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dangerous youth or dangerous myths?

DUNCAN SCOTT

In the mid 1970s I worked with a secretary who lived about a mile south of the area of Moss Side (in turn about a mile or so south of the centre of Manchester). She came to work at the University every morning on a Corporation bus which cut through Moss Side. On Fridays she walked to the newly opened shopping precinct there and filled her bag at the supermarkets. After a while she stopped going, and a year or two later moved to a flat in the distant suburbs.

I was interested in her 'pictures' of this piece of the inner city because as a White woman whose children had grown up and left home and now living on her own in the city of her birth, her views were probably more representative (whatever that means) than those of many of my nomadic colleagues.

At the heart of it all were the Black youngsters. They talked loudly and excitedly in groups. There was lots of movement and it was threatening. She felt they were watching her and her bag. Not feeling safe she abandoned first her shopping routine and then, more traumatically, her neighbourhood. Many complex factors were associated with the latter decision. But one stood out - her perception of the area of Moss Side. It had become 'full of Blacks' who were 'hanging around' and 'dangerous'.

One rather lonely and perhaps easily-influenced middle-aged woman is a pretty thin sample, and yet I have a nagging worry that her perceptions are not all that rare. In a sense I'm not sure they are her perceptions at all - rather she merely illustrates how institutional definitions have very concrete individual effects.

In particular we are increasingly accustomed to reading about a small number of inner city areas (Brixton, Handsworth, Moss Side, Toxteth) in the same contexts as references to Black youth and 'problem'. **The causes** of problems are also related in these accounts to the same Black young people, who are seen as principal determinants of the characteristics of certain of our inner urban areas. It may be that such 'explanations' are understandable in the face of the multi-dimensional complexity of the problems - to simplify is a common enough human response.

What is of great concern, however, for students of youth policy and youth work is the way in which this simplification tends to systematically point the finger at relatively powerless categories and communities. Such a tendency has moreover persisted in the face of contrary evidence. For example, in Moss Side and Manchester the coincidence of corporate planning developments (the Moss Side District Centre, ironically recently re-named with the prefix 'Alexandra') and incidents involving Black young people allows us to more easily identify the relativce significance of causes and effects. Indeed there is now overwhelming evidence - publicly available - that planning mistakes, shifts in the commitments of Finance companies and in those of multiple retailing companies have been at least partially masked by crude references to black youngsters.

One common response to this form of stereotyping - of an area and/ or particular racial/age groups - is to demonstrate how 'solid, respectable' people constitute the majority of the population. We are then treated to a (frequently helpful) eulogy of their achievements. A good example of this is given by Tony Lucas[1]. Amidst the many correctives to negative labels of a piece of inner London, one image stands out and that is his introductory one i.e. the photograph of the Black members of the "Mechanics Concord Lodge, gloved and sashed, assembled together for their anniversary service". Things are not so bad after all.

However helpful these respectable pictures may be, they still let some fundamental questions slip away. Other responses are possible which identify the fundamental causes of inner city decay and how they are being hidden behind the references to black youth. The policy maker and the youth worker must be made to face these political and economic features before extolling the virtues of Black Freemasonry or the solidity of Pentecostalism. After all, the latter are partially contained by and in response to political and economic realities - they are not simple products of 'culture', whatever that may mean. We need therefore to make visible the connection between the changing characteristics of an area and the powerful forces which are responsible. Otherwise, the only antidote to bad labels consists of an appeal to Samuel Smiles. Radical youth workers too, need to equip themselvces with the details of how the reputations of their inner city territories are generated and sustained: their all too frequent bursts of rhetoric are ultimately unconvincing and counter productive, however unfair such a judgement may seem.

The following account is about one area - Moss Side[2] - and in particular it outlines how the MSC seems to be the latest institution reinforcing a dangerous myth. Part of a study of Ethnic Minorities and Unemployment, which is devoted to Moss Side, is outlined and analysed in terms of its dominant assumptions. The question is then asked as to why particular modes of expla-

nation prevail. Finally, this critique of the MSC case-study is complemented by a review of the theoretical and practical implications of a Moss Side-based account of recent local efforts towards the construction of a more positive identity for the area. This consists of an as yet unpublished account of five years of community education[3].

How an area's 'reputation' or 'character' is built up and reinforced is a complex explanatory issue. What is more straightforward is a catalogue of the dramatic and damaging consequences. But if we do not expect an individual secretary to possess an accurate picture of the changing social and cultural composition of a nearby slice of her native city, we must surely demand more of large government agencies and their researchers. Sadly, a recent reading of a study of Ethnic minority involvement in MSC programmes by R. Stares et al.,[4] does not redress that balance. After all the attention of the media and itinerant researchers to Moss Side this MSC product, careful and systematic though it may be in many ways, provides yet another example of the dangerous myth-making which is reaping its own bitter rewards.

In order to understand why I respond in this way to the MSC publication it is important to sketch in its content and relevance for Moss Side.

Pictures of an inner city area - MSC style

At a time of mass unemployment it is becoming increasingly clear that racial or ethnic minorities are disproportionately affected. The MSC research study - of Southall, Handsworth and Moss Side - is therefore to be welcomed to the extent that it focuses on the nature of this disadvantage and even offers hope of relevant responses. It consists of a 19 page summary of the general conclusions of three researchers plus three case studies of the different areas.

Encouragingly there are a number of bold criticisms of the way MSC has failed to respond to ethnic minority needs[5]. It is also clear that research on ethnic minority self help groups (EMSHG) - the central focus within each of the three chosen areas - is very difficult. For example, in the case of Moss Side the initial list of 65 groups was eventually reduced to only 17 because of the non-existence or unsuitability of most organisations.

Not surprisingly therefore there are errors of fact. We are told that the Family Advice Centre is run solely by White workers, when in fact it has probably the most multi-racial team and clientele in the area. This agency, which has been operating in a similar form since 1968, subsequently complained through its local M.P. to the MSC about such misrepresentation. The reply from MSC Chairman David Young noted that:

> ". . . the researchers would appear to be stating the facts when they said the centre was run by two experienced white social workers . . . The research . . . does not deny the multi-racial nature of the centre."
>
> (David Young to George Morton M.P., 22.12.82)

To repeat the facts - the FAC workers are Black, Brown and White.

The report notes that all other groups interviewed or heard about were run by Blacks. Indeed it ventures to describe the final sample of 17 agencies as the product of ". . . keeping to a purist line on the meaning of self help . . ."[6]. Yet two of these are municipal youth clubs, and at least one is again multi-racial. Other minor errors exist (the date of opening of the shopping precinct[7] and the implicit location of the Greater Manchester Youth Association[8], but at the end of the day these are predictable and a price to pay if we want researchers to come in, visit an area and produce a competent report fairly quickly. I can hear the crackle of local irritation about minute 'howlers' but suspect this is common-place. If the sum total of errors came to no more than this all would be relatively well.

At a more general and explanatory level all is not that well on at least two counts - one of which I do not want to do more than mention here. In the first place the whole assumption of the report and its related sponsors is based on contestable notions about:

(i) the relevance of self help strategies to the needs of ethnic minorities;

(ii) the longer term efficacy of separatist stances in welfare provision particularly in urban areas with relatively **low** minority concentrations as is the case in Manchester;

(iii) the taken for granted assumptions about the use of 'intermediary' agencies by the MSC in its struggle to be seen to be coping with unemployment.

All of these related policy points deserve more detailed critical attention, and I would want to argue against each in their turn. But they are not specifically related to Moss Side -the central concern of this paper.

More crucially, the MSC researchers situate their tables of figures within two pieces of characterisation which serve to further negatively underline the status of Moss Side. On the one hand the **area** is directly and virtually exclusively associated with Black people from the Caribbean, whilst an association is then made between the failure of the new multi-million pound shopping precinct and local (Black?) vandals.

Despite a rash of tables demonstrating how at least **three quarters** of the people of inner Manchester are **White,** we read that Moss Side has a predominance of 'West-Indian' residents[9]and that the area is "predominantly West Indian in character"[10]. What is the meaning of 'West-Indian' when MSC's own figures reveal that almost half of these so-called 'West Indians' were born in the U.K.[11].This latter point is surely crucial when referring to **young** unemployed Black people.

It is not possible to excuse such sloppiness because the same Report commendably makes much of the 'conceptual barriers', 'racial stereotypes' and 'pernicious gossip'[12]likely to distort the perceptions of local MSC administrators[13].

The final link in the damaging myth is made in an assessment of the new shopping precinct. This was opened in 1975 and within less than 3 years the city council was forced to buy out the property company with which it had originally entered into a contract (**Manchester Evening News,** M.E.N. 8.12.77).

In a section headed 'Key Labour Market Characteristics' the MSC researchers examine the prospects for retail service employment. We are informed that 400 small shops were destroyed in re-development and that these have been replaced by the letting of 52 of the available 91 retail units in the precinct. The crucial section of this review seeks to account for the exit of three large supermarkets from the new development.

> "These stores moved out not long after opening up because they could not tolerate the vandalism on their premises, shoplifting and the violence towards their staff."[14]

The circle is now complete. We have a 'predominantly West Indian' area and an explanation for the depressed employment opportunities for school-leavers in at least one important sector of the labour market. Enter left the menacing figure of the black vandal - even more frightening the **group** or perhaps 'horde' of them. My secretary's fears are confirmed. If Asda, Boots, the Coop and the MSC say so then it must be true.

Explaining the Explanations

Why has this form of explanation, without any qualification, prevailed in an apparently very thorough and no doubt financially well-supported piece of research? We are, after all, not talking about a cluster of corner shops. The Moss Side precinct cost over £4 million and the City Council had to spend £2.2 million on "social grounds" to take it over. Such expenditure represents a major commitment by the local authority in the face of parallel expenditure on the whole of Manchester's Inner City partnership programme of only £6 million.

Could we say the researchers were in a hurry and hadn't time to reflect upon the local statements of Job Centre employees and so on? Then again, perhaps they simply talked to the wrong people. Certainly there is ample evidence that the 'conceptual barriers' previously attributed to MSC staff are shared by local councillors and the local press[15]. Is it possible that even the members of local self help groups shared in the conceptual confusion? When they talked, for example, to staff of the Family Advice Centre in the summer of 1980, could they have obtained an alternative prespective?

It has to be stressed, at the outset of any alternative perspective on the social and economic characteristics of Moss Side, that there have been 'incidents' of vandalism, shoplifting and so on. Not surprisingly these have often involved Black young people. No one is proud of all that. What is at issue is the superficiality of supposedly authoritative commentaries upon the problems of this area. Clearly there are shop keepers, supermarket owners and customers who perceive Black young people in a certain way. How far we must accept their **perceptions** as a comprehensive and sufficient **explanation** is a matter for very serious scrutiny. All of which is not to deny their reality, and its basis in actual experience. When however we are examining the investment of millions of pounds and then utilising case-studies of all this as part of a policy-making process by a major arm of government - the MSC - a halt must be called to the easy acceptance of damaging myths. If analyses of Moss Side's problems are to be used as a justification for policy developemnts then we need additional information.

Even a cursory familiarity with the politics of urban re-development in inner areas will bring an awareness that what is involved - architect, planner, housing department, contractor, financial section etc. - is difficult to co-ordinate. It will be no surprise to many therefore that Manchester City Council was deciding **not** to build high-rise flats adjacent to the proposed shopping precinct even as demolition of the old terraced property was just getting under way. The 'system' was unable to digest its new position on high-rise quickly enough. But in the end the number of people in the Moss Side neighbourhood, as potential customers, was effectively halved. Of course such decisions did not stop some high-rise deck access being built in the first phase, nor the basic shape of the precinct. The local authority, in some form of uneven and subsequently short-lived partnership with Ravenseft Properties (principal subsidiary of one of the largest property companies in the U.K.) was never able to fully control the processes of re-development.

This political turbulence, constantly underlined and sharpened by a variety of community action protests, was paralleled by economic changes which were to alter the whole climate of viability of sub-regional shopping cum leisure centres. Within a year or two of opening the retail units, two trends were convergent. Firstly the major supermarkets intensified price-cutting campaigns and rationalisations of their outlets. When Boots and Asda left Moss Side they opened larger stores in the city centre and Longsight respectively. It was also clear in 1977 that capital costs, interest rates and the general economic climate were less conducive to profit margins than they had been at the beginning of the decade.

Administrators of pension funds, insurance companies and property developers had been using their pocket calculators and acting accordingly[16]. At a local shop level it was reported (M.E.N. 8.12.77) that 28 of the 63 tenants were witholding rent and there had been three bankruptcies. Rents were high and takings were lower than expected.

Such political and economic realities in their turn require higher levels of explanation which connect to models of the way our society operates. But, if we stay at a more local level, it is perhaps partially understandable why the MSC explanations omit these. After all the local media has seized on the Black vandal angle. We read headings such as 'Terrorised' (M.E.N. 8.12.77) and 'Store giant quits vandal-hit centre' (MEN 2.2.80). During 1976 and 1977 there were a number of 'incidents', some of which involved shop-lifting and scuffles between store management, police and young people. These events were subsequently offered by spokesmen for Boots and Asda as major factors in their decision to leave the shopping precinct.

Not only are the media to blame. In October 1979 the Moss Side Job Centre itself carried for several weeks an advertisement stating that people in Manchester 14,15 or 16 (i.e. Moss Side, Hulme, Whalley Range etc.) need not apply for a particular job. After a variety of angry protests it was withdrawn (M.E.N. 30.10.79).

Definitions of the nature of social problems carry weight if they are associated with 'legitimate' and 'respectable' institutions. The media, local council or the MSC are relatively well resourced in comparison with the various self help groups in Moss Side. Their views will count, and middle-aged secretaries are not the only people who will believe them. Inevitably then the myth of the 'dangerous' or 'bad' area is re-inforced. If a vigorous alternative definition is not available then all the MSC schemes in the world, all the promotion of self help, intermediary agencies and the like, will not replace the erosion of local self-worth and self-confidence.

Beyond negative myths

The giving of dogs and neighbourhoods 'bad names' is a process which reflects the distribution of power in our society, but it is not irreversable. Negative myths can be countered. At an individual and small group level, there are scores of hidden histories about the prowess of a boxer, football team, singer, group, poet or dance team. Across a wide range of 'cultural' activities the Black, Brown and White inhabitants of inner city neighbourhoods - within both formal and less formal institutions - have much that is positive to demonstrate. Similarly

there are examples of struggle around economic and welfare issues which reveal the determination and competence of the individuals, groups and organisations.

Much of this patchwork of achievement and struggle is 'contained' within specific and narrow areas of social life. It is unable to challenge the damaging myths about a whole area - in this case Moss Side - because of these forces (internal and external in origin) which fragment and dilute. An overall view of the richness of human resources - as an antidote to negativity - is less evident, but more urgent.

One collective response of an educational kind, designed to assist just such a process, is that of the Roots Festival Committee. Their account of five years of community education[17] provides insights into the political and administrative dilemmas inherent in this work, and raises a number of more theoretical and ideological questions.

At a superficial level, the descriptive detail of local practical struggle is a mixture of inspiration and near farce. 'Getting it right on the night' is a familiar problem written into the nightmares of Thespians and Gang Show organisers across the land. Much of the Roots story does no more than provide a simple account of an increasingly varied mixture of cultural performances and displays from obscurity through grudging acceptance to competitive sponsorship.

We get a glimpse that the struggle is not just about administrative matters - where to hold a cultural festival for example - but also about conflicting interests. Sadly the visible, dramatic confrontation with a police-sponsored drama group remains underdeveloped in this account. It is, however, worth noting that the period since the 1981 disorders has witnessed the most consistent and coherent community-based response to issues associated with police intervention for a long time. For anonymised references to these developments among people workers across Greater Manchester, see M. Marken and D. Smith, 1983.[18]

Moreover the contradictions of community education practice and the ambiguous layers of meaning within what is called 'culture' are barely analysed and explored. Here one is reminded of the perennial problem of the need to ". . . treat autobiography as one particularly rich type of historical understanding, but one with immanent biases and distortions."[19] Yet, on the other hand, such a critical tendency has to be balanced against the conclusion that for local people to achieve "A sense of time, place and connection 'is' revolutionary".[20]

Moss Side's Roots Festival has been 'revolutionary' in the sense that it has opened up local schools to a pageant of raw and sophisticated prformance, and it has overcome resistances both from within the constituency of performers as well as from the worlds of education bureaucracies. Those taking part have 'enriched' their lives because they have been able to ". . . express their own feelings about their culture and background in their own way"[21]. But, in the battle for Moss Side's reputation, it is surely time to ask if this is enough. Can we be sure that positive image-building will so inevitably result from such celebrations? At the heart of it all are unresolved theoretical and practical contradictions, both within the various racial and ethnic minority contributions, and between them and the majority of Moss Siders who are White and largely working class.

These contradictions can be illustrated diagrammatically. What we can call the central 'content' - detailed facts about particular people, their achievements and institutions - is predominantly Afro-Caribbean. Around the edge of this are 'performances' - the active involvement of singers, poets, dancers, musicians, cooks - which are more obviously multi-cultural. Even here the racial-ethnic mix largely stops short of the White working class who form the majority of the local population.

No doubt there are sound practical reasons for these distinctions - the central activists have been Afro-Caribbean and there is a relatively urgent need to present positive Black images in a White society. But some of the vibrant cultural mixture poses deeper questions. Should there be any distinction as to who or what is drawn into the centre of things? Does the very existence of an ethnic or racial lable provide an entry ticket? The cynic might cry 'Wheel on the pluralist variety-show with exotica from our fascinating world'. We may not be far away from the 19th century exploitation of Black people as entertainers if this is the case. Cultural celebrations are not automatically useful, for 'culture' is not a simple, unchanging and neutral term. All of which reminds us that there is no easy distinction between the strictly 'practical' and the more theoretical, we have to insist on the need to explore the varying meanings of the

> ". . . performance of the very colourful and moving African Fish Basket Dance, accompanied by the drums of the Amilcar Cabral Summer School." ... ". . . disco dancing by three local boys, the 'Ferrymans'" .... and .... "reading and miming to two poems by Linton Kwesi Johnson . . ."[22]

Such an analytical exploration is necessary if subsequent cultural performances are to be 'informed' by an unfolding understanding of how community education can contribute to a struggle against oppression.

These practical tensions and theoretical contradictions - between different ethnic and racial contributions - are but part of the picture. If they are intended to assist in the creation of a more positive image of Moss Side then they must grapple with more complex issues. For it will surely not be enough to promote content and performance unless there is some material grounding of this, some struggle at a cultural level with the bricks and mortar of oppression. Ultimately, some connectedness with those concepts of gender and class hitherto confined to a peripheral position as 'illustrative' or 'spectator' roles.

What this can mean, for community-based workers, is an injection into their 'curricula' of an understanding of the significance of that multi-million development which symbolises so much of their less visible political and economic oppression - the District Centre. After all, the disappearance of the large retail stores - so carelessly attributed by media and MSC alike to vandalism - has meant the erosion of the local labour market for young (largely female) school-leavers.

It is relatively easier to use fish-basket or disco dances and the poems of Kwesi Johnson; even to handle the visible and dramatic eruptions of conflict between local people - black and white - and fractions of the police. With such subject matter - multiple layers of cultural celebration and police-youth confrontations - there is a tendency to stress the 'performance' whether this is on a school stage or a Moss Side street. The drama of such community education is full of powerful rhetoric about the beautifulness of black achievement and the racism of 'Babylon'. In view of the very real organisational and political hurdles sur-

mounted by the Roots Festival activists over the last few years, it may seem churlish and remotely naive of a spectator to ask for more. Haven't these advances been remarkable enough? Can't we be confident that a new generation of positive imagery is being stimulated?

About the 'stimulation' I have no doubt. The various 'acts' of community education on stage and street endorse that. What I would reserve some judgement on is the extent to which such 'acts' are self consciously tied into the development of 'capacities'.[23] Is there a cumulative and collective competence concerning both an 'appreciation' and an organisational response to the relevant political and economic frameworks which circumscribe inner city life? The answer here is necessarily more ambivalent, for the task is enormously complex, and the resources of a community education network frighteningly finite.

On the balance side there is a real sense in which the experiences of Roots affirm the generalisation

> "... that autonomous organization has enabled blacks and women to 'leap-frog' over their fellow workers into direct confrontations with the state in the interest of the class as a whole."[24]

Comparable inroads into educational arenas by the indigenous white working class have been much less obvious. What could now legitimately be asked of all concened is a period of re-appraisal of the cultural contradictions and wider political purposes of such 'leap-frogging'. Those who have been left behind for instance may have much to contribute at a theoretical and practical level, or rather in that fusion of these activities which we call 'praxis'. Maybe the next festival will have a sequel to the fish-basket dance with actors and actresses portraying finance companies, city planning departments and even a 'walk-all over' part for the MSC!

Community-based workers must, therefore, look at financial and planning developments even whilst they are promoting cultural events **if** the aims of the latter are positive image-building. In this respect the potential of Roots remains partially undeveloped. How much has been learnt from the festivals? How far have they taken people in their struggles against the concrete political and economic inequalities which underpin the negative image-building by the media, retail chains and the MSC?

Clearly traditional cultural performances and their description are not enough unless connections are made between them and the fabric of inequality in contemporary Manchester. Some positive prospects may emerge from a recent offshoot of Roots ie. the Roots Festival Committee History Project. Ironically enough this is funded by the MSC and it remains to be seen whether the promotion of positive Black images in a White society can also critically relate to the 'messages' in the heart of the very sponsorship itself.

Listen to local groups all you MSC researchers. Come back and read what they have written about their neighbourhoods.[25] They too agonise over the conduct of some of their young men and women. But they are painting different and more positive pictures than is often realised.

The author would like to acknowledge the help given in writing this article by the multi-racial team of workers of the Moss Side Family Advice Centre.

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youth work periodicals

JOHN BALDOCK

The choice of journals in this review is no more than a reflection of what the review editor and I thought interesting. It seemed useful to compare a few of the more self-consciously 'radical' publications with the mainstream. In addition, upon investigating the size of print runs and distribution figures, it appeared important to examine some really big sellers that readers of this journal may not often look at. **Scouting** and **Guiding** were not within my original remit, but the size of their readership and sales (preponderantly news-stand sales) make it foolish to ignore them in a study of what is read by those who do youth work.

	No. printed	Frequency
Scouting	45,000	monthly
Guiding	35,000	monthly
Youth Clubs	7,000	monthly
I.T. News	6,000	bi-monthly
Scene	5,000	monthly
Youth in Society	4,000	monthly
Working with Girls	3,000	bi-monthly
Rapport	2,500	monthly
Schooling and Culture	1,000	three a year (termly)

These are journals specifically concerned with youth work. Of course many of those who work with young people may do most of their reading from less specialised publications like New Society or those dealing mainly with social work or education.

Youth workers are probably no better or worse than other professionals in keeping up with the literature. The jagged, multifaceted nature of the job and its unsocial hours do not encourage quiet reflection. As in all forms of social work, there is felt to be a wide gap between what is written and what is done. In youth work the suspicion of those who write, on the part of those who do, is as severe as anywhere. The journals are littered with comments like:

> "You may leave college bursting with a desire to implement radical ideas, only to be faced with the reality of nicked Mars bars, let down tyres, vomit in the toilets, virulent racism or or sexism, fed-up workers and unremiting bureaucracy. If your past personal experience hasn't helped you to deal with the chasm that can exist between what is done and what is said, then the seeds of disillusion can find a fertile breeding ground." **Rapport**, April 1983, p.8.

This quotation comes from what is relatively rare in **Rapport**, a piece about doing youth work. **Rapport** is essentially and deliberately a trade union journal (12 pages, free to members of the Community and Youth Workers' Union, otherwise £8 a year from 23 Longbridge Close, Tring, Herts HP23 5HQ). It is concerned primarily with members' interests. The recent preoccupations have been with the CYWU's reorganisation and new constitution and with issues like the impact of the MSC's Community Programme (the "CP contagion") on the pay and status of youth work. The current editorial group has taken a clear stand against the Thatcher government, a stand which the letter column reveals is not universally supported by the membership.

This is just one example of a constant undercurrent of conflict reflected in all the youth work journals; that between the political and tough-minded new guard and the more deferential, service-minded old guard. It is to be found in **Youth Clubs**, the much more practice-orientated journal circulated to the 7,000 members of the National Association of Youth Clubs. Here the letters column really brings out the backwoodsmen:

> "The people who go to youth clubs tend to belong to the lower level of academic achievement. Indeed you only have to see the sort of programmed activity that is successfully organized by branches to know that their clientele are, to put it in the nicest way, just a little bit 'thick'." (Issue No. 21, 1983).

However, that is not representative of the editorial content of the journal itself which is enlightened and intelligent if not particularly challenging. It sets out deliberately to help readers with the very immediate problems of running a club: "whilst not discouraging the discussion of general issues in work with young people, we aim to keep the magazine firmly rooted in practice" (Issue 18, 1982). In this it succeeds, though it is a policy which means, for example, that there has been no discussion in **Youth Club's** pages of the Thompson report. The magazine is packed with accounts from youth workers of projects and activities they have carried out, with articles about money raising, club management and programme planning, with advertisements for hostels to go to and equipment to use. **Youth Clubs** also provides well-condensed primers on topical issues for workers to use in discussions and projects. Recently included have been: conservation and the world food chain, race relations, rape and sexual harrassment and unemployment. If I were running a youth club this is a publication I would not want to be without.

This last comment raises the issue of the criteria by which a youth workers' journal is to be judged. One relevant measure and one **Youth Clubs** tends to avoid, is surely the way a journal handles the gap between the general issues and the specific ones, between the everyday business of working with young people and the social and political context. Everyone knows that young people have been shoved into the frontline of Britain's increasingly ferocious war with its economic decline. Along with other relatively powerless groups, large numbers of young people bear the brunt of unemployment, low incomes, poor housing and starved social services.

In particular they face the consequences of increasing uncertainty about the future. We know that the old codes of behaviour, the old rules about what to learn, what to aim for and where to get it, have become unreliable. But the pace and ruthlessness of change means we rarely come up with respectable replacements. By "we" I mean those of us whose work and commitment is to teach, guide and help young people. There are few youth workers and teachers who have not felt that sense of panic on realizing they are chiefly the proselytizers and defenders of the discredited and the useless, who have not encountered that dreadful moment when the youngsters mock and we know they are right. It may be too much to ask that the journal we read each week or each month should guide us through this mire, but at least it should help.

Unfortunately there seem to be two rather unsatisfactory responses. One is to largely ignore changes in the wider context, to carry on optimistically about the routine mechanics of youth work. The other is to harp on at a very general level about economic, social and political issues. This mode of analysis often casts youth work into the role of a kind of disaster relief and presents young people as powerless victims. Judging by the circulation figures, most youth workers ignore this latter approach, or where they do respond to it, they say it gets up their noses. Some of the letters from practitioners in these journals may be read as reactionary, but they do reflect a strong impulse amongst youth workers to distance themselves from the social-work preoccupation with whether their customers are more troubled or troublesome, victimised or victimizers. Youth work is not primarily work with the marginals. It is much more a universal social service than social work.

One of the refreshing aspects of **Scouting**, a glossy, advertisement-rich, eighty page monthly, (£10.50 a year from Scouting, Computer Posting Ltd., 374 Wandsworth Road, London SW8 4TE), is its straight-forward confidence that there is nothing wrong with young people. The possibility is not discussed. Neither does one encounter a theme that forms a permanent undercurrent in other youth journals, the problem of control. The relationship between scouter and scout is reflected as easy and relaxed. I do not think this is to be explained in terms of conformist and deferential youngsters. **Scouting** regularly tackles all the standard "youth problems" of drugs ("... if the whole troop is glue sniffing then the Leader probably has an easier job than coping with one individual", p.509, Aug. 1983), sex (what to do when a scout tells you his girlfriend is pregnant, p.458, July 1983), unemployment and computers. Neither does it shy away from issues like racism or handicap. Admittedly the approach to these issues is largely individualistic. The emphasis is on positive steps young people can take, rather than the structured sources of their disadvantage.

There is, no doubt, a scouting view of the world, an ideology so firm and well-developed it remains largely implicit. While the militaristic and somewhat colonialist values some may associate with the movement have clearly disappeared, it remains team-centred, activity-orientated and emphasises the traditional 'virtues' of self reliance, order and planning. But the young people who look out from the many photographs in Scouting are clearly enjoying themselves. The youth service journals, in contrast, seem reluctant to photograph their clientele, but tend to contain rather bureaucratic shots of worthy officials. Where young people do appear, the pictures often seem to have been chosen for their threatening portrayal of some youth culture stereotype. In contrast, the August issue of **Scouting** ends with a perhaps cliched photograph of scouts on summer camp gathered round the gas-lamp as they "reflect over a bedtime drink on the sort of day it has been. A day of fun, frustration, of growing-up, of learning to live together." The main annual camp is still the "highlight of the scouting calender" and the journal reminds scouters "that your boys will recall the days at camp for years to come" and hopes they will capture what the picture portrays, "the magic of camping." There are problems with magic, but that scouting and guiding bring at least those moments of magic to the lives of thousands is its enduring achievement.

Apparent in all the youth work journals is the expanding debate about work with girls and a growing consensus that one of the better ways to escape the aggressive sexism that boys often import into mixed settings is to develop at least some girls-only programmes. This is what the girl guide movement has always done. For younger guides, activities are nearly always single-sex events, while for the older members, 15+, scouting and guiding often mean mixed activities. I was interested to see how **Guiding** (50 pages a month, £8.52 from the Girl Guides Association, 17-19 Buckingham Palace Road, London SW1 0PT), reflected any debate about appropriate female roles. One would be very hard put to accuse the journal of assuming sexual stereotypes. There is no more emphasis on traditionally female activities, cooking, cleaning, needlework, than one finds in **Scouting**. There is similarly a great deal about outdoor activities: camping, hiking, canoeing and so on. There is perhaps a slightly more explicit commitment to service (debate about the implications of the girl guide's Promise) and the religious component of guiding. For the most part, **Guidings** response to sexual divisions is to ignore them, a response which might be interpreted as either having left the old assumptions intact or as having trampled over them without a second glance. More careful study would be needed to find the answer, but I suspect that men who seek docile, home-loving wives should steer clear of former guides. Both **Scouting** and **Guiding** avoid the recuperative and paternalistic tone that infects other youth journals. Perhaps the prime value transmitted in their pages is that young people are as capable and as worthy as anyone else, an inherently radical assumption in our society.

It is also a value that the best examples of Intermediate Treatment strive hard to inculcate. Part of their job is to liberate youngsters from self-images of failure and inadequacy. Indeed accounts of what actually happens on IT programmes can read remarkably like descriptions of scouting or guiding. An article in **IT News** (16 pages, six times a year from IT Resource Centre, Quarriers Road, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire PA11 3SA) about Tayside groups lists the working principles of the staff: acceptance, communication, security, non-rejection, challenge, participation and support - a neat summary of the principles of the modern scout movement (**IT News** No. 33, p.12). The activities are very similar too: "camps, roller skating, fishing, barbecues, assault courses, the use of residential centres, fencing and the use of bicycles and motor cycles". There is a certain irony in that the most 'progressive' forms of care for delinquent and vulnerable youngsters should so closely and apparently, unwittingly mimic the oldest and most traditional forms of youth work.

IT News is a Scottish publication and therefore, in part, reflects the particular organisation of juvenile justice north of the border. However, its concern is national and it is important reading for those involved in I.T. schemes everywhere. It is strongly

stamped with the remarkable energy and commitment of its editor, Alan Dearling. It reports on conferences, publications and policy documents relevant to I.T. and also contains descriptions from practitioners of interesting projects. **I.T. News** is rather infected by the turgid language of social workers. Terms like "inter-agency co-operation", words like "model" and "input" occur persistently, and we are told, for example, that a new centre has as one of its aims "to offer support and development to individuals . . . identified as being in need of a wider range of opportunities, advice and guidance, self-development and eventual autonomy" (p. 35).

Youth Service Scene and **Youth in Society** come from the same stable, the government-funded National Youth Bureau. Both are edited by Ric Rogers. They exhibit a high degree of journalistic professionalism, a certain slickness. Unlike the other journals reviewed here, there is the impression that the content has been selected and reduced from a great deal more available material. **Youth Clubs** is perhaps the nearest equivalent to **Youth Service Scene** (12 pages, monthly, £4.80 per year, from NYB, 17-23 Albion Street, Leicester LE1 6CD), but the two are rather different, and, from the point of view of practising youth workers, they compliment one another. While **Youth Clubs** has its nose very close to the ping-pong table, **Scene** stands back and reports on issues of a more general and national relevance. It contains a news section summarising policy, resource and professional changes in the education, youth and community services. It monitors such issues as the dispute over funding between the ILEA and the Scouts. In the run-up to the election, **Scene** provided a clear account of the main parties' youth policies and, after it, a sharp analysis of data on young people's voting behaviour or rather their failure to vote. In November 1982, the newspaper contained a special supplement on the Thompson report and it has since maintained the debate with articles and in its letter columns. The "Day in the Life of ..." feature provides an interesting insight into the routines and ideas of national officials, education officers and frontline youth workers. **Youth in Society** (30 pages, monthly £10.50 a year, also from the NYB), has a magazine rather than a newspaper format and is aimed at a wider audience than youth workers themselves. It adopts what might broadly be described as a 'sociological' interest in youth and services for youth. **Youth in Society** contains a regular sprinkling of articles from academics attempting to popularise their research, though these appear to produce little response other than the usual esoteric bickering from other academics. Besides these are accounts of projects and experiments from practising youth workers that might be found in any of the other publications reviewed here. Perhaps the most useful parts of the journal are its very comprehensive information digests which provide a monthly summary of planned conferences, new initiatives as well as summaries of reports and articles published elsewhere.

Some might argue that **Youth in Society's** weaknesses lie in its comprehensiveness. It provides a rather bland diet, not because the critical and the radical are excluded, but because they are leavened by the worthy and reformist. The NYB itself is currently under-going examination with the liklihood of reorganisation. It will not be easy to suggest ways in which both the NYB and its publications could do their jobs better without risking their trespassing into sectionalism. It is a measure of their achievement that **Scene** and **Youth in Society** would surely be the publications one would recommend to an outsider wishing to find their way round the British Youth Service and its current preoccupations. These two publications map-out the territory and define the central ground. They, therefore, inevitably incur the predictable criticisms of institutions that try to fulfil that sort of task.

Schooling and Culture (60-80 pages, £7 a year from Central Books, 14 The Leathermarket, London SE1) appears somewhat less than three times a year and is edited by staff of the Cultural Studies Department of the ILEA's Cockpit Arts Workshop. It is a large, handsome and presumably heavily-subsidised publication aimed at "those whose job is to work with young people and to educate them". Indeed most of the recent issues have been "produced by small collectives drawn from teachers and youth workers who came together to consider a theme or topic which had importance or relevance in the development of secondary education" (page 2, No. 11). The apparently unconscious, but barely-disguised and arrogant cliquishness of that last uninformative sentence is unfortunately rather typical of **Schooling and Culture**. In fact Issue 11, Spring 1982, was produced by the members of the Cultural Studies Department themselves and marked the beginning of an organizing theme that has dominated the last three issues. That is, that the state's response to youth unemployment particularly through MSC schemes, has been to systematically restructure the options open to school-leavers to an extent that "what you do beyond compulsory schooling is increasingly being decided for you." It is argued that this process is becoming so strong and pervasive that it has rapidly out-dated and made irrelevant previous attempts to achieve reform and initiatives in state education and the youth services. The front covers of issues 12 and 13 sport the cleverly-coded titles "The State We're In" and "Against the State We're In". This journal offers little solace to those who work in schools or the youth service. To read these densely-written pages is to enter a world in which things are either growing more oppressive or falling apart. I began to feel a sense of panic and despair only to be firmly told that this was an example "of that well-known mental disorder, teacher's hubris - the delusion that what teachers do should make the whole world of difference to pupils and their life chances" (p. 68, No. 13). It would be nice to be so daft.

A substantial part of the last two issues has been taken up with a fictional tale, of school and teachers, written by teachers: the "Markham Teachers Group". The story of "Keepham Down Comprehensive" vividly captures the exhausting mixture of agression, chaos and futility that is some school days. Nonetheless, **Schooling and Culture** does contain some useful and helpful contributions, for example an article by maths teacher, Phil Carspecken in Issue 13 on the experience of teaching in the threatened Croxteth Comprehensive School in Liverpool during its occupation by pupils, parents and staff between July 1982 and May 1983. In the same issue Philip Cohen and Adrian Chappell describe a ten-day school-leavers' course they devised and ran for ten typical low-achievers. It was a spectacularly well-endowed experiment. The students managed in the time to produce over 1,000 photographs and 50 hours of tape-recordings as well as enjoying a 5 : 1 student/staff ratio with tutors who had had time to prepare the course. The authors closely analyse the complex ways in which the students both altered and failed to alter their conceptions of themselves and their opportunities. The 'progress' was dismally slight. However, there was here an attempt to escape the dead-end of the youth-as-victims critique. At the same time, **Schooling and Culture** contains in many, though not all, of its articles that unpleasantly categorical, finger-wagging style of writing so unfortunately typical of the left. For example the sentences in

the last three paragraphs of Issue 13's introduction begin in the following ways:

> "What we must see first ... We have to admit ... It is just as flawed ... You'd have to make ... And if this situation was addressed it would inevitably require ... There is little point ... There is a real and pressing need ... To broaden the debate ... This is necessarily a process ... It requires situated theory ... It requires first and foremost."

And the best of luck to anyone taught by them!

Working with Girls Newsletter (20 pages, six times a year, £5.50 from NAYC Girls Work, Keswick House, 30 Peacock Lane, Leicester LE1 3UY) finds a way out of autocratic radicalism. I have left it until last because it is different and special. Its object is to "provide a forum for debate and discussion and information exchange and promote work with girls." These objectives may not seem remarkable, what is unusual is that the newsletter succeeds in achieving them.

It really is a forum for debate. The letters pages come first. People do write and respond to previous contributions. There is a genuine sense of debate. An article about the violent reactions of the boys in one youth club to a girls-only night, and the tensions this produced among the staff, has been discussed through a number of issues. There has been a steady flow of comment about Melanie Chait's film about being lesbian, "Veronica 4 Rose". Information is exchanged: "If you're interested in Scottish ladies football, please drop me a line", or "As we are just starting up we would be interested to hear from workers on similar projects". The newsletter is quite free of the didactic tone that creeps into the other journals. Habituated to a more conventional style, and more usual definitions of relevance, new readers may be suspicious and wonder why some of the contributions are there at all.

Actually each issue contains a core of articles round a theme. The last four issues have been about celebrations in different cultures, experiences of mixed youth clubs, training programmes for girls work, and how children play. Issues 17 and 18 will be about sexism and ageism.

What the Newsletter has achieved is to have found its own special tone and approach. In my opinion it goes a long way towards making that elusive link between theoretical and normative issues and the routine of daily practice. Youth work is conceived of as being fundamentally about attitudes, about exploring how one feels and responds to situations and pressures. The people who read and contribute to this publication do not reduce the business of organising youth club activities to a set of rules but, like "the bunch of mums" who set up one club that is described, they concentrate on "guiding and nudging tasks along in a way that fits in with the nature of the task, the natures of the people involved and the nature of available resources. Women are popping up and having a go and men are having a go at staying at home looking for wisdom to balance the knowledge" (p.7 No. 15). That is the essence of this rather extaordinary publication. It is about sharing wisdom rather than dispensing knowledge. The best parts of the other journals reviewed here are those that provide straight-forward and routine information for busy youth-workers. Their worst parts are where they lecture and exhort. As sources of shared wisdom in times of change and despondency they are generally lacking.

leaving care: a personal and political issue

MIKE STEIN

This article is based upon a research project which is following up for up to two years young people 16 to 19 years of age who left the care of a social services department during 1982. The research is generally concerned with finding out what happens to young people when they leave care and includes a descriptive account of their general life styles and experiences, a study of their perceptions and expectations and the support networks used by the young people. The main work on the project to date has included the completion of an exploratory study (consisting of a literature/research review, a selected sample of interviews with young people in and out of care and the views of members of in care groups about leaving care) and the carrying out of the first year's interviews in the selected authority. The substantive research will not be completed until the end of 1984 and therefore the status of this article is at the level of observations and impressions rather than research findings based upon completed work and rigorous analysis.

Statistical Data

Published government information in relation to young people leaving care (16 to 19 years old) is far less detailed than data on younger children in care. During the most recent year for which statistics are available (the year ending 31st March 1980), just under fourteen thousand young people 'legally' left care in England. As Table 1 shows the largest groups were 18 year olds for both young men and young women.

Table 1 - Young People leaving Care 16 - 19

Age Group	Total	Young Men	Young Women
16 and 17 years	5518	3523	1995
18 years	8047	4927	3120
19 years	360	238	122
	13925	**8688**	**5237**

Source: Children in Care of Local Authorities: DHSS: A/F80/12 /F80/12

Of this 18 year old group just under 40% had been in care for five years or more and another 31% had been in care between three and under five years.

In crude numbers this means that 5833 young people left care at eighteen years of age having been in care for at least three years or more. For this age group there has been a steady increase in recent years apart from 1977 (see Table 2)

Table 2 - Young People 18/19 leaving Care 1974/1979

Year	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979
Numbers in Thousands	7.1	7.5	8.3	8.1	8.4	8.7

Source: Children in Care in England and Wales March 1979

However there is a lot of information which is not available on young people leaving care from published government statistics. (The main sources are (i) Children in Care in England and Wales published annually by the DHSS from HMSO bookshops (ii) Children in Care of local Authorities Year Ending report - available only on request from DHSS). Perhaps most importantly we do not know either the type of placements **from which** young people 'legally' leave care (e.g. community home, foster care, lodgings.), or their placement **on leaving** care (e.g. own parents, continuing with foster parents, lodgings, etc.) The former is available to the DHSS but not collated and published, but the latter - their placement on leaving care at 18/19 - is not even requested from social services by the DHSS. Similarly there is no information demanded by the DHSS from local authorities on meeting their responsibilities under sections 27-29 of the Child Care Act 1980 to provide support and financial assistance for young people leaving care.

Some observations based upon our exploratory study and first year's interviews with young people leaving care

From the above discussion it does seem that the state as substitute parent doesn't want to know even some very basic information about its fourteen thousand young people, sixteen years and over, leaving their care. In addition there has been very little extensive research carried out to find out how these young people make out.

There are relatively few follow up studies [1] and these generally point to uncertainties and multiple problems, perhaps even to the extent of duplicating those situations from which young people were initially removed. As Mulvey has commented "Studies of children who have left care point to a pattern of constant movement, of loss of contact with family and friends, of high unemployment, and of unsatisfactory accommodation."[2] However there have been too few and perhaps too selective (e.g. focussing upon offenders, special types of residential care) studies completed to know how general this picture is. Our own study includes young people leaving care from 'all' care situations including residential care, foster care, 'home on trial', as well as, during our exploratory stage, the views of members of 'in care' groups. To us as researchers leaving care has not just meant leaving residential care. Our study then is both 'wider' and 'longer' than previous studies but nevertheless in relation to the total number of young people leaving care in any one year in this country it is still a very small scale one. Perhaps altogether including our exploratory study we will have listened to about 150 young people including about 50 over a three year

period. Listening to young people talking about their lives brings the past and present together but this is something we as researchers are not able as yet to present as a coherent link. Thus our selected observations of some of the most important areas are contained under two headings; the experience of care and leaving care.

The experience of care

As a first observation one is immediately struck by **the number of placements and movements** in care. For example John (who came into care at 3 and remained until he was 18): Foster parents- breakdown - assessment centre - large group home - foster parents - breakdown - assessment centre - large group home - another group home - working boys hostel - lodging in an old people's home - lodgings - council flat. The experiences of a significant number of young people leaving care at 18 is not dissimilar. For these young people their total social world (their family, substitute care, school, friends and neighbourhood) was frequently changing. Change was also mainly related to a crisis or breakdown situation.

A second observation concerns the **issue of identity** - an understanding of self and the care situation. Early entrants to care had problems - or still have - of knowing who they themselves were: they didn't understand why they were here, or why changes in care provision were made:

"it was bad not knowing my past. I didn't know until 5 years ago - I didn't know my parents' name. I knew their surname but not their Christian names or anything like that. I didn't know my parents at all. That's one thing - that I didn't have a past that I could remember. Later on my social worker managed to get my file out of the office, a big social worker's file. He got that and explained everything but until then I didn't know a thing."

"They just said I was going away for a break. After a couple of weeks I found out I wasn't."

"I remember the social worker coming to the school with my 2 brothers in the car and picking me up. I never got chance to say goodbye to the woman who had been fostering us. We went straight from school and took my two brothers to a home in B. and then I went straight from there to a home in N., a foster home and I never saw my brothers again until I was 10 years old. When I was taken away from the foster parents I had, for ill treatment, I went to a home in W. and then I got contact again with my two brothers and when I was about 13 years old I was asking about my parents because I'd never seen them in all that time. I found out my father had died and they'd never heard about it, so when I was about 13 years old the social worker arranged a meeting with my mother. It was a visit, when they came to visit me at the home I was at. We'd all gone out one day with other staff and other children to a playing field, and that was the first time I'd seen my mum from about 11 years. That was a very upsetting time."

"I didn't understand a thing until I got to be older and then I could understand. Things were never explained to me why things were happening, because of that - oh she's so young she'll not understand, just push her around she'll not know. It wasn't until I went to the home that I had anything explained to me and was told why things were happening and what was happening that when I was younger I could never understand why we had to be separated, my brothers and things like that."

A third observation concerns the issue of **preparation for leaving care.** Our literature review and exploratory study have highlighted the many gaps in preparing young people for leaving care. Practical areas identified by the Who Cares Project and National Association of Young People in Care (N.A.Y.P.I.C.)[3] include lack of opportunities for using money, shopping, cooking, buying clothes, washing, understanding services such as electricity, gas, telephone, rates, etc. However our impression from our interviews completed during the course of 1982 is that this is an area where progress has been made particularly in relation to the older group (i.e. 16 plus). Initiatives arising out of our study include more participation by young people within group homes as well as the use of professional foster parents and the development of independent living facilities.

Leaving Care

In a sense leaving care is being expected to assume instant maturity. As Burgess [4] points out the tendency in recent years has been to compress the transitional stage between childhood (as represented by compulsory attendance at school) and adulthood (the age of legal majority) to the point where it is now two years. For those leaving care this compression may include finding accommodation, adjusting to subsistence income, unemployment or the demands of a new job, and choosing between a set of new relationships or loneliness. If a young person leaves care at 16 without family support then all these things will have to be faced at once. Although physical age is important it is not alone. Maturity and ability to cope may also depend upon some of the issues already discussed - identity, stability in care and preparation - and how these are dealt with when the young person is in care. It is not surprising that young people's feelings are very mixed about leaving care. They often look forward to 'getting out' of care until about a year before they leave and then they often become frightened and worried.

"Excited frightened and sad. I couldn't wait to get away but I didn't want to go".

"It's still a blow. You can't go into care and be taken up in an institution without it having some effect on you . . . I want to get out but then I don't want to because I don't have anybody outside."

Our first leaving care observation concerns **accommodation and living arrangements.** Wolmar's work [5] highlights some of the housing problems facing young people leaving care particularly in relation to London. It may be that a significant number of young people leaving care drift to the large cities and find themselves homeless. This is certainly the experience of many voluntary organisations working with homeless young people in London. What homelessness usually means in London is drifting from hostels, to squats, to railway arches, as well as being highly vulnerable to exploitation such as prostitution and drug abuse. Young people with no family or close friends may literally disappear in London and other large cities. This may of course happen to other young people not in care - but it is the experience of many welfare organisations in London that the most vulnerable young people have often been in care. However it is a very inadequately researched area and there needs to be far more 'hard' data to back up individual 'horror' stories.

In relation to the Northern local authority in which we are undertaking our research the council have provided single person accommodation in every case where application has been made prior to the young person leaving care. Nevertheless problems of loneliness are often present.

"Well the first few days were Hell . . .

You see I had nobody to talk to and all that . . .
Boredom's the biggest part of it . . ."

In other words more thought needs to be given to the type of accommodation including links with other young people, previous placement and community links, but perhaps more fundamentally the expectation that young people should live 'on their own' at eighteen needs to be examined. According to Social Trends (1982) less than 1.5% of all 16-19 year olds live on their own. Why should society then expect some of its most vulnerable members to do so?

A second observation concerns **employmenmt and income level.** Very few of the young people we are following up are in 'proper' jobs. The majority are either on YOP's schemes or unemployed, the pattern being to pass from the former to the latter. The majority of our sample are therefore living on or in the margins of poverty - a significant number without any family support to fall back upon.

"Well me main problem is trying to get a job. Yes it gets me down a lot, cos you know there's nowt to do and nowhere to go. You get that bored and you end up nearly tearing your hair out . . ."

"You can't do a right lot without money. And I can't get any money without a job . . ."

But being out of work and having no money obviously affects all relationships - a political personal link beautifully made by Alan Bleasdale's 'Boys from the Blackstuff' not only in the dramatic impact upon Yosser Hughes but perhaps more subtley in relations to Angie, Chrissie and family.

For one of our young people in a good foster parent placement after completing a YOPS scheme and then having nothing to go to she became distant, feeling less worthy, less able to see herself as a full member of the family. This was picked up by her foster mother. *"I think you know . . . cos she aint working I think it makes her . . . she aint said nowt to me but I keep getting snatches back from other folks - I think she feels like a lodger"*

Unemployment and poverty in our society makes the strongest feel vulnerable, for those lacking confidence and low self esteem because of a difficult past and with little support in the present it is a devastating blow. Nearly all the young people we are following up left shcool at sixteen with no qualifications.

Thirdly, **loneliness and lack of support** are experienced by young people leaving care.

"When you come up against problems you haven't got anyone to turn to. You're rather frightened to go back . . . you don't feel you're wanted. You're not under their care any more, they don't have to look after you, and they're not paid to look after you, you are completely left on your own."

It does seem that in residential care, particularly CHE's and large group homes that the dominant sub-culture is the home, not the school, the neighbourhood or local 'gang'.

"I'd been too busy mixing with people in the home where everything is handed to you on a plate. Your friends are already there - your girl friends are there. So I had no friends outside and I found it difficult to mix. I think a lot of kids must feel that way."

For these young people leaving care is a major cultural change. Local Authority Social Service Departments are empowered to offer after-care support and financial assistance to certain young people leaving care under S.27 - 29 of the Child Care Act 1980. Our initial observations are that it is extremely difficult for generic social workers to be able to offer the specialist and intensive type of support required by some young people during the key transitional period from care to the community. The experience of members of in care groups from different authoritites in relation to financial assistance under S.27 - 29 of the 1980 Act is one of considerable variation. Some young people have received generous grants, others very little or nothing at all.

Summary

Young people leaving care at eighteen are likely to have been in care for a long time and experience many placements whilst in care. At the worst they may be uncertain as to some key areas of personal identity and poorly prepared for leaving. On leaving care they are likely to be in poverty, to be unable to take advantage of continued education and training, to be unable to get work and 'suitable' accommodation. They may be lonely and feel unsupported by social services. However, our interviews conducted during 1982 suggest that some progress is being made in our selected authority compared with our literature review and exploratory study. We have found examples of good flexible preparation particularly in relation to professional fostering and the development of independent living units. The policy of positive discrimination in housing is of great benefit to young people leaving care. More thought could be given to: the large number of movements by children in care which raises the issue of assessment and quality of placements; the whole question of personal identity including the system of secret files, the development of open life story books, and contact with natural parents; how care can provide a progressive increase in responsibility and preparation including the way financial and administrative systems may institutionalise young people and deny them the opportunioties to participate in decisions and activities that affect their lives; the educational position of young people in care; the type of after support and financial assistance offered by local authorities.

The problems faced by young people leaving care are both general and specific as well as linking political and private concerns.

Young people leaving care like many working class young people experiencing poor job opportunities, prolonged unemployment and a poverty level income. But our work would at least tentatively suggest not only are they more likely to find themselves in these circumstances but also the impact or personal cost of the 'political' is likely to be greater because of their past experiences (including their past family experiences, in care movements, lack of preparation) and less supportive present conditions - including accommodation difficulties and social isolation. I think there is perhaps a case at least for suggesting that being brought up in State care is a disadvantage at the same level as for example gender and its theoretical relationship with social class demands a similar exploration. I will not attempt that here but Pat Taylor and myself have introduced that debate elsewhere.[6]

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. We have a detailed bibliography list which we will send to any interested readers.
2. **Mulvey T.** After Care - Who Cares? Concern N.C.B. 1977.
3. See Concern No. 31 N.C.B. and Sharing Care N.A.Y.P.I.C. 1983
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feature review

this green and pleasant land

KEITH POPPLE

Ernest Cashmore and Barry Troyna
BLACK YOUTH IN CRISIS
George Allen and Unwin 1982
ISBN 0 04 362052 3 hardback - ISBN 0 04 362053 1 paperback - pp. 176

Ernest Cashmore and Barry Troyna
INTRODUCTION TO RACE RELATIONS
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983
ISBN 0 7100 9930 4 - £5.95 - pp. 272

Institute of Race Relations
ROOTS OF RACISM (Book One)
ISBN 0 85001 023 3 - £1.00 - pp. 28
PATTERNS OF RACISM (Book Two)
ISBN 0 85001 024 1 - £1.50 - pp. 44

Councils for Voluntary Service - National Assoc.
RACE IN BRITAIN - An information pack
£1.75 plus postage from the CVS, 26 Bedford Square, London WC1 3HU

Sheffield Youth Workers and the Sheffield Anti-Nazi League
RACISM - An information pack for workers with youth
50p from John Tate, Youth/Community Adviser
Education Department, Leopold Street, Sheffield S1 1RS

Race is one of the most complex and contentious issues in Britain today. It is highly emotive and charged with all kinds of prejudices and myths and to date has attracted little research which has really assisted in unravelling some of these negative and confusing aspects. During the last 18 months there has been a welcome spate of publications which have gone some way to inform students, practitioners and academics about the issue as well as education packs that can be used as anti-racist material with young people.

The publications reviewed here have different purposes. According to its cover **Black Youth in Crisis** may prove to be the most important race relations book of the 1980s; **Introduction to Race Relations** is a basic text book aimed at 'A' level and first year social science students; the two books from the Institute of Race Relations are an attempt to cover the history of black-white relations from the vantage point of the black experience; **Race in Britain** is an information pack that can be used for reference or as a teaching aid with a variety of groups and individuals; and **Racism: an information pack for workers with youth** arises out of concern about increasing support for racist ideas and organisations in the Sheffield area.

In view of its advance publicity and highly acclaiming cover advertising it as "an essential book of our times" **Black Youth in Crisis** turns out to be a valuable if disjointed collection of articles which appear to give conflicting views of the position of black young people in Britain. This is not entirely a weakness if one takes the authors view that the book "is a collection of guesswork. Systematic, informed and well-articulated guesswork".[1] This honest view of their position is particularly welcome in an area of research and practice in which further development will depend on exploring the contradictions and struggles within the black/white experience. The book's contributors for instance seem to be unaware of the points made by each other and certainly appear to be uninfluenced by them; a refreshing sign when some would argue that there should be a "correct line" on race.

Cashmore and Troyna's work is influenced by a phenomenological and ethnomethodological approach. This "telling it how it is" style is a cross between a descriptive essay ("We had earned our intellectual compass and were ready to sail amidst turbulent conditions to the shores of understanding. It was a chancy voyage, anyway, and even the hardiest and most willing of seamen can lose direction or sail round in circles"),[2] and scientific sociology. Some academics might find the style imprecise and lazy whereas practitioners without a smattering of sociology could experience the material as heavy going. Such are the problems of working in this way but the result is a valid if jumbled view of black youth.

In the opening chapter Cashmore faces head on the criticism that as white academics they have no right to produce such a book particularly when it could be used to keep blacks in check. Accepting that knowledge is a form of control and can be used for manipulative purposes Cashmore argues that the contributors only "harbour involvements with the betterment of black youth"[3] and that he is more comfortable in a world in which futile attempts are made at improving race relations than no attempts at all. This awkward reply reflects white man's long history of domination and exploitation of black people and Cashmore's offer of assistance could be interpreted as insincere and further underlining the power of white (in this case academic) over black (in this case youth). That does not seem to be the case although he does seem to be wading around in one hell of a contradiction.

The crisis of Cashmore's black youth in crisis is located somewhere in the culture of West Indians or black youth itself. He spends his chapter discussing young black's strategies of survival in a hostile world, or Babylon, in which they experience unemployment and very poor relations with the police in an increasingly depressing social environment. This in itself does not give the full story as black youngsters are part of a wider cultural matrix in which they may criticise "the oppressive white dominance of Babylon but still have worked as an electrical engineer in a white-owned company from 9 till 5".[4] Black young people move in and out of a whole range of cultural situations although the one thing that cannot be changed is their colour and its ultimate affect on their life-chances.

John Rex's contribution 'West Indian and Asian Youth' is delivered in a contrasting style to that of the editors. Instead of using the medium of the socio-descriptive essay Rex plays it

straight with a well researched, closely argued chapter on how young blacks enter and shape a British society which is riddled by intergenerational and class conflict which will bring them close to certain aspects of white youth culture but divides the from others. Rex similarly explores the differences between West Indian and Asian youth which although far from comprehensive does begin to open up a very neglected area of concern. His work will appeal to those who are more familiar with sociological thought and language although this chapter should not be missed by any who want to become more aware of the complexity of class youth and minority youth situations.

The chapters by Mary Fuller, "Young Female and Black", and Sheila Allen "Confusing Categories and Neglecting Contradictions", go some way to unthread the term black youth by examining the position of black girls and women. Fuller's work presents some interesting, empirical work on black girls in a London comprehensive school which makes a valuable contribution to the view that by treating black pupils as a sexually undifferentiated group one avoids the different methods by which females and males counter racism in schools. She also challenges the opinion held by some commentators that black women are not subordinated on the basis on their gender by showing that there is actually a double subordination at work, one of sex and colour which in turn structures their consciousness. This really is a fascinating contribution which is only marred by its brevity which prevents a more complete development of the material and of a more general discussion. Allen's work rejects the simplistic definitions of black youth and argues for a more detailed class analysis which will critically reappraise "the inter-relation of black experience, peasant and urban migrations and the socio-economic conditions underlying class formation .... in Britain".[5]

Contributions by George Fisher, Harry Joshua and Malcom Cross make up this useful if limited collection. Overall the book gives the reader insight into the difficulties of analysing the position of black young people in Britain and some of the problems and aspirations they share with white young people and those that are particular to ethnicity.

Cashmore and Troyna are prolific writers as no sooner had **Black Youth in Crisis** appeared on the book shelves than another book written solely by them was published. **Introduction to Race Relations** does not suffer from the lack of direction of their first book and does live up to its job of providing a basic book for those interested in race and ethnic relations.

The authors examine race as a concept of classifying people which has its roots in the 16th and 17th century when the European colonists needed some tools of analysis to make sense of the different religions, colour and customs they encountered in Africa, Latin America, and Asia. These adventurers met with technologically less advanced people and who consequently were considered inferior. The subsequent domination and enslavement of these nations by the European Empire builders in the 18th and 19th century gave rise to the feeling that the world comprised of different types of groups of races with some groups superior to others. Darwin's work in the **Origin of the Species** (1859) and its later re-interpretation gave further credance to the view that not only did man evolve but the different races might represent stages in the process, with the German zoologist Haeckel arguing that "woolly haired negroes" were much closer to their animal origins than the "more mentally developed race." These views found a vocal support amongst those who had desires of ruling and maintaining their Empires. Further understanding of race was not necessary if you could find theories to justify your actions in the colonies.

Since the second world war Britain and other imperalist countries have been unshackling the last remnants of their empire although as Cashmore and Troyna point out the thinking that accompanied and informed such exploitation and racism still remains in peoples minds. The book builds chapter by chapter on this view of history arguing that an understanding of the traditions of conquest, colonialism and empire are a corner stone to examining contemporary race-relations. This does not preclude each chapter being viewed as self-contained providing an analysis of different areas of race-relation. These chapters are wide ranging; including work, class, inequality, education, culture, disadvantage, ethnicity, youth, resistance, media, racism and reality.

The main criticism of this book must be the way in which so much has been skimmed through without documentation to support arguments. Although each chapter ends with a reading list which details further sources of information you are left with a feeling that unless you want only to hear that the heart of race relations lies in the development of capitalism and the colonial mentality you may not be aware of the complexity of race. In other words, admirable as an introduction to race relations the book fails to transmit some of the contradicitons and tensions that exist in black/white relations. The book should be used very selectively for teaching or studying purposes and must allow both black and white people to explore some of the difficulties faced by both groups in a society that has kept them ignorant of each other.

White Britons have never been offered a systematic explanation of why black people are living in their midst. Very few working class young people that I come into contact with are aware that the British Government actively encouraged the migration of West Indians to the U.K. in the late 1940's and during the 1950's. Even fewer realise that as Minister of Health Enoch Powell was engaged in recruiting West Indians to poorly paid NHS jobs. When Asians arrived in Britain in the 1960's the confusion in whites' minds increased as yet again little was done to explain their residence here. Blacks too had a shock when they arrived. Where was the country that boasted of being a green and pleasant land? The British text books read by young West Indians in their motherland never mentioned the inclement climate, the slum housing, and the dirty, smelly industrial areas in which the new arrivals were now expected to work and reside. West Indians may have known why they wanted to migrate to Britain and may have known little more about British society than the English knew about Afro-Carribean culture but it still did not prevent them experiencing a profound shock and disbelief on their arrival. Most West Indians' response was one of silent if painful acceptance for their inculcation of the English colonialist belief in Christianity, authority and respect for the land of hope and glory had been thorough and long established. The new black labour force quietly took their place alongside white men and women in the factories, and foundaries, on the buses, in the hospitals and at night returned home to some of the worst housing in our inner cities. Contemporary black young people with their identification with the "brothers on the block" do not take their subordination so meekly. Reisistance to Babylon is played out daily in the street of most large cities. The sight of uniformed police officers in such areas in the eyes of many black young people is the symbolic and actual rep-

resentaion of the colonialism and the oppressive policies that have been used in one form or another since the 16th century. The only difference is that the exploitation now takes place in the damp, dismal climate of Britain.

Two books that make a major contribution to understanding black-white relations from the black perspective are **Roots of Racism** (Book One) and **Patterns of Racism** (Book Two). Both books have been developed on the theme that the multi-cultural studies that exist in schools do not tackle the fundamental issues of racism. Generally speaking multi-cultural studies deal only with explaining differences in customs and culture whereas anti-racist education is a process, by which pupils can learn about the racism of their own culture and attempt to approach other cultures more objectively. The books attempt to get to the heart of racist attitudes by following a path not dissimilar to that tracked by Cashmore and Troyna by showing that the European colonial development was linked to the economic system which validated and encouraged the growth and development of racist practices. This historical documentation is far more comprehensive than that offered by Cashmore and Troyna and is all the more convincing. Book One is spent in explaining how racism grew out of and was then used to justify slavery by claiming that black people were uncivilised and barbaric and therefore in need of constant and harsh control. Eventually the slaves resisted and organised rebellions and escaped from the plantation owners who were spending increasing amounts of money on devising new methods of surveillance, supervision and punishment. Capitalism also changed and the demand for slaves lessened as larger profits were to be made out of exploiting land and resources rather than just people. Book two deals with different patterns of development of racism and colonialism in different parts of the world in the 20th century by looking at countries of large-scale European settlement (Australia, New Zealand and North America); countries with white minority rule (South Africa and Zimbabwe); and countries governed as colonial possessions (British West Indies, the rest of the Caribbean, India and Latin America).

These books are highly recommendable as material for the school curriculum or, for those working with young people in informal situations. They are lavishly furnished with photographs, maps, cartoons and drawings in an A4 format that makes it even more accessible to young people. The analysis is both penatrating and persuasive although suggestions at the end of each chapter for further work means students can form their own opinions in their own time. If teachers and youth workers carefully introduce these books when working with young people they could assist themselves and the youngsters in a process of critical judgement of their underlying beliefs and values as well as questioning the nature of contemporary society and its social and economic system. With young people's knowledge of race at such a poor level this work is a very welcome addition in the educative process.

Race in Britain an information pack is a series of loose leaf sheets on a range of topics related to race. The main headings are Britain's ethnic minority population, discrimination and disadvantage, government policies, promoting equal opportunity; aspects of policing - and a list of sources for further information. Similar to the previous publications this work locates racism in Britain's economic expansion in the world, its reliance on slavery and the rationalisation of black being inferior. **Race in Britain** spends little time on these historical antecedents as its main purpose is to provide information that can be used as teaching material when working with a range of youth and community groups. The outcome is a helpful if thin package of work. Migration and settlement for instance is dealt with on one and half sides of an A4 sheet with cultural backgrounds fairing a little better with two sides. Again further sources of material are referred to and if one is really to use this pack then extra reading will be necessary to meet the many questions that arise from the sheets. The argument that runs throughout this publication is that race relations has traditionally involved teaching white people about the different cultures of minority groups which has done nothing to tackle white racism, on an individual and institutional level. This work goes a small way in providing the education necessary to challenge and eventually dismantle this racism although this does not examine some of the tensions of working class black/white experiences and does not develop strategies for overcoming them.

A group of youth workers and teachers in the Sheffield area have been seriously concerned about the growth of support for racist ideas and organisations, and with the help of the local Anti-Nazi League they have put together a useful set of fact sheets. They acknowledge that most of the information has been borrowed from existing information packs but the result is a handy and cheaply priced document that can be used with young people. It's the type of pack that could, and perhaps should be published by all youth offices, certainly there is every case to give workers the resources to create one with the needs of local young people in mind. If youth workers are going to develop anti-racist education in their clubs and projects they must have the materials to do the job; this pack will help them in that task.

The economic hardships now being experienced by the working class in Britain will mean that the issue of race will be all the more poignant. The social-democratic consensus upon which much of our economic and social affairs have been settled is now breaking down, with contemporary government policies aimed at convincing the population that the nation is running into trouble and its people are living beyond their means; that sacrifices have to be made in order to establish Britain as great once more; that public services are wasteful and bureaucratic and we must be on the alert against outsiders whether Argentinians, Soviets or blacks. Fear of blacks is a crude form of class division and social control which in the present ideological climate causes ill feeling amongst blacks and maintains racism amongst the white population. The employment/unemployment dimension of race has always offered one of the most accurate guidelines to the state of black/white relations and there is no sign that the economic policies pursued by the present administration will do anything but increase resentment between the two groups. The introduction of a multi-cultural approach to the school curriculum and anti-racist education in youth work will achieve precious little if young blacks and whites continue to experience themselves as competitors for diminishing jobs and houses. Race could then become an area of confrontation rather than the more preferred integration.

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5. Ibid p. 146

action speaks louder than words

JENNIE FLEMING : MARK HARRISON : ALAN PERRY : DAVE PURDY : DAVE WARD

This article has been stimulated by the arguments in previous articles in Youth and Policy. We hope that the following paper will build on these articles and carry the debate about youth work practise on a stage further.

In this article we shall attempt to illustrate our concerns about current practise with youth. The practise we shall outline is firmly rooted in and connected to a critical view of the world in which we, both workers and young people, live.

The approach developed follows on from a view of the world similar to that outlined in P. Corrigans' article 'So What's Wrong With Social Democratic Youth Work In Any Case?'[1]

In this article he argues that having reached an analysis and understanding of the oppressive nature of capitalism and that simply 'to do nothing' or 'to lay low', and 'keep your head down' is inappropriate. P. Frieire takes this a stage further: "Washing ones hands of the conflict between the powerful and the powerless, means to side with the powerful, not to be neutral".[2] Corrigan goes on to say: "Having cleared that ground, I hope it leaves us with some clear notion that it is right to intervene. Yet there are some aspects of social democratic youth work which I feel need criticism, since as I said above it is a terrain of struggle, rather than 'right' or 'wrong'".[3]

Whilst sharing in the main this analysis we would go on to argue that the ideology we hold as workers is inevitably demonstrated in our practice.

> "That the business of linking theory with practice, so often an issue with which we struggle, must begin from the practice, out of which theoretical constructs can be drawn, rather than by attempting to make practice fit theory."[4]

Explicitly or implicitly our practice is a product of our ideology and will reflect that consciously or unconsciously.

Alan Dearling and Alistair Sinclair state in their article - "Towards Pro-active Youth Work"[5]:

> "The model of pro-active youth work is based upon the implementation of 4 broad strategies:
> 1. Creating Potential Groups
> 2. Groups' Identification of Needs
> 3. Support and Development of Groups
> 4. Developing Recognition for Groups (by society)"[6]

They go on to argue:

> "Creating Potential Groups. Put crudely, the community workers' two main alternative strategies to establish groups consist of the following: either (a) bringing a group together on the basis of some form of 'community service' (eg. establishing a playgroup of voluntary services to the elderly) and then progressing towards identification or action on local issues; or (b) organising public meetings and pressure group activity around a local conflict in order to create an organisation. The latter may well not attract youngsters in particular who are unaccustomed to attending meetings and/or articulating issues in large groupings. The former is also problematic in that the establishment of an activity-based organisation as a first step is likely to be indistinguishable from existing youth clubs and centres."[7]

They are critical of 'acceptable' or compensatory activity based pursuits and both individual and social pathology models. The pro-active model they offer relies on the worker identifying issues which are to be worked on, in the hope that through the bringing together of these groups for other purposes, they can at a later date change or 'subvert' the group to their real agenda - youth pressure groups. This sets up all sorts of professional and political problems for practice.

The following quotes relating to the work of Paulo Friere amply demonstrate how easy it is for workers unintentionally to perpetuate oppression.

> "Lack of work, lack of income and the rest pose conditions to which the poor must adapt through whatever social-cultural resource - they control. These conditions are phenomena of the environment in which the poor live, determined not by behaviours and values of the poor but by the structure of the total system ... this larger structure is perpetuated primarily by the economic and political actions of the non-poor"[8]
>
> "When Pseudo-Freireans - ('youth workers') talk about 'Critical Consciousness', - they mean an awareness in the poor of their needs and the information that is available for fulfilling these needs. The social problems that cause oppression, such as low wages, unequal access to land, water and education, are ignored. The strategy is to manipulate the consciousness of the oppressed, thereby perpetuating and reinforcing the dependence of the oppressed on external definers of their consciousness. This is precisely what domestication is".[9]

It seems to us that Dearling and Sinclair's starting point is dishonest in that it involves working with young people in community service or issues that the workers are concerned with and only at a later stage revealing a second agenda.

We have established in our practice not only that intervention

is appropriate, but also that it is possible to develop a practice that goes beyond coping, blaming, interpreting and excusing. This involves being clear about our own ideology and values within which practice is grounded - something which Dearling and Sinclair do not do. their article relegates pro-active youth work to a set of techniques which are seen as 'neutral' and 'apolitical' which clearly no practice can be. Corrigan, whilst establishing that it is both right and appropriate to intervene goes on to argue that the promise of social democracy is a hollow one and that youth work can make no major impact on the problems which are created by capitalist society. Whilst we agree with the right to intervene we take issue with Corrigan, that it is not possible to intervene in a way that can effect any meaningful change. We shall go on to elaborate why we feel he stops short later in the paper.

Our position is based on a number of assumptions about the oppression surrounding the young people we are working with. We would maintain that young people are not subjected to arbitrary acts of discrimination or manipulation. Rather that there is a well organised set of assumptions and practises that young people are subjected to. These are passed on through the various institutions which intervene in their development ie. schools, family, churches and youth clubs. This process is not accidental, it is planned and consistent. Young people are manipulated through this process.

Post-War Britain has seen shifting attitudes towards young people. From hope for the future, through recognition of their market potential, to how we let things go too far, finally ending up with abandonment, as Britain's economy fails. Crudely put society's attitude can be summarised as:
1950's - Conscription : 1960's - Subscription : 1970's - Absorption : 1980's - Rejection. The theme that runs through all of this is that young people are oppressed, therefore, let us look at the basis for intervention.

The traditional response towards young people is to provide recreation, based on the assumption that it is a good thing. The state intervenes and puts its resources into those young people that do not fit into the acceptable modes of society. It intervenes with young people because of where they live; because they have transgressed the law; their cultural values are incompatible; they are victims of racism and sexism; their presence creates 'problems' because of where they 'hang out'; or because they are not where they should be (eg. in school, youth clubs, home). These young people are labelled and subjected to special measures by the state and state agencies (eg. Social Services, Probation, Education, Youth Service, Police). The state leaves all young people outside these categories alone, in fact any intervention that went beyond recreation with 'normal' young people would be seen as an invasion of their privacy.

As youth workers we have made a decision to intervene and within this picture it is crucial to examine **what we do**. The practises we have observed avoid these issues. The practise we have developed does not deny these objective conditions but attempts to apply itself to these conditions.

As interventionalists we bring our own values into our work whether it be from the left or the right. So much of youth work practise starts from the moral or political agenda of workers/ adults. From our position is is as corrupt for workers to set a group up to fail as part of a campaign, as it is to run a community service or correctional curriculum scheme. To do so reflects another form of oppression.

The development of a practise that is consistent with this analysis of young peoples position depends on a critical self awareness of the workers. It is necessary to understand
(a) where we as workers are coming from
(b) on whose agenda are we working
(c) on whose behalf are we working
(d) where we see practise accountability lying in our face to face work with young people

The development of our work involves negotiating a relationship with a group. For this it is necessary to be clear and honest about where you stand. Through this process a role will emerge where your skills and position will be understood. The group will then understand where you are coming from and so take what they want. This relationship is not in any way static, but should be constantly re-negotiated. As development occurs other agenda's and issues need to be examined as a rolling process. The development of this professional relationship and the skills gained can be taken by the worker and applied in other situations. The integrity of your practise will be judged by young people. Their experience of being on the receiving end of a positive relationship will determine the depth of issues explored by the group.

The worker having established credibility based on demonstrated practise means the young people can choose on their terms whether to return or not.

The starting point for our practise is the perceptions, ideas, issues and problems that the young people identify. It seemed to be our job to find out what these were. In looking for ways to do this the work of Paulo Freire seemed to be asking the same question and applying itself to the same problems.

> "Education thus becomes an act of depositing, in which the students are the depositories and the teacher is the depositor. Instead of communicating, the teacher issues communiques and 'makes deposits' which the student patiently receive, memorise and repeat. This is the 'banking' concept of education, in which the scope of action allowed to the students extends only as far as receiving, filing and storing the deposits. They do, it is true, have the opportunity to become collectors of the things they store. But in the last analysis, it is men themselves who are filed away through the lack of creativity, transformation, and knowledge in this (at best) misguided system[10] . . . "
> "Whereas banking education anaesthetizes and inhibits creative power, problem-posing education involves a constant unveiling of reality. The former attempts to maintain the submission of consciousness; the latter strives for the emergence of consciousness and critical intervention in reality".[11]

His work provided us with a model: dialogue, reflection and action. We adopted and adapted this to provide the framework for our practice. This can be summarised as engaging with young people on:
1. **What** are the issues and problems
2. **Why** do they exist
3. **How** can change be achieved
4. **Act** - implement plans
5. **Reflect** on and review the action

This is not a one-off but a continuous process.

Let us return to the argument for pro-active youth work. Dearl-

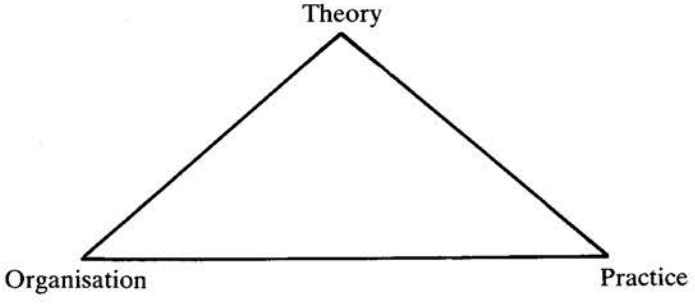
ing and Sinclair state:

> "Corrigan mistakenly identifies detached work/non-directive work with 'inaction'. We would still argue that given the right staff that the outreach approach, without the structural constraints of being responsible for a building and programme, may in fact provide one of the ways forward for positive pro-active youth work. The detached worker should be both allowing young people to develop coping behaviour and offering opportunities for experimentation".[12]

This plea to hold on to detached and 'non-directive' work seems to illustrate the anti-theoretical nature of this approach. It deals with the symptoms of young people's inability to cope or welfare rights needs, rather than the cause of their problems.

It also suggests a desire to hold on to past practise upon which reputations and status have been built. The pro-active model they propose does not seem to be based on a sound theoretical argument for a radical way of working with young people. A way which is designed to challenge the state and effect real change. There is nothing radical about detached/non directive work, particularly when viewed as an end in itself. What these approaches can provide is a range of techniques to be used as part of a **process** in which aims, objectives and goals have been worked out. If they are not viewed or used in this way as a means to an end rather than an end in themselves; they become just more of the same and clearly more of the same does not change anything.

At this stage we can establish that the starting point for intervention, by us workers, has to be based on an understanding of our own values and principles. The development of our practice and how we organise our work must be seen in relation to this. The struggle to bring these together can be illustrated as such:



This struggle is a critical process within which we can never bring the three arrows to meet at the centre of the triangle. Our practice operates within a changing world and is informed by and works to it. The struggle we are applying ourselves to is one of process over product, personal experience over theory, fact over law and the particular over the general.

As well as challenging the style of youth work practice the approach also challenges the role of the adult/worker and the way the work is organised,

Clearly all the employing bodies of the state reflect in their structure a capitalist form of organisation. Each arm of the state has its own organisational peculiarities. However, having recognised this, it is important to develop a practice that takes this into account. This may mean working round your organisation or attempting to change it if this is realistic.

> "The fear of freedom is also to be found in the oppressors, though, obviously, in a different form. The oppressed are afraid to embrace freedom; the oppressors are afraid of losing the 'freedom' to oppress".[13]

> "Emancipate yourself from mental slavery, none but ourselves shall free our minds".[14]
>
> Bob Marley - Redemption Song 1980

Within these given and accepted limitations we have to work out the possibilities both for ourselves as workers and our direct practise with young people. This second area we probably have more autonomy in. We all play a role, it is how we choose to interpret a role and what we are working towards, that is important.

Another important facet to this concerns issues wider than just our work. If our practice is designed or aiming to liberate rather than to domesticate, work towards changing rather than coping, then this cannot be separated off from the way we relate to the rest of the world. We cannot be working for one thing in our professional lives and the contrary in our relationships with colleagues, friends, relations. Politics are our public politics.

If we are to change our practice significantly then we have to change the way social relationships are organised in our society eg. between men and women, adults and children, managers and workers, teachers and pupils. At the same time we have to change the day to day organisation of our work.

In our practise we must be constantly working to break down the structures that create leaders and followers; givers and receivers of knowledge and skills; the unquestionable and unaccountable experts and the passive consumers.

It is significant that we have diseussed all these issues before mentioning the practice and the work with young people. So much of youth work practice is not clearly thought out, is open ended, structureless or lacks of direction. We are critical of this and feel it is important to put ourselves through the same process as we ask the young people to engage with. Before we meet a young person as workers we ask ourselves:
What are the issues and problems that these young people face?
Why are these as they are?
How can we develop and organise our practice to find out and apply it to these issues and problems?

It is then important to plan the group on the basis of these understandings. This is developed in detail in 'Give 'em a Break' and 'Starting Blocks' (National Youth Bureau Publications). Once these stages have been gone through (and only then) can we go out and make contact with young people. This is not to say that we impose our agenda on young people, but it is essential that we are clear what we are doing and why, so that the young people with whom we work are clear. The task of the workers is then to provide a structure or framework within which the young people can develop. This can be summarised as young people:

1. Identifying the issues and problems that concern them.
2. Developing greater understanding of why those issues and problems exist.
3. Working out ways of how to change these.
4. Translating these plans into action.
5. Evaluating this action and developing new strategies in the light of this evaluation.

The role of the worker is to provide a process within which the

young people own the issues, content and action. It is important to recognise that this turns the role of the worker on its head and provides a clear, non threatening and understandable role for the people by whom we are employed and the young people with whom we work. It is also a role that is consistent with our philosophy that educates and politicises ourselves and the young people with whom we are working, based on our mutual life experiences and not our own political envangelising.

This approach also stresses learning as a two way process that we have as much to learn from young people as they have from us.

> "Education for liberation is not 'an act of transferring knowledge' but 'an act of knowing'. It therefore implies that educators and learners all become learners".[13]

Also because of the difference of either sex/class/race between us, we have very different sets of experiences and life skills to share. The emphasis, however, is not that one set of experiences is any more valuable or important than another, they have equal status. This form of learning must be based on a partnership. It is our role as workers to create a co-operative working environment not only between young person and young person, but between youth workers and young person.

What we have developed in Nottingham is a practice that consciously tries to reflect the connection between our ideologies and our practice; this is an on-going struggle which we are continually evaluating, changing and refining.

This type of approach is in stark contrast to so much of the current practice, whether it be in work with young unemployed, those at risk and in trouble, social education in schools, work with girls, detached work or inside youth clubs and the youth service.

The task we are engaged in is to understand the context of the work, be clear about what it means, define what we are aiming at, what the objectives are and connecting our action to that. At the end of the day criticism is hollow without the practice to back it up - 'ACTION SPEAKS LOUDER THAN WORDS'.

The final word is left with Paulo Freire:

> "Problem-posing education does not and cannot serve the interests of the oppressor. No oppressive order could permit the oppressed to begin to question: Why? While only a revolutionary society can carry out this education in systematic terms, the revolutionary leaders need not take full power before they can employ the method. In the revolutionary process, the leaders cannot utilize the banking method as an interim measure, justified on grounds of expediency, with the intention of later behaving in a genuinely revolutionary fashion. They must be revolutionary - that is to say, dialogical - from the outset".[16]

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the origins of adolescence

JOHN SPRINGHALL

What is there about the eight or nine years of adolescence that so lingers in the modern psyche and fascinates the mass media to the extent that a series on 'youth today' has become almost recurrent staple of popular journalism? It was an attempt to answer a question such as this which led me to explore the social history of adolescence as an age group in modern British society. The word 'adolescence' is derived from the Latin 'adolescere' which means to grow up and, in current usage, it refers to the life stage extending from childhood to what is generally recognized as adulthood or social maturity. The creation of childhood is now seen as a comparatively recent development of the last four hundred years whose boundaries were constantly shifting and it is difficult to define just when the stage of adulthood is reached, since our criteria for measuring this particular plateau do not appear to be very constant over time. If it becomes problematic to offer a clear definition of either the ending of childhood or the beginning of adulthood, then how much more difficult it is to circumscribe adolescence adequately. There is also no neutral English noun which simply and precisely identifies those between twelve and twenty one with the same impersonality as 'child' or 'adult'. For 'adolescence' is a term which has unfortunate over-tones at once pedantic and erotic, suggestive of primitive fertility rites or the orgies of classical antiquity. It is curious that while 'childlike' usually connotes as much praise as 'adult', the adjectival use of 'adolescent' is strictly prejorative. Thus whereas to be 'childlike' means to be full of wonder and freshness and 'adult' means to be mature and responsible, to be 'adolescent' generally means to be juvenile, vulgar, self-important and often just plain silly in behaviour.

The poor reputation of 'adolescence' as a word is unfortunate, since this stage of life is often as creative and constructive as it is irritating and stressful. If we possess no convenient and neutral language for discussing adolescence, we are equally unable to dismiss it as of little importance to the historian and the social scientist. For the conditions which have made adolescence as we understand it today possible, or even necessary, are part of the evolution of modern, mass consumer, age-orientated society and this is why adolescence is such a relevant subject for historical analysis. The abolition of child labour, the introduction of compulsory education, the progressive raising of the school leaving age and the advent of a teenage market for leisure, have all ensured that everyone is now guaranteed an official period of adolescence that was not available to all social classes in the past. Yet while much has been learnt about the history of the institutions which adults designed for the adolescent - schools, reformatories, youth organizations - the much more difficult task of understanding the young themselves in the past has not progressed very far. Adolescents are seldom seen as active participants in their own history, more as passive recipients of adult authority. It is my intention in writing the social history of adolescence to attempt to transcend these limitations and to give individual adolescents a voice in the making of their own history. This can only be done, however, if certain methodological problems are first cleared up or, at least, made more apparent to the general reader. Ideally, for example, adolescence should be treated by the historian both as a psychological/physiological experience relative to the individual and as a cultural role and definition for an age category which has existed as much in the past as in the present. A teenage boy, in other words, both experiences adolescence as a biological process and as certain forms of behaviour which may or may not be approved of by the wider society.

For the historian to trace the emergence of the concept of adolescence and to attempt to comprehend the sociological and psychological experiences of the age group in question is an unenviable task. It is one not made any easier by the following areas of debate between the numerous social scientists who have written copiously about adolesence in recent decades:

(1) How is one to define adquately what is meant by adolescence when the meanings given to the term do not remain constant and, in an historical context, how does this concept differ from the much more familiar one of 'youth' from earlier centuries?

(2) Has age or the concept of generations been an important determinant of social change in the past or are relations of class more important as the fundamental driving force in modern society?

(3) Is it possible to draw up boundaries which separate puberty from adolescence and how far are the psychological changes of the latter dependent on the physical changes associated with the former?

(4) What is the historian to make of the much contested debate between anthropologists and others about how far adolescent forms of behaviour are due to biological and how far to cultural-environment factors?

(5) It is possible that the whole idea of adolescence as a period of 'storm and stress', or even as a distinctive stage in the life cycle, is a myth manufactured by psychiatrists and the media which has no credible basis in historical reality?

Each of these arguments will be examined in succession but it is worth noting that not all of them have been resolved to the

satisfaction of the specialists concerned.

(1) Youth and Adolescence in History

How is one to offer an adequate definition of the term 'adolescence' which will satisfy historical criteria and also relate to the commonly accepted usage of the term today? In British law, for example, the term 'young person' is used to refer to the age range between fourteen and twenty, but this is rather weak in its connotations and is hardly ever used in ordinary speech. 'Teenager' was, until recently, the most popular term, however patronising, for this age group but although it refer to roughly the same period in human life as adolescence, different claims have been made about the validity of their respective historical statuses. 'Teenager' was a term coined as recently as the 1940s by market researchers in America who wanted to describe young people with money to spend on consumer durables. 'Adolescence' as a concept emerged in the 1890s as an outcome of the child study movement centred at Clark University in America. It was the creation of G. Stanley Hall, one of the major figures in the early history of American educational psychology. He actually introduced the idea of adolescence as a special stage of development in an 1882 article for the **Princeton Review** on 'The Moral and Religious Training of Children' but it was not until 1904 that G. Stanley Hall published his monumental and doctrinally perverse two volume study of **Adolescence: its psychology and its relations to physiology, anthropology, sociology, sex, crime, religion and education**. It was these once influential but now unread volumes which were to provide the bench mark against which all future attempts to understand the phenomenon of adolescence had to be measured. Hall's transformation of earlier ideas of 'youth' into the modern concept of adolescence owed much to the context of 1890s America. He worried, like many of his contemporaries, over the degeneration of modern, urban-industrial society and recalled an earlier, rural version of a simpler and purer American youth.[1]

The concept of adolescence did not exist in scientific vocabulary much before the last two decades of the nineteenth century and it required Stanley Hall's two volumes to bring the term into more popular circulation. The absence of adolescence in common discourse before 1900 does not mean that ideas about adolescence did not exist however, or that they were of only marginal concern to educationalists and psychologists. It indicates merely that adolescence was not the public concern of an army of bureaucrats, youth workers and worried parents that it has since become. It is also possible that the young over a century ago experienced what today we would characterize as adolescence without adults being able to put a name to either their psychological/physiological or their cultural forms of behaviour. Hence the term 'adolescence' is now less likely to be reserved by the social historian solely for the forms and definition which that stage of life currently enjoys in Western society. If the assumption of the anthropologist that a period of adolescence exists in every society is found acceptable, then the historian's task becomes one of examining the different ways in which it has been expressed, valued and defined in past societies. For adolescence is not simply a biological fact that can be equated with puberty, but a cultural expression of certain social relationships and a product of a specific set of historical circumstances. The evolution of popular, as opposed to strictly scientific or pseudo-scientific, ideas about adolescence can best be understood by studying progressive changes in the historical image of 'youth'; the word usually employed before 1900 to denote how the years between childhood and adulthood were different from the years around them. Adolescence is now applied mainly to the teen years but the concept of 'youth' in the past extended over a much broader span from the mid-teens to the mid-twenties. Hence adolescence as it is used today differs markedly from 'youth' which was a far more familiar concept to past generations. Thus Shakespeare in **The Winter's Tale** has his shepherd inveigh:

> I would there were no age between sixteen and three and twenty, or that youth would sleep out the rest; for there is nothing in the between but getting wenches with child, wronging the ancientry, stealing, fighting.[2]

References to 'youth' in the early modern period are not simply interchangeable with the meaning of 'adolescence' in our own century. Thus historians have, in my opinion, been somewhat quick off the mark in writing about apprentices in sixteenth century Bristol or seventeenth century London as if they conformed to the stereotypical adolescent, particularly prone to rioting on holidays. Nonetheless, an extended period of 'youth' was common from the fifteenth to the seventeenth centuries when some village 'boys' in England and France did not marry until their mid-twenties or even later. In much of Western and Northern Europe, children were accustomed to leaving home under the age of puberty to work in another household. Sometimes they were formally treated as apprentices, more often not, but they were only occasionally assigned simply to housework. These household 'servants' were there to work on the farm or in whatever tasks would help to sustain the economy of their new homes. For the young in the early modern times, service was seen as a period in their lives before they would be promoted to tenancy and many agricultural tasks were held to be suitable only for specific age groups. After working at a boy's tasks, and adolescent would graduate to harder manual labour in another household and eventually, by saving and learning skills, might with maturity achieve the higher status of farm occupancy or become head of a household of his own. The state of dependency of the young, rather than chronological age, was, therefore, a more important variable in influencing society's treatment of the individual in the past than the more structured age definitions used in modern society. Thus the young in the early modern period passed through a length stage of semi-dependence as servants or apprentices, although this allowed them a certain amount of personal freedom even if they were living away from their families under the control of other adults. These years of semi-dependence ranged, on the average, from roughly ten to twenty one, although children from wealthier families usually stayed at home for a longer period.[3]

Natalie Zemon Davis has argued that youth groups or 'Abbeys of Misrule' existed in sixteenth century rural France whose activities tend to refute the view that Europeans made no distinction between childhood and adolescence before the end of the eighteenth century. Rural villagers may not have understood the psychology or the physiology of adolescent development, but these early youth groups performed certain of the functions which we would now attribute to adolescence as a stage of life. The organized role of young men and women at charivaris and popular festivals was only one function of an institutionalized system of youth groups that existed in many parts of pre-industrial Europe. Even in the eighteenth century 'youth' could last from the end of dependence on parents at seven or eight to the achievement of independence and marriages in the mid to late twenties and very little distinction was drawn between older and younger youths or boys. Some traditional religious sects, like the early nineteenth century Moravians of North Caolina, did not even describe a boy as a youth

until he had reached the age of eighteen. Rousseau's **Emile**, first published in 1762, characterized the period of dependent childhood and as a second birth, prolonging childhood, including the condition of innocence, for as long as possible. ('We are born, so to speak, twice over; born into existence, and born into life; born a human being and born a man.') Rousseau described adolescence as a period of great 'storm and stress', linking the onset of this troubled period of puberty and the development of sexuality. G. Stanley Hall put these Rousseauian and popular ideas of adolescence as subject to conflicting passions into the framework of post-Darwinian biology. He linked the turbulence of adolescence to a wide spectrum of physiological and psychological changes determined by evolutionary progress. 'The moral superiority which the future holds in all theories of progress thus attached to adolescence itself, justifying the free expression of adolescent nature and its prolongation', claims Hall's biographer.[4]

(2) **The Struggle Between the Generations**

The questions of whether age or class should be seen as the most important historical determinant of change in society can only be answered properly if it is related to the concept of generations. Jose Ortega y Gasset, the Spanish essayist and philosopher, put forward the view in 1920 that the generation was the most important concept in history and the 'pivot responsible for the movements of historical evolution' superceding that of the class struggle. In this somewhat impenetrable schema, much influenced by what Ortega saw as the failure of class warfare to produce a viable social system in post-revolutionary Russia, the young were to replace the proletariat as the primary subject of historical writing and generational succession was to replace the class struggle as the principal motor of change. ('The generation is a dynamic compromise between mass and individual and is the most important conception in history'). Ortega y Gasset's theory of history failed to look at the vital question of how exactly age groups were to develop a common consciousness and begin to act as a coherent historical force, apart from metaphysical assertions of 'organic capacity'. It was left to the Hungarian sociologist Karl Mannheim to take up the question in his 1927 essay on 'The Problem of Generations' which was virtually unknown to British and American social scientists until translated twenty five years later. Mannheim was intent upon finding, 'a general law to express the rhythm of historical development based on the biological law of the limited life span of man and the overlap of new and old generations.' His aim was to understand change directly in biological terms, to construct the vurve of human progress in terms of its vital substructure. By using the German Wandervogel movement of the 1900s as his model of a younger 'generation style', separate from and perhaps opposed to the dominant style of the adult generation, Mannheim first raised the crucial issue of the relationship between generational consciousness and consciousness of class. For the Wandervogel had little impact upon working class German youth and succeeded largely among middle class students. Mannheim concluded that the generation as a phenomenon represented nothing more than a particular kind of identity of location embracing related 'age groups' embedded in a historical-social process.[5]

Nonetheless, sociology became increasingly preoccupied with the question of the struggle between the generations and its relation to social change. In 1942 Talcott Parsons suggested that the developing peer group sub-culture of the American delinquent gang was in fact a localized expression of a more broadly based generational consciousness which was hardening around a distinctive 'youth culture' centred on conspicuous consumption. The sociology of youth was destined to be dominated for several decades by this structural-functionalist emphasis on the centrality of age divisions in Western society and the corresponding irrelevance of class inequalities, coupled with a stress on consumption and leisure as the pivots of youth consciousness. In Parsonian sociology the uniformity of 'youth culture' supposedly reflected the universal values of a society without significant class, gender, ethnic or other division. This vision of youth as the vanguard of social change in America reached its zenith with the emergence of the 'counter culture' of the later 1960s. John R. Gillis admits that his synthesising study of **Youth and History** (1974) was the product of this particular historical moment which saw the younger generation take part in dramatic upheavals across the world. In particular, the focus of his book was strongly influenced by the class fissures that appeared during the campus and peace demonstrations in America of 1968-69, which not only confirmed the ability of the young to make their own history but also exemplified the way in which working class youth refused to follow the lead of middle class student radicals. Hence Gillis rejected the assumptions behind structural-functionalism generally for failing to offer an adequate explanation of the variety of rebellious and often conflicting youth cultures that were then visible everywhere.[6]

It thus became necessary to reassert the factor of class in the history of youth because the notion of a uniform youth culture no longer appeared to be viable from the perspective of the late 1960s. However, the so-called 'New Wave' sociology of youth, associated with the Centre for Contemporary Cultural Studies at the University of Birmingham in the 1970s, under the direction of Stuart Hall, reintroduced class as a major explanatory tool for youth studies from a more strictly Marxist standpoint. It became almost redundant to consider the theme of adolescence at the Centre except in the historical context of social structure and any analysis of age within a capitalist society which took no serious account of class was deemed to be of little value. ('We try to show how youth sub-cultures are related to class relations, to the division of labour and to the productive relations of the society, without destroying what is specific to their content and position.') Critics of the Marxist approach, such as David Marsland of the research unit on youth at Brunel University, were compelled to fall back upon the structural-functionalist arguments of Talcott Parsons in order to contradict the C.C.C.S. hegemony of youth culture studies. They refused to reject adolescence as a thematic concept on the grounds that it must be seen as secondary and subservient to social class, white not denying the necessity to look at the history of youth within the context of social structure. On the contrary, Marsland seeks to replace the working class by the young as a truly oppressed revolutionary social force, 'the proletariat of the age system.' thus to understand the role of adolescence in modern British society would not seem to be simply a question of substituting class for age but of examining the relationship between class and age, in particular the way in which age acts as a mediator of class. Adolescence endures the consequences of a class society, after all, simultaneously with those of age or generation.[7]

(3) **The Interaction of Puberty and Adolescence**

One unifying characteristic of historical ideas about youth and later adolescence was the belief that some sort of magical change was likely to occur with the advent of puberty. Even today, parents still cherish the belief that some radical change will take place in their unfortunate offspring at puberty. The

term itself comes from the Latin 'pubescere', to grow hairy, and refers to a biological process that sees the onset of physical and sexual maturation resulting from an increase in the circulating hormones produced by the gonads.

Puberty thus alludes more specifically than adolescence to the physiological changes involved in the sexual development of the teenager and the spurt in growth leading to an increase in weight, height, muscular development and body shape. These biological changes take up to eight or nine years to complete, either as an event or as a process. It is as difficult to differentiate puberty from adolescence as it is to determine how far the psychological adjustments of the latter may or may not be dependent on the physical changes associated with the former. Of course, acquiring sexual maturity is the most distinctive feature of puberty and, in this connection, not only are there physical changes but also considerable alterations in hormone secretion during adolescence. The role of sex hormones in relation to accelerating physical maturity is fairly clear but their effects on emotions and behaviour is less well charted. It is likely that the hormonal changes experienced by girls at puberty may have emotional consequences, albeit evidence is lacking on how far this is the case and on the possible mechanisms involved. Animal studies have also indicated that androgens (male sex hormones) influence assertiveness and dominance and they may well have the same effect in humans. One of the psychological aspects of adolescence which is most often cited in the literature on this age group is the marked rise in depressive feelings and emotional disorders. Recent research suggests, however, that the timing of these states has more to do with puberty than with chronological age. That is, feeling of depression are rare in the pre-pubescent but much more common among post-pubertal young of varying ages. Whether this means that the rise in depression which may occur in adolescence is caused by hormonal changes is not known but clearly this is a distinct possibility. Consequently, there does not appear to be any simple cause and effect relationship between puberty and what was once thought of as typical adolescent 'storm and stress'.[8]

The characteristics of puberty were, of course, well known before the onset of industrialization but, in general, little significance was attached to them. Prior to the middle of the nineteenth century, contemporaries associated puberty with rising power and energy rather than with the onset of an awkward and vulnerable stage of life which would later become known as adolescence. Adulthood and its responsibilities, both during and after the Industrial Revolution, were determined far more by the acquisition of independent wage-earning status than by the attainment of physiological maturity and, more often than not, this status preceded full physical and sexual development. In the first half of the nineteenth century, in other words, boys and girls experiencing the psycho-sexual changes associated with puberty were not as conspicuous as they have since become in society. The young in industrialized nations have, of course, been growing and maturing earlier over the course of the last century and more. Measurements of the heights of 50,000 children whom a London charity, the Marine Society, helped during the period 1770 to 1870 tend to suggest that not only were they shorter by far than their modern equivalents but that they grew much more slowly, owing to a much poorer standard of living, and did not reach their full heights until the age of twenty, at least two years later than present-day young men. As part of this slow growth, the adolescent growth spurt occurred much later than today and overall the Marine Society volunteers were far shorter than any measured population from either contemporary Europe or the developed world. Over the last eighty years or so, the height of the typical six year old brought up in average economic circumstances has risen by one or two centimetres every ten years, which means that today's average six year old is about twelve centimetres taller than a child of the same age at the turn of the century. Similarly, there has been a quite spectacular decine in the average age at which the average girl reaches menarche, currently varying between 12.8 & 13.2 years in Europe and North America, whereas a hundred years earlier it could occur between 15.5 and as late as a little over seventeen years; although the discovery of adolescent sterility in girls means that menarche is not the definitive sign of fertility it was once thought to be. Girls have their first period relatively late in puberty but for the average boy puberty finishes today at fourteen and a half, within the age range of twelve and a half to sixteen and a half. Chronological age is clearly not a very precise indicator of the level of pubertal development in the early teens. Nonetheless, the age at which children reach puberty has clearly fallen sharply over the last hundred years and this is known as the decline in the secular trend. The most plausible explanation currently available as to why we reach physical and sexual maturity so much earlier now than a century ago, lies in the general improvement in diet, especially with smaller families during infancy.[9]

It is not surprising in the light of this evidence that G. Stanley Hall's theory of adolescence and virtually all the popular literature on the topic that followed before 1914 assigned overriding importance to the idea of puberty. In reality, there is no clear concensus among modern psychologists as to the relationship between puberty and adolescence, since puberty is a complex phenomenon with respect to the interaction between maturity, the environment and individual factors. When puberty is defined as an event, for example menstruation in girls, or a rite of passage, for example the age a child enters secondary school, it has a meaning quite distinct from that of adolescence and may even mark the onset of adolescence as a stage of growth in some cultures. It is probably just as accurate to see puberty as a process which is contemporary with pre and early adolescence at eleven to fifteen. In Western Europe it becomes more difficult to integrate the physiological events of puberty into the more systematic categories of age and social status, since puberty of itself brings no formal social and cultural recognition of a change of status in the adolescent. However, there is evidence that the decline in the secular trend may have extended the period between reaching sexual maturity and being ready to support a family and hence to have increased the need for an agreed 'quarantine' period between being a dependent child and becoming an independent adult. This would not have been so necessary in the nineteenth century when puberty arrived much later. On the other hand, this decline may have brought adolescence forward but it has not necessarily made it any longer, since the average age of marriage has also fallen by several years over the past century. There has however, emerged a lengthy time gap between the onset of sexual maturity and the full incorporation of the young into the economic life of the modern world. Some commentators believe adolescence is only significant inasmuch as it reflects the frustrations of having sexual potential without legitimate means of giving it expression.

(4) **Biological vs. Cultural Causes of Adolescent Behaviour**

Another contentious area in the past has been the question of how far adolescent behaviour, or at least what has been seen as 'typical' adolescent behaviour, is due to biological factors and how far to cultural factors. In other words, if we assume for the

moment that the adolescent does go through a period of turmoil and emotional stress, how much is this experience due to unalterable biological laws or changes associated with puberty and how much to the adjustments and strains necessitated by a particular environment or social culture at a particular point in time? One useful method of approaching the division between the anthropologists and psychologists who believe adolescent behaviour is biologically determined and those who see it as culturally determined, is by looking at the making and unmaking of an anthropological myth: Margaret Mead and her book **Coming of Age in Samoa** (1928). This famous best-seller started out as a deliberate attempt to contradict G. Stanley hall' theories of adolescent psychology and their failure to recognize the cultural determination of the 'storm and stress' syndrome associated with adolescence. In place of biological determinism Margaret Mead set out to assert the cultural theories of her thesis supervisor and mentor Franz Boas, Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University and a leading figure in the development of cultural anthropology in America. Boas believed that culture was different from race and did not have much to do with biology. 'The fundamental difficulty that besets us,' he declared in 1924:

> is that of differentiating between what is inherent in bodily structure, and what is acquired by the cultural medium in which each individual is set, or, to express it in biological terms, what is termined by heredity and what be environmental causes, or what is endogene and what is exogene.

Boas sent his twenty three year old graduate student, Margaret Mead, to the Islands of Samoa in the South Pacific primarily to perform the crucial experiment of making just such a discrimination between heredity and environment.[10]

In fact, Margaret Mead failed to investigate the actual interaction of biological and cultural variables in Samoan behaviour, turning instead to the supposed invalidation of a pre-existing theoretical generalization by what is known as a 'negative instance'. Thus if a society could be found in which adolescents apparently missed out on 'storm and stress' then the anthropologist would be able to declare biological determinism invalid. For the Boas school to triumph, all that was needed was one culture in which the biological theory broke down. 'I have tried to answer the question which sent me to Samoa,' Margaret Mead rationalized her research plan:

> are the disturbances which vex our (American) adolescents due to the nature of adolescence itself or to the civilization? Under different conditions does adolescence present a different picture?

She proved to her own satisfaction that adolescence was not of necessity a time of stress and strain but was made so by cultural conditions through studying over several months the behaviour and kinship patterns of sixty eight adolescent girls in three small villages on the Manu'an island of Tau. Samoa provided Margaret Mead with the 'negative instance' Boas required: for these adolescent girls apparently moved easily from childhood through adolescence untroubled by their developing sexual maturity and without suffering difficult adjustments and strains. Lack of competiveness or open conflict, the absence of strong personal relationships and affections, the segregation of the sexes before adolescence and the tolerance of premarital love affairs, were all seen as contributing to an absence of neuroses among young girls. In Samoa she concluded:

> adolescence represented no period of crisis or stress, but was instead an orderly developing of a set of slowly maturing interests and activities. The girls' minds were perplexed by no conflicts, troubled by no philosophical queries, beset by no remote ambitions.

If the behaviour of adolescents was really shaped by biological characteriestics common to the age group, as implied by G. Stanley Hall's recapitulation theory, then surely instead of Samoan girls being so gentle and unaggressive they would be plagued by the turbulence and anger or the desire for independence that was taken for granted in their American counterparts? For nearly a quarter of **Coming of Age in Samoa** was devoted not to Samoa at all, but to the problem of educational reform in America. Margaret Mead sought to draw conclusions from her field trip which would allow the American social and educational environment to be changed in order to reduce the psychological disturbances it appeared to produce among the young. Thus her book was far more than an anthropological report about the permissive puberty of Samoan girls for, by contrasting their untroubled existence with the stresses and alienation that she saw in Western adolescents, Margaret Mead set out to show that these stresses were cultural rather than biological.[11]

The extreme cultural determinist approach evident in **Coming of Age** has recently come under well-publicized attack by Derek Freeman who is concerned to demolish her 'negative instance', the claim that in Samoa adolescent girls were unmarked by the strains and stresses of American youth. Freeman portrays Samoan society, which she saw as serene and gentle, as competitive and often violent, in which people did suffer psychological disturbances, as well as being deeply religious. He claims in **Margaret Mead and Samoa** (1983) that he was her convinced follower when he first went to do field work in Western Samoa in 1940, after studying psychology in his native New Zealand:

> I thought I was going to confirm her. Instead I found grave discrepancies. Instead of love under the palm trees, I found a cult of chastity among Samoan girls. Instead of no rape, I found a rape rate of two and a half times higher than the United States.

Margaret Mead's book does not emerge unscathed from Freeman's criticisms and it has to be conceded that she got it mostly wrong but how many graduate theses would hold up after fifty five years in general circulation? It also needs to be borne in mind that Freeman is to some extent attacking a 'paper tiger': for hardly any present-day anthropologist would think of arguing the extreme cultural determinist line of the 1920s Boas school. It is this approach which stands accused of being amore a system of belief than an empirically verifiable scientific anthropology.[12]

Just as Margaret Mead did not see Samoa for what it was nearly sixty years ago, so did she present a highly selective and distorted portrait of the American 'jazz age' adolescent. The followers of Boas impicitly saw American adolescence as subject to difficulties and rebelliousness against adult authority but this was, I shall suggest, as erroneous a premise as that followed by Margaret Mead in Samoa. For the analysis presented in here various writings failed to fit the evidence turned up by sociological students of middle Amercian youth and later historians that points to continuity rather than discontinuity in the past of most young people in manhood. Pioneering works such as the Lynds' **Middletown** (1929) and August de B. Hollingshead's **Elmtown's Youth** (1949) were struck by the absence of 'storm and stress' among the young people in the communities which they studied. The latter concluded that the social behaviour of the adolescent appeared to be related functionally to the position his or her family occupied in the social structure of the community. Paula S. Fass in **The Damned and the Beautiful** (1977),

analysis

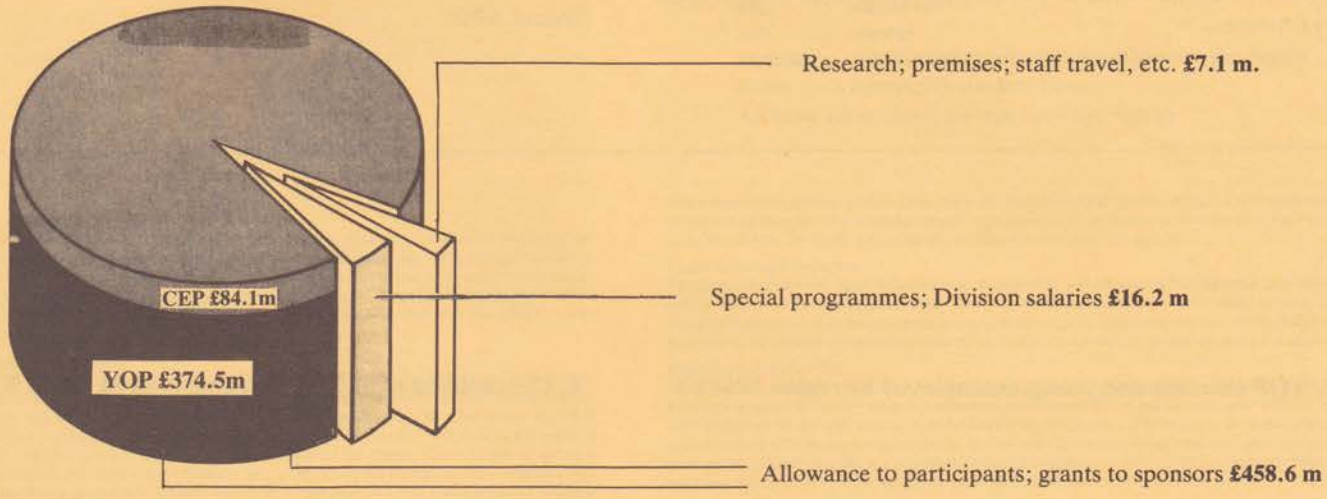
'Analysis' is a detachable section comprising several different categories of information relevant to the study and further understanding of youth in society. The format of the section may change from time to time according to priorities of content and available space, however the 'Reporting' and 'Monitor' features will be regularly included. Pages are numbered, but separate categories can be removed and filed, however it is 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.

Y.O.P. Reviewing The Final year

1. M.S.C.: Special Programmes Expenditure 1981/82 (£ millions)



SPD staff levels rose from 1,600 approx. in April 1981 to 2,4000 approx. in March 1982. Net cost to exchequer per trainee (after deducting supp. ben., unempl. ben., nat. ins. etc.) was £24 YOP and £27 CEP per week. The UK received £59 m for YOP from the Euro Social Fund in 1981.

2. Expenditure on Special Programmes 1978/79, 79/80, 80/81 and 81/82 (£ millions)

	1978/79	1979/80	1980/81	1981/82
SPD Salaries	4.0	6.3	9.2	16.2
Research, premises, staff travel etc.	3.6	3.9	5.1	7.1
Allowances to participants and grants sponsors'				
YOP	56.9	113.5	198.9	384.5
CEP/STEP	8.5	50.9	47.0	84.1
Total	**65.4**	**164.4**	**245.9**	**458.6**
TOTAL	**73.0**	**174.6**	**260.2**	**481.9**

Inflation not accounted for; 1978 includes 9 months J.C.P. funding.

Source: Manpower Services Commission.

3. Unit Costs of Special Programmes

	Average cost per entrant (£)	Average duration (weeks)
Youth Opportunites Programme	931	23
Work Experience on Employers' Premises	520	22
Community Projects	1,902	32
training Workshops	2,216	33
Employment Induction Courses	148	2
Courses organised by Training Services Division	1,080	13
Courses at Employment Rehabilitation Centre	1,232	10
Community Enterprise Programme	2,730	30

4. Analysis of School Leavers Entering M.S.C. 1981/82.

Year	Entrants	% increase on previous year
1978/79	162,200	
1979/80	216,400	34%
1980/81	360,000	66%
1981/82	553,000	54%

YOP increased by 80,000 to 440,000 places in 1981/82. A further 110,000 places were created to cope with July leavers, total 553,000 by Christmas.

1981 Leavers/YOP - April-December 1981	
Scotland	35,000
Northern	27,000
Yorks & Humberside	28,500
North west	53,000
Midlands	59,500
Wales	25,000
South West	20,000
London	10,000
South East	37,000
Great Britain	**295,000**

Source: SPD

5. YOP entrants and young unemployed by region 1981/82

	Distribution of entrants 1978/79 (% of total)	Average distribution of unemployed young people 1981/82 (% of total)
Scotland	13	12
Northern	9	8
Yorkshire and Humberside	10	11
North West	18	14
Midlands	20	18
Wales	7	6
South West	8	6
London	4	10
South East	11	15

Notable area/increases were South East and Midlands. The largest monthly number of entrants was in September with 76,000 the lowest in December with 18,500. The average monthly entry level in 1981/82 was 46,100.

Source: DES/M.S.C. SP Division, 1983.

6. Characteristics of YOP entrants 1980/81 - 1981/82

	1980/81	1981/82
Total number of entrants	360,000	553,000
	%	%
percentage of entrants who were:		
Male	51	53
Female	49	47
Current year school leavers	65	66
Other young people	35	34
Aged 16-17 years	91	92
Aged 18 years	9	8

Source: SPD

Most entrants were aged 16 and 17; only 8% were 18+; about 87,000 had been unemployed for 6 months or more and 20,000 of these (4% of total) for 12 months or more. Average stay in programme was 23 weeks (approx.).

YOUTH AND POLICY the journal of critical analysis

monitor: - spring 1983

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

All items are available through our Copy Service

V31 N5

Curriculum Opportunity OA
Miss Joan Lestor asked the Sec. State Education and Science whether he is satisfied that equal curriculum opportunity is genuinely available to girls and boys. **The Under-Sec. State Education and Science (Mr. William Shelton):** We have made it clear the equal curricular opportuinities should be available to boys and girls. I accept that there is still some way to go. I urge local education authorities and schools always to give boys and girls a genuine choice in deciding what they are going to study. etc. exch.

Croxteth Comprehensive OA
Mr. Parry asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will make a statement on Croxteth comprehensive school. **Dr. Boyson:** As a result of statutory proposals published by the Liverpool education authority and approved by my right hon. Friend, Croxteth comprehensive school closed in August 1982 and a new school was established at Ellergreen in September 1982 to serve the needs of the Croxteth and Ellergreen communities. The premises of the former Croxteth school are now unlawfully occupied. **Mr. Parry:** Is the Minister aware that about 180 youngsters are attending Croxteth school and being taught by voluntary teachers? As the level of youth unemployment in that is one of the highest in Britain and as there is a complete lack of facilities for the largest housing estate in the area, will the Minister reconsider his decision, which is causing anguish both to parents and pupils? **Dr. Boyson:** To be fair to the Government, we did not close the school. The local education authority proposed section 12 action to us and we agreed. The hon. Gentleman understands that. We agreed to the closure because if one added together the pupils at Croxteth and Ellergreen schools last year they would have constituted only a five-stream school. Moreover, the population of the schools was continuing to fall. It was obvious that Ellergreen school was more popular - it has a sports hall and a sixth form centre - so we agreed to the closure. etc. etc. exch.

Fireworks WA
Mr. Ioan Evans asked the Minister for Trade what steps were taken during the period in and around 5 November to inform the public generally of the dangers associated with the use of fireworks. **Dr. Vaughan:** On 15 October I launched an extensive firework safety campaign to publicise the hazards of fireworks if used carelessly or irresponsibly. Publicity material available from my Department includes a leaflet and poster for registered retailers of fireworks. Television films and new radio tapes have been distributed to the media. I have also had particularly in mind the importance of getting young people to understand the dangers. For this purpose we have for the fourth year been able to enlist the services of someone who knows how to put the message over to the, a young singer who is also featured in one of our posters and who helped in promoting a firework safety song competition for schools, local authorities, youth organisations, fire brigades, and police. Press packs containing this material together with a press notice and feature article are sent to national and local press and women's and children's publications. The firework Makers Guild and the Royal Society for the Prevention of Accidents have worked closely with my Department in this campaign and their material is also receiving a wide distribution. **Mr. Ioan Evans** asked the Minister for Trade if he will take action to encourage local authorities to arrange public fireowrk displays. **Dr. Vaughan:** In our annual firework safety campaign we bring to the attention of local authorities the desirability of encouraging people to attend properly organised displays and provide guidance on how to run a firework display safely. It is for the local authorities to decide whether they wish to organise such displays; many public spirited organisations already do this themselves.

Full-time Education WA
Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Prime Minister what measures Her Majesty's Government are taking to encourage pupils aged 16 to 18 years who would benefit from such an education to remain in full-time education. **The Prime Minister:** In the last three years there has been a welcome increase in the proportion of 16 to 18-year-olds who stay on in full-time education and who recognise the value of improving their qualifications. The Government have provided for additional expenditure of some £100 million in 1982-83 to assist this, and this support will be carried forward into later years. In May my right hon. Friend announced proposals for a new national pre-vocational qualification at 17-plus which is aimed at meeting the needs of young people who are not fully catered for by existing provision.

Youth Training Scheme WA
Mr. Marks asked the Prime Minister if she is satisfied with the co-ordination between the Manpower Services Commission, the Department of Education and Science and local education authorities in the planning, publicity and administration of the youth training scheme. **The Prime Minister:** I am satisfied that the Manpower Services Commission's proposals for the design and administration of the youth training scheme will enable the contribution of the Department of Education and Science and local education authorities to be effectively co-ordinated.

School Closures WA
Mr. Freud asked the Sec. State Education and Science in respect of how many schools his Department has authorised closure; and how many have been saved as a result of his overruling local education authorities in each of the last three years. **Dr. Boyson** In 1980 the Sec. of State approved proposals for the closure of 107 schools and rejected proposals for the closure of five; for 1981 the figures were 181 and 10; for the first nine months of this year they were 159 and 24.

Youth Training Scheme WA
Mr. Dubs asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will provide additional funds to local education authorities to enable them to meet their responsibilities under the youth training scheme. **Mr. William Shelton:** No. The resources made available through the Manpower Services Commission are intended to be sufficient to meet the costs of local education authority contributions to the scheme.

Pupil-Teacher Ratios WA
Mr. Chapman asked the Sec. State Education and Science what is the latest pupil-teacher ratio in State primary and secondary schools, respectively; and how these ratios compare with 1978-79. **Dr. Mawhinney** asked the secretary of State for Education and Science if he will give the latest primary and secondary schools pupil-teacher ratios. **Dr. Boyson:** The ratio of pupils per qualified teacher in maintained primary schools in England fell from 23.1 in January 1979 to 22.5 in January 1982. In maintained secondary schools the comparable ratios were 16.7 in 1979 and 16.6 in 1982.

Catholic Colleges of Education WA
Mr. Allan Roberts asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will reverse the proposed cuts in teacher training places in Catholic colleges of education. **Sir Keith Joseph:** No. However, compared with the provisional proposals of 6 August the final decisions which I announced yesterday offered an increased overall allocation to Roman Catholic colleges and included provision for the continuation of initial teacher training at Newman college, Birmingham.

Sixth Form Pupils WA
Mr. Skinner asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will now introduce a weekly school maintenance grant for 16 to 80 year-olds; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. William Shelton:** My right hon. Friend has no plans to introduce a common maintenance allowance for 16 to 18 year olds in education. Local education authorities have discretionary powers to pay maintenance allowances to relieve hardship.

Corporal Punishment WA
Mr. Greenway asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will issue advice to the local authorities on the use of corporal punishment in schools. **Dr. Boyson:** We are still considering questions related to corporal punishment, about which we intend to consult interested parties.

School Places WA
Mr. Madel asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science what progress has been made in reducing the number of surplus school places in the light of falling rolls. **Dr. Boyson:** Between April 1975 and December 1980, the 97 LEAs in England took a net total of 196,000 places out of use. Returns for 1981 have so far been received from on 76 LEAs and show that these authorities took a further net total of 87,000 places out of use in that year.

Adult Education Service WA
Mr. Stan Thorne asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he proposes to extend the adult education service in 1983. **Mr. William Shelton:** The Government's expenditure plans for 1983-84 assume that the numbers of students in adult education courses provided by local education authorities in 1983-84 will remain at the same level as the projection for 1982-83. In general, to the extent that fees for some courses are raised, it shoud be possible for the subsidy for such group as the unemployed and old-age pensioners to be increased. In the case of bodies grant-aided by the Department, the plans provide, if costs are contained, for the level of support in 1983-84 to be broadly maintained at its present level.

Truancy WA
Mr. Heddle asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will state the average number of children in the 11 to 16 age group who play truant each day. **Dr. Boyson:** National figures on truancy are not collected on a regular basis. The last full count was undertaken in 1974; a sample survey was made in 1977.

School Discipline WA
Mr. Trippier asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will undertake a survey on school discipline; and if he will make a statement. **Dr. Boyson:** A survey on this wide-ranging topic is unlikely to produce new information or lead to better solutions. The key to effective discipline - to which I attach great importance - lies in the quality of the head and staff of a school, and the support they receive from their governors and local authority.

Workplace Nurseries WA
Miss Richardson asked the Sec. State Employment what information is available to him as to the provision of workplace nurseries within each country of the European Economic Community (a) for Government employees and (b) in the private sector. **Mr. Alison:** Recent information on provision in other member States of the European Community and Scotland is not readily available. I am

informed that on 31 March 1981 there were about 70 workplace nurseries in England and Wales registered with local authorities, providing about 2,000 places. My right hon. Friend the Sec. of State for Northern Ireland informs me that there are four workplace nurseries in the province. There are no workplace nurseries in Government Departments. **Miss Richardson** asked the Secretary of State for Employment what is the policy of Her Majesty's Government towards the provision of workplace nurseries. **Mr. Alison:** The Government believes that such provision is best left to free collective bargaining.

Young Workers Scheme WA
Mr. Foster asked the Sec. State Employment if he has made any estimate of the number of participants in the young workers scheme who would not otherwise have found a job. **Mr. Alison:** A preliminary survey conducted by officials of my Department suggests that approximately 10 per cent. of young people for whom employers are receiving payments under the young workers scheme are filling jobs which would not otherwise have existed if the scheme had not been introduced. **Mr. Foster** asked the Sec. State Employment if he is satisfied with the effectiveness of the young workers scheme; and what is its total annual cost. **Mr. Alison:** My officials are carrying out a continuous survey to assess the effectiveness of the scheme in meeting its objectives. We are satisfied with the results so far. The estimated cost of the scheme in the current financial year is £59 million.

V31 N6

Mr. Tilley asked the Sec. State Environment whether he proposes to take steps to modify the policy of his Department. **Mr. Heseltine:** We are continually seeking new ways, such as the urban development grant, of achieving urban regeneration. The urban programme is relatively new. It offers the opportunity for considerable flexibility. It is continually under review as a consequence. **Mr. Tilley:** Is the Minister aware of the reported remarks of his noble Friend and ministerial colleague, Lord Bellwin, on South Tyneside? Is he aware that Lord Bellwin is reported to have said that the Department is considering rejigging the inner city policy to take away the concentration of funds from the partnership areas? etc. etc. **Mr. Heseltine:** If the hon. Gentlemen keeps in mind the fact that his authority's allocation has been increased by 30 per cent. this year compared with last year, he will see the seriousness with which we treat the matter. **Mr. Alton:** Is the Secretary of State aware that over the past 12 months 10,000 trees have been planted in inner city Liverpool, and that one job has been lost for every tree planted and that one crime is committed every four minutes? His remedies are wholly cosmetic and irrelevant to the basic problems of unemployment and crime. **Mr. Heseltine:** I was not aware that 10,000 trees had been planted in Liverpool over the past 12 months. I shall give the deepest consideration to the implications of that.

Recreational and Sports Service WA
Mr. Denis Howell asked the Sec. State Environment why his Department has failed to provide adequate staff to complete and publish the findings of the Yates committee upon the training of management for the recreational and sports service; and when he now expects to publish the report. **Mr. Macfarlane:** The secretariat of the Yates committee was reduced two years ago when it seemed likely that its work would soon be completed. This forecast proved optimistic. **Mr. Howell:** Given that a committee was set up seven years ago to consider the important subject of public management and that it completed its work five years ago, what justification can there be - other than inadequate provision in the Department - for the fact that we are still waiting for secretarial help to produce the first draft? Now that the matter has been drawn to the Minister's attention, will he deal with it speedily? exch.

Unemployment and the Economy D
Mr. Peter Shore (Stepney and Poplar): I beg to move, at the end of the Question, to add - But humbly regret the continued failure of Your Government's economic policies; its stubborn refusal to learn from its own grievous mistakes; and the absence of effective measures to reduce Britain's mass unemployment. etc. etc. 14 pages: C.S. question negatived.

Police (Riot Equipment) WA
Mr. Eldon Griffiths asked the Sec. State Home Department if he is satisfied that there is now uniformity in the provision to police forces of protective clothing and equipment for dealing with riots. **Mr. Mayhew:** All police forces in England and Wales now have supplies of protective clothing and equipment. The precise amount required by any individual force is a matter for the judgment of the chief officer, having regard to the circumstances of his force and the arrangements under the Police Act 1964 for providing mutual assistance.

Schoolgirl Mothers WA
Miss Joan Lestor asked the Sec. State Education and Science what information is available to him as to the provision of daytime education for pregnant schoolgirls and schoolgirl mothers. **Dr. Boyson:** Some local education authorities run special units, while others provide home tuition when it is not practicable for a girl to attend school. The Department does not receive returns from authorities about such provision.

V31 N7

Football Hooliganism WA
Mr. McNally asked the Sec. State Environment if he is satisfied at measures taken thus far by the responsible authorities to combat soccer hooliganism at home and abroad. **Mr. Macfarlane:** So long as soccer hooliganism continues, I am not satisfied. At home there is general acceptance that hooliganism within football grounds is slowly diminishing as the result of preventive measures taken by the responsible authorities. There is still the occasional serious incident, but the majority of these now take place outside the grounds and these are matters for the law and order authorities. Similarly, most serious incidents abroad also take place outside football grounds. I am concerned, however, that the UEFA rules on ticket distribution and crowd segregation are sometimes ignored in European matches involving British clubs and national sides. I recently outlined to the Football Association a four-point plan for dealing with crowd violence. This included: (a) reconstituting the liaison group which carried out much of the pre-planning for the World Cup in Spain last June and helped contribute to the lack of crowd violence there. This group is chaired by the Football Association's chairman and comprises representatives of the Football Association, Football League and officials of the Foreign and Commonwealth Office and of my Department. Following initial discussions, which centred mainly on the forthcoming Greece v England match, it will, as necessary, invite representatives from transport undertakings and the police. The group will have even wider extended membership when dealing with hooliganism at home; (b) limiting sales of tickets for matches in Europe involving England to members of the England Football Supporters' Club - should the Football Association decide to take tickets for matches abroad; (c) the Football Association to insist that UEFA must ensure that its ground rules and recommendations are followed by host clubs at all matches involving British teams in Europe; (d) I intended to meet as soon as possible my opposite numbers from other European countries to seek their co-operation in supporting measures aimed at limiting crowd violence. etc. exch.

Sport and Recreation WA
Mr. Woodall asked the Sec. State Environment if he is satisfied that sufficient financial provision is available to increase the present level of participation in sport and recreation. **Mr. Macfarlane:** The country can only invest in sport what overall resources the economy can afford. It is up to the Sports Council, through grants and loans, to persuade the private sector, local authorities and voluntary organisations to invest in sport. To help the Sports Council in these aims its annual grant-in-aid over the past three years has grown in real terms, as follows:

	£ million
1979-80	15.73
1980-81	19.31
1981-82	21.03

For 1982-83 the expected outturn is £22.76 million, plus an additional £1 million for the Merseyside initiative. In addition, in 1981-82 sport and recreation projects under my Department's urban programmes accounted for £23 million. For 1982-83 the expected outturn for sport and recreation projects under these programmes is £29.7 million.

Paedophile Literature (Prisons) WA
Mr. Eldon Griffiths asked the Sec. State Home Department if paedophile literature is permitted in Her Majesty's prisons; and why a prisoner at Wandsworth convicted of corrupting public morals was allowed to receive a review for publication in the paedophile magazine *Magpie)*, a book on the subject of sexual intercourse with children. **Mr. Mayhew:** Under the prison standing orders the governor may withhold or withdraw a publication in the interests of preserving good order and discipline or in the interests of an inmate's health; or in the case of a book containing pornographic material in the interests of preserving the health and morals of an inmate or other inmates. It is for the governor to decide whether actrion to withhold or withdraw a publication is appropriate in the light of the circumstances and conditions within his prison.

Detention Centres WA.
Mr. Kilroy-Silk asked the Sec. State Home Department what representations he has received from the members of staff and the Prison Officers Association about the short, sharp shock régime at detention centres. **Mr. Kilroy-Silk** asked the Sec. State Home Department when the evaluation of the short, sharp shock régime at detention centres will be completed and published. **Mr. Mayhew:** The only formal representations that have been received on behalf of staff about the tougher régimes pilot project were contained in a memorandum by the Prison Officers Association that was sent to us in June. The memorandum urged a fundamental reappraisal of the project and we shall consider it alongside our own evaluation next year. In the meantime we are giving attention to a number of the POA's specific points.

Student Grants WA
Mr. McNally asked the Sec. State Education and Science if it is his intention to announce the proposed increase in student grants for 1983; and when he will do so. **Mr. Beith** asked the Sec. State Education and Science what assumption he has made about student numbers in calculating the cost to public funds of any increase in student grant levels for 1983-84. **Mr. Waldegrave:** For the purposes of my right hon. Friend's statement on 8 November, about public expenditure on education and science including student awards in 1983-84, it was assumed that there would be about 340,000 students receiving mandatory awards in England and Wales in the academic year 1983-84.

Youth Service (Review) WA
Mr. Skeet asked the Sec. State Education and Science when he proposes to implement the recommendations of the report of the review group on the youth service in England (Cmnd. 8686) and to introduce requisite legislation. **Mr. Alton** asked the Sec. State Education and Science what is his policy towards the report of the review group on the youth service experience and participation. **Mr. William Shelton:** My right hon. Friend believes that it would be premature to reach conclusions on many of the recommendations in this wide-ranging report, including those on legislation, before the public has had time to react to it. However, my right hon. Friend is now considering whether there are some recommendations in the report on which earlier decisions are appropriate.

Child Benefit WA
Mr. Squire asked the Sec. State Social Services what is his latest estimate of the savings made in the years November 1982 to 1983 and 1983 to 1984 as a result of the introduction of four-weekly child benefit. **Mr. Newton:** I regret that the information is not available in the form requested. Estimates are related to financial years. The administrative savings which will result from the introduction of four weekly child benefit are now estimated to be:

Financial year	*£ million*
1982/83	0.4
1983/84	1.4
1984/85	2.5

V31 N8

Young Persons (Education)WA
Sir William van Straubenzee asked the Prime Minister whether she is satisfied with the existing arrangements for technical and vocational education for young people. **The Prime Minister:** Growing concern about existing arrangements has been expressed over many years, not least by the National Economic Development Council. I have asked the chairman of the Manpower Services Commission, together with my right hon. Friends the Secretaries of State for Education and Science, for Employment and for Wales, to develop a pilot scheme to start by September 1983, for new institutional arrangements for technical and vocational education for 14 to 18-year-olds, within existing financial resources, and, where possible, in association with local education authorities.

Transfer of Children WA
Mr. Beith asked the Sec. State Education and Science whether he will list those local education authorities whose systems involve the transfer of children from first to middle schools at or before the age of nine years. **Dr. Boyson:** In January 1982, the latest date for which figures are readily available, 45 local education authorities had systems which included the transfer of children to middle schools at or before the age of nine, tables follow: C.S.

Suicides WA
Mr. Meacher asked the Sec. State Home Department (1) what was, for each of the last five years, the number of suicides and the number of attempted suicides of persons detained in prison; (2) what were the numbers of suicides or attempted suicides in each of the past five years of persons in the population as a whole, other than those in prison. **Mr. Mayhew:** Information on the number of suicides in prison department establishments for the last 11 years is published in "Prison statistics England and Wales" - table 10.4 of the volume for 1981, Cmnd. 8654. In relation to the population as a whole, the numbers of verdicts of suicide returned at coroners' inquests in England and Wales in the same years were published in table 5 of Home Office Statistical Bulletin, issue No. 23/82 on 9 November 1982. Figures are not collected centrally on the number of attempted suicides in prison department establishments or for the population as a whole.

School Leavers WA
Sir Harlold Wilson asked the Sec State Employment how many school leavers who ceased full-time education in the borough of Knowsley, Merseyside, during the school years 1980-81 and 1981-82, respectively, have not yet found full-time employment; and, in respect of each year, how many are currently registered for industrial training on State schemes. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The information requested is not available because statistics on school leaver unemployment are not analysed according to the year in which young people left school. However, the total number of school leavers under 18 years of age registered as unemployed in the borough of Knowsley on 14 October was 1,578. Training is provided for unemployed school leavers under the youth opportunities programme, but figures of those currently on the programme in particular local authority areas are not available, etc., exch.

V32 N10

European Social Fund WA
Sir Anthony Meyer asked the Sec State Employment what proportion of total expenditure under each of the major training and retraining projects supervised by his Department was funded through the European social fund in each of the past three years for which figures are available. **Mr. Alison:** Details of Manpower Services Commission expenditure on youth opportinities programme, the training opportunities scheme, the training for skills programme and community industry, together with the details of European social fund allocations made in the relevant years, are given in the following tables. Since fund allocations are made on a calendar year basis, while Commission expendi-

ture is calculated on a financial year basis, the figures are not directly comparable. Not all expenditure on the programmes in question in eligible for assistance under the rules of the fund.

Police Force WA
Mr. Colvin asked the Sec State Home Department how many personnel are currenlty employed in the police force: and how many were employed at a similar date in 1978 and 1979. **Mr. Mayhew:** The figures are as follows:

Police and police civilian strengths in England and Wales on 30 September

	Total Police strength	*Total Police civilian strength*
1982	120,323	43,984
1979	112,491	44,020
1978	108,040	42,915

Family Income WA
Mr. Squire asked the Chancellor of the Exchequer if he will update for 1982-83 the figures for average real weekly net incomes. **Mr. Ridley** gave answer: tables ½ page: C.5.

Teacher Education and Training (North-East) WA
Mr. Beith asked the Sec State Education and Science when he expects the centre for teacher education and training which he proposes for the North-East to open; and what consulatations he plans to conduct on the location and size of the centre. **Mr. Waldegrave:** My right hon. Friend has decided in principle that a significant centre of teacher education and training should be built up in the North-East. Timing and location remain for decision after consulation. The Department will consider in due course the best form of consultations on its size and location.

Unemployed Young Persons WA
Mr. Trotter asked the Sec State Education and Science how many schools and further education colleges offer courses of up to 21 hours a week for unemployed young people; and how many students are attending such courses. **Mr. William Shelton:** This information is not identifiable from the annual enrolment returns made by local education authorities to the Department but, in a research project commissioned by DES, Youthaid has so far identified about 150 FE colleges and schools in England which, in 1981-82, made 21 hours provision for about 6,500 students. These are early and possibly imcomplete figures which may need to be revised in the light of Youthaid's continuing work.

Family Income Supplement WA
Mr. Peter Bottomley asked the Sec State Social Services what is the latest figure of the numbers in receipt of family income supplement, divided into one and two-parent families; and what are the latest estimates of the proportion of family income supplement recipients with incomes above the tax threshold and of the take-up of family income supplement. **Mr. Newton:** 155,000 families were receiving family income supplement at the end of August 1982 and they comprised 86,000 two-parent families and 69,000 lone-parent families. In April 1982, the latest date for which the analysis is available, about 85 per cent. of the 143,000 families then receiving family income supplement had declared weekly incomes above their tax threshold at the time their claim was made. The latest official estimate of take-up of familiy income supplement is 15 per cent. and is explained in the report, "The Take-up of Family Income Supplement: Note on the Estimate Derived from the Family Finance Survey" published in 1981. The family finance survey was conducted over the period of 12 months from October 1978 to September 1979. In the succeeding periods of 12 months, the number of awards rose substantially: tables for period: 1 page C.5.

Legal Aid (Scotland) WA
Mr. Dewar asked the SEc State Scotland if he will publish table equvalent, respectively, to *(a)* schedule 8, *(b)* schedule 9, *(c)* schedule 10 and *(d)* schedule 11 in the 31st annual report on the Scottish legal aid scheme 1980-81 for the year to 31 March 1982 and for the latest convenient periods for which figures are available in each case. Figures in table: 2 pages: C.5. exch 2 pages. **Mr. Allan Stewart** The information relating to 1981-82 is set out in the following tables:

V32 N11

Voluntary and Community Organisations WA
Mr. Gordon Wilson asked the Sec State Scotland if he is satisfied that voluntary and community organisations in Scotland receive sufficient funding from the Government's urban programme. **The Under-Secretary of State for Scotland (Mr. Allan Stewart):** This year voluntary sector projects will account for a substantial proportion of the urban programme. Substantial sums are involved - £2 million capital and £3 million current - but I should be happy to see that voluntary sector benefit still further from the programme. etc, etc: exch.

Toxteth (Disturbances) WA
Mr. Parry asked the Sec State Home Department how many claims have been made to the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board following the Toxteth riots in July 1981. **Mr. Mayhew:** I understand that 227 applications have been received; 176 have been settled; and 161 are still under consideration. **Mr. Parry** asked the Secretary of State for the Home Department whether he has yet replied to the request he received from the Merseyside police committee for a public inquiry into the use of CS gas in Toxteth in July 1981. **Mr. Whitelaw:** I hope that it will be possible for a reply to be sent to the committee shortly.

Unemployment Statistics WA
Mr. Skinner asked the Sec State Employment what is the current level of unemployment in the East Midland among the following groups *(a)* men, *(b)* women and *(c)* 16 to 18-year-olds; and what was the corresponding figure for 1979. **Mr. Alison:** The following table gives the numbers registered as unemployed in the East Midlands region for the groups specified at October 1979 and October 1982.

	October 1979	*October 1982*
Male	51,413	138,329
Female	22,347	56,205
Aged 18 and under (included in previous columns)	9,569	27,064

Mr. Skinner asked the Secretary of State for Employment what is the most recent figure for the level of unemployment among 18 and 19-year-olds; and what was the corresponding figure for 1979. **Mr. Alison:** At October 1982, the number of people aged 18 to 19 years registered as unemployed in the United Kingdom was 381,282. The corresponding number at October 1979 was 135,998, etc., etc: Exch.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA
Mr. Parry asked the Sec State Employment how many young people are engaged on youth opportunities programme schemes at the latest avaliable date; and what was the figure for November 1979. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** It is estimated that there were 265,000 places filled by young people on the youth opportunities programme at the end of October 1982, the latest date for which figures are available. There were 95,000 places filled by young people at the end of November 1979.

Battered Women (Refuges) WA
Mr. Ashley asked the Sec State Environment how much money local authorities have provided for women's refuges in each year since 1979; and what is the number and nature of authorities that have provided such money. **Mr. King:** This information is not collected centrally. **Mr. Ashley** asked the Secretary of State for the Environment if he will list the authorities which had requested urban aid for women's refugers in each year since 1979; which requests were successful; and whether they are sponsored by authorities with responsibility for social services, housing or both. Figures in table: 1 page: C.5. **Mr. King:** The information requested for 1982-83 is set out in the followig table. Equivalent information for earlier years cannot be provided except at disproportionate cost.

Young Persons (Statistics) WA
Mr. McNally asked the Sec State Social Services, what is the best estimate of the number of *(a)* 16 and *(b)* 17-year-olds in England in each year from 1983 to 1988. **Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg:** The number of residents aged 16 and 17 years on 30 June of each year, as given in the projections by the office of Population censuses and Surveys, are as follows:

England

Year	*Age 16 thousands*	*Age 17 thousands*
1983	760.4	765.3
1984	733.4	763.2
1985	737.9	736.2
1986	708.5	740.7
1987	728.3	711.4
1988	687.8	731.2

These figures are based on the mid-1979 population estimates and do not yet take into account the results of the 1981 census. A new set of projections will be published about mid-1983.

Young Persons (Statistics) Wales: WA
Mr. McNally asked the Sec State Wales what is his best estimate of the number of *(a)* 16 and *(b)* 17-year olds in Wales in each year from 1983 to 1988. **Mr. Michael Roberts:** The information is given as follows:

1979 Based Home Population Projections for Wales

Year	*Age 16 Thousands*	*Age 17 Thousands*
1983	44.7	44.8
1984	42.8	44.6
1985	44.0	42.7
1986	42.7	43.9
1987	43.9	42.5
1988	41.6	43.7

These estimates do not take account of the 1981 census of pupulation. Projections based on 1981, taking account of the census, will be available towards the end of 1983.

Needy Children (Clothing Allowances) WA
Mr. James Hamilton asked the Sec State Scotland if he will take steps to assist regional councils to pay clothing allowances for needy children. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** The number and level of clothing grants is a matter for educatin authorities to decide in the light of their own assessment of clothing needs in individual cases and my right hon. Friend has no plans to provide extra resources for this purpose.

V32 N12

CS Gas WA
Mr. Parry asked the Sec State Home department what further consideration he has given to the requests for a public inquiry into th use of CS gas during the Toxteth riots in July 1981. **(Mr. William Whitelaw):** I remain of the view that it would not be proper to institute such an inquiry. Civil proceedings are pending against the police on the part of three people injured by CS projectiles, and the matters are therfore sub judice, exch.

Unemployment Statistics D
The Secretary of State for Employment (Mr. Norman Tebbit): I wish to make a statement about unemployment statistics. In March 1981 a scrutiny under the auspices of Sir Derek Rayner on the payment of benefit to unemployed people, recommended that registration at jobcentres by unemployed people claiming benefit should become voluntary, as it was not an effective test of availability for work and abolition would benefit both job seekers and the employment service. Acceptance of that recommendation was announced in July last year and it came into effect on 18 October. Jobcentres can now cut wasteful procedures and concentrate on their main task of matching jobs and job seekers. etc., etc: exch: 4 pages: C.5.

Urban Programme WA
Mr. Grist : asked the Sec State Wales whether he will review the level of allocations for the urban programme in the current year. **Mr. Nicholas Edwards:** I have decided to approve a further !1.47 million of capital expenditure on urban programme schemes for 1982-83. This brings the total urban programme allocation for Wales in 1982-83 to £16.8 million.

Catapults WA
Mr. David Watkins: asked the Sec State Home Department if he will introduce legislation to control the strength and availability of catapults and similar devices not covered by firearms regulations. **Mr. Mayhew:** No. We are not persuaded that such controls would be justified or effective.

Young Persons (Statistics) WA
Mr. McNally asked the Sec State Scotland what is his best estimate of the number of *(a)* 16 and *(b)* 17-year-olds in Scotland in each year from 1983 to 1988. **Mr. John MacKay:** The latest - 1979 based-official population projections produced by the Registrar General show the following:

	16 year old thoudands	*17 year old*
1983	89.6	87.9
1984	86.4	89.0
1985	85.6	85.7
1986	82.3	84.9
1987	81.6	81.6
1988	77.5	81.0

New - 1981 based - projections are now being prepared for publicaction next year. A very provisional estimate, taking into account information from the 1981 census, suggests that the new projection will show figures which are of the order of 1 per cent. higher in each case.

Pupil Numbers WA
Mr. McNally asked the Sec State Educations and Science what is the estimated number of *(a)* primary school pupils and *(b)* secondary school pupils attending schools in England in (i)1981-82, (ii)1982-83 and (iii)his best estimate of the numbers in each category in each year from 1983-84 to 1988-89. **Dr. Boyson:** The provisional count of pupils in maintained schools in England in January 1982 and projections for each of the following seven years are as follows:

January	Pupils (thousands) Primary (5+)	Secondary
1982	3,619	3,798
1983	3,432	3,748
1984	3,317	3,659
1985	3,275	3,544
1986	3,289	3,407
1987	3,303	3,267
1988	3,328	3,099
1989	3,375	2,954

V32 N13

Higher Education WA

Mr. McNally asked the Sec State Education and Science what was the estimated cost of tuition of a student in higher education in England in each of the last five years for which figures are available. **Mr. Waldegrave:** The available information is as follws:

Net institutional recurrent cost per full-time equivalent student

	(November 1981 prices) £
1976-77	4,010
1977-78	3,940
1978-79	4,050
1979-80	4,170
1980-81	3,940

Young Offenders WA

Dr. Dubs asked the Sec State Home Department how many offenders aged under 21 years are currently held in *(a)* young prinsoners' wings of local prinsons, *(b)* ordinary wings of local prisons and *(c)* other prison establishments catering largely for adults. **Mr. Mayhew:** The latest readily available information is given in the following table:

Type of prison	Number
Local prisons with young prisoner wings	690
Other local prisons	1,055
Closed prisons, with young prisoner wings	101
Other adult prisons	67
Total	1,913

Police Training School, Hendon WA

Mrs. Renee Short asked the Sec State Home Department if he is satisfied with the current curriculum for police cadets at the Hendon police training school. **Mr. Mayhew:** The training of cadets is a matter for the commissioner. We understand that the curriculum is designed to develop the social awareness and powers of leadership of the cadets, their academic potential and their physical fitness, and to give them an elementary knowledge of the police duties in which those who later become police recruits will be trained.

V32 N14

Youth Service (Wales) WA

Mr. D. E. Thomas asked the Secretary of State for Wales whether he is satisfied that the youth service in Wales is able to provide for all young people who have need of it; and if he will make a statement.

Mr. Michael Roberts: Her Majesty's inspectors have recently undertaken a comprehensive study of the youth services provided by local education authorities and voluntary organisations in Wales. I expect to have their report by next spring.

Mr. Thomas: Will the Minister tell us when he expects to publish this report so that there can be full discussion of its implications within the youth service in Wales, as the Government have puublished already the report of the review group on youth service in England?

Mr. Roberts: It will be my intention to publish the report soon after I receive it from the inspectors. There is no real reason for accepting the English report as we have our own coming out in the spring.

Sir Anthony Meyer: Does my right hon. Friend accept that the proposals recently put forward by his righ hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Employmebht, for job-splitting among young people, could make a useful contribution to ensuring that larger numbers of school leavers have a job to go to, even if it is for the time being, a part-time job?

Mr. Roberts: The proposal to split jobs is helpful for young people seeking employment. When we are discussing the youth service, we are more concerned with the services and clubs provided for young people in the Principality.

Teacher Training WA

Mr. McNally asked the Sec State Educationand Science what was the total expenditure on *(a)* in-service training and *(b)* initial teacher triaining in England in each of the past five years. **Mr. Waldegrave:** The only information available on total expenditure on in-service training is from the Department's 1979 survey of induction and in-service training which showed that total local authrotiy expenditure on in-service training in the finanicial year 1978-79 in Enlgland was £51 million at outturn prices. This figure excludes net institutional expendiutre by universities and voluntary colleges on the privision on in-service courses which cannot be separtately identified. The expenditure covered training for the full-time equivalent of 4,900 teachers. The survey is to be repeated next year, but available evidence indicates that the numbers of teacher released for in-service training have been broadly maintained. The costs of intitial teacher training are not precisely identifiable within higher education and vary widely between institutions. However, the total gross cost of initial teacher training, including the cost of first degree students who subsequently enter PGCE courses, for each of the last five years is estimated to be approximately as follows

	£ million (outturn prices)
1976-77	225
1977-78	210
1978-79	195
1979-80	200
1980-81	235

Pupil Numbers (Wales) WA

Mr. McNally asked the Sec Stat Wales what is the estimated number of *(a)* primary school pupils and *(b)* secondary school pupils attending schools in Wales in (i) 1981-98, (ii)1982-83 and (iii) his best estimate of the numbers in each category in each year from 1983-84 to 1988-89. **Mr. Michael Roberts:** The information is shown in the following table:

School Population

	Full-time equivalents (Thousands) Primary schools	Secondary schools
1981/82 actual	267.0	237.2
1982/83 projections	258.4	235.7
1983/84 projections	251.9	232.4
1984/85 projections	249.5	226.7
1985/86 projections	249.8	218.9

Training Opportunities Programm WA

Mr. Harold Walker asked the Sec. State Employment how many people have received training under the training opportunities programme in each of the last five years; and what he expects will be the number for the current year and for 1983. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The numbers of adults completing courses under the training opportunities scheme in each of the last five financial years were as follows:

	Number
1977-78	78,613
1978-79	70,187
1979-80	74,489
1980-81	66,418
1981-82	61,396

About 61,000 people are expected to complete courses in 1982-83. Plans for 1983-84 have not yet been finalised, but the numbers are expected to be slightly higher than in 1982-83.

V32 N15

New Training Initiative OA

Mr. Needham asked the Sec. State Employment if he is satisfied with the progress of the new training initiative. **The Under-Sec. State Employment (Mr. Peter Morrison):** To date, yes, sir. **Mr. Needham:** Will my hon. Friend congratulate the CBI on the tremendous efforts that it has made to find sufficient places for young people under the NTI? Is he satisfied that industry and commerce will be capable of finding suitable opportunities for the vast majority of young people next September? **Mr. Morrison:** I assure my hon. Friend that I congratulate the CBI constantly on what it has done to encourage industrialists and men of commerce to come forward as sponsors of the youth training scheme. etc. etc.

Community Programme OA

Mr. Marks asked the Sec. State Employment what representations he has received from voluntary organisations about the Government's community programme for unemployed people. **Mr. Alison:** The community programme began on 1 October 1982 and the initial response from sponsors has been encouraging. By 8 November 4,041 temporary jobs under the programme had been approved and 60,000 further jobs are being negotiated with project sponsors. I am satisfied that the representations from voluntary organisations, which I listed on 26 October were based on a misunderstanding of the programme. **Mr. Marks:** Is the Minister aware that there is still oonsiderable anxiety among voluntary organisations, which regard the scheme as cosmetic? They ask: what is the true cost of the scheme to the Government? Is it the same as for the original scheme that was announced? Will the Minister see the voluntary organisations on a national basis to consider the programme? **Mr. Alison:** We are always willing to see any voluntary organisation that wants to speak about the programme. There has been no concealment of the cost figures. The gross cost, including that of the current community enterprise programme which will provide 130,000 jobs, will be £575 million in a full year. The oncost of the new community programme will be an additional £185 million. etc. etc. exch. 1 page: C.S.

Apprenticeships OA

Mr. Wigley asked the Sec. State Employment if he will take steps to improve the opportunities for apprenticeships for young persons leaving schools. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** This year we are providing over £50 million to support training for first-year and redundant apprentices, and from next September young people taken on as apprentices can come within the scope of our £1 billion new youth training scheme. **Mr. Wigley:** Does the Minister accept that, compared with 10 years ago, the situation is now serious? There are many companies, in both the private and the public sector, which a decade ago had dozens of apprentices but who now have none. So far this year, progress has been minimal. What gives the Minister any hope that the new package in September will bring about adrastic change? **Mr. Morrison:** I agree with the hon. Gentleman that the pattern of working life has changed radically over the past 10 years. I believe strongly that the new youth training scheme is a basis on which we can build for the future. **Mrs. Shirley Williams:** Will the Minister confirm that the number of apprenticeships has declined to 60 per cent. of the 1979 figure? Does he agree that so far there is no sign that young men and women can reach craft status through any of the short-term schemes that the Government have introduced, and this at a time when skill shortages are likely to be one of the main blocks to recovery, should it ever come? etc. etc. exch.

Adolescent Disturbance (Treatment) WA

Dr. Roger Thomas asked the Sec. State Wales where in each health authority in Wales there are centres specialising in the treatment and the continued support of cases of adolescent disturbances; and whether there are any plans for more such units. **Mr. Wyn Roberts:** Whitchurch hospital, Cardiff and St. Cadoc's hospital, Gwent have beds designated in the specialty of adolescent psychiatry. Services for this group are provided in the NHS throughout Wales through a network of out-patient and in-patient facilities at hospitals which care for mentally ill and mentally handicapped people. These are augmented by the child guidance and family support services of consultants specialising in child adolescent psychiatry. It is the responsibility of the district health authorities to plan provision in the light of local needs.

Unemployment Statistics WA

Mr. Hudson Davies asked the Sec. State Wales what percentage of the adult population of Wales was unemployed during the latest month for which figures are available; and how this compares with the figures for the same month of 1981, 1980 and 1979. **Mr. Wyn Roberts:** The information is as follows:

At October each year	Adult population (thousands)	Unemployed Number (thousands)	Percentage
1979	2,049.5	80.1	(3.9)
1980	2,060.8	119.1	(5.8)
1981	2,042.2	158.2	(7.7)
1982	2,089.1	174.1	(8.3)

Youth Programmes WA

Mr. Les Huckfield asked the Sec. State Employment whether he will now publish details of those on various youth programmes sponsored through his Department by travel-to-work or employment exchange areas. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Figures for entrants to the youth opportunities programme are available at local authority district level. The degree of details for other youth programmes varies. I do not think that the expense involved in collecting more details figures could be justified.

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.

09-9-83 "Disability in Adolescence" chronicles the failure of society to meet the needs of disabled young people (TES).

09-9-83 The National Bureau for Handicapped Students has published a series of information sheets to help disabled young people to find suitable courses (TES).

10-9-83 Deaf people are concerned that there may be a threat to the future supply of hearing aids for telephone users. (Guardian).

10-9-83 A Disability Alliance survey reveals that the majority of disabled people entitled to cash benefits are failing to claim or failing to obtain them (Guardian).

14-6-83 **Divorce:** A Working Party Report from the Church of England Children's Society recommends that children should have the freedom to veto or extend the right of divorced parents to visit them (Guardian).

07-5-83 **Drugs:** The Solvent Abuse (Scotland) Bill received an unopposed third reading in the House of Commons. (Guardian)

13-5-83 The Irish Government has set up a ministerial task force on drugs after the diclosure that heroin abuse in Dublin's inner city is reaching New York levels. (TES)

26-5-83 40 USA states have banned or limited smoking in public buildings. (Guardian)

10-6-83 A British Medical Journal reports states that private doctors are channelling large amounts of controlled drugs on to the black market by over prescribing. (Guardian)

13-6-83 A TV programme claims that heroin can be bought in every part of Britain. (Guardian)

30-6-83 Health Education Council researchers believe that children's pleas to their parents to give up smoking may be as influential as warning by doctors. (Guardian)

03-8-83 The Home Office has instigated a series of prosecutions under the 1959 Obscene Publications Act against the sale of books 'glorifying' drugs. (S. Times)

06-7-83 More than a million people in Britain have given up smoking since 1980. (Guardian)

10-7-83 The anti-smoking campaign intend to broaden their attack to try to wreck the tobacco industry's expansion in the Third World. (S. Times)

12-7-83 A report from the institute of Alcohol Studies states that young people drink more than older people and suffer more from hangovers. (Guardian)

24-7-83 The Solvent Abuse (Scotland) Act 1983 has been introduced in an attempt to crack down on glue-sniffing. (S. Times)

28-7-83 The police are concerned about the increasing use of hard drugs in Scotland. (Guardian)

29-7-83 A survey in Spain shows that most secondary school teachers are ignorant of the effects of the most commonly used drugs. (TES)

28-8-83 A high court judge in Scotland has ruled that selling glue-sniffing 'kits' to children is a crime under Scottish law (TES)

29-8-83 The increased use of drugs in Scotland is causing problems for the police and social workers. (Guardian)

03-9-83 The BMA and Ash have criticised the tabacco industry for asking 'loaded' questions in a survey on people's attitudes to smoking. (Guardian)

09-9-83 A government report indicates widespread support for anti-smoking measures. (Guardian)

20-5-83 **EEC:** An unpublished study by the OECD on the views of young people towards education and work suggests that they are critical of the system and frustrated by the way schools work. (TES)

10-6-83 A meeting between EEC education and employment ministers has brought a clear commitment to improve education and vocational training among the member countries. (TES)

24-6-83 **Gypsies:** An HMI report shows that fewer than half the primary age children of travelling families go to school. (Teacher)

12-9-83 **Homelessness:** Nearly 2,000 single homeless people in Glasgow are to share a benefit rebate after an admission by DHSS officials that it had failed to meet their meal allowances or laundry bills. (Guardian)

04-5-83 **Homosexuality:** The Conservative Group for Homosexual Reform wants the age of consent for homosexuals lowered from 21 to 16. (Guardian)

13-5-83 A public service announcement advertising a London homosexual counselling service has been banned by the IBA. (Guardian)

19-5-83 The GLC police committee has financed a card which advises homosexuals not to answer police questions until they have consulted a solicitor. (Guardian)

28-5-83 Gay News has been bought by a businessman who intends to re-launch the paper as soon as possible. (Guardian)

01-7-83 A GLC group recommends that teachers and other council employees should not be penalised for wearing gay badges or displayiang homosexual affection at work. (TES)

07-7-83 Manchester City Council is to withdraw financial aid from the Gay Information Centre next year. (Guardian)

29-7-83 young homosexuals of both sexes have made video about being gay, entitled "Framed Youth-Revenge of the Teenage Perverts'. (TES)

01-8-83 The Mothers Union has published a leaflet on understanding homosexuality. (Guardian)

25-8-83 Two separate reports on the Paedophile Information Exchange have been prepared for ministers after Scotland Yard's third investigation into the organisation. (Guardian)

29-8-83 Homosexual activists defended the right of the Paedophile Information Exchange to speak and organise freely whilst at the same time CHE condemned all violent attacks on children. (Guardian)

02-9-83 The Home Secretary has asked all chief constables to forward to him the methods they have found most effective in dealing with sexual assaults on children cases. (Guardian)

23-5-83 **Homelessness:** The Social Security Advisory Committee reports that studies in three areas show that the DHSS is failing to provide enought cash for thousands of homeless people to find a decent room for the night. (Guardian)

20-6-83 Shelter has called for radical changes in the way then Government monitors homelessness. (Guardian)

18-7-83 **Housing:** the Director of Shelter has called upon the organisation to drop its opposition to council tenants' right to buy their homes. (Guardian)

19-7-83 A report highlights defects in the external walls of much of council housing built during the post war decade. (Guardian)

10-8-83 Community groups occupied the show house of a development of executive flats beside Battersea Bridge in protest about the way the community was losing the rive frontage to luxury houses and offices. (Guardian)

22-7-83 **Literacy:** One in 10 young adults admit to problems with reading, writing or spelling according to a report from the Adult Literacy and Basic Skills Unit. (TES)

24-6-83 **Media:** A group fo 15 teachers in a DES Report strongly criticise Dallas and the Kenny Everett Show on TV. (Teacher)

12-8-83 A social history of rock music is reviewed on the publication "Sound Effects: Youth, Leisures and the politics of rock'n'roll". (TES)

19-8-83 New research has found that television plays a significant part in the lives of children as young as two. (TES)

11-5-83 **Mental Health:** David Brandon reports on 42nd Street, a project set up to meet the needs of ex-psychiatric patients in Manchester. (Guardian)

30-5-83 Long Grove psychiatric hospital in Surrey has launched a scheme designed to try to move 50 of its 800 residential patients into private homes by offering £60 per week. (Guardian)

20-7-83 A confidential report on the outdated conditions still lived in by thousands of mentally handicapped people is revealed together with evidence that little has been done to improve those conditions. (Guardian)

24-7-83 Patients in the USA sent home from hospital under a community care policy are revealed as now walking the streets because of the failure of the national network of community health centres to materialise. (S. Times)

26-7-83 The Health Minister is challenged to prove his claims that the mentally handicapped are being helped. (Guardian)

19-8-83 **Motor Cycles:** Teenage motorcyclists live up to their devil-may-care reputation, according to a new research study involving 1,000 fifth-formers. (TES)

04-5-83 **Old People:** The Pensioners' Protection Group in Yeovil, a joint venture of police and pensioners is designed to serve as a clearing house for the safety concerns of the elderly and a resource-centre for practical advice. (Guardian)

23-5-83 The National Pensioners' Convention was shown a report which revealed that British pensioners are worse off than almost anywhere else in the EEC. (Guardian)

10-6-83 A booklet on education for the old states that it may be cheaper to provide education for the elderly than to allow them to slip into mental and physical decline. (TES)

15-6-83 An examination of ageism in the media and the challenge to discrimination. (Guardian)

16-6-83 Nicholas Stacey, Director of Social Services in Kent suggests that private companies and local councils should rent out mobile Portakabins so that elderly relatives can be close to the children. (Guardian)

29-7-83 **Play:** The Government is to increase the Sports Council's Grant by £600,000 to allow it support the newly formed Association for Children's Play and Recreation. (TES)

29-7-83 Thousands of children on holiday may be at risk from lead poisoning from swings, slides and other playground equipment. (TES)

10-8-83 In playgrounds, boys have more accidents with slides, roundabouts and climbing frames but girls are equally involved on swings says a study of accidents. (Guardian)

09-9-83 Local authorities and voluntary bodies have been told that they should have an insurance cover of £1M for playgound accidents. (TES)

03-5-83 **Police:** The National Association of Probation Officers argues in a partliamentary briefing paper on the Police Bill that the extended powers of stop and search will be used to excess against certain groups of young people. (Guardian)

04-5-83 The community-police consultative group in Lambeth welcomed figures which showed that robbery and other violent thefts had fallen by over a third in Brixton in the last year. (Guardian)

09-5-83 A move to add more teeth to confidential proposals prepared for the Home Secretary on the training of police constables is being blocked by senior police and Home Office officials. (Guardian)

26-5-83 The Chairman of the Police Federation told the Conference of the organisation that the police must remain the servants of the people, not politicians or special interest groups. (Guardian)

15-6-83 The Law Society and the Police Federation have joined forces to present the Home Office with a package of changes they want to see applied to the Police Bill.(Guardian).

07-7-83 Lay visits to police stations are to be extended as part of a scheme to bring the police and the community together. (Guardian)

18-7-83 The head of the police cadet training school at Hendon believes that the row over racialist essays written by London police cadets has helped the Metropolitan force to tackle racialism. (Guardian)

29-7-83 The training of new police officers outside the the London area is to be lengthened and radically improved next year after an inquiry set up on the recommendation of the Scarman Report into the 1981 Brixton riots. (Guardian)

17-8-83 The high crime rate in south London Borough of Lambeth has decreased dramatically over the last year according to figures from the Metropolitan Police. (Guardian)

27-8-83 The police should not overlook the importance of their social service functions according to the Police Review. (Guardian)

03-9-83 Police forces are to bring in a uniform procedure for handing information in major investigations. (Guardian)

07-9-83 The Metropolitan Police have launched a Neighbourhood Watch and Property marking Scheme which they hope will lead to a reduction in burglaries. (Guardian)

09-9-83 A Home Office survey of police complaints procedures warns that civilian investigators can become too identified with the police. (Guardian)

10-9-83 A Home Office researcher suggests that previous studies which have supported community policing have not been based on hard evidence. (Guardian)

01-7-83 **Political Education:** A report from London University's Institute of Education call for political education to figure in the common curriculum of every student teacher. (Teacher)

16-5-83 **Poverty/Welfare Benefits:** The Low Pay Unit calls for a national minimum wage for the country's 7 Million low paid workers. (Guardian)

20-6-83 The number of one parent families has almost doubled since 1972. (Guardian)

law

'Law' is an occasional column which provides periodic updates on the general legal framework of youth affairs. Inclusions will be brief and are intended only as a general guide. The legislative context of work with young people is currently changing very rapidly and practitioners are advised to seek comprehensive advice on a particular issues if they are at all unsure.

Employee or Trainee? Legal Rights and Youth Training Schemes

Employee status is the foundation upon which almost all rights under employment law are based. This begs the question "Are young people on YTS trainees or employees?" There are two strands to YTS: Mode A Schemes and Mode B Schemes. Under Mode A, young people will be placed with public and private employers, Local Authority and voluntary organisations. The Managing Agents Handbook is designed by the MSC to cover YTS entrants under Mode A and paragraph 1.10 and 1.12 states:

> 1.10 The YTS does not exempt employers from an obligations they may have arising from a contract of employment, a collective bargaining agreement or legal minimum pay and conditions for the employment concerned, by a Wages Council. It is the employer's responsibility to see that these obligations are met.
>
> 1.12 The allowances and conditions of trainees are your responsibility. You should determine and apply these as set out in the following paragraphs ..

Therefore, Mode A entrants can be designated "employees". Mode B entrants, however, will be entirely under MSC Schemes, and their status **would appear** to be always that of trainees. Nevertheless, unless there is an explicit agreement or clear statement of intent of employee status, **no** YTS entrant will be covered by the Employment Protection Act and most of the associated legislation, ie:

> The 1975 Employment Protection Act (Consolidated 1978)
> The Sex Discrimination Act
> The Race Relations Act
> Social Security and Housing Benefit Act 1982
> (which includes Statutory Sick Pay)
> The Health and Safety at Work Act 1979

The 1975 Employment Protection Act (Consolidated 1978) (EPAC)

Under this act - which is the main piece of legislation in establishing employees rights - an employee means:-

"an individual who has entered into or works under a contract of employment"

The EPAC does not detail a definition of what is, or is not, a contract of employment. As the primary purpose of the YTS is to provide the entrant with a planned year of work experience and training, the absence of a contract to the contrary will mean that existing case law will apply and uphold the view that YTS entrants are trainees. In the case of Wiltshire Policy Authority v. Wynn (ca1980) it was ruled that "where the primary object of the contract is training, then the contract is one of training and not of employment". Even if the entrant is paid more than £25 and may pay N.I. and Tax, unless the employee status is clearly stated then doubt will hand over the status of the individual concerned. One effect of the case law is that if a trainee is kept on after the training has finished, the period will not count as continuous employment.

Even if the first period of training is under a contract of employment, forward planning in the 1982 Employment Act would prevent a claim for unfair dismissal. This is because YTS will run for 52 weeks and in the 1982 Act the qualifying period for unfair dismissal was raised from 52 weeks to a calendar year. This Act came into force from 1st February 1983.

The Sex Discrimination Act and The Race Relations Act (SDA and RRA)

The case law which relates to these Acts was that of Daley v Allied Suppliers Ltd (Employment Appeal Tribunal 1983). The EAT rules that "a worker on a YOP scheme was not an employee because the primary object of the scheme was work experience" which the EAT equated with training and therefore the trainee could not bring a complaint under the RRA. However, the EAT drew attention to the gaps in the law and called for the extending of the provisions of the Acts to trainees.

As a consequence, the Government has made orders under the relevant sections of the SDA and RAA.

> designating bodies contracted to the Manpower Services Commission as Vocational Training Boards for the purposes of the SDA S14(2) (d) and the RRA S13 (s) (d).

But even this improvement leaves trainees short of the protection given to employees.

Statutory Sick Pay (SSP)

Under paragraph 1.23 of the MSC YTS Handbook, with regard to Trainees who are ill, it states

> ... Trainees should continue to be paid their training allowance for 3 weeks, payment for the fourth week will be allowed if it is clear that the trainee will return during that week ...

But under the SSP regulations of the Social Security and Housing Benefit Act, SSP is paid for 8 weeks, by employers to people who:

> "... are over 16 and gainfully employed in Great Britain, either under a contract of employment, or in an office with emoluments chargeable to Schedule E Income Tax"

This means that even a YTS Trainee paid at the threshold for SSP - currently £32.50 - will be excluded from SSP because they are not an employee. The Regulations originally excluded apprentices, this is not now the case, but the definition of apprentice is not sufficiently wide to include YTS entrants.

The Health and Safety at Work act 1974 and The Factories ACt 1961

Trainees are covered by sections of these Acts: by HSWA **Section 3**

1. It shall be the duty of every employer to conduct his undertaking in such a way as to ensure, so far as is reasonably practicable, that persons not in his employment who may be affected thereby are not thereby exposed to risks to their health or safety.
2. It shall be the duty of every self-employed person to conduct his undertaking in such a way as to ensure, so far as is reasonably practicable, that he and other persons (not being his employees) who may be affected thereby are not thereby exposed to risks to their health and safety.

FA **Section 176 (4)**

> A woman, young person or child who works in a factory whether for wages or not, either in a process or in cleaning any part of the factory used for any process, or in cleaning or oiling any part of the machinery or plant, or in any other kind of work whatsoever incidental to or connected with the process, or connected with the article made or otherwise the subject of the process therein, shall, save as is otherwise provided by this Act, be deemed to be employed therein for the purposes of this Act or of any proceedings thereunder, except that a woman employed solely in cleaning which is incidental to or connected with any process, shall not be deemed for the purposes of Part IV of this Act to be employed in the factory.

The Health and Safety Commission have now said that

> "Trainees on the YTS should be given exactly the same coverage under the Health and Safety At Work Act as other empoyees"

and they suggest this is done by means of additional Regulations to the Act.

Obviously, legislation is important in providing and protecting Trainees rights oan these schemes, but with so many schemes running at hundreds of small workplaces, even the MSC admits they cannot effectively monitor them all as they should. Also, HMI Inspectors are behind with visits to workplaces, so this means that many of the smaller scale employers who run schemes will have no monitoring at all, so an important part of the legislative enforcement is still missing.

research

The aim of this occasional column is to make current research interests of individuals, groups and organisations more widely known. Anyone may publicize their research here, or appeal for information. Inclusions should be brief, a general description of not more than two hundred words, with a name and full postal address. They should be sent to the Editor of 'Analysis'. Other material should be sent direct to the researcher at the address given. Please send enquiries to the editor of 'Analysis'.

Fostering of Adolescents

A research paper on the preparation of adolescents for fostering. In particular, material which could be of help in discussing methods of approach to this aspect of social work.

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School-based Youthwork

Higher degree research in the Psychology of Education. In particular,

1. Suggested reading or higher degree research in school-based youthwork post Phelan 1973;

2. Suggestions from colleagues of areas of psychological or social-psychological relevance within the schooled - non-schooled youth provision debate; advice from specialists, or youth-tutors/teacher-leaders on the scope for such an enquiry.

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Information on Non-attenders

Research on persistent non-attenders in secondary schools: information required from day care and/or residential units; particularly,

The funding and staffing of units and early problems encountered.

The range of educational programmes and social work intervention with the children and their families.

The nature of referrals made to units.

The relationship between teaching staff and care staff in units, interdepartmental relationships and relationships between units and schools.

The nature of group care and management style of units.

Statistical information on non school attendance in different kinds of schools and age groups.

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an historical study of American college youth in the 1920s, makes it clear that the young conformed to Main Street values and were, if anything, hard-working, prudent and pragmatic, rather than hostile to the values and attitudes of their parents. If the young were consciously 'naughty' in behaviour during the 1920s it was but a reflection of youth's perception of adult expectation. In short, one reason why some adolescent had problems of adjustment was simply that their parents and teachers expected them to have problems and this turned into a self-fulfilling prophecy. Even in a 1970s survey, 80% of American High School teachers questioned stated as their conviction that adolescence was a time of great emotional disturbance, whereas in another such survey some 60% of a large sample of American fourteen to fifteen year olds denied that they ever felt miserable or depressed. It is unlikely that American High School life would have been found any more traumatic or subject to stress when Margaret Mead was a graduate student in Samoa. **Coming of Age** thus presents not only a partial and inaccurate view of Samoan adolescence, it is also misleading in its unquestioning assumption that the 'typical' American adolescent of the 1920s suffered emotional disturbance. The difficulty of apportioning the complex interaction of biological and cultural factors in the evolution of adolescent development remains unresolved, therefore, but Freeman's assault on the anthropological myth of adolescent life in Samoa has done much to reawaken ancient controversies and draw our attention to the doubtful premises upon which Margaret Mead's work was based.[13]

(5) **The Myth of Adolescent 'Storm and Stress'**

This brings us on to the vexed issue for anyone who has examined, however cursorily, the social science literature on adolescence of whether or not the whole idea of these years as a period of 'storm and stress', or even as a distinctive stage in the life cycle, is in fact a 'myth' manufactured by psychiatrists and the mass media. Is adolescence an artificial construct which does not correspond to any observable human reality? 'Have you ever thought of yourself as an adolescent or a teenager'? and eighteen-year old was recently asked by a lecturer in social work:

> No. I'm a person. I'm skin and bone. I live here. Age is nothing. It's like time, it's nothing. You wouldn't look out in the street and say, 'There's adolescent Robert.'

The conventional psychological wisdom during G. Stanley Hall's lifetime was that coping with the biological changes associated with puberty and its consequent emotional effects invariably made adolescence into a traumatic experience. This view of the adolescent as having special socio-psychological needs which separate institutions such as youth organizations, schools, borstals and juvenile courts, would generally look after and control has been recently dismissed by some commentators as a myth cunningly manufactured by adults to repress the young and keep them in a subordinate economic and power role. Thus Frank Musgrove:

> The segregation of the young from the world of their seniors has given them a special position in society. In some respects it is a position of diminished rather than enhanced social status ... The position of youth in contemporary society is only intelligible in terms of the rise since the late eighteenth century of a psychology of adolescence which has helped to create what it describes.

It remains to ask whether this is an accurate assessment or how much of the orthodox theory of adolescent development should be taken seriously by the historian?[14]

The familiar but generally untested view of adolescence as a period of turbulence and stress in Western cultures is derived from two academic sources: the psychiatric text book approach which looks in general at the sexual and emotional instabilities of the hospitalized adolescent and the sociological approach which concentrates on the search for identity and the process of socialization among this particular age group. (Hence the habitual titles on Adolescent Separation Anxiety, Transition to Adulthood, Adolescents in a Mental Hospital, Adolescent Rorschach Problems, Disinherited Youth, Adolescent Suicide, Adolescent Problems, etc.) Thus the psychiatric approach emphasises **Internal** mental and emotional pressures and the sociological approach **external** tensions and stresses. These two approaches thus share a common belief in adolescence as a stage in the life cycle subject to stresses of one kind or another. Eric Erikson added further confirmation, if it was needed, to the conventional view that the biological changes associated with puberty and growing up could place intolerable strains upon the adolescent. In 1968 he alleged that the process of identity had its normative crisis in adolescence and, as a result, helped create an expectation among social workers and psychiatrists that adolescents would of necessity be confronted by such an experience. Hence what was at best a metaphysical argument was taken over as a clinical term and used to diagnose a section of an entire age group. 'Adolescence is unique in its process of growth and development. It is a period in the life cycle characterized by profound biological and psycho-social change,' according to a 1976 study of the hospitalized adolescent in America:

> Not only is there the arrival of reproductive maturity and a rapid acceleration of skeletal growth, but these years also see the final steps in the evolution of a separate identity, and in the acquisition of autonomy. These matters are clearly reflected in teenagers' narcissistic preoccupations with biological integrity, heightened conflict over issues of independence, and major concerns about mastery and control.

It follows from this presentation of the orthodox psychiatric view that adolescents possess their own unique psychological problems of adjustment and emotional instability.[15]

Yet there is little real evidence that any but a small minority of those in their teens experience the sort of serious 'identity crisis' popularized by Eric Erikson, although there is certainly some change in the concept of self-identity during adolescence. Equally, there is no clear evidence to suggest that there is a higher level of psychopathology during the adolescent years than at any other time and mental illness is just as likely to occur among those in their forties or fifties as among those in their teens. A small minority of adolescents may show symptoms of mental disturbance but the great majority of them appear to cope well with the so-called 'age of transition' and show no undue signs of stress. Samples taken from those other than the typical hospitalized or deviant adolescent make it evident that adolescence needs a theory not of abnormality but of normality. Empirical research also fails to lend support to the much-canvassed idea of a 'generation gap' between parents and their children. Surprisingly, perhaps, in the 1960s relationships with parents were judged positive and constructive and the young did not, on the whole, reject adult values for those of their peer or age group. If anything, the values of adolescents were actually consistent with those of important adults in their lives rather than in conflict with them. The average fifteen year old English adolescent identified closely with parents, rather than peers, and had already internalized the ideals and values of the surrounding adult society. Studies of the politics of British

youth also failed to reveal characteristically 'youthful' social and political attitudes among young voters in general or young activists in particular. The majority of adolescents surveyed twenty years ago were boringly predictable, had a respect for institutions and adhered to the same traditional and conventional values as their elders. So deeply imbedded is the idea of a troubled and uncertain adolescence, it is worth citing a 1982 NOP survey which interviewed a total of 1,836 fifteen to twenty-one year olds controlled for sex, age and class and spread throughout the British Isles. The vast majority sampled still lived at home and said that their relationship with their parents was satisfactory, 95% getting on well or very well with their mothers, 86% with the fathers. Adolescents in general do not approve of taking drugs, do not drink much alcohol, believe themselves responsible and, if they do run into trouble, turn mostly to Mum for advice.[16]

Recently, the National Youth Survey of over 600 fourteen to nineteen year olds, commissioned by the Youth Service Review Group, reported that overall adolescents leaned towards conservatism rather than liberalism, in that six in ten sampled favoured reinstatement of hanging for murder and the use of corporal punishment. To some extent, these views were a reflection of attitudes received from parents and other adult authority figures, although attitudes towards female liberation tended to be more liberal than among the older generation, at least in theory if not in practice. Most of those interviewed, a third of whom were unemployed and another third of whom were students, looked to their parents as models of adulthood and relied on them for a source of income. While they mostly wanted to be treated as adults, they also showed a marked reluctance to be independent and run their own homes and financial affairs. More than half specifically wanted to remain with their families and friends, rather than make a home of their own on any basis. This finding tends to place in some doubt the cry of youth liberationists that adolescents need and are constantly demanding more status, income and choice for their future. More importantly, it makes clear that classical theories of adolescence which portray it as rebellious, productive of conflict with parents and as an experience of turmoil and stress, show little correspondence with empirical testing among adolescents themselves. Recent research suggests, in other words, that normal adolescence is **not** characterized by 'storm and stress' and that most young people go through their teens uncomplainingly and without significant emotional or behavioural problems.[17]

The misleading image of the disturbed adolescent can be blamed, according to taste, on: unrepresentative sampling techniques, the threat presented to the adult by certain deviant forms of adolescent behaviour or on the role of the professional hand-wringers of the mass media ('Whither Youth'?) in publicizing minority and sensational behaviour among the young. Certain tendencies in modern society can certainly lead to an exaggerated view of turmoil during adolescence and thus serve to widen the gap between research and public perception of the reality. In newspapers we seem to be presented with the image of the adolescent as either violent and frightening (football hooligans and muggers) or as unconventional, unstable and mindless (pop idols and their fans). The ordinary public can thus be forgiven for holding a stereotyped version of adolescence as a social problem which requires to be dealth with either through separate institutions or by handing out hevier forms of punishment to juvenile offenders. Geoffrey Pearson has argued in **Hooligan** (1983) that the contemporary preoccupation with troublesome and violent youth, mugging, riots, etc. suffers from a profound historical amnesia when it judges that there has been a dreadful and unprecedented collapse of standards in moral conduct and civility amongst the young. Thus he might have appropriately cited Chief Superintendent Eric Walker of West Yorkshire speaking in a debate on football hooliganism at the Police Superintendents' Association 1983 annual conference:

> One leading factor in his opinion was a lowering of standards in the 1960s, which created a permissive society marked by a lack of discipline at home and at school and an anti-establishment attitude among young people.

The account of 'respectable fears' in **Hooligan** demonstrates that modern British history is a seamless tapestry of anxieties and complaints about the departure from a 'golden age' of orderliness and stability. The erosion of social discipline and the corruption of the national character is shown convincingly as an unchanging preoccupation of the British Establishment that has focused around a supposedly ever-increading spiral of crime and violence. The fact that young people are over-represented in the criminal statistics is repeatedly discovered in each successive wave of concern for 'law and order' as a particularly 'new' and shocking feature of the problem. If we actually investigate what happened in the past, however, it becomes clear that the preoccupation with lawlessness belongs more properly to a remarkably stable historical tradition of the perception of crime and hooliganism held by those in a position of authority over the young.[18]

Hence social scientists have come to provide little support for the idea of adolescence as a problem stage in human development but it would be foolish to pretend that major changes do not occur during the transition from childhood to adulthood or that these will not require the individual to make substantial adjustments. Thirty years ago the American psychologist Raymond Kuhlen cogently described the psychological situation at adolescence as follows:

> What does characterize adolescence is a group of adjustment problems which ... are typically faced in the teens, and which may thus typically produce anxiety and stress in the teens. Thus a better understanding of the nature of adolescence might be obtained from a study of its personal problems and frustrations as they relate to the establishment of heterosexuality, the achievement of independence from home ties, the development of a functionally broader ideology and moral code, and the beginning of vocational orientation. These special adjustment problems, plus the broad, general problem of gaining experience in everyday adult situations and the attendant stresses, are the means of characterizing adolescence as distinguished from other life phases.

In the light of the above, it is worth asking how most young people manage to cope with these changes without the undue stress often ascribed to this stage of development. Observation suggests that the sort of 'personal problems and frustrations' that Kuhlen identifies are, in fact, spread over a wide span of years from twelve to twenty, so that the need to adapt to new modes of behaviour are rarely concentrated at any one time during adolescence. This interpretation has been embodied in a theoretical approach put forward recently by John C. Coleman who suggests that particular sets of relationship come into focus at different ages for the adolescent, thus ensuring a 'normal' life experience. Focal theory implies, therefore, that concern about different issues, whether anxiety over the opposite sex, conflict with parents or fear of rejection by a peer group,

reaches a peak at different stages in the adolescent process of growing up. The ability to deal with one issue at a time explains how the average adolescent is able to pass through so many potentially stressful experiences without emotional trauma. Later maturers may, of course, find it difficult to cope with several pressures at once and could become more vulnerable psychological problems. Where puberty and physical growth occur at the 'normal' time, however, the adolescent can adjust before other external pressures - parents, teachers, peers - are brought to bear. Focal theory thus seems to be based more directly on the empirical evidence of 'normality' and also goes some way twards reconciling the contradiction betwen the amount of adaptation required during adolescence and the apparent ability of most young people to cope adequately without much upheaval. As John Nicholson sums up:

> The majority of teenagers remain happy and confident throughout adolescence for all the real difficulties they have to cope with and despite the fact that their teachers, parents and the magazines they read all tell them that they ought to be feeling miserable and making difficulties.

Hence the most surprising finding to emerge from sociological research into adolescence, conducted by interviewing adolescents themselves, is that for the large majority it is not a problem period despite the pressures placed upon them by society and their own bodies.[19]

All the evidence marshalled here seems to indicate that adolescence is not to be thought of as an unduly stressful stage in the life cycle. Yet it is still possible for the historian to conclude that adolescence does indeed represent a meaningful and distinctive stage of human development worthy of scholarly investigation. The emotional and physical changes of puberty alone mark out adolescence as a different stage from the earlier childhood years, even if difficult to measure and predict. There are also crucial psychological hurdles erected at adolescence, such as the transition from school to work or unemployment.

Various other problems of adjustment also reach their peak at this time for a small minority, such as drug abuse, depression, delinquency and emotional disorders. The shaping of adolescence by social and cultural forces, which Margaret Mead saw as predominant, does not mean that there are no inherent biological and hormonal changes during puberty. For adolescent behaviour is determined by the interaction between cultural and biological forces in a particular society at a particular moment in history. The process of adaptation to these internal and external forces is spread over many years, so that stress on the adolescent is rarely concentrated at any one time. Adolescence, in other words, is not entirely a myth manufactured by social scientists and the media but it is a highly debateable and charged term, not a given but an **a priori** concept which needs to be supported by actual historical and other forms of evidence. While it may be possible to abandon or at least to offer correctives to the traditional view of adolescence, it still needs to be placed in a proper historical perspective. Adolescence is not simply a biological fact associated with puberty, nor a period of emotional turbulence as a result, but a cultural definition of a certain stage in the life cycle with a long history that remains to be unravelled.

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political education, inequality & training

MURIEL SAWBRIDGE

This is a very interesting time for community and youth work, we now have an established national training body - the Council for Education and Training in Youth and Community work (CCETYCW), responsible for the inspection and validation of full-time and in-service training courses. We also have to hand two major documents about training[1] which have clearly been influential if not seminal factors in this development. In addition a DES sponsored research has explored the career paths of students from full-time courses[2] and in recent years at least one conference has been organised by the DES specifically to explore the thinking of trainers about their training task.

Most of this activity has taken place in the last four years and I suspect I am not alone in trying to make sense of it and to enquire about its implications. If seen within the context of the sociology of professions one could reach the conclusion that it is nothing more than another stage in the way a particular occupational group legitimise and consolidate their position in the elaborate division of labour evident among those described as people workers.[3] It is a process we have seen in the medical profession, in teaching and social work. It could be argued that community and youth workers have as much need to engage in this process as anyone else given the uncertain relationship particularly between youth work and the teaching profession, made more serious in the light of teacher unemployment. To add to the complexity some community and youth work training courses are so closely allied to social work that they offer a joint qualification and that there is evidence of periodic concern by individuals and groups notably principal youth officers that training courses may be interpreting the term community too widely and not producing trained personnel to manage youth centres. To complicate the issue further one only has to consider the increasingly uncertain relationship between the MSC and youth workers in regard to youth unemployment.

On the other hand it could be viewed from the perspective that the state, as the major funding body of community and youth work practice and almost the sole funder of its professional training is seeking ways to exercise greater control over training and practice. Here again one can see similar processes going on with other occupational groups. Obviously concern with core curriculum in schools and recent suggestions about giving head teachers rights to hire and fire staff plus the proposals to operate a voucher system are part and parcel of the move to control the power to teachers. Similarly, the recent focus on curriculum for police cadets[4] and the increasingly aggressive stance of the Central Council for Education and Training in Social Work in the validating process of courses cannot be seen as isolated and unconnected moves. In exploring these possibilities one is not arguing totally or even mainly in favour of a conspiracy theory, other than to acknowledge that a climate of control is emerging which lends stimulus to such moves.

It is also the case that the prestige enjoyed by a number of professional groups has been eroded in recent years, most notably in social work, experiencing a spectacular decline in public esteem but also evident in the teaching profession and among architects and planners to name but a few. This inevitably leads to an increased questioning of task and role and it is not surprising that attempts are made, as in the case of the Barclay Report to seek to define parameters of practice.

In trying to make sense of recent events in community and youth work and to engage in some speculation as to possible outcomes it seems that we can define a number of sign posts. Firstly and probably most significantly the young as a definable sector of the population are being seen as a more serious problem, brought about by the existence and complexity of large scale unemployment. Consequently the old prescription for youth, centred predominantly on the stimulation of constructive leisure after work no longer holds good in the way it appeared to do in the heyday of the 50s and 60s. Secondly and allied to this, the perennial question of Britain's governernability has relevance, epitomised by the moral panics generated at the time of the "riots" and the fears about a Britain becoming increasingly polarised between the employed and unemployed and in certain areas, between the black and white population. A key element in this process being the increasing ghettoization of inner city areas and council estates built on the Alcatraz model. To what extent fears of Britain's potential ungovernerability is an accurate reflection of possibility is of course open to debate, what cannot be denied is that the question never seems very far from the surface.

That the young become a focus for attention is not surprising given their supposed potential for volatility and their actual marginality in the child/adult spectrum. In a Britain experiencing dramatic industrial and economic decline, youth as the future become a target for focus not only in terms of manpower investment but also as a potential ungovernable threat. Consequently a relative minor professional/occupational group such as community and youth workers who claim expertise in working with the young have either to justify and meet the challenges of the young as a more serious focus of attention or find

themselves relegated to an even more insignificant role.

Another possible reason for increased interest in community and youth work training and practice can be seen in the diversity of task and agency employment embraced in the term community. No longer can one expect that the output of training courses will be employed solely in youth centres or community centres. The dramatic expansion since the mid 60s in the range of community based projects, together with a wider definition of youth work has resulted in considerable difficulty in defining what is euphemistically called 'the field'. Principal youth officers are not alone in questioning whether the focus on youth is in danger of being lost. It is possible to detect this concern as an undercurrent to debate among some of the full-time trainers at their regular gatherings and in comparing the focus of organisations such as the Community and Youth Service Union and the Association of Community Workers. None of which is helped by the considerable diversity of meaning in the term youth work and that ubiquitous term - community.

Whatever the reason - an increase in attention on community and youth work training and practice is evident and at best offers opportunities for more informed debate about the issues addressed by workers, how they practice and with what success. In order for this to be realised it is necessary to articulate some of the dilemmas and contradictions which bedevil the way practice is defined. Central of these in my opinion being the way community and youth work does or does not relate to class based inequality. It will be interesting to observe and experience whether the CCETYCW provides opportunities for increased focus on class or whether avoidance, particularly and mainly in youth work, will continue. The overall composition of the Council and its initial training panel in particular suggests this may well be the case. To some extent it will depend on which of the two most recent documents, 'Realities of Training' or the Thompson 'Report' are detectable in the way its functions are carried out. Here there are interesting comparisons in the way the needs of the young are defined and the range of practice issues explored.

The kind of response most recently generated in regard to the young is a renewed emphasis on educational work with them and the neighbourhoods in which they live, often prefixed with words like 'social' or 'political' or posed as a form of practice as in the call for greater participation by them in decision making. Allied to this is a clearer articulation of educational curriculum most notably to combat racism and sexism and an increased concern to define the problem of youth not only in terms of alienation (a perennial and constant concern) but as particularly vulnerable due to youth unemployment.

When one seeks more clarification of what terms like social, political and participation mean, the curriculum seems more elusive and contradictory. It also emphasises the interesting and challenging problems a new central training body with the remit to inspect and validate training courses will face.

The elusiveness and contradiction of these terms is probably best seen not simply by searching among the plethora of articles written on the subject, but by reference to Realities of Training and the Thompson Report. Both documents acknowledge that the significant part if not the entire rationale of community and youth work is essentially educational in character. They differ however in the rigorousness of their articulation of educational content and process but paradoxically share a tendency to escape from the implication of their recommendations.

In Realities of Training it is possible to see an admirable attempt to describe the various educational roles of the community and youth worker and to compare the way defined issues entail their own practice and theoretical logic. Although referring primarily to the training of part-time workers it's concern to clarify the aims, objectives and method of practice has relevance across the spectrum of community and youth work.

Whether the density of its language is strictly necessary or its remit to describe and analyse part-time training both in terms of theory and detailed classroom practice is realisable is open to question but it demonstrates a concerted attempt to come to grips with issues which have previously been hard to reach. An example particularly germaine to this paper can be seen in Fig. 1.

Here there is concern to distinguish and analyse different forms of community and youth work practice and to locate them within demonstrable aims and objectives. A further concern is to locate shifts in emphasis and to define the similarities and differences in particular forms of practice. In the process five categories are outlined, the first described as being aimed at social integration through character building programmes and one can see that this model probably most appropriately describes the uniformed youth movements of the late 19th century. There is clear indication if Fig. 1. that this emphasis in youth work in firmly in the past, though later in the Report (page 53) doubt is cast on whether character building has been superceded by other objectives in the way suggested. It is then argued that the most pervasive rationale for youth work and one which is significantly different from the character building orientation, lies in three forms of practice defined under one heading as the Social Education Repertoire. Here the needs and/or problems of the young range from helping young people "find" themselves in the process in adjusting to their place in society (cultural pluralism/cultural adjustment) or to enable them and their families to exercise their democratic rights thereby ensuring that societal institutions become more responsive to their needs. (Structural functionalism/community development). The third element more directly concerned with inequalities in society and the focus is then geared to institutional reform through interest group organisation. (Interest-group conflict theory/institutional reform). The fifth category is seen by the authors of this part of the Report as a radical break, this time from the Social Education Repertoire and is based on the idea of practice specifically with working class people. The worker is a "cultural revolutionary" whose job it is to help people understand their political history and geography.

A number of differences between the various categories are discussed in the Report. One of the most interesting being in relation to the overall purpose of intervention (page 32) in community and youth work. The social education repertoire is seen as ultimately "helping people to live more happily with themselves, each other and their society" whereas the character building style of work is more interested in fostering conformity. The fifth category where workers undertake the role of cultural revolutionary envisages that "neither the harmony of their society nor the happiness of all its citizens can be guaranteed in the process".

Whether one agrees or not with this way of categorising the

Figure One

Structure of the Social Education Repertoire and historical adjuncts

Historical tendency	Analysis and Strategy		Organisation and Method		Training and Development Model
	Analysis	Approaches	Youth work process	Youth Worker involvement	
Dominant cultural matrix of 1870-1919:	Social integrationism	Character-building	Admirable model commands deference	Culturally detached: involved through altruism ('do-gooding')	Transmissive
Youth work must traverse a critical break to enter the SER					
	THE SOCIAL EDUCATION REPERTOIRE				
(a) Dominant cultural matrix of progressive education, 1930s to 1970s	Cultural pluralism	Cultural adjustment	Non-directive enabling of individuals towards self-realisation	Complex involvement/ detachment syndrome (identification and projection)	Interpretive
(b) Emergent cultural matrix of advanced progressive education, late 1960s to 1970s.	Structural functionalism	Community development	Non-manipulative but 'positively discriminant' enabling of groups in local community	Professional style of community development work is highly detached Indigenous style of community development work is highly involved	Interpretive and/ or Constructive
(c) Spasmodically successful subordinate cultural matrix of social democracy, 1890s to 1970s.	Interest-group conflict theory	Institutional reform	Mobilising individuals and groups to work for structural changes and extensions of rights	High involvement in social-democratic ideology, which leads to mixed responses to popular culture and client styles	Transmissive and//or Constructive
Youth work must traverse a critical break to escape the SER					
A potentially realisable Radica Paradigm for youth work with working class	Critical sociology	Self-emancipation	Sponsorship-of-peer-group pedagogy-by-helping-sub-cultural-groups-enquire-into their-political-history-and geography	Critical-exploration-of-the forms-of-involvement appropriate-to-particular styles-of-work-as-a-cultural revoluntionary	Transgressive

Source: Realities of Training p. 39

work it is offering a model which could aid a more profound analysis of the varieties of practice which is embraced under the terms community and youth work/youth service. Its most interesting use as far as I am concerned is in the light it sheds on the question of class based inequality and the way practice has or has not faced up to it.

Interestingly enough it is possible to argue that the first and fifth (character building and self emancipation) are the only ones with a clear view of social class as a central feature of intervention. The first seeing working class youth as particularly vulnerable to corrupting influences and needing the kind of leadership (though not necessarily the affluence) of middle and upper class public school boys. The Radical Paradigm by implication sees the working class as ignorant of their own history requiring intervention in order to raise their consciousness and increase their solidarity "to over throw the institutions and ideologies of the dominant classes" (page 44).

When one looks, however, at the three categories of work contained in the social education repertoire the question of social class is much more elusive. It is probably not surprising given the fact that in the heyday of these ideas particularly when monetary investment in youth work was dramatically expanding, dominant ideas in society at large centred on aspirations for a classless Britain, matched by declarations that 'we are all middle class now' and that the 'end of ideology' debate reigned supreme. The major influences here being a more or less shared belief that the welfare state would in itself resolve or at least significantly alleviate inequality and that modifications to institutions like the education system would over time significantly reduce barriers to life chances based on social class. It is probably therefore not surprising that community and youth work along with other professions, most notably social work, succumbed to and helped to perpetuate the idea that intervention aimed at individual development and/or inter-group functioning is a sufficient rational for practice and to conveniently ignore the fact that most of its work was and is with the working class.

Credit must therefore be given to the authors of Realities of Training in their willingness to contemplate again a community and youth work addressed to working class people. Not in the essentially implicit way which has recently characterised youth work, though distinctly less evident in forms of community work; but in an explicit way which demands a clearer definition of aim, objective and method.

This highlights an interesting contradiction in the way practice has developed over time in that community and youth work has always been about the working class[5] but in the case of youth work, defined as addressing the generalised young, in the generalised community. This dicotomy can be clearly seen by comparing the willingness of the authors of Realities of Training to consider specific education practice among the working class with the way issues are defined in the Thompson Report. here we are back with the young per se, the neighbourhood per se, the unemployed, sexists and racists per se. In this sense the report in common with the earlier Albemarle Report and the Fairbairn-Milson Report avoids the issues a class analysis entails.

To judge by the Thompson Report class inequality is not a key issue - nor is there any attempt to explore the dilemmas of sex

and race in a class based society or to question the democratic nature of British society. In this sense it is essentially consensus ridden, locating change within narrow parameters reminiscent of the early arguments for the establishment of the Community Development Projects.

In recognising that Realities of Training has demonstrated a willingness to grasp the class nettle it is important however to note that the grasp was relinquished before the full implications of its analysis had been explored. The reasons for this are unclear but the complexities of the committees' remit must have had something to do with it. So although able to define a number of examples in the way youth work in particular has been located in the policing, welfare and schooling functions in society and how this has been defined and legitimised under one kind of educational label or another, the document fails to explore the dilemmas of change to its more highly focussed 'radical pradigm' or whether the third category in the social education repertoire could **explicitly** embrace interest-group-**class** conflict theory. It's failure to explore the implications of moving from an explicitly generalised to an explicitly class based model of practice creates the impression of an argument which is essentially consensus ridden. In similar terms to the Thompson and Albemarle Reports, the impression is one of the search for the appropriate curriculum being all and implimentation being relatively trouble free. The absence of an extensive analysis of the way knowledge is socially structured[6] and the ideological ramifications of trying to alter the curriculum spelt out more clearly, means that some of the thornier issues of practice in general and training in particular cannot be confronted.

It is necessary not only to examine the knowledge base of current practice and training and the functions it serves but to engage in a similar process in regard to any new curriculum. So for example, the way age and stage theory[7] supports the notion of adolescence as a problem age, thereby legitimising intervention with the young and fostering a generalised theory of problems shared by all adolescents regardless of class, race and sex, is a case in point.

In a similar vein one can predict than an emphasis of sexism and racism will serve to detract from inequality and discrimination based on class. One only has to reflect on the current debates in the women's movement about the relative influence of class as compared with patriarchy in the way disadvantage is experienced, to appreciate the way class issues become submerged. The prominence of middle class women is obviously a factor in the way many working class women react against a feminism which only addressed the question of patriarchy and doesn't give sufficient credence to the class discrimination they share with men. Similar opportunities to escape from class inequality are presented by a focus on race - in that ethnicity and the discriminatory practices that arise from it can serve to conceal the way life chances of ethnic minorities are influenced by class based inequalities in British society.

The question is, why is there a tendency to avoid a focus on class as a central factor particularly in youth work? One explanation must lie in the fact that by focussing on the generalised young in the generalised community, practice has been able to retain a credibility particularly with funding agencies, free from political hassles. By not focussing explicitly on class it is possible to avoid challenging some of one's own powerful supporters. One can only speculate on the likely response of influential organisations who share a penchant for committees and officers drawn from the aristocracy, officer class and the establishment in general - to agencies who define their workers as cultural revolutionaires. Nor can it be assumed that employers within local government whether they be officers or elected representatives would respond differently to workers who see their task as trying to help people 'enquire into their political history and geography'. Indeed it can be argued that the climate has never been less ripe for such practice to develop, given the fact that the emphasis on inequality no matter what its source, may well be moving from concerted moves to counteract it - to an acceptance, that inequality is a fact of life and the role of the state is rooted in minimum intervention to lessen it's worst manifestations.

Consequently the inability or unwillingness of many workers and trainers to confront the problem of class based inequality can at a purely pragmatic level be seen to make a lot of sense. Many community projects that try to address issues of class particularly in regard to poverty and inequality are often hidebound by short term employment contracts, bureaucratic anxiety and constant threats of closure. By focussing on sexism - an issue that lends itself to generalisation, on racism, which in a face to face sense only affects certain areas of the country, on unemployment that can and is interpreted as job preparation, on participation that gains widespread support if for different reasons, from radicals and conservatives alike - the Thompson Report has failed to confront one of the central and most tendencious reasons for professional intervention.

Other explanations could include a reluctance on the part of workers to precipitate conflicts which they cannot control or believe could be counter-productive and of course, one must not ignore the fact that many may reject social class as significant in the allocation of live chances any way. What cannot be ignored is that the articulation of the belief that **the** central challenge to community and youth work is its response to class based inequalities does not then let one off the hook or clear the path for action. The whole concept of social class, its significance, boundaries, shared or conflicting behaviours, attitudes and interests is a minefield in itself. Possibly the biggest dis-service that those concerned with social class inequity can do is to over-simplify the nature and existence of the conflicts and interests.

Do we, for example, accept Jeremy Seabrook's view of the working class as the embodiment of all the most highly valued aspects of community, who are in the process of being corrupted and betrayed by capitalist materialism. Or do we accept the timely reminder by Paul Corrigan[8] that it is only the romantic who can ignore the racism, sexism, nationalism and violence and the life style of many working class young people - though even he fails to stress that such views and behaviours are not general throughout the working class or confined to it. In regard to any of these attitudes there is probably great similarity in the views expressed in the "working men's" and the "gentlemen's" club, therein lies the dilemma for anyone interested in developing a practice based on greater participation in the democratic process. It is fine if one can retain a vision of a collective solidarity leading inexorably to a more humane society, but more difficult in one accepts that although class based inequality exists, unanimity about its cause and means of bring about change is more unpredictable. As Frank Ennis has pointed out in a recent letter to New Society, "Seabrook and his mentor, Richard Hogarth, share a sense of loss for the working

class of the 1930s. Both see this class with its notions of community and neighbourliness, its recognition of money as a root of all evil, as the summit of working class achievement." He goes on to point out that "a starting point for criticism of this view is that it was not shared by all of the class. Even in th 1930s the numbers of working class members voting Conservative was so substantial that doubt can be cast on the suggestion that the class was homogeneous."[9] Note that this was written before the general election in June 1983 demonstrated the unpredictability of class allegiances.

Further support for this view can be seen in the recent article by David Thomas[10] indicating that it becomes increasingly more difficult to be able to refer to the working class as though it necessarily embodies shared experience and aspirations. Indeed there may be as many distinctions between the skilled manual workers referred to in his article and Bleasdale's typifications in "The Boys From the Blackstuff" as there is between the working and middle class. This does not then render class based inequality as irrelevant to community and youth work but highlights its centrality and complexity as well as the practice dilemmas in participatory political and social education.

To what extent will the new inspection and validating body raise and encourage debate about these issues and to what extent would it support courses which claim to train workers within the context of the radical paradigm or any other specifically class based work? It is evident that in Realities of Training and in the Thompson Report we have two very different documents which in various ways define practice in educational terms.

The composition of the Council, in particular its Initial Training Panel indicates that confronting the issue of class inequity is going to be very difficult. Quite apart from the size of the committee and the speed in which it is working, the strong representation of local authority and well established voluntary organisations is more likely to militate against confronting such a thorny and potentially divisive issue. Probably the central problem to a genuine and overt tackling of such an issue, rests in the way party politics is seen to represent class interests and the fact that an 'apolitical stance' is institutionalised among the ranks of paid national and local government officials and voluntary organisations who seek legitimacy across the spectrum of British society.

So it is not surprising that early indications suggest that a radical rethink about what educational practice in community and youth work might mean does not appear at the moment to feature large on the agenda. The absence of any representation from the Association of Community Workers is particularly regrettable in my view, given the fact that many of its members are struggling to work out the dilemmas of participatory political education within the context of racial, sexual **and** class inequality. As an organisation it is also developing some of the most imaginative thinking about what **professionalism** might mean in relation to participatory practice.[11]

It looks at the moment as though the Council, is in danger of reinforcing the kind of professional model where such issues are even more difficult to explore both theoretically and in practice. Indeed there is indication that many of the pre-occupations of the Central Council for Education and Training in **Social Work** are in the process of being adopted in thinking about community and youth work training. Of course community and youth work thinking is in many senses more liberated than is evident in social work, in that racism and sexism are at last openly on the agenda and the declared process is educational not therapeutic. It can however be seen that there is equal danger in common with social work and practically every other profession one could name, with the possible exception of the teaching profession, that the question of class remains as the hidden agenda writ large.

Yet the question remains, can there be a form of practice whether it be labelled social or political education that does not address itself to the significance of social class in the way life chances are experienced?

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labour, leisure, adolescence and alcohol

NICHOLAS DORN

Drink, Class and Gender - Introduction

The late 1970s and early 1980s saw an increasingly insistent articulation, in the reports of voluntary bodies and government and in the media, of a conception of youthful drinking practices that aligned these practices with delinquency and indiscipline, as well as with ill-health:

> **Battle is on to save teeny tipplers**
>
> The battle against Britain's increasing teenage drink problem is being stepped up by the Government ... Further evidence that under-age drinking is on the increase comes from a survey by the Christian Economic and Social Research Foundation ... "we have got to the point of no return".
>
> (Daily Mirror, 14 December, 1981)
>
> **Rising Crime Disturbs Britain's Air of Civility, Homicides Double, Muggings Soar: Experts Blame Unemployment, Teenage Drinking**
>
> For generations, Britain has been regarded as one of the world's safest countries, a model of civility, with quiet streets and a largely unarmed police force. But in recent months police officers and sociologists (sic) have been alarmed by increasing violence ... (etc)
>
> (Int. Herald Tribune, 24 November, 1980)

Partly, perhaps, the emergence of a concern with youthful drinking as a failure of social discipline may be ascribed to the continuing concern with 'youth problems' in the post-war period, and to specific worries over the escalation of youth unemployment and its possible repercussions. There is also the consideration that, for 'moral panics' over youth to be credibly restoked as worthy of news value (in the media), fresh manifestations of moral decay are required. But none of this explains the specificity and timing of post-war concerns overs youthful drinking as a form of indiscipline. This particular aspect of youth cultures never achieved notoriety in the more social democratic atmosphere of the 1960s and early 1970s (unlike illegal drug use), in spite of the apparent potential of 'sickness' accounts of drinking to be taken up by medicalised versions of social work and welfare practices. Why, then, do more disciplinary times bring 'teenage drinking' to the fore? From what deep repertoire of cultural anxieties does this demon - **drink** - spring?

It might initially seem inviting - to those aware of recent intellectual fashions - to follow Foucault's lead and to construct an **Archeology of Alcohol-related Anxieties**, situating this 'social problem' within broader discourses on the medical gaze, on punishment and on sexuality in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The problem that this raises for me is that, whilst I recognise the importance of the new discourses on the body that arose in the industrial epoch, and the significance of the forms of knowledge and power that constitute alcohol-related problems as **'health'** problems, I think that we need to recognise other (historically older) discourses in order to understand contemporary panics around youthful drinking. Whilst concerns about mental **health** (of the population generally) and about teenage alcoholism are being articulated at the present time, these are a subordinate element in the framing discourse on social discipline (in the market economy and within the family). Welfarist concerns with scientific helping strategies for the sick and 'inadequate' have been partially displaced or reconstituted by disciplinary concerns with means of self-help or coercion for those who are morally unsound and economically non-productive. It is within these latter discourses that moral panics over kids and drinking make their appearance.

It seems that a new 'social problems' tune, struck on a deeper historical register than constructed by Foucault's Archeology, is being played. It is useful, in approaching the task of the recognition of this tune, to consider some issues raised (amongst others) by the Conservative thinker, Ferdinand Mount:

> "It may ... seem that I spend an excessive time on the more distant past (where the evidence is often scanty) and relatively little on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries where the evidence is plentiful and the subject of more pressing concern. The reason is that our myths often go deeper than we know and if they are to be grubbed up, they must be grubbed up from the roots. Besides, it is possible that when we have cleared the ground of certain persistent misconceptions, some vexed questions about the present will look a little simpler, and that what may be legitimately said can be said simply and briefly".[1]

Ferdinand Mount's historical sentiments provide a useful introduction to our understanding of how 'teenage drinking' became articulated as a specific and alarming idea within discourses on youth and social problems in the 1970s and '80s. For, as I show in greater depth elsewhere[2] (and can only indicate in this paper) alcohol-related problems became 'recognised', by a state much concerned with social discipline, several centuries before the nineteenth (which is where much historical analysis of temperance and like movements has found its inspiration). It is in this sense that I break with sociological fashion (Foucault) and follow Mount insofar as he may 'seem to spend an excessive time on the more distant past'.

There is also a sense in which the work of Mount, and the intellectual, political and economic tendencies which he represents, illuminates a most striking weakness in 'critical analysis' of problems such as those articulated around alcohol (a weakness unfortunately not overcome in my own work[3]). This weakness is the failure to think relations between questions of 'the economy' and of 'ideology' in terms of sexual divisions and relations: - the recently acknowledged, but not yet resolved problem of the **family** in post-war social science. That this weakness is fully represented in post-war 'cultural studies' approaches to understanding youth and youth culture is amply demonstrated by the work of feminist researchers.[4] The implications for any critical understanding of ideas and practices related to alcohol - both in respect of its control and of its recreational consumption - are discouraging. For if we can't construct a coherent **general** political economy of social controls, or a **general** social psychology of everyday life and leisure, how can we expect of understand the control or enjoyment of any **specific** aspect (such as drinking)?

In this paper I suggest that two aspects of the 'teenage drinking' question - the social reaction ('moral panic') over drink and indiscipline and the actual forms of drinking practices as these arise amongst particular strata of youth - may be located within two broader movements: the consolidation of patriarchal authority within the family, and of market disciplines outside the family. At that point where the new 'family politics' meets the new 'social market' politics we rediscover the mid-teenage 'transition to work', and are able to reconceptualise 'teenage drinking' as a locus on contrasting and sometimes contending discourses on the social and sexual divisions of labour and leisure.

In the following paragraphs I first engage the question of the historical genesis of state controls and discourses on working class drinking practices, and then move on to a re-examination of the approaches that sociology and social anthropology have made to youthful drinking practices. Finally, I make a few remarks about health and social education in the context of youth work and 'training'.

Historical Basis of the Conflation of Working Class Drinking and Indiscipline

Legislation touching upon the control of drinking persons and places emerges relatively early in the history of English legislation, in the context of the Vagrancy Acts and their concern to restrict labour mobility, wage inflation and potentially seditious meetings. If one wished to trace contemporary discourse on drink and social discipline to a specific **epoch**, then that of the break-up of feudalism and the emergence of a 'free' proletariat would seem to provide a more fundamental point of departure than nineteenth century struggles around questions of the moral and political comportment of that class.

The first formal and legal controls on drinking are found in fifteenth century 'vagrancy' legislation, which was at that time shifting its 'focal concerns' from control of wages (in a situation of labour shortage) to control of a pool of surplus (unemployed) labour and of political agitation.[5] These statutes occur in the context of the breakdown in feudal relations, the enclosures and the creation of a 'free' proletariat without means of production and self-support. As Rubin records:

> "The English landowners of the end of the 15th and the beginning of the 16th centuries often cleared the small-scale peasant tenants off their land, or 'enclosed' the communal land which the peasants had previously used for grazing their cattle, since the areas thus made free could be put to better use raising sheep. As English or Flemish cloth manufacturers increased their demand for wool, so prices shot up and sheep breeding became a more profitable undertaking than cultivating the soil. 'Sheep swallow down the very men themselves', said Thomas More at the beginning of the 16th century. Another of his contempories wrote: 'Gentlemen do not consider it a crime to drive poor people off their property. On the contrary, they insist that the land belongs to them and throw the poor out from their shelter, like cows. In England at the moment, thousands of people, previously decent householders, now go begging, staggering from door to door'?"[6]

It is in these circumstances that regulation of the conditions of ale-selling became a concern of the vagrancy legislation. The 1495 Act Against Vagabonds and Beggars reads as follows:

> For moderating the provisions of (previous vagrancy Acts) it is enacted, that Vagabonds, idle and suspected Persons, shall be set in the Stock Three Days and Three Nights, and shall have none other Sustinance but Bread and Water, and shall be put out of the town...
>
> No articier, Labourer or Servant, shall play at any Unlawful Game, but in Christmas. Two Justices of the Peace may reject common Ale-selling in any Place, and take security from Sellers of Ale for their good behaviour.

This, then, is the context - economic, political and legislative - within which working class drinking became 'demonised'.

The 1495 Act laid the basis for the first statute specifically and solely concerned with regulation of ale-houses - the 1552 'Act for Keepers of Alehouses to be bound by Recognisance'. This latter Act, conventionally regarded as providing the basis for modern licensing legislation,[7] concerned itself with how 'intolerable Hurts and Troubles to the Commonwealth of this Realm doth daily grow and increase through such Abuses and Disorders as are had and used in Common Alehouses', and repeated the provision of the 1495 Act for Justices to 'put away common selling of Ale and Beer in the said common Alehouses'. It is clear that the object of this early restrictive legislation was selective suppression of those gatherings of the poor at which political remedies to their problems were advocated, and that public houses became a focus of control not because they sold alcohol, but because they provided meeting places.[8]

In the source cited I go on to show, at a level of detail that I cannot attempt here, that the cumulative result of these statutes and of the various concerns behind them - restriction of labour mobility, control of wage militancy, proscription of traditional leisure practices thought to obstruct the development of habits of full-time employment in skilled trades or manufacture, suppression of Inns characterised by political meetings - was a conception of working class drinking practices as potentially undermining of the disciplines of the wage relation and of the moral and political order that nourishes it. Note, however, that it was specifically collective drinking **places** and **gatherings**, rather than drink or drinking **per se** (eg. in the home), that was the initial object of concern and control. This is reflected in the practice of licensing of premises, which were closed if they became a 'disorderly house'.

It is this focus upon the gathering-place rather than upon the individual drinking that helps to explain the difficulty that medicine experienced in recasting 'drinking problems' in terms

of disease. 'Alcoholism' remains a contradictory concept within medical discourse, continuing to evoke Will, Morality, Debauchery; striking the pre-Renaissance, unscientific and 'irrational' register dismissed by the medical gaze. Even in the heyday of post-Second World War medicalisation of social problems, the conviction that 'alcoholism' exists as a disease entity held sway only in a small minority.

Young people became special objects of control in relation to public drinking as soon as the discrete category of the Child was constituted by law and state practices in relation to employment protection, delinquency, education, sexuality and the family. The first restriction on children's participation in the pub occurred in a 1886 **Act for the Protection of Children**, (closely following legislation on child employment and education). Historically tainted as a locus of agitation/education around wages and working class political advances, the public house was no place for the newly-constituted moral vulnerability of the Child. 'Underage drinking' remains today an object of concern not simply because of the consumption of alcohol (it is considered quite reasonable for young children to share a drink in the home at their parents' discretion), but because of the deleterious effects that **public** and **collective** drinking might have upon the moral development of the minor. Recall, for example, that it is not simply drinking alcohol in the pub that is forbidden for the child of school age, but any entry into the pub. Transgression of this rule is deemed evidence of badness (delinquency), rather than sickness.

But how do young men and women **really** drink? An uncritical reading of some recent research on youth might give the impression that youthful drinking is indeed a form of youthful indiscipline (see Willis, Parker, cited below). In the following paragraphs I explore the genesis of this view, and offer alternative perspectives. This involves a brief discussion of tendencies in the sociology of youth cultures.

Social divisions of labour and of leisure

(a) **I'd love a Babycham!**

That leisure practices are closely articulated with the social and sexual division of labour is a key understanding in the sociologies of culture, recreation, sport, leisure and youth. There are however two ways in which this understanding can be grasped.

In the first, dominant in early post-war sociologies of youth culture, the increasing division of labour accompanying the development of capitalist industry, commerce and infrastructures guarantees an enjoyment of consumption goods and services by all sections of society; and a homogeneous culture and influential mass media helps to create a 'mass culture' of shared tastes and leisure practices, especially in the young. Following Talcott Parsons,[9] social class differences and their significance for the social division of leisure practices are downplayed, but sexual differentiation is acknowledged (indeed emphasised). Leisure and 'style' are seen as crucial resources in the construction of the gendered identity, providing opportunities for the completion of the process of taking on one or other of the sex roles constituting the family.[10]

In this process of breaking from/reproducing the family, the group of same-age and same-sex peers is seen as providing a means of separation from the family by identification with peers ('one of the girls/boys' or, taken 'too far', delinquency) and a means of social reproduction (dating, sexual claims, 'settling down'). In this structural-functionalist scenario, the peer group is seen as primarily 'functional' (boys will be boys), but also as an object of alarm in those cases whenever the teenage phenomenon involves 'inappropriate' behaviour. For reasons discussed above, teenage drinking (other than acceptance of small amounts of alcohol on special occasions within the family) has come to be regarded as inappropriate in white Anglo-Saxon Protestant cultures; and the peer group is generally 'blamed' in those media accounts ('bad company'), social welfare and youth work practices (eg. early detached work) and versions of health education ('education for individual decision-making') that are premised in or influenced by functionalist conceptions of the relation of youth and society.[11]

In this conception of leisure, the social division of labour provides an availability of consumption practices which are utilised in the construction of adult masculinity and femininity. Or, to put it in concrete terms, in a society in which it was declared that we were all middle class, the stereotype was beer or shandy for the boys, Babycham for the girls.

(b) **We're Hard! Social Class and Tetley Bittermen**

The second conception of the relation of the social division of labour and leisure practices amongst youth to be derived by post-war sociology was one in which the re-insertion of social class into the analysis accompanied a **displacement** of sexual divisions. Social class was first thought in terms of occupational status and income (parental, own part-time job, and/or anticipation of future employment), as regulating means of access to commonly-desired consumption opportunities. In this primarily Mertonian conception, the emphasis was upon working class subscription to commercially and institutionally defined consumption norms, and upon the achievement orientation motivating the (prototypically masculine) subject. **Underlying** this are assumptions about a form of femininity that is concerned with the care and servicing of others' needs rather than of one's own, rendering the theory largely inapplicable to women and girls and hence leaving them out of the analysis. Unlike Parsonian sociologies of youth, Mertonian approaches had no clear conception of sexual divisions, or of femininity - other than as was implied in some of its categories of male deviancy. 'Retreatism', for instance, a category of deviancy that lent sociological weight to medical categories of alcoholism,[12] implied a giving up of the achievement orientation considered normal for males, and a retreat into an ill-defined 'other world' of emotionality, dependence and infantile self-indulgence.

More commonly, however, Mertonian researchers were concerned with the **accentuation** of masculinity in the complex of attitudes and behaviour called 'delinquency'. This category of deviancy, involving 'stretched' versions of ascribed 'normal' masculine concerns such as the desire for power, money, consumer goods, excitement. etc., was seen to manifest itself as rowdiness, thievery, violence and a general lack of respect for one's elders and betters. Projected onto youthful drinking, this model conceptualises the activity as rebellious and as hypermasculine.[13]

What provokes both these forms of deviancy is, in the Mertonian scenario, a lack of opportunity or means to achieve the aims to which all youth (indeed the whole society) are said to aspire. (It is this recognition of social class differentiation and its possible consequences that marks this sort of ananlysis off

from the Parsonian). The lower class delinquent results from a disappointment with his failure to obtain the consumption goods and lifestyle dangled before him by advertising, the media generally and (to a lesser extent) by the schools. This disappointment may then be turned inwards, in self-blame, resulting in retreatism; or may be turned outwards, 'blaming the system' and delegitimising previously-subscribed-to social **morés**, resulting in expressive delinquency (bad rather than sick).

The concern with young working class males was to continue with the advent of neo-Marxian approaches. These latter added to Mertonian conceptions of working class boys a concern with class consciousness that, whilst not being politically developed, was seen as 'resistance through rituals' - a vestigial echo of historical class struggles. So, whilst within the Mertonian framework male deviancy is often seen as the result of disappointment at restricted consumption opportunities (drinking to escape one's problems, or compensate for them), within the neo-Marxian framework a sense of class resistance was added.

The organising sentiment breathing 'life' into these dry concepts is that of masculinity - inadequate or undeveloped masculinity leading to retreatist deviancy, or 'hard' masculinity leading to aggressivity. For Howard Parker, who conducted a well-received study of lower working class boys in the later 1960s and early '70s, youthful pub drinking is an aspect of the more general search for excitement, male group solidarity and occasional confrontations with authority. Parker suggests that:

> "... emphasis on certain behavioural themes are consequences or functions of the boys' situation rather then traditional concerns that are simply transmitted to them. Toughness and masculinity, for instance, are concerns of most men at all levels of society. The tendency for the down-town adolescent to express this concern through physical combat may well be related to the lack of control over resources and power ..."[14]

And in the more recent and well-known work of Paul Willis, drinking is closely related to rebelliousness:

> "As well as inducing a 'nice' effect, drinking is undertaken openly because it is the most decisive signal to staff and 'ear'oles' that the individual is separate from the school and has a presence in an alternative, superior and more mature mode of social being..."
>
> "The point is, of course, that the drinking has to be done at lunchtime, and in defiance of the school. It is not done simply to mark a neutral transition - a mere ritual. It is a decisive rejection and closing off. They have, in some way, finally, beaten the school..."[15]

Summarising (perhaps excessively and unfairly), we can say that following the historical construction of a discourse on drink and indiscipline, 'radical' youth culture theory of the 1970s tends to construct its own **parallel** discourse around male chauvinist and highly romanticised notions of boyish rebelliousness. This radical sociology has yet to develop or clearly contribute to any serious youth work practice, either as general engagement with youth on a broad front (where the running has been made by social democratic approaches),[16] or specifically in relation to drinking and other methods of intoxication (where progress has been uneven and largely pragmatic).[17] Thus we are left with largely unanswered questions - how do young people (girls as well as boys, various social class strata, ethnic groups other than white) incorporate specific drinking practices and meanings into their various cultures; and how can youth workers and other educational and welfare persons engage these?

(c) **The male work group at leisure**

One useful body of work on the social anthropology of the social and economic significance of recreational drinking amongst men has been provided by Gerald Mars.[18] Based upon a study of longshoremen belonging to a gang in regular employment, and of those who lack membership of such a gang, Mars describes drinking styles in relation to such economic relations. His study does not explicitly conceptualise sexual divisions, in spite of his observation of their rigid existence; and the economy and culture of Newfoundland, Canada, may seem a long way from Britain. But his work is worth attention because it explores aspects of 'irregular' employment that may characterise life for many in a declining Britain.

> "It is only through a comparative examination of drinking styles that we can understand how drinking is more than merely a leisure activity - a way of passing time and of spending money. We can see not only how styles of drinking reflect basic differences between two groups of men but also how they contribute to and re-affirm these differences. We come to see that understanding their drinking can allow us to understand much more than we would otherwise know about the processes of exclusion and of incorporation that these men adopt. We will see how power governing access to and the dispersal of material goods is mediated and controlled through drinking and how and in what ways the very political life of the union is sustained by it."[19]

In this analysis, alcohol is conceptualised primarily as a commodity circulating in various systems of symbolic and material exchange - as an aspect of trade between persons of equal, and unequal status and resources. Mars distinguishes between the round system of exchange of alcohol amongst employed members of the working group; the 'treating' (with gifts of drink) of those members of a working group who are temporarily sick and hence unwaged and unable to reciprocate; the buying of drinks by subordinate and marginal members of a working group in order to consolidate their position in the group and hence the regularity and security of their employment; use of drink as a commodity of trade in return for services such as 'speaking out' about grievances affecting the whole working group; and as an article of trade amongst 'outside men' (the unemployed) amongst whom the rounds system does not generally operate. To quote Mars again:

> "By interpreting behaviour in terms of exchange within and between different spheres of activity, however, we see that unbalanced obligations derived from one sphere may be balanced by action in another. When gangs are examined as drinking groups, it is found that obligations and reciprocities from the dock are carried through to drinking and vice versa. At the same time gangs provide a mechanism for excluding unwanted and marginal co-workers; thus they not only supply a ready means of balancing obligations but also create new obligations by, for instance, granting the special drinking licence or other kinds of material support granted to men who are too sick to work. In so acting, the gang's drinking group articulates the spheres of leisure, insurance, family and work."[20]

Underdeveloped in this social anthropology is the question of the inter-relation of drinking and the sexual division of labour, Mars simply noting that male drinking groups do not occur in the home 'which in Newfoundland is the power base of the women'. It seems that in this analysis the primary concerns of the sociologies of deviancy and delinquency - the focus upon lower working class males and the taking for granted of sexual divisions - are reproduced. Mars' work does however have the advantage of a clearer conception of the relation between social

relations of labour and of leisure, and avoids the tendency to romanticise the political significance of aspects of working class cultures. The empirical and practical flavour of this work - how particular social groups actually **use** alcohol - make it a potentially important resource for practitioners in health and social education. It will be increasingly important to conduct such studies in Britain as the formal economy fails, and casual work and the informal economies become more central to wide strata of boys and girls, and as curricula in social ('and life skills') education in further eduction and Y.T.S. provision develop in the attempt to be relevant to these circumstance.[21]

(d) **Mixed-sex Round Buying in Service Sector Youth Culture; and Two Contrasting Groups**

The next example of research on drinking styles is taken from my own work on inner London youth cultures and their relation to social class and sexual divisions.[22] I used a three-phase approach to constructing a case study of drinking styles amongst one particular stratum of youth - the white, middle strata of working class boys and girls who leave school to find employment in the (relatively buoyant) service sector of the local economy. The three phases of my fieldwork were designed to look consecutively at (i) the job-market facing boys and girls (other than the middle class) in the Borough; (ii) the schools and the ways in which they manage pupils in their school-leaving year; and (iii) a group of pupils who socialised together with others who anticipated getting or already had obtained service sector employment. Thus I was able to place my direct observations of pub drinking amongst this group within the context of their transition from school to labour market, against the background of the ways in which the sexual divisions of waged and domestic labour confront them. I concluded that:

"In my case study area, the economic framework and the collective response of boys and girls entering the service sector of the economy leads them to construct a culture stressing independence, accepting some degree of sex equality (during the immediate mid-teenage years, at least), and celebrating escape from the lower strata of the labour market. The typical drinking situation for mid-teen youth in this social group is "round drinking" in the pub, where every person takes it in turns to buy a round of drinks for all. Each person presents him/herself as independent and equal to others, and this is confirmed through the economic and social form of turn-taking involved in the round. Girls buy equally with boys, and sometimes even buy slightly more than their round, hence emphasizing their equality with the boys; such displays of independence sometimes cause the boys irritation, much as they appreciate the financial advantage. The drinking situation is highly sociable, with displays of "facework" and controlled emotional interaction similar to those required in service-sector work (interaction in offices etc.). All in all, the drinking situation and the social meanings generated therein may be seen as a reflection and celebration, within the leisure sphere, of the economic, social and sexual relations of work life..."[23]

The drinking practices of service sector youth were, however, markedly different from those of boys and of girls lower in the class structure. Lower working class girls face heavier domestic housework (and often sibling care) responsibilities and much worse labour market opportunities. Some of these girls - whom I term 'domestics' in my study - drank in the same pub as the service sector group observed, but in a manner reflecting their lack of economic independence and equality with boys, and in a manner reflecting their (compensatory?) investment in conventional stereotypes of femininity. They did not generally buy their own drinks (let alone buy for boys), and 'exchanged' flirtatiousness for drinks bought for them by males. Such observations would form a useful extension to the social anthroplogy of leisure practices as work-related exchanges (cf. Mars, above).

Another social groups whose drinking characteristically differs from mid-teen service-sector drinking is the black, Afro-Caribbean teenage group, and a brief reference to this group services to provide a further contrast with and clarification of drinking in service sector culture. In a group discussion with Afro-Caribbean pupils in a Servicetown school, one boy explained that whilst they sometimes went into 'disco-pubs', they did not feel comfortable in most ordinary pubs: "I don't go into pubs. I don't like the atmospheres. Too common. And I don't like the people in pubs, really ... they're not my kind of people, you know." There are a number of reasons why few Afro-Caribbean teenagers use pubs in the same way as do some white groups. Financial constraints, stemming from their relatively limited access to parental pocket money and to part-time jobs, are an obvious brake upon their drinking. But there is more to it than this. In the case of the Afro-Caribbean males, there are also the attractions of the cafe-club with its music and pool tables which, together with a desire to clothe oneself in a snappy manner, competes for their attention and their time as well as their funds. Entry to the pub is not such a 'big deal' for many Afro-Caribbean as it is for many white teenagers.

This is not a matter of purely cultural preference or tradition, nor purely a result of 'lack' of cultural integration of Afro-Caribbean leisure culture - it is an aspect of the relation between West Indians, the schools and the labour market. The parental culture encourages an orientation towards upward occupational mobility, and education is highly prized;[24] but young Afro-Caribbean recognise that neither the school nor the market serves them well. Many of the boys seek to stave off transition to work and to escape a labour market rigged against them. They do not want to be socio-economically independent at this stage and in these conditions, thank you. Status - and masculinity, especially - has a whole idiom and style of expression within Afro-Caribbean culture that is quite different from that within white culture. These idioms and styles are closely connected with the notion of **being one's own boss** (professional; mechanic; trader; self-employed) rather than with selling one's labour on the market. For those groups who emphasise these aspects of the culture, the aim of attaining one's independence is conceptualised as not having to sell one's labour - a diametrically opposed notion to that of the white teenager. This does not, of course, mean that such a teenager doesn't want to work - it means he wants to work for himself. This is a long-term goal, and one that has significant effects on idiom and style throughout the teen years. Drinking, if and when it does occur, tends then to occur within a social context confirming this free man/self-employed/'own man' identity. This is reflected in the type of drink (generally cans or shorts rather than draught); in the manner and intentions of drinking (for heightened experience, for a controlled high, to stay cool and alert and witty, rather than to blur the critical faculties); and in the immediate drinking milieu (homes or music clubs dominated by a Afro-Caribbean presence, rather than white pubs). These patterns of drinking may then be modified as teenagers get older.

My remarks are sketchy and preliminary, and I have no knowledge of the drinking practices of Afro-Caribbean girls, or of other ethnic groups. But the point is made, I hope, that drinking practices (like other aspects of cultures) need to be related

to ethnic as well as sexual divisions, and to the ways in which these relate to economic circumstances.

Social Education linking Work, Culture and Drinking Practices

To what extent can a concern with drinking (or, for that matter, with solvent sniffing or illegal drug use) become an aspect of a progressive practice of youth work, secondary education, or education in the context of the YTS? To raise this question is to address some of the issues that have coalesced around the idea of 'social education'. This is a broad term spanning many educational and training practices, not all of which may be mutually compatible. Anti-racist and anti-sexist work (with explicit aims of confronting specific oppressions); 'political education' (knowledge of political and citizen rights and duties, and skills in discharging these); life and social skills education (in habits and disciplines required of low-wage workers) - these are some of the practices within and between which various attempts at social education about drink, solvents and drugs have been, and will be, formed. Such education is often more in the nature of practical intervention by the worker into a situation involving hazardous use of alcohol, solvents or drugs, than formal teaching in the didactic sense. These practical demonstrations may involve the worker in the giving of specific information and advice, displays of authority along the lines of 'you can't do that', and/or the showing of emotions such as indignation, fear or confusion. This sort of impromptu 'social education' is often prompted by an unforeseen problem such as sniffing on LEA's premises (management problem) or intoxication or overdose (medical problem), and the action taken by the worker then becomes a topic of debate in the following weeks. It is partly in order to anticipate such debate and to outline or legitimise his or her responsibilities that some workers engage in more conventional 'teaching' about intoxicants; and the topics of 'drugs and alcohol' may be part of the formal curriculum in schools and F.E. courses. There remains in most cases a considerable gap between the practical demonstration (morality in action), and the formal teaching (abstract knowledge of 'facts' and discussion of feelings about these 'facts').

It is partly in an attempt to bridge this gap that Bente Nortofte and myself began work on the 'Health Careers' manual, which offers suggestions for project work linking work, sexual divisions and youth cultures to a range of social practices - dietary, sexual, intoxicating, 'getting through the day', etc. This approach - whilst it is inadequately developed in the teaching material currently available[25] perhaps goes some way to setting these aspects of health and social education in the same broad context as some approaches to anti-sexist youth work practice, insofar as these relate to discussion of sexual divisions of power and of work. But our educational material so far fails to engage issues raised in anti-racist youth work, and remains very sketchy in its treatment of those issues which it does cover.

We are aware that many practitioners have gone a great deal further than this, and think that it is from **their** experience (rather than from the more academic work reviewed here) that an account of progress and prospects in health and social education must be distilled and written down. This journal, amongst others, is where one might hope and expect this to happen. Certainly, issues around intoxication, youth, indiscipline and health are notable pivots for social and political movements, and important sites for the definition of good and evil. This is as true today as it is historically.

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the yts and democracy

JOHN FAIRLEY

Introduction

The MSC's Youth Training Scheme (YTS) came to life in April 1983. In its first full year it is planned to cater for 460,000 young people with the Thatcher government meeting the £1.1 billion annual cost. Following previous Conservative administrations in 1964 and 1973, the present government sees the radical reform of training - and particularly youth training -as central to its labour market policy. The Thatcher government claims that its new YTS like its predecessors represents a major step forward for young people and is a radical improvement on the old elitist training system. While the main policy objectives of YTS have received some critical attention, there has been surprisingly little discussion of the more extravagent political and ideological claims which Ministers make for the scheme. This article seeks to raise questions about the democratic and egalitarian claims which are frequently advanced in favour of YTS and which have proved very effective at disarming opposition and deflecting criticism of the scheme.

The Youth Training Scheme

The development of YTS has been discussed in detail and its prospects have been assessed[1] and the scheme has also been subject to socialist critique.[2] It would be tedious to go over this ground again. However, an outline of the scheme may serve as helpful background to the ensuing discussion.

YTS builds on the experience of the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) - a work experience programme introduced by Labour in 1978 as a short term response to youth unemployment - and of the Unified Vocational Preparation (UVP) scheme which provided some training for a much smaller number of young people in low-skill jobs, mainly through the auspices of a couple of recently-abolished ITB's (Distribution and Air Transport and Travel). In training terms it is clear that YTS will not be built on high quality foundations, and this has led some commentators to question the quality of its training objectives. However, the scale of YTS objectives is clearly impressive - the scheme aims to cater for 460,000 young people in its first full year.

The MSC hopes that 300,000 of these young people will receive employer-based ("mode A") traineeships and has embarked on a lavish advertising campaign to achieve this. Those remaining who cannot find (for whatever reason) an employer-based place will receive a second-best form of provision ("mode B"). This emphasis on work-based training in times of mass unemployment has been much criticised. Arguably it reflects the partial influence of the West German system in that it seeks to build a market led training system. Other proposals emanating from Mr. Tebbit's Ministry will ensure that this particular market - the labour market - is increasingly employer dominated.

Within YTS, young people (mostly 16 year olds) will receive a 12 month traineeship. This will combine work experience (which is the central part of the scheme) with 'appropriate' training and further education. Youth trainees will receive a minimum 3 months off-the-job training and be paid a YOP-style allowance. The intervention of Norman Tebbit (against the majority view on the MSC) ensured that youth allowances paid by MSC would be frozen at £25 per week.[3] Press reports that Ministers were planning to cut young people's benefit rights have reawakened fears that the Government plans to force young people into YTS. However, on a more positive note, there are growing signs that in local authorities and in some private sector employment, trade unions are beginning to include YTS 'terms and conditions' in their local negotiations. Some local authorities concerned about the implications of low pay are also attempting to improve on the basic allowances.

The YTS is to be locally delivered and administered through a system of Area Manpower Boards (AMB's). These Boards will be based on groups of Local Education Authorities. They will be small, executive-type bodies to which members will be appointed to represent those interests which MSC feels to be important.

The government is not normally thought to be generous with public expenditure. However, by the standards of British training policy, YTS is being lavishly funded. The White Paper on YTS[4] argues that this £1.1 billion intervention will bring Britain's training expenditures to the level of those typical of advanced EEC States (about 2.5% of GDP). Extravagent claims are now being made by Ministers to justify and win support for YTS. It is asserted that from any viewpoint, egalitariarism, democracy, training quality responsiveness to local needs - YTS is something of a great leap forward.

Egalitarianism

The breadth of YTS and its aim to cater for 460,000 young people is hailed as one of its major virtues. Government supporters and critics have often been opposed on recent proposals to undermine apprentice training and statutory Industry Training Boards. However, there exists a remarkable consensus that compared with countries like West Germany and Denmark, Britain's training system is highly elitist and has failed the majority of school leavers who receive no further education or training provision. This charge of elitism can be found in MSC documents on YTS, in TUC material on training policy, in the government's White Paper, and was repeated by both Norman

Tebbit and Labour opponents in the belated Commons discussion of YTS.[5] The criticism has some justification - however good the ITB systems of modern standards - based training were, the state of the economy prevented most young people from entering training - and has been very useful to Norman Tebbit in his attempts to build a new, right-wing concensus around YTS. However, the question of how YTS will improve matters has been little discussed. The government's claim that by catering for larger numbers it is being more egalitarian, has received little critical attention. Rather, it tends to be assumed that YTS is a genuine step towards comprehensive provision for young people.

YTS and Comprehensive Provision

Any examination of YTS shows its claim to be comprehensive as very flimsy indeed. There are several aspects to this. First, school leavers will remain divided between those who go into full-time further/higher education and those who do not. In terms of renumeration and conditions of life, those who go on to receive further education will remain relatively privileged, compared with those who go onto YTS. Second, although MSC hopes that all young people leaving school for the labour market will be covered by this scheme, no measures are (yet) planned to ensure this. The scheme is voluntary. Some young people will go on being fortunate enough to find employment with negotiated conditions and wages which are better than those available under YTS. Third, even within YTS, it seems very unlikely that mode A and mode B provision can become genuinely eqìvalent. The former is based upon work, the latter can only simulate work experience. As far as future employment is concerned, employers may well take on some YTS trainees who had passed the extended selection period of mode A, but mode B seems certain to become a 'second best' for those young people that employers could not or would not take.[6]

A New Elitism

YTS is not comprehensive and the distinction between modes A and B implies that it cannot be egalitarian either. Those who recognise this seem to be broadly divided into two camps. There are those who recognise these faults but insist that YTS is a good first step **towards** a genuinely egalitarian and comprehensive scheme, hopefully to be of two years duration. On the other side there is a growing trend of criticism which argues that a scheme of this type in the present context cannot fail to be elitist, and may even be worse than the old system in that the elitism is disguised.

The distinction between modes A and B has already been noted. However it is important to recall that even within mode A, provision is likely to vary widely in quality. The MSC hopes that all young people, whether they would previously have been recruited into employment or not will come to be covered by the scheme. The Government shares these hopes but is also of the view that the labour market may clear itself better if youth wages are lowered and if trade union influence over the labour market and training is reduced. In particular, since the 'Think Tank' report on training.[7] The Government has seen apprenticeship as a trade union restrictive practice which should be ended. Small wonder then, that MSC and Department of Employment were both reported to be delighted when in January 1983 the Electrical Contractors and Electricians' Union agreed that in future all young people recruited would be youth trainees on MSC contracts and allowances rather than apprentices. Where all forms of youth recruitment including apprenticeship have now been subsumed within YTS - as is the case in construction - there is little pretence that the new scheme is comprehensive. Within construction the number of YTS trainees will be much larger than recent apprentice intakes, but signs are that the youth trainees will be 'streamed'. There are two courses on offer, a 13-week short introductory course and a slightly down-graded 24-week, off-the-job, apprentice-type course. It is likely that many employers will 'stream' the 'craft material' after only four weeks.

Whatever the industrial relations implications of this type of development, the important point for the present discussion is that increasingly skill training and apprenticeship will be subsumed under YTS. This means that **some** young people will get good quality training within YTS. (In some cases the extension of YTS may even improve the lot of trainees, eg hairdressing apprentices). Young people brought into YTS on this basis may find that the scheme does help them find work afterwards and so meet its major stated objective. However, it is most unlikely that 300,000 young people on mode A will receive good quality training and work experience. As on YOP many will receive a combination of low quality manual work experience and life and social skills. However, the experience of YOP shows that young people will not take long to work out for themselves which parts of YTS are worth getting involved in and which are not.

YTS and Training Quality

The focal point for most critics of YTS is the question of training quality. MSC will of course insist on certain criteria being met before giving approval to YTS applications. However, the fact that criteria have to be applicable to all sectors means that they are likely to be hopelessly general and unable to specify skills for any particular sector or set of industries. Again, though, the question of quality, in a market-led scheme like mode A of YTS, is a complex one. Apprenticeship, for example, may be brought within YTS but it will not go unchanged. In major sectors of industry like engineering, ITB's established standards-based, continuously-assessed forms of apprenticeship typically included a full first year of off-the-job training. By contrast YTS only specifies the minimum period which must be spent off-the-job to be three months. In the context of economic recession employers will be offered a choice: recruitment of apprentices who must be paid at negotiated rates and may not contribute to production for the first year, or, recruitment under YTS of young people paid a MSC allowance to whom there is no subsequent contractual or moral obligation and who may be employed in production for a large part of the 'training' year. Assuming that economic reality encourages employers to the least cost option, the effect of YTS may well be a lowering of apprenticeship quality. In construction this seems already to have been accepted by employers and unions. More generally concerns over quality are heightened by press reports that some employers and managing agents (eg. the Association of British Travel Agents) are trying to have private evening study counted towards the off-the-job component.[8] The increasing number of private training companies involved in YTS is also worrying many educationalists.

Against this of course YTS enthusiasts will argue that more young people will get some form of training and that this is a good thing. However, whether YTS is to function as a bridge from school to work as MSC hopes or whether, as one Labour MP recently put it, the scheme is a gang-plank to the dole queue depends very much on the broader economic situation. YTS

cannot be assessed in isolation from this as most young people will judge it on employment results rather than on the quality of its training content. Trainees cannot separate the questions of employment and training in the rather abstract way that YTS does.

There is clearly a local specificity to the economic recession which has great implications for the quality of YTS. Nationally, MSC seeks a two to one ratio of mode A employer-based to mode B traineeships. However in some parts of the country, industry and commerce have been so ravaged by de-industrialisation and by recession that the local economy may be unable to deliver mode A. In these, places, young people may have to accept second best mode B for no better reason than that they happen to live in an economically depressed area. In the West of Scotland, North England, West Midlands and in the innter cities is it realistic to expect a market-led training scheme to provide good quality training in the current recession? In the economically blighted areas YTS may thus simply function as a relatively uncontrolled labour subsidy in retail and service sectors rather than as the expected preparation for skill training.

Area Manpower Boards

Perhaps the central concern over standards of quality arises from the nature of the machinery being set to administer YTS. Here it seems as if key lessons of YOP have not been learned.

YTS is to be administered through a system of Area Manpower Boards (AMB's) which will be based (generally) on groups of Local Education Authority areas. These will examine applications and approve schemes. They are likely to require considerable flexibility and autonomy if the market-led mode A provision is to take off and become the major part of the scheme. However, AMB's are almost certainly not going to receive sufficient staff or resources to adequately monitor YTS in their areas. This means that YTS like YOP may lead to considerable job substitution. It also means that in practice it will be impossible to ensure that the 'additionality rule' (ie. that YTS be additional to normal youth employment) is adhered to and that promised training standards are pursued and achieved. In addition in some areas AMB boundaries bear little relation to accepted views of the local labour market. London has been arbitrarily divided into 4 AMB areas against the advice of both the GLC and ILEA. No London-wide co-ordination mechanism has yet been proposed by MSC.

During the build up to the full launch of YTS in September 1983, AMB's were required to process applications at an extremely rapid rate. AMB agendas were too tightly packed to permit proper scrutiny of applications and Board members frequently complained that they only received papers shortly before the Board was due to meet. In some areas, like London, where movement to identify and set up YTS places was particularly slow, these pressures became very great in late summer. At one meeting in August the North East London AMB had to consider some 1500 YTS places.[9]

While AMB members up and down the country were trying to impose some quality control and keep their heads above the flood of applications, many mode A places were being set up without any local consultations whatsoever. Perhaps a quarter of total mode A provision is in large nation-wide employers whose proposals are negotiated centrally with the MSC Large Companies Unit and never come before AMB's. These schemes would seem to undermine the ability of AMB members to form a proper overview of youth training in their areas.

Where conflict has emerged between AMB's and MSC staff there are further signs that MSC sees Boards as delivery mechanisms for YTS and not as the key local co-ordinators and planners of the whole New Training Initiative as suggested in some Ministerial statements. In September the Central and Fife Area Manpower Board sought to defer approving a Pitman Training Services scheme proposed for Dunfermline and Falkirk. Board members were concerned about Pitman's lack of experience in the locality, about the quality and monitoring of work placements, and about the possible undermining of local further education. The AMB was criticised for stepping outside policy guidelines by MSC headquarters in Sheffield and instructed to approve the scheme. John Pollock, General Secretary of the Educational Institute of Scotland, commented, "What is the point of having area manpower boards if they are going to be over-ruled by Sheffield?"[10]

YTS and Equal Opportunities

The old abandoned training system was widely felt to be elitist. One index of this was the failure of young women and ethnic minority youth to gain access to skill training and subsequent entry to skilled employment. A number of ITB's did attempt small scale and sometimes successful positive action programmes for young women, but by and large the exclusion of these groups from skill training could not be tackled within the old system. Within YOP there is evidence that ethnic minority youth were under-represented in employer-based work experience and over-represented in lower quality schemes like training workshops. In their responses to the MSC Consultative document in 1981, both the Equal Opportunities Commission and the Commission for Racial Equality gave a cautious welcome to the proposed youth scheme. It appeared to offer hope of some relaxation of the conditions imposed on entry to skill training - and these had long been recognised as a key factor hindering access to apprenticeship for young women and ethnic minorities. However, both EOC and CRE also felt that the consultative document had failed properly to grasp the nettle of equal opportunity and the development of YTS to date suggests the criticism may be accurate. First, employers will be left to do their own recruiting for high quality YTS places. Skill training places available within mode A may come to be filled in exactly the same way as apprenticeship places, despite the fact that in the old system it was generally in the recruitment process that disadvantage was produced. The traditional division of labour and provision of training cannot be altered unless employers' traditional recruitment patterns are challenged. YTS does not do this. Second, YTS does not accept that positive action may be necessary to overcome past disadvantage. No attempt is made to make participation in the scheme or receipt of MSC grants conditional upon a commitment to equal opportunity. AMB's will not be in a position to monitor equal opportunity. There appears to be no planned system of extra or additional support for employers who may wish to develop YTS as the egalitarian social policy instrument which its proponents claim it to be. YTS thus seems unlikely to advance the position of women and ethnic minority youth in the labour market.

Democracy and YTS

Again, this aspect of the new scheme has been little discussed. In one sense the very development of YTS is evidence of the further centralisation and bureaucratisation of training. Prior to the creation of MSC in 1973, training was based upon Industry Training Boards and relied upon further education services.

continued on page 56

reviews

Digby Anderson (editor)
EDUCATED FOR EMPLOYMENT?
The Social Affairs Unit, 1982
ISBN 0 907631 03 7
£2.65
pp. 102

Network Training Group
TRAINING AND THE STATE
1983
ISBN 0 906932 85 8
£1.25
pp. 28
(available from Dave Carter, 7 Buckhurst Road, Manchester M19 2DS)

Harry Salmon
UNEMPLOYMENT: GOVERNMENT SCHEMES AND ALTERNATIVES
Association of Community Workers 1983
ISBN 0 907413 102
£1.50
pp. 56

Michael West and Peggy Newton
THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL TO WORK
Croom Helm, 1983
ISBN 0 7099 2758 4
£13.95
pp. 221

Massive youth unemployment generated by a combination of technological change and recession has been met by a plethora of government policy measures and academic investigation. For those on the Right it often appears disarmingly simple reflecting no more than the inevitable combination of badly educated youths with excessively greedy demands for wages. It is of course entirely consistent with the preference of the powerful and their acolytes for blaming the victims rather than the architects of disaster. The Social Affairs Unit is a veritable breeding group for such establishment poodles.

Educated for Employment provides an opportunity to find out what the **Daily Mail** thinks about the contemporary problems in the relationship between school and work. Indeed it may be that the single achievement of the Social Affairs Unit is to place reactionary prejudice between more impressive looking covers than that under which it is usually to be found. This dignifies it with an aura of reputability that is only dispelled by those who have not already been convinced of the arguments to be made. It is not that the arguments here have already appeared in the **Daily Mail** simply that they have the same sophistication and intellectual thrust that is usually found in that paper.

Digby Anderson sets the tone on the first page with the bland assertion that lower wages would encourage youth employment. The repetition of this favoured old chestnut is not even dignified with a reference to its Chicago ancestry, let along any consideration of empirical data. Indeed for those who frequently castigate sociologists for their wild and unsupported assertions it is remarkable how many quite astounding ones drip from their own pens. In fact there is no evidence to show any correlation over the last ten years between changing levels of youth unemployment and the youth wage rate. The evidence from government studies of the Young Workers Scheme, which subsidises employers to take on young workers below a specified wage level indicates that the programme has been of only marginal significance in terms of increasing the employment of young workers. Such programmes may in any case further displace unemployment onto older workers.

Anderson's dependence on the assertion of well known right wing truths unmitigated by fact is equally evident in his predictable attacks on what he believes to be Marxism. The perspicacity of these may be somewhat limited. Anderson claims inter alia "Marx's tight-fisted social classification only permits two classes". No doubt this statement depends on Anderson's extensive reading in the area but it would come as some surprise to those who have apparently wasted their time seeking to explore the ambiguities in this central issues in Marxist social philosophy.[1] No doubt in future S.A.U. publications Dr. Anderson will take a couple of paragraphs to clarify this whole area for his readers.

This resort to rhetoric and assertion equally characterises the contribution of David Marsland, Deputy Director of the Social Affairs Unit and Professor of Sociology at Brunel University. Marsland yet again commends the virtue of anational scheme for youth service. He castigates the trade unions for their resistance to schemes to employ young people at below the present wage scales. In fact in 1982 young male workers under 18, in fully time employment, were already receiving only 39 per cent of the wages paid to employed males over 21. Clearly too much for the well paid Professor Marsland. Marsland dismisses those who have opposed the scheme as "the establishment of vested interest in youths affairs". Powerful stuff and no doubt it may be only a matter of time before Marsland joins the growing army of reactionary academics who eke out their salary with a regular handout from Fleet Street. When we examine the establishment to which Marsland refers, it consists of none other than PEDRO (sic) presumably a pseudonym for a contributor to **Rapport** and this reviewer, who as a Lecturer in Social Policy at a University catering to mature students could hardly be accused of being in that establishment. Nonetheless, together with Marsland's confident assertion that he has elsewhere shown criticism of his proposals to be "persuasive only to those already dogmatically antipathetic to new ideas" it conjures up the right image - blind vested interests, preferably in the public sector, blocking innovation which is backed by all men and women of good sense etc. Oddly, for such a devotee of Friedmanite economics, Marsland finds it unnecessary to explain why this particular group in the population should not gain the dubious benefit of market forces but should rather be coerced into unpaid public service.

The pattern continues with Bertie Everard's assertion that management courses in higher education are biased against industry and standards inadequately monitored. Regrettably Dr. Everard backs this assertion up not with systematic evidence but with annecdotes such as the report from a mature (sic) student on a criminology course that "The theme of the lectures concentrated almost totally on Marxist theories ...". Whether this was one group of lectures or all of those offered on the degree is unspecified, whether this is typical of all courses or peculiar to one we have no evidence, whether the student was capable of distinguishing between Marxist and other critical approaches to crime we are left to guess. Certainly there must be some question as to Everard's ability to make such a distinction for amongst the claims he makes about bias is the use on management courses of books by "another Marxisant (sic) author, Salaman, on the subject work". The author, no less than his colleagues, will be somewhat surprised at this designation. But perhaps for Everard Marxism is simply a dustbin into which he consigns his opponents.

Faced with approaches to industry with which he differs Dr. Everard falls back on appeals to common sense, hence Nichols and Beynon's **Living with Capitalism,** is dismissed: "their interpretation of the situation does not ring true to those in industry". Everard does not tell us whether 'those' is all encompassing or simply refers to management or is he perhaps thinking of the militant shop steward?

Under the heading 'Rigorous Inquiry or Marxist Ideology' Everard, a visiting Professor at Central London Polytechnic, and obviously a man who has helped to form industry's impression of higher education, argues "Integrity is a traditional and indispensable value in education and scientific research. It entails careful and objective gathering of the facts, whether they support one's preconceived ideas or not, followed by their dispassionate analysis and balanced presentation". To which one can only add quite so.

Marina Oliver's attack on further education, makes a number of no doubt valid points concerning inefficiency, waste, incompetence and inadequate standards. Unfortunately the ad hominem approach again fails to draw on any comprehensive evidence with claims about violence in further education, for example, being substantiated by reference to studies of violence in secondary schools. Annecdotal evidence generally serves to substitute for systematic data about the magnitude of any alleged faults. Not surprisingly such an approach fails not only to specify the details of the problem but also how it might be remedied. Frequently the writes prejudice is transparent as under the heading courses for Revolutionaries?: "Understanding cultural roots is admirable, but is African and West Indian history which emphasises the exploitation of blacks by whites without mention of tribal wars, relevant to helping unemployed young blacks qualify for employment or for happy integration with the rest of society?"

The primary purpose of this book is not doubt to fuel the growth of new right ideas. Its professedly academic pastiche enables the acolytes of the current government, in Fleet Street and elsewhere, to claim erudite support for their prejudices. Indeed the ill-informed diatribes against sociology and social welfare, which constitute the stock in trade of the Social Affairs Unit, can only be understood as a response to the demand that the critical conclusions of sociology be dismissed, not by rational debate but by rhetorical flourish. The upholders of the existing order can be reassured that all is well and their opponents fools or worse. A job clearly undertaken with relish by David Marsland

in a paper commissioned by that paragon of good taste The Advertising Association in which he duly dismissed the critics of private enterprise while speculating on the psychology of those who use this as "an arena for self-indulgence by people who want to criticise negatively".

Training and the State stands in direct contrast, the creation of community and trade union groups rather than the creature of the corporation. It is the outcome of a conference held in Leeds to consider the response to various MSC schemes. The virtue of the pamphlet is that it brings together a range of excerpts on various programmes in a readily accessible form. Information comes both from the press and from more specialist sources such as Youth Aid and the **Guardian**. Perhaps the central dilemma which the conference faced was how to move from a broad opposition to MSC schemes to a strategy which could actually meet the needs of those currently working on local programmes.

MSC programmes may be primarily concerned with massaging the employment statistcs and depressing the wages of target groups of workers - the young and the less skilled, but for some participants they are clearly better than nothing. A point made forcefully in relation to the situation of women on the Community Programme which, irrespective of the misery scales of pay, it was argued, often offered "the only means for continuing the funding of essential women-centred initiatives". Not surprisingly the conference was better on raising dilemmas than resolving them. It recognised the need to combine a broad attack on the politics of MSC programmes with continued attention to the experience of those currently working on the schemes and the opportunities that such schemes may present, whether to unionise trainees or to deliver unconventional services.

The broader critique of the schemes is taken up by Harry Salmon who notes that the only rationale for the low average wage level of £60 per week, fixed for the new Community Programme, is the government's commitment to force down wages. The government made it clear that the £89.50 paid under the old Community Enterprise Programme was simply too high.

Salmon criticises the continuing focus on job finding which characterises the Youth Training Scheme, precluding the development of any broader social education and irrelevant to the needs of those many youngsters who will graduate back to the dole queue. His discussion of working with the unemployed will be of particular interest to field workers.

West and Newton report the conclusion of a study of two groups of 16 year olds as they prepare to leave school and in their first 2½ years in the labour market. They provide some interesting data on the affects of streaming and school culture and subsequent attitudes to work, as well as documenting the continuing prevalence of sex stereotyping and discrimination. The book scarcely lives up to the "lively and interesting" read promised on the inside of the jacket, having much in common with a rather dusty research report. This many unfortunately restrict its appeal to non-academics.

Martin Loney

1. (See for example, Ollman, B., "Marx's Use of Class", **American Journal of Sociology**, Vol. 73, No. 5, 1968).

Masud Hoghughi
THE DELINQUENT - DIRECTIONS FOR SOCIAL CONTROL
Burnett Books Ltd., 1983
ISBN 0 09 150680 8 hardback price £15.00
ISBN 0 09 150681 6 paperback price £6.95
pp. 317

On the cover of **The Delinquent** we read that "This book will undoubtedly establish itself as the most authoritative work on delinquency published in the 1980's". This claim is unfortunately both premature and inaccurate since as the author is at pains to stress he is writing about the "delinquent" and not "delinquency".

> "'Delinquent is a person who breaks the law habitually or persistently ... It is also connotes or implies other deviations in such areas as motivation, moral development, personality, social class, parenting and future risk". p. 15.

This book does not concern itself with 'delinquency' as a social phenomenon or a social creation, it is about how these young people might be more effectively controlled. Disturbed and difficult young offenders were the subject matter of the author's previous book **Troubled and Troublesome** but his present work is more ambitious.

> "But the area of greatest concern to society and the subject matter of this book is the restriction and elimination of those acts which are deemed to be inimical to society's prime values and sense of order".

Hoghughi begins with an examination of the idea of social control pointing out that it is a term which is misunderstood as having only a negative connotation. He presents social control as a positive, necessary, and constructive feature of the social order and castigated weak minded social workers and probation officers who have denied the reality of their roles as agents of social control to the detriment of their clients.

Having calculated the costs of juvenile crime he concludes that this behaviour constitutes an intolerable tax on the law-abiding and that we must each, on economic as well as moral grounds take responsibility for the young offender. "I do not believe" he writes "many people (including the parents of delinquents) would support the notion that parents should be allowed to do what they want with their children where in fact it is the wider society which has to pay the price of their inadequate parenting".

In attempting to answer the question "Are Delinquents Different"? Hoghughi traverses well-trodden ground. Is it genetic or biological? Is it about body type? Is it a question of intelligence? What is the contribution of personal distress and social deprivation? All these questions and more are asked and the answers are depressingly familiar and in sum suggest that we don't know but it might be a bit of each. The author suggests that while the delinquent may not be distinguishable from the "normal" person in terms of genetic inheritence, body type, or absense of moral judgement there is a discernible difference in their ability to control their behaviour, an ability which might be developed by appropriate training. This theme recurrs often in this book.

Parental control, Hoghughi argues, can be seriously impaired by social adversity. Here again training, in this instance in parenthood, is mooted as a way in which the necessary internal controls could be instilled in uncontrolled children. The argument that social and personal adversity will have a variable impact upon parents depending upon their inner resources and that this might explain the differential ability of parents facing similar pressures to control and care for their children is a plausible one. The problem is that this idea is not subjected to the same rigorous critique as the theories which are systematically demolished in other chapters. Hoghughi wants to share his belief in the relationship between social adversity, parental control and offending but he does not signal the move from empirical data to plausible hypothesis at all clearly so that on a cursory reading one might infer that we are confronting social "facts" rather than ideas. There is also a tendency to misrepresent theories and arguments which the author dislikes. On the question of peer control he takes the opportunity of castigating the "New Criminology" which he regards, in my view erroneously, as

> "portraying an oppositional subculture of impoverished youths bent on wreaking havoc and avenging themselves on an affluent alienating and depriving culture,..." p. 121

Reality, he asserts, is different. Bored kids wandering around the streets randomly decide to "knock-off" a telephone coin box. If only the world were that simple. The fact that Hoghughi has hardly a good word to say about anybody adds to the enjoyment, one can share the malicious glee, but his tendency to vulgarise and dismiss theories which are at least as sophisticated and plausible as his own often make for very irritating reading. At other times Hoghughi seems to use flimsy argument to support a reasonable position.

In the chapter entitled Delinquents and Institutions he argues that:-

> "Almost all youngsters who end up in institutions have some previous history of being subjected to non-residential forms control. These controls have failed and the youngster has transgressed the boundaries of acceptable behaviour until nothing is left but to place him or her in an institution". p. 197

This assertion is disingenuous, since it is clear from research conducted in the last few years into the increased use of penal and secure residential care, that these institutions have increasingly dealt with larger numbers of less problematic children. It is simply not the case that "nothing is left" apart from the institution for many of these children and Hoghughi seems to be using this dubious argument as a means of defending the residential institution, for he is after all the principal of one, against a sustained and telling contemporary critique.

He is back on the offensive in his appraisal of "The Radical Opinion - Prevention". In this category he locates decriminalisation, prevention, non-intervention, diversion and cautioning. Its radicalism he contends lies in its claim to get at the root of the problem and in the unconventional social views of its supporters. He is strong enough on the problems inherent in these approaches, the tendency to suck new populations into the control net, the sevère limits on the offences that might be decriminalised and the danger of non- intervention becoming neglect, but fails to recognise that the debate in this area takes these problems into account and is "working on them". As for the

alleged radicalism of these approaches, what they have never claimed is that they get to the root of the problem of crime, they deal quite consciously with 'social reaction'. As for unconventional social views one can only assume that the author has some inside information of which this reviewer at least is unaware.

The failure of the institution to reach its potential is, it is argued, primarily a failure on the part of institutions to recruit sufficently skilled and committed staff. Give us the tools and we'll do the job he seems to say but in passing turns his shotgun towards a further barrier to the creation of optional treatment:-

> "The fact that caring for young offenders has become unionised, with pre-occupation with salaries, terms and conditions of services and making life easier for staff at the expense of the youngsters, places simply another limitation on good practice". p. 202

Hoghughi is at his strongest in the detailed dissection of banner terms. He gives balanced and objective consideration to the claims of punishment backed by empirical evidence which should give pause to all those of the left right and centre who wish us to return to a model of just deserts in the juvenile criminal justice system. His discussion of treatment will in similar vein require serious proponents and apponents of treatment for offenders to return to the metaphysical drawing board in order to redraw their arguments.

Reading **The Delinquent** is a little like watching a boxing match in which the champ takes on all theoretical - corners round by round, or chapter by chapter, and one is therefore, anxious for a knockout in the final round. "What should we do" is a disappointment, he throws the fight away. What we should do it seems is to educate and offer examples to parents and their children. We should refurbish traditional forms of surveillance and control. We should change their minds and hence their hearts. In this way it seems we might reduce delinquency to "tolerable" levels. Such essentially commonsensical imitations bear more than a passing resemblance to the panaceas routingly trotted out in the law and order debate at the Conservative Party Conference. Hoghughi is not a conservative in any conventional sense however. His book lurches between thorough scholarship, sound well articulated argument, abrasive and often misdirected assaults on other theorists and idealistic hopes. It starts with an apocalyptic vision of the deline of personal and social standards and ends with the assertion that ultimately the world will be changed if people will only change their ideas. It is a plea for the restoration of order yet nowhere is the breakdown of order substantiated. Hoghughi begins his book with this quotation:

> "And of all things give me, for troth, the incandescent Pearl, of just order for without it all will be sunless discard".

Social order is not in the end reducible to parental training and the inculcation of self restraint in working-class children. A little sociology, one can't help feeling, would have gone a long way in this uneven book.

John Pitts

Department of Education and Science
YOUNG PEOPLE IN THE 80's: A SURVEY
Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1983
ISBN 0 11 270394 1
£4.50
pp. 102

The backcover blurb says that this survey "provides a fascinating insight into British youth today". That sort of description combined with the fact that the work was commissioned by the recent Review Group on the Youth Service could amount to a major turn-off to many potential readers. Indeed much of what the survey tells us is already well known and obvious. The presentation is dull and dense and some of the interpretation questionable. Why then, in the couple of months that I've had the report, have I made considerable use of it's findings and would expect many other people concerned with youth policy to also do so?

Broadly the survey aims to describe how young people choose to spend their leisure time and to investigate the reasons for their choices. More specifically Youth Service and similar provision comes in for attention as does the way in which young people see 'their world' at the present time. Q-Search Limited who undertook this research used a two part technique - an initial qualative evaluation followed by a quantative survey designed broadly to be representative of the target population in terms of sex, age and class. In addition certain sample segmentations were boosted, notably the attitudes and behaviour patterns of the 'ethnic minorities' and the unemployed. There was also some attempt to spread the survey geographically.

The main findings are split into three sections. The first 'Who I am' looks at things like self image, the role of home and parents, the view of adulthood, opinions on social and political issues and so on. Here there is little new. The results confirm much of what we already knew from things like the National Child Development Study or Michael Rutter's work or the various NOP surveys that have appeared over the years. However someone in Q-Search has managed to slip in a few extra questions that make for interesting reading. For instance respondents were asked their opinion of the causes of the riots in 1981. 86% mentioned unemployment (with a significantly higher number of Asians (95%) saying this), and 70% cited boredom. Only 1 in 10 thought that racism was a cause although this particular figure needs treating with some caution owing to the questionnaire's design. The results of questions to do with young people's relations with the police, when analysed along ethnic lines confirms what we already knew about feelings of victimisation. Whilst 15% of young white people felt that the 'Police are always picking on me' 54% of the 'West Indian' sample felt victimised. Interestingly the corresponding figure for the 'Asian' segment of the sample was 16%.

Part two of the findings 'What I do' deals with young people's attitude to the various forms of leisure provision. In many respects this is the report's most interesting section, largely because with the exception of the usage of sports provision, it remains an under-researched area. We have, of course, major definitional problems particularly over 'leisure'. In the end I don't know whether these are satisfactory resolved but at least the working definition allows us some freedom. For me the best pieces were on the experience of youth clubs. Here is a flavour of the overview conclusions:

'Youth clubs had an essentially young, male and C2DE image, which determined current usage patterns, in that the older, female and ABC1 adolescents were often inclined to reject them for being inappropriate ... Around 2 in 5 of the 'teenage' adolescents currently included youth clubs in their reportoire of their leisure activities, and around one-third of males and C2DE's did so.'

'The image of youth clubs among adolescents in general .. was very positive; social inter-action and participation in specific games/pastimes within a safe and semi-structured, albeit relaxed atmosphere being the main benefits percieved to be offered'.

'Youth club leaders had a generally positive image, in that most of them appeared to fulfil expectations in their role and behaviour.'

'One of the prime functions of youth club leaders was to focus on individuals, in terms of listening to their views. Being listened to was something most adolescents percieved to be lacking in their lives and this was one dimension that was high aspirational, in that it differentiated from the 'child' since it implied greater significance and relevance.'

These quotes illustrate why I think the 'use-value' of this survey is high. First material like this provides useful political capital - it's just the stuff for argument and reports on resource allocation. It might not be accurate but it certainly can be made to look impressive!

Second it does much to help restore the somewhat battered self image that club workers have. The things that they are doing appear to be valued by many young people who use youth clubs (and have used them).

Part three of the survey 'What I do: non leisure' deals with attitudes toward schooling, employment, unemployment and YOP. It is at this point that some of the problems associated with such quantative methods become apparent and why much of the material contained with the report needs treating with care (unless of course you are arguing for more resources!) The main methods used was a self-completion questionnaire and so the results tend to lack any depth. There is not the detailed follow up questioning and conversation. Nor is there any real investigation over time. Thus when the writers come to interpret the results they begin to tread on sticky ground. This problem becomes more obvious in the discussion of schooling because it contrasts with the work that has been done from an interactional perspective in recent years - where the meanings of pupil cultures are far more fully explored. The relative lack of research on youth work, for instance, at first made this issue less visible.

One further thing that disappointed me was the lack of reference to other relevant research work and in particular the previous DES work completed by Bone and Ross in the sixties on youth provision. I think that there could have been some useful historical comparisons made here especially concerning the numbers and proportions of young people using youth clubs.

One thing that didn't disappoint me (and I suppose should have done) is the failure to reprint the

questionnaire and give full details of the sampling technique etc!

Lastly a further note of caution concerns the sample size. The total sample size (635) when split along any single dimension ie. race, class, gender, age, becomes quite small and then any further split into a second category and then into a third takes us beyond the point of statistical validity. Unfortunately this is where the really interesting material lies. What do C2DE Asian males under 16 think about the police for instance? We are left with very broad categories that could contain considerable divergence and attempts to draw conclusions above these categories could be slightly misleading.

In the end we have a survey that provides us with enough information to help us frame some key policy questions but few answers. There is plenty that can be used by youth service policy makers to argue a political case and there is much that can be used by trainers as a stimulus to thought by those who work with young people. All of which makes the survey a pretty useful document provided its limitations are recognised.

Mark Smith

Stewart Asquith
CHILDREN AND JUSTICE
Edinburgh University Press, 1983
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hardback £18.50 paperback £9.75
pp. 258

Largely as a result of the 1968 Social Work (Scotland) Act and the 1969 Children and Young Persons Act, juvenile justice enjoyed an enormous vogue among researchers in the 1970s. In Scotland alone a whole crop of research studies was produced on the Children's Hearing System in the very early years of its operation. Although this book appears somewhat later than those other pieces of research, it also belongs to that era, in that the empirical part of the study was carried out in 1973 when the changes brought about by the 1969 Act and the inauguration of the Children's Hearing System were of very recent date.

Given this delay of 10 years between the initial work and its publication, the reader is somewhat surprised at the publisher's claim that the book provides a '... comparative sociological analysis of **current** practice' in England and Scotland. The material of the book originally formed the subject matter of the author's doctoral thesis, which partly accounts for the delay.

To some extent the book suffers from having started life in this way. The author, at present a lecturer in Social Administration at Edinburgh University, has clearly gone to some efforts to recast the material in a style which makes it more palatable to groups other than academic examiners, but in style of language and argument the imprint of its origin remains indelibly upon it. This fact, coupled with the now rather dated nature of its findings make it unlikely to appeal to at least one section of its potential market: panel members who, it must be said, are not renowned at the best of times for their keen interest in academic analysis of the system of which they are a part.

This apart, the book is nevertheless a worthy addition to the body of literature on juvenile justice, bringing as it does, a different perspective to the debate through its adoption of a comparative approach.

The decision-making role of lay panel members and magistrates is examined from two angles. In the first place the author considers the way in which the professionally dominated theoretical debates about delinquency causation - the free-will, behaviourist, psycho-analytical, sociological explanations - are integrated into the commonsense understandings of those two lay groups. Secondly, and this is where the comparative element comes to the fore, he undertakes to analyse a number of actual decisions and the process of making those decisions, (he stresses the importance of this element, missing from most sentencing research) by panel members and magistrates in order to ascertain the relative weighting given in practice to the competing philosophies of retribution, deterrence and welfare.

The book is divided into two parts. Part One, entitled 'Conceptual Groundwork', consists of four chapters reviewing the philosophical underpinnings of the English and Scottish systems. The materials in this section is only loosely tied into the second half of the book and can be read in isolation from the empirical study. As such it provides a thoughtful, well-researched account of arguments which are doubtless familiar to all those of us who have had to grapple with the ambiguities of legislation aimed at controlling children and young people. Reading such a clear exposition, one feels a fresh sense of alarm at the manifest theoretical weakness of the Scottish system, which on the one hand views a child in trouble as a child in need of measures of care, and on the other maintains the age of criminal responsibility at the astonishingly low age of 8 years.

Part Two is an account of the empirical findings, interesting, if at times a bit repetitious. Dr. Asquith's research involved working with a group of 33 panel members and 31 magistrates from one panel area and one bench. His findings rest upon three pieces of work: a series of 5 case studies which were used with both groups, a set of case report forms, aimed at analysing the importance attached by members of the two groups to different types of information and an interaction schedule to assess the content and flow of communication at the court and panel hearings. In order to avoid introducing additional complications into the research only cases relating to boy offenders were used.

Much of what the research shows is what one would hypothesize to be the case: magistrates are more judicially-oriented than panel members; both groups attach importance to the concept of 'intentionality', although Dr. Asquith hazards that the reasons for this may be different in the two groups - magistrates looking for a licence to punish, panel members looking for evidence of how far the child's moral sense has developed; parents and child participate to a much greater extent in the less formal, more leisurely setting of the hearing than in the ritualised court proceedings; the police dominate the discussions in the juvenile court and the consideration of welfare issues is given a much lower priority; both groups favour individualizing rather than sociological explanations for delinquency.

This is not therefore, a world-shattering addition to the stock of knowledge about the treatment of deviant children, but it is an honest enough account of a central aspect of the judicial process, with a respectable quota of interesting insights which remain as true now as they were 10 years ago.

It is important to be reminded that even in the relatively informal setting of the panel hearing, there is never any doubt about where the power lies and that a concentration on welfare issues does not necessarily imply a whole-hearted endorsement by the family of the view of delinquency as symptomatic of need and deprivation. And in the context of the juvenile court, it is worth considering again the inequities of a system which denies the family all but the most minimal input to the decision-making and indeed, in those cases where the magistrates withdraw to consider the case, excludes the family altogether from the most crucial part of that process.

Rosemary Milne

ITRU
JOBMATCH
MacMillan Education (Not Yet Published)
Pack ISBN 0 333 34408 1
£17.95 boxed set

Tim Kemp
ROUTES 1
CRAC and Hobsons Press (Cambridge) Ltd. 1982
ISBN 0 86021 476 1
£2.95 work book
pp. 64

Colin and Mog Ball
WAYS TO WORK
MSC (COIC) 1982
ISBN 0 86110 244 X
£1.50 paperback
pp. 59

Paddy Hall
WORK FOR YOURSELF
National Extension College 1983
ISBN 0 86082 385 7
£3.25 paperback
pp. 202

There is something utterly pitiful about watching those "wild life" films on television, where a bird sits endlessly on a sterile egg with great expectations. Doomed to inevitable failure, it fiercely pursues every instinct which induces it to persevere.

An unswerving faith and belief, similar to that demonstrated by the bird, can be detected in the writings contained in several recently printed books. The common factor is that of misplacement of the faith. For, just as the egg will never hatch, so, to most unemployed young people, all the effort that they can expand will bring them no closer to employment.

The authors of **Ways to Work** are very keen on getting young people to categorise and assess their skills and abilities. They circle, in formation, as

only MSC inspiration can promote, over all the usual self-analytical, soul-searching, breast-beating processes. They hope to find what the young reader is occupationally best suited for. So they classify jobs and they classify aptitudes and include cartoons and sometimes give diagrams.

At one stage they describe the qualities of a garage forecourt attendant as being versatility and adaptability. Fate was surely unkind to the writers when it is recalled that a young garage forecourt attendant was so adaptable that his employers one week sent him home with a mere 25p wage for his weeks work. What a shame that so many people are willing to offer advice on types of jobs and ways to get them, but nothing about why workers young and old get cheated, injured, abused and mistreated. A system so rife with defects would be embarrassingly easy to describe, but I suspect for those charged with the explanation, embarrassingly difficult to justify.

The book discusses "Information Zones" and "Advice Zones" and ends with the usual call to more books for reference, further education, phoning round for jobs, government training schemes and Personal Information sheets. Despite the horrific degree of personal tragedy currently being caused by unemployment, the Ball's leit-motif is, "don't loose faith in yourself - keep trying".

In **Routes 1** work book, the author encourages young people to pursue a variety of options. Predictably the options cover such personal choices as further education, looking for jobs and even a dead end. Slightly less predictable, is a brief encounter with the social security set up, and the dangers of drifting into offending. The person using the work book is asked to assume the guise of a 16 year old called "Richard" or "Rebecca". As belief in this process is willingly, or one suspects, unwillingly suspended, encouragement is provided to list and arrange alternatives at many stages. But whilst in format and content, this book neither finds itself at the nadir of MSC - mumbo-jumbo, new terminology for old concepts, nor does it reach the zenith of actually questioning the reasons why such a largely depressing list of options, face young people today.

At one stage it asks, how someone on the dole for a few months might be feeling. Sadly, there is no **route** projected for a sane and justly incensed young person, who would suggest that if society were more equitably organised, then books like this one would be redundant.

In the quagmire of resources aimed at attracting young people to follow the road with the sign reading "accept the system and question yourself", a heavy weight has emerged. MacMillan Education are to publish a boxed set of materials called, **Jobmatch,** specifically designed for non academic school teachers. The police force will doubtless be much overjoyed to find themselves firmly in this "focus" side by side with milkman/ woman.

But a high degree of honesty is demonstrated by the writers from the start, when they say, in relation to this "job suitability kit", that young people are faced, "with unemployment as a likelihood rather than a possibility." One is forced to wonder, therefore, why such a kit is being marketed.

The kit contains a questionnaire to be filled in regarding elements of job descriptions. Scoring is done on an answer sheet. The score from this is matched to a job profile number, which can then be matched to information about the particular job. 40 jobs are described and particular misconceptions are explained, as well as characteristics being enumerated. Revealed in the information provided is that "secretaries like sitting most of the time and could not tolerate a lot of noise, excessive cold or having to do heavy lifting." What a shame the information could not consider the impact of new technology on the job. Something slightly more enlightening? Good news for some of the hundreds of thousands of unemployed building workers though - job 4 - bricklayer "apart from employment on new buildings, there are openings for bricklayers with jobbing builders". Real insight comes when it is divulged that shop assistants "like a lot of contact with the general public" whereas (thankfully?) divers have only "occasional contact with members of the public". Reassurance though, all you potential capstan lathe operators - you will "prefer to be in contact with 6-15 workmates (of any nationality)".

It may seem like "sterile egg sitting" again but it does appear that to go to the lengths of a standardised test to ascertain, that amongst other things, "contact with other people is important to nurses" is just a bit too obvious to be proclaimed. However, it was the statement under the heading "Target Population" which said that "the jobs are within the reach of the great majority of people" that finally destroyed the packs diminutive credibility.

Paddy Hall has written a book called **Work for Yourself**. Clearly it is not for those who feel the government should be made to provide jobs. He claims to be a "great lover of competitive business and the need to make a profit". A quiz posed early in his book unbiasedly suggests that "voting Labour or further left, campaigning for an area to become a nuclear free zone, or sharing a £5 birthday present with brothers and sisters" depicts a person - "not too confident in deciding things on own".

The real spirit of independence and sureness would have been seen in the selection of the answers to the questions which accord with "voting Conservative or Independent, in the case of nuclear war heading to the Outer Hebridies, and spending the £5 birthday present on buying old records at a jumble sale and selling them to friends".

Hall calls for objectivity, hardly **his** best quality. There are many tests about the reader's **attitudes** especially towards money. There's even a ubiquitous Personal Profile Chart.

It really is excruciating stuff and full of fortunates and less fortunates who have worked for themselves and who Hall has packed into his opus. It has parts devoted to information advice and skills, (remember those). But one suspects that the truth emerges towards the end, when Hall appeals to readers for more information for the next edition of the book, and presumably increase his profits. Thatcher will be proud of this one.

Steve Waldie

42nd Street
REFLECTED IMAGES
Youth Development Trust, Elliott House, Jacksons Row, Deansgate, Manchester, 1983
ISBN 0 903178 05 2
£1.50 plus p&p 50p
pp. 96

The compilers of this book are three project workers at 42nd Street, a Community Mental Health project for young people, aged between 15 - 25 years and their families. As "the first contribution to the evaluation of the Centre's work" the project workers interviewed some of the project's users regarding their emotional difficulties and the interactions with a variety of mental health services, particularly mental hospitals. There are three longer interviews with adolescents and one with a despairing mother. Seven adolescents' experiences were also recorded, two providing three segments and another three two.

Some themes emerge fairly clearly - the long-term nature of a number of the speakers' difficulties; their powerlessness - except that of rejection - when faced with mental health professionals and the services the latter "offer"; fear of drugs and dismay at their side effects; the mixture of physical unwellness accompanying emotional difficulties.

However, there are certain problems with this book. If the project wishes to evaluate itself, then using its own workers to evaluate its users is an odd procedure. The interviewers are occasionally patronising. "You've described that well", appears quite frequently and is, of course, a strongly orienting response i.e. "give me more of the same". The interviewers' dissatisfaction with the existing services can be quite easily discerned. There are some rather stereotypical pictures of emotional distress - high walls, tears, black hands etc - which are poorly reproduced in black and white and might profitably have been omitted.

A more serious problem for the reader is that because the accounts are subjective, they are decontextualised. Given that egocentricity is a concomitant of emotional difficulties, that adolescents' self conception and mood state can and do change rapidly and frequently, the lack of background information makes interpretation of the accounts difficult. Was it the drugs the client was on or his difficulties in social relationships? What part was the mother or the family playing in the adolescents' difficulties? etc. The authors may wish "to reject analysis and interpretation" (p.95) but some minimal data would have added understanding - the first account was, to the reviewer, impossible to make much sense of.

This leads to the major query: who is this book for? As a scientific evaluation of emotional distress or the Centre's work, it's a non-starter. Is it for the Centre's users? If it is, then they are likely to find it even more confusing than the reviewer. Is it a critique of existing services? Implicitly, it clearly is. Sometimes, I feel that social workers wear a Bernian T Shirt. On the front it says "we're non-evaluative" and on the back it says "Excuse me while I take your child into care" or in the case of mental health work "Excuse me while I sign these section papers". Social science research will not get anywhere by pretending to objectivity; rather it needs to spell out its assumptions and biases and then treat these as hypotheses to be tested, and certainly not to be treated as non-existent. Such a pseudo-objectivity is also mystifying for the adolescent since it denies that the provid-

ers of the mental health service - be they the local hospital or a drop-in centre, define what will and will not happen. This power cannot be wished away. It can, however, be used efficiently or inefficiently, responsively or in an authoritarian manner. To pretend otherwise is certainly to confuse the client and later make him or her angry, and equally serious, confuse and befuddle the service providers and service delivery.

In sum, some of these accounts are powerful and moving descriptions of adolescents' difficulties and their reactions - usually one of dissatisfaction - with existing services. That the centre has their trust sufficiently for them to record their experiences is an impressive first step.

M.P. Bender

Lesbian & Gay Youth Video Project
FRAMED YOUTH - Revenge of the Teenage Perverts (50 mins)
Available from Albany Video, The Albany, Douglas Way, London SE8 (01 692 0231)
Price on request

"This is not part of sex education ...." an assertion made by a teenager involved in making the video during one of the 'integrational' interludes that punctuate the programme. As the same teenager points out, being gay is not just a matter of what people do in bed (though that is mentioned), so the programme deals not only with the problems of 'coming out' and forming gay relationships but also with the attitudes of parents, life at school and attacks by outsiders.

The programme's content is much the same as any documentary about homosexuality but its style is certainly different, owing some inspiration, perhaps, to the much-maligned Channel Four offering last New Year's night: "One in Five". It combines street interviews with punk songs, film clips with 'talking heads'; gay teenagers relate their experiences to the camera in conventional style, then the video crew appears, joining in the debate or explaining the programme's aims.

Some of the tactics are effective: the use of film clips to punctuate interviews at the beginning highlights the more laughable statements; the lead-in to 'coming out' cunningly turns the topic on its head - parents are asked how they would react on discovering one of their children to be gay. But other aspects of the production quickly pall - especially the repetitive use of 'freeze-frame' sequences. Also, it's careless to leave contact information (such as Gay Switchboard's 'phone number) until after the final credits, it can easily be omitted - by accident or by design.

Behind the technical trickery there's plenty of material for discussion: particularly impressive is the section where gay teenagers talk about their relationships - one is left wondering how many other teenagers are as honest (or perceptive) as these. The act of 'coming out' forces gay people to analyse their situation much more deeply than their heterosexual counterparts, giving them a much more balanced approach to life. One point arising from this, not made in any other programme on the subject, is that facing up to homosexuality makes people question every other aspect of life - including all that they have ever been told. Thus a natural link is demonstrated between gay awareness and radical politics.

The section dealing with physical violence is puzzling: does it aim to win the sympathy of heterosexual viewers for the plight of gay people or will it frighten gay viewers into hiding their sexuality further? Showing a gay self-defence class suggests that the producers are encouraging gay people to prevent attacks - but as there's no back-up to say where such classes are to be found (if, indeed, they are to be found) it seems of little use to the isolated gay teenager watching this programme in a small-town youth club.

And so to bed - an awkward but essential topic, since every discussion eventually arrives at the question "what **do** gay people do in bed?" Here it's treated in a very matter-of-fact way, neither coyly nor in 'full-frontal' style. Although there's a bias towards women's experiences, it's disappointing to note the under-lying assumption of male dominance - a radical programme like this should have taken more care to present a less sexist picture to the heterosexual teenagers who will (hopefully) watch the video. Maybe it serves to underline the fact that social conditioning about sex roles is deepest in the most fundamental area of all!

There remains much ignorance about homosexuality, as demonstrated by the interviews early in the programme (one interviewee, on being asked what a lesbian is, replied "I'd call **him** a sex maniac"!). This ignorance leads to some amazing beliefs - Femi's mother's version of the 'corruption theory' sounds ridiculous to us if we are white, yet middle-class English women use the same idea to explain away homosexuality of (white) children brought up in a black culture! Whether the video programme will spread much enlightenment remains to be seen - one problem seems to be where (and when) it could be used: it isn't an entertainment (though it **is** entertaining) and it isn't 'educational' (though it **is** informative) so there's no ready-made slot for it.

Moreover, like other productions about gay teenagers (reviewed by Malcolm Macourt in this Journal last winter), this video doesn't really advance the debate on gay rights. Despite claims in the press release that it refuses "to adopt a 'neutral' or 'objective' approach", the video does just that - integration of the young video-makers into the finished programme is merely a dramatic device and has no real impact on the video's message. Maybe **no** documentary material of this nature can advance the cause of gay rights: personal accounts act at the personal level, the video camera (or printed page) removes the personal contact and therefore renders the situation sterile. Perhaps the best subject for videos or books is an intellectual exposition; personal accounts are still necessary, however, and should be encouraged by inviting gay people to give talks in person rather from the anonymity of a tv screen.

Tim Bolton-Maggs

Marilyn Taylor, Al Kestenbaum and Bryan Symons
PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICE OF COMMUNITY WORK IN A BRITISH TOWN
Community Projects Foundation, 1983
ISBN 0 902406 26 4
£2.60
pp. 80

Marilyn Taylor
INSIDE A COMMUNITY PROJECT - BEDWORTH HEATH
Community Projects Foundation, 1983
ISBN 0 902406 29 9
£1.25
pp. 36

We have to be grateful to the Community Projects Foundation for deciding to reissue **Principles and Practice**, a study originally published in 1976 and based on work undertaken between 1970 and 1974 in a British market town. It is both an account of a project and also an attempt to construct a coherent model for practice, taking into account the values and approaches of those in the neighbourhood, workers, the agency, and others.

Inside a Community Project, the second booklet, is a detailed and informative account of a project scheduled for a five-year period from Spring 1978 to Spring 1983 in what was described, on first contact, as 'an apparently deprived, demoralised and inert community'. It adds to the growing number of studies coming out under the imprint of Community Projects Foundation which contain useful analyses of projects and include perceptive theoretical and practical comments.

Principles and Practice contains a valuable foreword to this second edition, in particular pointing to the unfashionable nature of neighbourhood work compared with some specialisms (city-wide strategies, work with unemployed, and others). However, the importance of neighbourhood work, on which the success of so much else depends, in preference to other activities whose promise may bear little relationship to performance, comes over very clearly, and is worth making. The booklet falls into three parts, two of which relate principles to practice, and the other which gives a history of work in the area during the lifetime of the project.

In their approach to "Waychester" the team set itself to look at five criteria which reflected social change. These were: evidence of delabelling (looking in fact at the stigma associated with people living in the deprived area); practical improvements in living conditions; better citizen participation in social planning and decision-making; the creation of alternative democratic power structures, and social education in the neighbourhood setting. In Part Three of the booklet these are examined in relation to what happened on the project: some stimulating points for those involved in community work arise, not least because such an approach does include both practical considerations (how, in fact, the project performed) and an integration of this with relevant theories.

There are questions about the project on which one would like more information. For example, there is little about the community structures of the estates and areas chosen for community action. We hear housing is bad but do not get any details about why this should be or what forms it takes and what effects these have on the lives of the people. The community workers make choices that affect where they operate and what they do, and judge places as 'depressed' and so on. This may tell us more about them than the places. In the section on the role of the worker in Part Three, some of these points are clarified but others remain. I should have been interested to hear more about the background of the two community workers who worked successively on the project.

There is also the issue of how far such studies in Conservative-dominated areas are of relevance to other places.

Both booklets can be recommended for providing clear and detailed accounts of work which is essentially practical but with some theoretical understanding underpinning them. Obviously that on **Inside a Community Project** is geared to much more specific concerns about Bedworth, a neighbourhood just outside Coventry, but again it has useful points to make both about what happened and possibilities for action in similar areas.

Eric Butterworth

Pauline Brelsford, Graham Smith and Andrew Rix
GIVE US A BREAK
Manpower Services Commission, December 1982
ISBN 0 905932 70 6
Free of charge from MSC Training Division, Moorfoot, Sheffield S1 4PQ
pp. 48

Kathleen Greaves, Penny Costyn and Chris Bonsall
OFF THE JOB TRAINING ON YOP
Manpower Services Commission, December 1982
ISBN 0 905932 68 4
Free of charge from MSC Training Division
pp. 34

Trevor Bedeman and Gill Courtenay
ONE IN THREE
Manpower Services Commission, February 1983
ISBN 0 905932 71 4
Free of charge from MSC Training Division
pp. 44

Give Us A Break, Off the Job Training on YOP and **One in Three** are respectively numbers 11, 12 and 13 in the MSC's Research and Development Series. All are concerned with YOP.

Give Us A Break is "a report of an action research study into widening opportunities for young women on YOP schemes". The authors describe how they found opportunities open to male and female YOP participants in the Bath Area Office of Avon Counties Youth Opportunities Programme to be heavily influenced by sex role stereotyping, and how the seemingly entrenched attitudes of some supervisors and tutors were changed during the course of the project.

The authors conclude that "the limited entry of girls into non traditional roles can be partly accounted for by the attitudes of the staff the social processes taking place on the scheme and the organisational structure". "Evidence showed that sex is used as a misleading 'indicator' of other capacities, that discriminatory attitudes are used to rationalise the status quo, that the 'hidden curriculum' on the scheme contains powerful messages about sex role stereotypes and that 'labelling' is a significant process in fitting the trainee to the work experience."

However, the researchers not only show that discriminatory attitudes can be overcome with effort, they provide an excellent set of appendices giving the reader access to some of the tools necessary. This said, in an environment of escalating unemployment and increasing pressure on the MSC to meet YTS targets at virtually any cost, even the relaxation of health and safety standards, the many useful recommendations in this report are unlikely to be allocated a very high priority and the struggle for equal opportunities on YTS will be an uphill one for a long time to come.

Off the Job Training on YOP is based on the results of annual postal surveys conducted between 1979 and 1982 backed up by two sets of interviews carried out in spring 1982. Young people on YOP are entitled to attend off the job training for one day a week, though in 1982 only a third of all YOP participants were offered, and a quarter attended such training. Those on WEEP placements were the least likely to be offered training. This must surely make the MSC's practice of referring to YOP participants as "trainees" an extremely dubious one!

The most common kinds of training encountered in the surveys were directly connected with acquiring a job: learning to look for jobs, writing letters of application or practicing job interviews. These also seem to have been among the subjects participants thought would be most useful ineventually getting a job. It is an obvious but easily forgotten point however that neither this (nor any of the other training on offer) creates any more jobs. It only increases the competitiveness of one group of job seekers vis a vis other groups (who presumably will then go on MSC schemes in order to learn how to look for jobs, write letters of application ...). The finding that activities under the heading "basic vocational training" were "in almost all cases ... strictly divided along traditional sex role lines" serves as a depressing reminder of the context in which the last study should be placed.

The problems facing providers of off the job training - overwhelmingly Colleges of Further Education - are daunting. Many of the young people for whom colleges are being asked to provide course have already been failed by traditional education and are hostile to anything suggestive of school. To make matters worse the times at which YOP participants enter and leave the scheme bear little relationship to the usual term structure of FE courses.

Clearly flexibility, imagination and close liaison between course providers and scheme organisers are called for in the provision and timing of courses. Unfortunately it seems they are not always forthcoming.

One in Three is the second national survey of young people on (and after) YOP. The period covered by the survey is Summer 1980 to Spring 1982. In many respects the survey findings are predictable. As unemployment generally has risen the proportion of young people finding jobs after YOP has fallen. Only 31 per cent of participants covered by the survey found a job on leaving the scheme. However, young people seem to view YOP realistically. A mere five per cent of participants questioned said they'd joined the scheme because they thought it would help them get a job and only 14 per cent said they'd joined to get training or a skill.

The finding that only just over half of those on WEEP received no induction training in safety, fewer than half were told what to do in the event of fire or accident, and fewer than half had access to someone who they could talk to about job seeking, training or personal problems underlines the questionable quality of many WEEP placements.

David Taylor

continued from page 49.

John Fairley Article.

ITB's were decentralised and tri-partite, not faultless by any means but certainly more democratic than training institutions in other advanced countries. Further education of course is a matter for local education authorities which are accountable to democratically elected local councillors. By contrast, MSC is part of the Department of Employment and is civil-service staffed. While the Commission is tri-partite it is not accountable to its constituents. In the last analysis it is directed by the Employment Minister and is only accountable to Parliament through him. YTS is a further boost to the power of the highy centralised MSC. Furthermore, other current developments tend further to reduce the impact of democratic institutions on YTS. The 1982 Local Government Finance Act raised the likelihood of financial penalty for overspending local authorities. Involvement in YTS will undoubtedly lead to costs for local authorities, and unless YTS can be exempted from the Act, these costs could lead to the imposition of financial penalties by central government. Bradford Council has estimated that its involvement in YTS would cost £1.6m but that expenditure of this level would lead to grant reduction of £1.4m. The total cost of YTS to the ratepayer would be some £3m.[11] Further in the recent Commons debate on YTS the Government made it clear that participation in YTS would not lead to any exemption from the 1982 Act.

In addition, young people themselves are to have little influence over the scheme. Their experiences and criticisms of YOP do not seem to have been taken into account in the design of YTS. There seems to be no place for youth and their organisations on the local AMBs. At national level, youth organisations which, like Youth Aid, have been critical of MSC are to have no place in administering and guiding YTS. Clare Short, Youth Aid's former director, was a member of MSC's Special Programmes Board and of the Youth Task Group which drew up the outlines of YTS. However, MSC did not invite her to play a role in the new national YTS Board.

Perhaps the problem here is that democracy and criticism are not part of most people's work experience and YTS is a work-based scheme.

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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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