp. 91**

I remember on one occasion watching a television programme, which included an interview with a youth from West Belfast, about the problems of living and growing up in the area. In particular he described what it was like to be a member of one of the notorious 'Joy riding' gangs in the area, and how these activities were indicative of the wider social/political problems in the area.

Despite being 'blacked' on the screen, I recognised the voice as belonging to a 15 year old with whom I was involved in a social work capacity, and on whom a training school order was in existence for his joy riding activities. The sentiments he expressed were suspiciously reminiscent of the 'Political' wing of a local paramilitary group, who in the past had saw fit to individualise the joy riding problem - the scar on Jimmy's face a testament to.

Yet here he was on television voicing their sentiments. The more cynical among us swore that it was a prepared statement. But no, Jimmy's conversion was genuine, and he surfaced on further occasions - letters to papers, seminars etc. to air 'his' views. Clearly the paramilitaries had decided that their political views of the situation would be given more credence if expressed by one of the teenagers ... well tutored of course. Jimmy, ever the opportunist had obliged, while his erstwhile joy riding friends were still 'non grata' and still spotted the attempts of 'behaviour mod.'

Youth sentiments on a wide range of things, their Art. music, prose etc. are often used by politicians, academics teachers and indeed in Jimmy's case by the paramilitaries. Not for the expressed intention of clarification, but rather to illustrate their own views on any given topic.

**Hightown Rules** displayed evidence of this, and I suspect that Richard Jenkins selection of the edited material for publication was careful to reflect the theme of the book; that these teenagers were experiencing relatively normal lives, in spite of the impact of the troubles, suffering more perhaps from that distinctly urban working class malaise the "unholy trinity of sexism, racism, and a belief in the masculine virtues of manual labour." Views that were implicit in Jenkins commentary on the sentiments of the teenagers. Views which in part reflected the author's preoccupation with the individualism and localism of the subjects.

The book begins with an interesting but by no means value free description of the Estate. Only marginally Belfast Ballyhightown (one would never guess it was a pseudonym!) straggles from the sea to the higher ground in apparant architectural confusion. In the early seventies there was considerable upheaval as the sectarian campaign to move Catholic families out of the estate got under way. One such family to leave was the Sands, a move which was significant in making one of the family Bobby, to get involved in the paramilitaries. The rest is history. After this period of sectarian violence, the estate I am

assured by one resident, returned to its slumber, awakened more by the closure of local factories than the crash bank of street violence; which 'Ballyhightown' seemed remarkably free of.

But growing up in 'slumber' if that is what it was, is not copy. Certainly not Northern Ireland copy, so here Jenkins develops his notion that the young people of the area have 'relatively normal lives' despite the violence they have grown up in. I do not know if the young people of Belfast manage to live relatively normal lives - judging by the oft quoted amount of red paint that fill the pages of their primary school art books, one would assume not. However I do not know if the young people of Newcastle or Liverpool manage to live relatively normal lives never mind Belfast.

The author uses the conversations of the young people to develop themes of relative normality, yet the various chapters are exclusive to each other, and do not make for a coherent development of the theme. By far the best chapter was the first. Indeed the impression given was that the contents of the book were hurriedly assembled for publication. If the author has completed a PhD on the subject I would hope for more illuminating material.

This book is no social anthropological triumph - would it have been published by the N.Y.B. if it was? - and seems to have failed as much for the naive treatment of the general theme, perhaps unsure of the intended audience. But it is not without its humour and we can read how Mackers, one of the young people interviewed, distinguishes between the Protestants and Catholics in the section 'Telling the Difference' .... "Any ones that does wear flat shoes is mostly Catholics." .... "A lot of them has ginger hair. I know a lot of Protestants has ginger hair as well, but a hell of a lot of them has ginger hair .... or else very black hair." Humour indeed. The author states that the book has been written for a 'nonacademic audience', quite right, but who then will read it? I cannot see young people sitting down to recognise a few kindred spirits. It will I suspect appear on the occasional reading list, with one asterisk ... 'not essential but recommended.'

I rather suspect that it will if anything finds its way to the desk of a television researcher for a programme like "Nationwide", who might be tempted to do the piece in their by now instantly recognisable way ... 'tonight we look at how some young people in Northern Ireland still manage to lead relatively normal lives, despite ....'

It is a pity Jimmy has ginger hair.

Eamonn Rafferty

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**Norman O'Neill**  
**FASCISM & THE WORKING CLASS**  
**Shakti Publications**

**ISBN 0 906666 01 5**  
**£3.00**  
**pp. 164**

The responsiveness of some sections of the working class to fascist ideology is a matter for urgent concern. Neither the recent decline in fascist elec-

toral activity nor the continued feuding between rival factions should diminish that concern. If the Tory party of the new right fails adequately to depress real and social wage levels and/or to control the associated crisis of law and order it is entirely conceivable that capital in Britain might lend support to an authoritarian regime of the ultra right.

Norman O'Neill's contribution to our understanding of fascism is therefore timely. It is the responsiveness of some sections of the **working class** that is of particular concern to Dr. O'Neill. He summarises the "classical" Marxist approach to fascism - a mass movement based on the lower middle class and on their perception of their class interest as threatened by both organised labour and monopoly capital. In Germany it is argued that capital, in crisis, then as now, manipulated this ideology in its own interests, and Dr. O'Neill reproduces convincing evidence. This analysis, however, does not account for the significant levels of working class support for fascism in Germany then or in Britain now. O'Neill suggests that the Left in Britain have as a consequence underestimated the phenomenon, seeing it as the pathology of a few individuals. He takes as his task, therefore, an attempt to "measure the extent to which fascist proclivities and stratification within the working class are sociologically related."

The book opens with a review of some theoretical issues involved and moves to a comparison amongst and between groups of workers - dockers, printers and clerks - using both participant observation and quantitative techniques.

Dr. O'Neill sets out explicitly to integrate psychological, economic and political perspectives and it is perhaps inevitable therefore that the analysis is both stimulating and in a number of respects unsatisfactory. While his choice of sociology as the framework for this synthesis may be at root of some of its shortcomings, the attempt is worthy and perhaps heroic especially in a book short enough (and more unusually cheap enough) to be widely read.

The early discussion of the relationship of consciousness in general and authoritarianism in particular to the circumstances of peoples' lives is lucid and his review of approaches to the role of culture in that relationship is very useful. Dr. O'Neill's conclusion is that working class authoritarianism may best be understood as "facilitating normative cohesion" - shaped, that is, if not rigidly determined, by relationships to people and systems at home and at work. This thesis is more than an article of Marxist faith and is strongly supported by his thumb nail sketches of some of his interviewees and proved or maybe just not falsified by his quantitative analysis of responses to a questionnaire.

This statistical analysis is somewhat intrusive for the lay reader, at least, and may perhaps by understood in conjunction with the authors suggestion that the Frankfurt school's rejection of positivism is so unscientific as to undermine their claim to be Marxist. While his insistence that analysis cannot entirely wash its hands of evidence has its attraction, Dr. O'Neill's move from this to Chi-square tests seems precipitous. The rigor of his measuring, moreover, is not always matched by his clarity about what is being measured. With regard to his chosen variables, for instance - class consciousness and authoritarianism - it is not at all clear why sexist attitudes to the division of domestic labour

should be interpreted as an indicator of the former rather than the latter.

Missing from the brief but otherwise comprehensive review is any exploration of the interface between feminism and socialism. It is this omission, maybe, that leaves an author committed to avoiding psychologism asserting in his concluding chapter that "the fear of women is at bottom a fear of feeling weak". Here as elsewhere Dr. O'Neill's precision in setting bearings for his venture leaves him giving hostages to fortune. He insists, correctly, on a rigorously historical treatment and in his own terms then fails to differentiate clearly between Germany in the 30's and Britain in the 80's: nowhere is his analysis of contemporary phenomena adequately grounded in an analysis of the specific form of the present crisis of capitalism.

The book's most striking failure, however, is the author's betrayal of his early commitment to treat contemporary forms of fascism and racism as intimately linked. Whether or not this lets the romantic Left off the hook as he asserts, it is a matter for regret that by the conclusion racial prejudice was found to have "no specific social foundations".

With racism floating free and "cancerous" we are left only with exhortations to organise against it and with nostalgic references to earlier struggles. If the pervasiveness of working class racism gives the new fascists access to that class to an unprecedented extent the utility of '**Fascism and the Working Class**' as a tool not simply to interpret but to change the world is diminished by the failure of Dr. O'Neill's subtle and lucid analysis to account for this phenomenon.

Andy Smart

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**Earnest Cashmore**  
**BLACK SPORTSMEN**  
**Routledge and Kegan Paul 1982**

**ISBN 0 7100 9054 4**  
**£5.95 paperback**

**pp. 226**

Half the England football team black by 1990? Well, Earnest Cashmore thinks so . . . "These are the opening words of the cover notes for Cashmore's book **Black Sportsmen**. If this prediction is accurate or not only time will tell but it did provide an irresistible lure for the nations media. At the time of the launch of **Black Sportsmen** Cashmore could be heard on TV & radio throughout the country assuring or perhaps warning Britain that Blacks have no innate sporting ability, in reality that "old black magic" is a result of social pressures. Of course all this press attention did not endear Dr Cashmore to his fellow academics who on the whole take a dim view of popularisation. For despite his background (research fellow at dept. of Sociology & Social History at Aston University) Cashmore has written a popular book, a book for the layman. It was certainly no accident and somehow I suspect Cashmore as aiming to be the Desmond Morris of race relations.

The book itself has a foreward by Spurs striker Garth Crooks. Crooks is a remarkably good writer for a footballer and is obviously on good terms

with Cashmore as he calls him Earnie. Dr Cashmore, when he answers the phone, refers to himself as 'Cashmore'. Well it's hardly surprising, who would take seriously any social theory proposed by someone called 'Earnie'.

The success of blacks in boxing and athletics is common knowledge and for some reason this has been attributed to "natural ability". Natural ability, of course fits in with the white supreme view which sees black success as a result of a God given gift rather than hard work. Thus even black champions can be seen as lazier and mentally inferior to the white losers! It is the assumption of natural ability that Cashmore examines. The cover notes tell us that the work involved "two years of interviews with Black sports men at all levels of competition". Highly commendable, however most of the information is drawn from boxers, athletes and footballers, what about cricket!

Earnie takes an interesting starting point "back in dem ol plantations" and he details how slaves like Tom Molyneux and Bill Richmond gained their freedom through prize fighting and became the first black sporting celebrities. Boxing history is something Earnie enjoys writing about. In fact he enjoys it so much that I began to feel that this section was too long and detailed for a book of this length. Most of the early chapters deal with the situation in the United States of America which although interesting must be different from the later stages of the book that concentrate on modern Britain. Eventually Earnie gets to the situation in Britain now, still leaning heavily on boxing as the mainstay of his argument. The argument put forward, if repetitive is interesting and it goes something like this . . . Blacks see sport as a way out of the ghettos and dead end jobs, so they try harder than their white counterparts who have conventional methods of achievement open to them. All this starts back in schools where teachers, sold on the natural ability myth encourage blacks at sport to the detriment of the academic side. Earnie takes around 200 pages to say all this with assorted quotes from Crooks, Regis, Daley Thompson, Maurice Hope and many more. I can of course see that boxing and soccer can provide fame and fortune, but athletics has never been a particularly lucrative sporting activity, kudos but no cash. But is escape from the ghetto at the front of young blacks minds? I recently met Russ Saunders the top basketball player in the league. Russ is a Black American and he told me that in the USA sport is seen as a way out, but a way out because it is linked to college education. Many poor black families cannot afford to send their children to college, so further education for them depends on a sporting scholarship. So for them at least the huge amounts of money to be made in basketball, baseball and football are not enough, there needs to be some long term benefit. In Britain no such scholarship scheme exists so escape from the ghetto can only be a financial shift.

The struggle up the sporting ladder is a hard one as described by Cashmore's subjects. They all believe that as blacks they have to out perform their white rivals to gain the same recognition. But according to Earnie it is these very struggles that cause them to go on and be so outstanding.

As far as books on sociology go I quite enjoyed reading *Black Sportsmen* but it was repetitive and did labour the point. But is being an enjoyable book the point? As a non-academic I can't really

offer any analysis of Cashmore's methods of data collection so whether his findings are accurate or not I don't know. Perhaps the best way to deal with this book is to treat it as Earnie's own viewpoint. Since it's publication Earnie has been working on a new project. If he really wants to make a popular impact he must start writing about sex, perhaps *Sex and Blacks* . . . must be a potential bestseller, serialisations in the Sun . . .

Peter Emina

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**Diana Leonard**  
**SEX AND GENERATION**  
**- A Study of Courtship and Weddings**  
**Tavistock Publications, 1980**

*Sex and Generation* is a study of courtship, weddings and the setting up of new households. It is based on interviews with a sample of fifty couples, mostly of lower middle class and upper working class backgrounds, and on participant observation carried out in Swansea in the late 1960's. The rituals around courtship and marriage, which are a major focus of the study, are seen as important symbolic statements about the nature of marriage and family relations in society and as a way of examining the relations between the sexes and generations at this critical stage in family life cycles. The book opens with a theoretical discussion of the social significance of ritual and a brief account of the relatively recent historical development of wedding rituals in western Europe, associated with the consolidation of industrial capitalism and the separation of production from the family/household unit. It ends with a critical evaluation of the political and economic relationships which are structured into marriage and family and reflected in these rituals. This framework sits rather uneasily around the more descriptive central sections of the book which draw mainly from the fieldwork.

There are some vivid glimpses of the extent to which courtship and marriage dominate the lives of young people, especially young women, even before they leave school. Not surprisingly, since this is the process through which most lower middle class and working class people leave the family/household into which they were born and set up households of their own; and the period of 'freedom' as young wage earners is short for those who have not left home for higher education, training or work - three years for women, five years for men. Courtship is not only a process which a young couple go through together, it has different meanings for women and for men. The asymmetry between women and men is set in courtship and consolidated in marriage. Men can take the initiative and, while women can manipulate situations to their own advantage, they are constrained in ways which do not apply to men. Courtship draws young women back into their own family units and into closer association with their mothers, especially in saving and planning for the wedding.

Diana Leonard suggests that 'in regard to marriage at least, Britain is an extremely cohesive society, with shared values and aspirations across the social strata.' (p. 257). The essential rituals are very similar across classes though the scale of, for example, the wedding will obviously vary. Most couples in the Swansea sample relied heavily on

expert advice from magazines, reference books etc. (and that advice reflects back through the interview material!) Yet while the complexity of the rituals was absorbing, the explanations given by the informants were generally very limited. In part this may reflect the tension between the belief in individual freedom in choosing a marriage partner and falling in love, on the one hand, and the anonymity of becoming 'the bride' and 'the groom' and the uniformity of the economic relationship set up between men and women in marriage, on the other. Diana Leonard refers to this as a labour relationship in which the wife exchanges her domestic services for her keep. The powerful ideology which supports the narrow and exclusive model of the nuclear family/household and the rituals which set it up can thus be understood to serve to 'distract attention from the economics of the family and to keep any change within the domestic grouping and male-female relations "off the political agenda"' (p. 260).

And yet at some practical level, not acknowledged by Diana Leonard in this study, the ideology and the rituals do not seem to be working. We are left with a picture of overwhelming consensus around courtship and weddings in which there appears to be little possibility of change. We can recognise that the pressures to marry and the marry properly' are very powerful, and that the economic and social alternatives are few. Yet the diversity of domestic arrangements and household forms in which people actually live in Britain today suggests that, in practice, the consensus fragments somewhat under the social strains on life after the wedding.

*Sex and Generation* is a tantalising book. It offers interesting glimpses into courtship and weddings, but does not give a clear enough view of the field work in Swansea (for example the information on the content of questions raised in the interviews is inadequate). The feminist perspective which emerges in the conclusion does not permeate the study as a whole; some important aspects of the changing relationship between women and men through courtship and into marriage, including specific processes establishing their economic relationship, are uncovered only incidentally in the Swansea research. We are left wishing, often with Diana Leonard, that other questions had been included in the interviews.

Margaret Coulson

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**Christopher Hayes, Ann Izatt, John Morrison,**  
**Hilary Smith, Christina Townsend**  
**Foundation Training Issues**  
**IMS REPORT No. 39**  
**Institute of Manpower Studies, 1982**

**Institute of Manpower Studies, Mantell Building,**  
**University of Sussex, Falmer, Brighton, BN1 9RF**

**£6.00 (including post and packing)**  
**£4.00 IMS Subscribers**

Whose future are we planning for?

This report was prepared at the request of the Manpower Services Commission, and the cynics might interpret the document as a parody on the notion of 'our lives in their hands'. The explicit



intention behind the investigation was to identify the major issues confronting those groups involved in the provision of Foundation Training Schemes. The tight four month schedule given for the investigation and completion of the report highlights, for me, the demands for quick solutions to complex problems. It is important to note that in the opening paragraph the Institute draws attention to the fact it should not be perceived as their 'definitive or comprehensive statement'. The dilemma they face is that such a broad and clearly documented report is likely to be interpreted in some quarters as a blueprint for future action, particularly the section on Equal Opportunities.

Although one might be able to accept the need for comprehensive and radical changes in training provision in general terms, the problem of how this will be achieved effectively to enable the young people to extend their self-understanding as well as adjust to the complexity of demands in the work environment is not as easy to identify as the report might suggest.

The key issues still to be confronted are educational ones which focus on the teaching-learning methodology, and social interaction theory. Schools are limiting institutions in terms of the work experiences they offer if one considers that the teaching-learning process is confined to classrooms, but this has changed radically in the last decade and the report recognises the way in which the world of work is being brought into schools. The problem in terms of providing distinctive and different work experiences going from school into the world of work must mean closer and collaborative activity for teachers and trainers. What is the difference in the provisions to be made?

If we take the area of Profile Reporting which is gaining momentum in schools and then look at the four-weekly profile reporting anticipated in some training schemes one wonders how young people react to the potentially different expectations. Will the young people and their trainers have a common and shared perspective on Profile Reports? Will the trainers have the counselling skills to enable them to use the process as a jointly productive learning experience?

The problem is not ignored since there is significant emphasis on 'quality' of training provision and the accreditation of sponsors. The assessment of quality in any process, no matter how far the attempts to incorporate objectivity, still must involve subjective judgements or become meaningless. This is an inherent weakness in a behavioural objectives approach to teaching-learning processes. The problems for identification and accreditation of sponsors leaves much to be desired.

Although the Institute has been thorough in its consultations with the various agencies to be involved in these schemes one wonders what point of contact they had with the young people whose future is being discussed.

What is the distinction between education for life, and education for getting a living? Perhaps it is in the substitution of training for 'education'. It is interesting to reflect on Ghandi's idea that 'true education' ought to be for young people a kind of insurance against unemployment.

Dorothy Sisterson

**Judith Edmunds**  
**RIGHTS, RESPONSIBILITIES AND THE LAW**  
Thomas Nelson and Sons Ltd. in association with  
ILEA Learning Materials Service and the Cobden  
Trust, 1982

ISBN 0 17 438190 5  
pp. 125

**John Pritchard**  
**THE PENGUIN GUIDE TO THE LAW**  
Penguin Books Ltd., 1982

ISBN 0 7139 1356 8  
£6.95  
pp. 958

These are two texts written with different purposes in mind, but both of good value to young people. The **Penguin Guide** is intended to "remove some of the mysteries that shroud" the law and to give an "overall view" of it, and the book is by far the more comprehensive of the two being reviewed. Whilst it is not aimed specifically at young people, it nevertheless contains much that is relevant.

Looking at the books in turn, **Rights, Responsibilities and the Law** is a large format publication of just over 120 pages, with a layout which relies heavily on large headings, supplemented by illustrations ranging from straightforward photographs to cartoon sketches. The presentation is therefore such that the substance can be relatively easily digested, and, as a check on this, there are questions placed throughout the book to help the reader to assess his understanding of what he has just read. Towards the end of the book there is a section called "Points for Teachers" which provides a commentary on some of the questions and likely answers.

The content of the book is designed to achieve three aims: (i) to provide **information**; (ii) to encourage **debate** in controversial areas; and (iii) to develop **skills** which will help people to cope with the system as they grow up. The first chapter begins with a discussion of the concept of law, through the medium of a fictitious account of what happens to a group of 16 year olds who are stranded on a desert island following a shipwreck of a school cruise. Whilst it is open to question how realistic this prospect may seem to many inner city children (and if it is not realistic, the whole exercise may become tainted with fantasy), it must be admitted that this treatment constitutes a brave attempt at introducing difficult material at an appropriate level.

The chapter proceeds to deal with rules, rights and responsibilities and the way in which laws are made, reformed and put into operation. The second chapter deals with the police. It is both generally informative and prepared to discuss controversial questions such as whether the police ought to be armed. Nevertheless, most readers will probably find the explanation of the police powers to search and arrest to be most useful material.

The book proceeds helpfully through court procedures, sexual (including gay) and racial discrimination, the legal aspects of employment, and welfare rights such as maternity rights and redundancy payments.

The final chapter returns to the more theoretical concerns of the book's opening section, and deals with 'Rights in Conflict'. For example, the issue of

the compulsory wearing of seat-belts is raised, as is the limited suspension of certain civil rights under the Prevention of Terrorism Act.

The **Penguin Guide**, on the other hand, is a tome of nearly 1,000 pages, with nothing by way of illustration except a few diagrams of the 'flow-chart' variety. Much of the book is not of specific relevance to young people (e.g. sections on conveyancing; home improvements, modernisation and planning controls; and deciding whether to form a company), but a great deal of the book does cover extremely valuable material, ranging from marriage (including such practical issues as the legal status of wedding presents if the wedding is called off), cohabitation and the legal relationship between parents and children, through detailed considerations of labour law, consumer rights and civil liberties.

In terms of the comparative utility of the two books, the traditional textbook approach of the **Penguin Guide**, coupled with the mass of information it contains, would make it suitable as a reference book to be kept handy in home or club, whereas **Rights, Responsibilities and the Law** would make a much better classroom text, as might be expected from the fact that it is a joint product of the publishers and the ILEA Learning Materials Service. Perhaps the best role for the **Penguin Guide** is as a reference book for the youth leader or teacher, and for this purpose is difficult to think of a better book. However, there must always remain one final caveat; no work of this kind can ever be truly comprehensive, nor can it be more than fleetingly up-to-date across the whole field, so it is vital never to be misled by its apparent authoritativeness.

The conclusion must therefore be that both books are very good examples of their kind. In the final analysis it is, as always, a question of horses for courses.

A. Clark

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**Alan Dearling and Howard Armstrong**  
**Illustrations by Jerry Neville**  
**THE YOUTH ARTS AND CRAFT BOOK**  
Intermediate Treatment Resource Centre, Quarrier's Homes, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire PA11 3SA, 1982

ISBN 0 9506951 4 9  
£3.25 paperback  
pp. 240

With monotonous regularity, during my past 18 years involvement in the training of voluntary, part-time and full-time youth workers, many students have listened to lectures, participated in group work exercises and simulation games, written essays around some set or agreed topics; and then the more confident have asked the real question for them: "What **can I do** with the kids in my group?" For those workers seeking positive feedback, Alan Dearling and Howard Armstrong have produced yet another book as part of the answer.

In their introduction, Alan and Howie, recognising the limitations of the medium (the printed word), assert that arts and crafts are about

"doing"; and on the following pages provide a collection of "How to do it" papers of over 45 different ideas and methods. With a refreshing absence of jargon, this very readable and often amusing book, illustrated with flair by Jerry Neville, takes us through activities such as: badges, bogies, collage, computers, drama, video, magazines, mobiles, painting and photography, (to name but a few), giving us instructions and advice on preparation, organization, how to run the activities in different settings etc., ending with a near comprehensive bibliography and a most useful suppliers guide.

My major reservations are centred around the books propensity towards viewing the activities as ends in themselves. With occasional exceptions (notably the 'guest' section on Drama), they do not discuss why of the activities other than that "They can be used to introduce young people to a wide range of new skills, yet at the same time be fun ...." The new skills they refer to are not clearly defined nor is their value explained; and social education is not referred to except in the sense of a secondary objective, for example with film making and video, "It is also a co-operative activity which encourages teamwork and clear communication." Or as a "spin-off", i.e. "The spin-off skills are education in the best sense of the word" in the section devoted to magazines and social education.

These may appear to be carping criticisms of what after all is a very useful resource and memory jogger for the tired and weary worker short of programme ideas - but without a more in depth discussion on the real purpose of introducing such activities into a youth group's experience the book remains merely a collection of new and old innovations, continuing the traditional liberal approach to education and youth work, believing that real learning takes place as a result of what the worker does, (What can I do with these kids?), as opposed to real learning being the result of what the learners do.

Peter M. Clason

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**Alan S. Holden**  
**CHILDREN IN CARE**  
Comyn Books, 1980

ISBN 0 907267 009  
£4.95 paperback  
pp. 231

Alan Holden states that *Children in Care* is the first in a series prepared for the Association of Directors of Social Services (ADSS) which is designed to provide an accessible work of reference on the relevant legislation for those operating within the personal social services. His stated intention is to be factual rather than critical about legislation relating to children in care. He does, however, offer comment where he feels the law is "ambiguous or unclear".

Taken at face value, this book provides an eminently readable and generally clear account of major legal provision in the chosen subject area. This relatively inexpensive guide is simply laid out and in the second half of it the relevant legislation has been usefully reproduced.

Although the author does not profess a critical perspective, the book is, by default, a powerful reminder of the extensive powers of the state over children and their parents. Holden's comments about the application of the law in certain contentious areas left me, to put it mildly, needing greater reassurance. For example, in his discussion of parental rights resolutions (whereby a local authority can assume parental rights and duties on a child in voluntary care without recourse to a court of Law) he dismisses objections to the fact that parents have no right to be heard in such a process. He does so on the grounds that should a parent object, then he or she can do so afterwards in writing and, ultimately, through the court. In a recent case, a parent's appeal against such a resolution was upheld in the court and, anticipating this, the local authority concerned had the child made a Ward of Court in another town! The legal process can take months before it is finally decided who should have custody. Such legal possibilities are deeply disturbing at a time when some social services departments are pursuing an ultra cautious line in the face of mounting criticism arising from child abuse inquiries.

There are also other points where I would take issue with the author but particularly in his discussion on Section 1 of the Child Care Act, 1980. This gives social services departments the valuable power to grant financial help to prevent the reception of children into care. Holden takes an unnecessarily restrictive view - one shared, I strongly suspect, by many members of ADSS - on the use of "Section 1 money". In advocating its use as part of wider social work support given to a family rather than a response to the result of lack of income, the author leaves himself open to the charge of drawing too strongly on the notion of individual pathology as an explanation of people's predicaments.

Holden's discussions on "ambiguous or unclear" aspects of the law often reveal as much about his own position as they do about the vagueness of the law. If social workers and others are to be made more aware of the profound ideological nature of "welfare legislation generally and its implications for the recipients of welfare, then detailed critical appraisals - and ultimately reform - of the relevant law are needed.

Gerry Lavery

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**Steven R. Asher and John M. Gottman (Eds.)**  
**THE DEVELOPMENT OF**  
**CHILDREN'S FRIENDSHIPS**  
Cambridge University Press, 1981

ISBN 0 521 23103  
£7.50  
pp. 347

G.B. Shaw once said that "no method of investigation is the only method", and would have approved of the first principle of this book which sets out to tackle the theme of children's friendships from a range of different methodological perspectives. Sociometric measurement co-exists in a more-or-less amiable way with approaches which can be broadly described as 'observational' - and in practice range from the ethnographic to more quantitative descriptions.

The intentions of the different authors are mixed, the developmental psychologists interested in children *per se*, the social psychologists interested in **friendship**. The question is whether theories of child friendship relate to human relationships in general, or are we to assume that there are important and interesting differences between the friendship of children and adults? One senses a reluctance of the different methodologists to communicate on this issue.

The impression is that more effort might have been devoted to theory - and V.L. Allen in the seminal and least friendly essay 'Self, Social Group and Social Structures' at the heart of the book, argues strongly that much more attention ought to be devoted to an attempt at providing explanatory constructs, and concludes that theory dealing with friendship in childhood is still in its infancy.

In practice the sophisticated statistical data is not matched by convincingly argued understanding of the elusive psychological processes that account for the results. What variables in fact account for friendship remain largely unknown. It would have been interesting to fill these gaps in this rather fleshless book with more informal observational data. There is a strong case in the examination of a theme like this for going beyond a science of personality to a study of being human; some kind of negotiation between objective data and subjective accounts of experience would have greatly enriched our perception. The book seems, despite its good intentions, methodologically as well as theoretically constrained.

The data itself posits the question of its use in making children friendlier. Many of the contributions are concerned with how, and whether, we should be bringing about behavioural change. What minor attempts are reported here have the whiff of the laboratory, and had slight impact. It is apparent that overwhelmingly more important than the interventionist adult is the strength of in-group norms. We do know that unpopular children are low achievers, unhappy, feel incompetent, and have low self-concepts. There are strong connections between home relationships, parenting experiences, and the children's adjustments to peers. When then should we begin by considering the isolated child as subject for individual or family therapy? How often do social adjustment, skills training and other behavioural approaches skim over the deeper personal issues?

The book then, may not make many children more friendly to each other, but is, as it stands, a comprehensive compendium of (largely American) research evidence of a limited kind, on an intriguing theme of potentially wide interest.

Linda Winkley

# analysis

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

# data

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

## Sex and Age Structure of the U.K. Population

Millions

	0-4	5-15	16-29	30-44	45-59	60-64	65-74	75-84	85+	All Ages
<b>Males</b>										
1901	2.2	4.4	4.8	3.6	2.2	0.5	0.6	0.2		18.5
1911	2.3	4.6	5.0	4.3	2.7	0.6	0.7	0.2		20.4
1921	2.0	4.6	4.9	4.3	3.4	0.7	0.9	0.3		21.0
1931	1.8	4.2	5.4	4.5	3.8	0.9	1.1	0.4		22.1
1941	1.7	3.8	5.4	5.5	3.9	1.1	1.4	0.5		23.3
1951	2.2	3.9	4.9	5.5	4.5	1.1	1.6	0.7		24.4
1961	2.2	4.5	4.9	5.3	5.1	1.2	1.6	0.7	0.1	25.7
1971	2.3	5.0	5.6	4.9	5.0	1.5	2.0	0.7	0.1	27.1
1981	1.8	4.7	6.0	5.5	4.8	1.4	2.3	0.9	0.1	27.4
(Projections)										
1991	2.3	4.1	6.2	6.0	4.6	1.3	2.2	1.0	0.2	28.0
1996	2.3	4.7	5.6	6.2	5.0	1.3	2.1	1.0	0.2	28.4
2001	2.1	4.9	5.3	6.5	5.2	1.3	2.0	1.0	0.2	28.6
<b>Females</b>										
1901	2.2	4.4	5.2	3.9	2.4	0.6	0.7	0.3		19.7
1911	2.2	4.6	5.4	4.6	2.9	0.6	0.9	0.4		21.7
1921	1.9	4.6	5.5	5.0	3.6	0.8	1.1	0.5		23.0
1931	1.7	4.2	5.7	5.2	4.2	1.0	1.4	0.6		24.0
1941	1.7	3.7	5.4	5.8	4.6	1.3	1.7	0.8		25.0
1951	2.1	3.8	4.9	5.7	5.1	1.4	2.1	1.1		26.1
1961	2.1	4.3	4.8	5.3	5.5	1.5	2.4	1.2	0.2	27.3
1971	2.2	4.7	5.4	4.8	5.2	1.7	2.7	1.4	0.4	28.6
1981	1.7	4.4	5.8	5.4	4.9	1.6	2.9	1.7	0.5	28.9
(Projections)										
1991	2.2	3.9	5.9	5.9	4.7	1.5	2.7	1.8	0.6	29.2
1996	2.1	4.4	5.3	6.1	5.1	1.4	2.7	1.8	0.6	29.6
2001	2.0	4.7	5.0	6.4	5.4	1.4	2.5	1.8	0.6	29.7

Source: C.S.O.: Social Trends No. 13: 1983 (HHSO 1982)

A reader in Cambridge has suggested that over the course of several issues 'Data' might include a statistical breakdown of the U.K. youth population by age-groups, family, schooling, employment, etc. etc.

This will be incorporated with the 'Data' section during the present volume. Readers should note that there is no central source for such information, therefore the figures will be extracted from different bases; a source reference will always be given.

School Population: England Only (January)

Maintained Nursery, Primary and Secondary.

		Nursery & Primary		
		1979	1980	1981
*	Total	4,476	4,317	4,130
*	Change from previous year	-126	-159	-187
+	Pupil/Teacher Ratio	23.1	22.7	22.6
	Expenditure per Pupil	£525	£545	£550
		Secondary Schools		
	Total	3,872	3,866	3,840
	Change from previous year	+21	-6	-26
+	Pupil/Teach Ratio	16.7	16.6	16.6
	Expenditure per Pupil	£761	£772	£771

\*Includes each part-time pupil as 0.5

+ qualified teachers only

Source: House of Commons: Written Answer by Dr. R. Boyson

Hansard: Vol: 24: Col: 92 (1982)

#### Further and Higher Education Entry: Comparative

Country	X Age Group	† Relevant Population (000's)	New Entrants as % of R. Pop
France	18-20	844.3	27.7
W. Germany	19-21	873.7	19.2
USA	18	4226.5	42.8
UK	18-19	850.5	22.7

\* full-time and sandwich students only

X encompassing at least 80% of full-time new entrants

† population for the ages in column 1 divided by the number of years: eg. for UK 18 & 19 year olds divided by 2.

Source: House of Commons: Written Answer by Mr. Waldegrove Hansard Vol 24 Col 95. (adapted from OECD pub) 'Education Statistics in DECD Countries' 1981. figures given are for 1977-78.

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

## Code

All sources are Official Report (Hansard).

Headings as are published.

The following code describes the references used.

CS	Copy Service
DIV	Division
D	in debate
S	statement
WA	written answer
AMM	amendment 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

## V26 N139

### Complaints Against The Police OA

Exch. around satisfactory nature of complaints procedure; credibility of police; 'cosmetic' procedures, etc. etc.

### Community Liaison Groups OA

What progress so far in setting up community liaison groups as recommended in the Scarman report? Gout has issued guidance on procedure and best practice for local consultation arrangements between the community and the police: 'good work already being done in many places'; important to develop arrangements suited to each area; etc. exch. (1 page).

### Young Persons (Convictions) OA

In 1980 about 210,000 persons aged 12 and under 21 found guilty of indictable offences: In each of three previous years the number was about 190,000. Information for 1981 not yet available. Does the present economic situation have any bearing on this? Certainly no causative link has been proved to exist between the level of unemployment and the level of crime, etc. etc. exch.

### Glue Sniffing OA

Several representations received by Govt. on solvent abuse; Govt. will place emphasis on education and persuasion, etc.

### Advisory Committee on Women's Employment WA

Mr. Alison: Since reconstitution in 1980, the advisory committee on women's employment has met four times.

### Prisoners (Statistics) WA

On 18 June the total prison population in England and Wales was about 44,000.

### Police Pay WA

The present annual basic pay of police constable ranges from £5,610 for new entrants under the age or 22 to £8,833 for officers with 15 years' service or more. Police pay was increased by 13.2 per cent from 1 September 1981.

### Police Force (Black and Ethnic Minorities) WA

During the 12 months ending on 30 April, 1982, the number of ethnic minority police officers in England and Wales increased by 52 to 360.

### Video Cassettes WA

The Children and Young Persons (Harmful Publications) Act does not control video cassettes; Govt. are keeping under review, the operation of the law in relation to video cassettes, particularly as regards material involving horror or violence.

### Young Prisoners WA

There are no persons under the age of 16 years held on an adult prison in Scotland. On 21 June 1982, however, there were seven boys under the age of 16 years held in the under-21 remand institution at Longriggend who had been committed by the courts under certificates of unfitness under section 23 of the Criminal Procedures (Scotland) Act 1975.

### Strathclyde WA

The number of crimes recorded in the annual reports of the Chief Constable for Strathclyde for 1979, 1980 and 1981 are as follows; the 1979 figure has been adjusted to take into account the reclassification of crimes and offences in the Scottish criminal statistics introduced with effect from 1 January 1980.

*Number of crimes reported in the Annual Reports of the Chief Constable for Strathclyde*

	Percentage increase over previous year (new classification)
1979 (old classification): 160,853	
1979 (new classification): 195,682	
1980 (new classification): 198,858	1.6
1981 (new classification): 223,685	12.5

### School Dental Officers WA

The average number of schoolchildren per full-time dental officer in the school dental service in England and Wales in 1980 was 6,028.

### Overseas Students WA

Under the National Health Service (Charges to Overseas Visitors) Regulations 1982, overseas students generally will be liable to NHS hospital charges until they have been in this country for one year, unless they have begun a course of study on or before 1 October or are otherwise exempt.

### Electro-convulsive Therapy WA

In 1980 the total number of courses of treatment completed in NHS mental illness hospitals and units in England was 24,743; 160,251 treatments were given.

### Family Income WA

Figures on one-parent family income (1979) as follows; (abridged); by number of families;

	State benefit	Earnings	Total number of families with head under pension age
One-parent families headed by a woman	360,000	330,000	740,000
One-parent families headed by a man	[30,000]	70,000	100,000
Two-parent families	270,000	5,960,000	6,260,000

### Criminal Injuries (Compensation) WA

Exact figures for the financial year 1981-82 not yet available, but the total paid is about £22.2 million.

### Sixth Form Colleges and Teacher-Pupil Ratios WA

Maintained Secondary Schools with 6th Forms, pupil-teacher ratios, as follows: (abridged)

*Maintained secondary schools with sixth forms*

	Number Pupil- of teacher schools ratio†
Schools with pupils aged 16 years and over* on O-level/CSE courses or above:	
Sixth form colleges	10011.6
Other types of secondary school	2,85916.4
Total	2,95916.2
of which schools with pupils on A level courses	2,48316.1

### Unemployment Statistics WA

(Wales) figures for unemployed two or more years, Wales table.

### 16 to 19-year-old Girls

At 15 April 1982 the total number of females aged 19 years and under registered as unemployed in Great Britain was 204,344. The numbers who at that date had been on the register for the lengths of time specified are given in the following table. Corresponding information showing the numbers of registered disabled included in the figures is given for 8 October 1981.

Duration in weeks	April 1982 Number	October 1981 Number	of which registered disabled
Over 26 and up to 52 weeks	54,106	38,503	160
Over 52 and up to 104 weeks	23,568	21,602	150
Over 104 weeks	3,073	1,929	36

### Higher Education WA

There are four higher education institutions in Northern Ireland, apart from the universities. They are the Ulster Polytechnic and three colleges of education. In January 1981 there were 3,890 full-time, 1,531 sandwich and 2,781 part-time students at these establishments.

### Pregnancies WA

Girls in the age group 15 to 19 and girls aged 15, 16, 17 and 19, for each year since 1970 until the latest available date; total number of induced abortions; total number of births, the rate of induced abortions per 1,000 girls and the rate of births per 1,000 girls: the rate of pregnancy per 1,000 girls aged 15 to 19 years and in each individual age group 15, 16, 17, 18 and 19 years, respectively, for each year since 1970 is; as the following comprehensive table.

Pregnancy rates per thousand women - England and Wales

Year	Age of mother at full-term maternity					
	15	16	17	18	19	15-19
1970	5.8	21.9	53.0	86.2	113.0	56.4
1971	6.8	25.8	58.4	92.3	120.6	60.9
1972	7.7	28.2	61.7	90.6	115.7	60.5
1973	8.2	28.6	59.3	87.6	110.1	57.8
1974	8.2	27.0	58.2	82.7	104.6	54.8
1975	8.3	24.7	52.0	76.4	96.3	50.6
1976	7.6	23.6	46.9	68.4	88.2	46.1
1977	7.4	22.6	44.8	64.0	80.9	43.2
1978	7.1	22.1	44.1	65.0	82.6	43.2
1979	7.1	21.9	45.6	67.7	88.2	45.1
1980	7.1	22.3	46.1	69.7	90.4	46.5

V26N141

Assisted Areas (Review) (Ministerial Statement)

See State Industry: (Mr. P. Jenkin): 5 pages; statement on Assisted Areas; references to unemployment, development; etc.

Immigration Regulations D

(Mr. R. Hattersley) moved censure on 'repressive operation of Immig. Regs.': 22 pages: several references; marriages, numbers, youth, unemployment, Scarman, etc. etc. exch. negated. (copy service).

West Midlands WA

Unemployment by age in region, as follows: (abridged); excl:

Age	Unemployed for over 52 weeks	
	Number	As a percentage of total for all ages
Under 18	1,218	0.9
18	3,054	2.3
19	5,543	4.2
20-24	24,422	18.4
25-29	16,515	12.5
30-34	13,221	10.0
35-44	20,626	15.6
45-49	9,685	7.3
50-54	1,499	8.7
55-59	2,917	9.8
60 and over	13,749	10.4
Total, all ages	132,449	100

School Dental Officers WA

Children per full-time DO in Eng. & Wales in 1980 was 6,028; East Anglia, 6,008, Cambridgeshire 6,533.

Unemployed Persons WA

430,000 unemployed claimants receiving neither unemployment nor supp. ben. Feb: 1982; of these 155,000 not yet determined claims; 182,000 exhausted title to unemp. ben; remaining 92,000 not receiving ben. 'for a variety of reasons'.

Ethnic Minority Population (Statistics) WA

The percentage rate of increase in the ethnic minority population; and what part is due to net migration and what part of the excess of births over deaths, for each of the last 10 years: as follows (rounded).

Percentage change in the size of the population of New Commonwealth and Pakistani ethnic origin

Year	Percentage increase	Percentage increase due to excess of births over deaths	Percentage increase due to net migration
1971-72	6.0	3.3	2.7
1972-73	6.5	2.9	3.6
1973-74	4.4	2.5	1.9
1974-75	4.7	2.4	2.3
1975-76	4.7	2.4	2.4
1976-77	4.2	2.4	1.9
1977-78	4.0	2.4	1.6
1978-79	4.8	2.6	2.2
1979-80	4.5	2.7	1.8

Police (Establishments) WA

Figures for each police authority in Scotland (table).

V26 N142

Assisted Areas WA

Total assisted areas in U.K. from 1/8/82 listed: (table) (copy service).

Teachers (Training Costs) WA

Average gross institutional cost, including first degree, for PGCE students at 1980/81 prices is estimated to be £15,000.

Teachers WA

Admissions to initial training in Eng. & Wales, as follows:

1978-79	19,971
1979-80	19,521
1980-81	18,228

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for each county in Wales, 1979, 1980, 1981 etc. (table).

Teachers WA

Unemployed teachers in Wales 1978-1982 as follows (abridged) (copy service).

	Numbers
March 1982	1,566
March 1981	1,067
March 1980	882
March 1979	906
March 1978	835

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for Kirklees, W. Yorks, Oldham, G. Manchester, table (copy service).

Youth Training (European Community Funds) WA

Allocations from Euro. Social Funds for YOP as follows:

1978	£13 mill.
1979	£39 mill.
1980	£47 mill.
1981	£59 mill.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Figures for each county in Scotland, and total; (table) (copy service).

Children in Care WA

Numbers of children in care (1974-1982); Foster-parented; adoptions; annual percentage changes; table; (copy service).

One-Parent Families WA

Figures for England, Manchester Met. Dist. Greater Manchester. (table)

Supplementary Benefit WA

Figures for Manchester Offices 1979, 1982; (table).

Birth Statistics WA

Home deliveries in each of the last three years; proportion of total births these represented; the mortality rate; how this compares with the overall rate for each year: as follows;

	1978	1979	1980
Home births	9,608	8,904	8,162
Percentage of total births	1.60	1.38	1.23

Youth Training Scheme (Benefit Savings) WA

Estimate that the net saving of expenditure - reduced payments of the benefits offset by additional payments of training allowances - will be about £20 million compared with the position if the youth opportunities programme had continued.

V26 N143

Unemployment Statistics (Scotland) OA

15 April, 1982, 3,318 people in the Kilbirnie, Saltcoats and Irvine employment offices areas had been registered as unemployed for more than one year. The comparable figures for 1979, 1980 and 1981 were 1,324, 1,370 and 1,903, respectively.

Victims of Violent Crime D

IR Bill: (rev D. Alton): references to crime, urban areas; etc.

Parliamentary Candidates (Age) WA

Mr. Knox asked Secretary of State Home Department whether he will consider introducing changes in the electoral law to enable 18 to 21-year-olds to stand for election to Parliament and local authorities. Mr. Mayhew: We have no present plans to do so.

Further and Higher Education WA

Expenditure on FE & HE in UK 1979-80 (non-universities) was £1,724 millions; numbers of students as follows;

	Number
Full-time - including sandwich-students	560,000
Part-time day students	836,000
Evening only students	2,547,000
of whom, at adult education centres	1,849,000

Teachers WA

Up to 1981 1,600 teachers completed refroccuicing courses since 1977.

Pupil-Teacher Ratios

The percentage increase or decrease in the pupil-teacher ratio in each sector, primary of secondary, in each of the last three years for which figures are available; (abridged)

	Primary		Secondary	
	Pupils per qualified teacher	Percentage change from previous year	Pupils per qualified teacher	Percentage change from previous year
1978	23.6	-	16.9	-
1979	23.1	-2.1	16.7	-1.2
1980	22.7	-1.7	16.6	-0.6
1981	22.6	-0.4	16.6	No change

Unemployment Statistics WA

Following table gives number of unemployed people registered at professional and executive offices at the dates specified for Great Britain and the North West region.

June	Great Britain	North West
1979	57,481	6,500
1980	60,187	6,762
1981	137,939	17,017
1982	168,855	20,473

Unemployment Benefit

Paying unemployment benefit to persons currently disqualified because their contribution record is inadequate would cost about £800 million gross and about £200 million net. Paying those whose benefit is exhausted would cost about £1,500 million gross and £450 million net. Number of beneficiaries about 400,000 and 600,000.

Unemployment Statistics (Scotland) WA

April 1982, 109,429 people in Scotland had been registered as unemployed for more than one year. In May 1979, seasonally adjusted unemployment in Scotland stood at 165,900, a percentage rate of 7.3 per cent. The comparable figures for May 1982 were 312,000 and 14 per cent.

Unemployment in Scotland - Annual Averages

Period	Lowest year	Percentage rate	Highest year	Percentage rate
1950-59	1956	2.2	1959	4.1
1960-69	1966	2.7	1963	4.5
1970-79	1974	4.0	1978	8.2

Exchange at length: several references, figures in table.

#### Youth Unemployment WA

15 April, 1982, 25,000 young people under the age of 18 were registered as unemployed in Scotland. Additional resources available to expand and improve the youth opportunities programme in the current year, and are making very substantial resources available from September 1983 for the new youth training scheme.

#### Nurse Education WA

Figures for some Scottish Areas (table).

#### V26 N144

##### Northern Ireland (Emergency Provisions) Act 1978 D

Several references to youth, passim; plastic bullets; etc. (copy service).

##### Employment OA

December 1981, there were 464,050 in employment in Northern Ireland. At June 1981, a further 72,950 persons were self-employed. The figures for June 1982, show the number unemployed in Northern Ireland at 116,071 which is 20.3 per cent. of employees. exch.

##### Rubber and Plastic Bullets WA

Exchange on Oral Answers; no new Govt. statements (1 page).

##### Immigration WA

The average period of time persons in the Indian Sub-continent have to wait from the time of application to the issue of an entry certificate to the United Kingdom; in months, as table:

<i>Bangladesh</i>	
Dacca	16
<i>India</i>	
Bombay	15
Calcutta†	-
New Delhi	12
<i>Pakistan</i>	
Karachi	18½
Islamabad	18½

##### Youth Opportunities Programme WA

The following table gives sample survey information which relates to young people who entered work experience elements of the youth opportunities programme between July and September 1980 and who were surveyed a year later:

	Employed per cent
Activity on leaving scheme	47
Activity at time of survey	52

##### Unemployment Statistics WA

Between May 1979 and June 1982 the number of people registered as unemployed in the United Kingdom, seasonally adjusted and excluding school leavers, increased by 1,602,400.

##### Alcohol Abuse WA

About £725,000 will be spent in the current financial year on various programmes designed to deal with the problem of alcohol misuse in Scotland. This sum includes £100,000 which will be spent on publicity by the Scottish health education group. The Government published a discussion document in December 1981, entitled "Drinking Sensibly", to stimulate public discussion.

##### University Scholarships WA

Figures for awards in N. Ireland.

##### Grammar Schools WA

Various figures for G.S.N. Ireland (tables).

##### Population Statistics WA

Numbers of 16-18's in England and Cheshire; 1972-1980; projected 1982-1991; tables (copy service).

#### V26 N145

##### Local Govt. (Mis. Provisions) Bill: (Lords amendments considered)

Public Entertainments; refs to peace festivals, concerts, etc. Licensing of Sex Establishments; youth references, etc. (copy service).

##### Job Centre (Thorne) D

Dr. E. Marshall (Goole); introduced; several general references unemployment of the area (copy service).

##### West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester WA

Expenditure per child of educational authorities; (copy service).

##### Unemployment Benefit WA

Expenditure on unemployment benefit follows:

	£ million
1978-79	632
1979-80	653
1980-81	1,281
1981-82	*1,731

##### Supplementary Benefit

Expenditure on supplementary benefit as follows:

	£ million
1978-79	2,017
1979-80	2,155
1980-81	2,859
1981-82	*4,843

#### V27 N146

##### Unemployment Statistics OA

Unemployed in Wales; Mid-Glamorgan and Aberdare: 15 April 1982 unemployed totalled 171,349, 32,815 and 3,814 respectively, of whom 21,473 4,413 and 572 had been unemployed for more than two years and 59,658 11,452 and 1,423 had been unemployed for more than one year.

##### Unemployed Statistics OA

May 1979 and June 1982 unemployment, seasonally adjusted and excluding school leavers, increased by 80,600 or 99 per cent in Wales.

##### Unemployment D

Mr. D. Penhaligon, moved censure on present Govt. policies, recommending expansion of services, etc. Debated, exch: some figures, youth references: negotiated (21 pages)

#### Community Affairs Department WA

The estimated cost of staff, accommodation and common services in the community programmes and equal opportunities department in 1981-82 was £880,000. (Home Dept).

#### Unemployment Statistics WA

May 13 1982 there were 1,0050,326 unemployed people in the United Kingdom who last worked in the service sector.

#### Unemployment (Derbyshire) WA

AT 15 April 1982 the estimated unemployment rates for the United Kingdom were 21.2 per cent for females aged 19 and under, and 19.7 per cent for males aged 60 and over. Figures are not available for males aged 60 exactly. Corresponding information is not available for Derbyshire.

Rates of unemployment for different age groups are calculated by expressing the number of people unemployed in the age group as a percentage of the total number of employees, both employed and unemployed, in the same age group. Because estimates of the number of employees in different age groups are available only at national level, it is not possible to estimate rates by age for individual areas.

#### Youth Opportunities Programme (Derbyshire) WA

Between 1 April and 31 May 1982 approximately 500 young people entered the youth opportunities programme in Derbyshire, of whom approximately 370 were school leavers.

#### Career Training (Sport and Recreation) WA

Under the youth opportunities programme there are a number of schemes which contain elements of sports and recreational training. Exact numbers are not readily available.

#### Youth Opportunities Programme (Ministry of Defence Training) WA

Over 400 places have been provided since 1979 in schemes sponsored by the Ministry of Defence under the youth opportunities programme. About 50 per cent of these places have been occupied at any one time.

#### Youth Opportunities Programme (Accident Statistics)WA Limited figures YOP accidents, as follows; (1981-82)

falls 20 per cent; entrapment 17 per cent; impact (excluding falls) 13 per cent; contract with blade 10 per cent.; falling objects 9 per cent.; abrasions 7 per cent.

#### Youth Opportunities Programme WA

The total amounts of money which have been spent in Scotland on the Manpower Services Commission's youth opportunities programme, in following table:

Financial Year	Expenditure on the Youth Opportunities Programme in Scotland £ million	Numbers of entrants
1978-79	7.7	23,600
1979-80	17.1	36,300
1980-81	31.1	49,300
1981-82	51.3	70,000

#### Teachers (Unemployment) WA

In March 1982, 1,646 unemployed people in Scotland were registered for employment as primary teachers and 1,115 for employment as secondary teachers.

#### V27 N147

##### Unemployment Statistics OA

The number of people registered as unemployed in the United Kingdom was 3,061,229. Exch. since the end of the war, Labour Governments have presided over a loss of almost 1½ million jobs, while to date, under Conservative Governments, there has been a small increase in the number of jobs, etc., etc.

##### Young Workers (Training) OA

The Govt. is satisfied that the support that our training proposals have received from employers, unions and others, and the arrangements of quality assurance proposed by the Manpower Services Commission, will ensure the success of the new scheme: Exch: etc. (Mr. Morrison): I certainly take this opportunity of congratulating employers, not least because they will be the sponsors of the 400,000-plus places that will be needed in September next year. I agree with my hon. Friend that certain Labour Members seem to be out of step with what the rest of the country thinks of this scheme, etc., etc.

##### Youth Opportunities Programme OA

How many young people entered the youth opportunities programme in 1981-82? The number is 553,000. How successful is YOP in getting young people into employment? A survey carried out last autumn showed that about 60 per cent of trainees went either into jobs or further training at the end of their period on YOP. Further improvements seem to be indicated by another survey, which is now being analysed, etc., etc.

##### Unemployment Statistics OA

June 1982, the rate of unemployment, seasonally adjusted and excluding school leavers, was 12.2 per cent. in the United Kingdom and 14.7 per cent. in the West Midlands region. The corresponding rates at May 1979 were 5.4 per cent. and 5.1 per cent respectively.

##### Long-term Unemployment OA

Mr Dormand asked the Secretary of State for Employment what is the number of long-term unemployed at the latest available date.

Mr. Tebbit: At 15 April, the number of people registered as unemployed for over 52 weeks in the United Kingdom was 994,395, etc., etc: exch.

##### Flexible Retirement OA

If the retirement age for men were reduced to 60 it would result in about another 420,000 jobs, but it would cost £2,500 million, and the Government have regard to resources.

##### Disablement (Prohibition of Unjustifiable Discrimination) D

Mr. Jack Ashley presented a Bill to provide that discrimination of an unjustifiable nature against disabled people shall be illegal: D.IR. (Bill 160)

##### Unemployment Statistics WA

On 15 April 1982, 63,673 persons aged under 25 years were unemployed compared with 53,261 12 months earlier, in Wales.

##### Yorkshire and Humberside (Community Enterprise Programme) WA

The allocation of community enterprise programme places within the Yorkshire and Humberside region for 1982-83 is 2,800

Bradford	650
Hull	530
Leeds	670
Sheffield	950

##### Youth Training Scheme WA

The new youth training scheme must provide trainees with high quality training which is commercially and industrially relevant, and must guarantee offers of training to every unemployed 16-year old school leaver: etc.

What progress is the Manpower Services Commission plans to provide 100,000 places on year-long high-quality youth opportunities programme courses during the 1982-83 financial year. These schemes are being developed to lead into the introduction of the youth training scheme in 1983.

**Merseyside (18-year-olds) WA**

At 10 June 1982 the numbers of registered unemployed young people aged 18 years and under who had not entered employment since completing full-time education, as follows:

	Number
North West	38,549
Merseyside special development area	13,095
Kirkby employment office area	1,012
Ormskirk travel-to-work area	572

**Young Persons (Job Statistics) WA**

The following table shows the number of young people on youth opportunities programme schemes and in community industry for each region at the end of April 1982:

	Number of Young people on YOP	Young people in CI
London	5,400	550
Midlands	35,100	700
Northern	17,000	1,000
North West	34,800	1,100
Scotland	26,100	1,500
South East	16,200	100
South West	13,600	200
Wales	12,100	850
Yorkshire and Humberside	19,700	1,100

On 15 April, the following numbers of young people under 18 were registered as unemployed:

	Young people under 18 registered as unemployed
London	19,610
Midlands	31,172
Northern	12,646
North West	27,500
Scotland	25,516
South East	28,299
South West	10,871
Wales	10,597
Yorkshire and Humberside	19,853

As at 7 May 1982 there were some 88,000 unfilled YOP places in Great Britain for immediate occupation.

**Unemployed Statistics and Training Measures WA**

At 10 June 1982 a total of 2,945,200 people were registered as unemployed in Great Britain. At the end of May 486,000 people were being supported under the Government's employment and training measures.

**Young People (Skill Training) WA**

From September 1983 the youth training scheme will provide up to 460,000 young people with a one year integrated course including training, further education and work experience which will provide a foundation for the long-term skill training that many of them will subsequently go on to undertake, etc., etc.

**Young Persons (Wages) WA**

Minimum wage rates set in some wages orders inhibit job opportunities for young people by obliging them to pay wages which exceed the limits for young workers scheme payments. All members of wages councils have been asked to take account of the young workers scheme when they are considering rates for young people.

**Unemployment (International Statistics) WA**

45 Mr Straw asked the Secretary of State for Employment what are the latest figures he has for the percentage rate of unemployment in the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, Japan, the United States of America and Canada. Mr Alison: The latest available seasonally adjusted standardised unemployment rates estimated by the OECD are:

	Unemployment as percentage of total labour force
United Kingdom	(May) 12.7
France	(May) 8.5
Germany	(April) 5.9
Italy	(January) 9.1
Japan	(April) 2.4
United States of America	(May) 9.3
Canada	(May) 10.1

**Disabled Persons (Community Enterprise Programme) WA**

It is estimated that approximately 4 per cent. of participants on the programme are registered disabled persons.

**Unemployment (Consett) WA Figures & Percentage, etc. (Table)**

Comprehensive information is not available, but women account for about half of those covered by the youth opportunities programme, about 17 per cent. by the community enterprise programme and 8 per cent. by the job release scheme.

**Expenditure WA**

Figures showing education expenditure in the United Kingdom as a proportion of gross national product are only readily available from 1950-51:

Year	per cent.
1950-51	2.7
1960-61	3.6
1980-81	5.5

**Military Corrective Training Centre WA**

Completion of phase 1 of the rebuild of the Joint Services Corrective Training Centre at Colchester is now expected earlier than previously forecast. It is hoped to complete this phase by the end of 1985.

**Children in Care**

The number of children in care in England on 31 March 1980, who are accommodated in community homes provided or controlled by local authorities was 25,900. This number excludes children accommodated in assisted community homes. The average weekly cost to local authorities for each child in 1979-80 was £136. This figure includes running costs and capital charges before deduction of parental contributions and excludes associated administrative and field social work costs. Children who are placed by local authorities in privately run homes cannot be separately identified.

**Unemploy Statistics WA**

Between May 1979 and June 1982 unemployment in the Edinburgh travel-to-work area increased by 108.6 per cent.

**V27 N148****World Cup (Arrests) OA**

Between 13 June and 6 July, 1982 111 United Kingdom citizens were arrested in Spain. All but 11 were released shortly afterwards exch: etc.

**National Finance WA**

Figures for family income, several categories (see 'Data' this issue!)

**Growth Rates WA**

Mr. Bruce-Gardyne: Following is the information on Gross Domestic Product at Constant Market Prices Average Annual Rates of Growth 1958-80

	Percentage
United Kingdom	2.5
France	4.7
West Germany	4.1
Italy	4.6
Netherlands	4.3
Belgium	4.1

**Comprehensive Schools WA**

Figures for split-site comprehensives in Wales (53) and junior/senior depts. split (47).

**Population Statistics WA**

Mr. Dewar asked the Secretary of State for Scotland, how many young people there are in Scotland in the following age groups (a) 15 to 19 (b) 20 to 24 and (c) 25 to 29 years; and if he will list the projected numbers in the groups for the years 1986, 1991 and 1996. Figures given in table (copy service).

**Communal Establishments WA**

At the 1981 census there were approximately 15,000 residents in communal establishments who were in the age range 16 to 24 and 8,000 in the age range 25 to 34, in Scotland.

**(Scotland) Persons in Care WA**

Mr. John MacKay: At 31 March 1980 the number of young people aged 15 and over but below the age of 18 who were in care or under supervision of local authorities, other than in Glasgow for which this information is not available centrally, was 4,111. Young people over 18 are not normally in the care of local authorities.

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

The 1981 European Community labour force survey show that in Great Britain in the second quarter of 1981 2.3 million persons of working age who were not in full-time education were out of employment and seeking work. A further 6 million such persons, the majority of whom were housewives, were neither in employment nor seeking work. Of these 8.3 million, the survey showed 1.8 million persons to be receiving unemployment benefit or supplementary benefits associated with being registered as unemployed.

The numbers registered as unemployed are analysed by age in January, April, July and October. The following table gives the information for the age range under 21:

	Number	Percentage change
United Kingdom		
July 1979	411,163	+35.6
July 1980	557,333	+14.6
July 1981	638,644	
April 1981	408,697	+24.6
April 1982	509,313	

**Community Enterprise Programme WA**

In the year 1981-82, 83 per cent. of entrants to community enterprise programme schemes were made, 17 per cent. female.

**Benefits WA**

Figures in table for total expenditure on all social security benefits, and N.I. benefits 1979-1982.

**V27 149****School Milk OA**

Subsidised school milk is 'about' 1% of liquid milk sales and 1/2% of total milk production: exch.

**Urban Programme WA**

The total estimated value of new urban programme projects approved in 1982-83 and designed to benefit minority ethnic groups shows an increase of 162 per cent. over new projects approved in 1981-82. The size of the urban programme as a whole increased by 29 per cent. Table shows the approvals in 1982-83 for each inner city partnership and programme authority and for the traditional urban programme. Total figures for 1981-82 are also given, for the purposes of comparison.

**Child Minders WA**

How many child minders were registered with each area board on 30 April in 1979, 1980 1981 and 1982 in N. Ireland?

Details are as follows:

	1979	1980	1981	*1982
Norther board	453	493	567	630
Southern board	202	258	313	374
Eastern board	302	435	562	670
Western board	112	146	179	166

**Unemployment (Derbyshire) WA**

At 15 April 1982, 49.7 per cent of all unemployed males aged 55 years and over in the county of Derbyshire had been on the register for over 52 weeks.

**School Leavers WA**

The Government's plans imply that the recurrent cost of providing full-time education for a school leaver in 1983-84 will be between £1,600 and £2,000. The average Exchequer cost of providing a place for a school leaver on the youth training scheme is estimated to be approximately £2,500 per head per filled place in 1983-84 prices. It is not possible to provide a full estimate of the Exchequer cost per head of a school leaver who becomes unemployed in 1983-84. However, the rate of supplementary benefit entitlement of 16 and 17-year-olds for the year following November 1982 will be £15.80 per week for those living at home and £25.70 per week for those who are single householders.

**O Level Examinations WA**

Full tables of figures for (Wales) 12 most popular subjects at 'O' level for 1979, 80 & 81: (copy service).

**A Level Examinations WA**

Table shows 'A' level figures for Wales 1979, 80, 81: (copy service).

**Sixth Form Colleges WA**

In January 1981, there were 60,099 pupils in sixth form colleges in England. An additional 13,029 stu-



dents aged 16 to 18 years were enrolled on full-time and sandwich courses in tertiary colleges in November 1980.

**Invalid Care Allowance WA**

Invalid care allowance during 1982-83 will total about £7 million. This figure excludes child dependency additions which are not liable to tax. Information is not available on which to base a precise estimate of the cost of exempting the allowance from income tax; but the cost in a full year at 1982-83 levels would probably be less than £1 million.

**V27 N150**

**Copyright Act 1956 (Amendment) Bill D**

Debate on Lords amendments: references to video piracy, etc.

**Tobacco Products (Control of Advertising, Sponsorship and Sales Promotion) Bill D**

Moved, 2R: references Health Education, etc. (Mr. Pavitt)

The purpose of advertising is to increase sales. The *Financial Times* estimated that last year cigarette advertising cost about £100 million. That was made up of £40 million on press advertising, £20 million on poster advertising, £10 million on television - for pipe and cigar advertising - and £30 million on sponsorship and other advertising. Press and magazine expenditure was 74 per cent. higher during January to July 1980 compared with the same period in 1979. That is big money. When it comes to commercial profit and pressure, not only the tobacco companies but the advertising and promotion experts have an interest in the matter. The £100 million worth of advertising is part of the livelihood of advertising companies, etc., etc: exch. 6 pages (copy service) adj.

**Police Manpower WA**

The Home Department has sponsored research on the effect that the number of beat police officers has upon the level of crime and has available to it the results of a large number of studies, chiefly conducted in the United States. A review of research evaluating the effectiveness of various methods of policing, including beat policing, has been published as No. 67 in the Home Office research studies series under the title "Crime Control and the Police". No assessment can be made nationally of expenditure needed to ensure the success of any one policing method. We are supporting chief officers in their efforts to deploy their officers to maximum effect; but policing methods will necessarily vary according to local needs and circumstances.

**Voluntary Organisations (Funding) WA**

How much money was given by Northern Ireland Departments to voluntary organisations in each of the last four financial years for which figures are available; list those organisations in receipt of such funds table (copy-service).

**Drug Addiction WA**

The number of psychiatric hospital admissions for treatment of addiction to dependence on and poisoning by various drugs was as follows: in N. Ireland.

Year	Total
1977	56
1978	44
1979	40
1980	46

**Schoolchildren WA**

A number of studies and surveys of aspects of schoolchildren's health and nutrition is in progress or being prepared. These include a long-term study of schoolchildren's health and growth, a survey of their dental health, a survey of their smoking habits, and assessments of the effects of health education programmes in schools. A feasibility study for a survey of schoolchildren's dietary intake, including school meals, is in progress.

**Contraceptives WA**

The D.H.S.S. guidance on family planning and young people was revised in February 1981 and now emphasises that it would be most unusual to provide advice about contraception without parental consent for children under 16. It also recognises that the decision whether or not to prescribe contraception must be for the clinical judgment of the doctor. Health authorities are required to record the ages of people using the family planning services, including those provided by voluntary bodies or others on an agency basis.

**V27 N151**

**Unemployment (Derbyshire) WA**

The numbers of unemployed school leavers under 18 years of age in Derbyshire at May 1981 and May 1982 were 1,223 and 2,025 respectively. Unemployed (a) adults and (b) school leavers are available from each job vacancy (i) nationally and (ii) in the county of Derbyshire in table.

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

Figures by region in percentage and increase Table.

**European Community (Unemployment Statistics) WA**

Mr. Alison: The average unemployment rates are given in table.

**Unemployed Persons (West Midlands) WA**

The information for June 1982 and for June 1979, June 1980 and June 1981 is given in table

**School Parties (Travel Documents) WA**

The European collective passport agreement, to which the United Kingdom is a party, is not limited to countries of the European Economic Community. It provides for the collective documentation of children up to the age of 16 years who are nationals of the signatory State for travel between contracting States. The United Kingdom has made an additional declaration to include, subject to reciprocity, young refugees and stateless persons lawfully resident in this country. Children of other nationalities are expected to obtain documentation from their own authorities. Where this is unreasonably refused or, as in the case of Uganda, is subject to lengthy delay, the travel document section of the Home Office is prepared to consider sympathetically the issue of temporary travel documentation, providing reasonable notice is given.

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

Figures in table for West Midlands, Walsall, 1979-1981. (copy service).

**Apprentices WA**

Manpower Services Commission estimates that the number of apprentices recruited in 1979-80 was about 100,000 and in 1980-81 about 85,000. The commission currently estimates that the number recruited in 1981-82 is about 60,000; funds available to support up to 30,00 of those.

**Family Income**

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 of the 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).

**V27 N152**

**Job Creation D**

Mr. D. N. Campbell-Savours (Workington): introduced adj. debate: 6 pages: several references, youth, employment, etc. (copy service) adjourned.

**Community Health Councils OA**

The Govt. is considering the case for retaining community health councils in the longer term.

**Information Technology Centres WA**

Govt. hopes to announce details of the locations of information technology centres currently under negotiation in the autumn. Initial allocation of 30 centres is being extended to 100 in the course of this year. Many more potential sponsors have come forward than can be catered for in the present phase of the scheme.

**Disabled Persons (Telephones) WA**

Installations in Wales, table: (1979, 1,284 : 1981 847).

**Youth Opportunities Programme WA**

On 10 June 1982 total participants in projects under the youth opportunities scheme were as follows: in Wales

South Glamorgan	1,284
Mid Glamorgan	3,264
West Glamorgan	1,740
Gwent	2,262
Dyfed	991
Powys	317
Gwynedd	844
Clwyd	1,831

**Teachers WA**

About 2,000 students successfully completed teacher training courses at Scottish colleges of education at the end of the 1981-82 session. It is not possible at this stage to estimate how many of them will find teaching posts.

**Rickets WA**

How many cases of rickets occurred in 1979, 1980 and 1981 in each health board area in Scotland. Unable to provide this information at present because of industrial action in the NHS.

**Education Authorities (Expenditure) WA**

Net recurrent expenditure per pupil by local education authorities in the West Midlands in table:

**Metropolitan Police WA**

The Metropolitan Police completed a general review of all force training in November 1980. Courses for all ranks from sergeant to chief superintendent have now had their content on community relations increased. Further consideration is being given to similar in-service training for constables.

**Stop and Search WA**

Lord Scarman endorsed the recommendations made by the Royal Commission on criminal procedure concerning police powers of stop and search and safeguards on the use of these powers; and we accept that additional powers and safeguards are needed. (Govt).

**Police (Recruit Training) WA**

Lord Scarman's recommendations on police recruit training are being actively examined by the Police Training Council. Although changes in this training are being developed in some police forces expect the main improvements to take place when the council has finished this work.

**Police (Training Policy) WA**

The Police Training Council will be considering reports on the reviews covering all aspects of training at its next meeting.

**Police Policy WA**

Some of Lord Scarman's recommendations remain under consideration at national level. Policing policy in individual force areas is a matter for consultation between the chief constable and the police authority. They are fully aware of Lord Scarman's thinking.

**Racial Prejudice WA**

Has the Secretary of State yet decided whether to implement the recommendation of Lord Scarman that there should be a separate offence, under the police discipline code, or racial prejudice? (Ans). The matter remains under consideration.

**Religious Education WA**

Steps to ensure the inclusion of religious education in the proposed 17-plus certificate of pre-vocational education? (Ans). The Education Act 1944 already makes provision for religious instruction in all county and voluntary schools: its provision in further education is at the discretion of individual institutions.

**Assisted Places Scheme**

Dr. Boyson: The Supply Estimates presented to Parliament for 1982-83 include £9.4 million for the cost of the assisted places scheme in England.

**Girls (Science Education) WA**

The Government have accepted the recommendation in the Munn report (HMSO 1977) that all school pupils in S3 and S4 should study science as part of their course. It is the responsibility of education authorities and individual teachers to ensure that all pupils receive suitable advice when making their course choices.

**Glasgow WA**

Mr. Allan Stewart: A total of 377 projects are currently receiving support through the urban programme in Glasgow. No changes in MSC funding are proposed which would affect any of the services currently supported by both the MSC and the urban programme. (All items copy service)

**V27 N153**

**Opportunities for Volunteering Scheme WA**

The basic role of agents is to ensure that applications for grants under the scheme conform to relevant criteria, including financial limits. If they do conform, the agent will award the grant applied for, subject, of course, to the availability of funds. It is a condition of grant that the recipient accounts to the agent for the grant. Agents will be reporting regularly to the Department of grants made and committed from the funds allocated to them, and in due course will be submitting audited accounts relating to their function as agents.

**Young Persons (Board and Lodging Charges) WA**

Young people in care who are unemployed will generally be eligible for unemployment benefit or supplementary benefit. Those on youth opportunities programmes receive a training allowance. In both cases the young people receive sufficient to enable them to contribute towards their keep, and consider it appropriate that local authorities should ask them to do so. At present, local authorities have no power to require these young people to make a contribution and we intend to seek an early opportunity to legislate to provide such a power. This will bring the position into line with the power local authorities already have to require such a contribution from young people in care who are earning.

**Sixth Forms WA**

No information is available nationally on transfers between different types of schools for pupils aged 16 or over. The proportions of English school sixth formers in 1980-81 in each type of maintained school who entered the sixth form of their own or any other maintained or independent school were as follows:

Type of school for fifth formers

Percentage entering a sixth form

Comprehensive up to 16 years	18
Comprehensive up to 18 years	33
Grammar	69
Other maintained (excluding sixth form college)	15
All maintained	29

Employment WA

Number of men and the number of women in employment in Wales in May of each year from 1974 to 1982 in table:

Youth Opportunities Programme (Accidents) WA

In the period 1 July 1981 to 31 March 1982 there were 2,652 accidents reported on courses run under the youth opportunities programme. The numbers and nature of the physical injuries were:

Minor injuries	2,013
Fractures	453
Loss of part or whole finger, hand, toe or foot	32
Eye injury	34
Deaths	5
Others	115
	2,652

Gaming Machines WA

What would be the expected cost to the Exchequer of reducing the proposed duty on amusement with prizes machines from £300 to £200. (Ans). It is estimated that the cost in a full year would be of the order of £3 million.

V27 N154

Disabled Persons (North Staffordshire) WA

The numbers of registered disabled people unemployed at each of the jobcentres in North Staffordshire at 10 June 1982, the latest date for which figures are available, in table.

Citizens Band Radio WA

During the first four months of this year more than 960 persons were successfully prosecuted for installation or use of illegal citizens band radio. Similar information for May and June is not yet available.

Sixth Forms WA

The A-level pass rate was 76 per cent. for leavers in 1980-81 from English sixth form colleges and 75 per cent. for all other maintained school leavers in England.

V27 N155

Employment WA

Figures for numbers in employment Wales, in table.

Girls (Science Studies) WA

The D. E. S. has repeatedly called for equal curricular opportunities to be made available to boys and girls. Her Majesty's Inspectors' publication "Girls and Science" - HMSO 1980 - offers practical suggestions for schools. Last month Department and the Welsh Office published a consultative document entitled "Science Education in Schools" which sets out the objective of providing a broad science programme for all pupils and emphasises the need for genuinely equal curricular opportunities in science for boys and girls.

Sex Education

Since the beginning of this year over 130 such letters on Sex Education have been received in the Department. 44 correspondents said that they were writing as parents, and six as teachers; but the majority did not indicate their status.

Expenditure WA

How much has been spent per head of the population on education in each of the past five years. Available information as follows:

Financial Year	Cost per head of the population	£
1976-77		139
1977-78		146
1978-79		161
1979-80		185
1980-81		226

One-parent Families WA

Recommendations 131, 183, 184, 211 and 214 to 220 relate to the work of the Department, but these fall largely to be dealt with by local education authorities, and by schools and teachers.

Unemployed Young Persons WA

Wolverhampton young unemployed, no job since leaving school; figures.

Corporal Punishment (Cost of Alternatives) WA

See State Education; lines, detentions and exclusions from school are used as sanctions where corporal punishment has been abolished; costs cannot be estimated.

Fees and Maintenance Grants WA

Rates of maintenance under Mandatory Awards regulations to undergraduates; comprehensive figures in tables.

Lone parents (income) WA

Net weekly spending power of a lone parent with 2 children receiving ordinary rate allowance at 2 different earnings levels; table also for same at long term rate and 2 different earnings levels; other tables show earnings - benefit different levels on gross earnings required; very comprehensive analysis 2 pages and tables.

V28 N156

Copyright OA

British Phonographic Industry Ltd., estimates that in 1981, 22 per cent of the music that was recorded privately on to blank tape resulted in lost sales to the record industry and from this it draws the conclusion that the industry lost sales with a total retail value of £305 million. There is no way of knowing exactly how many sales are lost as a result of home taping: etc. exch.

Copyright

Audio piracy is in fact very low in the United Kingdom. Industry figures put it at under 5 per cent. of the market, due to the effective application of the Copyright Act 1956 by the record industry. However, the Government are very concerned at the growth of video piracy.

Video Recording (Copyright) WA

In so far as is possible to identify copyright-infringing third parties, it is, under existing contract law, open to producers and distributors of pre-recorded video cassettes and video discs to impose restraints upon wholesalers as to the supply of their copyright material to those parties, etc.; exch.

One-parent Families WA

The recommendations of the Finer committee on one-parent families which relate to the work of the Home Dept. are: those numbered 1,2,41,52,53 and 225 in the report. With one exception the proposed reforms have now been given effect in the magistrates' domestic jurisdiction. Since the Finer report was published, the number of places for mothers and babies in prisons has been increased. We are currently reviewing our policy on mothers and babies, including the question of the maximum age up to which it is appropriate to accommodate young children in prison. We are devising a new system of the collection of statistics about magistrates' domestic court work.

Voluntary Services Unit (Grants) WA

During the financial year 1981-82 the VSU dealt with 143 new applications for grant. Of these, 123 were refused or referred elsewhere. In the remaining 20 cases grants were approved, although the level of grant approved in each case was sometimes lower than that which had been sought. In the case of three of the successful applications, payments were not due to start until the financial year 1982-83. In addition, grants continued to be paid in 1981-82 to a further 43 voluntary bodies which had been aided in previous years.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Mr. David Young asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many people over 50 years of age in the Bolton travel-to-work area are out of work; how this compares with the same period in 1979; and what are the comparable figures for these dated for the North West and Great Britain? Figs. in table.

One-parent Families WA

The report of the Finer committee made six recommendations which are the responsibility of the Department of Employment. These are:

178
181
182
185
186
187

These have all been implemented. In addition, recommendation 179 and 180 touch on the work of the Department.

Special Employment Programmes WA

The number of unemployed participating in special employment programmes, (b) (a) expressed as a percentage of the registered unemployed, (c) (a) categorised by age group, (d) the average length of stay on each programme for each year and (e) the average cost per annum for each special programme and module thereof, for each year: etc. in table.

Cumbria WA

Workington & Cumbria unemployment figures.

Workington WA

Workington jobcentre placed 155 people - 100 males and 55 females - in the four-week period ending 4 June 1982, the latest for which statistics are available.

Truancy WA

Truancy in Northern Ireland was the subject of a major survey carried out in 1977 by the Department of Finance social research group on behalf of the Department of Education. A follow-up survey is nearing completion and will be made available in due course.

One-parent Families WA

The estimated cost of providing a pension to widowed fathers equivalent to widowed mother's allowance would be about 110 million, at 1981-82 benefit levels. The Government have no specific long-term plans to link provisions for widowers with that for widows.

Infant Mortality Rate WA

What was the infant mortality rate (a) nationally and (b) in East Anglia for each of the last five years?

Year	England and Wales	East Anglia
1976	14.3	11.7
1977	13.8	11.2
1978	13.2	10.8
1979	12.8	12.6
1980	12.0	10.4

Sex Education

It is for the schools themselves to determine their approach to the teaching of individual subjects, including sex education, and the Government do not specify in detail what the schools should teach. (All items copy service).

V28 N157

Teacher Education OA

Exchange around policy.

Student Loans WA

Exchange on policy: no Govt. statement yet.

Industrial Training D

Mr. Harold Walker moved address to annual revocation of Industrial Training Boards: exchanges at length: 8 pages: negative.

Elderly Persons (Muggings and Burglaries) WA

Information on the characteristics of victims of serious offences recorded by the police in England and Wales is not collected centrally. The information readily available relates to offences of robbery - which include offences referred to as "mugging" - recorded in the Metropolitan Police district. In 1981, of the 10,971 victims of such recorded offences, 9,793 were aged up to 60, 1, 154 were aged 61 or over and the ages of 24 were unknown.

Special Employment Programmes WA

It is not possible to provide forecasts of the total numbers of people expected to participate in all special measures in 1983-84 or the total cost of the measures during the same financial year. It is also not possible to provide information on the average length of stay or the expected level of unemployment during 1982-83 or 1983-84. The following table gives the cost of the measures for the financial years 1977 to 1981 and the estimates for the year 1981-82. Figures in table.

Free School Meals WA

N. Ireland; figures as in table:

School type	Pupils	Percentage receiving free meals
Primary	179,440	23.87
Secondary Intermediate	96,932	24.15
Grammar	55,105	6.93
Institutes of Further Education	10,120	12.58

16 to 19-Year-Olds WA

In making the provision set out in this year's public expenditure White Paper the Government allowed for a substantial increase in the numbers of 16 to 19-year-olds in full-time education.

### Youth Training Scheme

Adequate financial resources can be made available through the Manpower Services Commission to enable colleges of further education to contribute to these schemes, under arrangements agreed with the local authorities. In general, the education system has available, or can find, staff accommodation and other resources of the necessary scale, nature and quality. The Department is in close dialogue with the MSC and the local authority associations, and hopes shortly to issue a circular.

### School Closures

Approved proposals for the closure of 117 primary, first and infants' schools.

### 11 to 16 Years Schools

Since May 1979 approval has been given to five schemes together involving statutory proposals to change the age range of 26 11-18 and four 13-18 comprehensive schools to 11-16. The Department's circular 4/82 sets out certain policies into account when considering such proposals.

### 14 to 15-Year-Olds (Training) WA

The Government believe that although it is not the schools' primary role to provide vocational training for specific jobs, there is a strong case for a greater practical slant in the last years of compulsory education. Announced a programme of development projects which should enable a number of local education authorities to provide practical and realistic courses for lower-attaining 14 and 15-year-olds.

### Unemployment Statistics (Edinburgh) WA

How many people were unemployed in the Edinburgh travel-to-work area in July 1982, expressed numerically and as a percentage; and what were the corresponding figures for males and females, respectively? Give in table.

## V28 N158

### One-parent Families WA

**The Solicitor-General:** The recommendations - numbered as in pages 495-498 and 509-510 of the *Finer Committee's* report - which relate to the work of the Lord Chancellor's Department are: 26-40, 42-51, 134-135, 137-141. Recommendations numbers 134 and 135 have been implemented; 26-40 and 42-51 on the establishment of family courts are under consideration; and 137 has been rejected. In its Third Report on Family Property (1978; Law Com. No. 86) the Law Commission advised that it was not necessary to implement recommendation number 137 since the purpose of that recommendation can be achieved by the exercise of the court's powers under section 24 of the Matrimonial Causes Act 1973. Recommendation number 141 is not a matter for the Government, but since 1974 more attention has been paid to all aspects of matrimonial law, including questions or rights in the matrimonial home, in the training of prospective solicitors and barristers, and the College of Law and other bodies also arrange courses on matrimonial law for qualified solicitors and their staff.

### Unification Church WA

Attempts to inquire into the charitable status either of the church or of the two trusts related to the church which have been registered as charities would require the investigation of matters which are the subject of continuing litigation since an appeal has been entered against the dismissal of the libel action brought by Mr. Dennis Orme against the *Daily Mail*. It would therefore be inappropriate as this juncture to comment further.

### School Population WA

Figures showing by socio-economic group what proportion of young people stay on at school after the school leaving age.

*Persons in England and Wales by socio-economic group of father (1981)*

Age	Professional (1)	Intermediate and junior non-manual (2)	Skilled manual/own account non- professional/semi skilled manual and personal service/ unskilled manual (3)	Approximate
				Total percentage (4)
18-24 with GCE				100
A-level qual.	50	20	30	100
All persons	25	15	65	100

### Pregnancy WA

In England and Wales in 1979, the latest year for which this calculation has been done, some 8,100 girls under the age of 16 became pregnant. This includes the proportion of births and abortions to girls aged 16 which were likely to be the result of conceptions occurring before the xteenth birthday. Last year issued revised guidance to health authorities on the provision of contraceptive advice to children under 16 which emphasised the desirability of making separate informal arrangements at family planning clinics for young people. Also stressed the importance of parental responsibility in these matters.

### Child Support Benefits

The rates of child support - child benefit and child dependency additions - in November 1979 and November 1981 are as follows together with the cash and percentage increases in these rates. During the same period, there was an increase of 29.1 per cent, in the retail price index.

#### Short-term benefits

November 1979 £5.70

November 1981 £6.05 - increase of £0.35 or 6.1 per cent.

#### Long-term benefits

November 1979 £11.10

November 1981 £12.95 increase of £1.85 or 16.7 per cent.

Between November 1979 and November 1981 supplementary benefit additions for children increased by between 26.4 per cent. and 27.1 per cent. The amount of this increase was affected by the two per cent. shortfall in the November 1981 uprating which is to be made good in November 1982. Copy service all items.

## V28 N159

### Solvent Abuse OA

Secretary of State for Social Services intends to consult statutory and voluntary agencies about ways of strengthening and supporting their work on solvent abuse. These will include the local statutory bodies for which we are responsible.

### Truancy (Juvenile Crime) OA

Research has clearly established that truancy and delinquency are significantly related. The aim must, of course, be to reduce both. The Department is funding research into a truancy project to test the effectiveness of one means of enforcing school attendance. The Education Act 1944 provides a maximum penalty of £200 on the first and second convictions for failing to ensure that a child attends school regularly.

### Robberies OA

In 1981 about 20,000 offences of robbery, which entails either the use or the threat of violence, were recorded by the police in England and Wales. This is about 11,000 offences more than were recorded in 1972 and is equivalent to an average annual recorded increase over this period of about 10 per cent. The best single deterrent to a potential robber is having plenty of policemen on the beat. There are now 8,800 more police officers in the service in England and Wales.

### Video Cassettes OA

The figures for the Metropolitan Police district for 1982 will identify separately prosecutions relating

to video cassettes. No plans to extend such recording to other police forces in England and Wales. We do not think that it is necessary to institute a formal review of the need for additional legislation in respect of video cassettes. We shall continue to keep the operation of the law under review in the light, among other matters, of the consideration which is currently being given to the introduction of a classification system.

### Shoplifting (Acquittals) OA

In 1980, the latest year for which figures are available, about 2,700 males and 3,000 females were acquitted of shoplifting charges in England and Wales, exchange.

### Departmental Staff WA

(Education and Science) How many civil servants are employed by Department in each functional job category; in each such category, how many are of each rank; and for each rank, what are the maximum and minimum pay scales. The numbers of civil servants, by grade and functional category, employed on 1 April 1982, are given in table.

### Teachers WA

Projections of vacancies for primary teachers over the next decade were in the advice on the planning of initial teacher training recently submitted by the advisory committee on the supply and education of teachers. The relevant figures in table.

### Under-fives WA

The sums spent, the number of projects covered, the number of staff employed and the number of children involved in under-five education by local authorities in each of the last three years - in table.

### Crime Reduction Measures WA

Fewer homicides and sexual offences were recorded in 1981 than in 1980. Govt. have taken or announced measures to increase the strength, powers and effectiveness of the police, and to enhance the ability of the courts to deal effectively with offenders; and we are actively encouraging official agencies, voluntary groups and individuals to use their influence to reduce all crime.

### Community Policing

Inspectorate of Constabulary keeps in close touch with developments in all spheres of policing; and officials keep note of new policing schemes which are reported to them on a regular basis. etc. exch.

### Police Officers (School Visits) WA

Mr. Greenway asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will discuss with chief constables of police the possibility of introducing a national scheme for facilitating visits to schools by police officers on request to talk to pupils about the work of the police. (Ans.) No. Forces throughout England and Wales already operate local schemes for police officers to talk to pupils about the work of the police on a regular basis.

### Juvenile and Young Adult Offenders WA

(Home Department) satisfied with the present methods of dealing with juvenile and young adult offenders? The measures we consider necessary to improve the present methods of dealing with young offenders are set out in the Criminal Justice Bill, which the House has passed.

### Immediate Response Units WA

Any of the immediate response units of the Metropolitan Police have been deployed outside their own districts on any incidents of spontaneous public disorder since 20 April '82? There has been no incident of the order of that in Notting Hill on 20 April since that date on the Metropolitan Police district. There is no central record of every occasion on which immediate response units have been deployed outside their own districts, and details of that deployment could be obtained only at disproportionate cost.

### Football Grounds (Police Cover) WA

Mr. Mayhew: It is for the chief officer of police to decide in the light of all the circumstances, including other demands upon his resources, how many officers should be deployed inside the ground at football matches in his area. Police authorities, who are responsible for determining the charges, these should reflect the full economic cost of providing the service, reviewing the position in the Metropolitan, in the light of the information available from other forces in England and Wales.

### 16 to 18-year-olds WA

Mr. Nicholas Winterton asked the Secretary of State for Social Services, what estimates are available of the number of 16 to 18-year-olds there will be in the United Kingdom?

Year	United Kingdom thousands
1991	2,223
1992	2,111
1993	2,019
1994	1,967
1995	1,997
1996	2,081
1997	2,161
1998	2,208
1999	2,254
2000	2,318

figures also for Cheshire

### One-parent Families WA

The position on recommendations 128-130 of the *Finer* report which relate to the work of the Inland Revenue is as follows:

128 - The additional personal allowance was increased in 1975 to give single-parent families the same aggregate tax allowances as a married man with children.

129 - Tax offices are under standing instructions to give priority to claims for repayment of tax.

130 - The Inland Revenue have issued a special tax leaflet for lone parents: "Income Tax and One Parent Families". A further leaflet on "Income Tax - Separation and Divorce" is also relevant.

### Children's Panel (Orkney) WA

Not to give consent to the dismissal of the reporter to the children's panel. This decision was conveyed at the same time to Orkney Islands council. Copy service all items.

### Youth Unemployment (Scotland) D

Mr. Norman Hogg (Dunbartonshire, East): Youth unemployment is one of the most tragic consequences of the Government's failure to manage the Scottish economy. Factory after factory in Scotland has closed its doors, whole industries have vanished, and that has brought in its wake a crisis for young people: etc. debate: 4 pages: adj.

### Handicapped Pupils WA

The total number of handicapped Welsh pupils at January 1981 is estimated to have been a little over 20,000. Of these, 27 per cent. were being educated in special schools or units, 36 per cent. were in special classes in primary and secondary schools and 35 per cent. were in ordinary classes in primary and secondary schools. The comparable figures for January 1978 were 33 per cent., 30 per cent. and 34 per cent. The figures show no trend towards the integration of handicapped children into ordinary classes, but they do show a trend towards the integration of handicapped children into ordinary schools in that 71 per cent. of handicapped children were being educated in ordinary schools - special and ordinary classes - in 1981 compared with 64 per cent. in 1978: exch. figures in table.

### Teachers WA

How many full-time teachers or full-time equivalents were employed in 1981 in Wales in (a) maintained primary schools, (b) maintained secondary schools, (c) maintained nursery schools, (d) maintained special schools and (e) independent schools.

*Teachers employed in Wales: January 1981 Full-time equivalents*

Maintained Schools	Thousands
Nursery	0.16
Primary	13.76
Secondary	15.03
Special	0.77
All maintained schools	29.73
Independent schools	1.05

**Teachers WA**

In January 1982 local education authorities in England employed 420,000 schoolteachers. The expenditure plans which the Government published last March (Cmnd. 8494) assumed that in January 1983 the corresponding figure would be 405,000, no firm information about the intentions of the local authority employers, but if they continue to reduce teacher numbers at a rate similar to that of the last two years, the actual number of teachers employed in England for the next academic year will be around 410,000.

**Remedial Teaching Staff WA**

(Scotland). The number of teachers - expressed in full-time equivalents - principally engaged in remedial education in education authority primary schools in session 1980-81 was 898.5. Comparable information for secondary schools is not available.

**Youth Employment Schemes WA**

Information on the number of young people participating in the youth opportunities programme is maintained on an education authority basis and figures for the areas requested could only be provided at disproportionate cost. However, the attached table gives estimates of the numbers of young people on the youth opportunities programme in the area covered by the Dumbarton district of Strathclyde region, of which Bearsden, Cumbernauld and Kirkintilloch form part, in June of 1981 and 1982. Information for earlier periods is only available for the combined Dumbarton and Argyll Divisions.

*Estimated numbers of young people on the Youth Opportunities Programme in Strathclyde regional council*

	Dumbarton and Argyll Division	Dumbarton Division
June 1979	1,070	-
June 1980	1,180	-
June 1981	-	1,880
June 1982	-	2,400

**V28 N161**

**Adult Education WA**

What percentage of the education budget was spent on adult education in 1979, 1980 and 1981?

	per cent
1979-80	0.73
1980-81	0.66
1981-82*	0.65

**Educational Maintenance Allowances WA**

Details of educational maintenance allowances per 2.A. - in table.

**Young Persons WA**

**Mr. Peter Morrison:** At April 1982, the latest date for which the quarterly age analysis is available, there were 29,036 young people under 20 years of age registered as unemployed in the Greater Manchester metropolitan county compared with 9,711 at April 1979. The corresponding figures for the North-West region were 73,868 at April 1982 and 32,944 at April 1979. Easter school leavers are included in the figures for April 1982 but not for April 1979. The numbers of young people on Government schemes are shown in table.

**Long Term Unemployment WA**

**Mr. Alison:** My right hon. Friend has asked the Manpower Services Commission to consider details for the new initiative announced. The numbers registered as unemployed are analysed by duration of unemployment for January, April, July and October. At April 1979 the number of people registered as unemployed for over 52 weeks in the United Kingdom was 366,711. The corresponding figure at April 1982 was 994,395. The information for July 1982 is not yet available.

**One-Parent Families WA**

**Mr. Newton** (*pursuant to his reply*, 16 July 1982, vol 27, c. 489-90): Since July 1979 there has been clear change of status in two of the Finer committee's recommendations which relate to the work of the Department. Recommendation 120 was implemented as part of the reform of the supplementary benefit scheme in November 1980 in that the qualifying period for the long-term scale rate was reduced from two years to one for all eligible beneficiaries including lone parents. Recommendation 127, that maternity grant should be paid without contribution conditions, was implemented from 4 July 1982. In addition, recommendation 208, which was previously under consideration, has been agreed in principle. Local authority associations are devising a set of ground rules with a view to rationalising the charges for day care on a national basis. Copy service all items.

**V28 N162**

**Skelmersdale New Town D**

**Mr. M. McGuire** (Incc.) moved adj. debate on unemployment, 3 pages - youth references: adj.

**Adventure Training Scheme OA**

Young people so far taking part is 2,295: exch.

**Adult Education D**

**Mr. Frank Haynes** (Ashfield): present a Bill to require all local education authorities to provide adult education for persons registered as unemployed; and for connected purposes: IR. 1 page

**Unemployment D**

**Mr. Eric G. Varley** (Chesterfield): moved censure on Govts. policies: many youth references: 30 pages: defeated in acmm.

**Police Recruitment (Ethnic Minority) WA**

**Mr. Wheeler** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he will make a statement on ethnic minority recruitment to the police.

A study group was set up in March in response to Lord Scarman's recommendation that an urgent study should be made of ways of improving ethnic minority recruitment to the police. The study group has made detailed recommendations designed to increase the number of black and Asian applicants for appointment to the police service and the special constabulary and to ensure that the selection procedures do not present disproportionate obstacles to such candidates. They do not recommend changes in the entry qualifications but they identify positive steps which can be taken by forces to attract suitably qualified applicants from the minority communities and to help those who narrowly fail to meet the entry standards.

**Unemployment Statistics WA**

Unemployment figures for each county in England categorised by sex, age and duration of employment in April 1979, together with the rate of change in each of the figures between April 1979 and April 1982. Ans: The information could be provided only at disproportionate cost. Unemployment

figures for (a) the Bury travel-to-work area, (b) the north-west region, (c) the south-east region and (d) the United Kingdom based on quarterly estimates since 2 March 1979: figures in table.

**Child Benefit WA**

What percentage of claimants of child benefit in Scotland have opted for weekly payment. Approximately 62%.

**Community Industry Projects WA**

On 10 June 1982, a total of 99 young people were engaged in community industry projects in Leicestershire.

**Children (Immunisation Leaflet) WA**

A total of 2.25 million of the original leaflet were printed and distributed between 1977 and August 1981, when a new supplementary leaflet was produced. From August 1981 to date a further 1.2 million of the two leaflets were printed, of which 800,000 have been distributed so far, mainly through area health authorities. Individual health authorities and health centres make their own arrangements for distributing the leaflets to parents.

**Pupil-Teacher Ratio WA**

The pupil-teacher ratio for schools in East Belfast for the 1980-81 school year is 17.8: comparable figures for each education and library board area a given in table.

**Clubs (Grants) WA**

**Mr. Scott** The total grants paid in the past five years by the Department of Education and the Sports Council for Northern Ireland to voluntary sports clubs with restricted membership to promote sporting and recreational activities, is

Year	Department of Education £	Sports Council £
1977-78	19,564	1,307
1978-79	117,353	141
1979-80	99,959	1,411
1980-81	114,161	1,269
1981-82	112,835	1,676

**V28 N163**

**Unemployed Persons WA**

Details announced yesterday of a new job-splitting scheme to provide more part-time jobs and of the community programme for the long-term unemployed. Also announced a further two enterprise zones for Scotland, in addition to the measures to assist industry announced earlier in the Budget.

**Vandalism WA**

How many charges of vandalism have been brought by the Crown Office over the past 12 months in Scotland? The statistics on court proceedings for the past 12 months have not yet been processed, however, in 1981 41,959 contraventions of section 78 of the 1980 Act were made known to the police. Of those, 8,610 were cleared up in that one or more persons were apprehended, warned, cited or traced for the offence. exch: It is interesting that groups such as the Scottish Legal Action Group have now recognised the importance of demonstrating to offenders exactly what they have done. It is well worth having the crime of vandalism on the statute book: etc. etc.

**Mr. Dewar** The Solicitor-General is laughing at his own reply. Does he really maintain that position? Surely the change is cosmetic. All the offences would have been recorded as breaches of the peace and would have been prosecuted in exactly the same way. It is brass-necked to suggest that the provision represents some contribution to better government and law enforcement in Scotland. etc. etc. 47,000 incidences of vandalism in Scotland. People should be charged with that offence so that they, the courts and the public know exactly what they have been engaging in. etc. etc.

**Fee-paying Schools (Fatherless Children) WA**

Boarding school allowance is paid to assist Service men with the cost of boarding education if they choose this means to preserve the continuity of their children's education in the face of the frequent family moves inherent in service life. Normally the allowance is paid for one term after a Service man dies or is invalided from the Service. The way in which allowances for the children of men killed in the South Atlantic should be treated is being reviewed.

**School Meals WA**

The Education Act 1980 gave greater discretion to local authorities over charges and provision for school meals. By the end of 1982-83, local authorities will have saved about £350 million compared with spending each year at the 1979-80 level adjusted for inflation.

**Primary and Secondary Schools WA**

In the period May 1980 to June 1982, local education authorities sought directions in 45 school attendance order cases. All these related to secondary schools. In 10 cases, the school directed to be named in the order was that selected by the parent. exch. on ethnic minorities and curriculum: etc.

**Educational Qualifications WA**

What percentage of Welsh pupils left school in 1980 with no GCE or CSE qualifications. Ans: 25 per cent.

**Pupil-Teacher Ratio WA**

Children in primary schools and in secondary schools in Wales are being taught in classes containing more than 31 pupils? - table.

**Redundancies WA**

Redundancies in Wales notified in March; 1978-79, 1979-80 and 1980-81 - table.

**Under-age Drinking WA**

In England and Wales in 1980, 3,954 persons were found guilty of offences of buying or consuming intoxicating liquor in licensed premises when under 18; the corresponding numbers were 4,091 in 1979 and 3,664 in 1978. Information for 1981 is not yet available.

**Crime Statistics WA**

Information for Norfolk police force area - in table.

**Law and Order (Brixton) WA**

**Mr. Proctor** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he is satisfied with the provision for the maintenance of law and order in the Brixton area of London; and if he will make a statement. Ans: The deployment of available resources to particular areas is a matter of the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis. (Mr. Proctor) how many persons were arrested for assaults on police officers on duty in the Brixton area in each of the last six months; if he will give a breakdown of these figures in terms of the ethnic appearance of the persons arrested; and if he will make a statement. etc. etc. Ans: We understand from the Commissioner that at approximately 4.45 pm on 20 July police officers in a patrol van saw a crowd of some 200 men running along Raiton Road, Brixton. A number, estimated at 60, were carrying sticks and other weapons and appeared to be having a running battle, fighting among themselves. The crowd stopped, and ran back down the road, continuing their fighting. Mobile units of officers were brought into the area but were not required to intervene as the fighting ended. etc. etc. exch. tables of police damage, etc. 2 pages.

**Child Benefit WA**

The real value of child benefit has been maintained since the November 1980 uprating. If the November 1980 uprating had maintained the April 1979 value of the benefit, it is estimated that total expenditure on child benefit in the fiscal years 1980-81 to 1982-83 inclusive would have been £10,045 million instead of £10,275 million. Offsetting savings on other social security benefits would have amounted to about £130 million.

**V28 N164**

**Museum of Childhood D**

**Mr. Ian Mikardo** (Bethnal Green and Bow): raised in adj. debate the matter of the threatened closure: general references: 3 pages: adj.

#### Assisted Places Scheme WA

Over 4,200 pupils took up assisted places in 1981-82 and recruitment for the coming school year is nearing completion. There is no provision for local authorities to apply for assisted places; parents deal directly with the schools concerned.

#### Teachers (Free Meals) WA

Teachers undertaking mid-day supervision are entitled, as part of their conditions of service, to receive a free meal. The October 1981 census of school meals showed that all local education authorities in England were making such provision for some teachers at an estimated annual cost of about £28 million.

#### Student Grants WA

Estimate how much the mandatory student grant would be reduced if parental contribution were no longer taken into account and all students under equal living conditions shared equally the total amounts of money now distributed. Ans: In the academic year 1980-81, the latest for which figures are available, a calculation on the basis suggested would have resulted in reductions, as compared with the current maximum rates, of £340 for students living in London, £285 for students living elsewhere, and £225 for students living in the parental home.

#### Unemployment Statistics WA

Rate of increase between April 1979 and April 1982 in the number of persons registered as unemployed for more than 52 weeks for (i) Scotland and (ii) each district in Scotland, in table.

#### Teachers (Duties) WA

According to information supplied by teachers themselves at September 1980 - teachers in education authority and grant-aided primary schools spent on average about 3½ hours per week on non-teaching duties, including preparation and correction; the figure in secondary schools was about 6¼ hours. The corresponding figures for 1975 were about 3½ hours and 6 hours, respectively, all items copy service.

#### Unemployment Statistics WA

Rate of increase between April 1979 and April 1982 in the number of persons registered as unemployed for more than 52 weeks for (i) Wales and (ii) each county in Wales, in table.

#### School Admissions (Paternal Choice) WA

Under section 6 of the Education Act 1980, every local education authority has to make arrangements whereby parents of children in their area may express preferences as to the schools their children are to attend. So that the choice is informed, section 8 of the Act requires certain relevant information to be published - Full ministerial statement.

#### Unemployment Statistics WA

Dr. Roger Thomas asked the Secretary of State (Employment) what was the rate of increase between April 1979 and April 1982 in the number of persons registered as unemployed for more than 52 weeks for (i) England, (ii) each county in England and, (iii) each of the economic regions? Full figures in table 2 pages. (Mr. Pendry) asked the secretary of State for Employment if he will set out the increase in unemployment in Liverpool, Toxteth and Brixton for each month since June 1981 and the increase in youth unemployment for the same period; figures in table.

#### Opportunities for Volunteers

Of the £4 million which the Prime Minister announced on 27 July 1981, - [Vol 9, c836] - would be made available in 1982-83, the estimate provision for England is £3.3 million. The administration of the scheme is being handled by a network of 16 national voluntary organisations acting as agents and the Department will not receive detailed information concerning the individual local projects and organisations receiving grants, although arrangements have been made to monitor the scheme as a whole. The provision for this special new scheme is additional to the substantial sums which the Department makes available to voluntary organisations under existing arrangements including a grant for the National Association of Citizen Support Schemes.

#### Unemployment Benefit WA

The benefit payable to a married man with two children becoming unemployed in June 1981 and June 1982 who qualified for unemployment benefit at the standard rate was as follows:

	June 1981	June 1982
Unemployment benefit married rate	£33.40	£36.40
Addition for two children	£2.50	£1.60
Child Benefit	£9.50	£10.50

plus any rent and rate rebates to which he was entitled and, in the case of a man becoming unemployed in June 1981, an earnings-related supplement, dependent on his earnings in the relevant tax year.

If the man qualified for supplementary benefit his income, assuming that the children were aged 8 and 12 would have been brought up to £52.80 in June 1981 and £57.55 in June 1982 plus his housing costs and any additional requirements to which he might have been entitled.

#### Alcoholism WA

The number of psychiatric admissions for treatment of alcoholism and alcoholic psychosis was as follows:

Year	Total
1976	1,972
1977	2,076
1978	2,187
1979	2,121
1980	1,795

#### School Governors WA

To what extent training of school governors has been enhanced since 1979, and in particular since the Education Act 1980? The school government provisions of the Education Act 1980 give effect to the Government's policy for extending the base of school government - particularly by the inclusion of parents and teachers - so that, generally, each school may benefit from having its own effective and committed governing body. That part of the Act was brought into force in July 1981 for phased implementation. Only new schools are currently required to have the new style arrangements, but others have been encouraged to adopt them on a voluntary basis and encouraging progress is being made. Govt. will soon consider making further orders requiring other categories of school to have the new arrangements. The constitution of governing bodies is prescribed in individual instruments of government. Most of these are made by local education authorities and the Department does not collect information about their provisions.

#### Unemployment Statistics WA

The following table gives the absolute and percentage increases in the numbers of registered unemployed people under 25 and over 50 years of age in the United Kingdom between April 1979 and April 1982, the latest date for which this quarterly information is available. It also gives the increases for all unemployed females between the same dates. Between July 1979 and July 1982, the number of unemployed females increased by 460,066 or 95 per cent.

	Increases unemployed between April 1979 - April 1982 - United Kingdom	
	Absolute	Percentage
Unemployed aged under 25 years*	652,719	145
Unemployed aged 50 years and over	313,041	96
All unemployed females*	464,477	122

#### Employment Training WA

Mr. Stokes asked the Secretary of State for Employment if he will list the various schemes now in existence, or proposed, to assist the unemployed in schemes of training for employment. Mr. Allison: The information is as follows:

Schemes currently in existence	
Training opportunities scheme (TOPS)	
Youth opportunities programme	
Community industry*	
Community enterprise programme†	

#### Proposed Schemes

The "Open Tech" programme  
The community programme scheme  
The new training initiative

\*This temporary employment programme for particularly disadvantaged young people provides them with some training.

†Training provided under this programme is limited and is only given to a level which would enable the worker to carry out the task required or improve the worker's employment prospects.

#### Homeless Young Persons

What steps have been taken since the report of the Department of Health and Social Services working group on homeless young people to establish information services at railway and coach stations. Ans: The working group reported in 1976. In November 1979 the Piccadilly advice centre was opened at Piccadilly underground station to provide advice and information for newcomers to London, including homeless young people. The services provided by this organisation and by the Alone in London service which has a similar remit are advertised on posters on most London mainline stations and at the Victoria coach station.

#### Scottish Pre-School Playgroup Association WA

The association has received the following grants

	Grant paid	Grant revalued to constant (November 1979) price base
1979-80	67,700	68,700
1980-81	65,100	58,300
1981-82	78,800	63,465

#### Children (Welfare Milk) WA

In England free welfare milk is currently received by over 19,000 organisations and people providing day care for children under five; about one quarter of these are registered childminders. No figures are available on the number of children concerned. Information relating to other parts of the United Kingdom all items copy service.

#### V18 N165

#### Higher Education D

Debate over 10 pages; exchange; no specific youth references.

#### Industrial Training and Development WA

Figures for spending by the manpower Service Commission on industrial training over the past five years, including spending foreseen in the current year, are as follows:

Year	Gross expenditure (cash prices)	Expenditure per head of the labour force
	£ million	£
1978-79	385	15
1979-80	468	18
1980-81	579	22
1981-82	827	32
1982-83	1,142	44

#### Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Between 1 April 1981 and 31 March 1982 approximately 2,200 young people entered the youth opportunities programme in Leicestershire. Between 1 April and the end of May 1982 a total of about 450 young people entered schemes under the programme.

#### Young Workers Scheme WA

The number of applications approved under the scheme at the end of June in Leicestershire was 1,476.

#### Homeless Persons WA

In the 12 months July 1980 to June 1981, local authorities in England accepted responsibility for securing accommodation for 68,000 homeless households. Information on the proportion of single people accepted is not available in the form requested. However, in the first three quarters of 1980 about 2 per cent. of accepted households were single pregnant persons aged 19 or less.

#### Unemployment Statistics WA

Rate of increase between July 1979 and July 1982 in the number of persons registered as unemployed for more than 52 weeks for (i) Scotland and (ii) each district in Scotland; etc; in table.

#### Young Persons (Detention Centres) WA

The average annual cost of keeping prisoners is contained in the report on the work of the Prison Department published each year. The average cost of keeping a detention centre trainee in each of the past 10 years was as follows:

	£
1971	1,532
1972	1,841
1973	1,969
1974	2,354
1975	3,057
1976	4,381
1977	4,987
1978	4,876
1979	5,638
1980	6,505
1981	8,110

#### Young Person (Borstal) WA

Cost of keeping a young person in a borstal; and figures for each of the past 10 years in table.

# reporting

## january-april 1983

'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.'

- 7-1-83 **Adult Education:** ACACE is considering taking legal action because of the failure of the Govt. to reform the law on further education. (Education)
- 15-4-83 MSC are proposing a national inquiry into the whole of Britain's spending on the training adults. (TES)
- 14-4-83 **Censorship:** A code for videos to identify those containing sex or violence is announced. (Guardian)
- 5-2-83 **Charities:** A plan to give charities VAT relief was rejected in the Budget. (Guardian)
- 28-2-83 A social security loophole which enabled charities working in the alcohol and drug abuse field to obtain big increases in funding from social security offices is to be stopped by the govt. out of the fear that other groups will follow suit. (Guardian)
- 18-4-83 **Child Care:** From midnight May 24 1983 local authorities are banned from locking up any children in care for longer than 72 hours without their case being heard in court. (Guardian)
- 23-2-83 **Contraception:** The IBA have blocked the first public information film to encourage boys to use contraceptives. (Guardian)
- 8-4-83 **Corporal Punishment:** The leader of the STOPP Campaign warned that the Govt. may soon be forced to implement the rulings on corporal punishment by the European Court of Human Rights. (TES)
- 27-1-83 **Delinquency:** An extra £15M is to be given to voluntary organisations to start new schemes over the next three years and the closure of approved schools is to be speeded up. (Guardian)
- 72-1-83 The Sports Minister, Neil MacFarlane, urged courts to crack down on soccer hooligans. (Guardian)
- 18-2-83 Crime among younger children may be falling according to the latest Annual Abstract of Statistics. (TES)
- 12-3-83 A centre for disturbed young girls may have to close in July because of allegations of drug taking. (Guardian)
- 29-1-83 **Drugs:** The Govt. is to increase funding by £6M to schemes to curb drug addiction (Guardian)
- 20-1-83 Dept. of Health has sent letters to health authorities and others including shopkeepers asking for ways of tackling solvent misuse. (Guardian)
- 19-3-83 The House of Commons Home Affairs Committee is to conduct an inquiry into drug addiction including whether the growing of cannabis should be a criminal offence. (Guardian)
- 14-4-83 A report of the Cancer Research Campaign states that children are giving up smoking. (Guardian)
- 25-4-83 The Justices Clerks' Society calls for stricter controls on young people drinking. (Guardian)
- 4-2-83 **Disabled & Handicapped:** FE Education Curriculum Review Unit reports that further education for the disabled is still too variable in quantity and quality. (Guardian)
- 8-2-83 Govt. published proposals which would make it illegal to put up a public building which does not cater properly for the needs of disabled people. (Guardian)
- 9-3-83 Changing the age limit from 21 to 18 years on the Youth Training Scheme will cut out thousands of young unemployed disabled people. (Guardian)
- 25-3-83 The Director of the National Bureau for Handicapped Students predicts that such students could find themselves without college places this autumn unless resources are diverted from YTS to further education. (Teacher)
- 1-4-83 The reforms of special education outlined in the 1981 Education Act come into effect. (TES)
- 21-3-83 **Homelessness:** Young people looking for a home in London are warned to steer clear of "scandalous" deals offered by many accommodation agencies. (Guardian)
- 18-3-83 **Outdoor Education:** An HMI Report on outdoor education published contains a check list on aims, implementation, resources and training. (TES)
- 21-2-83 **Penal System:** The Prison Reform Trust argues against spending £27M on a new (the 9th) top security gaol. (Guardian)
- 8-3-83 NACRO calls for special units for sex offenders and police informer prisoners. (Guardian)
- 4-4-83 The latest gaol count shows 45,125 people in custody - 6,500 above the acceptable level of accommodation. (Guardian)
- 8-4-83 HMI Report on Prison Education gives a picture of formal instruction and out of date vocational courses. (TES)
- 22-4-83 Dep. Chief Inspector of Prisons condemns the need to keep 400 young prisoners and borstal trainees locked in their cells for 23 hours a day. (Guardian)
- 30-4-83 The Home Secretary has agreed to suggestions to make prison boards of visitors more effective but will not allow the publication of their annual reports. (Guardian)
- 22-4-83 **Play:** Neil MacFarlane, Sports Minister, has also been given responsibility for children's play. (TES)
- 4-2-83 **Police & Crime:** The Criminal Attempts Act 1981 is being used in the same way as the old "Sus" law according to the London Intermediate Treatment Association. (Guardian)
- 2-3-83 The community police consultative group in Lambeth reversed a previous decision to carry identity cards issued by the police. (Guardian)
- 19-1-83 **Political Parties:** SDP White Paper on education and training proposes an 'educational benefit' to any student over 16. (Guardian)
- 25-3-83 Labour campaign programme indicates measures for social and political education plus a maintenance allowance of £25 per week for over 16's. (TES)
- 16-4-83 **Welfare Rights:** Women will be given the right to claim some social security benefits which they had previously been precluded from, including invalidity benefit and family income supplement but excluding invalid care allowance. (Guardian)
- 21-2-83 **Race/Community Relations:** Council tenants in Liverpool might face eviction if they harass black neighbours. (Guardian)
- 23-2-83 Britain's non-white population is 4.1% of the total. (Guardian)
- 23-2-83 The MP for the area claimed that young people who were at the party in New Cross two years ago are repeatedly arrested on minor charges. (Guardian)
- 25-2-83 A four year project to interest Asians in Scouting has attracted few boys and failed to recruit an adult leader. (TES)
- 25-3-83 House of Lords ruled that Sikhs are an ethnic group entitled to protection under the Race Relations Act 196. (Guardian)
- 29-3-83 The Home Secretary rejected a call for a public inquiry into government statistics which show a rise in muggings by blacks. (Guardian)
- 3-1-83 **Rape:** New Home Office guidelines have been issued to police forces reminding them that inquiries into complaints of rape should be conducted with tact and sympathy. (Guardian)
- 22-3-83 Revised rules of conduct in case of rape protect the victim by anonymity. (Guardian)
- 21-3-83 **Sex Education:** Govt. Ministers have protested about films and sex education publications of the Health Education Council. (TES)
- 4-3-83 **Sports:** A report highlights the underuse of sec. school sports halls by the community. (TES)
- 28-2-83 **Teenage Spending:** Earnings of children from part-time jobs show that teenagers, particularly girls, are finding it more difficult to get jobs according to a Gallup Poll survey. (Guardian)
- 25-2-83 **Vandalism:** A DES paper suggests that pupils could be asked to repair damage caused by vandalism at their schools. (TES)
- 21-4-83 **Women:** Inadequate Careers guidance and the discouraging attitude of employers prevent many girls from getting skilled jobs in industry. (EOC Press Release)
- 14-1-83 **Youth Unemployment:** A Common Market Commissioner reported that 60% of school leavers in Britain this summer will not find jobs and that this is a far worse situation than in any other country of the EEC. (Teacher)
- 15-4-83 The armed forces are to take 5,200 young people off the unemployment register for a year while they are trained by one of the three services. (Guardian)

## benefits

16. The latest batch of draft amendments to the Supplementary Benefits Regulations includes changes relating to the treatment of those who are disqualified from unemployment benefit and the full rate of SB because they are sacked or have left employment voluntarily without good reason. SB is currently reduced by the lower amount, 20% (rather than 40%), where the claimant has savings of £100 or less, or where any one of the following circumstances exist: (a) any member of the family is pregnant or seriously ill, (b) there is a child under 5, (c) the claimant's previous job lasted for 6 weeks or less, (d) the claimant's average net earnings for the previous 6 weeks were less than the supplementary scale rate plus £4, (e) the housing costs are not being met in full.
- The new proposal is to apply the 20% reduction **only** where the claimant or a member of his or her family is pregnant or seriously ill.
17. An additional allowance for clothing is proposed where the extra expense is due to non-standard sizes or fittings. This may be of particular help to parents of rapidly growing young people.
18. New arrangements concerning the Direct Payment for Fuel and Heating costs for those on SB came into force from 28th April, 1983. Full details are available in CPAG Welfare Rights Bulletin 54 (June 1983).
19. DHSS Commissioners Decision R(FIS) 1/83 determined that a person attending a YOP's course and receiving a training allowance was not engaged in remunerative full-time work. Accordingly they could not claim FIS.
20. Among the new leaflets are the following: *Disablement Benefit and Income:* N16/Apr 1983, *Nat. Ins. contributions and Stat. Sick Pay rates:* N1 208/Apr 1983, *S.S.P. and Sickness Benefit:* N1 16 Apr 1983.
21. Welfare Rights Bulletin 54 (June, 1983) contains an update on S.S.P.

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# YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

## SUBMISSION

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

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