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the route to borstal

JENNY MELLOR

At the end of his review of the film 'Scrubbers' Alan Brien writes:

"Ironically its marvellous cast of little known actresses so embellish and decorate these characters that they appear almost all attractive, stylish and spirited militants rather than the inadequate, unfortunate victims they usually are"

(Sunday Times, November 14, 1982)

Of course films do tend to over glamourise their heroines, but at least the Borstal girls in the film were portrayed as subjects capable of initiating action in the world. Whereas to regard them simply as 'inadequate victims' represents a view of female deviance that is unfortunately commonly held by both academic writers and the general public. Girls get into trouble because they are sick or inadequate - boys do so because they come from deprived circumstances, because they face unemployment, or because they are greedy, belligerent and just plain bad lots.

Recently, however, as the influence of feminist literature has increased, writers¹ have argued that it is time theories of female deviance progressed beyond positivist assumptions about female pathology and moved into a more sophisticated theoretical realm. Carol Smart² argues that it is possible, given further research, to develop a specific theory which will account for female crime, whereas Anne Campbell³ suggests that the same kinds of social factors affect boys and girls alike, and it is to these factors that attention should be directed.

From my own research⁴, based on extensive interviewing in two girls' Borstals in the early 1970s, it would appear that girls who end up in Borstal do so very often because they become involved in a way of life which is conducive to 'trouble'. It is a way of life which is shared by young people of both sexes, and usually, although by no means always, participation in it is interspersed with encounters with authority. However, the way in which this process begins may be very different for girls and boys, because parents, teachers and social workers have different assumptions about 'normal'⁵ expectations of female behaviour. Equally the way in which deviance from expectations is explained is also different. Girls who run away, or stay out late, or steal things from shops are often regarded as doing so because they have emotional difficulties they are unable to resolve. The girls therefore are encouraged to explain their misdemeanours in terms of 'their problems'. Although they were often resentful of people 'prying into their business' they nevertheless were not slow to notice that this was an acceptable type of explanation for what they had done. Admitting to 'problems' was often a way of ensuring a favourable assessment from their probation officer and consequently a lighter sentence. Equally, recognising their personal difficulties and appearing to do something about them was taken as evidence of

'successful Borstal training'. Circumstances therefore are conducive to explanations in terms of individual pathology, because the girls found it paid dividends to explain what they had done in this way.

The girls I talked to however, seemed to me to possess the same mixture of personalities that one might expect to find in any similar cross section of the general population. They could only be regarded as pathological en masse if we accept a tautological definition of pathology by defining it as doing those things which lead to a Borstal sentence. But if the fact of the sentence itself is to be taken as evidence of pathology or inadequacy, then these personal traits cannot be used to explain how the individual got there. Moreover, as far more boys than girls receive Borstal sentences this kind of explanation should be more useful in explaining male rather than female deviance.

By the time the girls reached Borstal there were often shared social circumstances which did not accord with acceptable styles of life, especially for girls. The life they led was often migratory and transient. Relationships were shortlived and nearly always disappointing. It was continuously punctuated by 'trouble' in one form or another so that any individual case history taken by itself could easily give the impression of personal failure. Nevertheless the mass of information regarded as a whole does indicate that a common way of life exists which needs to be explored, and furthermore that there are common sets of circumstances which tend to lead to it. It was a form of life⁶ in which the girls struggled, often with considerable difficulty, to achieve the things they wanted, notably money and excitement. Coming to the attention of the authorities, going to court and even custodial sentences were risks⁷ which were unavoidable and had to be accepted, often with a surprising degree of resignation. In many ways it was remarkable the extent to which they did manage to establish an autonomous existence often supported by a substantial amount of law breaking which they 'got away with' for considerable periods of time. To survive at all in this environment needed a degree of determination not usually found among the inadequate - but it was nevertheless an environment where the odds were not in their favour. Sooner or later - with these girls at least - the reckoning came.

Here we shall explore the way in which the process leading to a Borstal sentence often begins in relation to the two major institutions affecting childhood, the family and the school. We will then examine the kinds of trouble the girls got into and the kind of life that developed round it. Finally we will attempt to indicate the direction in which a theoretical analysis might proceed to provide a more adequate understanding of the girls' situation.

Doing the Research

First, however, I will explain very briefly the way in which the information I am using was obtained.

After a set of fairly protracted negotiations with the Home Office and the Governor at East Sutton Park (at that time an open Borstal for girls) I was able to draw on three sources of material. First, and by far the most important, I was allowed a long interview with each girl in my sample. This consisted of a year's intake at East Sutton Park (63 girls) and a comparative sample of 50 girls from Bullwood Hall.⁸ These interviews were a great concession as I was allowed to talk to the girl for as long as I wanted. This meant that she had to stay away from work, sometimes for as much as 2-3 hours without losing any marks which affected the amount she was paid. Without this concession there would have been no population at all to interview! Secondly I was allowed to join the girls' working party where there was a vacancy. This I did during the one day a week I spent at East Sutton Park over a period of two years.⁹ Finally I was allowed access to the Borstal files (though not the probation files). The information in the files varied considerably. They usually contained a police report, often a probation officer's report and sometimes they included some data on previous employment and educational performance. Some files also provided assessment reports from remand centres. Perhaps the most interesting information came from the many requests to write letters, mainly to other people in prison or borstal, or from the personal correspondence of the girls.¹⁰ The letters were useful because they supplemented the girls' accounts of their activities and because they provided evidence that a wider network of friends existed who were all doing the same kinds of things. The rest of the file data usually corroborated the girls' descriptions of what had happened. Where a police or probation report was contradictory or put a markedly different interpretation on an event or relationship this was also significant as it highlighted important differences between the girls' and the authorities' idea of wrong doing. For example the girls were perfectly prepared to admit that stealing was wrong and they expected to be punished for it if they were caught. But they disliked moral judgements being made about their sexual behaviour and considered it most unfair if this was taken into account in recommendations for sentencing. Equally they regarded their behaviour in Borstal strictly in terms of actions that were empirically observable, such as keeping out of trouble with other girls and getting to work punctually, but they resented the more subtle assessments of attitudes which also affected their progress. They were prepared to pay for what they considered their crimes, but **not** for their life style.

The File Data

From the files, a pattern of behaviour emerges with very few exceptions. It is a depressing and well known story of educational failure, family difficulties, unskilled jobs, absenteeism, unemployment, petty crime, failure on probation and eventually a Borstal sentence.¹¹ Truancy was mentioned in several files as the reason for the first court appearance. With the population the education system had been a failure. Very few girls left school with any skills or the ability to learn them which was to make a significant difference to employment prospects.

Family difficulties showed themselves in different ways. Some girls lost their fathers or mothers, occasionally by death, more often by desertion. Others did not get on with parents or step parents (usually step fathers) or older siblings. Most girls were referred to as 'resenting authority' and even in families who

managed to function with reasonable efficiency adolescence imposed a strain which could not easily be contained within the family unit. This type of strain is doubtless felt by many families throughout the country, but these families lacked the resources for dealing with it. These parents did not have access to alternative ways of removing their daughters from potential trouble. For example, they could not afford to pay for expensive training or to send them abroad to get away from undesirable associates. The girls lacked even the requisite skills to work as 'au pairs', although children's nurse was often spoken of as the job they would most like to find. Therefore when tension rose the girls left home sooner or later and moved into 'a flat' or a room with friends or sometimes joined a group who were 'living rough'.

Interestingly enough it was usually the fathers not the mothers who were held responsible. Some fathers appeared to make efforts to deal with the situation but they seemed unable to establish control. The probation reports on these cases often suggested that although efforts were made they were inconsistent. Indeed both parents and children seemed to find it difficult to sustain consistent relationships for any length of time. Breakdown in authority often led to unhappy situations in which a parent either reported the girl to the police (one girl came home after a row to fetch her things and broke a window in order to get into the house; she was then reported to the police by her father and accused of breaking and entering and wilful damage) or refused to have the girl home on release on the grounds that she would disturb younger children. Once the girl had left home, or even while she was still there, there always seemed to be others she associated with, who were in the process of being 'in trouble'. These people appeared in the police reports as 'known criminal associates'. To the girls however, they were often just 'a good crowd who had fun'.

The Interviews

The interviews were important partly because they represented a 'view from the girls'¹² which has not, at least until recently, often been heard, and partly because it is interesting to see how seemingly irrational behaviour and degrading events were made sensible by the actors. By suggesting that the girls' actions represented choices for which they were able to give reasons rather than events following antecedent causes, I adopted the explicit theoretical stance that they were acts of will rather than, as they have so often been interpreted, 'cries for help'.¹³ This is not to suggest that this represented the 'truth of the matter' in any absolute way, but rather that this approach allowed me to examine the alternatives that appeared to be available to them, and to consider the way in which their expectations, aspirations and notions of what was possible were influenced by their position as young working class women in the social structure of capitalist society.

The interviews began by asking the girls to talk about their families, homelife, school life, friends and boy friends - whether or not their friends had ever been in trouble - about the girls' own encounters with the police and the events that led up to a Borstal sentence. Finally I asked about the time spent in Borstal, what the girls thought about it, whether they liked or disliked it, if they thought it had done them any good and whether they thought the staff were fair. Once the girls started talking the interviews usually only needed guiding. They seemed so pleased to find someone who only wanted to listen to them without trying to improve them!

The girls liked talking about their families. It was a concrete subject easy to start with. Indeed often a question about their parents and the number of brothers and sisters they had would begin a vivid and enthralling narrative which would not finish until they had run out of things to say about Borstal some two or three hours later. If one can make generalisations, the most noticeable quality that applied to the girls as a group was their extraordinarily resilient sense of humour. Many times I was struck by their ability to laugh at themselves, to shrug their shoulders and smile even when things had gone wrong and to cling tenaciously to the often quite unwarranted assumption that somehow things would be better next time. The ability to 'have a laugh' was perhaps the greatest compliment they could pay to any other character in their story.

The Families

Whatever may have gone wrong in the past, it was quite clear that their families and in particular their mothers were of major importance to the girls. No matter how many times a girl might have run away from home she would still say that she missed her mother or 'just missed being at home'. Everybody was sorry for other people who had no home to go to, and the hopes of girls who had children of their own were centered on making a home for the child. This was regardless of the fact that on home leave they appeared to show little interest in looking after it or caring for it. Families were important from two points of view: for the girls themselves, and for the people who made decisions about them. Family difficulties which often led to their being sent away in the first place took several shapes and forms. If the family lived in very poor conditions, or if they were 'known to the social services' it was more likely that a residential care order would be made. Probably it was considered to be in the child's best interest, but to the girl concerned she was being 'put away' just the same. Sometimes requests for help were made by the parents, sometimes by the police tired of returning the girl to her home, sometimes one parent was left with children he or she could not look after, sometimes children went from home to home as hostages in family quarrels. If the family was known to the probation department the likelihood was that one or more family members had been in trouble.

It is difficult to make unbiased assessments about the quality of family relationships as family life generally takes place in private and allows for a greater degree of variety than any one person from her place in the social structure could possibly regard as normal.¹⁴ Many of these families however do seem to have suffered from a degree of disruption which undoubtedly, in the eyes of the responsible authorities, affected their ability to provide a satisfactory environment for their daughters. Though the girls were often desperate for someone to relate to, someone who would visit them in Borstal, write to them and send them parcels, they nevertheless also talked a great deal about family quarrels which often led to violence.¹⁵ Out of the 103 girls interviewed only 12 reported they had two parents living together and that the relationship in the family was generally happy. All the other girls had either lost a parent or did not get on with either one or both of them.

There is no one route to Borstal, but it is possible to pick out typical processes which did seem to be experienced by many of the girls. It is also possible to note one or two aberrant or deviant cases which did not appear to conform to the general pattern. Unfortunately the sample cannot be divided neatly into discrete categories for, as we shall see, so many girls were affected by more than one factor or became involved in several

different processes. For example, there were rows about coming in late, the family was poor, one parent had left home and the girl became involved with friends in trouble. We shall therefore have to be content with examining, with examples, some of the more typical ways in which trouble started.

Breakdowns in relationships took different forms. The one that most affected the girls, as girls¹⁶, began with attempts by parents to regulate their social lives and the hours they kept - for example:

Joyce: *I was very happy at home, I always have been. I liked school. I had days off truanting but then everyone does. I stayed until the beginning of the fourth year then I had all the usual troubles - mainly about going out with a boy at the youth club. Dad didn't want me to go out at that age. I was told to be in by 9.30 but I didn't get in until 11 or 12. I went about with a gang. I had a special boyfriend and I was happy to stay out all night - Dad used to go looking for me and then get the police. Next night I'd do it again ... It led to rows at home but it got patched up after. Then one day Dad just said 'I don't want Joyce home no more'. So I was sent to a remand home. I thought the family were against me at the time but now I realise it was for my own good - you can get approved school for truanting but this wasn't brought up in court. Just being out late was a bad enough offence at my age - I was under 16.*

Ruth: *Dad was very strict, there was rows about coming in late so if I were late I never used to come in. If I came in after 9 he'd hit me. The police knows me too well 'cos I ran away and got in trouble.*

Susan: *I was sent to a Catholic school - my parents were always down at church - they were very Victorian. I was always told off for wearing boots and getting a lift to school from my boy friend. I didn't do one full week while I was there. I did no exams and I don't wish I had. Dad used to hit me a lot but I hit him back when I was 15. I ran away from home and went to Wales with my boyfriend and a friend of his. I was picked up by the police at 11.30 p.m. We went to Penzance, I was picked up again outside Penzance and sent to a remand home. My boyfriend wasn't done for anything, I hadn't slept with him or anything. He said if I got picked up it wasn't worth it 'cos I was under age. Dad said - send her to approved school - she won't do as she's told.*

Yvonne: *I went into the crowd as subordinate and ended up as ringleader - we used to go shoplifting - I was 15 at the time. My father was very strict - I had to come in at 8.30 or 9 o'clock. I wanted freedom but he used to hit me if I were late - I was frightened of him - he never trusted me.*

These accounts illustrate a general pattern which affected many girls. Rows about coming in late were followed by running away from home. This started a process which often involved the police bringing the girl back and eventually the imposition of a care order, which may have been requested by the parents. In these cases the girl's record certainly began with a type of deviance particular to girls. It arose from conceptions about the control of female sexuality, but the process escalated subsequently when further control was imposed over the girl. This often presented her with new opportunities for deviance and new regulations to break by absconding from various institutions. Equally she faced the increasing possibility of becoming involved in shoplifting and other property offences in order to keep going while she was 'on the run'.

A similar process of institutionalisation, absconding and further trouble was often started when the family broke up or a

parent was lost. For example:

Gloria: *Dad walked out when I was five - me and my younger sister stayed with Mum. Mum met and married my new Dad when I was about 7. The trouble started at home when he started picking on me. My sister would nick something from the larder but I got the blame. I started having rows with me Dad - so I started running away. I were just fed up. My parents went to the welfare and I was sent to a remand home in Winchester.*

Anne: *My parents were divorced when I was 7 - they were so different, Dad was nervous and quiet, he was a worrier, Mum liked parties - I remember the day she left - she worked in the council offices and this man - he was ever so good to me, I was ever so spoilt - he was trying to kiss Mum and I said 'I'll tell Dad if you don't get me a pom-pom hat'. Mum was hanging out the washing and we were going to the Saturday matinee - when we came back Dad said 'your mother's left'. Dad couldn't manage could he? All the ironing hoovering cooking and clean clothes. My Nan came to get us ready and we all went out looking for Mum but the man came out and said 'Your mother doesn't want you'. We were put in a railway children's home with church every Sunday and Pathfinders. After a year they took the boys home but not me ... I minded very much they didn't want me. Dad had a girl friend, he was going to marry her - but I won't call her mother.*

Angela: *I was used to being put away all the time - put away lots of times - I had two parents then - Mum chucked him out - she wanted to get rid of us. Dad wouldn't have it so she chucked him out - I wanted to be put away from Mum - she gave us a beating every day ... all of us.*

Jackie: *Dad died when I was 5 I can't remember him. Mum brought us three children up on her own. She was a waitress in a restaurant. She married again when I was 13. I didn't like him. He had a grudge against me. He caught me smoking the toilet and said something to me. I told my sister he'd no right to tell me off and she went and told him. We never got on ever since. I kept running away from home. Mum tried to help but I can't talk to her - I ran away to London to Piccadilly when I was 12 or 13.*

June: *I never got in trouble when Dad was alive as soon as he died it started - I had a step father - he was terrible, he was so strict and he would beat us ... we weren't allowed electric lights at home.*

Linda: *Mum and Dad never lived together. The trouble started when I went to live with me Mum. When I lived with Grandma she used to tie the gate up and I used to sit in the house every night. Then Mum and this man had a row and she came to our home and started talking to me and said, would I like to come and live with her. I had to change schools and mixed with girls who stayed out at night. I started playing truant - used to get me mark and come back out. I used to get into trouble a few times, I kept playing truant but Grandma didn't know - I pinched the cleaner's purse - but they let it go - I was sent to a hostel right near Grandma's house - I liked the hostel lady but I still kept getting into trouble. I was sent to approved school with my friend but I was only there a little. Got Borstal for setting the approved school on fire - it was another girl not me.*

A letter to her grandmother which was in the Borstal file shows how important the relationship was to her. She writes: "I would promise to be good for you ... You been good to me and I don't know what I would of done if you never. Coarse my mum and dad don't care for me like you do."

In many of these cases potential difficulties were exacerbated by the introduction of a step parent or foster parents. This

seemed to lower the threshold of mutual tolerance. A similar situation seemed to occur when the girls were adopted. If the girl proved to be a disappointment the parents seemed to reject her even more easily. For example:

Helen: *I was happy until I was 8 then we didn't get on too good together - me Dad would never take us anywhere always one or the other but not both together - he was a photographer, Mum's a nurse. I liked secondary school but I played truant - me Mum said I'd been playing truant but I swore I hadn't - the welfare officer believed me. When I was 12 me and this girl - we were good mates - said we were going to each other's houses but we went to a party where everyone was much older - it was an all night party so they sent for the welfare officer. When I was 13 I stayed out until 11 o'clock. The welfare officer said I needed to be taken away from my parents. I was only at the youth club down the end of the road. The thing that annoyed me was they said 'for one month' and I was really good in the children's home but the woman said - 'you - you're never going home'. I ran away back to Mum - she didn't say straight out she didn't want me back but I was put in a boarding school.*

By the time they reached Borstal adopted girls often literally did not have a home to go back to.

Susan: *(talking of Bullwood) I like it here, a clean bed, four meals a day, you can condition yourself to a place like this - It's no good mooching around, I've got nowt to get out for.*

The PO report says 'her parents described her as dishonest, unco-operative and untrustworthy. They say they will break off all contact. They appear to find it hard to acknowledge Susan's good points and ... would seem in subtle ways to undermine any self-confidence Susan builds up ... Parents won't have any more to do with her.'

Adoptive parents tended towards more middle class occupations. Trouble often seemed to occur when the girls failed to live up to expectations.

Jeanne: *They wanted me to go to Henley Grammar but I went to the secondary modern. (Father a company director).*

Susan: *I'd been stealing before, but I didn't spend it on clothes and sweets - I went riding. My parents let me go once a week but I wanted to go every day ... Trouble started when I was 9 Dad used to hit me ... I started going out with boys at 12 - I used to have to be in by 9 but they couldn't stop me going out. I took the neighbour's dog for a walk - his son had a lot of money. I nicked £169 in two months - I took £15 to school and left my purse in a field with me name in it. It was found but my parents wanted to know where the money came from - they phoned the police. (Father an engineer).*

At the opposite end of the scale, however, there were girls who said that it was not family relationships but poverty that got them into trouble. They started stealing because their parents were poor.

Ellen's father was a coalman who had spent two years in prison. While he was there he had an operation on his chest and had been unable to work since. She said:

Ellen: *I was happy at home and fond of both my parents but money was very short - at junior school I was teased about my old clothes and I never had proper shoes ... when my sisters were at home I couldn't go to school ... we had a uniform grant and free dinners. All the girls knew and I felt out of it. They caught me stealing money - I stole it to buy cigarettes. (On the fourth charge of stealing, very small items, biscuits, cigarettes,*

tights, she was sent to approved school).

Linda: *Grandma couldn't buy me clothes - she was a pensioner. Me Dad won't buy me nothing - loaded with money me Dad is - he's a car dealer - he's not short but he's very tight with money. He don't like giving it away. He used to be in the pub showing all his money off and everything. Now he's living with a different woman. I used to be upset when she showed me all the things she used to be bought. I went to me Dad's house wearing old slippers in the rain but he wouldn't buy me any shoes - I used to take it 'cos I couldn't buy it.*

Here Linda's father refusal to help when he could have afforded it and was spending the money on someone else clearly made Linda feel even worse, and even more deprived. In her eyes having to do without in these circumstances provided sufficient justification for what occurred.

Although family difficulties of one sort or another began the series of events which finally led to Borstal in so many cases, there were also girls to whom family problems did not apply. When such problems did not exist, or were insufficiently troublesome to provide any possible excuse for delinquency, the discrepancy between the PO report and the girl's account of 'what happened' widened. The girls interpreted the situation as having fun with their mates - whereas the PO appeared to regard these hedonistic impulses as a lack of moral fibre which was more likely to be remedied by a custodial sentence.

Sandra: *I was happy at home and really liked school, but I got bored in Newhaven and went to work in Brighton where I started fiddling the till because everyone else did ... I met a crowd on the beach who always seemed to have money. They lay out sunbathing while I was at work, so I thought 'stuff this'. I shared a flat with my friend Jill (now in Styal) and Linda L. (at East Sutton Park on the same charge). We really had a spree for a fortnight, we broke into shops, cashed cheques on another girl's cheque book - we always had money and a super wardrobe - we had a colour TV in the flat. Jill and me lived on social security and the money from shoplifting with three boys. It was a laugh, we did it for kicks really - but everything we had was taken by the police or stolen. There were 4000 cigarettes and the stolen clothes in the flat. We were all sent down, the boys got two years in prison and the girls Borstal - I just wish I'd done something worthwhile coming in here for.*

Whereas Sandra explains what happened as 'a spree' the PO report says:

'friendly with co-defendants and like them lived by her wits rather than trying to lead an honest life ... she seems not to have cared about morality or the consequences of her actions or to have made any effort to choose her friends wisely ... it's difficult to assess why an intelligent girl from a secure background should suddenly at 19 react so violently against the standards she had previously adopted.'

Here the PO seems to be searching for some underlying causal factor because the 'normal' explanations do not apply. Sandra's own account clearly did not come into the category of an adequate explanation.

Winnie, also happy at home, claimed she left to help Norah who was pregnant. They got jobs as waitresses in a hotel, but:

Winnie: *Me and Norah lost our jobs because we couldn't get up to go to them. We started to steal to get money for food - we started on the meters and then robbed this fellow - he gave us £25 but we were with two blokes from near where we live, they wanted his cheque book as well and hit him - we waited while*

they done it. We were charged with robbery with violence.

The PO report says 'Winnie was a school prefect and an active member of a community centre near her home'. But when I asked her about school, Winnie said 'Can't talk about school Miss - I can't remember it'. Here we see again that what should have been influential in PO's eyes was quite irrelevant to Winnie.

Violet: *It was OK until we moved to a new estate which was 'full of gangs'. I met this girl Eileen when I worked at the Capstan factory - she was allowed to stay out as long as she liked ... she went about with boys who made money by breaking and entering ... Eileen always had money and used to pay for me - it made me feel awful as I always felt short. She used to stay out so I did too and I got into trouble - she used to tell me about the things she'd done and I envied her the excitement - she took things from home and persuaded me to do the same. In the end Dad found out and told me to get them back (a radio and a record player) - when I couldn't he took me to court - he said it was for my own good.*

Unfortunately there was no PO report in Violet's file, but she claimed that she got Borstal because she didn't get on with her PO who gave her 'a really bad probation report'. Therefore it is probable that there was the same discrepancy between her assessment of the situation and that of the probation officer. Obviously, manifestly poor home conditions provided some kind of understandable explanation for law breaking activities. Though of course the probation officers did not approve of what the girls had done in any circumstances, crime as a reaction against difficulties at home at least made sense, whereas 'to do it for kicks' or simply to have fun did not.

In contrast, Rosemary and Diane, whom we shall consider next, were sorry for what they had done and bitterly regretted it. They were both supported by their probation officers, neither of whom recommended a custodial sentence. Both girls were first offenders who came from happy homes and had supportive parents. Each girl was involved in a fight with another girl in a pub. In both cases they claimed to be acting in self-defence.

Diane: *One night a friend came round and asked me to go for a drink as it was my birthday. I didn't really want to go but I didn't like not to. About 20 skinheads came in with some girls in leather jackets - they picked a fight and arguments started. I think this girl picked on me because I was big. She picked up a glass and said she would throw it in my face but she dropped it. I threw a glass at her and it hit her in the face. She had to have stitches. That were it.*

Both Diane and her parents were shocked at the sentence. Both parents visited her fortnightly even though they lived in Doncaster and East Sutton Park was in Kent. Rosemary was also visited regularly by her mother. In both cases the parents had warned the girls against becoming involved with the companions they were with at the time. Both girls claimed that the group was made up of friends they only saw occasionally, although neither girl could entirely resist the excitement and adventure that these friends represented. Both girls insisted they had never had anything to do with delinquency or dishonesty and both argued they had merely 'lost their tempers'. They regarded their sentences as unfair or unlucky. The Recorder made an example of Diane, although she had never been in trouble before. He said: 'Whereas crimes of violence had

decreased in the surrounding area they had increased in Doncaster therefore she had to be dealt with severely.'

Rosemary's appeal failed in spite of a most favourable probation report. It was turned down with the words: 'Upon the evidence the offence called for a custodial sentence despite your being of good character. Borstal training is therefore right in principle and not too severe.'

These cases are of interest because the sentences reflected the Judge's attitude towards female violence. They appeared to be imposed more as deterrents to the surrounding community than as punishment or training for offenders. These sentences suggest that when girls are involved in violent offences, it generates a degree of moral panic. It is possible that each time it occurs it is taken as evidence of a real deterioration in the behaviour of young females which may then be attributed to various social factors. A recent example of this phenomenon has been the attempt to link the increase in juvenile delinquency among girls with the re-emergence of feminism.¹⁷

The School

The family, of course, is not the only institution in which young people are necessarily involved, they also have to go to school. Unlike their families, school was not a subject that interested the girls. As we saw from Winnie's account it was often difficult to persuade them to talk about it at all. This was so even when school life included such dramatic events as fights with the headmistress. The most typical response can be summed up in a few words: '*In the fourth year I hardly ever went - I just used to get my mark and come out*' or '*I just felt it was not for me.*'¹⁸ Nevertheless school cannot be easily disregarded within the analyses as truancy was another significant way in which they 'came to the notice of the authorities'. There were instances where it was the only factor involved.

Maureen: *I've been away all my life - in approved school since I was 10 - just kept running away. It started by not going to school. I used to go sometimes but the school board man came. Everything I've learned I've learned put away - didn't believe I'd be put away - loads of us did it. We went to the park - a gang of just girls - didn't get in any trouble. I was sent to St. Helens. I done three years there. It was terrible 'cos I was the youngest - kept running away. Junior approved school 3 years, intermediate 2 years, 10 months in senior approved school. You miss home leave when you run away, I only had 5 home leaves in all that time - I only saw Mum when I ran away. St. Christopher's was the worst, I couldn't stand that - even girls of school leaving age still had to go to school - we couldn't go out to work. I came here because I kept running away from approved schools - they wouldn't have me back.*

Equally, it was sometimes only one of a number of contributory factors - for example:

Wendy: *I remember them quarrelling over little things, lots of times we was miserable through them arguing. I hated school ... I used to stay away from school to look after me Mum who had rheumatism - we started missing school all the time, notes came to the house and my father found out. He used to hit us but he never talked to us about school - I used to run away from home when I missed school. We'd go down the part at Moriston in the day time - there used to be wild horses or we'd go swimming. My father put me in approved school really for care and protection - said I was out of control and mother was bad - I felt I hadn't done anything.*

For the majority, school was an unsatisfactory and often unpleasant experience which tended to lead to trouble, perhaps for fighting or stealing, and usually for truancy. There were a few girls who did benefit from education, at least to the extent that they were able to work at white collar jobs. Even so, they were not able to make enough money to satisfy them. For example, Erleanne who had social ambitions (almost the only one who had) got a job as a secretary/bookkeeper at Astell-Halls for a salary of £22 a week (in 1970). She rented a flat in Chester Row for £21 a week. Not surprisingly she soon got into debt. She solved her problem by cashing cheques on the company's account. She claimed to have 'got away with £1100'. She said,

For the first couple of cheques I really needed the moeny - it's not difficult to spend it in London - discos and shopping soon run away with it. I didn't realise how much was missing until I checked the books.

She was 21 and expected a prison sentence, but her barrister pleaded for her as an intelligent girl who could make something of her life. Her legal advisers congratulated her on getting 'Borstal'. However, she found it hard. 'It's more difficult for intelligent girls' was the way she put it. The staff considered her stuck up and superior, although her parents were quite 'ordinary'. Other girls resented her because she wanted a different kind of life. She did not know her place!

Corinne considered herself fat and unattractive. She said the girls teased her about it so she didn't like school. In the fourth year she became obsessed with the Bee Gees pop group and followed them about the country, often missing school in the process. However she was sufficiently successful at a commercial course to get a job as an audio-typist for which she was paid a salary, and therefore able to open a bank account. The money she needed to follow the Bee Gees and later Luton Town football club was obtained by opening further bank accounts 'all over London'. She finally got two concurrent Borstal sentences for defrauding the National Westminster Bank and the National Giro. She said

I felt it wasn't illegal, all seven bank accounts were in my own name - one time I gave my budgie as a reference - Mr. C. Bird - they couldn't prosecute him! I thought I was only getting large overdrafts - the money just went - everything I wanted I bought - I got away with £1,700 of clothes and material - but I didn't save any.

Corinne and Erleanne were typical of a great many girls who got into trouble because they wanted things that they couldn't pay for. But they were atypical in the sense that their difficulties arose because they were over-committed to prevailing values. Erleanne wanted to lead a 'jet-set' existence and Corinne to buy her way into the 'pop scene'. If they had had rich parents they might never have been in trouble - they were perfect examples of Merton's innovators.¹⁹ Whereas they wanted a better place in conventional society, the majority of the girls became increasingly detached from it. Detachment should not be taken to imply indifference, but rather used literally to mean 'separation' or the 'loosening of ties'. Interpreted in this way, it can provide a structural explanation for the link between the family, the school and a delinquent career. So often this link has been explained in the Freudian sense that unhappy childhood experiences lead to the kind of disturbed personality who is likely to get into trouble and may even commit crimes in later life.²⁰ This is thought to apply particularly to women who are considered more dependent than men on family relationships.

However, it may equally be true that separation from the protective institutions of childhood, the family and the school, exposes the individual to a social process which has the same effect. This approach owes much to 'social control' theory, particularly to the work of Steven Box²¹ - but the way in which the concepts of attachment and detachment are used is slightly different.

Box argues that the preparedness of youth to accede to acceptable social norms is considered to depend on attachments formed, commitments developed and beliefs accepted. He suggests "These three elements can be conceptualised as the bonds which tie an individual to the conventional order".²² For individuals to conform there must be a reasonable expectation that there is something in it for them. We might expect therefore that attachment occurs if an individual is integrated into a social primary group, commitment develops with investment in the educational or occupational system, which leads to a rational belief in future prospects. However the claim that there is a relationship between attachment and delinquency has not gone unchallenged. Taylor, Walton and Young for example argue "We do not accept that delinquency may result from differential attachments to parents and learning processes which result in children being differentially attached to moral authority in general - especially at a time when the hold of the nuclear family is, by all accounts, being weakened."²³

They further go on to argue that to assume a deviant acts because he/she is able to neutralise the moral bind of society is to fail to take into account that deviant activities occur along a wide spectrum of moral values ranging from those seen by the actors as justifiable within the bounds of conventional morality, to those which are intended as a deliberate critique of society and an outright rejection of its norms. Furthermore, they add, the deviant need not necessarily be able to articulate his/her critique in any particular context for us to consider that it has been made. However, to assume these two positions are necessarily contradictory is to forget the dual nature of the subject. People are both subjects of social structure and subjects of social action. They are constrained by social processes and capable of making choices. For the Borstal girls, the process of detachment led to a way of life which did repudiate many conventional norms. Equally though it would be a mistake to suggest that the girls developed a radical critique of society. It was more a 'partial penetration' of their position within it, in the sense that they half recognised the structural constraints operating against them. They knew that hard work and conformity would not really change things, in much the same way that Paul Willis asserted his 'lads' did in 'Learning to Labour'.²⁴

Attachment to a cohesive family group, Box suggests, affects the moral choices an individual will make. Whereas according to Taylor, Walton and Young, attachment does not affect those choices, but from the Borstal accounts it appears that the process of attachment and detachment is far less moral and far more physical and literal. To disregard the importance of the family, or to regard it as a 'double-bind concentration camp' may be all very well in some Utopia²⁵ where other adequate arrangements are made, but empirically, in British society, it is to neglect the relationship between the family and Matza's process of 'signification'.²⁶ The most important point does not appear to be whether attachment to parents affects an actor's attachment to conventional morality, but whether detachment from the family and school leads to sets of circumstances in which events occur that do not seem to be matter of moral

choice at all. For good or ill, the family is a private sphere within which individuals, and particularly children, are protected from outside interference. In British society there is not substitute for it which leaves them equally anonymous. Once children or whole families lose this anonymous status, the family's capacity to function as a protective shell is weakened. If the level of disturbance reaches the point where outside interference is requested or imposed, two processes are set in motion which proceed concurrently and which may have reinforcing consequences. On the one hand, once further attempts were made by the authorities to regulate the girls' lives these regulations provided new opportunities for further rule breaking, and on the other because 'making out on the run' was such hard going, the struggle to survive often led to more trouble. Breakdowns resulted in further institutionalisation followed by further periods 'on the run' - thus an escalating process began which led to Borstal, as Joyce so aptly described it 'I seem to have been inside, outside and running away for so long.' It would be interested to know the extent to which a family's ability to intervene in this process, and thus influence its member's life chances, depends on its social class.²⁷ Unfortunately the data provides very little information about girls from middle class homes and almost none about professional families. However in one of the files (Noreen's) there was a letter from a girl called Caroline she met in Holloway. It was written on headed writing paper from an address in S.W.3. It said:

The conspiracy charge is being put off for the moment but they're bound to sling it at us. Offenbach was representing Freddie and Tim and he really is a wizard lawyer - he doesn't think they can make the conspiracy charge stick. He also said Freddie's £1000 was for psychiatric treatment in England but I don't think the judge believed him. Anyway at the moment I'm under lock and key at home and have got to go for a cure and then get a job and a pad or my father will throw in the bail. I only hope I can stay out of trouble, they are blaming it all on me. Apparently some fuzz told Sally that I was locked up so I wouldn't get my throat cut as I was a grass. You know that I didn't do it or I would have been out like Gypsie - but who will believe me up the street? Mary and Eddie's wife are after me - charming. I wish I had grassed now perhaps I would have got out of Holloway quicker. I think it was either Will or Freddie but I don't know. What's the difference, they'll always think it was me. It really upset me though, as that is one thing I have never done. I'm going to stay in the country now for a bit to get out of London for various reasons. You can guess. The scene is finished anyway. It's just a drag being addicted, I couldn't believe the change when I got out. There's no one left. I couldn't get over all those lovely men out here. Its funny how much you notice them after you've been in the Nick - I still can't believe I'm out but its a different kind of prison at home at the moment.

This letter of course does not enable us to construe what exactly the situation was, but it does suggest that Caroline was extensively involved with others in trouble. It also shows that her parents were able to protect her by standing bail and presumably by guaranteeing her good behaviour, from a further custodial sentence. They also had the resources to send her to the country when trouble appeared to threaten her. They had obviously not, however, been able to prevent her from going to Holloway. One letter, of course, does not constitute evidence that the class base of delinquent activity is far broader than the Borstal sample suggests, but it does act as a reminder that there may well be a class bias built into the apprehension process. So that we must remember our data can only provide information

about the relationship between social class and a Borstal sentence, not about the relation between social class and female delinquency in general.

We have attempted to examine some of the factors leading to a life in which delinquency becomes a possible option, in terms of the social conditions that lead to it. This is not to say that in individual cases psychological factors may not also be relevant, but rather to argue that they are inadequate as a general explanation of female deviance. Girls take part in group activities and they are reproduced through culture and social structure in just the same way that boys are. They are equally created in and through ideology as subjects²⁸ and equally affected by the opportunities and constraints which are determined by the class structure. Equally, they are also actors capable of making choices.

Both their life 'on the run' and the kinds of trouble for which they received their sentences contained an element of recognition²⁹ that youth was a very brief interlude between the deprivation of a working class childhood and the daily drudgery of their future as working class women.

If it meant being bored and short of money they rejected a life of conformity; school was boring, so very often was work. If the day was fine or the bus left too early, they simply didn't go. Equally, many of the offences they committed and the type of life they led did not conform to an acceptable stereotype of female behaviour, criminal or otherwise.

Their actions suggest they were aware of their place in relation to both class and patriarchy.³⁰ But it was only a very partial penetration. The degree of active mastery over the environment that they attained was both limited and temporary.³¹

There are aspects of 'life on the run' which are unexpected to the outsider and which make it difficult to sustain explanations in terms of individual pathology. Firstly, the way of life is clearly a collective, rather than an individual phenomenon. Although it is possible to argue that personality of psychological defects may have caused the original break from home or school, it becomes a dubious assumption if we are going to suggest that people with similar personality defects are engaging in virtually the same way of life in places as far apart as London and Glasgow, Reading, Bristol, Cardiff and Bournemouth. In all these places and many others, there seemed to exist several girls, sometimes connected with boys, but often not, who formed a loose network of acquaintances who would accept newcomers if they were prepared to join in their activities which were dominated by the search for excitement and a desire for a high-consumption way of life - very much as Matza points out, the leisure goals of conventional middle class society,³² but excluding all other middle-class goals, (no protestant ethic and no deferred gratification) and which are pursued in a far more transitory way. The girls had a very low threshold of boredom, therefore the activities they found exciting had to produce immediate results. The desire for money was based on the need to spend it there and then. It was not a means of acquiring long term gains, either for use or prestige purposes.

Secondly, we might well wonder how a novice was able to locate and enter such a group. Obvious explanations applied in some cases. For example groups of truants who first met each other at school spent days wandering around the shops or hanging about parks and open spaces, boredom often leading to

delinquent activities. Girls who had been in approved school often chose a particular town to run to, because a friend in the school knew what was going on there. In many cases, however, girls simply left home and hitched a lift to London or the nearest large town without knowing anyone. Once there, they somehow managed to meet up with other girls, or less often, boys, who 'had a flat' or room where they could stay. They met these girls in cafes, pubs, stations or sometimes just wandering about the streets. Surely the ability to make contact in this way requires both initiative and courage, not usually the typical characteristics of 'inadequate females'.

The girls kept themselves going in many different ways. They made money by hustling, shoplifting, breaking into shops, surgeries, houses, phone boxes or meters. They stole purses or handbags from home, people at work, or from tourists. Those who were more organised sold stolen goods or lived on cheques from stolen cheque books. Sometimes they took jobs, nearly all claimed social security when they could. The money, when they had it, went on drugs, drink, clothes and meals out. However much they had, they were always running out. It was not uncommon for them to be finally caught stealing some small item of food just because they were hungry. Often it was the activity itself which seemed to provide the most satisfaction - this was often undertaken with a supreme disregard for the consequences. For example,

Me and Mary Higgings have always been on the same charges. We saw this house - it was the last house in the street - in an afternoon people are at work. We walked past - it was nice house and we didn't have no money. So we took new clothes, records and a hair dryer. We sold them for only £5 and shared the money. I said to Mary, I bet any money we get caught and we did. She said 'I'll bet we do' - but we did it anyway. The Police came at 11 o'clock.

Of course it may be that the girls were careless because they were not clever enough to think out clearly what the results of the actions would be. I would suggest however, that it was not that they couldn't think about future consequences, but rather that they had little interest in doing so. Their actions made sense in terms of the goals that were important to them. Everything they did, including that very carelessness, could be taken to imply, if not a critique, at least a blatant disregard for the consensual values of capitalist society which assume that individuals act in terms of calculated self-interest.

Equally, their goals of money and excitement, though common to members of all classes in Britain, were pursued with an immediacy which repudiated any idea of long term planning or future orientation. Although some girls made occasional references to rich men or glamorous jobs, on the whole they were realistic about the opportunities available in the conventional world. This realism applied both to jobs and to their relations with men. It was either factory work, which was well-paid but boring, or something more interesting like working in a hospital or an office which didn't pay enough to live on. Marriage meant 'being stuck at home looking after children and being short of money - while he went out with his mates.'

Realistically, the future 'going straight' held out few enticing prospects,³³ as Rita put it 'I would find it terribly dull with no drugs and no money and no business'. Whereas the kinds of trouble they got into provided money or excitement and sometimes both. Neither these goals, nor the means used to achieve them reflect a specifically female orientation to deviance, as a

brief examination of some of their activities will show.

Prostitution, though traditionally a female profession is by no means exclusively so.³⁴ From the material under consideration here, it was never pursued for excitement. It was the only activity the girls referred to as 'business', and it was seen in purely instrumental terms. In general, clients were despised and sometimes feared, but never objects of emotional attachment. No girl would admit to having spent a whole night with a client, no matter how much she was paid. As a short term occupation it was as nearly a purely instrumental activity as any open to them. It paid well, claims of making £250 a week were not uncommon, the risk of arrest was low unless they started 'rolling' their clients. The profit margins were high if they managed to avoid being preyed on by a pimp, or just a boyfriend who become too greedy (which they often did). They didn't always need a flat or even a room, they would do most of their trade in the backs of cars. It was sometimes risky, more than one girl reported being held terrified in the back of a car with a knife at her throat, but in spite of narrow escapes, they believed, probably with justification, that they could look after themselves. They were in less danger from venereal disease than most of the other girls, as prostitutes always attended a clinic for regular check-ups. As one said '*Street girls is clean*'. They believed realistically it was the best way of getting 'rich'. As another girl remarked '*the first time I did business I realised I could earn more in ten minutes than I had been getting in a whole week*'. Of course for girls under 16 or on the run from approved school, being picked up by the police could mean a spell in an even more 'secure' institution. It was often regarded in the probation reports as evidence of a disturbed personality. The girls themselves also regarded it as a 'last resort' activity. Those who did not do it themselves said it was 'disgusting', even those who did, were anxious to keep soliciting charges from boyfriends or parents. It was not that they thought it was degrading in itself, they claim 'you just open your legs and you do business, there's nothing to it' summed up their attitude, but they were conscious of other people's opinion of it. However they were unanimous in the view that it did not provide intrinsic satisfaction - they were in it for the money, the excitement came as the money was spent.

It was often spent on drink or drugs which in turn tended to be followed by fights of all sorts. Drugs and drink 'were good for kicks' but they too had disadvantages which made them high risk activities. They were expensive, many girls admitted they would have to go on stealing or with prostitution in order to afford them. They led to the risk of arrest on 'drunk and disorderly' charges, or even graver charges for violent behaviour after drug taking. There was also always the chance of being caught 'in possession'. Heroin was less likely to lead to violence than speed (which was more popular) but more likely to lead to addiction and as the few heroin addicts admitted, even death. However, the 'fixers' were very proud of their experience, and considered that they alone were in a position to talk about drugs with authority.

Drink and drugs were a constant drain on resources but they were often preferred to food when funds were low - in the short run, however, they provided effortless pleasure and an escape from reality - as one girl put it '*it blacks away the responsibility of reality*', and another '*it's a dead existence off drugs, like being a cabbage*'.

On drugs, gratification depended neither on personal relation-

ships which so often turned out to be disappointing, nor achievement, nor approval. Success or failure did not come into it. Drugs were an escape from the evaluation and often the condemnation of others. But the evidence does not entirely support the view that drugtakers are either double failures or retreatists.³⁵ Firstly, drugs have to be paid for, or stolen from surgeries or chemists, therefore some sort of success is necessary to obtain them at all, and secondly for the girls speed and mandrax were the most popular drugs, and the fights, fracas and disturbances which occurred after drugtaking were group activities in the world, not signs of withdrawal from it. Yet, on a deeper level they were escapist in the sense that they provided a passport to instant euphoria followed by severe depression. Some girls argued that a judicious mixture of speed (to pep you up) and mandrax (to calm you down) could prevent these unpleasant effects, but overdoses and suicide attempts were not uncommon.

Fighting in itself was regarded as an exciting activity particularly if gang warfare was involved. Hell's Angels from different parts of the country travelled long distances to fight each other, and continuous 'battles' between 'skins' and 'greasers' seemed to be going on everywhere. Violence was not a term the girls used when discussing what they did - they talked about fights or even mugging a *propos* of someone else, but if they personally admitted to being involved in it all, they saw it in terms of warfare, kicks or 'hardness' - a much valued personal quality. '*I always go to football on a Saturday - I wouldn't miss a fight for anything*' said one girl; '*where there's trouble I'm in it*' said another. Though they admitted to enjoying the fight itself even if they had been hurt, they were also as quick to condemn hurting others as conventional members of society, but for them there were more mitigating circumstances. Drunkenness or drug-taking was a satisfactory excuse for fighting. Taking speed was accounted a good reason for knocking down an old lady and snatching her handbag. Any kind of fighting with a rival group was justified; so was a physical attack on anyone who could possibly be regarded as insulting. Often no excuse was needed - excitement was enough.³⁶ '*I just did it for kicks really*' was a frequent explanation. They were proud of their own toughness and disregard for pain and assumed others shared this point of view, yet at the same time they expressed a sentimental concern for the welfare of children and old people, and were quick to condemn violence, cruelty or neglect shown towards them by other people. Though it was exciting in much the same way as dangerous sports are, fighting was a highly visible activity which frequently led to charges of 'grievous or actual bodily' harm followed by custodial sentences.

On the other hand shoplifting and breaking and entering seemed to be activities that could escape detection for some time. They also seemed to be intrinsically rewarding in themselves. There was enough risk to maintain interest and exhilaration coupled with the satisfaction of 'getting something for nothing'. Many girls admitted to 'getting away with' far more property than appeared on the charge sheet. Sometimes shoplifting was a way of obtaining a constant supply of goods for use - for example groceries or clothes. '*You must have something new to wear every night*' said one girl. Sometimes it was a business activity, as many of the goods were taken to sell, and it certainly appeared to be lucrative. Possibly in moderation it might have continued for long periods without detection, but these girls seemed to do it too often and take too much. One girl reported taking a coat and wearing it, putting another in her bag, and then taking a third coat which she wore over the first

one. She was surprised when she was caught walking out of the shop! Some girls were outraged by the fact that they were caught for stealing something relatively cheap, and would boast of 'cupboards full of clothes' at home. They were extremely scathing about the poor quality of the outfits provided by the Borstal, as one girl remarked *'just imagine wearing plastic shoes'*.

Breaking and entering had all the excitement of an adventure. The phone call to see if the home was empty, the problem of actually breaking in to it, the unknown treasure that might or might not be discovered, the danger of the occupant's return and the possibility of a police chase. On the whole the criterion of good booty was that it should be easily disposable. Money was preferred but goods like TV's and radios found markets. No girl had the facilities or knowledge to dispose of silver, however. The best find of all was a cheque book with a banker's card. This theft was considered quite justifiable 'anybody silly enough to leave them both together deserves it!' Such a find was usually followed by a spending spree, but the risk was great, whereas shoplifters were often caught several times and fined or put on probation, breaking into property was likely to attract a custodial sentence regardless of the person's previous record.

To attempt to analyse these actions in this way is not to romanticise either crime or the girls' way of life.³⁷ It did not represent a liberated culture or an alternative social group with a viable life style. It was in fact a transient and treacherous society. Relationships formed in these conditions were emotionally unrewarding. Affection and concern for others was professed, but as the accounts of 'what happened' show, this is an ideology which describes an ideal state rather than the facts of the case. In the real world, individuals stole from each other, 'grassed' on each other to 'the law' and denounced each other in court whenever it suited them. Nor did the girls share a liberated set of values - in fact they were highly critical and quite punitive about what others did. For example girls who drank and fought condemned others 'on the game' as 'disgusting'. Prostitutes argued they would not steal, addicts looked down on non drug-takers as juvenile delinquents who knew nothing about life. 'Good timers' described the more conventional as 'ignorant gobis', shoplifters despised less systematic offenders for wearing cheap clothes. Everyone regarded theft from other girls, lack of personal hygiene, or grassing on other inmates as morally reprehensible. Yet complaints about all these things were made all the time.

In the long run the desire for autonomy and their bid for freedom were without a future. The girls would either have to conform to the situation from which they had tried to escape or face increasingly long periods in prison. The point to be made, however, is that girls have the same desire for excitement, for a feeling of mastery over the environment, the same longing to make things happen, that boys do. Career prospects for the unskilled of both sexes are equally uninspiring, although for working class girls a job was merely an interim period between school and marriage.³⁸ Yet the boys they met were more violent, stronger and more demanding than they were themselves. Relations with men often introduced an added element of exploitation. Housebreaking with other girls provided the same excitement, reward and autonomy without the fear of being taken for a ride. With boys, the adolescent dream of romance in reality often resulted in their reduction to a commodity, yet this disillusionment with female sex roles did not necessarily mean that they did not consider sex of primary importance.

They were far more developed as affective than cognitive beings. The cultural value of romantic love retained its supremacy, it was merely transferred from the opposite to their own sex. The ambition of many girls when they left Borstal was to 'get a flat' with 'Maggie' or 'Julie' or 'Jeanette' and sometimes even to have children - for example *'I couldn't spend the rest of my life with a man anyway. Jeanette's going to have a baby - she wants me to pick the father'*. It is hard to believe that this relationship would survive the hazards of boredom and poverty either.

The struggle against merely accepting 'their place' was a real struggle for freedom and autonomy, but the girls were also products of the society against which they tried to rebel. They too were caught in its contradictions - as Willis argues: "Capitalist freedoms are real freedoms and capitalism takes the wager, which is the essence of reproduction, that the freedoms will be used for self damnation."³⁹

In this case the bet was won.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. Carol Smart has evoked new theoretical interest in female deviance which has been further developed by Anne Campbell in a definitive book about delinquent girls. This excellent book includes both a thorough review of American and British literature and material derived from her own research in London, Liverpool, Oxford and Glasgow. She has also done some work on aggression with Borstal girls which is described in the book. Lesley Shacklady-Smith and Deirdre Wilson have written articles about delinquent girls based on their own research. All these writers have moved away from the 'female pathology' approach towards a social theory of female deviance. Smart, C., *Women, Crime and Criminology*. RKP 1977. Campbell, A., *Girl Delinquents*. Basil Blackwell 1981. Shacklady-Smith, L., *Sexist Assumptions and Female Delinquency in Smart C. and Smart B (Eds)*. Women, Sexuality and Social Control, RKP 1978. On a related, but slightly different topic, an interesting argument on the labelling of female alcoholics as sick and disgusting is made by Shirley Otto. Otto, S., *Women, Alcohol and Social Control in Hutter B. and Williams G. Controlling Women - The Normal and the Deviant Croom*. Helm 1981.
2. "In particular more research is needed in the area of women and crime because there is a dearth of material which even considers women, let alone analyses their deviant and criminal behaviour in non sexist terms ... clearly there is a requirement for more research, including a re-appraisal and a re-interpretation of existing material in terms of our re-conceptualisation of the role of women and girls in the community". (Smart C., op cit. p.183-4). In particular she emphasises the need to know more about the type of offences that women and girls commit, the attitudes of social workers, probation officers and judges to female offenders and the way they are treated in Borstal or Prison.
3. "A joint focus on gender and class from an economic and criminal viewpoint would seem an obvious next step, since for years sociologists and feminists have noted the change in 'acceptable' female behaviour as a function of the economic climate". She goes on "According to common sense and scientific practice, a phenomenon requires separate and distinct study insofar as it is unique. If reasoning, memory learning and so on were shown to operate according to totally different laws in men and women we should need a separate psychology of women. If economic forces of supply and demand no longer applied when females ran the economy, we should need a whole new economic theory. If women did not respond to unemployment and marginal status with alienation, we should need a whole new sociology. We do not need a second set of theories for women The laws apply equally, but their effect is specific to the social and historical background of any given group". (Campbell A., op cit. p.238-9)
4. Mellor, J. *Becoming a Borstal Girl: A study of the social processes of assimilation, adjustment and reaction to the environment in two Borstal Institutions for Girls*. Unpublished Ph.D. University of London 1975.
5. The contention that social control embodies a conception of normality that specifically refers to women rather than to people in general is interestingly argued in Hutter B. and Controlling Women - The Normal and the Deviant Williams G. Croom Helm 1981 Chapter 1.
6. "What has to be accepted, the given, is - so one could say - forms of life". Wittgenstein L. *Philosophical Investigations*. Basil Blackwell 1972. p.226
7. Lemert E. *Human Deviance, Social Problems and Social Control*. Englewood Cliffs NJ, Prentice Hall 1967 p.11.
8. East Sutton Park was at that time an open Borstal for Girls which was able to select the 'better type of Borstal girl' (the girl's phrase, not mine). This seemed to be defined as a girl unlikely to abscond (though some did), who was not an obvious drug addict, or homosexual, and was likely to benefit from the 'advantages of being sent there'. In other words a girl who was likely to relate to the institution with some degree of normative compliance. Ballwood Hall was a closed borstal purpose-built by the Prison Department in 1967. It had to accept all-comers though in extreme cases, for example after the riot, just before the research began, girls were sent to Holloway.
9. The girls spent the day on working parties in the house, on outdoor maintenance, in the gardens, or working on the farm. I could join any of these parties if

- there was a vacancy - I learned a lot from doing this too but it was more relevant to the second part of my research on how the girls made out in Borstal, than to the issue of how the girls got there, which we are discussing here.
10. Letters from the girls were left in the file when they contained something derogatory about the Borstal. Incoming letters seemed to be put in the file if they talked about criminal activities, or might be seen as encouraging further trouble. But this is only guesswork on my part as of course I didn't see the letters which the girls had received.
 11. A Borstal sentence seemed to have a certain dramatic impact on the girls. This was noticeable even for those who had been to 'approved school' which they often claimed was harder. This is understandable if we remember that Borstal is the end of the road for juvenile offenders.
 12. See for example: **McRobbie A. and Garber J.** Girls and Subcultures in Jefferson T. (Ed) Resistance through Rituals, Hutchinson - Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies, 1975. **McRobbie A.** Working Class Girls and the Culture of Femininity in Women Take Issue, Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies University of Birmingham, 1978. **Sharpe S.** Just Like a Girl, Penguin, 1976.
 13. See for example: **Cowie J., Cowie V. and Slater E.,** Delinquency in Girls, Heinemann, 1968. **Konopka G.,** The Adolescent Girl in Conflict, Prentice Hall, 1966. **Richardson H.,** Adolescent Girls in Approved Schools, RKP, 1969. For an excellent review of studies in this vein see **Campbell A.** op cit. chapter 2.
 14. To assume that there is a 'normal family' is, of course from some points of view theoretically dubious. For example: 'The socialist critique of the ideal of the working class family in capitalist society - the family of the bread-winning husband and the houseworking wife - is that it is divisive of the working class.' **McIntosh M.** The Family in socialist Feminist Politics in **Brunt R. and Rowan C.** (eds) Feminism, Culture and Politics, Lawrence and Wishart, 1982.
 15. The girls' accounts of violence in the family are corroborated by Anne Campbell's Study of Aggression Among Borstal Girls. For example: "AC. How did your father hit you? Well, he didn't slap me round the arse. He used to batter my face in. All I had to do to get hit was the littlest thing' - or Last time my dad hit me he broke my collar bone". **Campbell A.** op cit. p.182-3.
 16. See in particular **Smart C. and Smart B.** (op cit), **Hutter B. and Williams G.** (op cit).
 17. For example: **Adler F.,** Sisters in Crime, McGraw-Hill, 1975.
 18. The irrelevance of school to working class. Boys and their reaction against it have been well documented in, for example: **Corrigan P.,** Schooling the Smash Street Kids, Macmillan, 1979, Chapter 2. **Willis P.,** Learning to Labour, Saxon House, 1977. **McRobbie** (1978) shows how girls react in a similar position but the form that reaction takes is slightly different. p.104.
 19. **Merton R.K.,** Social Theory and Social Structure, Free Press New York, 1957, (p141-9).
 20. For example: "It would seem that in any community there must always be a proportion of families in which the emotional life is unfavourable to the immature, sensitive and over-reaching adolescent." **Cowie J., Cowie V. and Slater E.** (op cit) p.181. or 'Gibbens suggests that girls tend to nurse their grievances and anxieties until adolescence when they emerge suddenly in wayward and promiscuous behaviour. The mental health of parents and delinquents was decidedly worse than that of parents whose children attended child guidance clinics.' **Walker A.** 'Special Problems of Delinquent and Maladjusted Girls' in **Mays J.B.** (Ed) Juvenile Delinquency, the Family and the Social Group, Longman, 1972.
 21. **Box S.,** Deviance, Reality and Society, Holt Rinehart and Winston, New York, 1977.
 22. **Box S.** (op cit) (p.140-9).
 23. **Taylor I., Walton P. and Young J.,** The New Criminology, RKP, 1974, p.184.
 24. Willis explains the term in the following way: 'Penetration' is meant to designate impulses within a cultural form towards the penetration of the conditions of existence of its members and their position within the social whole 'Limitation is meant to designate those blocks, diversions and ideological effects which confuse and impede the full development of these impulses. The rather clumsy but strictly accurate term 'partial penetration' is meant to designate the interaction of these two terms in a concrete culture. **Willis P.** op cit. p.119.
 25. As Michelle Barratt and Mary McIntosh point out in Britain 'living outside the family is possible but only under conditions considerably less attractive than those within it. **Barratt M. and McIntosh M.,** The Anti-Social Family, Verso, 1982, p.78.
 26. **Matza D.** Becoming Deviant, Pentice Hall, Englewood Cliffs NJ, 1969, Chapter 7.
 27. It goes without saying that class is probably the most important variable which affects the likelihood of a Borstal sentence - as indeed it affects every other aspect of life in British Society as Ivan Reed concludes 'In fact there seems to be very little of life in our society which isn't in some way characterised by differences between the social classes.' **Reid I.,** Social Class Differences in Britain, Grant McIntyre, 1981, p.298. For a specific analysis of the differential class support for unattached teenagers in London see **Campbell A.** op cit. p.224.
 28. For example see: **Coward R. and Ellis J.,** Language and Materialism, RKP, 1977, p.75-6.
 29. See above.
 30. For a discussions of this issue see **Barrett M.,** Women's Oppression Today, Verso, 1980, Chapter 1.
 31. For an account of the kind of life and forms of deprivation girls leaving Borstal may expect see **Goodman N., Malone E. and Davies J.,** Borstal Girls Eight Years After Release, HMSO, London, 1976.
 32. **Matza D. and Sykes G.,** 'Juvenile Delinquency and Subterranean Values', American Sociological Review 26, 1961, p716.
 33. For example: 'From the inside looking out what appears as present time orientation to the outside observer is to the man experiencing it, as much as future orientation as that of his middle class counterpart. The difference between the two men has not so much in their different orientation to time as in their different orientations to future time, or more specifically to their different futures As for the future the young street corner man has a fairly good picture of it it is a future in which everything is uncertain except the ultimate destruction of his hopes and the eventual realisation of his fears.' **Liebow E.,** Tally's Corner, RKP, 1967, p.64-6.
 34. **Humphreys L.,** The Tea Room Trade, Aldine, Chicago, 1970.
 35. **Merton,** op cit. p153-5.
 36. This interpretation is also corroborated by **Campbell** (1981) 'These fights were often particularly motivated by a need for excitement, and many girls mentioned the thrill of the fight itself.' op cit. p.189.
 37. This tendency has been well criticised in **Taylor I., Walton P. and Young J.,** Critical Criminology, RKP, 1975, Chapter 1 and 2.
 38. **McRobbie A.,** op cit. 1978 p.102-4.
 39. **Willis P.,** op cit. p.175.

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Bob Moon (ed.)

**COMPREHENSIVE SCHOOLS: CHALLENGE AND
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These three books are directly and indirectly about an educational innovation that after a seemingly inordinately long childhood and adolescence is rapidly coming of age: the community school. I add indirectly for in the case of the collection of essays edited by Moon the community school idea is not the apparent topic under consideration. Moon has brought together a set of six case studies designed to highlight progressive practice in comprehensive schools which examine the development of such innovations as the mini-school system, assessment and profiling, curriculum reform and the management of innovative practices. Each essay is thus almost a primer in itself and the collection in totality is an invaluable guide to the style and modus operandi of a number of schools which are considered by many to be in the forefront of educational change in the secondary sector. Of the six put under the microscope five also happen to be important and oft discussed community schools and consequently the book deserves to be read alongside those of Poster and Dybeck as a key text for anyone wishing to understand just what is implied by the term community school.

The rate of increase in the number of such institutions during the past decade and the number on stream according to the for-

ward plans of I.e.a.'s mean that they can no longer be ignored as the idiosyncratic creations of a few 'forward-looking' authorities. Indeed it now appears that the community school band-wagon is unstoppable and that youth workers and other welfare workers as well as teachers are going to have to learn to come to terms with them. It is certainly not unrealistic to predict that by the early 1990s well over half the I.e.a. youth workers, who still have jobs, will be operating from such institutions and that a similar proportion of young people of 'school-age' will be attending them. Against that background the appearance of these three books has been timely to say the least. Whatever reservations one may have concerning them individually, each in their own way are essential reading for anyone wishing to understand something of the *raison d'être* underpinning the current popularity of community schools in educational circles.

Although Poster offers a brief introduction which raises some of the theoretical issues and a slightly longer outline of their historical development neither he or Dybeck actually attempt to come to terms with the question of what is a community school. Surely by now advocates of community schools should be offering some criteria by which the observer is able to judge the validity of a school's right to add the epithet community to its note-paper. The label Grammar at least told the public and consumer alike something quite specific concerning the curriculum, orientation and recruitment policy of a school. 'Community' tells the casual passer-by and the user virtually nothing of value except that possibly the I.e.a. possess some vague commitment to raising the sights of the school above the level of merely offering schooling to its pupils. Any reader who hopes to solve the enigma of what exactly sets a community school apart from your everyday common or garden school will, as I have already indicated, be somewhat disappointed by these offerings. They will certainly find helpful clues and guidance but it is sadly not a concern that long delays either Poster or Dybeck. For as both of them and the contributors to the Moon book stress they are practitioners not theoreticians. All prefer to argue their corner by the careful, often skillful, use of the case study, guided tour and anecdote. Equally all these contributions are quite unashamedly propagandist. As a result they stand four-square in the dominant tradition of writings on community schools much of which would not be out of place in the 'Great Helmsman' world of Maoist writing; not least when the great pioneers, Henry Morris, Fairbairn, et al are being discus-

sed. Great to read if you share the authors beliefs and are seeking moral support, dangerous if you are gullible but unfortunately somewhat unsatisfactory if you are interested in the issues but even partially sceptical of the solutions offered.

The Community School Tradition

Dybeck, Poster and Thompson, the latter of whom contributes a fascinating chapter to the Moon book based on his experience as Assistant Principal (Community) at the Abraham Moss Centre (Manchester), along with almost every other writer on this subject locate the origins of the contemporary community school movement in the pioneering work of Henry Morris. Dybeck who is Warden of Sawtry Village College (Cambridgeshire) and who wrote this book in part to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the opening of the first Village College, in particular denotes a great deal of space to an evaluation of the contribution of Morris. In the end Dybeck offers a far more educationally orientated and vigorous assessment of the 'great man' than the earlier hagiographies of such writers as Ree.¹ Having said that it cannot be overlooked that Dybeck like so many propagandists becomes trapped in a web of his own making. For to attack the Morris myth would have entailed questioning much more rigorously his own practice therefore all too often he holds back from raising the awkward question or driving home the criticism.

Poster and Dybeck are however surely right in seeing Morris as an exceptional and inspirational Director of Education. Sadly that however is not saying very much given that most holders of that office rarely rise above the level of the totally predictable. Of the several thousand men and the handful of women who have occupied that post this century Morris is almost but not quite unique in having inspired an educational movement that for good or ill has been of lasting national significance. (A message there surely for those who promise us that they will reform the system if only they can secure the next promotion). Like the majority of Directors Morris may have hankered after the bauble of a knighthood or the trinket of an OBE but he did, almost uniquely, possess a clear vision of what education might achieve given a combination of resources and political will and not simply a dream of how it should be managed. It was a vision that was founded upon an analysis of the prevailing social conditions in which he operated, a sense of history and an awareness of the ways in which educational practice was both shaped by and in turn helped to shape those social conditions. He was it should also be noted a socialist, abrasive in his approach to elected officers rather than obsequious, an aesthete, a homosexual and probably not a freemason all of which both then and now help to distinguish Morris from the pack.

Morris was Director of Education for Cambridgeshire for what would nowadays be the exceptionally long stretch of thirty-one years. Within one year of his appointment in 1923 he had privately published his now famous '**Memorandum on the Provision of Education and Social Facilities for the Country, with Special Reference to Cambridgeshire,**' which is re-produced with an invaluable commentary in **The Village College Way**. The **Memorandum** is an expertly crafted document that argues for a totally new approach towards rural education. It calls for the radical re-structuring of rural education and those areas of welfare provision that were within the remit of the local authority, both in Cambridgeshire and nationally, in order that they might positively contribute towards the economic and social regeneration of the declining rural areas. To help reverse the long-term

trend of rural de-population, of which poor educational provision was widely seen a contributing factor, Morris proposed the creation of a network of purpose-built Village Colleges based on secondary schools but physically incorporating and linking the feeder primary schools.

These Colleges would, in addition to offering school pupils a more 'relevant' curriculum, make available to the host community an educational, cultural and welfare resource embracing such services and facilities as libraries, health centres, theatres, sporting and recreation provision at a standard previously inaccessible through isolation and/or poverty to the overwhelming majority of the rural population. According to Morris the College would become the epicentre of the community giving over time both cohesion and leadership to a social grouping that was in danger of losing its sense of purpose and common identity. Thus from the onset the College was about very much more than the dual-use of facilities; it was in Morris's own words to be the embodiment of an ideal of service that would "embrace human welfare in its biggest sense-spiritual, physical, social and economic". Given that scale of ambition it should perhaps surprise no-one that Dybeck sees the existing Village Colleges of Cambridgeshire as a "pale reflection" of what might have been if Morris had had at his disposal the human and financial resources he sought.

By Morris's retirement Cambridgeshire had opened six Village Colleges and one other had been built in neighbouring Peterborough. As Dybeck graphically shows the early colleges such as Sawston, Bottisham and Impington would certainly never have been built with the gargantuan efforts made by Morris in raising funds from charitable sources at home and abroad to supplement the parsimonious budgeting of his employers. Of possibly greater long-term significance than the Colleges however was the network created by Morris of disciples who after serving their apprenticeship were moving on from Cambridgeshire to managerial posts elsewhere. Poster himself is a good example of this as he notes in his preface. This particular 'old-boy network' committed to the idea of replicating Morris's achievements elsewhere and their own career advancement found like him an often surprisingly receptive audience not least amongst councillors in the Tory dominated shires, for whom the community school seemed to possess a number of undoubted advantages. Firstly, it offered the prospect of reducing over-heads through the amalgamation of schools which it was assumed would create considerable opportunities for the maximisation of economies of scale. A benefit powerfully argued by Morris who even assured his superiors that savings could be achieved by making teachers redundant. However whereas Morris envisaged Village Colleges being founded upon units catering for between 250 and 400 school students as Poster illustrates contemporary community schools are overwhelmingly based upon units with school rolls considerably in excess of that target. Indeed Sawston Village College, for example, opened in 1930 with 260 school pupils and 10 staff had by 1980 acquired 1320 pupils and 73 staff. Growth which as Dybeck shows placed considerable strain upon the resources available to non-school student users who tended to be relegated to the back of the queue. In similar vein Moon writing on his experience at Stantonbury Campus notes how the pressures concomitant with rising pupil numbers reduced appreciably staff commitment to the community-orient aspects of their work. This however is not a mere unfortunate by-product, for as Poster who quite logically argues for large scale community

campus provision as a means of ensuring adequate resource allocation and the maximisation of impact admits, with regret, it is almost inevitable that resources will as a consequence be syphoned off from the adult education and youth service sectors.

Secondly, the community school concept held out a promise to cost conscious, not to say penny-pinching, I.e.a.'s that they could save capital and current expenditure by telescoping services. It is surely no accident that community schools seemed to have acquired some of their most vociferous advocates in areas that previously were amongst those who were the lowest spenders on such items as the youth service, adult education and leisure giving one a lingering impression that they were adopted as a short cut to educational respectability.

Thirdly, community schools could not help but be seen by I.e.a.'s as a potentially valuable public relations exercise. For like dual-use they offered the rate-payers, the majority of whom had no children of school-age, some nominal but identifiable return on their investment.

Fourthly, in a contradictory way under the guise of devolving power and loosening the shackles of centralised control via the granting of self-budgeting to community schools, I.e.a.'s have been double beneficiaries. For Morris it meant devolving power as a quid pro quo for local finance to fund his venture. The new variant of this however, is budget-finance, or giving the community school a fixed budget which within certain bounds they are free to allocate at will choosing priorities and negotiating for example their own contracts on such things as repairs and alterations. Such a system enables the I.e.a. to rigidly maintain cash limits and at the same time effectively distance themselves from the impact of consumer dissatisfaction at the effects wrought by any reduction in funding. The head-teacher and governing body although 'enjoying' greater autonomy and power, become the flak-catchers of the authority as they struggle to cut costs and match growing demand to contracting resources. Invariably it gives a further incentive towards the escalating practice of institutions seeking alternative funds by maximising the income from revenue charges levied upon consumers and from sponsorship and charity. A process that can only weaken further the principle of education and youth provision being a service financed from progressive taxation, and in so doing erode the communities rights of access. The community schools located in prosperous areas can survive and even flourish under such a system. For those situated in areas of multiple deprivation the future is less rosy and the temptation for them to give preferential access to facilities to those with the cash cannot be denied. Amongst those with least bargaining power in such a free market it should not be forgotten are young people. As Thompson points out a full car park is not a sound indicator that a community school is meeting the needs of the immediate catchment area. For Brighouse the Chief Education Officer for Oxfordshire speaking at the most recent conference of the Community Education Association in April 1983, his enthusiasm for the devolution of financial accountability is understandable; although it might have been tempered with a little humility given the recent publication of a report on Oxfordshire schools which showed that one third of schools surveyed were making direct appeals for money to parents and 19 asked for specific amounts to be paid each year ranging from 50p to £15. More than half the schools in the sample also relied on voluntary labour from

parents, teachers and pupils for help with school maintenance including window cleaning, partition building, electrical wiring, shelf and cupboard construction and curtain making.² We thus seem to have come a full circle. Once again encountering what Dybeck refers to as 'the less attractive face of local autonomy' which was to be seen in the early days of the Village Colleges with complaints being voiced concerning the excessive use of pupil labour in maintaining college grounds and in the growing of produce to sustain an under-financed school meals service. For the uncritical Poster these dangers seem hardly to exist which is strange not least given the performance of his own I.e.a. under its previous Conservative majority and the way it used budget-finance to almost decimate adult and youth provision through the imposition of virtually unworkable cash limits.

Quite correctly both Dybeck and Poster indicate that it would be mis-leading to perceive the growth of community schools solely as a by-product of the never-ending search by I.e.a.'s for cost-effectiveness. The local state has been attracted to the idea for additional if less immediately obvious but equally significant reasons. One has surely been that the community school offered them a route towards the securing of a more 'rational' administrative structure. Disparate and 'untidy' services can through the auspices of the community school be amalgamated into one unit thus opening them up to greater scrutiny, accountability and supervision on a day to day basis via the head-teacher. Such previously quasi-autonomous employees as youth leaders, community development workers, adult educators and more recently careers officers have all in different areas been integrated into the school by this process. At last line management is given a presence and leverage at the point where previously it was at its most tenuous. Of course the price is that the supervision is carried out by individuals who almost invariably have no experience, training in, professional understanding and often sadly little sympathy for the traditions and skills of those they are supervising such as youth workers. Perhaps therefore we should not be surprised to discover from the research of Holmes that he found for qualified youth leaders whom he interviewed "experiences in school-based youth work have not been happy ones."³

What often puzzles both opponents and advocates of the community school is that in many cases, far too many for it to be an aberration, otherwise quite backward and reactionary local authorities have been persuaded to adopt such a radical model of provision. For Poster and others the explanation is usually given in terms of the charismatic great man theory of educational innovation, for certainly mere economic and administrative convenience could never have provided the requisite motivation for such a revolutionary departure from time honoured tradition. What be-devils this whole debate is that nearly everyone appears to accept the notion that somehow community schools are in a unique way innovatory and radical, when in fact much of the theory and rhetoric used to justify them as well as the practice is profoundly conservative. An assessment and reality quickly grasped by the hard nosed landowners, Poujar-dist small businessmen and farmers who controlled Cambridge-shire during the inter-war years. It is certainly no "mystery bordering on a miracle" as Poster claims that Morris managed to persuade them of the merits of the village college plan. For apart from giving them secondary schools on the cheap, which Morris assured them it would, the scheme offered other very real benefits. Not least it promised them an unmissable opportunity to shed ever more responsibility for the social supervi-

sion of the client population to a paid servant of the local state; noblesse without the oblige. At hand was being offered a replacement for the squire and clergy who in terms of influence were already a threatened species. Here was a new 'leader' for the community namely the school-teacher who during the preceding fifty years of compulsory state education had acquired a proven reputation as a docile and trustworthy servant of capital and the propertied classes. Further who amongst them could feel threatened by a Memorandum that seriously suggested revising the curriculum to better equip the pupils for agricultural work and domestic service.

In rural Cambridgeshire with its economy dominated by a single industry and with a population scattered amongst small but recognisable communities the notion of imposing a 'new leader' may have had some hope of success. Fifty or so years later in the context of a complex urban, multi-cultural society the idea borders on the ludicrous yet still it persists in the community school model.

Do We Need Community Schools?

Dybeck and Poster put before the reader a strong if somewhat exaggerated case for community schools and it would be foolish to ignore some of the real and potential benefits that these institutions embody.

It cannot but be a healthy development that many community schools in integrating activities and provision draw adults into the school building during the day-time and may actually go so far as to place school and adult students alongside each other in the classroom. For too long the worst excesses of the teaching profession have in part persisted because they were obscured from the critical view of non-teacher adults. Quite simply physical and verbal abuse, which are so common-place as to be an uncommented fact of everyday life for most pupils, are much less likely to occur when 'outsiders' are wandering freely around the campus. A point made by more than one contributor to the Moon collection. Petty rules regarding dress, the mode of address required of the pupil when talking to a member of staff, not walking down that corridor or using this door and so on become virtually unenforceable within the open school. Some community schools have found strategies to avoid liberalising their regime. Only a matter of a short bus-ride away from one of the schools quoted in both Moon and Poster as an outstanding exponent of community education could be found a 'community school' with an appalling record for the use of corporal punishment, rigid streaming and a plethora of rules some of which could only be the product of a deranged mind. These however tend to be the exception and it cannot be an accident that out of the six schools chosen as the basis for a case study of successful and progressive practice by Moon five are community schools. As a regular visitor of schools I would certainly argue from experience that 'community' schools tend to exude a more relaxed and civilised atmosphere. That I would argue is an undoubted if problematic gain in terms of the quality of life for thousands of young people which should not be overlooked. Yet, in their anxiety one suspects to avoid offending their fellow head-teachers, it is not considered significant by either Poster or Dybeck.

Community schools have also made a significant contribution in many areas of the country towards a devolution of control in the governance of schools. Not only have they often been in the vanguard of reforms in this sphere they have also by encourag-

ing the attendance of non-school students given many more people than before a knowledge of the ways in which comprehensive schools operate. Community Councils and Meetings have established in many a mechanism by which users can influence policy although this has rarely worked for the benefit of the younger students. The community school movement has however always been wedded to the notion of unitary management with the administrative control being left firmly in the hands of the head-teacher. In adding to the pluralist equation these new client groups whilst leaving the powers of orchestration firmly in the hands of the honest-broker head-teacher the changes may prove in the end to have been far more cosmetic than real. Certainly for school students it in no way shifts the locus of power in their favour and may in the long-run contribute to their further marginalisation. The involvement of young people in the decision-making process and the open style of management described by Bob Evans in his contribution on Countesthorpe in **Comprehensive Schools** is sadly no more typical of community schools than it is of comprehensive ones. Certainly the antecedents of the Countesthorpe experiment in this area are to be found in the pioneering work of A.S. Neill rather than in any contribution of Henry Morris. Until the arbitrary and in many ways anachronistic powers of the head-teacher are in some way curtailed no real progress in this sphere will be possible. Schools remain, community or not, amongst the least democratically managed institutions. In their style and traditions of management they stand in stark contrast to that which is the norm in organisation and groups which communities and young people generate in the normal course of events. It is a nonsense to see such undemocratic institutions as schools as the natural centre for a network of community groups and the catalyst for community development envisaged by Poster as long as this is the case. Until schools break with their paternalistic traditions and seek alternatives to their overwhelmingly centralised style of management autonomous youth and community groups will continue to treat them with at best suspicious and worst indifference. Just as a sizeable proportion of the villagers of Sawston in the 1930s mistrusted the motives of Morris sufficiently to invest in an independent hall in preference to integration with the College imposed upon them with only the most cursory consultation. As Dybeck shows in an interesting section of his study this desire for independence of control remains after nearly fifty years a powerful factor in local politics and has led to some significant investment in buildings.⁵

Finally of course community schools have opened up facilities to thousands of individuals and groups who were previously excluded from them. This beyond question is a plus. Whether however that implies anything above and beyond the need for a liberal letting policy is unclear. According to a DES survey published in 1982 93% of Primary Schools and virtually all Secondary Schools now made their premises available out of school hours to youth and community groups; 46% of Secondary Schools were used by the Youth Service.⁶ Most of those schools were not however community schools and we have no idea as to how many of those cases the use of school premises was the result of the paucity of other more suitable venues; or how often no alternative premises existed because limited funding was channelled into the establishment and maintenance of community schools. What is clear however is that in the present climate the use of school premises whether suitable or not is likely to increase. It is all very well for Poster to say in the context of youth work that young people will only attend if they

want to, for that neatly overlooks the reality that in the face of the lack of any viable alternative the notion of a choice has little meaning. On their past record the commitment of community schools to the needs of the clientele of the Youth Service has not been high for as Brackenbury writing as Head of Impington Village College noted in 1972, "In practice I find I spend most of my time thinking about school then F.E. and community college work and lastly youth service".⁷ Sadly nothing in any of these three books dispels the feeling that those priorities have in anyway been altered or are in the process of being re-shuffled. Or for that matter that the fear of Thompson that the community school may become "simply a new name for old practice", is not going to come to pass. Certainly little in Dybeck's honest assessment of fifty years of community school practice in Cambridgeshire holds out much hope that he will be proved wrong, more's the pity one must add.

It is not a matter of whether we want community schools or not for we are going to have them thrust upon us by educational administrators. Unlike the comprehensive 'revolution' which was in part the result of popular pressure for the abolition of the iniquitous 11 plus, community schools are going to capture the city without the aid of a fifth column of popular pressure despite the best efforts of propagandists such as Poster. Their time has arrived not because they have a proven record of success, which Dybeck shows they have had ample time to acquire, but because falling rolls have temporarily afforded our schools substantial spare capacity which make community usage a cheap and useful option; you can't unfortunately put a school in mothballs like a battleship the great British vandal ensures that you must either use it or lose it. Also at this juncture a predominately conservative teaching profession can be sold the reform as a means of holding redundancy at bay and will consequently tolerate sharing 'their' school. Although as Nisbet, et al⁸ show they are very reluctant in the main to involve themselves in the other world of community education let alone, shudder the thought, as Morris envisaged, share the life of the community they are meant to serve by living in it.

The introduction of community school programmes in areas where they do not already exist is a reform worthy of support. It is important however to have no illusions that they are capable of achieving the level of impact their advocates so often lead us to believe they are capable of, and the reason they are not going to match up to those expectations is not difficult to unearth, for they are being grafted onto a school system that is fundamentally flawed. Schools cannot begin to overcome alienation in wider society when they are themselves such alienating institutions. They will not recreate a lost sense of community in their catchment area whilst they are dominated internally by a spirit of competitiveness which sets pupil against pupil, pupil against teacher and teacher against teacher. Finally they can hardly begin to meaningfully intervene to solve the 'problems' of young people until they recognise that for possibly the majority of young people with whom they work they are the biggest problem. For many if not all head-teachers, administrators and teachers who try to sell us the community school package I am afraid the response must be 'physician heal thyself'.

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3. **Holmes, J.** Professionalism - A Misleading Myth? NYB 1981. p.135

4. This point is certainly well argued in the editorial of Network (Vol.6 No.3) the house newspaper of the Community Education Development Centre which appeared following the June 1983 election. As an example of naked educational and political opportunism it can have few contemporary equals. In it the editor Harry Ree lays out the reasons why Conservatives have traditionally supported community schools and should continue to do so. It sits neatly besides an article from the same pen, which contains unquestioning almost fulsome praise for a scheme being launched of re-cycle old furniture and clothes for the poor of Consett.
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policing: reactive or pro-active? the northern ireland experience

WILLIE McCARNEY

The riots in major cities in Britain in the summer of 1981 highlighted disparate perspectives on policing and police strategy. On the one hand is the perspective that 'policing is for the police' and which continues to see 'solutions' to crime and disorder mainly in terms of more professional resources and more purposeful police policies. On the other hand is the perspective as advocated by John Alderson in Devon and Cornwall and by Superintendent Webb in Handsworth (Birmingham) which insists that professional resources cannot themselves be more than marginal to the control of crime and disorder; that, since the primary resources for control lie within society, police must seek to work with and through society as fully and effectively as possible and to link their policies to public policies in this sphere.

From these perspectives derive very different attitudes on relationships between police and communities. The first understandably views good community relations as essentially marginal to 'real policing', primarily 'a public relations exercise to show the flag, keep the public sweet and on our side'. The second views good community relations as the very essence - the life blood - of effective and acceptable policing.

Advocates of Pro-Active policing received a set back when, in October 1981, Superintendent Webb decided to retire early from the police service, believing that there was insufficient support for a community-based approach to policing within police ranks and a lack of will at some senior levels to translate it into operational reality. Attitudes had hardened as a result of the riots with the majority of police feeling that the strong-arm 'Reactive' approach as advocated by for example, Kenneth Oxford, Chief Constable of Merseyside, was the correct one to follow. The warnings of John Alderson that Oxford was preparing to "tool up to declare war on the public" went unheeded as Chief Constables from many areas flew over to Northern Ireland to seek advice on the reactive approach from the RUC who were acknowledged experts in this form of policing.

What must be obvious to all who are acquainted with Northern Ireland is that in absolute terms of the police purpose in society the RUC have singularly failed to realise the central police objective - to keep the peace. It will become clear from this essay that this is not a failure of the RUC but rather a failure of

the Reactive Police Approach. The RUC have followed the dictum to 'use whatever force is necessary' to its ultimate conclusion. One hundred and fifteen people have been shot dead. Many have been innocent people, apparently shot in error; a number have been teenagers shot dead while joy-riding; a few have been terrorists, shot when they might have been arrested; a recent victim was a 19 year old youth shot dead after he robbed a chip shop of £30.

As Wilkins (1964) points out:

"If crime and criminals are pursued with too much enthusiasm by law-enforcement agencies then the law-abiding citizen may end up changing his fear of crime for fear of the police - not a very desirable trade off."

It is argued here that Reactive Methods have driven a wedge between the police and the community. The police have become more and more remote from the community and indeed in some areas are clearly seen as being hostile to it. But the failure has not been merely on the part of the police. It is also a failure on the part of the Government to grasp the point spelt out by Scarman (1981) in the Brixton context, namely that:

"The policing problem is only one aspect - though admittedly a vital one - of the social problem and cannot be properly understood in isolation ... we (must) also tackle and eliminate basic flaws in our society."

The difficulty now is that it is no longer a simple matter to switch to a Pro-Active approach. The gulf between police and community will be difficult to bridge. The purpose of this essay is to spell out why the Reactive approach was the logical one for the RUC to adopt in the first place and why it has inevitably led us to our present position where it is at times difficult to know whom to fear most - the law breakers or the law enforcers. In conclusion it will be argued that despite the difficulties, a Pro-Active approach must be adopted. The Northern Ireland experience must surely prove the point that the control of crime and disorder lies far less with the police than with society. Pro-Active policing is not just the role of the police. It also involves the youth leaders, the social workers and other statutory agencies.

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE:

From its very inception in 1921 Northern Ireland society was divided 33% Catholic and 66% Protestant. Its very existence depended on division. The first Prime Minister of Northern Ireland said that this was a Protestant State for a Protestant People. The RUC became a Protestant police force drawn from the Protestant community to defend the Protestant State. And so it has appeared to the Catholic minority down the years.

The 'Troubles' have not been restricted to the past 16 years. There has been an outbreak of violence at least once every decade since 1921. Although only a small section of the Catholic community were ever involved in attempts to overthrow the Government the Government always regarded the Catholics with suspicion. Catholics had to be kept out of positions of power. Industry was located in Protestant areas; Catholics had the highest rates of unemployment, the worst housing; voting was loaded for local elections and boundaries were rigged for general elections so that the Protestants always held power in both central and local government.

During 1966 there was a sustained bombing campaign during which the Belfast water main and electricity power stations were damaged. The police saw this as the beginnings of a new IRA offensive and set about weeding out the culprits from amongst the Catholic population. Later events were to show that the bombings were in fact the work of the Protestant Ulster Volunteer Force. Coincidentally the Rev. Dr. Ian Paisley was at the same time mounting a campaign to bring down the Northern Ireland Prime Minister Terence O'Neill. O'Neill's crime was his attempt to establish closer relationships with his counterpart in the Irish Republic - Sean Lemass.

In 1968 resentment amongst the Catholic population boiled over and the people took to the streets in the non-violent Civil Rights Movement to demand fair allocation of jobs and housing and one-man-one-vote. The Government's reaction was 'reactive policing' - "Go in hard and nip this thing in the bud." News reels have recorded and Robert Kee has documented how the police systematically baton-charged defenceless crowds. An old man died in his own living room as the police smashed their way through the Bogside 'in hot pursuit of thugs'. A subsequent enquiry found that the police had got out of hand but was unable to find the guilty constable because of a 'conspiracy of silence, even at senior officer level'.

It was not the thugs who got weeded out of the Civil Rights Movement, but rather those who urged restraint. In the face of baton charges and water cannon passive resistance gave way to bricks and petrol bombs. The latter were met with thousands of rounds of CS gas and rubber bullets. Though this was later abandoned this was not on humanitarian grounds but because it was largely ineffective.

Reactive policing led to the internment of some 2,000 Catholic men without trial on suspicion of being members of the IRA. Reactive policing also led to the Falls Road Curfew - an illegal act made legal by retrospective legislation. The curfew unearthed 'lorry loads of arms', photographs of which were issued by the handful to the press. Alert observers noted that many of the photographs were of the same catch photographed from various angles and that many of the weapons were museum pieces.

Reactive policing meant the interrogation centres at Holywood

and Castlereagh, where the methods used brought condemnation from the European Commission on Human Rights and the European Court. It meant Divis Flats being surrounded by 500 police and soldiers, with residents detained for twelve hours and every house searched. The haul - one rifle and two revolvers. It meant the middle class Catholic area of Glengoland being cordoned off and no one allowed to go to work or to school until every house had been searched for eight IRA men who had walked out of the front gate of Belfast's top security prison - not one was found.

Reactive policing has meant the erection of the infamous 'peace' line which divides the Catholics from their Protestant neighbours.

Reactive policing has meant the sealing off of Catholic areas by using heavy concrete bollards and steel barriers which can be locked in place. When closed, access to these areas is limited to a few heavily policed routes. Actions like this cause resentment amongst Catholics, the vast majority of whom are law-abiding but who feel they are being branded as gunmen and bombers. They cause anger and resentment when emergency services like ambulances and fire engines are forced to make detours.

Reactive policing has found its way into planning. A new motorway separates the Catholic Falls and Grosvenor Road areas from the Protestant Donegal Road and Sandy Row. A second motorway is to be built in such a way as to permanently divide the Catholic and Protestant neighbourhoods of the Falls and the Shankhill. Plans for new housing estates have been altered on the instruction of the security forces "in the interests of security".

Reactive policing has meant the installation of sophisticated spying equipment - telephone bugging, radio controlled spy cameras. It is a widely held belief that the security forces have detailed reports on every man, woman and child in Northern Ireland so that they can get the rundown on anyone within seconds. 1984 has come early to Northern Ireland.

Reactive policing has meant the wholesale arrest of suspects following some outrage by the IRA. Statistics indicate that under 20% of those arrested are charged and that less than half of those charged will eventually be brought to trial. Since not all those who appear in court will eventually be found guilty the end result is that more than 90% of those arrested and interrogated are eventually set free. Such methods are unlikely to enhance the reputation of the police. If the policy is that the guilty must be caught at any price the price is very high.

While it may well be prudent from the police point of view to make the arrests in the early hours of the morning in order to minimise the likelihood of widespread rioting this again does not enhance their reputation. They come 'like thieves in the night'. Indignation is further aroused should both parents be taken in for questioning leaving young children unsupervised or when the person arrested is a woman in the late stages of pregnancy.

The police have been attempting recently to improve the odds of arresting the right people by acting on information supplied by paid informers, this however, leads to all sorts of complications. Firstly many people feel that there is something underhand about paying informers and regard it almost as a criminal act. Then there is the headache of taking the family of the

informer into protective custody which in turn leads to distress amongst other family members who do not know where the family has gone as in the case of the Gilmores in Derry and there is the danger that the para-militaries might get there first as in the case of Mrs. Brown in Twinbrook. If that happens it is likely that the informer will refuse to repeat his story in court and those arrested will have to be freed. The legality of convicting someone on the sole evidence of a paid informer is questionable. Indeed the whole system of 'justice' in the Diplock Courts where judges sit without juries, where frequently those who give evidence are not subjected to cross examination by the defence, where judges admit evidence which would not be admissible in the British Judicial system and where findings of guilt are sometimes made on the flimsiest of evidence tend to bring the whole judicial system into disrepute.

In the early days of the 'troubles' suspects could be interned without trial and many hundreds were. Though legally still possible this is no longer practised but the system of remands allows Internment de facto if not de jure. James Martin was charged two years ago with the murder of two soldiers in 1973. His first application for bail was November 1980. It was refused. He has now been in custody for two years. The DPP says that they are in a position to proceed with the case at last, but there are at least 100 other men who have been on remand for about one year with no sign of a trial date being set as yet. Three men were recently on hunger strike to protest against this delay. It is not unusual for a man to spend a year in jail and then to have a charge against him dropped from lack of evidence. One man presently in custody has been held on remand five times since 1972. He reckons to have spent five years in jail in total. Yet each time his case is brought to trial it is thrown out for lack of evidence and he is freed only to find himself re-arrested later on another charge. Such cases make it easy for IRA propagandists to claim that Internment lives on under the name 'Remand in Custody'.

The police sometimes find it necessary to inflict structural damage on houses in their quest for evidence. Guns, gelignite and bomb making equipment have been found in unlikely places - under the toilet bowl, under the bath, in the wall cavity as well as the more usual hiding places under floor boards or in the attic and those who live in the houses are sometimes found guilty of storing the material. Sometimes as in the case of an 80 year old woman, the owner is frightened into compliance. It may seem to that person that there is little to choose between the terrorists who threaten to beat her up if she does not comply and the police who tear her house apart because she did. It is not always easy for the outsider to distinguish between what the police term an 'intensive search' and what IRA propagandists term 'wanton destruction'. What happens when the police get the wrong house as they frequently do? An apology with a promise that all damage will be repaired as quickly as possible is not the answer. The bathtub and tiles can be replaced. The image of the police will not be restored so quickly. The police chief in charge of the West Belfast area says we must be prepared to accept a level of destruction in the interests of public safety. Those whose houses are raided in error can hardly be expected to agree.

Policing of riot-prone areas was generally undertaken by the Special Patrol Group - SPG, a highly trained, highly mobile section of the police force. They were trained to take on the rioters. It has been argued that the mere presence of this 'heavy' squad tended to provoke riots rather than prevent them. It has

also been alleged that they worked on the premise that the best form of defence is attack. Some examples may illustrate this point. Where an incident occurs there are invariably two conflicting stories: the RUC version is that large crowds were assembled causing trouble or 'rioting': an RUC man gets cut off from his companions; he fires his gun in the air or plastic bullets are discharged according to rule - at persons below the waist. The people's version is that there was little or no trouble and the rioting only developed after a person had been struck by a live or a plastic bullet.

An incident occurred at 1.30 a.m. approximately on 7th August, 1982. The account released by the RUC said:

"Up to 200 people started throwing bricks and stones at an RUC crew investigating a skirmish near Savoy Bridge. One RUC man got separated from the rest of his crew and the angry mob moved between him and the RUC car. He warned the crowd that he would fire a shot when he drew his revolver but they ignored. He then quickly fired one shot in the air. Still the crowd refused to move. One man was more menacing than the rest of the mob. He made a move towards the RUC man, a warning was given which was ignored and another shot was fired. A man was hit in the leg - but the crowd would not disperse until a back-up RUC crew fired a plastic bullet after issuing another warning."

An eye witness gives a conflicting account of the incident.

"At 1.30 a.m. on 7th August about three young persons were jumping into the canal, after a disco, a local custom. An RUC jeep passed. A few spectators in the crowd of about thirty threw stones at it. One minute later a RUC car drew up and an RUC man jumped out and held up his gun. He ran about five yards down McCombs' entry. He stopped about six yards from the other RUC men. He fired one shot in the air. A 43 year old man standing at right angles to him and who was coming home after securing his premises said 'Put that weapon away or you'll shoot someone'. The RUC man turned towards him and fired. The man fell with two bullet holes in his leg. Another man asked the RUC man for his number. He ran back to his car. As the people were carrying the wounded man to the dance hall an RUC landrover came up the quay, turned into Monaghan Street and stopped on the turn. An RUC man leaned out and fired a plastic bullet at the men carrying the injured man. The number of the jeep was taken. A large crowd gathered and got excited."

In an incident in Lurgan in which Colm Campbell was seriously injured when struck on the head with a plastic bullet the police report of the incident is very similar to the Newry incident reported above. Again the local people differ in every detail. They report a group of young people, drinking around a bonfire; police move in to 'break it up'; a plastic bullet is fired seriously injuring Campbell; a riot develops.

It is understandable that reports should differ on points of detail since each side is seeing the incident from their own perspective. Where reports are completely at variance one is inclined to accept the police account knowing the readiness of the IRA to use every incident for propaganda purposes but when the police themselves issue conflicting statements (in the case of Eamonn Bradley in Derry, there were four conflicting statements over a short period of time) one tends to get sceptical of both sides.

The RUC point out the necessity of policing all areas. Local people argue that the police approach all incidents, no matter how trivial, with drawn guns and that their readiness to fire is bound to have disastrous results. From the police point of view any or every incident could be a trap to lead them into the sights of a sniper and it is essential that they have guns at the ready. They do admit however that it does not make for normal policing when it takes up to twelve policemen armed with rifles to mount a road check to catch drivers who have not paid their car tax. While this type of approach makes for little contact between police and the public people in general feel that the rifles are necessary as a defence against possible sniper attack. It is the carrying of plastic bullet guns that has caused most controversy.

Between 1970 and 1980 a total of 55,000 rubber bullets and 16,000 plastic bullets were fired resulting in 11 deaths and many dreadful injuries but with little apparent effect on rioting. In a written reply to a question in the House of Commons Mr. Whitelaw stated that at the beginning of 1981 the average was 1,500 baton rounds being fired each month. In May 1981, the month hunger striker Bobby Sands died 16,000 plastic baton rounds were fired. This dropped to 6,000 in July and 4,000 in August. A Government spokesman says that between September 1981 and April 1982 only 201 rounds were fired.

The plastic baton round ('round' sounds less offensive than 'bullet') was intended to be more effective as a riot control weapon than the rubber one it replaced. More accurate it may be but the killing capacity has increased from one fatality per 4,000 rounds fired during the hungerstrike to one fatality per 200 rounds fired at the present time. To date four people have died as a result of being hit by rubber bullets and ten have been killed by plastic bullets. Many have been seriously injured.

The rubber bullet was developed especially to meet the needs of the Army for a weapon which would transverse the 'fifty yard gap' which so often separated demonstrators and stone throwing youths from the security forces in Northern Ireland. Nicknamed the 'Belfast Dildo' it was made of hard black rubber. It is about the same weight and hardness as a cricket ball and leaves the muzzle at about twice the velocity of a ball bowled by the fastest bowler. They were not supposed to be fired at a range of less than 25 yards and were supposed to be fired at the ground so that they would ricochet into the crowd. It is 5½ inches long, 1½ inches in diameter and weighs 5¼ ozs. It is fitted into a cartridge with a small gunpowder charge and can be fired from the US-designed Federal Riot Gun or a Very Pistol modified with a longer barrel. US army research has shown that any crowd control weapon based on blunt impact is in the 'severe damage' region if its impact energy exceeds 90 foot-lbs. At 5 yards range the rubber bullet has 242 foot-lbs energy and at 50 yards range 125 foot-lbs energy.

The fatality rate for the 55,000 rubber bullets fired was 1 per 18,000.

The 25 grain plastic bullet currently in use in Northern Ireland weighs approximately 135 grms, is 3½ inches long and 1½ inches in diameter. It is fired from a riot gun with a rifle barrel which promises accuracy up to 70 yards. At 5 yards range it has a velocity of 65 metres per second and a kinetic energy of 285 foot-lbs, at 15 yards - velocity 60, kinetic energy 243 foot-lbs: at 25 yards - velocity 56, kinetic energy 212 foot lbs, at 50 yards velocity 47, kinetic energy 149 foot lbs. This is well outside the

safety regulations as outlined in the US and neither the plastic nor the rubber bullet are in use there.

Fatality rate for the plastic bullet is 1 per 2,000 which is nine times above the rate for rubber bullets which were withdrawn in 1975 because of their high casualty rate.

RANGE	5 yards	15 yards	25 yards	50 yards	75 yards
VELOCITY (metres per second)	R.66.1	62.8	59.4	47.5	
	P65	60	56	47	Information not available
KINETIC ENERGY (Joules)	R.328	296	265	169	
	P.285	243	212	149	

In the table the R. stands for - Rubber Bullet
In the table the P. stands for - Plastic Bullet

there are clear instruction as how the plastic bullet should be used

"Baton rounds may be used to disperse a crowd whenever it is judged to be minimum and reasonable force in the circumstances; the round must be fired at selected persons and not indiscriminately into a crowd; it should be aimed at the lower half of the target's body; it should be fired at a range of not less than 20 metres."

All those who died were struck on the head by a bullet fired at close range. Of the 14 who died, seven were school children, one was a house wife. Peter Doherty was a 33 year old man working in his own kitchen when a bullet came through the window and struck him on the head killing him; Julie Livingstone was on her way home with a friend; Carol Anne Kelly was coming from the shop with a pint of milk for the family tea; Stephen McConomy was one of six 11 year old boys throwing stones at an army patrol in Derry. The case of 13 year old Brian Stewart of West Belfast who was killed in 1976 is to go to the European Courth charging the UK under Articles 2, 3, 4 and 8 of the European Convention of Human Rights in the hope that the Court will award damages and rule that the use of plastic bullets is in breach of the European Convention.

Lord Gowrie, Under Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, speaking in an interview on downtown Radio on 6 September 1982 said "The plastic bullet is here to stay". He warned that the only alternative was lead bullets as a result of which more innocent lives would suffer.

"There can be no expectations of a change of policy until we can diminish the risk to the security forces. The problem with plastic bullets is that they are loathsome weapons and the use of them is very bitter and innocent people can suffer in violent situation where any weapon is used. But the problem is that we have some form of protection for the security forces and some method by which the security forces can keep crowds of people at a distance ... my fear is that if I banned this weapon, as I would dearly like to do, the security forces would be left with their real weapons, if I may put it that way, and, in the last resort, lead bullets are worse than plastic ones. More innocent lives would suffer to a greater extent."

Lord Gowrie admitted however that

"There is always the possibility that the innocent will suffer, and indeed the innocent usually suffer most."

When asked why no member of the security forces had been prosecuted for the fatal use of plastic bullets and whether they were immune to the law he replied that the answer was for the people not to riot. Meanwhile the police are believed to be testing a new style riot gun which is said to be more accurate than the plastic bullet gun now in use.

While Lord Gowrie defends the use of plastic bullets as more humane and insists that the only alternative would be to use lead bullets it must be pointed out that 115 innocent people have been shot dead by the army and the police since the present troubles began. While some were obviously tragic accidents others have raised serious controversy. Majella O'Hare was shot on her way to Church; Michael McCartan was shot as he painted slogans on a wall; John Boyle was shot as he walked towards a catch of guns which he had already reported to the police; 15 year old Daniel Barret was sitting on his garden wall; Patrick McElhone was shot outside his home near Pomeroy. In all cases the police accepted the innocence of the victims and yet no one was charged with murder. Perhaps the most controversial of all was the shooting of Eamonn Bradley on 25 August 1982 in Derry. Mr. Bradley was a well known member of the Provisional IRA having served five years in Long Kesh and having been 'on the blanket'. The Sun Newspaper in an editorial commenting on his death said -

"Eamonn Bradley, who was shot in Londonderry, belonged to an organisation which is at war with society and does not hesitate to turn its bombs and its bullets against the weak and the innocent ... Men who live by violence have no real complaints when they suffer violence in return ..."

Indeed the Provisional IRA have shown no respect for human life and Mr. Bradley was a member of that organisation. Nonetheless he was an unarmed man shot dead in horrifying circumstances, apparently in cold blood, as he left a public house. One expects members of the security forces to have a greater respect for human life than the members of terrorist organisations. The issuing of four conflicting statements on the incident by the RUC did little to reassure people. The Sun may have been reflecting the sentiments of many people. It may have been reflecting the sentiments of some members of the security forces. It appears to reflect the attitude of the English police chief who remarked when Barry Purdom was shot dead by a police marksman 'a satisfactory outcome'. But reactive policing has gone a long way if it is to be allowed to mean summary execution.

In the last couple of months it seems to have become accepted police policy to 'shoot first and ask questions afterwards'. On 11 November 1982 three men were shot dead as they drove through a check point. All were members of the IRA but all were unarmed at the time. On 24 November one teenager was shot dead in a hay shed and another seriously injured. Neither were carrying weapons. On 12 December two more men were shot dead while trying to evade a road check. Both were members of the IRA but neither were armed at the time.

In recent years the RUC have been making efforts to bridge the gulf between themselves and the Catholic community with a fair degree of success. Their ability to arrest, prosecute and have sent to jail Protestant terrorists who have been guilty of

murdering Catholics has demonstrated their impartiality. Now this 'shoot on sight' policy threatens to make the gulf wider than ever since it appears to be directed only against terrorists on the Catholic side. All the joy-riding fatalities have been Catholic while the 19 year old youth robbing the chip shop again was a Catholic. While few people have sympathy for the terrorists no one can condone summary execution in a democratic society. Such action undermines the very basis of our society for as John Donne said "Every man's death diminishes me", Joy riding and petty theft cannot be thought of in any society as capital offences.

This is the direction Reactive policing leads. Going in hard, using whatever force is necessary, is bound to lead to casualties. Once caught up in the spiral of attack and counter attack incidents like those above become almost inevitable. On the one side are young people brimful of unused energies, fear and resentment, aggression and ideological ardour, some with violence aching to be out of them; a short fuse for any police sparks. On the other young policemen, understaffed, overworked, noses constantly rubbed in the filth of human experience, the suffering of terrorist victims - tense with the expectations of meeting violence. Each side is under intense, often frightening pressures; mutual violence, bitterness and myths develop on both sides.

It is unfair to expect young policemen or soldiers, indeed any policemen or soldiers, to be able to make a correct assessment in the heat of the moment of what force is minimum and reasonable. If they are in control of the situation it is easy to select an individual, estimate the distance and fire at the lower half of the body as instructed. But if the situation is under control one might question the need for such action. There is bound to be an element of panic when a patrol is under heavy attack with petrol bombs or bricks, with blast bombs or acid bombs. It is difficult to be coldly calculating in such circumstances.

It is easy to understand that a young man might carry resentment in his heart after seeing a colleague killed or mutilated by bomb or bullet. It is easy to appreciate his holding all members of the community which appears to harbour the perpetrators as responsible for the crime, it is easy to understand his seeking revenge. Policemen see Andersonstown, Ballymurphy or the Bogside through the narrow slits in the side of a heavily armoured vehicle. They know nothing of the people who live there other than the shadowy figures which rush out of the darkness to hurl their petrol bombs. For the young of these areas the police and army are not people - they are animals hunting in packs (vehicles never travel these streets alone). If your heart is full of hatred for something you regard as sub human it is easy to feel elation when someone gets blown to smithereens by a culvert bomb. Positive policing has placed a gulf between the police and the public which seems impossible to bridge.

During the rioting which followed the death of Bobby Sands a 'pack' of police vehicles was moving cautiously through the Divis complex when the engine of the last vehicle stalled. The front two vehicles drove on without noticing what had happened. As the stranded vehicle was bombarded with petrol bombs those inside replied with volleys of plastic bullets. Suddenly the firing stopped. The children hesitated for a moment, unsure what was happening. Then a shout went up 'They're out of plastic bullets' and within seconds the vehicle was surrounded by 50 or more screaming youngsters - the eldest no

more than ten. They rocked the vehicle until it toppled over on its side, then poured petrol on it and set it alight. As they danced around in a frenzy chanting 'burn you rats' I was somehow reminded of a scene from 'Lord of the Flies'. Two women on their way to Mass stood rooted to the spot in horror. One of them turned to me and cried in anguish 'What have they done to our children?'

"That's the question what worries me", said Chief Superintendent Jimmy Crutchley, RUC Commander of 'B' Division which covers all of West Belfast including the riot torn areas of Andersonstown, Ballymurphy, Turf Lodge and Divis. "Psychologists tell us that they have come to no harm. I refuse to believe it. These present troubles started with the murder of a young Catholic barman by the UVF in 1966. Children born that year are now leaving school having known nothing all their life except violence. It does not make sense to say that they have not been affected. Let up hope that the damage is not irreparable."

"Yes", he said, "Mistakes have been made. The action against the Civil Rights marchers was a mistake; Internment was a mistake; the Falls Road Curfew was a mistake. But remember these were political decisions. The police were simply carrying out orders. Reactive policing should never mean oppressive policing. There can be no excuse for ill-treating prisoners. Hopefully it will never happen again. Blanket searches such as you mention in Divis, Glengoland and Short Strand were also counter productive. Law abiding citizens resent being branded along with the criminal elements and we lose whatever support we may have had."

"On the question of the security gates or steel barriers: these originally had a dual purpose. Firstly it was hoped that it would be difficult for bombers to get out of the area in the days when car bombs were commonplace. Secondly they were intended to keep out Protestant assassination squads, and remember 510 Catholics have been murdered to date by these groups. The barriers did cause inconvenience to the general public and did cause delays to emergency vehicles. We hope most of the problems have been ironed out. We use the gates principally now to try to prevent the entry of stolen cars. Over 1800 stolen cars turned up in West Belfast last year. This is an average of 5/6 per night. Many of the cars are taken by joy-riders but there is also a lucrative trade in stripping cars down for spare parts."

"In fact 92% of the crime in 'B' Division is 'normal' crime as distinct from terrorist activity and yet the 8% terrorist inspired crime takes up an inordinate amount of our time. It throws a shadow over everything we do. It takes at least six men to do the work of two. We must consider every incident, not matter how trivial, as a possible set-up. Two of my men died investigating a reported break-in at Suffolk library when gun men using an M60 machine gun sprang an ambush. One constable died investigating a reported traffic accident on the Springfield Road, when his vehicle was hit with a RPG rocket. If trouble is brewing I have to send three vehicles on patrol - should one vehicle get hit the second can provide cover while the third gets help. This is very demanding on manpower and would be impossible without the assistance of the army who supply and man the third vehicle. The military now act completely on our advice and come in only when requested."

"We no longer use the SPG (Special Patrol Group). As strangers coming into the area they did not know the people, they

did not know the suspects, they did not know the escape routes. We have now reorganised and use Divisional Support Units made up of local men. Vehicles, in pairs, are continually on the move to provide support for men on the ground who may call for assistance. They are much more effective than the group they replaced."

"We hope we have learned from our mistakes. I believe things are changing for the better. Five years ago we were completely unacceptable. We are still not welcomed with open arms but people have come to realise that they need a police force. They reject the 'policing' methods of the various factions of the IRA - beatings, knee-cappings, even murder, as too brutal. They are now reporting petty crime - theft, breaking and entry, breaking open of gas metres etc. - and are cooperating with us in our enquiries. They will often greet us with a surly expression on the doorstep but give us their full cooperation once we are inside and away from prying eyes. The children have even given up stoning our vehicle. They still throw the odd stone, but more out of habit than out of malice."

"Perhaps you are a little sceptical of all this? Why not join one of our patrols this afternoon and see for yourself?" I agreed that in this way I would be better able to understand the police perspective of West Belfast.

Like the young people about whom I have been writing my vision of police patrols was of heavily armoured vehicles racing through the streets or stopping to fire off volleys of plastic bullets. Of course I have been stopped at road blocks manned by police but the situation is generally a little strained. While an officer inspects your driving licence or searches your car you are constantly aware that his heavily armed colleagues are covering all possible vantage points. If they are a target for a sniper then so too are you as you sit there in the midst of them. It is hardly the best kind of place for striking up a conversation.

Knowing that blast bomb attack, heavy machine gun fire or rocket attacks are commonplace I pictured the policemen inside as tensed up in constant fear of attack. I was a little tensed up myself as I approached the landrover knowing that our first tour was Divis. I was warmly welcomed by my new found colleagues, who, to my surprise were all quite at ease as the heavy iron gates slammed shut behind us. I was still convinced that I was right as I looked for signs of nervousness in the eyes and knuckles clutched too tightly around the rifle. But no, there was nothing. They told me quite calmly that the light armour on the vehicle would not stand up to heavy machine gun fire while an RPG rocket would slice it open like a tin opener. They added philosophically that they were better off than if they were in a tank since the lightness of the vehicle meant the rocket might pass through without exploding.

The young constables took a keen interest in the girls passing by as the sergeant gave me a run down on the radio communications "Armed hold up in Ballysillan Post Office; be on the lookout for a white Ford Cortina." Then followed a succession of stolen car numbers. Stolen cars were their biggest headache the sergeant said.

As I sat down in Commander Crutchley's office again I had to admit that I had had a very pleasant afternoon, not at all what I had expected. "Well, more and more, that is becoming the normal routine," the Commander said. "Don't you agree we are making progress on the police front? You can see that the

police are generally acceptable if not warmly welcomed. We will never be completely welcomed until there is progress on the political front. This area has been neglected for years. One house in every four is unfit for human habitation: more than 50% of heads of households are almost all school leavers are unemployed, and many men have been unemployed for years; over 60% of the families are living below the official poverty line. These factors build up to a recipe for disaster. It is a great credit to the parents that there is not more crime. The support for the terrorist groups is very much tied in with the social deprivation, but there are many community leaders who are struggling to make things better. We must give them our whole hearted support while remembering that our support must be covert or we will provoke a reaction from the terrorists groups. Still we must try to meet with the community workers, discuss with them, take them into our confidence and seek their support. A police force exists to **protect** the people whom it serves. A police force cannot be successful without the wholehearted support of the community.

"By all means go after the gangster or the terrorist. A police force must have the capacity to go in hard and when it is necessary. That is why I support the use of plastic bullets - but only as a last resort, and in order to protect life and property, not destroy it. In August 1981 we fired 4,000 plastic bullets; in August 1982 we fired 49; I trust that in August 1983 we will not have to fire any."

"We have a job to do and we must never fear to do it. When action is required it should be decisive. This morning we raided part of the Divis complex. The raid began at 5 a.m. and finished at noon, shortly before you went on patrol. We uncovered a sawn-off shot gun, explosives, bomb-making materials, a prison officers uniform and stolen property. The residents claim we did more than £3,000 worth of damage. Is it not a small price to pay if we saved someone's life?"

Tragically the search the Commander referred to had not been thorough enough. Just two hours after I left him a young 14 year old boy died in a booby-trap explosion at the scene of the raid. A second, 12 year old boy and a soldier died later in hospital from injuries received in the blast. Two other children and a soldier remain seriously ill while a further two children sustained minor injuries. The local Catholic priest remarked that the search had caused £3,5000 worth of damage but that that paled into insignificance compared with the explosion. "Unfortunately," he said, "the search was not thorough enough. The wave of revulsion that has swept the flats may yet prove beneficial if it leads to the rejection of the terrorists."

Indeed the people of the area were loud in their condemnation of the terrorists calling on them to get out of the area and allow decent people to live in peace. And yet they were not prepared to take the ultimate step and give the police the names of known terrorists in the area. The reasons lie in the history of Northern Ireland. As mentioned in the introduction the roots go back to 1921 when these six Northern counties were divided off from the rest of Ireland.

People still question police impartiality. They point out that the police were used to break up the Civil rights marches. They were not used against the Protestant UDA marches or to break the Protestant Ulster Workers Strike. When the police went to intervene in sectarian riots they invariably stood with their backs to Protestant rioters facing the Catholic rioters. While

this may have been a prudent move on the part of the police since they knew that they were unlikely to be attacked by the Protestant rioters and very likely to be attacked by the Catholic rioters, it created the impression that they were taking sides. Baton charges would subsequently be used to break up the Catholic group rather than the Protestant one. Those interned under the Special Powers Act were Catholic (about 2,000 of them); those abused in the interrogation centres at Castlereagh and Holywood were Catholic; curfews were imposed only on Catholic areas; blanket raids were only in Catholic areas; the steel barriers were used to seal the routes into Catholic areas while roads into Protestant areas were left open again creating the impression that Catholics were being hemmed in; marches in support of the H-Block Campaign were condoned so long as they kept strictly within the Catholic areas; marches by Loyalists groups were allowed to go wherever they wished and large forces of police would be called in if required to ensure free passage through Catholic areas. This is in no way to infer that the police agree with these tactics. Politicians make the rules - the police do as they are told. But to the minority it appears that the whole system is loaded against them - Government, judiciary and law enforcement.

This explains the reluctance of the minority population to accept the RUC. Some of them would argue that it is still a sectarian force. The RUC are aware of this and make valiant efforts to gain Catholic recruits. The IRA murder campaign against members of the RUC ensures that Catholic representation remains at 1 or 2 per cent. The RUC makes every effort to show that they are unbiased in their approach. They point to successes like the arrest, prosecution and conviction of the 'Shankill Road Butchers'. But successes like these can be glossed over and forgotten.

In 1966 the police believed that the bombing campaign must be the work of the IRA. They are not so easily misled today. They know that the various Loyalist groups have been responsible for 720 deaths (about one third of the total) over the past 16 years and that they are regularly engaged in bombings and other terrorist activities. Sir John Hermon, Chief Constable of the RUC, has just set up a new detective squad to get rid of "mafia-like gangsterism of the very worst kind ... both republican and loyalist."

Still the minority community find it difficult to trust the RUC. They remain unconvinced that they are unbiased. Being pragmatic they will cooperate with regard to simple crime but if the crime can be termed in any way 'political' they will not.

Commander Crutchley is right when he says that the poverty and slum conditions in areas like Divis provide ideal conditions in which both criminal and terrorist activities can grow. The Chief Constable is right when he says that finances obtained by mafia-type groups enable the terrorists to sustain their activities. But the primary reason for the growth of terrorism in Northern Ireland is that a **political** slum exists here. Terrorism thrives in this community because of political instability and tougher security measures are not the answer. Only a genuine political settlement can remove the support for terrorist groups.

It is difficult to see how the police can make themselves more acceptable to the community without a political settlement. None-the-less Commander Crutchley is prepared to give it a try. The constables with whom I went on patrol want to give it

a try. They say they would happily leave their armoured vehicles and go on the beat, despite the dangers. They would like the opportunity to meet the people, to talk to them, to convince them that we are all on the one side. They feel that it is only through contact like that that they will win the hearts and minds campaign. The day after my meeting with Commander Crutchley a RPG rocket tore into the observation post at the rear of the barracks killing a young soldier. Two weeks later another rocket tore through a police landrover as it emerged from the gates. Miraculously no one was seriously injured. A spokesperson for the rioters in Toxteth said "Most people would be happy to brick a copper but would draw the line at petrol bombs." In Northern Ireland there is no longer any line. Commander Crutchley and his men are trying desperately to re-establish one.

The Lessons of Northern Ireland

The first lesson to be learned from Northern Ireland is that the Reactive approach has failed. In the face of increased lawlessness in England one hears calls for Courts to inflict harsher punishments, police to be given wider powers, police manpower to be increased, more sophisticated equipment and more weaponry to be provided and for society to become more security conscious. It is doubtful that the British public would accept the limitations on personal freedom, the kind of police and judicial powers which exist in Northern Ireland; it is certain that on economic grounds alone it would not be possible to bring Britain's police districts into line with Northern Ireland. Yet despite all its 'advantages' from the policing point of view Northern Ireland is the least peaceful area in Britain.

How long can the police go on reacting with ever increasing vigour to each new terrorist atrocity? It appears to be the terrorists who are calling the tune and forcing the RUC to react in a way which will give them the advantage. Certainly there is no lack of determination amongst the security forces. Indeed on my visit to the Springfield Road Police Station (operational HQ for West Belfast) I found high morale and excellent relationships amongst the men. I feel this was because of rather than in spite of the pressures and conditions of work. They gave the impression of people under fire - as they most certainly are. The Springfield Road Station has been attacked regularly with mortars, RPG rockets, blast bombs, car bombs, M60 Machine guns and armalites. The men are coping with adversity with conscious pride. Something of a "blitz" mentality prevades the station. The result is a high which creates superb morale - but what are the costs of constant mainlining on adrenalin in terms of understanding and judgement? It may seem magnificent, but is it good policing?

The more tense and disturbed the area, the more brutally apparent it is that policing is not a matter for the police alone and that the task of alerting and aiding the community towards self-regulation is a mainstream police function. The roots of preventive resources are the structures, relationships and values of society, the inherent and essential forces of care and control - or to put it more pertinently, the essential police forces. It follows that a primary task of a police service is that of realising or activating those police forces in society. How are the RUC even to begin this process in view of the relationship with the Catholic community (now about 40% of the total population) as already described? My first recommendation is for the setting up of a part-time community police force. This part-time force would be unarmed and would deal with minor misdemeanours - traffic offences, vandalism, breaches of the peace

etc. This force would not be the B-Specials under a new name. The B-Specials were a part-time police force but they were a heavily armed, para-military type force and they were bitterly resented by Catholics because they were composed entirely of Protestants and were used to police Catholic areas - a sure-fire recipe for disaster. I would see each area having its own reserve constabulary. They would be used primarily to police marches, parades and demonstrations - the kind of thing which brings the RUC into direct confrontation with the community when passions are high and when people are on a short fuse. This should have the effect of lowering the temperature for as Patrick Murphy, writing in the Commissioner in 1977, notes:

"The vast majority of residents of any community, black, white or brown, will turn out to be not only law-abiding but also law-assisting. My job, the job of any patrol officer, is to enlist the law-abiding allies in the struggle against crime and criminals."

People in general are not too worried about major crimes. The theft of a few million pounds from a bank or the embezzlement of funds from some company, even murder (unless it is in the immediate vicinity) goes almost unnoticed. Their concern is with more mundane things - cars parking on the footpath, cars not stopping at red lights, vandalism, petty theft, assaults on the person and they want the problems dealt with now. For the RUC these things are not a priority - they have bigger fish to fry, or perhaps they hesitate to come and investigate in case they are being set up. Failure to respond to these mundane matters mean loss of credibility on the grounds that they are not perceived to be an effective police force - whatever their record in combating terrorism.

The setting up of such a force would be no mean task as it would undoubtedly meet with opposition from the paramilitaries. But it is a nettle which must be grasped.

The second recommendation takes up Lord Scarman's point "... to develop the understanding that good community relations are not merely necessary but essential to good policing."

Policing must be seen as a process of inter-action between police and community. Police effectiveness cannot be dissociated from "good community relations", since each depends primarily on the quality of operational contact between public and police. The RUC have a Community Relations Branch but, despite doing excellent work, it is seen as marginal to police operations. It tends to be regarded by police and public alike as a "public relations exercise." The Community Relations Branch has a special task of educating fellow officers, and particularly new recruits, in the need to secure the consent and support of the public if they are successfully to perform their duties. Community Relations is not a matter to be left to a specialist police liaison department. It is everyone's concern.

Where the public are assured of police responsibility and accountability at operational - or primary - levels, and where a multiplicity of effective voluntary links has been created between police and public throughout the community, pressures to assure police responsibility and accountability through formal - or secondary - systems would be minimal. We would not hear the almost unending demands for a 'public enquiry' into every incident.

A community-based approach to policing would set in motion invaluable processes of reciprocation between police and public. The more police involve themselves with the public and to join in co-operative efforts to keep their locale secure against crime and disorder.

This brings me to my third recommendation, and again I quote from Lord Scarman "Good policing will be of no avail unless we tackle the basic flaws in our society." Newman (1972), Yancey (1973) and others have described how poor architectural design and planning turned Pruitt-Igoe (St. Louis, Missouri) into a 'crime-ridden bad land'. Taylor (1976) described Liverpool's Piggeries in the same vein. Belfast has its Divis Tower and Moyard Flats. Indeed Northern Ireland has the worst housing in Western Europe. It also has the highest unemployment and the lowest income. It is difficult to put pressure on a Government which is so set on cutting public expenditure. Perhaps a first step would be the setting up of a Crime Research Unit similar to that set up by John Alderson in Exeter. Such a unit might be able to indicate where a start might be made. It might for example, consider the implications of using motorways to cut Catholic West Belfast off from the Protestant neighbourhoods. It is possible that the island formed by the motorways may become a backwater and a breeding place for crime. It could also look closely at the 'catch-22' situation which faces the RUC in riot situations. If they move in hard to stop the riot getting out of control they are accused of inflaming feelings and making matters worse. If they remain on the periphery and keep a low profile they are accused by the Protestant community of failing to carry out their duty. They are also accused by the Catholic community of allowing them to 'stew in their own juice' as it were. Every community has a crime tolerance level above which it will not accept increases. Do the police hope to force the community to accept responsibility for putting down its own riots?

A Crime Research Unit might look at conflicting evidence on this score. Durkheim (1933) Coser (1956) and Simmel (1956) argue that crime is functional for society; that people react to crime by increasing their social contacts and pulling together, thereby enhancing solidarity in the community. The work of Oscar Newman would not support this point of view. Conklin (1975) and Truman Capote take a directly opposing stance to Durkheim. Their research indicates that recurrent crime will gradually create distrust and suspicion, hostility and estrangement from both the environment and the police. So whether the police go in to quell the riot or stay back and allow it to literally 'burn itself out' they cannot win. This reinforces the need for a local part-time community police force.

It is apparent that no statutory agency holds the answer to crime but that each is capable of making a contribution. If all the various agencies could be made to pull together and coordinate their actions far more crime would be prevented than if the police acted alone. Agencies such as housing, planning and education have effects on the level of crime. Others such as Probation and Social Services have an obviously important role to play in crime prevention. A meeting of all interested parties should be called. This might include Police, Probation, Social Services, Education, Youth and Community, Department of Manpower Services, The District Health Authority, Transport, Housing, Planning, Leisure Services, The Churches, The Local Council, Magistrates, The Press and relevant voluntary organisations. The aim of the meeting would be to discuss how best to promote social crime prevention at grass roots level. A steering

committee of relevant personnel might then be set up to devise strategies.

It is likely that such a committee would see the need to tackle the key areas of youth unemployment currently running in excess of 50% and with a high percentage of offenders being unemployed. (A NIACRO survey carried out in September 1982 found that 80% of offenders were unemployed) the Committee might aim to foster collaborative projects aimed at improving local youth skills and employment opportunities. Based on the recommendations of the Crime Research Unit the committee might also make recommendations with regard to planning, licensing of premises, transport and the like.

Because of the link between unemployment and crime the Committee might promote Intermediate Treatment Type Projects. In order to ensure an improvement in the overall quality of life it is necessary to maximise existing resources and avoid duplication of effort. A truly multi-disciplinary approach is notoriously difficult to organise.

There is lack of trust between social workers and police officers. Some social workers regard the police as 'brutish, reactionary hefties' while some police officers regard social workers as 'tinkering, intellectual lefties'. Such prejudices will only be overcome through personal contact. There is, too, the problem of confidentiality between agencies - particularly between the Probation and Social Services. For Youth and Community workers there is the question of whether they should allow untrained police officers to usurp their role. A similar dilemma faces teachers who wonder whether police officers should be allowed to 'teach' classes. Not least is the need for police personnel to change their attitudes. Even those in Community Relations and Juvenile Liaison insist that they are police officers first and foremost. There is certainly a need for honesty but if young people feel that they are being continually 'policed' they are bound to put up barriers. Police officers are members of the community who have a special role in the same way that other professionals have a special role, but the emphasis should be member of the community first and police officer second. The police officer should be part of the community not apart from it.

To achieve collaboration of this kind would be no easy task. Common problems and priorities for action will have to be clearly identified and the respective roles of the various agencies clearly defined. There will be a need for the sharing of experiences between agencies and organisations so that horizons can be stretched beyond the insularities of separate institutions. Resources must be sought for genuine inter-agency projects, involving both statutory agencies and community groups, with no one dominant interest. This would allow more credible, flexible and experimental approaches to local problems, ensure better co-operation between groups and provide more effective services.

The ideal here, that of the policeman as the focus of a self-regulating community - closely resembles the original conception of the office of constable, the practical objectives being the prevention and control of the many and minor disorders which, as Superintendent Crutchley (now Assistant Chief Constable) pointed out, makes up 92% of his police work. In this perspective preventive policing becomes an increasingly fundamental component of mainstream policies and operations. Preventative strategies are most effective where local resources of care

and control - those of the community and those of statutory and voluntary agencies - are most fully mobilised within a framework of concerted policy. The forces of moderation in Northern Ireland are a good deal stronger than vociferous extremist voices proclaim. There is a 'silent majority' of local people who seek above all peace, order and security based on the rule of law. The way forward for the police is to get out to them; to get feedback from them as to what they think is wrong and to build a two-way contact with them so that things can be put right.

Policing can only work if it is by consent. It must be based on the key principles of "effectiveness" and "acceptability".

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YOUTH AND POLICY

the journal of
 critical analysis

A number of people have asked us to run a study conference on some of the themes and practice that have featured in recent editions of the journal. Our aim is arranging such a conference is to provide workers, researchers and trainers with the opportunity to look at a range of "work in progress". We have been deliberately eclectic in our initial choice of subjects. Main speakers include Bernard Davies on youth policy (University of Warwick), Dan Finn on youth training (Unemployment Unit) and Mary Marken on young people and the police (National Youth Bureau). Other speakers are currently being arranged.

In addition to the speakers we will be offering a range of workshops both on particular research interests and on current project work and issues. Provisionally the subjects include:

- * Gender relations in youth work;
- * Youth and history;
- * The psychological impact of unemployment;
- * The shaping of youth policy;
- * Young people and politics;
- * Disability and young people.

We expect to be offering about ten different workshops in all. The organisation of the workshops has been left deliberately fluid so that any participants wanting to set up their own may do so. It would be a great help if you could let us know in advance if you are interested in running one.

The cost of the conference has been kept low:-

Residential (Friday and Saturday nights)	£30.00
Non Residential (inc. 2 main meals)	£15.00

Costs have been worked out so that we can offer a discount to those who are unemployed, students or on low income (details on request). The costs for children are as follows;

YOUTH AND POLICY STUDY CONFERENCE:

Coventry 3rd - 5th February 1984

Children under 5	free
Children over 5	£10.00 (residential)
£5.00	(Non residential)

These charges are made as a contribution towards the cost of food and residence only. People bringing young children would help greatly if they could also bring things like travelling cots.

There will be full creche facilities during the daytime sessions. Creche costs are covered in the main conference free.

Accommodation is in single sex small dormitories (basic but comfortable). We are making arrangements for some 'family' type rooms for those with children. In addition we can give details of local bed and breakfast places.

The conference begins with a meal at 7pm on the Friday with the first session starting at 8pm. The final Sunday session ends at around 3.30pm. Based on our previous experiences of these sorts of events we have not arranged for a main meal on the Saturday evening. Again we can give details of local take-outs and restaurants. The venue for the conference is John Kennedy House in the centre of Coventry (next to the Cathedral).

Bookings should be made a month in advance. (Late bookings will be considered). Money should be sent with the booking form. Fees will be refundable up to one month in advance. Places will be allocated on a first come first served basis.

Booking forms and requests for further details should be sent to the Conference Organiser:
 Mark Smith, 4 Friars Road, East Ham, London E6 1LH
 Work telephone 01 521 0021

out of school - out of work : the psychological impact

GRAHAM STOKES

"What's life given me? Nothing," said a 16 year old school leaver who had been unemployed for 5 months.

Since 1974-75 most industrialized countries have experienced a marked increase in youth unemployment, so that the unemployed family member today is increasingly likely to be a teenage son or daughter. Between 1974 and 1982 unemployment in England and Wales among young people aged 16-19 years rose from 73,000 to 415,000, despite the introduction of special temporary employment measures - most notably the Youth Opportunities Programme in 1978. At the end of 1982 over 238,000 teenagers occupied YOP places, at a time when current figures reveal that only 38% gain employment on leaving work experience schemes. According to government figures in January 1982 only 45% of 16-19 year olds in England and Wales were working. What is possibly an even more disturbing feature of the current U.K. unemployment situation is that 286,000 young people under 25 years old have been unemployed for over one year.

Teenagers attempting to make the transition from school to work have fared particularly badly. Taking no account of the effects of special measures, the figure of 217,000 unemployed school leavers in the final quarter of 1980 had risen to 547,000 by the same period in 1982, an increase of 152%. The Manpower Services Commission has predicted that by 1984 the situation would still be that approximately 448,000 school leavers in Great Britain, as well as a further 174,000 young people under the age of 18 years, would be unemployed. This would represent 54% of the labour force aged under 18 years. However, despite the remorseless rise in teenage unemployment, research on the psychological and social consequences of this disturbing phenomenon is limited. The British Youth Council in 1977 stated that:

"Unemployment for young people is more than a temporary set-back, it can condition their whole way of life and attitude to work ... the chances are that he or she will not easily take or use opportunities when they do arise to re-embark on a steady and satisfying adult working life, thus sustaining a pattern of deprivation."

Whilst recent governments have readily acknowledged that for teenagers who are experiencing a critical phase of personal development, unemployment is a potential disaster, and have

thus directed scarce national resources to the provision of temporary work preparation courses and work experience (the Youth Training Scheme developed for 16 and 17 year old school leavers will cost the Exchequer £950 million in its first year, 1983/84), there is an undercurrent of opinion which argues that there is little to suggest that the young unemployed warrant greater government or 'public concern or resources than any other section of the unemployed.' The question has therefore to be asked, how are young people in Britain today reacting to, and coping with, enforced joblessness?

My research on the psychological impact of unemployment on school leavers was located in Birmingham in the West Midlands, a region which has experienced a dramatic decline in its economic fortunes. As with the experience of Great Britain as a whole, the adverse economic conditions have led to a widespread increase in unemployment among school leavers, something which had not happened in Birmingham since before the 1939-45 war. The following table illustrates the extent of the unemployment problem among the young in Britain's second city.

**Unemployment Among School Leavers and Young Workers
(under 19) in Birmingham, 1980-83**

(June)	1980	1981	1982	1983
School Leavers	2452	3577	5072	4913
Young Workers	1821	1501	1010	695
Total Registered				
Unemployed	4273	5078	6082	5608
No. of Young People on Special Schemes	1635	3704	4277	3989
No. of Current Vacancies	800	257	251	314

I followed the experiences of a group of school leavers who had left full-time education in the Summer of 1979 and had been unable to find employment on leaving school, for a period of six months between November 1979 and May 1980. They were

predominantly unqualified, 60% having no qualifications at all. A group of employed school leavers was also recruited so that comparisons could be made between those teenagers who had found work and those who had not. One result emerging from the study was the greater vulnerability of the unemployed school leavers to symptoms of mild undifferentiated psychiatric disorder (e.g. loss of appetite, inability to concentrate, restlessness, worry, tension, disturbed sleep, irritability, guilt). I also discovered widespread feelings of depression among the workless. A 17 year old girl said, *"Anything will do now. I hate this waiting and hanging around with nothing to do. I never knew I could get this miserable."*

Boredom was frequently cited as a particularly disturbing aspect of unemployment. Thus, a 16 year old boy complaining about the lack of enjoyment in his life reported that, *"You've got to find something that breaks the monotony and boredom. I play cards."*

The pressure of killing seemingly endless time was apparent when a 17 year old boy, ten months after leaving the sociable world of school, said, *"Everyday is like all the others. There's just empty time. I've got nothing to do, I hardly see anyone, I'm not involved in anything"*

When the unemployed did report that they were able to find things to do, this invariably meant they were to be found hanging around the city centre with other unemployed youngsters. The jobless showed little interest in joining the Youth Opportunities Programme (*"you're cheap labour for 6 months then you're dumped back on the dole. You're f...ing stupid if you think it'll get you a job"*) nor did they consider that meaningful alternative roles were available. In the home both the boys and girls felt their position was ill-defined. Unemployment, principally for the male subjects was also regarded as inhibiting the development of heterosexual relationships. Lack of money meant they could not afford to have a girlfriend, and this blocked the creation of interests and activities outside the family. It should be borne in mind when discussing the money worries of the young unemployed that it is not so much that they have to cope with physical hardship or financial loss but rather they experience the frustration of entrenched expectations concerning anticipated spending power and the corresponding ability to participate fully in the youth culture.

Feelings of anxiety and depression were accompanied by a strong sense of being undesirable and worthless. It seems that the regular media coverage of the employment problems confronting young people, and the increasing likelihood that unemployment is becoming a part of everyday experience for many teenagers, did not remove feelings of failure and inadequacy. Self-doubt was expressed by another 17 year old boy who said, *"I know it's because I've got no confidence, but what's the point of going for a job when I know I'll never get it? Why would anyone want me with so many people out of work."*

The unemployed were also significantly less satisfied with their personal identity, for finding a job when leaving school represents a crucial aspect in the general development from dependent adolescence to independent adulthood. Frustration of this development leads to the perpetuation of a status which is inconsistent with the demands of society, expectations of parents and positive regard of peers. The unemployed's dissatisfaction with how they saw themselves gained expression in terms of a feeling that they were not being treated more like

adults even though they had left school. I discovered that while 81% of school leavers who had found jobs felt they were being treated more like adults since leaving school, only 35% of the unemployed teenagers felt they were being regarded in a similar way.

The unemployed were also found to be more hostile than their employed peers which provides an indication of the increased likelihood of anti-social and delinquent behaviour occurring when young people are not allowed to satisfy the accepted demands of society. The prevailing view was that their schools had done little or nothing to help them prepare for the possibility of unemployment. Thus, a 17 year old girl said, *"Sometimes I find it difficult to cope. I didn't expect this to happen when I left school"*. When efforts were made by teachers to forewarn the youngsters these were frequently condemned as not having presented a realistic picture of the unemployment situation. Another 17 year old who had been without a job for five months commented bitterly that he had been *"told it was going to be bad, but never like this. My mates and me were taken for a ride. They gave us the bad news, and then coated it with sugar so you thought it wouldn't happen to you"*.

Whilst no evidence of criminal activity was found among the unemployed school leavers, it is likely that the behaviour of certain youngsters gave rise to fears among the general public. Although the regular pastime of coming together in groups in the street or in shopping centres was an innocent activity, to the passer-by this was likely to be seen as threatening or deviant behaviour. The empirical basis of the 'self-fulfilling prophecy' has been well documented.

The aggravating effects of unemployment were also to be found within the family. Many of the young unemployed expressed discontent with their parental and family relationships. Quarrels with parents were common and tensions with brothers and sisters were clearly evident, especially when the unemployed youngster had a sibling who was in employment. A 16 year old boy commented *"I feel sick when my brother comes home from work with his wage packet"*.

Arguments developed not only as a result of the unemployed school leaver feeling resentful that he or she was not regarded as a valued family member, although this was invariably a consequence of poor self-opinion rather than being the result of inconsiderate behaviour on the part of other family members, they also arose because of what was considered a lack of understanding on the part of parents. Many of the unemployed felt that the expectations of their parents were inconsistent with the employment opportunities confronting a young person after leaving school. Thus a 17 year old boy who had been unemployed for seven months complained that, *"My parents don't really understand that there aren't enough jobs to go round. They think I'm doing something wrong"*.

Whilst there was widespread evidence of family support and concern, giving rise to feelings of security and satisfaction on the part of the young unemployed, the overriding impression was one of family units under strain, suffering deleterious emotional hardship. However, as Pauline Carroll has said, whether this will result in rejection by the family or rejection of the family is likely to depend on the strength of the family network prior to the onset of crisis.

The tensions observed within the family were also to be found

in the area of social relationships, in so much as the unemployed were more dissatisfied with the treatment they received from other people. I had expected that the poor self-image of the unemployed would be accompanied by feelings of rejection, for the erosion of self-respect that frequently occurs during a period of unemployment means that a person does not have to experience social rejection in order to feel that they are not accepted by others. He may simply believe that they are not worthy of being in the company of other people. One 16 year old girl expressed this feeling by saying, "I keep myself to myself", another said that, "People are pleasant enough, but I can't help thinking they're doing things because they're sorry for me. I end up be keeping away from them".

However, it is clear that the treatment received from others represented actual experiences of social rejection. The unemployed were unable to join in social activities to the extent they would have liked and it was regularly said that their friends often regarded them as liabilities in such situations. A negative view of how they were being treated was clearly related to the unemployed teenagers' experiences with employers. Complaints of not receiving replies when writing off for interviews and not being informed as to the outcome of interviews for long periods, if at all, were frequently reported. This can only represent an unnecessary intensification of the distress already felt by those seeking work for the first time. Thus, a 17 year old boy who had applied for over thirty jobs said, "it makes you sick the way you get treated by employers. Half of them never even send you a reply when you write off for interviews. Sometimes you never get told how your interviews worked out; that's when you're lucky enough to get one. They don't really care about how you feel, you're just another number to them".

My research also revealed that not only were there significant differences between the unemployed and employed school leavers, but that the well-being and attitudes of the jobless changed during the six months of observation. I found that the unemployed experienced an apparent improvement in their condition as the period without a job progressed. However, the reduction in distress and upset revealed by the research questionnaires cannot be regarded as representing a genuine improvement in psychological health and social well-being. The impression gained while interviewing indicated that the unemployed had come to terms with their situation by restricting their potential. As a result of redefining their position, subjecting expectations to a reappraisal and restructuring beliefs self-image improved, anxiety diminished and feelings of frustration and hostility were reduced. They had become resigned to their privation. Hope for the future was restricted, and fatalistic apathy permeated everyday life. The unemployed tended to withdraw from official contact, on average visiting the Careers Service, the specialist agency concerned with the job placement of young people, only twice a month. The following quotations are representative extracts from interviews conducted at the end of the research schedule when the school leavers had been unemployed for a period of ten months. "Being without a job isn't so bad", said a 17 year old boy. A 17 year old girl commented that she "used to be much more worried about not having a job but I'm managing O.K." A particularly pessimistic 16 year old boy said, "What's the point in worrying. I accept that I haven't got a job, and probably never will have". The resigned attitude apparent among the jobless was aptly expressed by a 17 year old girl who said, "I'll probably get a job one day. But until that day comes I'm not going to bother myself". Whilst the corrosive effect of looking for work with no hope of finding it was

compellingly conveyed by another 17 year old girl, "I suppose I'm quite lazy, but I never used to be. I really tried to get a job, I really did, but there was nothing. And now I've given up".

A clear deterioration in social and practical skills also accompanied what Anna Freud has labelled, "restriction of the ego". Many of the sample were socially inadequate when compared to their employed counterparts and cannot have presented an attractive picture to prospective employers. Being deficient in social skills only served to compound the plight of the teenage unemployed, for not only were they predominantly unqualified, and many had an inadequate knowledge of the "3 R's", but their attitudes, manner and appearance were now at variance with the demands and requirements of employers. Thus, nearly a year after leaving school many of the unemployed had accepted their pernicious situation and in the process had become less attractive as potential workers.

I believe this study has illustrated that in the present economic climate with many young people unable to successfully enter the labour market after leaving school, through no fault of their own, unemployment is likely to have an adverse effect on psychological health, personal development and rewarding interpersonal relations. The provision of Supplementary Benefit, while removing the fear of economic hardship, has failed to modify to any great extent feelings of boredom, loneliness, low personal worth and powerlessness. Nor can financial palliatives compensate for the frustration of aspirations and ambitions and the onset of a profound crisis of identity. It is not surprising that the payment of benefit was found not to have a de-motivating effect when it came to looking for work. Indeed, there was clear evidence that the unemployed felt embarrassed and uncomfortable at having to register for, and live on, benefit. The stigma of signing on was revealed by a 16 year old girl who said, "it's all the miserable faces when I go to sign on that really get to me. Now I've realized that I must look like that to other people, so I feel ashamed whenever I have to go there (Benefit Office)".

The disconcerting conclusion to be drawn from this study is that long-term unemployment may well be responsible for a large number of young people becoming resigned and apathetic, withdrawing from meaningful and constructive social contact and having little commitment to a society that seems to be denying them a worthwhile future. What was dismissed in the early 1970's as a 'folk theory', namely long-term unemployment among the young after leaving school, leading to lethargy, apathy and a settling down to a 'street corner' lifestyle, was an apt description for the young unemployed interviewed in Birmingham. This finding clearly justified official efforts to provide special assistance for the unemployed youth of this country, although consideration should be given to whether the Youth Training Scheme, or any other special measure which presents as its *raison d'être* the improvement of a young person's chances of getting a job, is appropriate when a large proportion of contemporary unemployment is structural and cannot be regarded as a temporary aberration from a situation of comparatively full employment. If government schemes are designed solely to improve employability they will fail to prepare and equip young people for life in a time of technological change and declining employment opportunities.

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young voters 1988: will they break the mould?

HOWARD ELCOCK

The 1983 General Election results contain major implications for the future of the British political parties. The Conservatives are securely in control of Parliament for the next five years. The Alliance achieved a substantial proportion of the vote (7½ million or 26 per cent) but won only 23 seats. They must build up that vote to the point - somewhere between 35 and 40 per cent - at which they will win sufficient seats to either hold the balance of power in the House of Commons or form the next Government. For the Labour Party the future looks bleak indeed. The proportion of the electorate supporting the Party has been falling ever since 1951 and is now at its lowest level since 1918. The number of Labour MPs elected in 1983 was the lowest since 1935. Labour must both reverse this long term decline in its electoral fortunes and achieve a massive swing in its favour of over 12 per cent if it is to win power in 1987 or 1988.

All the parties must therefore be looking to young voters to secure their political futures. The Tories must reinforce their majority so that they can survive the shocks and setbacks which are inevitable over the next five years. The opposition parties must look to youth to rescue them from the doldrums to which the electors consigned them on June 9th. We shall discuss here their prospects for doing so and the strategies they should adopt. We must first however dismiss the hoary old chestnut that young radicals become middle aged reactionaries as they acquire senior jobs, mortgages and families. A mass of electoral research has demonstrated rather that young voters' electoral loyalties are determined very early in life and are often the consequence of parental influence. Table 1 shows that the child of two Conservative parents is very likely to support that party and that the same is true of children born to two Labour parents. Perhaps most significant of all, children of politically

mixed marriages divide almost equally between the main parties. Although some young voters change their allegiance in their teens as their attitudes towards political issues develop, most partisan self-images (PSI) are established by the time the young person first enters a polling booth. In consequence, we can identify cohorts of voters who pass through life with their political balance largely unchanged. It also follows that major events like the Depression, the world wars or the Labour victory of 1945, which influenced large numbers of voters in particular cohorts, cast their shadows long after in the form of an enduring influence on the balance of the electorate. Thus David Butler and Donald Stokes identified four such cohorts in a sample first interviewed in 1963.

They were:

1. Those who first voted before 1918. This cohort contained few Labour voters because its members grew up and developed their political loyalties before the Labour Party became a major influence in British politics. Conversely it contained the largest proportion of habitual Liberals. This cohort could remember from their youth the achievements of the Campbell-Bannerman and Asquith Liberal Governments.
2. Those first voting between the world wars, who were influenced by the Depression but for whom the Labour Party had not been a major factor until late in the period.
3. Those first voting in the 1945 and 1950 elections. This generation, influenced by the Depression and the Second World War, was heavily Labour and gave the party its landslide victory in the former year.
4. The youngest cohort was made up of those who first voted after 1951. This cohort was still relatively strongly inclined towards Labour but less so than its predecessor - a trend which has continued since, as we shall see later.¹

Table 1

Respondent is:	Respondent's parents were:		
	Both Conservative	One Tory, One Labour	Both Labour
Conservative	89	48	06
Labour	09	52	92
Liberal	02		02

(Source: D. Butler and D. Stokes, *Political Change in Britain*, (Macmillan, 1969) p47)

Although a voter's PSI is commonly determined early in life, holding a stable PSI is not inconsistent with sometimes voting for a different party. Thus a voter may be habitually Labour or Tory but sometimes vote for Liberals, the SDP or even the "opposite" major party, without losing his conception of him or herself as normally Tory or Labour.² This desertion of habitual loyalties is becoming more frequent, as has been indicated by increasing swings in local elections and Parliamentary bye-elections as well as in the last few General Elections. Studies of the 1983 election confirm earlier findings³ that Liberal voters are

particularly fluid. Substantial numbers of voters opted both in and out of Alliance support during the three weeks of the campaign. Very few Alliance voters have a Liberal or SDP PSI - nearly all of them opted temporarily for the Alliance parties because they were temporarily - often very temporarily indeed - dissatisfied with the party to which they normally gave habitual loyalty. The Alliance's electoral bridgehead is likewise likely to be built on shifting sands, although some of the Liberal MPs have now been in place long enough to build up a stable base of support in their constituencies. However, it is important to note that according to a Gallup poll taken on 8th and 9th of June (see table 2), the Alliance had the support of 30 per cent of new voters compared with only 19 per cent of the over 65s.

Table 2

Percentage of voters supporting each major party: by age.

AGE GROUP	Labour	Support for Conservative	Alliance
18-22	29	41	30
23-34	32	45	23
35-44	27	47	26
45-64	27	46	27
65+	33	48	19

(Source: The Guardian, 13th June, 1983, p5)

The Alliance can, on the face of it, take some heart from its strength among young voters, but this is a particularly volatile section of the electorate which will in any case decline in size by 1988 because of the steep fall in the birth-rate during the 1960s. The number of eighteen-year olds in 1988 is likely to be around 870,000 compared with 950,000 in 1983 - a decline which has consequences for the balance of the electorate as well as the education system. Labour, by contrast, has the support of only a third of the electorate or less in all age-groups. Its decline therefore seems to be a well-established fact.

A succession of studies of young people's political attitudes has shown that they are both relatively apathetic and more likely than others to change their voting behaviour. This first point - apathy - can be illustrated by surveys which show that young voters are more likely to abstain from voting than is the rest of the electorate. For example, in 1964 the British Institute of Public Opinion obtained the results presented in Table 3, which show this heightened propensity to abstain.

Table 3

Percentage of voters in various age-groups who abstain.

Age Group	Percentage of abstainers in age-group	Percentage of sample in that age group
21-24	16	8
25-34	24	19
35-44	16	20
45-64	28	37
65+	16	16

(Source: Jean Blondel, *Voters, Parties and Leaders*, (Penguin, 1965) p. 59.

Only in the two youngest age-groups does the percentage of abstainers exceed the proportion of the sample in that age-group, demonstrating that people under 34 are proportionately more electorally apathetic than older people.

The second point - that young voters are more likely to change parties than others - has been demonstrated by a succession of studies which also provide some indications of how young people develop their political attitudes. Data from the Butler and Stokes survey plus study of young voters by Mark Abrams

and Alan Little, some of whose results are presented in Table 4, found that they were both less firmly attached to their political loyalties and less likely to be card-carrying members of political parties than older people. They may therefore

Table 4

(a) Percent of sample describing themselves as fairly or very strongly attached to a political party, by age:

20	21-4	25-30	31-40	41-50
47	58	62	65	73

(Source: D. Butler and D. Stokes, *op. cit.*, Table 3-11, p.55.)

(b) Percent of sample who were paid-up members of a party, by age:

21-4	25-34	35-44	45-54
5	4	6	10

(Source: M. Abrams and P. Little, "The Young Voter in British Politics" in R. Rose (ed.) *Studies in British Politics*, second edition (Macmillan, 1969) Table 2, p.104

be more open to influence by party campaigns or political events than the rest of the electorate.

Nonetheless, the majority of voters form a firm PSI by the time they first mark a ballot paper. Today's young voters confirm the tendency identified by Butler and Stokes for the Labour proportion of their votes to decline from the peak achieved in 1945. In the sample carried out for the Guardian by the Gallup organisation at the time of the 1983 General Election, new voters were shown to have been equally divided between the Labour and Conservative Parties in the 1979 election but in 1983 Labour had the support of only 17 per cent of new voters compared with 20 per cent for the Alliance and 28 per cent for the Tories. Labour was thus clearly in third place among first time voters in 1983.⁵

Allied to this decline in Labour support is a change in the nature of class allegiances. In the 1940s one could assume that working class people would vote Labour and the middle class Conservative but the 1950s and 1960s produced hints that a new, prosperous working class was emerging whose Labour vote could not be guaranteed.⁶ Thus John Goldthorpe and his colleagues found in their study of affluent car workers in Luton in the early 1960s that although they were still firmly Labour, that support was related to the gains they expected to make from a Labour Government rather than to traditional working class solidarity. If these payoffs did not materialise when a Labour Government won office, these voters might be expected to desert the party and support another which seemed to offer more hope of a higher standard of living. Alternatively they might lapse into political apathy or promote their interests by industrial militancy. By 1983, the working class had split between two poles. On the one hand, owner-occupiers living in the South of England and working in the private sector are heavily Conservative while council tenants in the North and employed in the public sector are the most likely manual workers to vote Labour. Table 5 shows the difference between different kinds of worker.

Table 5

Political balance of working class voters in various categories (Conservative respondents-Labour respondents). + Conservative majority, - Labour majority.

Owner-occupiers	+22
Council tenants	-38
Private sector	-1
Public sector	-17
South	+16
North	-10

(Source, Guardian, 13 June 1983, Table 2, p.5)

We can hypothesise that young voters are more likely to be in the "new" working class than the "old" because the South is more densely populated than the declining North and the public sector is shrinking. The omens for the labour Party are thus therefore again anything but reassuring. The ageing of the traditional class alignment⁷ has proceeded to the point at which traditional working class solidarity can no longer give Labour anything like a Parliamentary majority.⁸ Another sign of the times is that only 39 per cent of trade union members voted Labour in 1983⁹ whereas Goldthorpe and his colleagues found twenty years earlier that nearly 80 per cent of the trade unionists in their sample intended to vote Labour in the 1964 General Election.

The decline in trade unionists' support is an instance of another way in which Labour's position has weakened in the last two decades. Another is that some Labour policies, notably nationalisation, have always been relatively unpopular even among Labour supporters and have become amore so in recent years. Equally, Labour policies which used to be popular, like expanding the social services, now command much less support. Table 6 shows how support for labour policies has been eroded. It shows that whereas a modest majority of Labour supporters favoured more nationalisation in 1963,

Table 6

Popularity of Labour Party policies, 1963 and 1979: Per centage of Labour supporters who agree with

	1963	1979
Expanding the Social Services	89	30
Further nationalisation	57	32

(Source: Derived from Ivor Crewe, "The Labour party and the Electorate" in Dennis Kavanagh (ed.) *The Politics of the Labour Party*, G. Allen and Unwin, 1982.

less than a third did so in 1979. The decline in support for expanding the social services is more spectacular and it is worth recalling that Butler and Stokes regarded this issue as import in explaining Labour's 1964 election victory.¹⁰ These long term trends must be reversed if Labour is ever to govern again and since young voters are the most impressionable section of the electorate, the party must concentrate on selling its policies to them.

The findings we discussed earlier indicate, however, that young people are at present markedly more right wing than their elders. In consequence, it is likely that the Conservatives will command the support of an increasing proportion of the electorate as the 1945-50 generation begins to die off. Raymond Coghane and Michael Billing¹¹ identify four characteristics of the teenagers of 1983 which confirm that hypothesis. In a study of West Midlands teenagers they found a tendency towards authoritarian right wing policies coupled with a belief that no

Government can sole the problem of unemployment and a view of the Wilson and Callaghan Labour Governments as failures. These children have grown up in a period in which Labour Governments were the norm, since that party held office for 11 out of the 19 years between 1964 and 1983. Labour did not, however, establish themselves in these youngsters' minds as the natural party of government. In their minds even a relatively high level of support for the SDP was associated with authoritarian attitudes such as a belief that if the SDP achieved power, tiresome arguments and dissention between Left and Right would cease, to be replaced by a single view of the public interest. These 15 to 18 year olds may not have had the vote in June 1983 but they and their juniors will be the first time voters at the next General Election.

It is also important to remember that this age seems to be crucial for the development of a young person's political attitudes and views. Although basic loyalties may be largely inherited and established very early in life, together with perceptions of such authority figures as the Queen or the President,¹² the early teenage years are the time at which views about issues like equality and poverty are formed.¹³ Equally, interviews with older voters demonstrate the impact made on them by the major political events of their teenage years, which still largely determine their electoral choices. Thus memories of the Asquith Liberal Government, of hardship in the depression of the 1930s or of political education in the Second World War still determine electoral allegiances up to half a century and more later.¹⁴ We must therefore expect that the relatively Right-wing attitudes of today's teenagers will affect the party balance for many years to come.

So far we have assumed that the electorate is overwhelmingly stable. It might therefore seem that there is little politicians can do to redress the balance but the electorate has become more volatile in the last twenty years. Swings at General Elections have increased. Massive reversals of fortunes occur in bye-elections and local elections as Governments inevitably become unpopular in mid-term. It does therefore seem that the PSIs established by family and class influences are weakening, so that more voters desert their habitual loyalties to favour either the Alliance or the "opposite" major party. Since young voters are in any case less securely attached to their PSIs than their elders, this phenomenon is likely to be especially important in their case. Voters seem increasingly to be influenced by three factors. First, their view about whether or not the incumbent Government has made them better or worse off, coupled with their current beliefs about which party would be likely to improve their lot if elected,¹⁵ seems to have an increasing influence on voters' decisions at the ballot box. The Gallup sample was asked which party was best for people like them; the responses were Conservative 43 per cent, Labour 33 per cent and the Alliance 22 per cent. These proportions related fairly closely to the parties' share of votes on June 9th.

Second, individual issues are of some importance, although it is important to stress that before an issue can affect an election result, it must cross three hurdles. First, the electorate must be aware of the issue and hold strong views about it. Second, the balance of those views must be skewed in one direction, not evenly balanced across the electorate and lastly people must identify one party with the policy they favour.¹⁶ Applying this analysis, Butler and Stokes concluded that expansion of the social services probably helped Labour to victory in 1964 because they found that voters were widely aware of the issue,

most wanted expansion and most also regarded Labour as the party most likely to do this.¹⁷ However, although unemployment was overwhelmingly recognised by voters as the most important issue in 1983, its influence on the election result was slight because few electors believed that any party would be able to reduce its level. In particular, the percentage of the electorate which regarded Labour as the party most likely to restore full employment fell by 4 per cent (from only 20 per cent) between 1979 and 1983.¹⁸

A third phenomenon was that the Alliance, for all its valiant efforts to persuade the electorate that it could win, was handicapped by the enduring belief that a vote for their candidates would be wasted because they stood no chance of success. To vote Alliance would only increase the chance that the main enemy (the opposite traditional major party) would win the seat.¹⁹

Against this background, then, we can begin to plot the strategies the parties should follow to protect or enhance their positions at the next General Election. The Conservatives must seek economic recovery under their leadership while continuing to convince the electorate that no Government can do much to increase the level of employment as economic decline and new technology continue to erode the number of jobs available. Their position in Parliament is secure and the travails of the opposition parties suggest that the Conservatives are favourites to win again unless a cataclysm strikes them. In particular, successive cohorts of young voters have been increasingly right wing ever since 1951, student revolts notwithstanding. Conversely, the Labour Party thus has a very hard struggle on its hands. The generations of voters who have supported Labour most strongly are now middle aged and will soon become elderly. A vigorous and attractive campaign to win the support of young voters is now desperately needed and must displace all other objectives for the party organisation, including traditional activities and cherished but unpopular policies. The Alliance for its part needs to try and retain its present supporters and add to their number but it suffers from the disadvantage of having a very small base of reliable support to fall back on. With only 23 MPs it will also find it difficult to overcome the "wasted vote" argument. Nonetheless, the number of Alliance MPs who held their seats against the odds in 1983, coupled with the durability of many of the Liberals, suggest that the Alliance at least holds a bridgehead which can be enlarged into a salient.

A particular recommendation for the Labour Party and to a lesser extent the Alliance emerges from Cochrane and Billig's article. They make the point that the Young Conservatives attract youngsters into their fold by arranging attractive social events whereas the earnest resolutions and ideological debates of the Young Socialists are repellant to all but the politically committed youngster. More discos and fewer resolutions may be one way for Labour to attract more young voters to its banner but in this the Tories start with a distinct advantage.

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against the odds: training youth and community workers

LIZ HOGARTH

In his book *The Reform of Parliament*, Bernard Crick introduces his analysis of the role of the House of Lords with this quotation:

“Here is Edward Bear coming downstairs now, bump, bump, bump, on the back of his head, behind Christopher Robin. It is, as far as he knows, the only way of coming downstairs, but sometimes he feels that there really is another way, if only he could stop bumping for a moment and think of it. And then he feels that perhaps there isn’t”.¹

The House of Lords is not the only institution where traditions are apt to take over, leaving people unsure why they go in outworn and uncomfortable patterns. Elements of the initial training programmes for full-time youth and community workers demonstrate the same tendency.

The management of training, whether at the pre-qualification stage or in-service, is particularly prone to this ‘bump, bump, bump’ syndrome. The momentum of budgets, timetables, staffing, production of materials, assessors, consultative bodies and academic committees means that development is always a weary process, and that for the most part it is necessary to maintain a large part of the existing programme, even while seeking long-term change. There are reasons why it is particularly hard to disentangle this process in the youth and community service. One is that we are still vague about the aims and purposes of the service and therefore about training, so that managers of training have a vested interest in confusing together those issues that are difficult to change quickly, and those issues that are difficult to change because we do not know clearly what we want to do with them. A second reason is that although full-time youth and community training is a comparatively recent phenomenon, (the one year Leicester course was set up for five years from 1962, following Albemarle; the two year courses, with the exception of Westhill which pre-dates the others, were set up from 1970 onwards),² the roots and traditions of work with young people and community groups go back a long way. These traditions have at time become enshrined in a rhetoric that has the loosest of relationships to practice. The friendly ghost of Macalister Brew still walks declaiming that

“the youth group should try to give scope for every interest of hand, mind and heart ... it should endeavour to keep its

members fit ... Handiness with tools and materials is a form of physical fitness just as definitely as soundness of wind and limb ... and if only the club handyman will make a pukka boxing ring to add a touch of verisimilitude ... No club should have a history of much more than six months without starting a band.”³

Still our modern NAYCEO echoes with the plea that all students should develop a personal competence in at least one activity skill.⁴ The Thompson Report⁵ rediscovers youth participation that featured as far back as the historic Circulars 1486 and 1516.⁶ Yet we have not firmly decided whether issues such as these are part of established practice requiring training or mere passing fads.

This attempt at a critique of the provision for initial training will not escape the confusion surrounding the definition of the role and purpose of the youth and community service. For reasons of clarity however, this discussion will be referring to the specialist youth and community work courses recognised by the Joint Negotiating Committee for the qualification of youth workers and community centre wardens, except where the context makes it clear that other types of courses are being discussed.

The letter inviting me to submit this review of training charitably warned me that “clearly the area is a minefield of potential controversy”, and went on to suggest that the article might consider issues such as the quality of courses, the content of the curriculum and the relationship of training agencies to the field. I shall do just that, but first, I wish to explore a little further the general cloud of doubt and confusion about the aims and objectives of youth and community work training and the breadth of its purposes.

The scope of initial training for youth and community work
What is ‘youth and community work’ about? For what job is the training preparing the student? What is ‘the field’ to which the agency is supposed to relate?

In the training agencies whose work we examine here, these are impossible conundrums. As NAYCEO acknowledges in its policy statement on initial training, “the diversity of setting in

which youth and community work is practised" does constitute a real "difficulty faced by the training agencies in providing initial training for the service . . . Employing authorities have not always made clear their expectations of the service which they are promoting"⁷. This is princely understatement. Students leave these training courses to enter jobs in around thirty main types of posts, including youth work; community work; youth social work; play organisation; church work; advice work; community relations and probation⁸. Workers also enter posts at different promotional levels, some even starting management grade posts immediately. Government departments such as the DHSS, the DES, the Home Office and other agencies such as the MSC all compete in the areas of work with young people and work with community groups, and all are therefore potential employers or creators of employment. Funding is now so complex that it ranks as a theological mystery.

Even if we confine consideration to that part known as the youth and community service, the focus is still not clear. Historically we have moved from voluntary sector domination to a state partnership; from an emphasis on healthy activity to social and political education; and we have vacillated over how to manage the relationship between work with adults and work with young people. As Chivers notes;

"Up to 1969, the Service was expected for the most part to prepare young people for adulthood and society . . . Albemarle broadened the approach and sought a more varied service. With the publication in 1969 of **Youth and Community Work in the 70s**, the emphasis swung towards community involvement. The result is to refocus the Service. Attention is directed less at the club and, instead, at young people in the community: less at leadership by youth workers, and more at helping the young to lead themselves: less on social control and more on social change at the community level"⁹.

It remains to be seen whether the Thompson emphasis on youth work by alliteration¹⁰ will take the Service back to a narrower base in youth work without extensive links with the adult community, backed by a stronger organisational structure¹¹ within the framework of the institutions of education. I want to argue that there are two curical debates surrounding the question of the scope and purpose of training in this field. One concerns the professional roles for which the student is being trained - the other touches on the philosophical starting point for the work of the practitioner.

The incursions of social work, the controversy about the place of community work and the yearning of certain sectors of the field to see a return to a focus on centre-based youth work all combine to complicate the issue about the professional role for which the agencies are supposed to train their students. Even if, as seems likely, the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work seeks to reverse its former policy of validating a small number of community work courses for CQSW recognition, it is still highly unlikely that Intermediate Treatment, residential social work, social services community work and even probation will cease to value and wish to employ the traditional skills of youth and community work. Social work does not have strong roots in group work and community work and in using those skills with adolescents and with community groups, yet increasingly it is being driven by questions surrounding the effectiveness and sheer economic cost of casework to turn towards these methods¹². What remains an injustice is that whereas their skills may be valued enough to merit employment

in the social services sector, most students from youth and community courses are deemed unqualified in social work terms.

Community work is fraught with even greater inconsistency. All these courses claim to teach some form of community work, but definitions and approaches vary. The controversy springs partly from the struggle between education and social work to control community work, but more particularly from the fear (or hope, depending which side you take) that community work itself, and notably the radical end of its spectrum, is about to be squeezed out of the training courses.¹³ It is possible that there may be attempts to use the new Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work to advance that trend through the professional endorsement process.¹⁴ Certainly it is remarkable that the Association of Community Workers was not named as one of the organisations having representation on that body. I believe however, that, much as some of the protagonists might wish it, we cannot afford to demote community work. The perspectives brought by community work practice, especially during the American poverty programme and the later British Community Development Programme,¹⁵ so challenged the dominant modes of social work and youth and community work that they will never be forgotten. These perspectives highlight so clearly the structural problems facing the disadvantaged, both young and old, in our society that there is an inevitable consequent demand for "politicised practices directed towards social change; particularly a reduction in the levels of inequality".¹⁶ Nor can this perspective be avoided by narrowing the field of operation to youth work. Young people often face exploitation or grievous disadvantage that can rarely be explained by analysis rooted in individual characteristics alone; the remedy has to lie in structural not personal change. The change in political and economic structure, moreover, cannot be pursued without collective and communal effort. To put that more directly - I can clearly remember the change in my professional approach at the point when I realised that we were not helping the young people who talked of their homelessness and slept in the Cowley Road lavatories by personal counselling: nothing short of collective action to lobby for real measures to house young people would fit the bill. A sound community work element in initial training is in my view not only desirable but essential.

The issue surrounding centre-based work has been well explored in John Holmes' research.¹⁷ It is true now, as it was then, that centre-based work is often 'seen as the basis of youth and community work'. Training is often criticised for lacking direct relevance to this role. Suffice it to say here that if this situation is to change not only will there need to be more management and administration taught, but placements must be offered which show centre-based provision at its best, and not as a gloomy mix of table-tennis, policing the club and mending broken windows. In addition, the Service must demonstrate its willingness to tackle issues of disadvantage amongst the young through centre-based provision as well as in special projects.

These questions that hover unresolved over the brief for training, leaving a wide range of professional roles as open possibilities, mean that the scope of training will also tend to be wide. The philosophical debates about the purpose of the service widen it even further. I particularly want to examine the argument that usually surfaces as a conversation about whether youth and community work should be located in the education sector or not. One way of narrowing the focus of training provision is to define tightly the institutions which that training must

serve. Thus it is argued that the impossible breadth of youth work could be brought into manageable proportions if the work was seen as firmly educational. I am not at all opposed to an educational basis for youth and community work; educating is usually a more liberating influence than treatment modes or unadulterated social control. I feel however that this is the wrong place to start. Youth work practice convinced me totally of the view I have elaborated elsewhere¹⁸ namely that the starting point must be the present felt needs of the young people or adults with whom one works. This means that one works at an interface, in a 'no-man's land', where various services connect and impinge upon each other. It is very difficult to pursue someone's education while they are enmeshed in vicious rows with their parents. Heroin addicts may want to be cured of their habit and to learn to read: it is not always possible to tell which they will want to do first. Social education, even more than subject specific education, is at best meaningless when divorced from its context, and at worst positively dangerous. The philosophy of using felt need as a starting point can be taken to absurd extremes, nevertheless it is a useful way of characterising the basic philosophical debate. If this view of need as the defining factor, rather than institutional definitions and constraints, is adopted then it leads us inexorably back to the enormous breadth in the scope and purposes of training.

If then the breadth of the remit is a problem for the agencies, and if I am unprepared to counter that by narrowing either the range of professional roles to which people may want entry or by narrowing the philosophical base by adopting a limited institutional definition of purpose, then, the logic of the situation drives me to find other alternatives. There seem to me to be two main avenues which might prove fruitful. The first is to extend the courses to three years as suggested in the Milson-Fairbairn Report,¹⁹ and make the third year training more specific to one particular job context. The student could cover generic training in the first two years and become orientated to a chosen setting in much more detail in the third. The second solution would be to follow the pattern of a number of other professions, such as medicine and law, which treat training in practice, 'on the job', much more seriously. The provisions for the probationary year and induction in first post are frequently far from adequate. There are suggestions widely canvassed about how these arrangements might be improved.²⁰ It is my belief that the Service itself could deal with many of the criticisms of training agencies, by accepting a real partnership in the training of workers in their first posts, and giving real teeth to the probationary year and substantial training content to the scheme for induction.

Of these two alternatives, my preference lies with the second. Several studies have shown that training in the service is part of the process of professionalisation, and the development of a professional image.²¹ The commonly accepted rhetoric seems to view professionalisation as desirable and conventional training as its necessary hand-maiden. There are however dangers to the simple expedient of more of the same. Further extension of training courses would only worsen the situation for several groups whose routes to qualification are already difficult - women, black people, and mature students so not surprisingly there are many voices pleading that we should not place any more stumbling blocks in their way.²² In addition, there are grounds for arguing that conventional training may only distance the indigenous workers from their roots, separate the professional from the community²³ and that therefore alternative routes to training and qualification and on-the-job exper-

tise ought to be explored.²⁴ I therefore come down on a working partnership between the agencies and the field that would extend serious training into the first post, and beyond into role development.

The content of the curriculum

Evidence suggests that most of the training courses cover the same content areas: basic sociology and psychology; some social policy; counselling; group work; community work or community development; and management skills. To quote Morrison, "What was impressed upon me was the surprising similarity of courses in their general outline, rather than the differences".²⁵ Variations lie more in emphasis and ideology, than in the syllabus, but I wonder if even these differences are as great as is sometimes suggested. Some of the traditions and myths about the characteristics of different courses seem to be based more on the training experience of senior officers some twenty years earlier, or on one unfortunate experience with an ex-student in a new post, rather than on current facts. Perhaps more emphasis should be placed on the process of curriculum; how it is taught, evaluated and adjusted, than on the actual wording of the syllabus. I will therefore confine my comments on content to those points where there appears to be a change in the trends.

The youth and community service seems to have embarked on a line-management style of operation. In addition, its officers are still centrally concerned about the efficient management of "plant and equipment, financial records and budgeting, conduct of committees, and office practice", especially in relation to centre-based work.²⁶ Management of other staff and self-management are also seen as crucial. Many of these matters do feature in courses, and yet it would seem that employers are not satisfied. Part of the answer lies in giving management much greater emphasis; it is possible that another key is the making of the mental leap from training the students to work directly with the recipients of the Service, to training them for indirect management roles. In addition, since many of the management tasks build up as the worker reaches senior positions, there is an inescapable responsibility for the field-based in-service training to augment initial training in management.

A similar concern is that workers are not taught enough about supervising a staff team, working with other adults, training and developing adult workers. I have heard students in their probationary year recount the shock they experienced when they realised that training and managing a part-time staff was part of their job description, when most of their training seemed to have been directed at enabling them to work with young people.

A rather different issue is raised by the fact that at least in parts the youth and community service seems to be waking up to questions of prejudice and power. The issues of racism and sexism are the most obvious of these areas of personal and political awareness. Awareness of handicap, and discrimination on the basis of age or class would also come into this arena for me. The Thompson Report stresses training in relation to all such areas with the notable exception of class. It even seems to countenance the view that there is a 'correct' way to tackle these issues.²⁸ In my view, far too much responsibility is laid at the door of training on difficult issues where the field itself does not know what direction to take. The reputation of the training agencies in the people professions is not however unsullied in this area; there has been change but it has been desperately

slow and small in relation to the urgency of the need.²⁹ We cannot escape from the fact that a new openness is being demanded of trainers to examine these questions in the core curriculum and not just as options, and following from that a willingness to work for a high degree of personal awareness,³⁰ and to confront the institutional power and discrimination of the training agencies themselves.

Lastly, under this head, I would wish to argue that adjusting the list of curriculum content is of little value unless the 'medium' whereby it is taught also carries the 'message' of good realistic fieldwork practice. It is essential that practical up-to-date illustration is given, and that students are enabled to link the taught material to real life. It is all too easy for students to acquire a surface knowledge of roles in groups, or of 'norming, forming and storming' and still be unable to contain or divert the 'playing up' on a holiday away with young people. Many of us are familiar with the eager beginner at counselling who wishes to sit in a secluded corner having intimate conversations with the most unlikely customer. Their ill-digested ideas of 'confidentiality' or the 'non-judgemental approach' not only do violence to the detailed arguments of Biestek, Rogers and other theorists, but also lead to the exploitation of the would be 'counsellor' by sharp-witted 'clients'. Training sometimes seems to manage to deprive people of their native common-sense; if this is happening, there is something amiss in the way that theory is being taught and the links that are made with practice.

The relationship of the training agencies with the field

My argument about relationships with the field is a very simple one, but it does sum up my thinking on most of the tensions in this area. It is that these relationships must be construed as a 'quid pro quo', not one-way giving solely from one or other party. There always will be tensions between the field and training agencies concerned with professional training, because of the sheer weight of expectations that training will produce the most suitable equipped personnel, whatever organisational problems it faces and regardless of the rate of change in professional practice. Training is expected both to be ahead of the trends, and to follow developments in the field.

These tensions could be considerably lessened by careful dialogue and by the principle that both parties share responsibility for the state of initial training. So often this is lost either accidentally, or even at times by wilful disregard. The recent Review of the Youth Service is not uncritical of the training agencies,³¹ and field staff are only too eager to discuss those criticisms but the discussions are often safely segregated. For the January Department of Education course on the Thompson Review, a deliberate but strange decision was taken to exclude the training agencies. There must be dialogue to achieve progress; separatist sniping will change nothing.

There are numerous examples of the reciprocity that is needed:

- Training agencies ought to incorporate fieldworkers in selection procedures: this will mean extensive time, effort and involvement by field staff;
- The agencies could be more actively contributing to in-service training: practising workers are also needed to teach in the initial courses;
- Training standards must be high, and the courses need to have a measure of job specific training: this needs to be balanced and strengthened by proper induction programmes and highest quality supervision in the probationary year;

- Perhaps assessment should be tougher and more precise; fieldwork supervisors will also have to face their responsibility to fail incompetent practitioners;

- If as is suggested by several sources, teachers are not to be automatically qualified for the youth and community service,³² the field and the agencies will jointly have to specify what further relevant training is needed and how that need will be met;

- Most importantly, if the agencies are criticised for producing students who do not enter youth and community work, it is at least partly due to the frequent inability of the field to produce enough practice placements that demonstrate an effective, vibrant and joyous approach, especially when it comes to centre-based work.

I hope that the pressures from NAYCEO, Thompson and the new Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community Work will generate the will on both sides to make new strides in partnership between the field and the training institutions. Such a will is urgently needed.

The quality of training

I have five propositions to make in relation to the quality of training.

First: the quality of training would be improved by greater vigour in assessment, both in the criteria to be applied and in the standard of achievement required. The failure rate on courses for the 'people professions' is low in comparison to some other professions and training in some other countries. We 'carers' dislike failing people. I would go out on a limb and say that probably a further 10% of our students should fail. Most should be failed at the end of the first year, but a failure at final assessment should remain a real possibility. We can all point to people who should not have been let loose in the profession; usually, the training agencies are blamed. In point of fact, the problem will not be tackled until not only the training departments, but the field in the shape of fieldwork supervisors and management, external assessors, the administrators of the academic institutions, and the DES are all prepared to grasp the nettle of assessment.

Second: I am a passionate believer in academic excellence. By that I do not mean the ability to write obscurely and decorate the writing with Latin tags, I mean something more practical. Young people and disadvantaged adults face complex and crushing problems; to confront these problems demands not only courage and commitment but an ability to think clearly, to marshal the facts for a case, to struggle after truthfulness and objectivity in the analysis, and to use intelligent imagination about strategy and solutions. Essentially that is what I mean by academic excellence, and it shines through a good sociology essay just as it does through a good report on a detached youth work project. The objection is sometimes made that this is an elitist view which jeopardises the grass-roots workers of the service. To this my reply is that I do not wish to sacrifice standards to an assumption about the capabilities of the student. Throughout my time in various forms of training, I have avoided graduate and under-graduate groups because I can see the value to the service of the indigenous and often less qualified students, and I have had the joy of seeing people without a certificate to their name excel and produce work of degree standard. We do not have to reduce the standards, we simply have to expend ourselves in high quality teaching.

Third: the quality of initial training would be improved if there were more flexible approaches to up-dating staff in fieldwork practice. The staffing of the training agencies has tended to solidify with the lessening of development both in academic institutions and in the field; lecturers stay longer and move less, just as do their senior colleagues in the field. Students know perfectly well when teaching is based on out-dated information or experience long past. A positive approach, for the purpose of helping staff to keep in touch, to the use of research projects, secondments, sabbaticals and study leave, part-time or job-share schemes or simple exchanges of staff could help a great deal.

Fourth: the quality of any course will depend upon the integrity of its staff. It is only too easy to use a group process to control what students may say and explore in the group, and to cool out protest or lateral thinking. Butters has explained this alarming tyranny of the tutor in part-time training, to show how the tutor uses the control of the social organisation of the course and the language codes to dominate the group process and bring it to the desired conclusion. He notes that,

"The exchanges between tutors and students ... have tended towards hermeneutic foreclosure. Either silently or vocally a representative of the students is required to end a transaction but uttering the key sentence - 'No, I'm in agreement with you' ... This is the context of the rituals - and the real symbolic violence - of the appropriation phase when critical discussion was suppressed".³³

In full-time training, the possibilities of such tyranny are even greater; both assessment processes and the concept of personal development can be used to control and deflect valid criticism from students. The integrity of a tutor is at a premium in both the process of becoming aware of such gamesmanship, and in the refusal to use it for the sake of a peaceful life. I feel fairly certain that much of the deep anger I have encountered amongst students on several courses, about the quality of their training, has to do with the fact that, consciously or sub-consciously, they knew that they were the victims of this trainer's game.

Fifth: I wish to suggest, contrary to prevailing opinion, that the training agencies have a great deal to gain from the process of review and professional endorsement now established under the new Joint Council for Initial and In-Service Training.³⁴ Diplomacy and tact are needed; reputations and even livelihoods are at stake. There is great benefit to be derived from having to examine and justify objectives and methods, and on the field's side a reasonable contribution must be made, not just to criticism, but to the serious development of objectives and curriculum. If this can be achieved without stifling the critical analysis that rightly has its roots in academic freedom, then real progress may be on the way.

Against the odds

In a somewhat overstated critique, Smith suggests that the training agencies are "tired" and "have failed to make on significant addition to the literature of youth and community work in the last seven years".³⁵ There is some truth in these points though 'tiredness' in the service is certainly not confined to the agencies and 'significance' needs defining. I feel however that this picture emerges in a situation where the agencies are working against considerable odds - the odds of a lack of clarity in an emergent profession, and the odds of the enormity of the range of social and educational need amongst young people and adults in the community. I often think that in the youth and

community service the workers have to be gifted generalists; if the trainers have to be super-gifted all-rounders then the pressure is very real. A genuine partnership between employers, fieldworkers, the students and the agencies is therefore needed to reduce these odds a little.

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reviews

Jeremy Seabrook
**WORKING-CLASS CHILDHOOD:
AN ORAL HISTORY**
Gollanz, 1982

£10.95 hardback
£4.95 paperback

The title of Jeremy Seabrook's new book could easily mislead. It is not about children and young people, but about old people and their memories of their own childhood. And his 'oral history' is cast in the heroic: its central thesis is that whatever the cruelties and hardships of working class life in the past, the common people were sustained by systems of shared beliefs and hopes, and by skills and traditions handed down to them by their parents. Whereas now, he argues, in spite of all the benefits of consumer capitalism that are heaped upon the young, the lives of a new generation of the working class are spiritually impoverished. The material cruelties of the past have been replaced by cruel phantasies of violence, acquisition and the rule of money over humanity. Childhood has been elevated into a 'shrine' of shallow consumerism - toys, gadgets and ZX81s fill the child's bedroom to bursting point, as symbols of the parents' concern and devotion - whereas previously childhood was a period of apprenticeship to adult values and solid tradition. And all this has happened so quickly. 'As recently as 30 years ago', he writes, 'the older experience was still relatively intact.' (And immediately my hackles rise, because 30 years ago the Teddy Boys were being blamed on the same ill-defined rootless materialism). 'This means that we have two very different kinds of human being still living within the same culture,' he tells us, 'who speak a language unintelligible to each other.' (And my hackles rise again, because thirty years ago the 'wild ones', the 'rebels without a cause', the 'mixed-up teenagers' provoked exactly the same kind of response.) But now, Seabrook argues on, we pay the true price for rootless permissiveness and consumerism in increased crime, drug abuse, the decline of family and community and the loss of viable identity. We know these arguments from the Right - best exemplified by Mrs. Thatcher's raptures on 'Victorian' values - but here it is set out for us in a premiss agreeable to the Left. My own disagreement with this kind of reasoning could hardly be more complete, and obviously I must attempt to say why.

Working-Class Childhood has been well received in many quarters - it got a rave review in the *New Statesman* and it has received broad coverage in *The Guardian* - and it is easy to see that his arguments mesh closely with many commonplace preoccupations in contemporary Britain, on 'law-and-order', the 'youth question' and 'permissiveness'. The book is not entirely without value, and nor is it necessary to deny that Seabrook sets out his position persuasively and with considerable charm. It is built around lengthy 'first person' statements in which old people (and a few young ones) talk about their lives and childhood. Seabrook used the same tactic to good effect in *City Close-Up* (Penguin, 1973) which is a study of Blackburn in the late 1960s, in which he relied heavily on the use of a tape-recorder and then ten years later in his book on the labour movement *What Went Wrong?* (Gollanz, 1978) by which time he had abandoned the tape-recorder as an effective means of capturing the true grit of conversation. In these forays into working class life he has developed a good ear for how to set down the jumbled exchanges of real conversation as 'reported speech'. But it is essentially a novelist's ear: no bad thing in itself, although there is a sense in which the allegedly real people in this book come across as 'too good to be true'. People, that is, whose motives and beliefs seem altogether uncomplicated and untroubled by the commonplace contradictions, blind alleys and shifts of emphasis which characterise real lives and real speech.

This is more than a 'stylistic' matter: novelist as against social researcher. Because in evaluating these instances of reported speech (that is, old people's memories) we must ask: reported by whom and to whom, and under what circumstances? Why is it, for example, that the old always seem to be talking to Seabrook with a moistness about their eyes (and ours as we listen) about parents who beat and bullied them - the strap behind the door, the stick in the corner, these are recurrent themes - but who speak of their parents fondly and with few signs of bitterness. (Compare the real bitterness that shows through in the old people interviewed in Stephen Humphries' book *Hooligans or Rebels?* which is another oral history of working class childhood and adolescence, reviewed in *Youth and Policy* Vol.1, No.2) Whereas the young, of whom we hear much less in Seabrook's book, always seem to be remembering the bloodthirsty details of horror movies, heaping abuse against 'coons', abusing their mothers as 'slags', or pondering the beauties of gang rape. So, we are encouraged to believe in a total historical opposition between the 'good then' and the 'bad now'.

If there is something one-dimensional in Seabrook's rendering of these people's lives and speech, then it is not just that he is prone to an heroic sentimentality - in favour of the old, and against the young - but also that what he allows his subjects to say is not set in any developed context. The voices of the old and young alike are essentially disembodied, floating free from the precise contexts in which both sociologists and oral historians have learned to anchor 'situated vocabularies of motive' (to lift a phrase from C. Wright Mills). And in the absence of any effective account of his 'methodology' and what a sordid word that must feel like to Jeremy Seabrook with his unsullied populist vision - and with no attempt to clarify what kinds of questioning were used to prompt the self-revelations collected in his book, I can only say that his attempt to strive for a

'realist' narrative feels artificial and contrived. We are left in doubt about what Jeremy Seabrook wants to say about the allegedly deteriorated present, but it is far from clear what his subjects were saying.

Nor is it self-evidently legitimate to contrast the two childhoods which we are offered: that is, the childhoods of the old and young. The directly felt present tense of the young, surely, cannot be so effortlessly compared with the remembered childhood of the old. And it is not just a question of nostalgia: whether that of his elderly subjects, or the liberal dosings of nostalgic syrup applied by the author himself. More important, and also more easily demonstrable, is the vast confusion here between the **remembered** past and the **historical** past: a confusion which is not always nor necessarily present in oral history's grasp of the past. Seabrook does not even offer a glimmer of how these old people's memories compare with how they were seen in their own youth by a still older generation. That is, in terms of what the historical record says, as opposed to what old people here are allowed to remember. There is no mention of the ridicule brought against the 'Monkey Parade' when young people gathered on the streets for the evening promenade, hoping to 'click' with a member of the opposite sex. No mention of what were understood, in these old people's actual lives as young people, as the outrageous fashions adopted by the young. Nor of the abuse piled against the Music Halls and early silent movies, which were seen as incitements to immorality and crime. Nor of the accusations that were so common from the late 1890s until the outbreak of the Great War against the unrivalled 'affluence' of young working class people, living a 'bandit life away from their homes, free of all control' as one government report of 1910 described the problem. Nor of the attacks launched against the slackening of parental authority in late Victorian and Edwardian England - when these old people were growing up - nor against what was seen as a new generation of undutiful mothers. Nor of the deep fears of street crime and football rowdiness in this period of history. Nor of the fact that the magistrates and police were feared to have lost all authority ... And so on.

I could write a book on this problem of our perceptions of the past (indeed, I have!) and whereas Jeremy Seabrook writes of the condition of childhood today as a 'reversal' and a 'mirror-image' of the past, I would want to argue that the historical record (as opposed to the remembered past) reveals not a mirror-image, but a carbon-copy of present-day complaints against the decline of family life and community spirit, together with the urgent preoccupation with what was (and is) understood as a new upsurge of depravity among the young. In this respect, Seabrook's writings do not represent a break with the past, but a continuation of generations of complaint against the allegedly deteriorated present. And so too, Seabrook continues unwittingly the tradition of the jeremiad: a falsifying sentimentality about the redeemable past, set against doom-laden pessimism about our present difficulties.

It is not that I am trying to say that we do not have any difficulties in the present, but that we need to find a different language, and a different set of assumptions, within which to address the facts and fears of our generation. A language which abstains from a 'the kids are alright' romanticism, while remaining true to the actualities of the past and which above all keeps its weather-eye open

about the prospects for the future. Because whatever its deficiencies as 'oral history', the most damaging effect of this kind of corrosive pessimism is the way it gnaws away at our energies, and thereby our capacity to think and act on the present in order to build a decent future - for both young and old alike.

Geoffrey Pearson

Andy Wiggins
AWAY FROM THE BRIGHT LIGHTS
ISBN 0 946374 05 8
pp. 120

Anne Masterson
A PLACE OF MY OWN
ISBN 0 946374 06 6
pp. 86

Andy Wiggins
LEAVING HOME. ITS RELEVANCE TO THE SCHOOL CURRICULUM
pp.24

All published by the Greater Manchester Youth Association, St. Thomas' Centre, Ardwick Green North, Manchester M12 4FZ.

Community Action Projects
BEYOND THE HOSTEL
ISBN 01 907095 33 X
pp. 128

Published by Community Action Projects, 47 Upper Lloyd Street, Manchester M14 4HY
Distributed by National Association of Youth Clubs, Keswick House, 30 Peacock Lane, Leicester LE1 5NY.

Those of us who were not impressed by the acrobatics of local and central government in the months after Johnny Wylie first crawled out of his cardboard box to inhabit the TV screen will have despaired then, as now, at the public, professional and political fascination with the sordid dramas of the big city streets at the expense of any willingness to consider the events in their own towns or cities which might contribute to these events. The stereotypes of the homeless as possibly sick, criminal or inadequate and especially as coming from somewhere else, continue to pervade media and political responses to this phenomenon and regardless of their irrationality are accepted as adequate substitutes for evidence against providing housing or other resources for this group.

The quality of this argument has, for several years, been the target of the Greater Manchester Youth Association's Youth Homelessness Project and of the work of Community Action Projects and this selection of concise and highly readable books together demonstrate an approach to the issue of youth homelessness based on local circumstances and individual need rather than on fantasy and fear.

All the authors try to deflect attention away from the prospect of a 'youth homelessness industry founded on the concept of another social problem'

and towards encouraging existing social agencies and professionals, particularly youth workers, to overcome their fear of homelessness, to recognise the normality of leaving home and to think in terms of stimulating a social response to an entirely anticipatable phenomenon of young people needing to live independently of their parents.

In *Away From the Bright Lights*, Andy Wiggins outlines with great clarity the profile of young people becoming homeless in Stockport and Bury during the time of his research and describes a range of formal and informal networks through which these young people will seek support. Without imposing too rigid a formulation on these studies, he offers a useful starting point for exploration by anyone who wants to gain knowledge and an understanding of youth homelessness in their own area. The author avoids erecting a theory of causality from his observations but he suggests the factors which might indicate the probability of homelessness for a young person, not least amongst which is the experience of 'friction within the family'. From my experience, I might add to his list the loss of a parent through death, separation or divorce which figures in the histories of over 70% of the homeless young people I presently meet.

How these factors are interpreted by helping agencies and how these interpretations are transformed into agency policies and into actual housing provision is neatly summed up in a section which argues for an approach to youth homelessness which "emphasises the self-sufficiency (actual or potential) of young people rather than the 'child' or 'pathological' model which forms the cornerstone of the state's current provision". The case Andy Wiggins calls on to illustrate this approach is clearly demonstrated in *Beyond the Hostel*.

This book describes the various attempts of Community Action Projects (a charity formed from a base in Manchester University) to provide housing for young people. It is a thoroughly practical review of the costs (including personal costs) and the complications of using short life property and of acquiring and converting other suitable property into bed sits. This second property also provides accommodation for a caretaker whose role includes the physical care of the building and the holding of rents, but excludes "social work support or 'therapy'".

The discussion of the role of the caretaker and the relationship between the landlord and tenants are the core of this book and make fascinating reading. The whole message of this book is that young people will make constructive use of major responsibilities so long as the rules of the game are tightly maintained and so long as there are sympathetic adults available with whom they can think through their attitudes and decisions. Anyone who has tried to work through the issues in making this sort of accommodation available will recognise the voices in the interviews recorded here along with the problems of achieving consumer involvement.

- A What would happen then if you had've got booted out?
B Me. I'm a person who looks at that when it comes. I don't really think about it.
A I've suggested ... that in spite of the fact that this house is supposed to be just like any other place, like any other tenancy, right, that you

know that you've got a soft option ... You know that you've got CAP behind you and a FHA (M/cr).

- B Everyone knows that.
A - and therefore you're gonna screw it.
B ... Well everyone in the house knows sort of vaguely that they can push it a bit. I mean me being in CAP I know that they get worried after £100 quid and sort of it you're getting to the £200 mark they sort of onto the Courts.
A From what I can gather CAP would argue that the aim of this house is to provide just accommodation, just like anywhere else ...

Of all the books reviewed I enjoyed this one for the way it communicates the opinions and feelings of all parties to the scheme. The eight years history of this scheme, including the semi-chaos of the early days, has given the volunteers who run it the confidence to start another scheme without major changes in their approach and I would recommend its conclusions to anyone wanting to provide housing for young people which offers that difficult combination of independence and support.

The approach of this group and of Andy Wiggins and Anne Masterson is uniformly referred to as a 'youth work approach'. This essentially means that the perspectives of young people themselves are given precedence over a range of models which tend "to view young people passively and to deny the validity of their experience and capabilities." As much as they are about the experience of youth homelessness these books are also about giving encouragement to youth workers to overcome their feelings of impotence because they cannot produce houses and to recognise the positive contribution they can make to supporting young people who might face this problem.

Anne Masterson takes up this theme most directly in *A Place of My Own* and I was relieved to find towards the end of the document that the author does not regard the youth work approach as being exclusive to youth workers and that it is offered as an element of youth work skills which are relevant to a wide range of workers. This interdependence of agencies in responding to homeless young people is well demonstrated in her own use of crisis accommodation for the young people for whom she provided 'casework'; a luxury not available to workers in many other areas of the country.

Both Anne Masterson and Andy Wiggins offer models of social education projects in youth clubs and schools and discuss the ways in which teachers and part time youth workers can be successfully drawn into unfamiliar ways of working with young people. I welcome this emphasis on preventive social education and look forward to hearing more of these developments. I shall send *Leaving Home: Its relevance to the school curriculum* to a few teachers of my acquaintance as part of my 'foot in the door' work and I am sure that if everyone with a point of view on youth homelessness had to respond to Andy Wiggins questionnaire *A Home of my Own - Learning from Experience* the whole issue might become subject to more rational treatment as a likely consequence of one of the most natural events in society - leaving home.

Damian Killeen

Roger White with David Brockington
TALES OUT OF SCHOOL
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983

ISBN 0 7100 9446 9
£3.95
pp. 165

ed Stephen Walker and Len Barton
GENDER, CLASS AND EDUCATION
Falmer Press 1983

ISBN 0 905273 41 9
£5.95 paper; £11.95 cloth
pp. 235

William Reid and Jane Filby
**THE SIXTH: AN ESSAY IN EDUCATION
AND DEMOCRACY**
Falmer Press 1982

ISBN 0 905273 29 X
pp. 275

Education is always a disappointment. It seems to offer the hope of improvement to both individuals and society. It is sought as a remedy for personal and social ills. Yet its performance always falls short of expectations. Individuals and society are alike disillusioned and education comes to be regarded with a mixture of hope, affection and frustration. Pupils, students, parents, teachers and employers are all equally critical.

These three books all address themselves to this disappointment. *Tales out of School* consists for the most part of the reported comments of young people about their experience in school and after. The comments cover primary school and the transition to secondary, secondary school itself, curriculum, teachers, leaving school, looking for work and the Youth Opportunities Programme. A second, shorter, section records interviews with expert adults on their response to what the young people said on these topics. The adults include academics, bureaucrats and a politician.

Both parts of the book induce despair, but for different reasons. The selected quotations are acute: a hierarchical society is seen and understood best by those at the bottom. Each quotation has something of the quality of that printed at the front of the Newsom Report on pupils 'of average and less than average ability': asked to admire a school's new buildings a boy replied, 'It could all be marble, Sir, but it would still be a bloody school.' The young people do not emerge as stereotypes. What they reveal, however, is the systematic stultification to which they are subject. The schools take individuals, capable of achievement and judgement and turn them into a populace which is ignorant, incompetent and dependent.

The adult section offers a mirror image of the depression. The adults interviewed are all concerned and thinking people: no stereotypes there either. Yet their responses are dead. This is only partly because nobody is at his best in an interview, but it is also partly because all the respondents take the tragedy before them as a topic for discussion - balanced, thoughtful discussion, of course - and not as a challenge to their deepest assumptions about education. None of them offers any sense of awareness that he is looking into the abyss.

This is why books like *Tales out of School* remain unsatisfactory. The anecdotes are worth having,

as indeed are some of the adult comments. They are no substitute, however, for systematic enquiry and the driving force of a single intelligence, such as is provided in John Raven's *Education, Values and Society* (H.K. Lewis & Co., 1977).

Something of these last qualities appears in *The Sixth*. This is an essay about the resilience of a tradition and an ideology. Like all good books about education it is also about society. Should democracy be one 'which leaves effective power in the hands of an elite marked off from the rest of society by a curriculum based on principles of exclusion? Or should it be one which sets a high value on the incorporation of as many of the population as possible into shared conceptions of democratic citizenship?' As the authors point out, educational reform in England has been concerned with control and availability, not with fundamental reappraisals of the curriculum. Reid and Filby are clear that 'incorporation' should replace 'exclusion' and advocate less clearly differentiated 'curricular structures', a lower priority for 'nationally monitored standards' and more local freedom for institutions.

In saying this, they too have looked away from the abyss. They seem not to see that nationally monitored standards (that is, external examinations) must prevail because they are supported partly by an established bureaucratic structure and partly by a widespread acceptance, if only *faute de mieux*. Reid and Filby leave it to their readers to imagine what kind of organisation could give a genuine validity to local initiative and local standards.

As for the editors and authors of *Gender, Class and Education*, the abyss they are contemplating is no bigger than their own navel. The book consists of the papers presented to the annual Westhill Sociology of Education Conference, together with three specially compiled teaching bibliographies on gender and education. It is not only in the latter that the whole academic apparatus appears. The authors develop, discuss and use their own private language: 'Intersections of gender and class: accommodation and resistance by working class and affluent females to contradictory sex role ideologies' is one chapter heading. They present and discuss other research, piling up supporting evidence for their presuppositions. There is much mutual quotation and reference to acceptable gurus like Gramsci. There is much analysis and description, of course from a variety of 'perspectives'. It is clear that the authors believe that they are doing something important and have taken great pains with it. But they do not seem to have asked themselves simple but necessary questions, like, 'What is the problem?' Still less do they offer any solutions or ways of judging whether these solutions are apt and successful or not. Their work is thus wholly inconsequential.

One of the ways in which education goes wrong is that it offers packages of inert knowledge to groups of people who are held in some sense to be 'capable of benefiting' from them. This is destructive of most people, particularly those who seem to succeed in it. Education fails with individuals. To insist that it fails with particular groups, like women, or the working class, or the 'ethnic minorities' is to compound the original error. An education which ignores individuals is no worse because half the individuals it ignores are women. In this sense the anecdotes of White and Brockington are more to the purpose than the academic apparatus of Walker and Barton.

It is the individualising of education which is the overriding need of students, teachers and society. The means for doing this and for offering public recognition to the individual outcomes of education are already developed. What they lack is widespread testing in practice. The three books reviewed here may alert their different readerships to the suspicion that there is a problem. They offer nothing by way of a solution.

Tyrell Burgess

Warren Feek
TALK ABOUT MANAGEMENT SERIES

1. **Management Committees - practising community control.**
2. **Hitting the Right Notes - information on applying for funds.**
3. **Can You Credit It - grant-givers' views on funding applications.**
4. **The Way We Work - making staff teams effective.**
5. **Who Takes the Strain? - the choices for staff support.**

Available at £1.20 each including postage and packing from the National Youth Bureau, 17-23 Albion Street, Leicester LE1 6GD.

With the spotlight (albeit rapidly fading) of the Thompson Report illuminating some of the management problems of the youth service, this series is a welcome addition to the meagre stock of management literature tailored to the service and community work in general. Although it would be fairer to say, as far as these publications are concerned, tailored to the voluntary project sector. This has the unfortunate side effect when considering material particularly about staff teams, staff support and management committees of being weak in the discussion of the political, hierarchical and bureaucratic problems in youth and community work.

Commendable in the series as a whole is an attempt to bring both the theoretical and practical considerations of management together. This is done in all of the booklets, with the exception of *Who Takes The Strain*, by having a prescriptive text of information, suggestions, problems to tackle, alongside interviewed descriptions of these issues in practice by workers from various organisations. This works rather well in that it identifies some of the practical implications of undertaking the suggestions offered. It also makes clear the commitment, perseverance, skill and time required to translate good management theory into good management practice.

Other similarities in the layout of the booklets are not so helpful. As an example of the management of resources, both in terms of production costs and the funds of the buyers, there are some failings. There are a number of large photographs which invariably have little to do with the text and in the top right hand corner pages of four of the issues there were, to me, the unnecessary sights of a jigsaw puzzle £5 note building piece by piece on each page, a wastepaper basket filling piece by piece on each page etc. Of the visual material only the cartoons stood out by being both funny and appropriate to the text. It could have also been possible to incorporate both the books about funding, they say similar things from different perspectives and

this would have made a more useful single purchase to get knowledge about funding. A similar view could be taken about **The Way We Work and Who Takes The Strain?**, although these are the least 'padded' of the volumes.

It is interesting to note the perspective which underpins all of the booklets. Essentially it is that of encouraging the worker to react in a positive way to all kinds of situations not always of his/her making. By and large we do not create the Management Committees we work through; so we have to support and educate them. Fund givers have expectations and preferences about the way grant applications are made and the type of management structure receiving organisations ought to have; so we meet their requirements. We take up occupation with project sponsors who often have seen little further than the needs of what they consider to be the client group; so workers make their own arrangements for support and supervision. Whilst agreeing with most of the help offered by the series in these types of areas and recognising that in some ways that these approaches are realistic and likely to have some effect, I feel it is also a management role to question and help other people to question the types of structures within which workers have to manage.

This is not a criticism of Warren's material, but it is interesting to note the kinds of areas which are being focussed upon in community and youth work management terms. Very little about the management of our direct work with young people and communities. Obviously all the issues raised in the series affect the quality of our work with people, good teamwork and support especially (these latter two booklets I particularly recommend). But to what extent should workers be 'taking the strain' for fundamental aspects of projects on behalf of their employing agency or authority?

A particular emphasis in **The Way We Work and Who Takes The Strain?** is on working out clear policies for staff teams and support and for formalising and recording the work done in these areas is most helpful. **Who Takes The Strain** does not have the practical discussion running alongside the prescriptive text. Perhaps there was too much material anyway or, maybe, no examples were to hand of workers trying to deal with staff support at this level. I can't think of any in my acquaintance either. And yet much of the material from industrial and commercial sources on job descriptions and appraisal which is used, has been around in the service in various forms for some years. What are the reasons for the seeming reluctance to offer better direction and support to our most precious asset - people? Warren feels that we are nagged by one particular question - "does this mean growing professionalism for youth and community workers?", that we might find "such a development undesirable, likely to distancing of the 'professionals' from the 'clients' and a corresponding decrease in the relevance and therefore effectiveness of the work." My view is similar but I would use the words 'growing formality' in place of 'growing professionalism', as something we are apprehensive about. It might question our staff meetings in pubs, the occasional supportive chat at the coffee-bar, it will increase administration - notes of individual meetings with staff, but perhaps even more scary, the thought that performance, appraisals, skills assessments and the like will be, off-putting to many of our volunteers and part-timers that we will be opening up new cans of worms, which we can't cope with. Perhaps one

thing that a good read of **Who Takes The Strain?** might do is to help sort out the apprehension from the reality of the kind of statements I have just made. If it does this I am sure Warren and his colleagues will be most pleased.

Bruce Malkin

Cadbury E. Matheson M.C. and Shann G.
WOMEN WORK AND WAGES
N.Y. Garland, 1980

The authors of this book; an industrialist, an educationalist and a social worker set out to investigate the abuse and exploitation of female workers taking place contemporaneously in the early 1900's.

The idea they put forward, that,

"The problem of women's wages is part of the problem of the remuneration of wage earners generally"

is open to debate presently, at the centre of which is a belief that women's role as workers is in fact located more specifically in patriarchal oppression, alongside class inequality, than in the latter cause alone. However, there is much in this book which is helpful to those seeking the relationship between class and gender, as manifested historically and experienced by the middle class philanthropist and the working class woman.

It is dubious whether any criticism from a position of late 20th century hindsight is valid or useful, except where there is a particular relevance to present dilemma's and problems - and in these terms this book provides a valuable contribution to the situation of women working with girls in Youth and Community work, as well as those who are seeking a feminist history of such work as a part of a wider general history.

A comment, made by the authors, on the paucity of research into women's situation must echo loudly in the minds of those still seeking to redress the balance some 77 years later. As part of a hitherto undiscovered, but badly needed, body of primary source material this book is to be welcomed in two ways. Firstly in the amount of actual empirical information it contains; the appendices include statistics and tables about women and their social and economic situation, gleaned from the 3½ years study of Birmingham, upon which the recommendations of the book are based. The book also looks at the development of Club and Union work with girls and women at this time - areas of study more commonly neglected or relegated to a few pages in the work of male contemporaries like C.B. Hawkins and E.J. Urwick.

Secondly, the book provides and insight into the nature and importance of work with girls and women; and the contribution made to the development of Youth and Welfare work by middle class female philanthropists. These women were not 'merely extending a domestic role into wider society, as they saw it; they were seeking to develop a sense of self-worth and an "individualism" in the working class women they encountered - albeit as they determined this from a position of relative social/economic independence. It would be a mistake to dismiss the kind of work talked about in this book; or to dismiss the influence these women had on social policy issues

as well as their contribution to the development of contemporary policy and practice (and it may be that that raises uncomfortable questions about the nature of present policy and practice).

The authors ask

"must the honour of our country be rooted in the dishonour and degradation of large numbers of the people?"

a pertinent question now as then; their answer was No and the conclusions of the book attack some of the cornerstones of Victorian/Edwardian Capitalism; - they attack the exploitation of female sweated labour; the profit motive; and the acceptance of a social order based on poverty. It is interesting that many of the recommendations they make; a minimum wage; more training and educational opportunities for girls and women; protective legislation, and Trade Union involvement are still areas of debate today. In one splendid piece of prophecy they make the following comment about the unionization of low pay unskilled women workers.

"..... little can be expected from this remedy in the near future for the lower classes of women workers"

What is experienced now as the double edged oppression of the working class woman; in the economic and domestic sphere, was at that time seen as a necessary component of the natural order of society. The woman was seen as the stabilizing force in the working class, her physical, emotional and spiritual development was closely tied to making her a healthier, happier and more obedient worker, wife and mother. The middle class female engaged in philanthropic work would not have necessarily experienced a contradiction between her own ideas of independence and the perpetuation of working class female dependency. The difference in their class position was so wide as to preclude any concept of sisterhood as we understand it today.

There is a genuine concern in the book about the exploitation of women as workers; the authors feel the need for fairly radical change within the system, but they and their contemporaries were concerned to negate the power of class conflict and work within a consensus model. This in a sense is nothing new. What makes this book valuable is that, not only does it address itself to a largely ignored problem; that of the exploitation of women as a distinct group; but that those commenting on it are those who were involved contemporaneously with the situation. This gives the work an authenticity which is useful to those currently seeking to understand the position of women historically and how that relates to the ideas we have today; about the potential for work with girls; and the roles we expect women to play in society.

It is also a painful reminder of how relatively short a distance we have travelled in terms of recognizing the right of women to an equal status in the job market; and in terms of abolishing the often appalling conditions which accompany much of the low paid unskilled work done by working class women today.

Jo. Reynard

Mahmud Ahmad
THE SLOUGH SCOUTREACH PROJECT
The Scout Association

Available from **Baden Powell House, Queensgate, London.**

This is a report by the Project Leader of an experiment carried out at Slough, in Berkshire between January 1979 and December 1981. The object of the exercise was 'to provide purposeful activities based on Scouting for boys aged 8-20', with particular reference to the various Asian communities represented in the town. The specific leisure needs of these boys had been identified in a sociological research exercise carried out by Philip Livingstone of the Brunel University during the summer of 1977. With commendable initiative, the Scout Association decided to take up the challenge, and obtained financial backing from the Department of Education and Science to support a full time Project Leader for three years, plus two part time assistants and a modest grant of £2000 for equipment. Two Groups were established; the 8th Slough Scout Group, which catered mainly for the 8-15 age group and concentrated on formal Scouting, and a 'Youth Group', which catered mainly for the 15-19 year olds. This latter undertook a number of 'Venture Scout type' activities, such as expeditions and mountaineering, but never became, wholly or partly, a Venture Scout Unit.

From the start, the Project faced formidable difficulties. Some of these were anticipated, and were inherent in the nature of the exercise. It is not very meaningful to speak of 'an Asian community,' since Muslims, Hindus and Sikhs not only differ from each other almost as much as any differs from the indigenous population, but there are also important divisions within each community. This often makes it difficult for the outsider to know who can speak for that community, and with what authority. In this project, inevitably the Project Leader could only belong to one community and although it is not clear from the report, some of the difficulties of communication which were experienced may have stemmed from this fact. A second major, but expected difficulty arose from the attitudes of the majority of Asian parents. Many of these were first generation immigrants, with much less knowledge of Britain, or of the English language, than their children. They were understandably fearful and suspicious of allowing their children to go out with unknown companions for a purpose which they did not understand. Much hard work partially overcame this problem, but left the project vulnerable to other difficulties which were not inevitable. One of these was the lack of a proper Headquarters for the 8th Slough Scout Group. A local school eventually provided hospitality, but the arrangement was far from ideal, and much of the initial enthusiasm seems to have been dissipated in frustration. Even more serious, in the light of parental attitudes, was the absence of independent transport until the Silver Jubilee Appeal provided a minibus very late in the day. A quite different problem, and one which has to be read between the lines of the report, sprang from relations with the local Scout District. There is no suggestion that the District Commissioner and his team were not fully supportive, but doubts about the whole exercise clearly afflicted some other Scout Leaders. The Scout Association is, and always has been on principle 'colour blind', and it would have been surprising if no Scout Leader had felt that an 'Asian' Scout Group was a violation of that principle. At the same time the

training standards of the Association for adult leaders are necessarily strict and in this case the Project Leader clearly felt that standards were being too inflexibly imposed, with the result that Asian leaders (himself apart) were quickly and fatally discouraged.

In terms of positive achievement, the Slough Scoutreach Project is rather a sad story. 600 boys registered with the scheme; when the project came to an end, and normal voluntary leadership had to take over, the 8th Slough consisted of a Cub Pack with 15 cubs, 2 instructors and 1 leader. Attempts to involve women from the Asian communities were entirely unsuccessful. Only time will show whether seeds have been sown more successfully than at first appears, but in the meantime there seems to be several lessons to be learned. One is that there is no lack of enthusiasm among the boys of the Asian communities for 'Scout' activities, or even for Scouting proper, but there is a very serious lack of adults from these communities willing to undertake the necessary training to become Leaders. The second is that this particular Project was chronically underfunded and consequently far too limited in its scope. A comparison with the highly successful Birmingham Project, funded by the Urban Aid Programme, makes this abundantly clear. Birmingham was given £60,000 a year for five years, employed 12 full time workers, and established 42 new Scout Groups on a sound footing most of them in ethnic minority communities. Slough received £7,800 a year for three years, plus about £3000 in additional grants, with the results which we have seen. It would be a mistake to regard the Slough project as a failure. A great deal of valuable experience has been gained about the possible role of Scouting in Asian communities. A glaring need has been identified to educate the basic goodwill of the Scout movement in the ways of ethnic minorities, so that the necessary allowances can be made for their needs; and the official thinking of the movement is being firmly steered away from an 'integrationist' view of a multicultural society towards a pluralist one. This report is highly instructive, both for what it says and for what it does not say, and the simple descriptive appendices relating to each of the different Asian communities provide the kind of elementary guidance which the Scout Association will clearly have to provide for all its members if their principles are going to be fully translated into practice.

David Loades

Stevi Jackson
CHILDHOOD AND SEXUALITY
Basil Blackwell

pp. 184

The reason that I have an interest in childhood sexuality and adult reactions to it, is that I think that a study of the subject helps us to understand more clearly the nature of the oppression of children and of the limited rights which they have. The author of this book also takes this view and, in addition, uses her analysis of childhood sexuality to provide a useful critique of the relationship between men's view of children and men's view of women.

The book is written in an accessible style, with

personal references to the author's own experiences and that of her friends and acquaintances, as well as to some fieldwork, some of which was carried out in a youth club. Unfortunately, we are not given more details about this, apart from a tantalising story about a youth worker finding out that she was talking to girls about sexual enjoyment rather than trying to discourage them from sexual behaviour, when that part of the fieldwork came to an abrupt end!

The early chapters are concerned with dispelling the myth that sexuality and childhood are natural creations, fixed and immutable, to be tampered with at the risk of divine retribution. My view is that Jackson goes too far along the road of denying the innate nature of any sort of behaviour, and relies too heavily on rather discredited anthropological evidence; for example, she nowhere mentions Piaget's work, which indicates that children's thinking is in some ways qualitatively different from that of adults. However, she certainly makes the point that in our treatment of children the power relationship between adult and child is clear, adults have access to children's bodies, they can pat them on the head and stroke them under the chin, examine them against their will, beat them. But children are not recognised as possessing sexuality, they are trapped by the ideology of innocence.

It is precisely because human behaviour is so little natural, so much learned, that childhood, a process of learning the mores of society, needs to occupy such a long period. Although it may follow from this that we need to treat children in different ways from adults, this does not imply treating them as sub-human. Similarly, although sexuality may demand a different protocol of human behaviour than other forms of intercourse, this does not require us to treat sex as dirty or shameful. Our attitudes to children, seeing them as innocent, combined with our attitudes to sexuality, seeing it as immoral, means that the twain must never meet, and when they do, as in paedophilia, outrage knows no bounds.

The denial of children's sexuality makes the transition from childhood to adulthood via adolescence all the more difficult. And since adult sex is almost always thought of as penetrative, genital sex, the effects on boys and girls are very different. For girls are expected to retain the outward innocence of children combined with the secret passive acceptance of sexual overtures from 'her' man; (women are supposed to be sexually attractive, not active) whereas men's sexuality is externalised and outwardly directed. This makes it easier for young men, since from early adolescence their sexuality is recognised as a part of their growing adulthood, whereas girls are unable to find sexual expression except within the ideology of Romance. But men suffer from the fragmentation of experience which is brought about by seeing sex as a more separate part of life, related to prowess and performance rather than part of a relationship with another person.

Jackson's penultimate chapter is concerned with sex education, and she, like many others, bemoans the lack of good sex education texts. She commends Jane Cousins' *Make It Happy*, which has now, under pressure from government, been withdrawn from the Health Education Council's list! The dangers for the educator of attracting criticism of their sex education programmes has led to emasculated(!), watered-down versions, focussing mainly or exclusively on biological

aspects, and the biological aspects of reproduction, at that, rather than those of sexuality. This emphasis on reproduction reinforces the view of sexuality as being between men and women in permanent relationships and a view of sex as penetrative and goal-directed, centering on procreation.

So a revised sexual education might be one step towards a new sexual order for children and for adults, but it is hard to see how this can be achieved in the present climate of anti-permissiveness. And although we, with the author might agree that greater sexual 'freedom' for children would be welcome, we can also agree with her that it is difficult to envisage sexual freedom within the present structure of society.

Richard Ives

Lawrence Stenhouse, Gajendra K. Verma, Robert D. Wild and Jon Nixon.

TEACHING ABOUT RACE RELATIONS
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1982

ISBN 0 7100 9036 6
pp. 309

Even the most myopic observer must surely by now realise that many white English people have a bizarre racial prejudice against non-Caucasians that verges on narcissism. This report, an amalgamation of two research projects sponsored by SSRC and the Gulbenkian Foundation, begins from the premise that adolescents are vulnerable to prejudice and as a side-effect produces depressing data to confirm it. The main thrust of the research was to seek, non-prescriptively, to throw light on the problems and effects of teaching race relations to adolescents. The approach was to compare three different teaching methods, and to assess their comparative effectiveness as a way of diminishing prejudice. The experimental format was ambitious, embracing some 1400 children from 24 LEAs; the parameters of the detailed teaching design, on the other hand, were limited: the teaching input was for one term only, and for only a limited proportion of the timetable with non-GCE stream 14 year olds.

The measured results, based upon a standardised opinion questionnaire, gave some reason for optimism. The data tended to confirm the central hypothesis that teaching children about race relations with or without the didacticism of the teacher, marginally improved their tolerance.

The analysis of the test data is followed by ten detailed case studies of tape-recorded lessons. There is regrettably no attempt to link these closely with the statistical data: (It would have been interesting, for instance, to know whether or not these individual lessons increased or decreased tolerance). On the other hand the analysis is invariably perceptive and the material is engrossing.

We are made strongly aware of the complexity of the issues involved in at least two important ways. First we can detect the complex link between the classroom transcripts and the wider ethos of the school environment (which the authors describe). For example, in the school described as heavily traditional the teaching style is clearly strikingly

teacher-directed, the children's views are held unfruitfully in control. On the other hand, we observe uncomfortably that the liberal 'experimental' school without school uniform or corporal punishment produces the most illiberal child group behaviour and views. Secondly, the more we study the case histories the more the key distinctions between the three teaching methods seem blurred; teachers frequently seem to overlap into each other's style of approach - which might lead someone concerned with rigorous behavioural methodology to wonder whether the entire study isn't flawed by an attempt to define the undefinable.

There is, however, a second book-within-a-book contained here, which is both an account of the events which led up to the research and a series of interesting meditations on the nature and problems of research of this kind. There is, in fact, a disarming frankness about the innumerable problems that beset the team, tussles with LEA's and publishers, prima donna teachers, unsatisfactorily completed assignments and internal wrangling. Seldom can any research have suffered so many set-backs, or described itself with such pitiless nakedness - though anyone who has engaged in research of this kind will be quietly understanding.

And yet it is this inner narrative which holds the book together and gives it both its length and almost novelistic interest. It is inelegantly written, lacks the smooth drawing together of parts and the kind of clean argumentative rigour which is the joy (and limitation) of many academic journals. But it has a compensating energy and honesty, and the publishers ought to be congratulated on grasping the nettle, publishing as it is and not as the thin, smoothly varnished presentation of results that it might have been. In the peripheral rambles there is much insightful material, including an impressive discussion by Robert Wild of teacher/researcher relationships. They are also full of eye-opening little side-alleys:

'Pupils attach little significance to the implications of words.'

'Some teachers try to eradicate ignorance through fact.'

'There is a masking of classroom difficulties by a rhetoric of complacency.'

'The meaning achieved is socially constructed in the classroom.'

'Children often have experience the teacher lacks.'

'The group is working class, and on the whole reflective language does not come easily to its members.'

'The pupils and teachers are learning as much about what it means to learn as they are about the particular issue which they have set out to explore.'

The end product emerges almost inconsequentially as a powerful exposure of archaic attitudes and methods, and shows the need for a radical review of secondary curriculum. The theme of race relations (and perhaps of relationships *per se*) demonstrably has to be taken a great deal more seriously by schools than it is at present.

David Winkley

David Galloway, Tina Ball, Diana Blomfield, Rosalind Seyd.
SCHOOLS AND DISRUPTIVE PUPILS
Longman, 1982

ISBN 0 582 49707 8
£5.50
pp. 176

On the front cover of this slim volume a distressed punch-like figure screams soundlessly as exercise book, pen and ruler are scattered above his head. For a brief heretical moment the thought occurred that this unhappy individual might represent not only the pupils referred to in the title but also the authors in trying to make sense of their own work and that of others in writing this book. I make this point because much has been written and broadcast on disruptive behaviour in schools, particularly in recent years, and a proportion of it is not so much cumulative as confusing and at times openly contradictory.

It is one of the strengths of this book however that it does not confuse. Many will find the introduction and first four chapters in particular a useful guide to the topography of schools and disruptive behaviour; to its literature, procedures, terminology and institutional complexities. The logic and clarity of the book stems I believe from the fact that although the authors endeavour to bring a sociological perspective to an area in which psychological and medical models are often predominant they are never over ambitious. The limits to their sociological perspective are drawn around the repeated insistence that schools as well as family circumstances and individual psychologies play a crucial part in the incidence and nature of disruptive behaviour.

It is because the book is not concerned with the wider theoretical issues of deviance and the relationship of school to social, economic and political conditions that it becomes a model of particular philosophical and ideological outlook. This outlook may be briefly summarised as that of the social democratic consensus which despite recent political history remains a powerful influence in education. Two central features of this perspective that recur throughout are that 'schools do make a difference' and that the extension of the comprehensive principle into the field of maladjustment and special education generally means that wherever possible pupils who demonstrate special educational needs should be integrated within mainstream schools.

This brings us to the research in this book which is reported over the course of two chapters. The focus of this work was an investigation into the factors, processes and outcomes involved in establishing and in some cases, deciding not to establish a number of special classes or groups for disruptive pupils within secondary schools in Sheffield. Galloway, himself a former educational psychologist, has been engaged in a number of studies over a period of six or seven years into truancy, disruption and suspension in that city. This latest work demonstrates many of the advantages that stem from a lengthy and open association with the l.e.a. It is to be regretted that more l.e.a.s do not encourage such enquiry.

My major criticism of the reporting of the research is that the authors never seem to quite make up their minds as to whether they are primarily interested in 'telling it like it is' with all the implications this has for background information and

the detail of interaction or with covering sufficient ground in a comparable way between schools in order that they might, with confidence, influence policy making. In this struggle between validity and reliability it is of course the latter which emerges as victor and although the result is the use of a number of questionable measures (for example the effectiveness of pastoral care systems is gauged from the number of pupils who felt at least one teacher took a personal interest in them) one has to concede that this constitutes a worthy attempt at imposing a systematic structure upon a sensitive and notoriously difficult area.

The conclusions the authors draw in the final chapter are intended to be both challenging and encouraging. They are challenging because they question the long term value of any strategy (including on and off site special units) which does not recognise that it is dealing with symptoms rather than causes and encouraging because it re-asserts the belief that schools have a major role to play in advancing the welfare of young people. At the very least it is a book all trainee teachers should read.

Rod Ling

Millicent Poole
YOUTH: EXPECTATIONS AND
TRANSITIONS
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983

ISBN 0 7100 9283 0
£10.50
pp. 339

In this book the author has investigated 1,600 Australian boys and girls from the state of Victoria aged 15 to 18 years to show how the decisions they take concerning their future are affected by their sex, socio-economic status of their parents, the type of school they attend and the advice they receive from parents and school. She adopts a developmental life-span view of the process of transition to construct a picture of how Australian adolescents see themselves and their surroundings. The book contains 96 tables of statistical information about their attitudes towards school and teachers, their aspirations and expectations, their decisions to leave school and their opinions of the world of work. The book is written with a view to contributing to knowledge of this crucial age-group now that the transition to work is no longer automatically assumed to follow departure from school. There is accordingly a good deal of information about adolescents' attitudes to work and leisure. To a non-Australian reader perhaps the most interesting aspect of this clearly written book is how closely the research findings in Britain and the United States replicate those in Australia. For example, there are large differences in aspirations and career choices between boys and girls, there is a correlation between high levels of sporting activity in school and high academic ability, schools do little to prepare children adequately for work in the sense of communicating an understanding of its practicalities, fewer girls stay on beyond the official leaving age than boys, and girls tend to choose subjects in the humanities while boys concentrate on scientific, technological and craft subjects.

There are qualms in my mind about how useful the

findings in this book really are. For example, after a great many questionnaires were analysed Professor Poole feels she is justified in claiming that 'On the whole, students liked subjects that were interesting and had utilitarian value, and disliked those that were boring or too difficult' (p.65). She describes this as an 'interesting trend'! Many of her other findings have this degree of interest. There is not room in this review to discuss the large range of subjects she considers, so let us concentrate on leisure. She rather disapproves of the amount of time which her respondents spend on sport and complains that schools do not prepare children adequately with a repertoire of leisure pursuits which could structure their time during unemployment or add interest to their lives if they are in boring and repetitious work. She argues that leisure-skills are an important part of a fulfilling and interesting life. In part her grounds for this claim are the data which indicate that an increased participation in leisure activities leads to an increase in self-esteem and academic achievement motivation. Children who participate in school sports clubs are likely also to be academic high achievers. So she concludes that the development of leisure participation has a part to play in raising pupils' aspirations and the self-concepts of adults who have to cope with either no work or monotonous employment. This is far from obvious, though. The data, such as it is, suggests that school children who like school, are prepared to conform to its rules and traditions and who perhaps as a result (or as a cause) are happy to take part in school sport, figure frequently in school sporting (and other) organizations. This does not have the very general implications that Poole suggests is the case. The direction of causality in this sort of case is vital, whether sporting achievement leads to academic achievement, or vice versa. The quantitative approach which this book adopts is incapable of answering these interesting but difficult questions.

Oliver Leaman

Jack Cox
TAKE A COLD TUB, SIR!
THE STORY OF THE BOY'S OWN PAPER
Lutterworth Press, 1983

ISBN 0 7188 2505
£8.95 hardback
pp. 128

"Your letter about hours of work is written in a very proper spirit, and we can but think that a little respectful remonstrance with your master, while at the same time showing a willing obedience, would sooner or later have the desired effect."

This was James Timewell advised in early 1880 on how to deal with his employer, in the pages of the Boy's Own Paper. It was only in its second year. It was to continue, with high but fluctuating popularity, until February 1967, with this near-feudal belief in the essential moral harmony between people never really leaving it. The puzzle is, why was it so successful?

Jack Cox was the last editor of B.O.P., until it was taken over and closed down on commercial grounds by Purnell Publishing. His book does not answer the question - indeed, to him it would not really be a question. He tells an insider's story of

the publishers, and what motivated them, the people who worked for the paper, and what kinds of thing they liked putting in it. But in between the lines of his nostalgia, we can learn something more.

The B.O.P. was started in January 1879 by the Religious Tract Society, a classic Victorian philanthropic society, devoted to 'improving' working class youth among other things. It wanted to entice them away from the Penny Dreadfuls. Reading like so many others since, the 1878 Annual Report of the Society noted:

"Juvenile crime was being largely stimulated by the pernicious literature circulated among our lads. Judges, magistrates, schoolmasters, prison chaplains and others were deploring the existence of the evil, and calling loudly for a remedy, but none seemed to be forthcoming."

'Reluctantly', they took on the task.

The B.O.P. was always a compromise. Some of its supervisory committee were never fully happy about having fiction at all; like the seventeenth century Puritans on theatre, they distrusted fiction's 'untruth'. But they had to have it in order to balance between "the kind of paper boys would read and buy; the kind of paper parents and teachers would approve; and the kind of paper the Society, as responsible Christian publishers, wanted to produce." (p. 20)

Their solution was to find 'good' writers. Good seems to have meant two things. B.O.P. managed to attract some famous names during its life: Sir Arthur Conan Doyle, C.S. Forester, G.A. Henty, W.E. Johns, and Jules Verne were among its authors. But especially in the period up to 1939 what seems to have characterised much of their fiction, is a kind of optimistic imperialism. Fiction became acceptable because it could show British boys in adventures around the world. Other countries were the playground where British character could display itself.

There is an interesting analogy with the Eagle, born in 1952 by a Clergyman in order to wean the youth of then away from just such another danger: the horror comics. But the Eagle had to be more cautious: Dan Dare pitted his Britishness against the ultimate foreigner: a green Martian with elephantitis of the head.

It is difficult to assess what made B.O.P. so long-lasting, compared with a hundred other publications that fell by the wayside. Partly, it was its acceptability to schools, libraries, Sunday Schools and the like. Partly, such a magazine became in the end its own tradition, its name becoming a centre of expectations. But it is too easy to be dismissive of the B.O.P. Perhaps in many different ways it won the loyalty of readers, not necessarily for its imperial ideology, but because it took them seriously. Boat-building, stamp-collecting, making a crystal set (all well explained - I can remember trying the last), football reports by Stanley Matthews, and so on. What comes out of this book is the love all the Editors had for their paper which, for all the moralism and the archaic politics, did make a difference. B.O.P.'s strictly commercial death is an irony for a paper that would never acknowledge the force of that factor.

Martin Barker

Ed: Ann Brechin, Penny Liddiart, and John Swain
HANDICAP IN A SOCIAL WORLD
Open University, 1981

ISBN 0 340 27625 8
£6.75
pp. 344

Elizabeth Anderson, Lynda Clarke and Bernie Spain
DISABILITY IN ADOLESCENCE
Methuen, 1982

ISBN 0 416 72740 9
pp. 380

There are two themes that link these two books. Foremost is an acknowledgement that the first flush of euphoria over **Better Services for the Handicapped** has paled somewhat since its publication in 1971. Like Scarman's burnishing memo to Whitehall the good intentions have been diluted by inscrutable politicians and bureaucrats. Secondly, they highlight society's general indifference towards minority groups which makes us all accomplices to varying degrees.

Of the two **Handicap in a Social World** is more ambitious - probably dictated by the number of editors. But then, it is meant to be a general Reader for the Open University course 'The Handicapped Person in the Community'. Each of the three editors fields a section through the labyrinth of current thinking. Perhaps, 'section' is too definitive a term because despite the separate headings in the 'Contents' page there is a niggling degree of repetition. Even this is excusable were it not for the haphazard order in which the articles are presented in each section. A degree of editorial continuity a list of relevant addresses and brief biographical notes on the forty odd contributors would have been useful.

Aside from these minor reservations **Handicap in a Social World** does succeed in its main task - to familiarise the reader with changes that have occurred to better the lives of disabled people. A better life is not proportional to more provisions, better services or improved professional skills. Dignity and choice are paramount. The strongest impetus to change comes from disabled people themselves as they organise together in the struggle to change society's perceptions.

The second book **Disability in Adolescence** concentrates on one of the three "areas of first priority" of the Warnock Report - youngsters over sixteen with special needs. Whilst the main emphasis is on disabilities resulting from cerebral palsy or spina bifida many of the findings and observations could apply to other disadvantaged adolescents. A clear relationship between social neglect and isolation, and the presence of psychological problems is systematically highlighted through surveys, case studies, individual interviews and literature reviews. The following anguished and bitter response to a misguided liberal questioner conveys more than any statistics could the resentment, depression and loneliness of disabled teenagers. "What's the difference between you and me ... I can't use my bloody hands properly. I can't walk. I can't talk and that's it ... what did you think?" There are clear parallels with young unemployed blacks - the same misery, lack of self-confidence and self-esteem. Except that one group is more likely to be the victims of pity and that noxious anomaly, charity. In both cases there is little evidence that those providing services have

fully recognised the extent of the distress amongst their clients, or are aware of the young people's need for help.

If I had to choose between these two books I would opt for the latter. It is more consistent, readable, the examples are rooted in the real world.

Jim Sandhu

S.S. Kalra
DAUGHTERS OF TRADITION
Third World Publications

Available from TWP, 151 Stratford Road, Birmingham B11 1RD.
(Tel: 021 773 6572)

£1.50 and 30p p & p

The author deals with the situation of the Sikh community living in England and makes special reference to Sikh adolescent girls growing up and facing two different cultures. These girls face the problem of "marginality"; living between the two cultures.

There are detailed and informative chapters on the Origins and Background of Sikhism. He talks at length of the reformist and progressive nature of Sikhism, its cultural attitudes and beliefs and discusses the distribution of the Sikh population within England and the Extended Family. The support that the joint family gives to people who are ill or unemployed by providing for their economic, social and emotional needs operates as a miniature welfare state.

The book deals with how Sikhs have had to give up their symbols of Sikhism because they want to belong to the host community and find it more difficult to obtain jobs if they still retain the outward manifestations of their culture.

Many Sikhs are living on the margins of two cultures and are unable to decide what practices to adopt. No sharp age divisions exist within Sikh families as do in the West. Children mix with adults freely and frankly.

Within the religious framework Sikh women are equal to the men and certainly have the ultimate power to decide matters to do with the home. There is a justified feeling of hostility amongst black communities to be told that their women are oppressed. The author talks at length about the generation gap, the pressures that Sikh girls face, their feelings and reactions. He also deals very adequately with the parents' side of the question.

He talks of how the education system and the Social Services and other agencies can help to ease communication between the girls and the parents and how these agencies can re-educate themselves about their attitudes to the Sikh community as a whole.

This book is a good first introduction to Sikh communities and gives a descriptive overview of what it means to be a Sikh in England and particularly a Sikh girl growing up here.

It does though lack a depth that some people who

are more familiar with Sikhs and Sikhism may wish to explore.

Shahin Orsborn

COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT - TOWARDS A NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE
(The Work of the Community Projects Foundation 1978-1982)
Community Projects Foundation
60 Highbury Grove, London N5 2AG, 1982

ISBN 0 902406 25 6
£1.75
pp. 128

The Community Projects Foundation (CPF) is a national body "devoted to innovation in community development". Its core funding is provided by the Voluntary Services Unit of the Home Office.

Community Development: towards a national perspective is a report on the work of the CPF, since its inception in 1978. The presentation is standard annual report style, starting with a foreword by the Chairman of the Trustees and ending with the accounts and balance sheet. That said, the intervening chapters are both interesting and readable.

They include:

- **The Role of CPF:** its origins, guiding principles and methods.
- **Project Descriptions in Brief:** a complete list of all the projects funded by CPF (and its predecessor, the Young Volunteer Force Foundation) over one third of which are youth projects, dealing with a wide range of issues, sited in areas as different as St. Albans and Dunfermline.
- **Current Projects:** a detailed description of the fourteen projects sponsored during 1981-82.
- **Developments and Consultancies:** a look at other work and services provided by CPF.
- **Communications and Research:** an account of research undertaken, publications produced and seminars held.
- **Current and Emergent Issues:** arguably the most interesting chapter, it seeks to identify themes arising from the Foundation's work, such as *Housing and Neighbourhoods; Resourcing Community Activity; Youth Training and Unemployment; Rural, Health, Ethnic and Women's Issues* (which is over-ambitious for a page and a half of typescript); *Economic and Social Regeneration*.

The overall conclusion of the book is that professional help in the development of disadvantaged communities can substantially increase people's ability to improve their circumstances. However, rigorous community-work projects are still relatively few and far between, and are distinguished by their goal of strengthening communities' capacity for self-determination rather than ameliorating the symptomatic problems.

An informative book for community workers, students and many in the voluntary sector, and at £1.75 it's definitely worth a look.

Annie Franklin

Jude Wild
STREET MATES
M.Y.A., 86/88 Sheil Rd. Liverpool L6 3AF, 1982.

ISBN 0 9606932 55 6
£1.95 (paperback)
pp. 102

"But what do you actually do?" is one of the questions a detached youth worker hears most often. 'Street Mates' gives an account of what one detached youth worker actually did. Jude Wild worked with young people in a residential area in North Liverpool from 1973 to 1982. She had the support of a committee drawn from the Merseyside Youth Association, and of a building based worker in the area who later became her co-worker in the project. This book is a personal record of these years.

The first chapters are largely a detailed and vivid account of the 'patch', the groups of young people she found there, and the means she used to make initial contact, and later to win acceptance and trust. Later sections show the development of her work with some of these groups in more depth; highlight issues affecting the lives of young people in Liverpool, (and elsewhere); and describe her liaison with other agencies, professional workers, and adults within the community. The whole is interspersed with instructive anecdotes of particular actions she took in some cases and their results; of times she felt she had succeeded, and, because this is an honest book, of mistakes she made and the lessons she learned from them.

As I said, it is a personal record. As well as a clear picture of detached work methods, the author has given valuable glimpses of her own feelings. It does not pretend to be a complete report of the project, which can make the chronology hard to follow, especially in the section on working with other agencies and adults. I would have welcomed a chapter on evaluation - evaluation is there, but it has to be dug around for. Evidently the original aims - described as "rather unrealistic" - were re-thought through the years. It would have been useful to see the new aims explicitly stated. As it is, some are scattered through the book; some must be inferred from results and the assessment of them.

The outstanding achievement of this book is that it brings detached work to life. With the help of illustrations by Simon Painter, it gives a vivid picture of a job which is seldom showy, being much concerned with the attitudes of young people to the world around them, the attitudes other people have towards them, and with averting potential disasters before they happen. Written about work in this one area, the applications can be made nation-wide.

The last pages are a plea for recognition of detached work, backed by the authors conviction from nine years experience that new possibilities are opened up by working with young people on their own ground. Again, written in the context of Liverpool and its youth service, the arguments can be applied in any major city. The final paragraph makes very sad reading.

Liz Oakley

The following is a comment by Michael Bender on Peter Emina's review of BLACK SPORTSMAN by E. Ellis Cashmore, (Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1982); Youth and Policy, Vol.2 No.1, Summer 1983, pages 45-46.

In the Summer, 1983 issue of 'Youth and Policy' Peter Emina reviewed Cashmore's 'Black Sportsmen'. Some of his comments are valid. The book is repetitive, some quotations being used two or even three times. Its analysis of academic research does not inspire confidence and the style is uneven. However, Emina, under the guise of humour, is unfair and aggressive. The fact that Garth Crooks once refers to Cashmore as Earnie (usually using his surname) does not give Emina the right or the need to continuously do so. Emina's story about what Russ Saunders "the top basketball player" said to him is irrelevant and the suggestion that Cashmore should write about Sex and Blacks is insulting to Cashmore and to Blacks.

After reading the review, I thought little more about it besides reckoning that Cashmore had got a bum deal. However, I was reading the book itself at the time and then went on to read the academically far more respectable 'Aliens and Alienists' by Littlewood & Lipsedge (Penguin, 1982). After wading through all their liberal doubts and question marks, it appeared to me that in fact I'd learnt more about the West Indian experience from Cashmore than from the more eminent pair of psychiatrists and that Cashmore's book does address itself to two important areas namely, a) the position of leisure in our society, and b) the experience of black adolescents in Britain. Rather than dismiss him merely as a popularist, it seems more useful to improve on his analysis and this is the intention of this note.

The place of leisure. Cashmore does not consider the role of leisure, in general and sports, in particular, in our society in any depth. To some extent, at least, he would seem to accept the puritan ethic definition of leisure as a relaxation from work, a recharging of the batteries. However, this then makes taking a leisure activity, e.g. a sport, seriously, paradoxical. How can you take a non-serious activity seriously? If sport is taken seriously, then this definition of what is important threatens the social meaning structure where work and its associated values have priority. There is thus a need for a more satisfactory theoretical analysis regarding leisure, one which defines it in its own right and not purely in relation to work. Secondly, at the practical level, there is a need for such a theoretical development. If leisure is essentially unimportant (except commercially) then how can the three million unemployed persons maintain their self-esteem if their activities are unimportant?

The situation regarding sport clearly suggests a pluralistic definition of social worth since the huge media attention and the large number of participants and spectators of sports clearly demonstrate that it has an important cultural role to play in our society. Thus, sport, as opposed to leisure, appears to have a separate reality and an intrinsic worth which are different from those of work.

We would therefore suggest from the above analysis, and also from anthropological evidence that many societies spend far less time than ours on 'work', that there is a serious need for a theoretical and empirical analysis of time useage. Cashmore does not investigate such a concept and this may well limit the utility of his discussions of

the meaning of unemployment and of sport. It is, however, perhaps unfair to criticise a person for what they do not do rather than what they attempt to do. Rather, Cashmore's concern is to investigate the reasons why blacks are over-represented in sports and why this trend is likely to increase.

In the rest of this note, I want to examine this proposition and suggest way that research questions can be formulated which would take us onto an empirical footing regarding time useage, rather than the observational approach adopted by Cashmore.

Before any research is undertaken, the basic proposition should always be investigated in terms of its constituent parts (although quite often this is not done).

Cashmore's basic proposition basically is: In sports, blacks do better than whites at the highest and at the lower levels.

If we take each part of this proposition in turn:

1. Sports. Cashmore deals mainly with boxing, athletics and football. Cricket would appear to be an obvious omission in terms of adequacy of coverage. However, the first question one may ask is: Rather than assume the proposition as Cashmore does, is it true? And if it is, for which sports? (I haven't seen any great black polo players lately). Thus, what is needed is data for the different, popular sports. Even in terms of major sporting achievements, this would require some considerable research. Such analysis might clarify the pattern of black success. As Emina points out, the assumption that blacks 'get out of the ghetto' through profitable sports would not explain their participation in the field of athletics, where few make any cash at all. Rather I would suggest that their success will be mainly in sports where costs are low. It may well be that the majority of blacks who are interested in sporting careers go to schools in poor areas and neither their parents of their schools can afford expensive equipment or facilities. This could explain the very few top class black tennis, golf or squash players as success in these games presumably is predicated on middle-class background and wealth (and may well have, modally a quite different parent (as coach)- child interaction to that found in athletics, boxing or football where the coaching is handed over to a professional).

The second part of Cashmore's proposition is that blacks do better than whites at the lower levels of sports, e.g. in school teams, and his faith in this assumption allows him to predict that half the English team will be black by 1990, (an achievement of dubious merit given its current performance). This proposition would require a larger amount of research, since the numbers taking part in sport in their mid-teens is obviously very great and one would need to show that black adolescents are over-represented in their teams or competitive success. In order to clarify the situation further, some measure of basic motor ability or co-ordination would be useful as a baseline against which to assess the importance of teacher encouragement, peer support etc., in the development of sports excellence.

Summarising this point, Cashmore has not produced any real empirical data to support the correctness of his major assumption either at the level of high achieving sportsmen or at the level of adolescent sports. The analysis should be done for each sport individually in order to allow the test-

ing of subsidiary hypotheses.

2. **Black.** In some circles, black equals non-white (Asian, West Indian and African). Cashmore defines 'black' purely as meaning 'West Indian'. While unobjectionable, it does mean that the comparative interest in sports of various ethnic groups is ignored. Thus, it appears that there is a near complete lack of successful Indian sub-continent sportsmen. A comparative study of parent and child attitudes to sport might well shed light both on West Indian prominence and Asian non-participation.

Secondly, it would seem useful to look at the sporting success of West Indians born in this country with those born in the West Indies. There might well be differences since the latter have had experience of two cultures, of migration and may have fantasies of "going home again". All these and other aspects may cause different outlooks and stresses from those born in this country.

Given that at least initially financial success is in no way guaranteed in sport - only a few of the hundreds who start a sporting career make a success of it - given that blacks also choose sports, e.g. athletics, where financial rewards do not figure large then it may well be the case that sport as a source of self-esteem rather than for financial gain is the prime motivation and this requires further research.

3. **Whites.** Cashmore is not only interested in black sportsmen *per se*. He attempts, at the level of generalisation, to relate it to the West Indian experience in this country. Essentially he is concerned with those from poor homes and with poor educational achievement. However, this is already a simplification because, of the ten sportsmen to whom he gives three or four pages each to describe their experiences, only Maurice Hope and Herol Graham clearly fit this pattern, while Justin Fashanu whose foster-parents were an engineer and a music teacher, and Daley Thompson, with a Scottish mother and sent to a private ILEA school, clearly do not. Most of his interviewees do have 'O' levels and thus formal educational achievement might well in fact be predictive of sporting success.

Let us assume that Cashmore is right in considering that it is primarily the black working-class child who is attracted, through lack of alternative means of achieving self-esteem, towards attempting a sporting career. While not disputing some of the attributes of the stereotypical West Indian family (though some data would help) much of the West Indian experience of poor housing and schooling, the parental disinterest/incomprehension of education and of the need to encourage academic work at home, the adolescent's poor chance of gaining employment are all features of the poor/unskilled working class while difficulties vis-a-vis school and handling peer group pressures are probably common to all adolescents. We are not, of course, arguing that West Indians are not further discriminated against compared to the white working-class, but we are certainly saying that many of the features of family and adolescent life that Cashmore considers unique to West Indian families are in fact common to the unskilled working class. For example, the likelihood of family breakdown and of tired parents working on shift or night work might well not sharply differentiate working class West Indians and working class whites. It may well be the case that white middle class children, with their alternative avenues to

career development, do not become sportsmen in large numbers. This might also be true for the black middle class. However, the black middle class is a much smaller group, both relatively and absolutely. In this case, then Cashmore is effectively, if without stating it, making an incorrect comparison, because he is comparing all whites (with their large middle class) to all blacks (with their large working class). Thus, it is possible and certainly worth examining whether there are in fact large differences in the percentage and success of would-be sportsmen as a function of race, once class is controlled. (We are mindful of how American boxing champions were first Irish, then Jewish, then Negro and now Hispanic, which would suggest an economic rather than race explanation). Similarly, we would suggest that the motivational structures of successful sporting activity again relate more to class even if Cashmore and his interviewees agree in relating it to race. (We are of course not denying the validity of their perception but would be interested in evidence of its priority among more economically successful blacks. We would guess that black consciousness is only clearly and consensually found among poor blacks and concerned welfare professionals; we also suspect that the tenaciousness with which the proposition is treated as 'fact' is because the desire is in fact to raise black consciousness rather than merely describe it. A similar analysis may well apply to "women's liberation" and to "working class solidarity" and the dangers to the participants in believing it to be a reality has been well illustrated by the fate of the trade unions under the present government).*

Summarising our main point, we are suggesting that if an analysis of desire to make sports a career and of sporting success is undertaken, with the variable of socio-economic class controlled, there will be far less difference in success rates either at lower or higher levels of sport.

Cashmore also seems to suggest that the conditions of young blacks encourages them to go into sport. But this analysis must be incomplete since, independent of the relative importance of race compared to class, obviously not all blacks go into sport. Thus, even holding class and race constant, motivation to enter sport requires further elaboration. This is particularly the case since a career in music also appears a popular choice and it is most unlikely that mere physical fitness is the only determinant of the choice of sport or music.

In conclusion, Cashmore's book relates to a very important area - the place of sport in our society and its meaning to the black working-class adolescent. His lack of use of empirical data means that he theorises on the basis of assumptions widely held among liberal academics and practitioners which may or may not be correct. Untested hypothesis is then built upon untested hypothesis, creating a very shaky structure. Also, without the empirical groundwork, the finer details of the relationship of sport to its aspirants and participants cannot be elucidated. However, these deficits should not blind the reviewer/reader to the fact that Cashmore's book is concerned with important topics and that, as an initial foray, it is thought-provoking and provides a starting point for research of greater depth.

The views expressed in this paper are those of the author who would like to thank Alison Cooper and Marcia Richards for their comments.

*Footnote

In short, statements that are presented as *descriptive* but are in fact *prescriptive*. To my chagrin as a psychologist, such a line of thought makes one realise that such statements also are common in clinical psychology, e.g. "with a skilled analyst, a person will gain insight" (Freud) "a person seeks to maximise their choices" (Kelly) and "man has a natural tendency towards self-actualisation" (Rogers, Maslow) are presented as facts, even if they are an odd kind of fact, as they are only available to the initiated. This pseudo-wisdom hides their real status as hopes.

**Community Service Volunteers
LIFE SKILLS TRAINING MANUAL
Community Service Volunteers 1983 (revised edition)
ISBN 0 907829 15 5
£7 plus £1.05 p&p
available from Advisory Service, CSV, 237 Pentonville Road, London N1 9NJ
pp. 48 plus Accompanying Resources**

Compared with when I taught 'life and social skill' in 1978, there is so much more available for those engaged both in YTS and elsewhere in the presentation of life skills courses to young people. Sadly, much of it is still not much further on than the notorious MSC Instructional Guide. This enlarged revised **Life Skills Training Manual** from CSV, though hardly radical in either content or approach, provides a welcome and excellent contrast to this trend. It is surprisingly fresh and illuminating and is superbly packaged and presented. It provides an approach to developing the life skills likely to be required by all young people, though it is directed particularly at those on YTS; however, there is much more of a youth work 'person-centred' feel to its content than the usual MSC-directed straitjacket-material. Nonetheless, in line with the broader philosophy of CSV, it is geared very much to enabling young people to make sense of their life situation, equipping them to handle future experiences and manage the existing framework in which they live, and encouraging them to give some service to the community and to recognise the value of and opportunities within their community. This is certainly implicit in much of the material. At no time does it raise the issue of, for example, young people confronting the institutions which are creating their impoverished experiences or expounding the potential and power of collective action. As a result, the weakest section is on 'community'. 'Community action' is slid over, albeit with useful references to other material, while 'interaction with police' is restricted to but one example of the police arriving following a complaint by neighbours about the noise while your parents are away. Hardly a critical problem in my view, considering the range of positive roles the police may play which might have been alluded to, as well as the harassment by police which may be faced by certain groups of young people.

The rest of the material, however, is worthy of the highest praise. Extremely clearly presented, its six 'life area' sections on 'personal', 'family', 'community', 'leisure' and 'job' (plus a seventh section on 'techniques') are backed up with a very useful accompanying package of games, comic strips, role plays, workbooks, activity sheets, and a film list. Cross-referencing is very thorough throughout. Furthermore, within the text, the reader is constantly directed to the source of other valuable material which does not come with the Manual, although short descriptions of such aids and resources are usually provided.

The Manual is highly adaptable and obviously intended to be used freely in conjunction with other material. Nonetheless it is an extremely useful core guide to life skills training. Its flexibility, wealth of information and clarity make it a vital and central resource for those working in this field. If only I had had it in 1978!

Howard Williamson

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.

School Meals

The 1980 Education Act restricted the entitlement to free school meals to families on FIS or SB. Eligibility on grounds of income is now at the discretion of LEA's. The proportion of Authorities which decided not to extend their statutory minimum obligations is not known precisely, but by 1981 had reached 27%. The relevant statistics for update are not collected nationally, but questions are asked in the Commons periodically, and these are reported in 'Monitor'. The figures here are from the pamphlet 'Badge of Poverty'; Bissett, L; Coussins, J; C.P.A.G. 1982.

Table 1 : Overall take-up rate

<i>Eligible children</i>	%
Proportion who receive free school meals	61
Proportion who do not receive free school meals	39
	100
<i>Eligible families</i>	%
In which at least one child receives free school meals	57
No children receive free school meals but at least one stays for school dinners	28
None of the children stays for school dinners	15
	100

Table 2 : Meals taken by children at school in England, 1979-81

	1979 (000s)	1980 (000s)	As a proportion of pupils in attendance			
			1981 (000s)	1979 %	1980 %	1981 %
Pupils in attendance	7,576.8	7,331.9	7,170.2			
Taking school meals	4,854.9	3,534.9	3,515.3	64.1	48.2	49.0
(a) on payment	3,956.2	2,810.6	2,659.0	52.2	38.3	37.1
(b) free	898.8	724.3	856.3	11.9	9.9	11.9
Taking own food	951.8	1,982.1	1,879.3	12.6	27.0	26.2

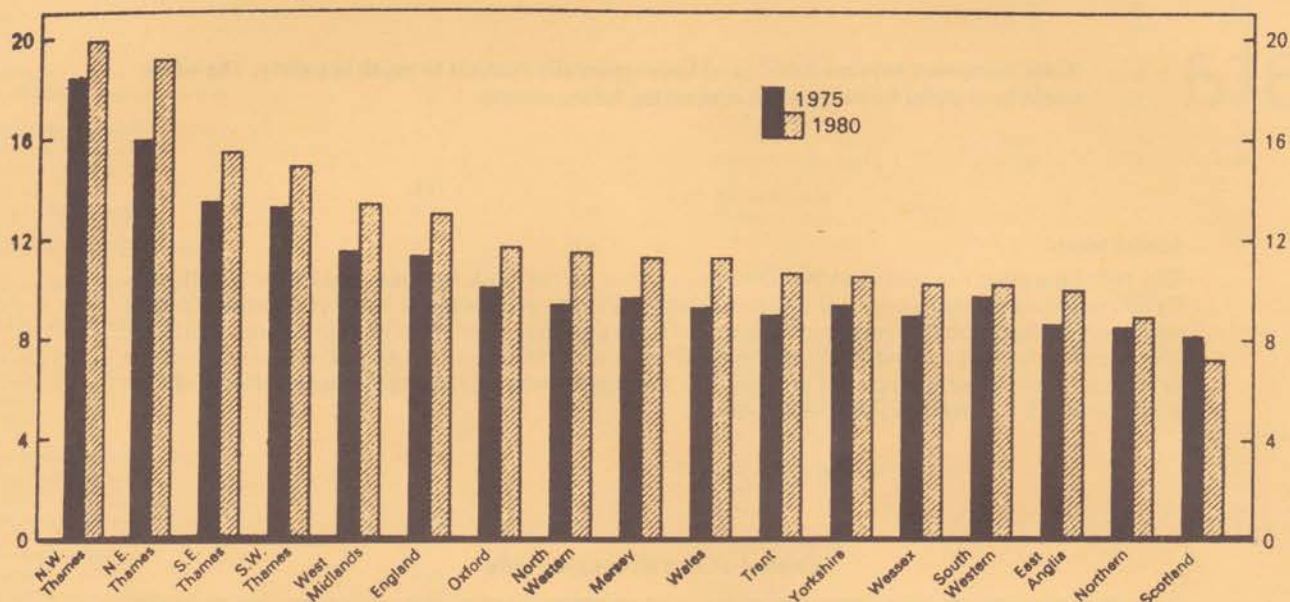
Source: DES, *School Meals Census*, HMSO 1981.

Legal Termination of Pregnancy

Several readers have requested data on pregnancy termination and age. The latest figures nationally are up to 1980 only, though 'Monitor' has reported questions in the Commons on the subject during the past year. Copy Service will provide a data-sheet on the subject of teenage pregnancy, including abortion, on request.

Legal terminations of pregnancies, 1975 and 1980

Rates per 1,000 women aged 15-44



Legal terminations of pregnancies to G.B. residents(1) by marital status and age.

	Total Rate(2)	Marital Status			Age			Not stated	
		Single	Married	Other(3)	Under 20	20 to 34	Over 34		
Great Britain	136.7	12.2	72.9	47.0	16.8	37.9	78.9	19.6	0.3
Northern	5.6	8.9	2.9	2.0	0.7	1.8	3.1	0.8	0.0
Yorkshire	7.6	10.5	3.8	2.6	1.1	2.2	4.2	1.2	0.0
Trent	9.9	10.6	4.9	3.8	1.2	3.0	5.4	1.5	0.0
East Anglia	3.9	10.0	1.9	1.5	0.5	1.1	2.1	0.7	0.0
North West Thames	14.8	19.9	8.7	4.7	1.4	3.1	9.8	1.9	0.0
North East Thames	14.7	19.1	7.8	4.9	1.9	3.4	9.3	1.9	0.1
South East Thames	10.9	15.4	6.3	3.4	1.2	2.9	6.5	1.4	0.0
South West Thames	8.5	14.8	4.8	2.8	0.9	2.1	5.2	1.2	0.0
Wessex	5.5	10.2	2.9	2.0	0.7	1.8	2.9	0.9	0.0
Oxford	5.7	11.6	2.9	2.1	0.6	1.6	3.2	0.9	0.0
South Western	6.5	10.2	3.5	2.2	0.8	2.0	3.5	1.0	0.0
West Midlands	14.1	13.3	7.2	5.2	1.7	4.2	7.6	2.2	0.0
Mersey	5.7	11.2	3.2	1.7	0.8	1.7	3.3	0.8	0.0
North Western	9.3	11.4	4.9	3.0	1.3	2.8	5.2	1.3	0.0
England	122.6	12.9	65.8	41.8	15.1	33.8	71.1	17.4	0.3
Wales	6.3	11.2	3.0	2.5	0.9	1.7	3.4	1.1	0.0
Scotland	7.8	7.2	4.2	2.7	0.9	2.3	4.4	1.1	-

(1) Region of usual residence

(2) Rate per 1,000 women aged 15-44

(3) Includes widowed, divorced, separated and not stated.

'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 are as published
The following code describes the references used.

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

All items are available through our Copy Service

V29 N166

Unemployed Persons OA

1. Mr. Ray Powell asked the Secretary of State for Wales what is the current total number of unemployed persons registered in (a) the Ogmore constituency, (b) the Mid-Glamorgan area and (c) Wales; and how these figures have increased or decreased since 8 July. Sec. State Wales (Mr Nicholas Edwards): On 9 September 1982 the figures were 6,496 36,164 and 185,611, respectively, an increase of 147, 1,473 and 10,319 since 8 July 1982.

Unemployed Persons OA

6. Mr. Ioan Evans asked the Secretary of State for Wales what are the latest figures of the number of people who are unemployed in Wales, Mid Glamorgan and Aberdare; Mr. Nicholas Edwards: In July 1982, the latest date for which analysis of the unemployed is available, unemployment totalled 175,292; 34,691 and 4,055, respectively. Of these 24,412; 5,099; and 656 had been unemployed for more than two years and 62,301, 12,123 and 1,454 had been unemployed for more than one year.

Unemployment (Males) OA

9. Mr. Anderson asked the Secretary of State for Wales if he will give percentages of male unemployment for Wales, West Glamorgan and Swansea at the latest available date. Mr. Nicholas Edwards: On 9 September 1982 19.9 per cent., 18.9 per cent. and 20.5 per cent., respectively, and in May 1979 8.5 per cent., 7.4 per cent. and 8.3 per cent.

National Theatre Museum and Museum of Childhood OA

25. Mr. Neuber asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he has reached any conclusion on the closure of the Museum of Childhood and abandonment of the Theatre museum project. The Minister for the Arts (Mr. Paul Channon): I announced on 11 August the Government's conclusion that the proposed Theatre museum project in the Old Flower Market in London's Covent Garden should go ahead and that the Museum of Childhood, Bethnal Green, should be retained.

Ethnic Minority Arts OA

23. Mr. Tilley asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will make special additional funds available for ethnic minority arts. Mr. Channon: Assistance for the arts is given through the Arts Council, which takes account of ethnic minority applications when considering its grant distribution. Funds are also allocated to arts projects by the Commission for Racial Equality.

Micros in Schools Scheme WA

Mr. Austin Mitchell asked the Secretary of State for Industry what would be the estimated cost of extending the micros in schools scheme to allow schools to purchase up to six BBC microcomputers instead of one RML 380Z. Mr. Butcher: The estimated extra cost of allowing schools to purchase up to six BBC microcomputers under the micros in schools scheme for secondary schools is £2 million. The scheme is designed to enable every secondary school to obtain one microcomputer package chosen from two options, with fifty per cent. support from the Department of Industry exch.

Whooping Cough Vaccine WA

Mr. Ernie Ross asked the Secretary of State for Scotland what is the statistical risk per 100,000 immunisations of brain damage associated with whooping cough vaccine. Mr. John MacKay: I am advised that the risk of an apparently normal infant suffering a severe neurological reaction following vaccination against whooping cough is about 1 in 110,000 immunisations; and that the risk of such vaccination resulting in permanent brain damage is about 1 in 310,000 immunisations.

Soccer Hooligans WA

Mr. Gwilym Roberts asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if, he will call a conference of police authorities and football organisations with a view to finding a satisfactory way of dealing with occurrences; and if he will make a statement. Mr. Whitlaw: No, My hon. Friend the Minister for Sport recently announced that the liaison group which was so successful in preventing trouble during the World Cup will be re-convened to study the problems of football hooliganism under the chairmanship of Mr. Bert Millichip, chairman of the Football Association.

Toxteth (Incidents) WA

Mr. Proctor asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department if he will call for a report from the chief constable of Merseyside concerning the incidents which took place in Toxteth on the evening of Thursday 29 July. Mr. Mayhew: We understand from the chief constable that during the course of the evening there was a large number of incidents, many of a minor nature, in the Toxteth area. There were intermittent skirmishes between police officers and disorderly youths. In the course of four hours there were three fires at premises on the edge of the area, which appeared to be cases of arson. A petrol bomb failed to ignite fully at a betting office but caused smoke damage; the door and window frame of a greengrocer's shop were damaged by rubbish burnt at the rear of the building; and an unoccupied block of flats was damaged by smoke from rubbish ignited in it. Three people were arrested for, and have been convicted of, offences related to the incidents in the evening.

Glue Sniffing WA

Mr. Porter asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, in view of the increasing prevalence of glue sniffing, especially among young people, if he will introduce legislation to make this practice illegal and to provide that parents of minors are responsible for the actions of their children in this matter.

Mr. Mayhew: The Government have no plans at present to introduce such legislation.

Newman College and De La Salle College WA

Mr. Parry asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science (1) if he will make a statement of Newman college, Birmingham and the cuts in capacity at the De La Salle college (2) what representations he has received objecting to the proposed closure of Newman college, Birmingham and cuts in the capacity of De La Salle college (3) what consultations he has had with Roman Catholic education authorities.

Mr. Waldegrave: On 6 August the Department proposed that initial teacher training should be discontinued at 14 institutions in England, including De La Salle college and Newman college. The proposed changes are being considered in the context of a considerable reduction in the overall need for newly-trained teachers, following from the sharp fall in the birthrate and in the school population which is down by more than 1.5 million in a decade from the mid-1970s. To reflect this, my right hon. Friend and the Secretary of State for Wales decided that planned annual admissions to initial teacher training in England and Wales should be reduced from some 20,200 in 1981 to 15,000 in 1983, 16,300 in 1984, and 16,900 in 1985. The savings which will result are contained within and are not additional to the Government's overall planned reductions for higher education. The Department's proposals are provisional and institutions and their maintaining local education authorities or voluntary bodies were invited to comment. We are not in the process of considering their responses.

Dangerous Sports WA

Mr. Arthur Lewis asked the Secretary of State for the Environment whether his attention has been drawn to the recent report of the British Medical Association that boxing should be banned by law; and whether he will take action to introduce legislation to ban boxing, Rugby football, soccer, motor racing, cliff climbing and mountaineering and all sports and entertainment where danger, injury and the possibility of death to the participants may occur. Mr. Macfarlane: The BMA has not been in touch with me over this report. I am, however, aware of its existence and its general recommendations. I have no intention of introducing legislation to ban any form of sport.

Women's Boxing WA

Mrs. Dunwoody asked the Secretary of State for the Environment what representations he has received concerning the safety of women's boxing; and whether he will make a statement. Mr. Macfarlane: I have received no representations concerning the safety of women's boxing. I received one letter from the general secretary of the Association of Scientific, Technical and Managerial Staffs about an article which appeared in the Sports Council's monthly magazine.

Motor Cycles (Accidents) WA

Mr. Arthur Lewis asked the Secretary of State for Transport whether, in support of his policy of reducing serious accidents on the road and in the light of the remarks made by Mr. Roy Jermyn, the coroner at the Southen inquest on Mark Ginn and John Gibbs on Thursday 19 August, that motor cycles should be banned from the public highways, he will consider introducing legislation to give effect to the coroner's request. Mrs. Chalker: No. The Government are seriously concerned about the level of motor cycle accidents. Mr. Arthur Lewis: The number of deaths and injuries resulting from these accidents; and in these cases how many were motorcyclists, their pillion passengers, other road vehicle drivers, and pedestrians. Mrs. Chalker: In Great Britain in 1981, motor cycles were involved in 68,859 injury accidents resulting in the following casualties:

	Killed	Injured
Motor cycle riders	983	60,562
Motor cycle passengers	148	7,436
Other vehicle drivers	45	4,001
Other vehicle passengers	16	1,514
Pedestrians hit by motor cycles	217	6,625
Pedestrians hit by other vehicles	4	103

V29 N167

Youth Opportunities Programme OA

Mr. Neubert asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many young people were on the youth opportunities programme. **The Under-Sec State for Employment (Mr. Peter Morrison):** At the end of August there were about 205,000 occupied places on the youth opportunities programme. **Mr. Neubert:** What response has there been from industry and commerce to the new training initiative, how many places have been forthcoming and in my hon. Friend satisfied with the standard of training opportunities likely to be available? **Mr. Morrison:** By and large, I am satisfied by industry's response to the youth training scheme. I applaud the emphasis that the Manpower Services Commission is putting on quality exch.

Youth Training Scheme WA

Mr. Marlow asked the Sec State Employment if he will make a statement of progress of the new youth training scheme. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Following my announcement in the House about the new youth training scheme, the Manpower Services Commission is now working urgently on the detailed planning of the scheme and is making good progress. **Mr. Marlow:** Will my hon. Friend confirm that there are certain parts of the country where it will be more difficult to establish the youth training scheme? I am thinking of the rural and border areas. Will he say what special measures are proposed to ensure that the scheme gets off to an excellent start in those areas as in other parts of the country? **Mr. Morrison:** I agree with my hon. Friend. It is in these areas that we shall see the role of the managing agents proving much greater. **Mr. Hardy:** Is the Department considering the serious and developing anxiety that is becoming acute in areas of high unemployment that the scheme might assist 16-year-olds but will put those slightly older at a severe disadvantage? exch.

School Leavers WA

Mr. Sainsbury asked the Secretary of State for Employment what is the latest estimate he has of the number of 1982 school leavers who are still unemployed. **Mr. Alison:** I am not able to provide the information in the form requested. Statistics on school leaver unemployment are not analysed according to the year in which the young people left school. However, the total number of school leavers under 18 years of age registered as unemployed in the United Kingdom at 9 September was 289,048; etc., etc.,

Benefits WA

Sir Patrick Wall asked the Sec State Social Services (1) what is the cost in State subsidies of an unemployed family of two aged between 19 and 24 years with one child; (2) what are the maximum State subsidies that can be given to a retired couple between 65 and 70 years of age. **Mr. Newton:** I assume 'subsidy' in this context to mean cash and other benefits. In addition to unemployment benefit, supplementary benefit and retirement pension, a wide range of help may be available, according to circumstances. I regret, however, that entitlement and its value cannot be estimated from the information given in the questions. Copies of the DHSS publication, 'Tax/Benefit Model Tables' April 1982, indicate the financial position of various hypothetical families whose head is unemployed.

One and Two-parent Families WA

Mr. Dobson asked the Sec State Social Services whether he will give the latest available figures of the numbers of one-parent families in receipt of supplementary benefit; how many of these are divorced, separated, single, widowed or are prisoners' wives; and in each category what is the total number of children involved, the average payment and how much of it is for housing costs. **Mr. Newton:** The latest information available relates to December 1981 and is given in the following table:

One-Parent Families	Claimants (1,000)	Children (1,000)	Average weekly Supplementary Benefit £	Average housing costs £
All supplementary benefit	392	666	43.57	15.71*
Divorced	124	232	47.18	not available
Separated	129	245	43.83	not available
Single	127	169	40.32	not available
Widowed	8	13	32.70	not available
Prisoners' wives	4	7	48.59	not available

Mr. Dobson asked whether he will give the latest available figures on the numbers of two-parent families in receipt of supplementary benefit; how many are unemployed, sick or disabled, or for some other reason on supplementary benefit; and, in each category, what is the total number of children involved, the average payment and how much of it is for housing costs. **Mr. Newton:** The latest information relates to December 1981 and is given in the following table:

	Claimants (1,000)	Children (1,000)	Average weekly Supplementary Benefit £	Average housing costs* £
All supplementary benefit	399	879	48.31	16.37
Pensioners	2	2	not available	9.75
Unemployed	370	821	not available	16.33
Sick and disabled	19	40	not available	17.88
Others	8	16	not available	15.71

V29 N168

Unemployed Women WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennet asked the Prime Minister how many women are now registered as unemployed; how many others are estimated to be looking for work. **The Prime Minister:** At 9 September 1982 the number of women registered as unemployed in the United Kingdom was 1,003,741. This figure includes school leavers and is not seasonally adjusted. It is estimated that in 1979, about a quarter of a million women were seeking work but were not registered as unemployed. Later information suggests that the number was similar in 1980 and rose only slightly in 1981.

Poverty (Definition) WA

Mr. Ernie Ross asked the Prime Minister if she will introduce a definition of poverty in the United Kingdom along the lines of that used in the United States of America. **The Prime Minister:** No.

Sex Education WA

Sir John Biggs-Davison asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he will issue advice to local education authorities that they should provide for the withdrawal on conscientious grounds of children from sex education in classes. **Dr. Boyson:** We have repeatedly made it clear that there should be the fullest consultation and co-operation between schools and parents about the way in which sex education is provided. Such co-operation should enable difficulties to be resolved.

Teacher Training WA

Mr. Pavitt asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science why he has decided to end initial teacher training at the Polytechnic of North London. **Mr. Waldegrave:** The proposal that initial teacher training should be discontinued at the Polytechnic of North London is provisional. No decisions have yet been made. **Mr. Parker** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he will receive a deputation of local hon. Members on the proposals to end teacher training

at the North Essex Polytechnic. **Mr. Waldegrave:** I have agreed to meet the hon. Member and other hon. Members.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Mr. Wolfson asked the Secretary of State for Employment what progress has been made in providing higher quality training places on the youth opportunities programme in 1982. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** In the first five months of 1982-83, about 35,000 new training places were approved and available for occupation within the youth opportunities programme.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Mr. Strang asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many people have been unemployed for over a year in the United Kingdom; and what was the comparable figure in 1979. **Mr. Alison:** A 8 July 1982 the number of people registered as unemployed for over 52 weeks in the United Kingdom was 1,070,506 compared with 360,622 at 12 July 1979.

Community Work Scheme WA

Mr. Bill Walker asked the Secretary of State for Employment when the Manpower Services Commission will bring forward the community work scheme proposed in the Budget. **Mr. Alison:** The community programme came into operation on 1 October. Details are available from the Manpower Services Commission. I would encourage local authorities, voluntary organisations and other bodies to consider how they could use this opportunity both to help long-term unemployed people and to carry out projects of benefit to the community. **Mr. Hardy** asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many persons were unemployed at the available date; and by how many this exceeds the number unemployed in May 1979. **Mr. Alison:** At 9 September 1982, the number of people registered as unemployed in the United Kingdom, seasonally adjusted and excluding school leavers, was 3,036,700; an increase of 1,728,600 since May 1979. **Mr. Gwilym Roberts** asked the Secretary of State for Employment what are the latest figures available for the numbers and proportion of the potential working population which is unemployed, what further steps he is taking to reduce unemployment; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Alison:** At 9 September, the number of people registered as unemployed in the United Kingdom was 3,343,075 and the unemployment rate was 14 per cent. The rate is based on the estimated number of employees - employed and unemployed - which differs from the working population in that it excludes members of Her Majesty's Forces and the self-employed. **38. Mr. Race** asked the Secretary of State for Employment what is the total level of unemployment in the United Kingdom; and how many of these are school leavers. **Mr. Alison:** At 9 September, the total number of people registered as unemployed in the United Kingdom was 3,343,075, of which 289,048 were school leavers under 18 years of age. (1982).

Lost Working Days WA

Mr. John Browne asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many man-days have been lost so far in the current year in (a) the public sector and (b) the private sector. **Mr. Waddington:** It is not possible to give precise figures for the current year, but, of the 5.7 million working days lost through industrial disputes in the eight months to August 1982, it is estimated that 4.4 million were in the public sector and 1.3 million in the private sector.

Housing Capital Expenditure WA

Mr. Lyell asked the Secretary of State for the Environment what was the level of housing capital expenditure in the first quarter of 1982-83 by local authorities generally and by each individual local authority. Figures in 5 pages available through copy-service.

V29 N169

Children's Play D:2R

Mr. Michael Colvin (Bristol, North-West): My purpose in this debate is to persuade the Government to act on the all-party call for the recognition of the importance of children's play and for the designation of an existing Minister to add children's play to his responsibilities and to assist in its promotion. I begin by drawing the attention of the House to early-day motion 363, which reads: "That this House acknowledges that the welfare of Britain's Children is the nation's future, and that provision for their leisure time play is crucial to their healthy development; and accordingly calls on Her Majesty's Government to recognise the importance of children's play, particularly in inner city areas, and to accept overall responsibility for a service to promote it under the co-ordination of one designated Minister," etc., etc. exch. This debate is about leisure time, or out of school play and recreational needs of children, mainly - although not exclusively - in the 5 to 16 years of age bracket. The value of play to children and the community in which they live has never been put better than by Lloyd George in a message to the National Playing Fields Association when it was founded in 1925. He said "The right to play is a child's first claim on the community. No community can infringe that right without doing deep and enduring harm to the minds and bodies of its citizens," etc., etc. exch. Adj.

Criminal Justice Bill D

Clauses debated: 30 pages: C.S.

Corporal Punishment WA

Mr. Kinnoch asked the Sec State Education and Science if, following the judgment of the European Court of Human Rights in the case of Campbell and Cosens v Her Majesty's Government, he will introduce legislation to prohibit all forms of corporal punishment. **Sir Keith Joseph:** The Government are studying the Court's judgement and the implications it has for different parts of the United Kingdom. I note, however, that the court itself does not suggest that a general prohibition of corporal punishment is necessary to satisfy the judgement.

Education Act 1981 WA

Mr. Hannam asked the Sec State Education and Science whether he is in a position to make a further announcement about the date for implementing the remaining provisions of the Education Act 1981. **Sir Keith Joseph:** Preparations of the regulations and circular on the new procedures for carrying out assessments and making statements of special educational need has taken longer than expected because of the need for extensive consultations with all the various bodies concerned.

School Meals WA

Mr. Dobson asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether and, if so, by what amount the cost of living figures for September reflected the cost to parents of reduction in the numbers of children entitled to free school meals. **Dr. Boyson:** This information is not available. **Mr. Dobson** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether and by what amount the cost of living for September reflected increases in the price of school meals. **Mr. Boyson:** Local education authorities' increases in school meal charges between August and September 1982 added 0.01 per cent. to the retail price index.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Miss Joan Lester asked the Secretary of State for Employment to what extent girls on the youth opportunities programme are receiving training in non-traditional skills. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The information requested is not available.

Police (Complaints) WA

Mr. Meacher asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department on what basis £4,000 was paid in compensation to a Nigerian student in the United Kingdom who complained that he had to have a testicle removed after assault by the police after a Scotland Yard investigation of the case found that the complaint was unsubstantiated. **Mr. Mayhew:** In 1979 the man in question initiated a civil action against the Metropolitan Police for injuries sustained during his arrest in November 1977. A settlement was reached and an agreed sum of compensation was paid, without admission of liability, by the Metropolitan Police in October 1981.

V29 N170

Criminal Justice Bill D

Amendments debated: cont: exch: available copy service 8 pages.

Religious Education WA

Mr. Beith asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what provision will exist for religious education teacher training in local authority colleges if the proposals announced on 9 August are implemented. **Mr. Greenway** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what would be the distribution of teacher education places for teachers of religious education if his proposals of

August were implemented without amendment. Mr. Waldegrave: The proposals announced on 9 August were provisional and are unlikely to be implemented without some changes. They provided for 120 full-time equivalent religious education secondary students each year in universities and 225 in voluntary colleges. No secondary religious education allocation was made to institutions maintained by local education authorities, but it was assumed that religious education would continue in such institutions.

Higher Education (Statistics) WA

Mr. Whitehead asked the Sec State Education and Science if he will publish the number of school leavers from schools in England who entered a course of higher education (a) at a university, (b) at a polytechnic and (c) at other maintained institutions of higher education in 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982, respectively. Mr. Waldegrave: The information available from the surveys is as follows:

	Further Educations		
	1978-79	1979-80	1980-81
University	44.9	46.2	44.6
Degree, Teacher Training or HNC/D			
Polytechnics	10.1	11.5	14.6
Other Further Education Establishments	5.6	4.1	6.0
Other Courses*			
Polytechnics	5.5	4.8	5.3
Other Further Education Establishments	91.4	101.8	127.6

Education Fees WA

Mr. Cryer asked the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs what is the total number of children of employees of his Department in receipt of financial assistance for attendance at private fee-paying day or boarding schools; and what is the current total cost for the academic year 1982-83.

Mr. Hurd: A total of 1,556 children of members of the Diplomatic Service and the Overseas Development Administration are receiving financial assistance for attendance at boarding schools at a total estimated cost of £6,139,085 for the academic year 1982-83. The estimated cost of fees for school aged children to attend local day school at their parent's overseas stations in the financial year 1982-83 is £768,000.

V29 N171

Public Disorder (Research) WA

Mr. Proctor asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he expects to publish the study of a statistical analysis of people arrested in 25 police force areas during the incidents of serious public disorder in July and August 1981; and if he will make a statement. Mr. Mayhew: The information requested was published on 13 October in "Home Office Statistical Bulletin", issue 20/82.

Police (Establishment Levels)

Mr. Proctor asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department, whether he has received any further requests from police authorities to approve increases in police force establishment levels; and if he will make a statement. Mr. Mayhew: Further applications have been received from five police authorities for increases in their police establishments in 1982-83.

Education Fees WA

Mr. Cryer asked the Secretary of State for Defence what is the total number of children of employees of his Department in receipt of financial assistance for attendance at private fee-paying day or boarding schools; and what is the current total cost for the academic year 1982-83. Mr. Wiggin: Boarding school allowance is being paid in respect of 220 children of civilian employees of the Department who are serving abroad and 21,000 children of members of the Armed Forces. These totals include 3,258 children attending boarding schools maintained by local education authorities. The estimated cost for the financial year 1982-83 is £465,000 for Ministry of Defence civilian staff and £63 million for the Armed Forces.

Higher Education (Statistics) WA

Mr. Whitehead asked the Secretary of State for Scotland if he will publish the total intake into (a) universities, (b) polytechnics and (c) other maintained institutions of students who had left school in Scotland within the preceding 12 months on to courses of higher education in 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982, respectively, using estimates where actuals are not yet available. Mr. Alexander Fletcher: The number of students domiciled in Scotland who entered a course of higher education at a college in Scotland within one year of leaving school in 1979, 1980 and 1981 are given in the following table. Neither actual numbers nor estimates are available for universities, or for colleges in Scotland in 1982.

	1979	1980	1981
Colleges in Scotland	5,291	5,192	5,625

Unclaimed Benefits WA

Mr. John Morris asked the Sec State Social Services if he will estimate the amount of social security benefits which are not in fact claimed. Mr. Newton: The latest available overall estimate is that, for those benefits with a significant take-up problem, about £400 million may have been unclaimed in 1979.

V29 172

Northern Ireland (Homosexual Offences) D.C.S.

The Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (Mr. James Prior): I beg to move, that the Homosexual Offences (Northern Ireland) Order 1982, a draft of which was laid before this House on 14th July, be approved. The purpose of the order is to bring Northern Ireland law into line with the law in England and Wales where, as in Scotland, where the law differs in some detail, private homosexual acts between consenting adults have not been criminal offences since the passing of the Sexual Offences Act 1967 or, in Scotland, since the passing of the Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act 1980, etc., etc., etc. Approved: Ayes 168, Noes 21.

Supplementary Benefit OA

Mr. Winnick asked the Sec State Social Services what is the total number of those of working age now receiving supplementary benefit; and what were the figures for May 1979, and the change in percentage terms. Mr. Tony Newton: About 1,160,000 in May 1979 and about 2,190,000 in May 1982 - an increase of 89 per cent. etc., etc.

Child Benefit WA

Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec State Social Services how many families are now receiving child benefit weekly and monthly; and how many families who were receiving it monthly have now been able to receive it weekly. Mr. Newton: At 28 September 1982, child benefit was in payment to 6.94 million families, of whom 4.58 million or 65 per cent were receiving payment weekly and 2.36 million or 35 per cent were receiving payment four-weekly. About 249,000 families have switched from four-weekly to weekly payment, but about 242,000 of those switches occurred because the payees' options to remain until after the first four-weekly order book had been issued. The other 7,000 switches to weekly payment were made on exemption or hardship grounds; etc., etc.

European Community Social Fund (Training Women) WA

Miss Joan Lester asked the Sec Employment what was the total allocation of European Economic Community social fund money for the training of women over the age of 25 years in the United Kingdom what proportion of that fund has now been allocated; and if he will list the individual allocations

to date. Mr. Alison: Fund allocation for 1982 in respect of schemes in the United Kingdom specifically for the training of women over the age of 25 years at present amount to £807,845. The complete list of such allocations is as follows: Figures: CS.

Unemployed Women WA

Miss Joan Lester asked the Sec State Employment what are the most recent numbers of registered unemployed women in England by regions; what were the figures for the same date in 1979; and what are the respective increases in percentage terms. Mr. Alison: The following is the information.

Region	Number of females registered as unemployed		Percentage increase
	September 1979	September 1982	
South-East	82,398	229,044	178
East Anglia	9,579	23,982	150
South-West	29,060	60,962	110
West Midlands	46,251	113,073	144
East Midlands	23,264	59,122	154
Yorkshire and Humberside	41,448	92,772	124
North-West	67,875	143,256	111
North	40,421	70,616	75

Solvent Abuse WA

Mr. Best asked the Sec State Social Services what information he has on the number of persons admitted to hospitals suffering from the effects of solvent misuse. Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg: Information on hospital admissions relating solely to solvent misuse is not available.

Juvenile Offenders (Alcohol) WA

Mr. Soley asked the Sec State Northern Ireland when he intends to publish the results of research into drinking among juvenile offenders carried out at the Hydebank young offenders centre. Mr. John Patten: This research was undertaken with the approval of the Northern Ireland Office but was not commissioned as an official study. I understand, however, that the research was not pursued to a conclusion.

Solvent Misuse WA

Mr. Best asked the Sec State Home Department what information he has on the number of persons suffering from the effects of solvent misuse who come to the attention of the police. Mr. Mayhew: Such information as is collected by the police is not available centrally.

V29 N173

Glue Sniffing D

Mr. Keith Best (Anglesey): I make no excuse for raising this important matter in the House. I raise the matter now both because of my personal concern about the magnitude of the problem among young people and also to enable my Hon. Friend the Under-Secretary to report on Government progress in this matter. In April the Under-Secretary said: "More research is needed, but the evidence does not justify the alarm generated in some quarters and we must always be careful not to encourage some to experiment just because they hear about this craze... Reliable information on the numbers of sniffers or the proportion whose misuse becomes prolonged is not available." etc., etc. exch. 4 pages: C.5.

Education, Scotland (Assisted Places) D

Mr. Martin J. O'Neill (Clackmannan and East Stirlingshire): Adj. D: Defeated CS.

Education, Scotland (School and Placing Information) D

Mr. Martin J. O'Neill (Clackmannan and East Stirlingshire): Adj: proceedings postponed: 4 pages: C.5

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Mr. Strang asked the Sec State Scotland how many young people are on youth opportunities programme schemes in Lothian; and how this compares to a year earlier. Mr. Alexander Fletcher: In September 1982, 2,840 young people were taking part in the youth opportunities programme in Lothian, compared with 2,730 in September 1981.

Bishop Auckland WA

Mr. Foster asked the Sec State Employment how many jobs in the area covered by the Bishop Auckland constituency are being supported by job protection and job creation schemes; and if he will provide a breakdown for each scheme. Mr. Alison: The information could be obtained only at disproportionate cost. The most readily available information is

	Number
Temporary Short Time Working Compensation Scheme	Nil*
Job Release Scheme	100*
Youth Opportunities Programme	24,000†
Community Programme (including Community Enterprise Programme)	101‡
Community Industry	950†
Young Workers Scheme	169*

Family Income WA

Mr. Meacher asked the Sec State Social Services if he will estimate how many persons are now living in households which have a weekly income at or below the supplementary benefit level for their household type. Mr. Newton: The number of supplementary benefit recipients and their dependents was estimated to be 6.5 million in May. The corresponding group of people who had incomes below supplementary benefit level, but were not in receipt of that benefit was estimated to have averaged 2.1 million in 1979. (1982).

Supplementary Benefit (Young Persons) WA

Miss Wright asked the Sec State Social Services what were the figures for young people aged 16, 17 and 18 years respectively, receiving supplementary benefit on 1 October 1981 and at the most recent convenient date. Mr. Newton: Information on supplementary benefit claimants analysed by age in the manner requested is collected in December each year. For the two most recent years the figures to the nearest thousand are: in December 1980, 71,000 16-year-olds, 69,000 17-year-olds, and 61,000 18-year-olds; and in December 1981, 63,000 16-year-olds, 103,000 17-year-olds and 97,000 18-year-olds. Young people whose requirements are still aggregated with those of their parents are excluded.

Community Service Orders WA

Mr. Dewar asked the Sec State Scotland how many places are now available in Scotland for offenders subject to a community service order made in the courts; how many such orders have been made in the latest convenient period; if he can make any estimate of the number of reports indicating that an offender is suitable for community service but no place is available which have been submitted to the courts in the latest convenient period; and if he will list those local authority areas where the community service order scheme is not in operation. Mr. John MacKay: Information is not available centrally about the number of places available for offenders subject to a community service order, or about the number of cases in which reports may have indicated that an offender was suitable for community service but no place was available. Statistics of community service orders are processed on an annual basis: the most recent figures available are for 1981, when a total of 1,192 offenders were sentenced to undertake community service.

There are at present no schemes in operation in the Dumfries and Galloway and Borders regions: a scheme was prepared in Highland region for Inverness but was suspended in August 1981. Some

parts of Central, Fife, Grampian and Strathclyde regions are not yet covered by the regional schemes.

Bishop Auckland WA

Mr. Foster asked the Sec State Employment how many young people in Bishop Auckland constituency have never been in employment since leaving school. **Mr. Alison:** At 9 September, in the area covered by the Bishop Auckland, Barnard Castle and Newton Aycliffe employment offices, which corresponds closely to the Bishop Auckland parliamentary constituency, the number of registered unemployed young people aged under 19 years who had not entered employment since completing full-time education was 930: etc., etc.

V29 N174

Contraceptives WA

Mr. Pawsey asked the Sec State Social Services what written evidence of age and parental consent is required by government-funded birth control clinics before contraceptives are supplied to under-age children requesting them. **Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** This is a matter for local decision. **Mr. Pawsey** asked the Secretary of State for Social Services whether he is satisfied that sufficient safeguards exist controlling the supply of contraceptives to young people where parental consent has not been obtained. **Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** Yes. The revised guidance issued by our Department last year on the provision of contraceptive advice to young people stressed the importance of obtaining parental consent. Whether to supply contraceptives is a matter for clinical judgment in each case, and I do not consider that further safeguards are necessary.

Youth Unemployment WA

Mr. Barry Jones asked the Sec State Wales what is the latest total of unemployed amongst persons (a) aged 17 years and (b) aged 18 years, expressed as a percentage; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Nicholas Edwards:** The following information relates to July 1982:

		Per cent
Under 18*	17,257	9.8
Aged 18	10,742	6.1

Places for 45,000 entrants under the youth opportunities programme will be provided in Wales this year, and over 5,000 applications under the young workers scheme have been approved in Wales so far this year.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Mr. Barry Jones asked the Secretary of State for Wales what is the current number of young people involved in the youth opportunities programme in Wales. **Mr. Nicholas Edwards:** on 14 October 1982, 17,925 young people were taking part in the programme in Wales. In all it is expected that about 45,000 young people will enter the programme in Wales in 1982-83. Over 9,000 of the places available will be of the new style which will provide 12 months high quality work experience and training as a precursor to the introduction of the youth training scheme next year.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA

Dr. Summerskill asked the Sec State Employment how many (a) injuries at work and (b) deaths following accidents at work, have been reported among those taking part in youth opportunity programmes. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** During the period July 1981 to June 1982, when over 500,000 people entered the youth opportunities programme, there were five fatalities, 103 serious injuries and 3,403 minor injuries amongst those taking part in the programme. **Mr. Radice** asked the Sec State Employment whether he will introduce legislation to provide that those on youth opportunities programme schemes may not be discriminated against on racial or sexual backgrounds. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** This is a complex issue which has recently been the subject of a case before the Employment Appeals Tribunal. We will be studying the full text of the tribunal's decision as soon as it is available.

Youth Workers Scheme WA

Mr. Murphy asked the Sec State Employment if he will report on the progress of the young workers scheme; and if he has any plans to change its provisions. **Mr. Alison:** Over 110,000 applications for the scheme had been approved by the end of September. The scheme is clearly serving a valuable purpose and we have informed the European Commission of the Government's intention to continue it beyond 3 January 1983. We have no plans to change the earnings limits, level of subsidy or other provisions at this stage, but we will continue to keep these provisions under review.

Contraceptives WA

Mr. Pawsey asked the Sec State Social Services if he has records giving the number of children under the age of consent that have been provided with contraceptives from birth control clinics. **Mr. Kenneth Clarke:** In 1981 14,044 girls under the age of 16 were seen at NHS family planning clinics. Information on the number of these who were supplied with contraceptives is not available centrally.

Youth Offenders WA

Mr. Greenway asked the Sec. State Home Department how many young offenders are detained in adult prisons; and in which prisons. **Mr. Mayhew:** The latest readily available information is in the following table:

Population aged 21 in adult prisons in England and Wales on 30 September 1982

Prison	Number
Askham Grange	7
Bedford	49
Birmingham	122
Bristol	35
Brixton	7
Canterbury	69
Cookham Wood	11
Drake Hall	19
Durham	37
Exeter	80
Gloucester	15
Grendon	57
Holway	72
Leeds	197
Leicester	35
Lewes	180
Lincoln	103
Liverpool	266
Manchester	388
Moor Court	6
Norwich	6
Oxford	37
Reading	53
Shrewsbury	33
Styal	24
Winchester	5
Total	1,913

Mugging WA

Mr. Arthur Lewis asked the Sec. State Home Department whether he will obtain as much detailed information for the most recent period for which figures are available of the numbers of criminal attacks upon the person causing grievous bodily harm involving the offence known as "mugging" which have taken place in the London borough of Newham, the numbers arrested and charged with

these offences, and where known, the ethnic origins of those arrested and found guilty of these offences when charged. **Mr. Mayhew:** I understand from the Commissioner of Police of the Metropolis that the information immediately available relates to offences recorded in the police district of Newham, Havering and Barking; the number of recorded offences of "robbery of personal property following a sudden attack in the open there being no previous association between assailant and victim" in this area was 109 in the first half of 1982.

Schoolgirl Pregnancies WA

Mr. Deakins asked the Sec. State Education and Science, that 8,100 girls under 16 years old became pregnant in England and Wales in 1979, if he will issue advice to local education authorities on appropriate action to help prevent schoolgirl pregnancies. **Dr. Boyson:** We issued guidance in our document "The School Curriculum", published in March 1981, which emphasised the importance of close co-operation and consultation between parents and schools in meeting the need for sound sex education. We have at present no plans to publish further advice to local education authorities on this matter.

Pregnant Schoolgirls WA

Miss Joan Lester asked the Sec State for Education and Science if he will list the local education authorities in the United Kingdom which provide special units for the daytime education of pregnant schoolgirls and schoolgirl mothers. **Dr. Boyson:** This information is not collected centrally. It is for individual local education authorities to decide, what educational provision to make for girls of school age who become pregnant. **Miss Joan Lester** asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what information he has as to the numbers of pregnant schoolgirls in the United Kingdom who were educated primarily (a) at a special education unit, (b) at home and (c) at a normal school. **Dr. Boyson:** There is no central record of this kind of information.

Youth Service WA

Mr. Skeet asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science whether he will publish the report of the review group on the youth service; and whether he will make a statement. **Sir Keith Joseph:** The report was published yesterday as a Command Paper, and copies are available in the Vote Office. I am grateful to Mr. Thompson and his review group for this careful and comprehensive report, which the Government are considering. Comments on the report would be welcome, and should be sent to the Department by 31 December, 1982.

V31 N3

Urban Affairs D

Sec. State Home Department (Mr. William Whitelaw): Almost a year ago, we debated Lord Scarman's report. That followed the serious urban disorders of 1981. This year our inner city streets have not been disfigured by serious violence on any scale. While many of the historic problems of our urban areas persist, my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for the Environment is taking effective action to deal with them. He will cover those issues when he replies to the debate. But such efforts can be helped forward only if persistent criminality is tackled in our streets, if the police service is better equipped there for its job and if it has practical community support. I shall focus on those issues, etc. etc. **Exch:** Mr. Whitelaw, Mr. Hattersley, etc. 25 pages; C.S. Adj. to be resumed.

V31 N4

Blank Recording Tape OA

Mr. Haselhurst asked the Minister for Trade whether he has decided not to introduce a levy on blank recording tape. **Dr. Vaughan:** No decision has yet been taken on whether a levy would be desirable. Comments on the Government's Green Paper on copyright have shown that views are divided on this and my Department is now considering the situation: cont: 1 column.

Palace School, Ely D

Mr. Clement Freud (Isle of Ely): My motion calls attention to the future of the Palace school, in Ely. It is a school for severely handicapped secondary school children, predominantly those suffering from muscular dystrophy, cerebral palsy and spina bifida. They are not capable of being integrated. The school is housed in the old bishop's palace in Ely. It is the property of the Church Commissioners and has been leased for many years to the British Red Cross Society which administers it by a board of governors acting on behalf of the Cambridgeshire trustees. There is a peppercorn rent on a full repairing lease, etc. etc. **Adj. D. 4 pages; C.S. Adj.**

Teacher Training WA

Mr. Dobson asked the Sec. State Education and Science why he set aside the advice of the advisory committee for the supply and education of teachers and of the national advisory body in respect of the number of secondary teacher training places to be made available. **Mr. Waldegrave:** In its initial advice in 1981 the advisory committee on the supply and education of teachers offered as a desideratum that there should be a reasonable match between the output of the teacher training system and the employment prospects of newly trained teachers, and we accepted this. The committee's subsequent advice, in May 1982, recommended levels of entry to secondary courses in 1983, 1984 and 1985 which would have produced an average annual output of some 8,000 secondary teachers seeking jobs in a period for which the committee had projected an average annual demand of about 4,700. The proposals we have made would result in an average annual output of some 7,100 newly trained secondary teachers seeking jobs, a more than adequate safety margin, etc. etc.

Total planned admissions for England and Wales will now be:

	1983	1984	1985
<i>Primary BED:</i>			
Universities	2500	250	250
Public sector	5,100	5,900	6,200
<i>Primary PGCE:</i>			
Universities	400	500	600
Public sector	1,150	1,350	1,550
<i>Secondary BED:</i>			
Universities	250	250	250
Public sector	1,600	1,600	1,600
<i>Secondary PGCE:</i>			
Universities	4,250	4,250	4,250
Public sector	2,650	2,650	2,650
<i>Totals:</i>			
Universities	5,150	5,250	5,350
Public sector	10,500	11,500	12,000

Community Programme WA

Mr. David Watkins asked the Sec. State Employment what financial support is being offered to the managing agencies planned for the community programme. **Mr. Alison:** To help off-set administrative and other costs of providing a service for community programme project sponsors, the Manpower Services Commission will pay agents a fee of £100 per filled place under their control: etc. etc. **exch.**

reporting

may-sept 1983

'Reporting is a ready reference digest and source-list of press reporting on the general subject of youth affairs, currently being compiled and produced for each issue by Sandra Leventon in Manchester. 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.

- 27-5-83 **Abortion:** A new law ratified yesterday by the National Security Council gives Turkish women the right to abortion in the first 10 weeks of pregnancy. (Guardian)
- 4-6-83 Preparations for a referendum on abortion in the Irish Republic are to go ahead. (Guardian)
- 10-7-83 The British Medical Association has condemned nurses who report doctors' actions to the anti-abortion organisations or the police. (Sunday Times)
- 16-7-83 The Church of England has urged the Government to amend the 1967 Abortion Act. (Guardian)
- 5-9-83 The Irish Prime Minister announced that he would vote "no" in the coming referendum introduce a constitutional ban on abortion in the Irish Republic. (Guardian)
- 9-9-83 The people of the Irish Republic voted overwhelmingly to outlaw abortion in their constitution. (Guardian)
- 15-7-83 **Adolescence:** Young people see themselves as friendly, responsible, happy and helpful, according to a government sponsored survey "Young People in the Eighties". (TES)
- 5-8-83 An Israeli Education Ministry survey has found it is helping only about 600 young people out of an estimated 10,000 out of work or not studying. (TES)
- 26-8-83 An OECD survey of attitudes of young people to work found no overall rejection of education. (TES)
- 6-7-83 **Adoption:** More adopted women than men apply for access to their birth records. (Guardian)
- 29-4-83 **Adult Education:** A review to last about 3 months has just been embarked upon by the DES, covering the whole of higher and further education, the WEA and local authority adult education as well as the Open University and long-term residential colleges. (Education)
- 27-5-83 The WEA faced a row at its Annual Conference because the ASTMS has used its veto on a MSC scheme for courses for the unemployed. (TES)
- 10-6-83 An HMI Report of Northern College criticises it for political bias and academic sloppiness. (TES)
- 15-7-83 The NUT calls for a more coherent adult training system as part of a general move to develop a comprehensive publicly funded system of adult education. (Teacher)
- 29-7-83 The Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education due to end this October will not be replaced by a quango in the form of a new development council as ACACE recommended. (TES)
- 5-8-83 The DES has responded to the MSC call for a national enquiry into spending on adult education and training. (TES)
- 12-8-83 Distance learning should be developed in a more organised way, state the Advisory Council for Adult and Continuing Education. (TES)
- 9-9-83 The Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit has called for funding to last until 1995. (TES)
- 28-6-83 **Baby Battering:** The NSPCC has reported that 30% of child abuse cases it dealt with in the last year involved parents under the age of 24. (Guardian)
- 16-8-83 Welfare organisations are pressing the Minister to introduce a system of allowing parents to challenge anonymous allegations of child abuse. (Guardian)
- 15-7-83 **Battered Wives:** Around 30% of legal aid certificates issued to battered wives are discharged or revoked because women decide not to go ahead with legal action. (Guardian)
- 30-6-83 **Censorship:** The Government has hinted that it favours legislation against violence and pornographic videos. (Guardian)
- 28-8-83 the Video Trade Association is campaigning for a more liberal approach to classifying acceptable tapes. (Guardian)
- 19-8-83 Two further education tutors examine the moral and educational arguments for ban on children watching the sex and violence of videos. (TES)
- 26-8-83 The MP proposing a government backed bill to control the contents of video tapes said that he believes the code should be similar to that for the cinema. (Guardian)
- 20-6-83 **Charities:** Community Projects Foundation has been forced by government ministers to introduce written guidelines to curb party political activities by its staff. (Guardian)
- 3-7-83 The Methodist Church plans to challenge a ruling of the Charity Commissioners that fighting racism is not a proper objective of religion. (Observer)
- 7-7-83 A Community Fund is proposed. Based on an American model it would enable workers to give money direct to charity by deduction from salary. (Guardian)
- 27-7-83 The 200 companies most generous to charities increased their contributions by 7% last year. (Guardian)
- 27-6-83 **Child Care:** Many children are having to remain in care far longer than is necessary because social services departments fail to take any action. (Guardian)
- 23-8-83 The National Association of Young People in Care which is run by people who are or have been in care themselves are to receive a government grant of £111,000 over the next three years. (Guardian)
- 2-9-83 The Government has obtained a court order to stop Liverpool City Council implementing a plan to allow people to see their confidential social service records because it contravenes new regulations on the issue. (Guardian)
- 6-9-83 Parents of children in care in England and Wales are to be given extra rights to take local authorities to court if they deny them access to their children. (Guardian)
- 25-6-83 **Civil Liberties:** A revamped Data Protection Bill was published which reduces some of the controls intended to protect the citizen against the misuse of personal information held in computer systems. (Guardian)
- 11-5-83 **Contraception:** The Director of Public Prosecution has ruled that use of the 'morning-after' contraceptive pill is not criminal under the Offences Against the Persons Act. Yesterday the FPA mounted a campaign for the pill to be available on the NHS. (Guardian)
- 11-5-83 The IBA have banned a public service announcement on contraception because it believes young people could be influenced into thinking pre-marital sex is normal and commonplace. (Guardian)
- 23-6-83 The General Medical Council has clarified guidelines for doctors dealing with girls under 16 years of age who seek abortion and contraceptive advice. (Guardian)
- 28-6-83 Mrs. Jill Knight MP objected to the GMA guideline to doctors not to tell parents if they prescribe contraception to girls under 16 years of age. (Guardian)
- 4-7-83 Population Services, an international charity has accused the Advertising Standards Association of being oversensitive for refusing two adverts about vasectomy. (Guardian)
- 7-7-83 Doctors are being urged to trace up to 8,000 women who may still be wearing an IUD contraceptive which is being associated with infertility, septic abortion and sometimes fatal infections. (Guardian)
- 19-7-83 A mother asked a High Court Judge to rule that none of her five daughters should be put on the pill while under the age of 16 without her consent. (Guardian)
- 27-7-83 A mother lost her attempt to stop a circular from the DHSS advising doctors that they can give contraception to under-age young people without parental consent. (Guardian)
- 4-8-83 The mother who lost her high court battle on under age contraception is to appeal. (Guardian)
- 11-8-83 The advice clinic on contraception for under age girls in Northampton continues to have the approval of the Family Planning Association. (Guardian)
- 2-5-83 **Corporal Punishment:** The National Association of Head Teachers voted to phase out and abolish corporal punishment in schools. (Guardian)
- 6-5-83 Governmental indecision over what to do about corporal punishment in schools came in for criticism from Fred Jarvis, the General Secretary of the NUT at their annual Conference. (Teacher)
- 29-7-83 The Government will not abolish corporal punishment in schools but parents will have right to exempt their own children. (Guardian)
- 29-7-83 STOPP, the anti-caning pressure group, plans to do all it can to undermine the DES plan to give parents the right to opt out of corporal punishment for their children. (TES)
- 5-8-83 European Foreign Ministers are being asked to put pressure on Britain to speed up its plans for limiting corporal punishment in schools. (Guardian)
- 2-9-83 the National Union of Teachers has condemned the decision by the Government to give parents the right to opt in or out of corporal punishment for their children. (Guardian)
- 9-9-83 The Liberal Party has condemned the Government's plan to allow parents to "opt out" of corporal punishment as an "unworkable device". (TES)
- 13-6-83 **Counselling:** A report from the Further Education Unit recommends advice bureaux for teenagers to be called personal guidance bases. (Guardian)
- 28-5-83 **Delinquency:** A study from the University of E. Anglia finds that many courts are ignoring the 1970 juvenile court rules which say that defendants should be told of the substance of school reports if relevant. (Guardian)
- 1-6-83 The Community Service Order Scheme was launched yesterday in only 12 of the expected 53 areas. Probation Officers blamed the Home Office and local authorities for failing to find the funds. (Guardian)
- 7-6-83 A Devon C. Council Report states that supervision orders are more effective than Borstal or detention centres at discouraging young people from re-offending. (Guardian)
- 17-6-83 A task force has been set up in Japan to study teenage violence and reports that juvenile delinquency is still less prevalent in Japan than in Great Britain or the United States. (TES)
- 15-8-83 Gamblers Anonymous is setting up a junior branch for Britain's fruit machine addicts. (Guardian)
- 19-8-83 The Football Association has issued new tough guidelines to improve crown control and reduce terrace violence. (Guardian)
- 19-8-83 Three new films on crime prevention amongst teenagers have been issued by the Home Office. (TES)
- 2-9-83 New powers given to magistrates have caused a sharp rise in the number of young people being locked up and some establishments are overcrowded. (TES)
- 9-9-83 The Labour Campaign for Criminal Justice urges closing the short sharp shock treatment scheme and replacing it with a more constructive system. (TES)
- 3-6-83 **Disabled/Handicapped:** The experience of special schools had shown that even children and adults with severe epilepsy could take part in practical and outdoor activities in complete safety, despite the fear and ignorance that this was not so. (TES)
- 8-6-83 A report from RADAR (Royal Association for Disability and Rehabilitation) warns that disabled people look certain to lose more services over the next year, due to a combination of cuts in social services and erosion of benefits. (Guardian)
- 24-6-83 Parents of some mentally handicapped children though that special schools were a form of punishment. (TES)
- 1-7-83 Special schools would not close as a result of the 1981 Education Act, stated Junior Minister Robert Dunn. (TES)
- 1-7-83 MENCAP states that mentally handicapped people can successfully take part in mainstream adult education classes. (TES)
- 6-7-83 The Disability Alliance publishes a review of how disabled people have fared under the current administration. (Guardian)
- 20-7-83 The Government defended its policy which bars thousands of elderly people who cannot walk from receiving mobility allowances. (Guardian)
- 29-7-83 Computer teaching aids for the deaf have been developed by a special education micro-electronics research centre in Manchester. (Guardian)
- 3-8-83 A pioneering home care unit for diabetic children is threatened with closure from October. (Guardian)
- 27-8-83 Disabled married women seeking to obtain the Housewives Non-Contributory Invalidity Pension are advised to obtain a special questionnaire produced by the Disability Alliance. (Guardian)
- 31-8-83 A third of parents of Down's syndrome children believe that such babies are so handicapped that doctors should be permitted to kill them or allow them to die shortly after birth. (Guardian)
- 5-9-83 The NAS/UWT warn that parents could be misled by the 1981 Education Act into believing that ordinary schools were able to give children with special educational needs the same kind of education as they would normally receive in special schools. (Guardian)

benefits

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

Main Increased Contributory and Non-Contributory Benefit Rates: Sept: 1983

	Existing weekly rate £	Proposed weekly rate £		Existing ordinary weekly rate £	Existing long term weekly rate £	Proposed ordinary weekly rate £	Proposed long term weekly rate £
Child Benefit							
Each Child	5.85	6.50					
One parent benefit			Supplementary benefit				
First or only child of certain lone persons	3.65	4.05	Couple	41.70	52.30	43.50	54.55
Standard rate of retirement (additional 25p over 80) and widows' pensions, and widowed mothers' allowance			Person living alone	25.70	32.70	26.80	34.10
Single person	32.85	34.05	Non-householder - age 18				
Wife or other adult dependant	19.70	20.45	Non-householder - and over	20.55	26.15	21.45	27.25
Earnings limit for retirement pensioners	57.00	65.00	Non-householder - age 16-17	15.80	20.05	16.50	20.90
Standard rate of invalidity pension			Any other person aged:				
Single person	31.45	32.60	11-15 years	13.15		13.70	
Wife or other adult dependant	18.85	19.55	Under 11 years -	8.75		9.15	
Invalidity allowance						Existing weekly rate £	Proposed weekly rate £
Higher rate	6.90	7.15	Boarders personal expenses				
Middle rate	4.40	4.60	Ordinary - couple		17.00		17.70
Lower rate	2.20	2.30	Ordinary - single		8.50		8.85
Standard rate of unemployment benefit:			Long term - couple		18.90		19.70
Beneficiary under pension age			Long term - single		9.45		9.85
Single person	25.00	27.05	Heating additions to supplementary benefit				
Wife or other adult dependant	15.45	16.70	Lower rate		1.90		2.05
Beneficiary over pension age			Higher rate		4.65		5.05
Single person	31.45	34.05	Central heating additions				
Wife or other adult dependant	18.85	20.45	Lower rate		1.90		2.05
Standard rate of sickness benefit:			Higher rate		3.80		4.10
Beneficiary under pension age			Estate rate heating additions				
single person	25.00	25.95	Lower rate		3.80		4.10
Wife or other adult dependant	15.45	16.00	Higher rate		7.60		8.20
Beneficiary over pension age						Existing level £	Proposed level £
Single person	31.45	32.60	Supplementary Benefit - Capital cut-off			2500	3,000
Wife or other adult dependant	18.85	19.55	Supplementary Benefit - Capital limit for				
Widows' allowance (first 26 weeks of widowhood)	45.95	47.65	Supplementary Benefit - single payments			300	500
Maternity allowance	25.00	25.95					
Attendance allowance			Main increased housing benefit rates			Existing weekly rate £	Proposed weekly rate £
Higher rate	26.25	27.20					
Lower rate	17.50	18.15	Needs allowances				
Retirement pension for persons over pensionable age on 5 July 1948 and for persons over 80 (additional 25p)			- single person		41.40		43.05
Higher rate	19.70	20.45	- couple/single parent		61.00		63.50
Lower rate	11.80	12.25	- single handicapped person		46.15		48.00
Non-contributory invalidity pension	19.70	20.45	- couple (1 handicapped) or				
"Therapeutic" earnings	20.00	22.50	- single handicapped parent		65.75		68.45
Invalid care allowance	19.70	20.45	- couple (both handicapped)		68.00		70.80
Increase of non-contributory invalidity pension and invalid care allowance for a wife or other adult dependant	11.80	12.25	- dependent child addition		11.40		11.90
Mobility allowance	18.30	19.00	- (from April 1984 this addition will increase to £12.90.				
Guardian's allowance, child's special allowance	7.95	7.60					
Rate of benefit for children of widows, invalidity, non-contributory invalidity and retirement pensioners, invalid care beneficiaries; unemployment and sickness beneficiaries when claimant is over pension age	7.95	7.60					
Rate of benefit for children of all other beneficiaries	0.30	0.15					

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Due to errors in the layout of the article written by Marilyn Moos in the last edition this contribution may have at times been difficult to understand. This is due entirely to poor editing and apologies are offered both to the author and readers.

YOUTH the journal of critical analysis AND POLICY

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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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