YOUTH AND POLICY

the journal of critical analysis

ISSN 0262 - 9798

VOL.2 No.4 SPRING 1984

YOUTH AND POLICY

the journal of critical analysis

Youth and Policy
ISSN 0262-9798

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

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

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

Editor's address:
'Burnbrae', Black Lane, Blaydon Burn, Blaydon, Tyne and Wear NE21 6DS.

Typeset and Printed by: Mayfair Printers
Print House, Factory 3, Sans Street South, Sunderland, Tyne and Wear. Telephone (0783) 79326

contents

VOL.2 NO.4 SPRING 1984

thatcherite visions and the role of the m.s.c.

BERNARD DAVIES

In the last couple of years a much more critical analysis has emerged over a wide front of the role and aims of the Manpower Services Commission. Much of this has focussed on youth policies especially in the build up to the launch of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) though significantly other MSC programmes concerned with both young people and adults have also come under increasing scrutiny. All this has lead to some more oppositional responses to the Commission's initiatives and in some cases to some strong resistance to them.

Most striking and newsworthy has been the refusal by some unions, sometimes nationally as well as locally, to co-operate in the Community Programme (CP) and even latterly in YTS. The Labour Party too has begun to indicate some reservations about MSC's empire-building with the new leader, Neil Kinnock, even before the general election seemingly committing the Party to returning many of MSC's powers to the local authorities. MSC's growing ambitions and missionary zeal seem even to have reinvigorated parts of an older pluralist alliance with for example individual LEA's and the local authority associations forcefully (for them) rejecting MSC's bid to determine and direct the future of adult education.[1]

This new mood of scepticism about the MSC with its deeper awareness of the broader and longer term implications of its interventions are in some respects long overdue. Too many of the initial responses to MSC's blandishments were pragmatic in the extreme, being rooted in a rather simplistic view that here was a state sponsor and employer like any other and that therefore the thing to do was to take its money and run. This - as I have argued elsewhere[2] - was in my view to misread completely the built-in philosophical and organisational imperatives of MSC even when in the short-term particular agencies and practitioners were able under MSC auspices to carry out pieces of what they defined as progressive work. The deeper consequence has been, not just that whole organisations - voluntary as well as overtly statutory ones like further education colleges - have been put in danger of fundamental destabilisation if MSC money were ever withdrawn.[3] Even more significant, it has made possible a decisive restructuring of the whole institutional framework for catering for the adolescent young without any substantial public debate on the rationale for this ever occurring.

It is important however, for practitioners as well as policy-makers, that the logic of their new tough-minded position be followed through. For one thing, criticisms which focus only on a particular programme - YTS, CP the new Adult Training Initiative (ATI) or the Technical and Vocational Education Initiative in Schools (TVEI) - tend to fragment the analysis and the argument and so fail to highlight some of the wider intentions and conseqences of MSC interventions. This perhaps applies particularly to those in the youth field whose understandable pre-occupation in recent months with YTS may have prevented them from examining how their specialist concerns relate to the broader challenge posed by MSC.

What is more in the present political climate perspectives need to be even wider, since it is now less possible than ever to see MSC as some free-floating creator of all current problems and pressures. Rather it needs to be regarded as an instrument -in many respects now a highly tuned instrument - for implementing strategic and quite coherent state policies which signal both a changed role for the state itself and also some major ideological shifts and altered political and economic priorities within those policies.

Risks and Limitations

Concentrating on and explicitly emphasising these broad policy objectives carries a number of risks. At a personal level it frequently prompts the accusation of paranoia or at the very least of a too-easy indulgence in a conspiracy-theory of events. Such charges - though perhaps not totally without foundation! - are best met by pointing, somewhat contradictorily, to the explicitness and directness with which so many MSC and wider governmental policy positions are now expressed publicly; and also to the repeated revelations of secret papers and hidden manifestos which substantially extend these positions. The clearest evidence of this latter point has of course been the publication by **The Guardian** of papers produced by and for the government's 'Family Policy Group'.[4] However less dramatic but no less revealing has been the leaking of key 'think tank' reports and of confidential MSC documents, both of which provide important sources of quotation and support for some of my later arguments.

Much more significant for any examination of overall state objectives and strategies however is the risk that degrees of rationality and competence will be attriubted to 'the state' which it can never in practice attain; and/or that it will be discussed as if it were 'a thing'operating autonomously and in its own right rather than a complex, untidy and often internally contradictory set of human processes and interactions. Indeed, even in relation to MSC specifically it is possible to fall into this

trap by ignoring or underestimating the sometimes sharp conflicts of interest which may exist internally amongst key participants and the pragmatism and compromise on which its responses then rest.

The analysis which follows also runs the risk of omitting a crucial element of state policy-making, certainly as this has occurred over the last 150 years or so: the existence of organised struggle over the policies being proposed or developed. Many of these policies - including some in the youth field - have been significantly shaped by the positive demands as well as the more negative resistance of the labour movement, the women's movement, in its earlier as well as its contemporary forms and more recently by Black groups. To concentrate too narrowly on the expressed or implied aims of the state is therefore to imply that it has more freedom of action than it often actually possesses.

Nonetheless in present circumstance - and above all when faced with another five years of vigorous, clear-sighted and very determined right-wing Conservative rule - it seems valid and even vital to spell out as starkly as possble the main features of the broader strategy to which MSC is now contributing so actively and, I believe, more and more deliberately. Though the analytical limitations of such an approach are readily acknowledged, the political necessity for adopting it now seems paramount.

The Crisis as Starting Point

The starting point for any such analysis - as Dan Finn indicated in his piece on YTS in the Spring issue of **Youth and Policy**[5] - has to be the major crisis currently facing all capitalist countries. When this phrase isn't used simply as a cliche its full implications are often masked by reference to the present recession, with its connotation that what we are now going through is a quite temporary phenomenon which is having only limited repercussions. However our contemporary crisis has already been developing for a number of years and is having very deep, far-reaching and concrete results. This for me is clearly signalled when for example the media's usually coy reports of the International Monetary Funds interventions in such far away places as Mexico and Brazil are decoded. Through these a fleeting insight can be gained into how deeply worried these senior guardians of capitalism are about the threat posed by the financial instability of such countries to the West's whole banking system. Not much here that is limited or even temporary.

Clearly this crisis contains its own economic imperatives, calling as it does for a freeing of labour from previous constraints and protections, a consequential major restructuring of the labour market generally and a no less major reorganisation of the more specific labour processes on the shop floor - developments to which Dan Finn also pointed in this **Youth and Policy** article.

An industrial revolution of this kind and extent calls too for major political changes aimed at making the societies undergoing such an economic transformation more governable; and also for fundamental shifts in popular attitudes and belief. These latter, as I hope to show later, do bring some quite specific consequences such as a concerted effort to alter young people's view of themselves as workers and their expectations of what work will permit and provide. But they are also much more diffuse and far-reaching since they require an assault on some basic socialist and even social democratic conventional wisdoms about affluence, equality and even equality of opportunity. This point has recently been very convincingly developed by Chris Jones in an article in the **Bulletin of Social Policy** in which he describes the co-ordinated international moves beginning in the early 1970's to lower popular expectations of state (and especially welfare state) interventions so that governments will be held less responsible for failures to improve the life chances and material conditions of the populations they rule.[6]

An even longer historical perspective on these developments is also illuminating. What we are currently experiencing in fact evokes some very striking echoes of that earlier industrial revolution which so preoccupied British society in the early and mid-nineteenth century. Then as now capitalist enterprise was making new and urgent demands on the labouring population. Then as now these called for radical steps not just to relocate it geographically but also to retrain it technically and to reorientate it occupationally and ideologically. What is more achieving these ends called then (often for the first time) as now for major central **state** interventions and for the construction of powerful instruments of state activity.

In that nineteenth century period for example the 1834 Poor Law and the national as well as local machinery it generated was crucially concerned to remove sometimes medieval restrictions on the geographical and occupational mobility of workers and thereby to the creation of a free labour market. And - perhaps closer to our present preoccupations over youth - schooling, though still substantially controlled by voluntary church societies, from the 1830's onwards came under increasing state influence and was more and more explicitly committed to the disciplining of working class children for the new social and economic order. This early Victorian obsession with the education of the poor in fact constituted

> "an enormously ambitious attempt to determine, through the capture of educational means, the patterns of thought, sentiment and behaviour of the working class. Supervised by its trusty teacher, surrounded by its playground wall, the school was to raise a new race of working people - respectful, cheerful, hard-working, loyal, pacific and religious."[7]

Today the teacher is certainly no longer 'trusty': she has become far too insistent on her professional right to control the curriculum and to decide what actually goes on within the classroom to have retained the confidence of anxious state policy-makers operating in a crisis. In any case the latters' lines of communication with teachers-via local education authorities which themselves assume significant degrees of autonomy from the central state as represented for example by the DES-have come to seem much too long and unreliable in today's conditions.

Remoralising the Young

In spite of - indeed perhaps because of - these deep concerns amongst state policy-makers, the ambition and the vision of their nineteenth century predecessors seem to have strongly reasserted themselves in the last decade or so, as do the more specific objectives for training a new race of working people. Indeed currently a range of government policies have been developed which seem deeply rooted in the belief that action is urgently needed and can be effectively pursued which will remoralise the working class and particularly the working class young; and that regardless of the rhetoric about a reduced role for government this action must very substantially be underta-

ken by the state. Ian Taylor highlights how official juvenile justice policies since 1979 have incorporated such remoralisation aims in order to provide young people with tests of character which

> ".... give priority to the personal benefits that can be achieved through individual effort and which de-emphasise the benefits of collective solutions to social problems generally."

Taylor also points to the broad applicability of this notion of remoralisation which in his view

> ".... is clearly thought of by the Right as a constituent element in a larger project of social reconstruction, rather than being simply a retributive response to troublesome or violent delinquents."[8]

Here as in many other key areas of current policy-making the need for order and therefore for a strong (not to say authoritarian) state role completely overrides any concern for self-help or the free play of market forces. Evidence of the remoralisation objective has come thick and fast since Taylor's book appeared in 1981. However the most concentrated and authorative documentation of it and of its influence at the very highest levels of policy-making is again to be found in the government's highly secret(!) Family Policy Group papers.[9] Some of the specific proposals these contain - for example to 'train children to manage their pocket money and encourage .... schools to look for further ways to promote savings' and 'change the culture so that business and wealth creation become more acceptable' - indicate in detail what remoralisation means in practice.

Even more significant however the mere existence of such a group of senior ministers, the huge sweep of their thinking and the confidence with which they are clearly approaching their task vividly demonstrate how far the commitment to remoralisation has gone and how strong is the belief that it can and should be brought about by determined state social engineering. All this has been further confirmed by Mrs. Thatcher's success within a few short months in converting the notion of Victorian values from a term of abuse to one of sufficient respectability and even esteem to allow her to espouse it publicly during the 1983 General Election campaign for the very positive political advantages it seemed able to bring. Here too the process as well as the content of events speaks volumes about the present government's zeal for transforming key elements of our society's dominant ideology.

What we are experiencing overall therefore is clearly much more than economic cut-back because the nation cannot afford state services. Indeed we are not in any straight-forward way seeing the reduction of the state's role on political grounds - because, say, it has become too powerful in the lives of individuals, communities or the business world; or on ideological grounds - because it has undermined the individual and collective moral fibre of the nation. Certainly in some areas - for example health and housing - the role of the state is being reduced and the market (that is the profit motive) substituted for it. However elsewhere and perhaps especially in the youth field the role of the state, far from being weakened, is actually being substantially strengthened and extended. This is happening because amongst the young (though not only amongst them) remoralisation, it is believed **must** be made to succeed if a capitalist economy and society is to survive and revive. For such a huge undertaking to succeed, moreover, state intervention on a massive and sustained scale is vital and this - for young people but again also for increasingly disappointed and crushed working class adults - must deliberately emphasise education and training.

Here then are the base-lines for seeking an understanding of the rise, role and intentions of the MSC which does not simply concentrate on a particular programme or initiative - and the reasons for developing this more integrated view. Indeed the emergence and evolution of the Commission illustrates and illuminates these broader ideological and policy developments over the past decade and in particular the radical shifts in emphasis and direction within social policy which has been achieved by the New right.

The Social Democratic origins of MSC

In its original conception MSC embodied the basic features of a typical quango as well as the dominant assumptions of the era which created it about how government should conduct its business and how the outstanding problems of the society should be managed (though not necessarily resolved). Formally its relationship to government assumed considerable autonomy in that, though the Commissioners themselves were to be government appointees, they were to come from a range of non-government interest groups and were then to be left free to agree and express a new corporate identity and set of collective views. Clearly this implied that a consensus existed or could be generated amongst previously competing interests: that is in this case that both sides of industry together with the education field could and would end up working collaboratively and on behalf of the nation-as-a-whole. It implied too that the plurality of ideas and aims which these interest groups represented were ultimately fully compatible and therefore capable of being moulded into a single set of MSC policies which, in this context, simultaneously both served the needs of industry and the efficient management of capitalism and satisifed the legitimate vocational and training aspirations of individuals and workers generally, including those of women and members of ethnic minorities for more equal opportunities. Finally the incorporation of these interest groups - including the ostensibly oppositional trade union movement - into state management and planning implied that the problems to be tackled, such as mass unemployment, could be defined in a de-politicised way; and that MSC would then be able to bring to bear its neutral specialist expertise to find solutions to these problems while remaining all but totally silent on for example national economic policies.

These central features of MSC-the-quango illustrate how far the Commission was a product of the 1960's and the years prior to the 1973 oil crisis. It embodies that social democratic approach to economic management and to the resolution of "social problems" like unemployment so typical of that period: a primary reliance on technical interventions and manipulations underpinned by a taken-for-granted assumption that radical changes of **policy** are not only not feasible but are not needed.

Because these were its origins, MSC in its early days did therefore display some of the inherent contradictions of post-war capitalism and of the welfare state it produced. The legitimation of some concern with individual need as well as national interest did permit some kinds of progressive practice within its early special programmes. These openings were in some instances well exploited by individual practitioners and also by organisations. It is therefore perhaps not altogether surprising that the National Youth Bureau's Youth Opportunities

Development Unit should find that a great deal of social and life skills training has been

> "a stronghold of thoughtful, reflective practice, of self-questioning by trainees, and of self-examination within many YOP (now YTS) staff teams. SLS tutors are often the 'conscience' of their staff group, raising the awkward questions, caring about the casualties, and exploring the world of ideas beyond the project for staff and trainees alike."[10]

On the basis of these localised and specific practice experiences, individual practitioners and organisations have understandably been led to conclude that MSC is no different a sponsor or funder from, say, an LEA or a central government department providing an urban aid grant. However I would strongly maintain the position which I argued a number of years ago:[11] that from the start MSC has had some deeply built-in features which make it a very different animal from these other state bodies. Though in its early (pre-1979) pre-social democratic phases (and indeed since) it has mainly operated via independent project sponsors and now managing agents, especially when implementing its youth programmes, it has always ultimately been (and it remains) a central state agency with enormous power and financial leverage. In particular it has throughout had its own regional and area presences in the form of its own paid officers whose ultimate definition of themselves is as its loyal servants and who therefore have been extremely active and effective in representing its policy positions. These strong but diffused influences have not only enabled it, as indicated earlier, to colonise the finances and administration of huge areas of the public education service, including many leading voluntary organisations. As I shall show in more detail later, they have also allowed it when it is ready to set the pace ideologically within these bodies in a quite unprecedented way. Something which, despite some more concerted resistance by the key interests concerned and a so-called climb-down by the government minister demanding the changes, was amply demonstrated by its recent reassertion of control over the political education content of its schemes.[12]

As an essential complement to this structure MSC has also been developed on a strictly bureaucratic model which emphasises hierarchical decision-making (from the top down of course!) and lines of accountability and, again, a neutrality of functions. Crucially too its primary commitment, explicitly embodied in its official brief, has always been to the very heart of the capitalist beast: to that so-called free labour market which, regardless of human cost, was created out of these Victorian values so beloved by Mrs. Thatcher. Over the past decade at least this market has been seen by influential policy-makers and commentators as needing again to be freed-up. Indeed the MSC was invented precisely to help extend this freedom, though this intention was (barely) hidden behind such phrases as "improving the supply of labour", "making sure it is 'appropriately' skilled" and "providing 'relevant' forms of training".

The Limits of MSC Autonomy

The arrival of mass unemployment has thus not only been a huge practical challenge to MSC; even more important, it has represented an unmissable opportunity for fulfilling these wider labour market functions. As the current Director of MSC, Geoffrey Holland, noted in 1978 about the large numbers of young people then without jobs: "The time has come to turn a major problem and cost into an opportunity and a benefit."[13] In pursuing these highly sensitive political objectives, the autonomy of the MSC has proved to be entirely relative. At times it might embarrass the government of the day by publishing pessimistic unemployment projections. On occasions it might even argue with ministers over young people's right to social security. However on the fundamentals significant differences have never occurred. Indeed precisely because of its a-political credo and stance, MSC has invariably structured public and media perceptions of unemployment and unemployment policies in a way which severely restricts the debate on causes and solutions.

Deeply built into all its youth programmes for example has been that deficiency model of young people which at least by implication and often very explicitly insists as a common-sense notion that it is young people's lack of personal and vocational skills which have thrown them out of work on such a massive scale. It is in this context of course that MSC's virtual embargo on political education within YTS has a special significance. For, the Commission's demand is not just the negative one that the schemes do not include "any political or publicly controversial material" - an interesting juxta-position in itself. It is also, and more positively, that especially in relation to off-the-job training - when dealing with "the world outside employment" they should "reflect the Scheme's primary aim of enhancing **individual's** skills and effectiveness" and emphasise such things as personal budgetting and further educational guidance.[14] The failure of our economic system - of capitalism in general and British employers in particular - to generate sufficient paid work for the young to do and the reasons for this failure may, it is clear, never appear on the agenda, not least because of the way that MSC, acting on behalf of governments, has focussed the relevant debates.

Indeed MSC's autonomy is limited even more directly and concretely by the fact that as a central state agency it has very strong institutional and personal links with government. These exist for example in the control available to ministers over appointments, resource allocation and broad policy definition. They exist too in the regular and close lines of informal communication which inevitably occur amongst key personnel in such circumstances and which as we shall see below are in the case of MSC now especially strong. Sometimes subtly, sometimes not, these significantly blur the demarcation lines between government and semi-autonomous agency.

MSC has therefore always been ripe for take-over by government, certainly for a very extensive incorporation into government policy-making and implementation. Since 1979 these openings have, it is now clear, been very systematically and thoroughly exploited by the Conservatives in power as, one after another, they have actively rejected the social democratic assumptions which helped construct MSC in the first place. In particular this new Conservatism has **not** assumed that technical adjustments to the economy and the way it is managed - or indeed to many other areas of British society - are adequate to ensure the survival of British capitalism. On the contrary, this new Conservatism has assumed that it is precisely **policy** changes - and very radical ones at that - which are now needed. And it has concluded that, so crucial is the success of this enterprise, all relevant institutions must if necessary be bent to achieving it even if this means flying in the face of long and hallowed tradition. Indeed, far from the quasi-autonomy of MSC being safe from such pressure, the so-called independence of the civil service as a whole is, it seems, now under serious threat.[15]

And so, in relation to MSC, ministerial intervention (often at the highest level) has more than once tampered with the social democratic procedures for selecting Commissioners and members of MSC advisory boards. On one occasion this involved publicly rejecting the nominee of the relevant education interests for a seat on the Commission itself and appointing instead an active member of the new right Centre for Policy Studies. What is more in justifying this choice the DES openly acknowledged that "candidates for the seat would be expected to be broadly sympathetic to the aims of Government and objectives of the Commission in terms of labour market and training policies."[16]

Most significant of all however in ensuring that MSC would become a more reliable instrument of government policy was of course the dismissal of Sir Richard O'Brien as MSC Chairman - and this despite his long and impeccable record in the business world - and his replacement by Sir David Young. O'Brien, it seems, had on occasions threatened to take the notion of MSC autonomy altogether too seriously. Young on the other hand came with a totally different orientation, having had a close involvement with top ministers as personal advisor but also (as was openly and even proudly declared when he was appointed) as personal friend. Significantly, included amongst these intimates was (and is) the Secretary of State for Education with whom Young clearly shares a great many views and practical concerns. Since his appointment, Young's unwavering loyalty to government economic policies generally and to their education and training objectives specifically has given a strong personal expression to that deeply structured connection between government and quango which is inherent to MSC's location in the state machinery. It has also been crucial to MSC's own policy development with at times Young's personal links with ministers, including not just Sir Keith Joseph but the Prime Minister herself, generating major new moves such as the TVEI.

MSC Programmes and New Right Priorities

The consequence of all this is that since 1979 MSC has steadily moved out of its social democratic phase and has been refined as one of the key instruments for implementing some of the New Right's most cherished policies. These, again quite openly and unashamedly, are concerned with lowering wage levels (especially young people's), reducing the strength of the unions, streamlining the labour process and making labour more generally adaptable to changing production processes - all as basic conditions for restoring profitability in inudstry and reviving (saving?) the capitalist economy generally. Further, because MSC is in part tackling these more specific tasks through an increased control over **training**, it has been able also to make a major contribution to those broader objectives of the new Conservatism and in particular that lowering of expectations which, as indicated earlier, is now seen as essential in Thatcherite circles. MSC is of course especially well placed to do this among the young who are liable, as products of the permissive and affluent sixties, to have the highest and least realistic expectations and also amonst the bleakest of short-term and long-term prospects.

Each of the MSC programmes and initiatives therefore needs to be evaluated against this background - that is, in the context of a New Right ideology which has achieved an impressive degree of visionary coherence and impact, and of a central state agency which is now acting with enormous confidence and indeed (also) crusading zeal. Such a perspective for example sharply illuminates the **principled** decision taken at a very early planning stage by MSC that wherever possible the managing agency role within YTS would be given to (preferably large) private firms which would be allowed far more freedom from MSC monitoring than (in theory if not in practice) YOP sponsors ever had. (This decision also needs to be seen in the context of the statement in a leaked Think Tank paper of 1981 that the introduction of a training year for 16 year olds "would be a means of achieving a particularly desirable objective - the lowering of the training wage, which is unlikely to be achieved voluntarily".[17])

Locating MSC in broader ideological and political developments also provides other insights. It clarifies further why in 1982, following intervention at the very highest levels of government, MSC was not allowed to expand the Community Enterprise Programme on the grounds that a maximum wage of £89 a week was far too high, given the government's stated intention of lowering wage levels, and why therefore the Community Programme was concocted instead. It explains too why a TVEI was pushed through so ruthlessly since with this as a launch pad, opportunities are bound to increase for developing a more highly selective and stratified system of schooling for 14 plusses which is much more directly committed to a training rather than an education ethic. Indeed, within TVEI, not only is there an opening for a major retreat from comprehensive secondary schooling to which so many grass-roots Conservatives have never reconciled themselves. There is also a real basis for restructuring adolescent education and training in ways which would radically undermine the very institution of the school in favour of work-based agencies much more directly accountable to **central** government and much more responsive to industry.

Finally, and as clear a demonstration as one could get of MSC's longer-term aspirations, its Adult Education and Training Initiative, as well as expressing considerable impatience with forms of training for stock which do not serve specific industrial needs, openly declares that "the main and most immediate emphasis of an adult training strategy should be economic."[18] Moreover senior MSC managers have indicated in private that the need for "a switch in both the balance of resources (for adult training) between regions and in the character of the programmes being offered by different regions." In practice this would mean that

> "the more bouyant areas can expect to receive a greater share of resources and to offer a wider range of provision, while those in more economically depressed areas of the country will concentrate mainly on delivering an expanded work preparation programme, conversion training for the redundant and up-grading training."[19]

- that is, one concludes, on a kind of adult YTS.

For the moment MSC's more imperialistic aspirations in this area have been stalled by the hostility to its plans of a variety of other, powerful state bodies and it has (most generously)! conceded that it can "by no means be the only actor involved." However its continuing ambition and priorities cannot be doubted. Thus in its proposals submitted to the government towards the end of 1983, it continues to emphasise training above all else and the important contribution this "can and should make ... to short term and medium-term economic requirements." While acknowledging that such training cannot create jobs and, in an entirely token way, that its focus cannot just be on narrowly defined economic goals, its specific justification of training and education for "personal development" is

that this will allow individuals "to cope with change (which) is essential underpinning for retraining to meet economic objectives". When considering the unemployed per se, labour market preoccupations are again dominant even in its rather grudging concession of a place for some "less vocationally specific provision" which might also concern itself to some extent with personal development. And when defining its own future role in the adult education and training field, it is explicit in committing itself to using "its resources both nationally and locally to help form opinion..."[20] The significance of MSC's intervention in this area of policy-making thus cannot be overestimated. Clearly here too it must mean a major withdrawal from education broadly conceived into an increasingly narrow vocationalism. It must also mean widening still further the gulf between the two nations as the economically depressed regions of the country are allowed (even encouraged) to sink deeper into their depressions. More subtly too it must mean strengthening the racist and sexist directions of current policies given the ethnic composition of the populations in so many of those economically depressed areas; and the heavy dependence of women seeking retraining for the labour market on, for example, the TOPS courses for which the MSC apparently has little but contempt.

Resisting MSC: Tactical Defence .....

The kind of analysis of MSC's intentions and approach offered in this paper undoubtedly poses enormous problems for those who are directly involved in its programmes as well as those less directly involved who - as youth worker, community worker, teacher, FE lecturer or simply trade unionist - wish to resist and go beyond what MSC is now imposing. After all, the consequence of these policies is not just increasingly narrow interpretations of education. Underlying them is a tough-minded authoritarianism, anti-egaliterianism and indeed brutal economism which are certain to bring harsh results for large numbers of individuals, whole communities and for working class people in general. However given the limited room for manoeuvre for all concerned as well as the breadth and complexity of MSC's current activities, no simple or single response seems appropriate or workable. On some fronts - over the Community Programme for example, certainly in response to the Adult Education and Training Initiative and in some places to moves to spread the TVEI straight non-co-operation would still seem to make some political sense. Here as elsewhere however much will depend on the ability of those concerned to construct whatever viable alliances are feasible - within the trade union movement and between trade unionists, involved local politicians, community activitists, those working through voluntary organisations and perhaps others.

Even here however the dilemmas are considerable. For some workers, and especially women whose normal wage levels are so low anyway, CP may actually represent an improvement in their job prospects. For activist volunteers within some community organisations it may offer an option of payment - at least for a year - for what they are doing already. What is more the concessions on CP already made by the trade union movement nationally and in some places locally have certainly left those groups putting up a more fundamental resistance extremely exposed.

Moreover on other MSC programmes and especially in response to YTS and in some places TVEI a critical response **within** schemes may now be the only available option for those who reject the premises on which MSC policies rest. After all, so many of those who wish to resist what is happening and who have the most direct experience of its consequences are themselves state workers. For them mere boycott does not represent a real choice. Here too collective response will be vital as will clear and realistic definitions of aims. Sometimes these may point to mainly negative resistance to the many exploitative aspects of the schemes - for example efforts to give young people what protection they can from procedures designed to deprive them of their right to social security or which end up in their being arbitarily disciplined within schemes or even sacked. Such tactics have a long and respectable history, certainly within the trade union movement, and therefore need not be seen as they sometimes seem to be as mere compromise. Sometimes more constructive responses may be possible, indeed essential: demands for example that health and safety regulations are observed or for the application of equal opportunities legislation or that wages are topped up and full holiday rights provided.[21] Sometimes - for example within work-places where unions have kept some control over standards of training provision or within Mode B YTS schemes - some genuine transformation of what is on offer may be attainable so that young people get a more recognisably liberating experience, both individually and collectively.

Whatever the particular tactics adopted, the struggle, it is clear, is going to be long and very hard. Outlining in writing broad possibilities like the ones above is of course much easier than establishing them on the ground. This will only happen, where it happens at all, via an enormous amount of detailed, often boring, always stretching and even exhausting political work - nitty gritty organising involving interminable meetings, correspondence, writing, lobbying - as well as a great deal of very sensitive personal relations work with a wide range of people. That certainly is the minimum underpinning of any conversion of the rhetoric into reality.

....alternative educational strategies: towards a critical vocationalism....

What is more such activity will need to incorporate one further and even more testing set of objectives: its use as material experience for clarifying and defining what an **alternative** education and training strategy for post-16 year olds (young people **and** adults) might contain and how it might be constructed. Theory - head work as I've tried to emphasise throughout this article will certainly be essential to ensure as clear-sighted and as demystified a view as possible of what in the present climate has to be confronted. However, no less crucially, insights and practical know-how are required which only action and experience can generate and which MSC schemes, as a major arena for direct interchange between state workers and in this case the unemployed may in some instances be able to provide. Such an alternative strategy - a positive move away from the merely negative and defensive - is now needed very urgently indeed, especially if the critics are to be credible to those who are on the receiving end of what the state is currently offering.

The exact nature of such alternatives is difficult to define in the abstract precisely because that reflection **on action** must be such a crucial component of their construction. We do need to be clear however that if they are to be developed, current practice even within MSC schemes will need to have some, however modest, transformative aspirations built into the philosophy and approach of some of the workers within them. Defence of but also some development beyond, whatever progressive elements of the pre-Thatcherite social and liberal education con-

sensus - which is for example what ultimately I myself have tried on occasions to offer, remains important.[22] Unashamedly this will have to continue to give priority to releasing the untapped potential of individuals, to the subtleties and complexities of their personal relationships and their inter-personal needs and to the caring practice to which these often point. However these social educational concerns and commitments will also have to be expressed - much more specifically and self-consciously than in the past in the interests of women as well as men, of Blacks as well as whites and of working class people across the generational divides - in order to encourage not just self-realisation but also collective identity and collective action, otherwise known as solidarity.

However, though extremely important, even these developed concerns and principles are now - if they ever were - not in themselves sufficient. The very radicalism of the present challenge to past progressivisms, deep and respectable roots though these have in both the British educational tradition and the British labour movement, means paradoxically that just at the moment when the pressures are greatest there is a more urgent need than ever for systematic work on the construction of educational alternatives. Moreover these, as well as being responsive and caring in their methods, will need - as Ken Jones has recently argued in a book pointedly called **Beyond Progressive Education**[23] - to take on some of the New Right's critiques. They will for example need to include some concentration on standards in the sense of seeking ways of being much bolder intellectually about what might be relevant and acceptable to (working class) young people than is often the case at present. And they will need to confront **constructively** the challenge of vocationalism by responding positively to that widespread motivation to learn which so often stems from an orientation to work, from a desire to be prepared adequately for it, and from a concern that it should be to some degree personally and socially as well as materially rewarding.

Education on its own, whoever sponsors it or carries it out, cannot even here of course produce some perfect blue-print: after all the material conditions and dominant definitions shaping young people's experience of both learning and working are intrinsic to the kind of (capitalist) society in which they are growing up. Nonetheless, just because education is so alienating for so many of them (even when they are achievers) - just because for example it does manage to convince so many of them that their hostility to mental as against manual work is justified - should not (as it so often seems to do) lead educationists and perhaps especially progressive educationists to write them off intellectually. Similarly just because the MSC (and others) are currently seeking to convert vocational into compliant malleability for a given labour market, should not mean that educationists simply treat young people's ultimate entry into a world of work as, at best, an unfortunate necessity or, at worst, as something quite unworthy of their attention. Indeed many more young people might well over time respond to higher intellectual expectations if their teachers accepted and indeed were enthusiastic about the need for a **critical** vocationalism within the education they are offered. This quite self-consciously would need to try and touch and to speak actively and directly to the doubts, scepticism and even cynicism with which so many young people now approach the world of work. And it would need to adopt a notion of this and so of vocational which did not merely endorse their current usually common-sense identity with a capitalist labour market but rather, much more often and much more systematically, also raised the key critical issues connected with young people's prospective entry into domestic labour of one kind or another.

Some tenative attempts to construct this more positive strategy are now discernable. Stuart Hall for example[24] has fiercely reacted against "a policy of 'teach whatever came into your head as you got off the bus this morning' - on the mistaken grounds that there is a sort of 'natural' curriculum, the curriculum of 'life itself'". In Hall's view such an education constantly confines young people to the one-dimensional limitations of their own experience. After all this, far from being the great teacher which it is always cracked up to be, is just as likely to imprison us - any of us - within what we already know and believe and value and so to prevent us from encountering and expanding into what we have never previously met or even perhaps glimpsed. Hall thus begins to probe for a curriculum which is designed explicitly "for a specific set of social purposes" and which, again unashamedly, has its own tough disciplines and a central commitment to inaugurating (personal as well as social) change. Moreover his concerns are nicely and somewhat more concretely complemented by those of Richard Johnson who tries, also tentatively, to begin to rework for our own age that notion of really useful knowledge which inspired mid-nineteenth century working class groups intent on establishing indigenous forms of working class education.[25]

At present these more strategic moves towards positive educational alternatives seem to exist only in broad and indeed abstract and idealist forms, though no doubt scattered around, often underground and very probably barely recorded, are some directly relevant examples of such practice at least in embryo. Certainly the urgent need is for those ideas to be grounded in practice, in the experience of actual educational action, so that elements of the alternative can begin to emerge out of reflection on that action. For example must all that work on literacy and numeracy which is going on at the moment, not just within MSC schemes but within IT projects and indeed within schools, always be explained publicly and perhaps understood primarily on the model of basic skills which are politically decontexualised and so depoliticised? Of course young people need to be helped to read so that they can be sure to get on the right bus or turn into the right street. Other models of literacy work now exist however - and maybe in places are being applied - which are much more expansive and demanding than that. Where might they fit into the alternative educational strategy which we now need urgently to set against the one being propagated so enthusiastically by MSC?

The political implication - and difficulties - of all this cannot be denied, of course. On the other hand the New Right is now quite open about its use of education for political purposes. Geoffrey Holland, speaking as Director of MSC, publicly and proudly proclaims that for him **the** customer of the MSC's services is the employer.[26] Sir Keith Joseph equally openly insists that the curriculum must assume the existence of "shared values" within British society[27] and has on occasions urged that schools actively advocate the profit-motive and its positive features. Countering these overtly committed positions will require, not just a new reorganisation of the system, nor even just social engineering via government action to open up that system further. It will require confident and equally committed work **on the ground** aimed at developing curricula which are not just relevant in some narrow and often quite sentimental sense but which are deliberately transforming of currently dominant values and practices.

....and Political Organisation

Political as well as specifically educational work is thus crucial if any worthwhile alternative strategy is to be developed. A premium must therefore now also be placed on overcoming the fragmentation of the critics of current MSC policies and practices and on finding ways of promoting exchange and action amongst them. Oppositional stances to MSC's programmes now exist, sometimes in an organised form, amongst a range of practitioners and analysts - amongst for example further education lecturers, youth workers, careers officers, women involved in YTS, some teachers and trade unionists of all kinds, while a significant amount of critical academic work is also going on, albeit in isolated pockets. Many of these people now have a view and even some practical experience of what an alternative might look like. Can means be devised to bring them together and who will take the initiative?

As implied earlier however the energy and concern of at least one other group with probably the most vital interest in MSC's impositions need also to be tapped much more fully: namely those on the receiving end of current programmes. This of course is not to underestimate the difficulties of doing this within an MSC setting. Again however, if the analysis is tough enough and all those involved remain as aware as they can of its implications, more opportunities **may** exist for such participant activism, certainly in some areas of practice, than at first sight appears to be the case. What is more, as more and more state workers themselves come to experience very directly the consequences of that economic and ideological restructuring in which MSC is now playing so central a role, the traditional (professional) divide between service provider and service recipient is certain to narrow if not disappear. Real, material bases for some highly unorthodox non-social democratic - alliances may then emerge.

What is certain however is that if the commitment is lacking to search out the ground, political as well as educational, for some forms of alternative, transformative strategies, then MSC and its government sponsors will over the next five years achieve a transformation of a very different kind. What we are experiencing at the moment is not just another casual swing of the political pendulum but a government of remarkable, even breathtaking, single-mindedness which has a longterm vision of the new society it wishes to create in its own sectional image - and interests. Whatever else, our bottom lines must be an absolute clarity about that and about MSC's place within it, and a struggle for a defensive but also a coherent counter-offensive set of responses, in the youth field perhaps more than anywhere.

Postscript

Very shortly after this article was completed the Government's White Paper **Training for Jobs** (Command 9135, HMSO) was published, typically without any prior consultation with any of the interests affected by its proposals. Indeed even the MSC's own ruling body, the Commission itself, seems not to have had any formal advance communication about its content even though it explicitly defines the MSC as a "national training authority" and says that by 1986 about one quarter of the money spent on "non-advanced further education" - that most directly related to industry - will be under its control. This decision will involve the redirection to the MSC of some £110M currently made available to local education authorities via the rate support. Illustration and reinforcement of many of the arguments developed in this article could hardly have come more quickly - or more directly.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. See for example "MSC criticized over training strategy", **THES** 1.7.83; "'Needs of industry' theory under fire", Times Educational Supplement, 29.7.83; and "Diverse interests divulge similar criticisms of MSC", **THES** 29.7.83.
2. **Davies, B.** The State We're In: Restructuring Youth Policies in Britain, National Youth Bureau, 1981.
3. See for example Duncan Scott's paper "Unemployment and the Restructuring of Voluntary Welfare in Manchester" in **Scott, D.** and **WILDING, P.** (eds), Beyond Welfare Pluralism? Manchester Council of Voluntary Services and Department of Social Administration, University of Manchester, 1983.
4. "Ministers rethink Welfare State" and "The Cabinet's secret brainchild", **The Guardian**, 17.2.83.
5. **Finn, D.** "The Youth Training Scheme - A New Deal?", Youth and Policy, Vol. 1, No. 4, Spring 1983.
6. **Jones, C.** "Thatcherism and the Attack on Expectations", Bulletin of Social Policy, No. 14, Autumn 1983.
7. **Johnson, R.** "Education Policy and Social Control in Early Victorian England", Past and Present, No. 49, Nov. 1970.
8. **Taylor, I.** Law and Order - Arguments for Socialism, MacMillan, 1981.
9. See in particular "Thatcher team plot their future for the family", **The Guardian**, 17.2.83.
10. **Linell, J.** Curriculum Issues: A Handbook for Youth Service Providers of the Youth Training Scheme, National Youth Bureau, 1983, p.20.
11. **Davies, B.** op cit, pp 6-8, 11, 12-14. See also From Social Education to Social and Life Skills Training: In Whose Interests?, National Youth Bureau, 1979.
12. "Political Content of YTS Courses", Draft YTS Memo approved by the MSC Youth Training Board 27.10.1983. See also "Preparing for 1984", Rapport - The Journal of the Community and Youth Workers Union, Vol 8, No. 10, October 1983.
13. Young People and Work (The Holland Report), MSC, 1977, p7.
14. "Political Content of YTS Courses", op cit.
15. See for example "When Thatcher lifts the knife mandarins fear for their skins", **The Guardian**, 1.7.83.
16. **Santinelli, P.** "MSC nomination annoys unions" **THES** 10.12.82.
17. "Special Programmes - Hidden Intentions?", **Youthaid Bulletin**, No. 11, August 1983.
18. Towards an Adult Training Strategy, **MSC**, April 1983, Para 17.
19. "Training Division Planning 1984-85: Resources and Issues", **MSC Internal Paper**, March 1983, Para 6.
20. **MSC**, Adult Training Strategy: Proposals for Action (undated).
21. See for example Youth Training - A Negotiators Guide, **Labour Research Department**, 1983.
22. See for example, In Whose Interests?, op cit; and also "Social Education and Political Education - In Search of Integration", **Schooling and Culture**, Winter 1981.
23. **Jones, K.** Beyond Progressive Education, Macmillan, 1983.
24. Hall, S. "Education in Crisis", **Wolpe, A.M.**, and **Donald, J.** (eds), Is There Anyone Here from Education? - Education After Thatcher, Pluto Press, 1983.
25. **Johnson, R.** "Educational Politics: the Old and the New", in **Wolpe & Donald**, op cit.
26. In the Annual Education Lecture at the University of Warwick, 21.11.83.
27. **Wood, N.** "Sir Keith calls for national values in study of history", TES 15.4.83.

YOUTH AND POLICY STUDY CONFERENCE

We were very pleased to meet so many people at the Study Conference held at Coventry in February. The numbers attending far exceeded our expectations and have encouraged us to commence the planning of a similar event for 1985.

We recognise that the limitations of this year's venue led to some inconvenience and we are grateful for all your helpful feedback. We shall be incorporating these constructive suggestions in planning next year's conference.

As promised we are publishing a collection of conference papers which will be available during the Summer. Further details will be included in the next issue of Youth and Policy.

feminism and youth work in practice

ALISON LITTLE

Working with young people should ideally be about the promotion of change; change in individuals, which leads to change in groups, organisations and structures which hopefully will bring about a shift in the balance of power to the positive advantage of young people. Having said this, it is necessary to realise that working for change requires not only strength and sensitivity, but inevitably compromise.

Within Youth Work, opportunities to challenge predjudice, traditional but redundant ideas, myths about femininity and so on, arise constantly. Once a worker has started to become aware of these as political issues the need to challenge them in order to engender positive change inevitably becomes a central part of her youth work practice. A personal experience of powerlessness, lack of confidence and sexual predjudice on the part of a female youth worker will lead her not only to empathize with the girls she is working with on a personal basis, but also to analyse their situation in much broader social and political terms. This results in an awareness of the need to try and change the relationships and structures which perpetuate these inequalities. When this is the case, why is it that so many opportunities to put forward an alternative viewpoint, or to challenge sexism, are either avoided or missed altogether, why the compromise?

Working to change people's long and deeply held ideas is a complex and difficult task. For a start, any worker intent on this will inevitably be continuing to question her own conditioning and ideas as well - a sound basis from which to work, since it demands flexibility, and personal honesty and growth. However, in the face of hostile opposition, or for example the typically masculine requirement for facts and figures, a woman may not always feel it appropriate to expose herself to this kind of attack. The understanding of feminist or socialist concepts is not something that is grasped in a day, or a life-time for that matter, which means that opportunities to challenge can be missed through simple lack of awareness on the part of a worker, despite good intentions. We are all conditioned in sexist ways of thinking, and so our society is totally imbued with these limited ways of relating - so much so that it is easy to miss a sexist remark or situation at the time and let it pass unchallenged. For example 'unemployment' is still unconciously thought of as relating primarily to males, even by politically aware people of both sexes.

Another reason for compromise relates to self-preservation. For a feminist to take up every opportunity to voice her anger or distaste, (for example, every time a lad uses the word 'cunt' in a derogatory way), would result in her own isolation, and in addition serve to alienate others from the feminist cause. It is thus better to try to choose the right moment rather than keep up a constant level of opposition. However, sometimes it is difficult to prevent a spontaneous outburst of anger or amazement at some 'innocent' sexist remark, which results in having to cope with the strained feelings, or embarassed silence of those witnessing you 'making a mountain out of a mole-hill again'.

Being able to use as many opportunities as possible in an effective way, to put across a point of view that is probably controversial, has a lot to do with confidence, skill and experience. This can vary depending on a person's mood or state of mind at the time, on how many people are present, who they are, and on what sex they are. However these variables should have less and less influence the more practice, and so confidence, a person has. However practising is not always as easy as it sounds. Often one hears about a person (all too often a woman) who sits through a meeting, wanting to speak, and yet not daring to. When speaking involves putting across a controversial view, or challenging someone else's view, it can be even more difficult.

Working for change invariably involves this, although hopefully with the outcome of a sharing of views rather than a defensive exchange. If someone sits listening to a conversation that they find offensive on political terms, they may wish to say this, but sense that their opinion would not be sympathetically received, and so they hold back whilst building up courage to speak. Inevitably they become so wound up listening to what's being said, and waiting for their chance, that when they finally do speak they come across with much more agression or intensity than the situation initially warranted. This can put people's backs up and is not the best way to encourage a sharing of ideas. Knowing that this may be the possible outcome often prevents people from voicing an opinion. In any work place where people have to work closely together, such as a community centre or a youth club, it is important to be able to put across differing views without building resentment. The fear of being disliked or being made fun of for a while can be a strong restraint against speaking out, and this applies especially to women, who are heavily conditioned to seek the approval of men. A feminist will often be in a minority, or on her own at work, and this makes the task even more difficult; support and solidarity with even one other women makes all the difference. Feminists are often accused of having no sense of humour. This is hardly surprising if she is obliged to contend with jokes or

attitudes that are personally offensive in isolation. Some support in this situation can help an individual retain a sense of humour, proportion, confidence and integrity. This puts a woman in a much stronger position to take on the task of challenging in a non-threatening way, which is probably the best means of promoting change.

It is women who have traditionally been expected to take a back seat and whose opinions have not been sought, but now it is women who are working to change this situation, albeit from a position of relative weakness. For this reason the growth in 'assertion training', or 'how to stick up for yourself', has become an important part of the confidence building that women need. In a pamphlet edited by Frankie Armstrong the goals of assertion training are described as being "designed to increase our own self-esteem and self-respect and hence our respect for others by increasing our ability to choose to respond assertively; i.e. express our ideas, opinions, feelings openly and directly without putting ourselves or others down".[1] These goals are directly relevant to women who are anxious to challenge the existing status quo, and as such are indispensible to feminist youth workers. As a result assertion training is now often included in any training for work with girls in order to gain an understanding of the nature of subordination, and the skills which will help counteract our conditioning into that role.

Male Colleagues

As Frieden notes in her recent book "Men are our lovers, our colleagues, our bosses, our sons and yes, sometimes they are our enemies. Those who are our enemies have fought as such - they are the reactionary forces, men and their female agents who want to put women right back".[2] At the same time as believing that ideally men and women should work together to combat sexism, there are obviously cases where this would be impossible. Women also have to be wary of tokenistic support (although it can be argued that this position is better than outright hostility). However there are situations where direct support from men is totally inappropriate, notably 'work with girls' where the work has a clear feminist perspective. Some men who are reasonably aware and supportive of feminism will accept and understand this position, but most feel defensive, rejected and threatened. The argument for separatism in some situations is not always as obvious and clear cut as it may seem to those who have already worked out the reasons and accepted them.

It is important to argue the case clearly, and if this leads only to verbal support, at least it is a step in the right direction. Support from male colleagues for women to work separately with girls is fairly important in order that the movement should develop and thrive. A woman worker who has to fight against her male colleagues over this issue will be taking on an extra burden of stress and isolation.

Having stated the case for men and women working supportively of one another in counter-acting sexism, situations constantly arise where a woman worker on her own becomes isolated, despite the best of intentions all round. An example of this is when a group of lads start joking around together with a male youth worker. If there is a woman or girl present, she will tend to find herself on the outside of the group, looking on and unable to participate. What she is watching is a display of playful but highly competitive joking between the men, which is intimidating to, and exclusive of women. It seems to be a superficial show of male solidarity designed to ensure that any female present will be kept well in her place, that of passive observer. Staying and watching this kind of behaviour is really to condone it and it is difficult to envisage a man staying around for long to be humiliated in this way. However, women's conditioning encourages them to be able to accept many humiliating situations as a natural and necessary part of being female. Likewise in many meetings men still tend to do most of the speaking, despite the myth that 'women never stop talking', and the fact that the men concerned may 'support' feminism. These imblances of power are very difficult to overcome by goodwill alone, hence the need for separatism in some settings and the need for conscious positive action to be put into practice. For however supportive a male colleague is, it is still essential that a woman worker finds support, either within the work-place, or outside it, from other women. It can come from friends, or from women in an organisation related to the work, such as a union or group of Women Youth Workers, a Women's Caucus in the union, or a local Women Youth Workers Support Group, for example, but whatever its source it remains essential.

On Women Colleagues

If feminists are working together, many of the more basic, although often more complex areas of understanding will have already been overcome. This leaves the possibility of working together in the real sense of the word; there will be an implicit understanding of mutual support, rather then competition, and the trust and knowledge that a 'sister' will loyally support you. This does not mean that all feminists will automatically think the same - obviously there will be differences of opinion - but there is the possibility of discussing these in a constructive, rather than destructive way. However it is not always the case that women colleagues will automatically support you over any feminist issue. At times it is possible to feel out of touch with another woman, despite the fact that she supports feminism. All women are at different stages in their understanding, and also bring many very different experiences to bear on the subject. At times it is possible to feel threatened by other women who may seem very strong and politically 'worked out' and other times this may be the case for a woman in your presence. Some women will appear to be actively opposed to feminism, possibly the 'female agents that want to put women right back' that Frieden refers to. In fact it is never as simple as this, since a women's reasons for opposing feminism will be quite differently motivated to a man's. It is this belief, and the subsequent feelings of confusion and the contradictions that can be difficult to cope with. I once found myself in a situation where there was more support forthcoming from my two male colleagues over feminist issues that from either of the two women I was working with. I found this very difficult to cope with, as my automatic feelings of solidarity with the women were being tested, as were my initial feelings of distrust and scepticism concerning the men. In this case, although I was in fact well supported by two male colleagues, it was very important for me to have support from women outside my work place.

Working with boys

As a woman I think that it is difficult to have the same kind of commitment and interest when working with boys, as can be gained through work with girls. The same must surely be true of men working with girls? This is because the situation is so often one of attempting to maintain a balance between holding on to your self-respect and beginning to get to know the boys as people in their own right; sometimes an impossible task when layers of sexual predjudice stand between you. Holding on to self-respect and a sense of integrity means not letting too many

sexist remarks go unchallenged, but then you are often faced with having to explain increasingly complex ideas in which the lads may not be very interested anyway. For example, it is easy to be identified as a Mary Whitehouse-type moralist if you confront lads concerning crude remarks, or tell them you'd rather they didn't whistle at women in the street. At other times sexist jokes will be followed by an apology such as 'Don't speak like that, there's a lady present' usually said in a somewhat patronising tone. Having said this, it is important to mention that there will obviously be some boys or lads with whom it is possible to build a good mutually respecting relationship, since not all of them feel the need to play the macho role with women workers. However this is usually only possible when the particular individual is on his own, and so not being influenced or controlled by his peer group. Since these opportunities are rarer than group work, they will inevitably be only a small part of working with young males.

Yet where a woman is able to find support and understanding from her colleagues, her presence in a mixed or even boys only setting can be important. The opportunity for boys to interact with a woman whose attitudes and behaviour are completely different from their own expectations must be better than no exposure to this at all. However male colleague's attitudes are all important if a feminist is not going to be seen as simply a freak personality by the boys. It is to the men that the boys will tend to look and listen to first, rather than the women, and given this fact male youth workers should be taking the responsibility of challenging sexism amongst the young males with whom they work. Unfortunately this very seldom happens with any consistency or seriousness. It is an important area of work that is sadly under-developed resulting in little understanding or support for the precious few men who have learnt from feminism and see its relevance to youth work practice. For this reason, many feminists have understandably decided not to work with boys at all, and to concentrate on work with girls.

It is of vital importance to youth work as a whole however that the personal and political changes experienced by women and girls as a result of this separate work, does not remain exclusive to them alone. There is too much to lose if men and boys are allowed to see this movement as having nothing to do with them; supporting it from a distance as the 'correct' stance to take, whilst avoiding any demands it may make on them personally, is not enough. The importance of feminism and the implications it has for questioning male and female stereotypes, as well as challenging the male domination and control of the Youth Service, must be understood by all involved to be an invaluable component of training and practice if any progress is to be made.

Working with girls

Although I would not deny that there is much satisfying and enjoyable work to be done together with men and boys, when it comes down to it, I would argue that the priority for many women is to work with other women and girls. It is here that changes are taking place concerning the inequalities that women suffer. It will and is happening amongst women first, since it is women who recognise the need for change more readily than men, and it is more obviously in women's interest that these changes occur. For women youth workers the possibility of working with girls opens up enormous potential, especially for those women who have themselves experienced the growth in confidence, strength and freedom from being involved in the women's movement. For these women the goal can be seen clearly, and they will therefore feel more certain about what they are trying to do in their work. This is in the long term, of course, since the immediate problems to be overcome are fraught with contradictions. For a middle-class feminist faced with a group of working class girls, who maybe have not even heard of feminism, the question is how and where to start. The workers own views on issues such as marriage, pregnancy, abortion, and women's rights have to be held in the background, whilst the basics of building some trust and familiarity between each other are worked on. Jumping in from the start with opposing views would be insensitive and totally lacking in understanding of the kind of upbringing and expectations any working-class girl may have. The more the worker and the girls get to know each other, the greater the exchange of ideas there will be; in time ideas will be able to be expressed without these appearing to be a personal attack on someone who doesn't share them. Whether they are accepted or rejected, acted upon or not, is obviously up to each individual to decide for herself; it is not a matter of forcing ideas upon someone, but rather of showing them that there are maybe more choices to them than they were brought up to believe. Sadly, though, the existing political and economic climate is drastically increasing the financial restrictions upon young women, which obviously seriously reduces their options when it comes to any major changes in life-style.

If alternative attitudes and choices are known to exist, it is equally important to show how these may be put into practice. The supportive and strengthening environment that would make this possible should be incorporated into the organisation and running of any girls group. For example by encouraging democratic processes designed to ensure each girl has a say and plays a part in, any decision making; by working to give girls the awareness that they are not an isolated group, but that there is a network of similar groups across the country; and by arranging meetings, outings, residential week-ends, discos, filmshows etc. with other girls' groups in the area. Any work of this kind should be for women and girls only. As one woman who was helping to organise a 'girls day' explained - "The decision to make it an all female event was taken in belief that the girl's horizons were more likely to be broadened by seeing women (as opposed to men) playing an active role in all aspects of the day."[3]

A difficulty in relation to working with adolescent girls - especially those who have left school - is how best to get in touch with them. Often they are at home looking after younger brothers and sisters, cleaning, cooking and shopping and cannot always get away easily. One possibility is to advertise a free weekend away, if you can manage to get some funding. It may however be difficult to convince the girls that it is possible to enjoy female company without the presence of boys. Many of them will not have had this experience before, and even if they have, it will not have been seen as legitimate or 'real' enjoyment; without the presence of males to give credence to them, activities are often seen as second-rate, or inferior. A girl once said to me, when I was attempting to organise a girls only trip out, "Can't the lads come too, it's more of a laugh with the lads".

For a feminist it can also be depressing and frustrating listening to a group of girls chatting together about their experiences with boys, and hearing their attitudes on subjects such as abortion, pregnancy, weddings and marriage, views which often seem very reactionary. Hearing white girls put one of their

number down in terms of "..... she's a slag; she's ugly; she sleeps with black guys; she's a lesbian", and so on, can also be upsetting. However there are always occasions when you see girls taking a stand against these sexist and racist views, despite the fact that their contemporaries hold them. Variations in attitudes are wide, so it is always possible to find the opportunity to build on the positive ones. In 'Work with Girls' this building has now begun in earnest, and the result is a network of women and girls working together, which is growing stronger and wider all the time.

Support Groups for those working with girls are springing up all over the country. There are also many more events such as training days, conferences and workshops being held. The CYWU now has a Women's Caucus which deals specifically with the kind of problems women may face working within the Youth Service and there are a number of regular national newsletters and magazines available, all of which deal with the theory and practice of effective alternative work with girls.[4]

There is also now an enormous amount of material available for those involved in work with girls - both for use in training and with girls themselves.[5] However despite this it is necessary to be careful when choosing materials, since much of it does require a reasonably high level of understanding and sympathy with feminist ideas before it can be enjoyed and learnt from. Even magazines written and produced by girls themselves can be over the head of many; 'Shocking Pink' (a radical alternative to Jackie) is an example of this since it requires a certain level of awareness that not all girls may have. Like all women, girls also vary enormously in their stages of feminist understanding and it is important not to bore, and so prejudice them against feminism, by showing films or using books that bear absolutely no relation to their reality. A woman worker once told me that the only film (after many tries) that was a success with the girls she knew was 'Rosie the Riveter'. The girls identified strongly with the working-class women in the film who had the possibility to earn their own money, and how this made them feel. They then identified with the anger the women felt when this possibility was taken from them. At times material that is not specifically for use with girls can be useful, as long as the girls find it interesting. At the girl's rèquest, a worker I know used a set of slides to initiate discussion around sexuality. The slides the girls wanted were technical and detailed because what they wanted was hard information and facts. These slides interested the girls and since it was an all female group, they opened up and asked questions non-stop. Previously, downstairs, in the mixed part of the club, the girls had sat in tight groups in the corners, with closed expressions, occasionally giggling nervously, frightened of making a fool of themselves in front of the boys. Upstairs they relaxed, and behaved in a much more assertive and uninhibited way; they were not afraid of appearing foolish by showing that they were interested in something, and had questions to ask and experiences to share with one another.

This upsurge of activity has happened due to women workers understanding the desperate need for intervention and progress in this area, and responding directly to those needs; it has not been as a result of policy implementation on behalf of the Youth Service. However, the recent government report on youth policy, the Thompson Report, happily recognises this fact, and makes recomendations for the contribution and expansion of 'work with girls', as well as moves to correct the present imbalance between men and women in the full-time worker and officer force. The Report stands as an important and useful statement which should be used to push for much needed policy changes in the Youth Service with regard to feminist thinking and practice.

REFERNCES AND NOTES

1. **Armstrong, F.** (ed.), Assertion Training.
2. **Friedan, B.** The Second Stage. M. Joseph, 1982.
3. Work with Girls. NAYC Girls Work, 1981.
4. Information and materials available from NAYC Girls Work, Keswick House, 30 Peacock Lane, Leicester LE1 6NY.
5. Working with Girls, Film and Video Review List, and Experience and Participation - a selective list of Books, Pamphlets, Resources; both available from National Youth Bureau, 17-23 Albion Street, Leicester LE1 6GD.

feature review

mr. cockerill and the management of disaffection

FRANK BOOTON

Cockerill C.F.
NATIONAL YOUTH BUREAU; REPORT OF A REVIEW
D.E.S.(?) 1983

'This Chaunticleer his wings began to beat,
As one that could his treason not espy,
So was he ravished with this flattery.'[1]

Since Mannheim we have come to accept that youth in modern industrial societies has a particular relationship to social change. Because they collectively experience society through a fresh contact their generational encounter with the social reality can never be the same as that of their parents. The norms of behaviour and the cultural values that give stability to the parental generation, and which they have attempted to transmit to their children, are most often not in accord with the society as the younger generation perceive it, experience it or, perhaps more importantly, desire to express it. As a consequence those values are frequently rejected, or at the very least modified, and generational discontinuity - the 'generation gap' as the commonsense view regards it - is the result. Social change has rendered the adult values inadequate. To some youth generations in particular periods of history they are in fact all but irrelevant. But the parents have not provided an alternative structure within which the frustrations of growing can be dissipated; young people have to search and construct these for themselves. The parents remain culturally imprisoned within the norms appropriate to their own formative period of early adulthood, their own 'fresh contact'.[2] As someone put it; parents can learn a new tune, but they can't learn a new music. In the modern industrial state the alienation that derives from this discontinuity tends to be seen as a 'social problem' whereas it is in effect merely the logical product of social structure. Age is thus to be reckoned a structural component of modern societies as significant as sex, race or class, though inevitably these intersect each other and have different emphases at different points in the lifetime of individuals. In general, youth as a social category becomes marginalised. Its status is limited, its political power all but non-existent, its life chances restricted. Alienation is hardly surprising, and disaffection - except, of course, for those units of the generation who due to a variety of factors in an unequal social milieu have a better individual chance of mediating the frustrations of transition, is completely understandble. It is not **condoned**, but it can be understood. In this sense, in our society young people and senior citizens have a great deal in common. They are both categories whose social experience is largely conditioned by the contingencies of age and power. Bednarik described the situation well when he saw the existential position of the young worker in the modern welfare state as a kind of age-bound angst; an optionless, frustrated, desperation; 'freedom at zero'.[3]

All industrial societies experience the 'youth problem' in one way or another, and each attempts to overcome it by creating some form of state apparatus to facilitate the controlled socialization of its younger generation. These systems are in effect interventions for the statutory management of disaffection, prospective or actual. In totalitarian societies the model is usually political, the Komsomol or its equivalent as an arm of the party, whilst in pluralist societies they are either agencies of social welfare (in their voluntary history) or education (in their statutory phase). The system in Britain is known as 'Youth Service'. It was one of the first such systems in the industrialised west, and in its philosophy of 'social education' (no matter how incoherently realized in any particular period) it remains one of the most appropriate to the ethic of social democracy. All such attempts at institutional socialization may ultimately fail, relative to their own aims that is, because the ever increasing rate of social change now endemic to the modern state requires a continual restructuring of society through a re-ordering of the basic components of sex, race, class and age. It may be a very different experience being a teenager in Leningrad than it is to be one in Luton, but it is not any **easier**. In Britain the social policy of youth affairs reflects the state's attempts to regulate the 'youth problem' as a series of essentially retrospective interventions in Youth Service. These take the form of 'crisis management'. Each period of ten to fifteen years will produce some kind of updating, either an eleventh hour intervention by Government, or at the least a major evaluation usually by way of a report. Most of these unfortunately are either ignored or only part-implemented. Between 1939 and 1950 there were four, including the 1944 Education Act. In 1960 we had Albermarle; in 1970 Milson-Fairbairn; in 1982 Thompson.[4] Within this general pattern individual institutions, practices or issues are also periodically subjected to review. However these too are just as likely to be neglected. At the time of Scarman who remembered the Hunt Report on Immigrants and the Youth Service?[5]

The National Youth Bureau came into existence in 1973, and with the Cockerill Report now published[6] we have its first external review. This is one report that will neither be ignored or neglected. It is a relatively brief statement, professing a thoroughness to its purpose which its content does not sustain, and rigour to its analysis which its theoretical level disappoints. It is approximately the same length as Mr. Cockerill's earlier excursion into our field[7] and has a similar tone of authoritative amateurishness. However, it is altogether much more significant.

Mr. Cockerill's terms of reference were not particularly wide ranging, or open, and they were certainly not publicly negotiated. On the contrary, they were quite specific and couched in an unashamed prescriptive tone. Though Mr. Cockerill is at pains to point out that '.... this has been an independent and not a D.E.S. review ....', given what we know about the R.G.Y.S.'s comments on the Bureau, and their political acceptability at the D.E.S., their transfer into these narrow terms of reference converts any such claim of neutrality into an

insult to decency and fairness. The letter from the Secretary of State is described by Mr. Cockerill somewaht coyly as '... useful ... giving a fuller account of Government interest than could be encompassed in the terms of reference ...; but it has about it an implicit tone of direction. It is precisely **that** which is the true 'government interest...'. All this becomes clearer when we locate the emergence of the review in the background of policy confusion immediately prior to Thompson. We recall that after taking out a fourth Private Members Bill basically because, though Tory sponsored it was too 'liberal' and looked like being too popular in its inter-party support, the Government committed itself to reviewing the Youth Service. It did so with the R.G.Y.S. under Thompson. The Thompson Report was given a qualified welcome by an apprehensive field. It expressed misgivings on certain aspects of the N.Y.B., ostensibly in terms of data collection, management structure, and field support role. It recommended a review, and Mr. Cockerill became the machinery for an independent evaluation. His terms of reference however appear to have transmitted the concerns of the R.G.Y.S. into received wisdom. Mr. Cockerill has focussed these concerns into a list of priorities of which the chief are 'Publications' (that is, in effect, an autonomous, possibly critical, voice); 'Accountability' (by which we may undersand control), and 'Management' (which means, essentially, the N.Y.B. Council or the instrument of that control). Other aspects of the R.G.Y.S' comment which Mr. Cockerill has also 'reviewed' include the N.Y.B. - C.E.T.Y.C.W. proximity, overlap funding, and the prospective relationship with a National Youth Advisory Council and/or a D.E.S. Youth Unit. These are all clearly legitimate interests with which disinterested opinion has no quarrel. In fact what Mr. Cockerill has to say about them is relevant and timely. However, interestingly, they were obviously not high on his list of priorities since not a single item of the 'evidence' quoted by him refers to them in any appreciable detail.

I do not intend to discuss Mr. Cockerill's recommendations here in any concentrated focus. It seems to me that this report actually raises larger issues. Ultimately the significance of this document will be one of process much more than product.[8] In assessing the report there are, it seems to me, two issues. The first is the most important: **what are the appropriate procedures, practical and political, for evaluating the work of such an organisation as N.Y.B.?** The second is, **what kind of organisation has the Bureau been, and what kind should it become in order to serve the interests of young people effectively?**

On the question of procedures, the Cockerill review as the machinery for evaluation was wholly inappropriate. Mr. Cockerill himself may well believe that his work was 'independent', but its scope was narrow and given the dubious weight of its 'evidence' its tone far too authoritative to convince the genuinely open mind that it is anything but the rationale of a preconceived view. It was quite widely known during the period of the R.G.Y.S' work that the N.Y.B. 'expected to get it in the neck', as one staff member put it, because of its recent criticisms of government policies, its acknowledged liberal stance on sexism and racism, and in particular its attitude to such issues as contemporary policing. I am not suggesting that Bureau policies were necessarily **right** on all these issues, but that it was undeniably **engaged** in them, and in a manner which many youthwork practitioners (perhaps the kind who faced exactly those problems in their day to day work with young people) found stimulating as an indicator of future practice. In other words, N.Y.B.'s developmental advocacy role has incurred the displeasure of certain fundamentalist interests in Youth Service including, it has to be said, some national voluntarist opinion, and these voices have found favour and have subsequently been nurtured within the climate of the D.E.S. The Bureau was seen to be a quango getting out of line. The Cockerill Review is the Department's attempt to manage disaffection from one of its own insubordinate agents. Now the one-man review method may work if it has the constitutional authority of a Scarman, but in the form of a Raynor, or a Cockerill, it will always engender the suspicion of a put up job.

For this report than to talk of 'balance' as it does; of substituting 'neutral data' for opinion, of 'letting the facts speak for themselves' as some kind of activity that might transcend politics, is hypocrisy. It is the orthodoxy of contemporary management.

> *'There must be no question of Parliamentary or party politics entering an area of Bureau activity. It is the servant of statutory and voluntary bodies alike, across the spectrum of party politics...'*
>
> *'Thus NYB should not be any sort of campaigning body. Its responsibility in this context is to provide information for use by youthworkers.'*[9]

Is it coincidence that the Cockerill Review merely happens to have endorsed all the recommendations of Thompson as the outline of future policy for N.Y.B.? The document is 165 pages long. Of this some twenty are devoted to extracts from 'evidence'. The sources of these quotations are not named. I suspect that they were selected. They are overwhelmingly critical, and some of their content is frankly appalling. It varies from the nervous traditionalist;

> *'Personally, I find many youth service (and other) attitudes to be increasingly anti-establishment ...';*
>
> *'...there have been occasions when the balance of the Bureau's work has been excessively political.'*

through the simply negative,

> *'We have never felt the need to consult with N.Y.B. though its publications are interesting...'*
>
> *'I find our Association has had little useful contact...'*
>
> *'In other words, the N.Y.B. does not have an important impact on our work...'*

to the downright reactionary:

> *'To have one more voice latching on to what particular issue happened to be in vogue, whether it be 'the role of women', or 'gay groups', places more emphasis than is justifiable on to relatively minor interests, to the detriment of work which should be more long lasting...'*

Thus speaks the status quo. In spite of the fact that Mr. Cockerill says elsewhere that 'almost all witnesses have praised at least part of the work of the Bureau...,' it is the critical tone of 'evidence' that he has specifically chosen to include. Moreover it is a great shame, and to Mr. Cockerill's lasting detriment, that he was not sufficiently sensitive, or courageous, to point out to witnesses such as the last one that their prejudice is very deeply offensive and actually inappropriate to good youth and community work practice in a social democracy. Or is it perhaps that these views now find support and sanction within the D.E.S.?

Looking at the list of witnesses and assessing the weight of selected 'extracts' it seems likely that the specifically critical proportion of them over-represents voluntary interests. I personally would not question the right of such organisations as the Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, or Yorkshire Television, to submit evidence to such a review. But I seriously doubt the relevance of their opinion to what I understand are the principal issues surrounding appropriate practice in modern youthwork. And with respect to Lady Patience Baden-Powell, I think it is about time that policy douments on English youthwork had sufficient competence and sense of social justice to declare that agencies such as N.Y.B. were not brought into

existence **primarily** to defend the interests of the Girl Guides (who are, after all, and given what we know about middle-class self-interest, more than capable of defending their own) and perhaps might tell her Ladyship that on this occasion her opinion is less than relevant. There are millions of ordinary working class girls in this country who will never get within a mile of a Girl Guides uniform, not because they individually **choose** not to, but because a combination of social background, culture, and educational disadvantage have already made that choice for them. These actually constitute a numerical majority of prospective female beneficiaries of social education. The recent Work with Girls initiatives have been without question the most progressively effective innovation in recent British youthwork practice, and **not** because it has been work with female especially, but because during the last ten years it has pioneered elements of curriculum development in youthwork from which **all** young people might benefit. Even Thompson endorsed it. With some difficulty the N.Y.B. has supported these kinds of practice. Yet where is the 'evidence' from the practitioners representing the potential millions of these young females? No specific Girls Work project is listed among the contributors to Cockerill; neither is any agency working with black youth[10] and mainstream L.E.A. work also appears to have been under-represented. In other words, ethnic minorities, women and (generically) working class youth are left out. Of course, supporters of the one-man, managerial method of review might claim that everyone **could** have submitted evidence. The point is that everyone didn't.

The growing alienation of young people was an implicit fear underlying Thompson. It is a theme which Cockerill has also referred to. It is possibly the singular dread that most pervades British youthwork practice at the present time. It is directly related to levels of deprivation, educational inadequacy and lack of employment opportunity; the 'Freedom at Zero' syndrome. In a voluntary attending service the practitioner has a crippling difficulty in making inroads on the general problem of alienation. The Thompson Report was undoubtedly correct in suggesting that the only way to overcome alienation is through 'experience and participation'. Cockerill reaffirms this view. However in doing so his review specifically rejects the possibility of any advocacy or campaigning role for the Bureau in their representation of young people's affairs. It is an ambiguity of official thinking that leaves the committed youthworker frustrated and even resentful. Who gives a voice to the silent if it is not an agency that has sufficient freedom to make choices and prioritise around issues? Who supports and encourages the new techniques of developing practice if it is not an organisation which has the autonomy to decide **which** particular category of youth interest is more important at any given moment? Can we safely leave these tasks to Yorkshire Television, or The Royal Society for the Protection of Birds, or for that matter to Lady Baden-Powell? To say that the N.Y.B. should be 'the servant of statutory and voluntary bodies alike across the political spectrum' is fine managerial rhetoric. But it is the moral equivalent of saying that in modern Britain the system of justice treats black and white youth equally. Justice may do, but the law clearly does not. Once we have eradicated the voice that criticises such law then we are another step deeper into injustice. More significantly, when publically owned institutions are managed in a way that finds injustice acceptable, then the inequity behind it becomes institutionalised. It becomes, in fact the **policy** of Government.

The National Youth Bureau was a new departure in British procedures for the administration of youth affairs. The old Youth Service Information Centre had validated the future role for an involved but independent support agency for the differentiated 'field' of youthwork. However it had concentrated only on information and by its demise in 1972 it was clear that the fields also needed a framework of advice and current opinion before raw information itself could be incorporated into practice. This latter point is most important. Mere 'information' as such is of limited value. To be converted into the theoretical matter which may inform changing practice data has to be charged with topicality, with comparison, with the identified options for its relevance. It is a fallacy to assume that the 'facts' can be left to 'speak for themselves'. When they do they only ever tell us what **is**, or **has been**, when our practice demands that we know what **can be**, or **should be**. The dissemination of information within British youthwork has traditionally been attempted by publications, possibly the only medium of communication with such a varied fieldwork force. Up to 1972 available publications were wholly inadequate. The old 'Youth Service' was a paltry A5 newsletter of about a dozen pages and much given to little articles of less than earth shattering consequence about the scandalous rise in the price of table tennis balls. 'Digest' was a pocket-sized information sheet with 'useful addresses' columns and other irrelevant topicalities. 'Youth Review' was a glossy, magazine format pseudop-journal that was commercialized through Schoolmaster Publications and folded, I think, in 1972. Together, 'official' and commercial publications on youthwork practice added up to an almost monstrous ephemera, the balanced articulation of medicority. On the other hand publications put out by the larger, traditional voluntary organisations were far more directly relevant to their own consituency of interests. To a large extent this is still the case. Within its own area of reference **Scouting** is a superb magazine, and one which actually serves the practice-orientation of its readership extremely effectively. And so is **Voluntary Action**. Even the **N.C.V.Y.S. Monthly Mailing** is impressive in the manner by which it so obviously works hard to service its readership with both fact and opinion. From its beginning the N.Y.B. concentrated a great deal of its efforts on publications. John Ewen, the first Director, realized the documents with the N.Y.B. imprint were the public signature of the whole organisation, and since N.Y.B. was a public body, to a large extent the voice of Youth Service, though not necessarily that of Government. This view was basically correct, and as a policy it has continued under the Directorship of David Howie. How one measures the success of this I am not quite sure, certainly not by circulation figures since in a generic field serviced with few publications these bear no real relation to actual readership. Certainly I know from personal experience that the Publications Advisory Committee of the Bureau worked very hard at the difficult task of monitoring trends and changes, and over the years has persuaded several people from the scene of the conventionally successful voluntary publications to join it in ensuring the relevance of the work coming out of the Publications Unit. The editor of **The Scout** was a member of the Committee for several years, so were the editors of both **Voluntary Action** and **Rapport.** In addition the group has always contained two or three statutory youth officers, representatives from the British Youth Council, professional associations and various specialist individuals. The point that I want to make is that by no conceivable stretch of the imagination - other than the outright perverse or purblind - can it be said that this group of people are 'radical' in their collective opinion, much less subversive. Yet the Bureau is here being specifically criticised for the political bias of its publications. Mr. Cockerill quotes in full an editorial from a 1983 issue of Youth In Society, presumably as an example of this bias. By any reasonable standards of current national journalism this particular extract is not only 'balanced', it is virtually static in its reluctance to offend. From it Mr. Cockerill recommends that the policy of having editorials in N.Y.B. paublications 'should be reviewed'. What Mr. Cockerill has not conceded is that when traditionalist opinion in youthwork sees such blandness as 'excessively political' or 'anti-establishment' that view is itself so rooted in prejudice, so overtly **political**, as to render

arguments of 'balance' superfluous. 'Balance', in the sense that Mr. Cockerill requires it will reduce the content of the N.Y.B. journals to the level of triviality that practitioners found redundant by 1972. So 'balance' will be achieved in Bureau publications by prohibiting political content. In return for meeting this requirement Mr. Cockerill recommends that a new role be created for the Publications Unit. It will disseminate neutral data, and it will undertake the republication of that utterly indispensable aid to youthwork practice, the **Youth Service Year Book**!

There are many more implications in this review than can be fully discussed here. The underlying question, that of what kind of Youth Service we need and, it follows, what kind of National Youth Bureau, is not simply a matter of crude political targetting, of whipping institutions and procedures into some form of party line. No matter **what** the party. It is a question of means as well as ends. Where our language does not accord with action hypocrisy is the result. That disparity between what is said and what is done in our practice is felt keenly by young people. Their 'fresh contact' gives them an acute awareness of the bad faith that too often conditions the attitudes of parents. We should learn to distrust this disparity too, and when we encounter it in the policy of youth affairs and find it to be at odds with successful practice, we must question it.

What we have here from Mr. Cockerill is, to quote from his earlier report on Youth Exchanges, '...a short, independent enquiry into the scope for possible rationalisation.' His review represents a particular political point of view. To pretend otherwise is naive. We are not accustomed in English youthwork to debating the political dimension to innovation. Youth Service specifically has always been recognised by its practitioners as a very broad, uncomfortable, concurrence of interests which is customarily regulated around the generally agreed principle that 'politics' should be left off the agenda. This view itself, as many of us have latterly come to realise, is naive. Nonetheless it has traditionally been the cornerstone of the whole Partnership concept. It was thought that if politics were ever allowed to dominate the debates within the Service the fragile consensus necessary to sustain the Partnership of statutory and voluntary interests would break down. Over the years we have all collaborated in this exercise from a deep seated mutual recognition of our shared frailty, a fear that a marginal service with low priorities afford to it by successive governments might just be swept away altogether if we ever dare politicize our professional capability. In another, more optimistic sense, some have seen this conspiracy to agree to all costs as the essentials of good practice - the mutual acceptance of deep differences within an agreed determination to maintain communication no matter what. Some have gone even further and have idealistically claimed it as the very process of democracy itself. In any event, that traditional consensus has now gone. A economic and social consequences which young people have had to face has strained it to the point where very few, if any, senior practitioners now publicly affirm its existence.

My own generation of practitioners are well aware that since the early 1960's the years of consistent professionalised development of the social education curriculum have (generally) been under Conservative, not Labour, administrations. A Tory government could set up the Albermarle Committee, co-opt onto it such iconoclast opinion as Richard Hoggart and Leslie Paul (in 1959 hardly token liberals) and still promise to implement its recommendations to the letter before the report was actually published. Such a willingness to construct consensus would be anathema to the present Government. What has changed is the nature of British Toryism.

Pragmatically we need a Youth Service which is sufficiently flexible to meet the rapidly changing needs of young people. There must be a base-line of adherence to the belief that the relevant field of activity in Britain will remain highly diverse and differentiated. In our society for the foreseeable future 'the field' will be constructed of divergent (even incompatible) opinion and attitudes. Structurally, the nature of the modern British state would permit of no other composition. To pretend that this is not the case would be facile, or rhetorical prejudice, since the overwhelming weight of academic evidence from either ideological faction proves only the necessity of contemporary division, not the probability of harmony. For politicians to quote St. Francis of Assissi is not to proclaim unity, it is to express wish-fullfillment. And for bureaucrats to 'independently review' towards a basis of 'rationalisation', and then to preach the necessity of 'balance' is to wilfully construct a reality that ignores the claims of the weak by the constant appeal to the supposed rights of the strong. Either 'experience and participation' will be rendered meaningful by its translation into actual policies for the reorganisation of Youth Service or it will remain a hollow sham. Just another slogan. To give it even the minimum credibility in the present state of youth affairs the Service requires a national organisation with sufficient freedom to innovate in curriculum development, to critically appraise any existing area of work, to publicize its opinion, and gradually construct the field machinery in which divergent views might at least remain in active contact with each other.

The former consensus cannot now be rescued. But positive steps towards the creation of a climate for youth work practice within which the appropriate curriculum might focus or the rights and status of young people relative to social justice **could** be taken. That practice, and its curriculum, must have an autonomous advocate. Such a National Youth Bureau would almost certainly on occasion criticise its parent government. It would have at its disposal sufficient expertise to identify and defend good work, to engender a creative management approach to professionalisation, to experiment with curricula relevant to the self-realization of young people in an unequal society, and it would have the freedom and the courage to confront prejudice. If it does not have these dimensions to its function then it will ultimately fail, it will merely express its government's bad faith. If the Cockerill recommendations are implemented then over the next two or three years we shall see a reconstructed N.Y.B. emerge. Its practice will be a consolidation of conventionally 'safe' perspectives on social education. There will be no more Enfranchisement Projects. It will become more enmeshed in the exigencies of government agencies such as M.S.C. and will come to justify the consignment of many more thousands of teenagers to 'training programmes' of supermarket shelf filling. It will avoid difficult issues such as law and order, and will remain consciously blind to the fact that modern Britain now has more young people under lock and key than at any time since the closure of workhouses. And it will annually publish a **Youth Service Year Book**, because Mr. Cockerill says it should.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. **Chaucer, G.** The Nun's Priest's Tale. Canterbury Tales. (Hitchens, H.L. ed) Murray; London; 1948; pp69.
2. **Mannheim, K.** The Problems of Generations. (in) Essays In The Sociology of Knowledge. Routledge; 1952; pp276.
3. **Bednarik, K.** The Young Worker Today. Faber; 1965. I cannot give the page.
4. Experience and Participation. Report of the Review Group on the Youth Service in England; (Thompson). Cmnd 8686; HMSO, 1982.
5. Immigrants and The Youth Service. Report of a Committee of The Youth Service Deveopment Council; (Hunt). D.E.S. 1967.
6. **Cockerill, G.F.** National Youth Bureau; Report of a Review. D.E.S. (?); 1983.
7. **Cockerill, G.F.** Report on Youth Exchanges. D.E.S. (?); 1983.
8. Briefly, they consist of replacing the existing N.Y.B. Council with a 'necessarily well-balanced Management Committee' appointed by the Secretary of State; the separation of N.Y.B. from any eventual Youth Advisory Council; a 'balanced' (mainly informational) role for N.Y.B.; the prohibition of political involvement; a research and data function; the dissolution of separate units within N.Y.B., and the reissue of an annual Year Book for the Youth Service.
9. **Cockerill** (6); pp67.
10. Though the Association of Muslim Youth (UK) did; see pp86.

youth unemployment: thinking the unthinkable

PAUL WILLIS

"We must force the frozen circumstances to dance by singing to them their own melody". Karl Marx

Wolverhampton is typical of the older industrial areas of the country. 90% of this year's school leavers cannot find work. They will be offered a year on the Youth Training Scheme - varieties of work experience plus some off the job training - but they will be tipped back on to the dole again this time next year. Many of them will not find work again before their mid-twenties. Many may never work. At the moment 40% of all the registered unemployed are under twenty five, and getting on for a third of these have been unemployed for more than a year. Long term youth unemployment is already here. For some the apocalypse has arrived. And what are we saying to, for and with them? Have we only got one slogan; 'jobs for all'. That's like shouting through the smoke, ruin and falling timbers, 'NO APOCALYPSE HERE!'

The left seems to be hung up on a terrible dilemma: even to discuss the implications of, never mind to work out policies for, unemployment seems somehow to **accept** unemployment. Of course the necessary and massive political priority is to call for full employment. But the lack of a flexible 'second line defence' set of arguments and positions - developed especially now in what should be a wide ranging, open and even heretical debate following the catastrophe of the election - can deliver the unemployed into a cruel catch 22. Unemployed people need massive extra help. To give it would be to stabilise and accommodate unemployment. So the conscripts in the army of the unemployed might languish there, perhaps forever, without help or even understanding of the position. And that's to prevent what they're suffering! It's for their own good! We can be trapped by our own blanket political unwillingness to accept unemployment. The politically 'unthinkable' is in danger of producing the really mentally unthinkable. Meanwhile the unemployed languish in what we can't think. They face, live through, partly work on and change the sufferings and contradictions of their social condition. Their experience, their hearts and minds are not in some kind of cryonic storage awaiting the glorious summer of socialism. They struggle through this winter. Only the socialist imagination seems frozen by the winter of our discontent.

Youth unemployment is perhaps the most visible and difficult issue, but it dramatises how the left is in disarray and confusion on a whole range of social and economic issues: the rise of 'Thatcherism'; occupational change; new technology; the stubborn 'consumerism' of the working class; the decay of the inner cities; the fracturing and mutual suspicion of segments of the working class; the spectre of post-imperialist nationalism. The calamity of Mrs. Thatcher's 'landslide', made possible by the support of a good proportion of the working class, is just the final confirmation of our disorganised, timid and backward looking approach to a variety of changes around us.

There has certainly been a debate on the nature of social and economic change and its implications for politics and the labour party. But it seems to me that much of this work errs on the opposing sides of a really dialectical view of the nature of the changes surrounding us: towards an overly **ideological** or an overly **economistic** view. For me this still leaves vacant the really central ground on which Mrs. Thatcher seems to have found some enduring success - the actual experiences of men and women the way felt contradictions are understood, the doubts uncertainties and fears of real people: in a word the grounds of culture. Incomprehensible as it may be to those armed with an oppositional analysis, Thatcherism may really appeal on these grounds as one kind of explanation, as a way of making sense of threat and uncertainty, of interpreting real change and dilemmas. Heretically one may say that Mrs. Thatcher offers one kind of **organic** political and social thought. We need to develop our own popular philosophy of change which works through the possibilities of what exists, which understands how what exists has come from the uncertainty of the past, how what may exist inheres in the contradictory tendencies of the present.

One major strand of recent social thought has been the identification and critique of 'authoritarian populism' (see a number of articles in **Marxism Today**, for instance, collected recently in **The Politics of Thatcherism**).[1] This is certainly useful and important. But it seems to me to be too self-referencing and too without an account of the actual appeal of authoritarian populism to popular thought and to the grains of change which exist for a variety of reasons, some of them independent of the specific effects of Thatcherism. The concentration on the codes of Thatcherism, rather than on their intersection with located, concrete cultural forms and common sense ways of understanding tends to attribute too much to the power of Thatcherism and to its coherence as a formation. We are certainly facing an ideological onslaught whose combination, at least, of elements and appeal to a reassemblage of class forces, are new. But there is a danger of an **over ideological** analysis which gives too much to the force of ideas, to a powerful political initiative, and, it

must be said, a brave woman. But why seek to affirm what Mrs. Thatcher actually already thinks - that she's the best thing since sliced bread, that strong leadership matters and that a 'moral revolution' can re-shape practical and economic life. Of course ideological forces have material effects, but so do material changes, conflicts and contradictions, **and their associated cultural fields and lived interpretations**, potentiate, offer or deny, certain explanatory ideologies. Where are the warm blooded, actively fleshed **people** in the analysis of the 'discourse' of Thatcherism? Where are their independent desires and frustrations, their own difficulties and dilemmas, their own powers to act and to analyse? Are people just iron filings in the Thatcherite field of force - excepting, of course, those intellectuals who can neutralise their poles through the power of thought. How is this same capacity of thought, resistance and idea of change alternatives exercised by those who are the object of 'Thatcherism'? A relatively incoherent assemblage of new popular possibilities - disillusion with the state; a return to the family; suspicion of or boredom with socialism; revived nationalism; a stricter and more authoritarian concern with money and work - may have arisen in complex ways **through the mediations of consciousness and culture** from real empirical and material changes in the economy. This may have occurred relatively separately from any 'Thatcher effect'. Indeed it may be that even the evident 'ideological' achievement of 'Thatcherism' is not ideological at all, but economic - induced economic decline producing material changes **themselves** further facilitating the cultural possibilities of regressive social and political understanding. To be crude and to exaggerate: 'Thatcherism' may be effect not cause. Against a too easy 'Thatcher effect' it must be insisted that concrete, empirical change **and** the variety of cultural and common sense ways of understanding it **in the population itself** also matters very much. Apart from high level generalisations about change, the analysis of 'Thatcherism' has included very little concrete analysis of change, and no **internal** explorations of the lived dimensions of contradiction and change.

The other main current in the recent debate about social and economic change meets some of these difficulties. It concerns the analysis of demographic and geographic shifts in the occupational structure. Doreen Massey's work, for instance, (see **The Anatomy of Job Loss** and recent articles in **Marxism Today**)[2] is highly empirical in showing the detail of shifts and changes in the work force. The engineering industries of the midlands are joining in the historic decline of the old northern 'smoke stack' industries, while the new 'sunbelt' to the north and west of London expands with managerial, computer and information activities. Labour support is shrinking to the embattled inner cities and the slimmed down older industrial strongholds.

But if the 'ideological' view tends to be insufficiently worked through the detail of social and economic change 'on the ground', this approach over-compensates and short-circuits consciousness and culture from the other side. Not 'Thatcherism' now, but where you live and what you do determine voting behaviour - without again being mediated through warm bodies and their thinking heads, through collective cultures and actions. Define them and we'll know what they think. They 'are' this, therefore they 'think' that. Empirical work on change, rather than generalisation about it, is very important. But we must add culture and consciousness not simply to 'complete' the picture, cross the 't's' and dot the 'i's' for the fussy, but to finish - actually **start** - the analysis. The point is to see how material change and developing contradictions affect, and are affected by, modes of **living**, them, ways of **understanding** them, and by what capacities they are either resisted or accommodated. If 'Thatcherite' authoritarian populism is one form of handling real dilemmas and contradictions, what are those dilemmas and contradictions? In what ways are they open and developing through people's own understandings of their situation and collective cultures? Rather than fall under our own version of the 'Thatcherite' spell, rather than identify new social groups and wait for their 'automatic' support, rather than opportunistically indulge in another re-arrangement of the supermarket of policies to attract customers back from the new SDP store, we must proceed through our own dialectical analysis of the actual currents of change and support and work through their 'better side'.

It may be objected that I am underestimating the power and role of the State and underestimating the degree to which a Thatcherite hegemony is influencing the entire agenda of issues and possibilities - that Thatcherism is not only about the state of struggle, but about defining the sites themselves. But in my view Thatcherism makes only some contradictory interpretations of only some contradictions. These must be identified and opposed of course. But there sheer scale and moment of change now is producing and reproducing daily many fields which Thatcherism dare not touch. We are simply failing in our work if we don't identify these real grounds of experience where a more imaginative and open counter offensive may seek to build its own hegemony of interpretation and understanding. Youth unemployment; changes in the family; the mismatch between the design of public housing and the new demands on it; the appalling boredom, drudgery and meaninglessness of most modern work; the frustrated desires of consumerism in a declining economy; the crisis of legitimacy in traditional art and culture; the crisis of legitimacy and confidence in our public institutions; the failure of architecture and public space to meet human needs; the rise of the style, popular cultural and consciousness industries: all of these offer a fantastic fields of lived contradictions tense with social possibility. In these areas some imagination and analytic courage could expose the Thatcherite 'vision' as narrow, nineteenth century and repressive, and offer a future with some real content and hope.

The case I'm making, then, is general. My specific case is youth unemployment. In my view the dangers of an 'over-ideological' or 'over-economistic' view exist too in the analysis of youth unemployment and in the discussion about what might be done about it. Even though about a third of the unemployed voted for Mrs. Thatcher at the election, we cannot assume that a Thatcherite ideology of sacrifice and working for 'real' jobs has some powerful and undeserved hold over the workless. Nor can we simply 'read off' from the unemployment statistics what the unemployed think and feel as if knowing that situation were knowing them. We need a cultural analysis of youth unemployment.

Broken Transitions

In my view we are still failing to get to grips with the implications of youth unemployment. This isn't a failure to understand the figures. It is not a failure to know where the unemployed are. It isn't a failure to prognosticate the frightening future patterns. It isn't a failure to note and analyse the Thatcherite ideological justifications. What is lacking is a wide comprehension of the implications of unemployment for culture and identity, and of the collective experiences of wagelessness, its pressures, changes and contradictions across the whole life process

of those involved.

Adult unemployment is certainly serious enough. But most of the adult unemployed are already **culturally formed** as people, as women, as men, as fathers, mothers, householders, as consumers. They are workers without work, wage earners without the wage, consumers without money. There are certainly frustrations in the exercise of these roles being blocked - depression and despair too. Some of what follows may be relevant to thinking through the varied problems and difficulties of adult unemployment. But for young adults the situation is qualitatively different, and in my view more open - both positively and negatively. This is because they are not yet fully formed. For them there are only broken transitions into the possibilities of adult roles. They have never experienced them. They are in suspended animation. And what services there are - youth clubs, drop-in-centres, community youth projects - are often inappropriate and barely used. In Wolverhampton under 10% of the 16-24 age group go to organised activity of any kind. And the left and progressive forces supply no vision, no alternative dynamic, no stagings of meaning and progress within which to make a life. The young without jobs are simply an amorphous and embarrassing 'social problem' for both left and right.

Part of our failure to begin to understand the internal dimensions of youth unemployment and its pertinencies for subjectivity, consciousness and culture is our already limited and economistic understanding of the wage itself, of the powers it brings.

Properly to understand unemployment we need to understand what is missing - the wage. The wage in is not simply an amount of money. It is certainly the only naked reward for labour under capitalism, but for that it is the only connection with other social possibilities, processes and desirable things. As such it operates as **the crucial pivot** for several other processes, social and cultural transitions quite unlike itself.

Most importantly, perhaps, the wage is still the golden key (mortgage, rent, household bills) to a personal household separate from parents and separate from work, from Production. The home is the main living embodiment of the labourer's 'freedom and independence' from Capital - apart from wage labour, of course, which is the price for the independence of the separate home. But this price really does purchase something. The household is an area of privacy, security and protection from the aggression and exploitation of work, from the patriarchal dependencies of the parental home, from the vicissitudes of the market place. The separate home is still a universal working class objective and its promise of warmth and safety more than offsets the risk and coldness of work. Waged work is still the key to its opposite. No wage is no keys to the future.

The loss of the wage also interrupts the main form of the social and cultural preparation for a working class transition into the separate household in our culture - the formation of the 'the couple' and preparation for the nuclear family. Gaining access, and giving access, to the male 'family wage' is still one of the important material bases for the courtship dance, romance and 'love-pairing'.

To get out of the parental home on the best terms and think about starting her own family the young woman needs the greater earning power of the male wage (still on average 80% more than hers). For the young man to 'make ends meet', with all the additional expenses of a separate home, he needs 'free' domestic labour to realise the maximum advantage from his own wage. This gives a whole affective scope for female deference, admiration for, and emotional sustenance of the male, and for the male care and patriarchal protection of the female.

It is from both wages that young people save, fill the bottom drawer and plan patterns of spending in detail for the future. Male dominance through the wage, female influence through home-making, are set very early on in large part through the early experience of wage labour and the expected patterns of lives planned in relation to it.

The wage also, of course, allows the transition into being a consumer - having some real power of the market place. This is not, in my view, to be wholly 'duped' by consumerism, but to enable the construction of the home, for instance, as a sanctuary and area of freedom **away** from Capital and to some extent in opposition to it. It also usually allows the purchase of a car, the means of personal mobility and a degree of geographic freedom - in stark contrast to the imprisonment of work.

These are arguments, if you like, about the nature of transitions associated with the wage in the area of 'consumption'. But there are also very important cultural and subjective transitions associated with being in the realm of production itself. Despite the hardships and sacrifices of modern work, there is, nevertheless, a kind of enfranchisement into a general political adulthood associated with going to work. This is much more than the possession of the vote once every five years. It is a direct personal involvement in the day to day 'struggle against nature' to provide for human wants and needs. Of course domestic work and production is very important and has been underestimated, but the dominant, collective mode of production is the capitalist one and it is anyway permanently invading and 'commoditising' domestic functions. Even if you are the weaker and exploited partner in capitalist production, you are still part of the drama, and of the associated power struggles, of the main way in which we make ourselves and our future. Partly this is a question of democratically sharing in some of the powers of Trade Unionism. But it is also a question of sharing in some of the informal and 'secret' struggles over control at work. Workers in groups continuously seek to humanise production and exert some control over the pace and organisation of work. The grain and daily fabric of work consists of the hourly battles and negotiations with supervision who are trying permanently to rest this power back.

Also for those in work there are knowledges and skills in knowing how things are 'really made'. Rather than being baffled by the mystery of glossy commodities just appearing in department stores, there is some knowledge of the human processes and capacities used in making them. Management regimes and new technologies are also permanently struggling to take this away. But these real social relationships are materials towards an 'adult' and 'worldly' view: knowing how to place and judge people; knowing who is likely to be against you, who for you; knowing when to speak and when to hold silence; knowing 'what really makes things tick'. These experiences and struggles also supply successive social contacts and a whole mode of intimacy and quality of social relationships which provide maps of meaning for the world, a way of placing yourself and providing a living picture of the locality, town or city which is handleable and human.

The wage, therefore, also enables a whole cultural enfranchisement. It brings a sense of self and maturity which is achieved through insight and experience rather than through mere acquisition of years, or through someone else's say so, or through an institutional 'certificate'. Youth unemployment must then bring also it's own broken **cultural** apprenticeship. Apart from the obvious material hardship and poverty, it is this last broken transition which really removes the unemployed, makes them different, makes them think they are different - blocks the path to what in this society is still the main form of working class adulthood itself.

I think it helps to picture a good proportion of youth as entering a 'new social state' characterised not only by lack of the wage, but by some or all of the 'broken transitions' I've described. Instead there is a period of really extended dependency on the state, on state welfare, in ironically entitled 'employment schemes', and on a sometimes unwilling family. And this is essentially a working class condition. It is for the working class that getting a job and its wage has been the main 'liberation' at the age of sixteen. Only a smallish proportion have benefited any way from 'continuing' education, and then only on a day release basis. For middle class offspring, and for the future middle class, the whole course of 'studentdom' has offered, since the 60's, its own transitional states, its own stages of 'licensed freedom' in sexual matters, drugs and living arrangements. 'Studentdom' offers its own definitions of being creatively between childhood and adulthood as a meaningful and exciting stage. It also holds some promise for a career and a future afterwards. This may be in its own form of crisis, but it is nothing like the abrupt 'chop' of the working class apprenticeship being cut off at sixteen.

In its own way the MSC understands aspects of this working class 'new social state'. The Youth Opportunities Schemes and the Youth Training Scheme to follow it, as well as the long series of schemes for the long term unemployed culminating in the current Community Programme, all recognise the dangers and instability of this state from the point of view of Capital and the state's interest in law and order. It attempts a solution from their perspective by providing some form of work experience and socialisation training to maintain the rhythm of the old patterns. The MSC schemes aim to keep alive the acceptance of work, to keep alive at least the appearance of the old transitions, and to re-establish labour power and its willingness to work at an overall lower price. The theory, at least, is that the imperfect but still effective mechanisms of Supply and Demand in the market for labour will increase demand for this cheaper labour to enable a Taiwanese like economic miracle based on low labour costs to run alongside the contracted 'smoke-stack' sector and the new 'sunrise' industries which can never, by themselves, absorb the surplus labour thrown out of the traditional industries. Of course, even at £25 per week, we are unlikely to be able to compete with really low wage economies, and none of the schemes connect with real economic growth and can offer nothing after their one official year. At 17 most of the young unemployed will be back on the dole. After a year on the Community Programme, the long term unemployed will be back on the dole. But at least the MSC has a view, and insofar as some work-like and wage-like forms are offered, we should not be surprised if sections of the working class and of the labour movement may by partly convinced and go along with them. But we need an alternative view which more fully understands aspects of the 'new social state', has an inward sense of its nature and contradictions, and some idea of how to work in and through its realities towards a more liberating future different from the MSC vision.

Of course the picture is varied and it may be premature and alarmist to talk of 'new social state' of youth. Since Victorian times there has been a construction of 'adolescence' as a period of dependency before the possibility of work. In caring families with reasonable economic security it's possible that in the early months, or even years of worklessness, the young may continue to regard themselves as 'adolescents' without the full right yet to the transitions associated with the wage. Also in regions of the south where there is still the reasonable chance of a job, YTS may seem to offer a realistic route to the future. There may be a peculiar openness here to outside ideologies, belief in the false promises and disciplines of the MSC schemes, and a vulnerability to acute feelings of self-blame when these investments still bring no work. In other areas it's possible that a mosiac of state schemes, casual work, low paid part time work, seasonal work interspersed with periods of unemployment and characterised by a residual belief that there must be an economic upturn soon, might carry young adults through in something like the old pattern. There may simply be longer 'lags' for many in the old transitions - with perhaps a few inner urban centres seething and boiling with a police lid firmly bolted on top. We should not forget that patterns of working class culture have adapted to casual work, frequent job switching, and to periods, sometimes, of quite extended worklessness in the past.

Also in an area like the West Midlands which has experienced a dramatic decline from a high to a low employment area in something like five years we should not underestimate the extent to which there are still powerful cultural motors running from the old economic gearing producing still an expectation of work, a masculine definition of it, and a sense, somehow, that the old transitions must hold. Schools, families and cultural expectations still live partly in a very recent world and try somehow to reproduce it. The old transitions any way relate to some of the fundamental architecture of a capitalist society: the divisions between mental and manual labour, gender division and particular forms of the cultural opposition between Capital and Labour. Things will not change over night.

All these reservations have to be borne in mind. It may well be that even if a 'new social state' is an accurate description for the condition of a good proportion of the young, it will be characterised only by a desire to escape it, by immobility, bewilderment depression and despair. The old patterns and transitions may simply reappear, unchanged, at a later stage in life when, perhaps, work again becomes available.

But in my view it is worth 'reasoned speculations' about possible fundamental change associated with the 'new social state' of youth. That very frustration, tension and despair - unrelieved by really imaginative help from the outside in terms of plotting new and meaningful transitions - may produce symbolic and real agitation, may produce some new cultural themes, may produce the elements perhaps for some new 'profane' transitions. Crucially here, it may be that such change will work on, subvert and make a living criticism of the meanings and stages of the old 'transitions'. The outcomes, for better or worse, are still quite open - hence the need for analysis and encouragement of the 'better' side of change.

Some of the cultural changes discussed in a moment are still

emergent, may be misrecognised, and may retreat if there is some kind of economic revival. They may leave untouched many groups and affect some more than others. Cultural change begins as just visible tendancies while much else remains the same. Nevertheless they may show aspects of the future. It is necessary to 'reason' and to 'speculate' in order that we can begin some preparation of our policies and responses for the time when, perhaps, the majority of young working class people follow through into the tense, changing and contradictory cultural identities of the 'new social state'.

CULTURAL CHANGE ASSOCIATED WITH YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT

Masculinity

The loss of work and the wage may have profound consequences for the traditional senses of working class masculinity. This is because the sense of 'being a man' is often tied up with doing, and being able to do, physical work. This is, in part, because of some of the direct 'sensuous' qualities of traditional work - its heaviness, difficulty and dirtiness. The toughness and strength required to 'do the job' can both obscure its economic exploitation, and be the basis for some dignity and collective identity which partially reverses the conventional ordering of class and status. It allows some active and positive accommodation within the worst term of the mental/manual split. There can be some masculine pride in manual work. It can be superior to 'cissy' and 'paper pushing' work.

But work also supports masculinity in less direct and 'physicalist' ways. The possession of the wage itself and involvement in the 'mysteries' of Production can bring a 'secret structural guarantee' for masculinity. There was a long struggle in the nineteenth century by male trade unionists for the 'family wage' so that they could support their wives and children at home if necessary. On average male workers still receive nearly twice as much as women in the U.K. The importance for men of being the 'breadwinner' runs pretty deep in working class culture. What we can think of as 'breadwinner power' is one of the bases for the still unequal power, status and cultural relations betwen men and women both in the home and out of it. It is the 'breadwinner' who must be cossetted, fed well, laundered and rested so that he can return to work tomorrow to bring the bacon home tomorrow night. It is the 'breadwinner' who brings home mysterious bits of things, 'foreigners' to enchant (especially the male) children with, and who 'knows someone' who can fix this or that. It is the 'breadwinner' who brings home dinner time tales in safe intimacy from the dangerous and exciting external world of power, deals and wealth creation. 'Respect me for what I do, know and make, not for just what I am' is the secret guarantee of Production for masculinity.

For women working in the home, even where they are also workers and their wage matters very much to the household economy, their domestic work is seen as mere 'maintenance' rather than invoking the power of Production. It reproduces what was there before in a very homely circle of a small world unconnected with the weighty world outside.

Of course, work and the wage is not an unmitigated 'good' for working class men. I'm exploring some of its the gender meanings under capitalism rather than voting for it. Especially in modern production processes, work can be boring, repetitive, and mindless and well as still often heavy, difficult and dangerous. Work takes a physical toll on health, safety and mental balance. No amount of 'masculine definition' can render this something else entirely. Often there's an element of self-sacrifice in men's attitude to work - a slow spending of the self through the daily cycle of effort, comfort, food, sleep, effort. But the sacrifice brings the wage which keeps the home fires burning and, besides, 'the kids will have a better chance'. So there is dignity and meaning even in sacrifice. Also it gives a kind of emotional powerhold over other members of the family who do not make the sacrifice.

At any rate it should be clear that the disappearance of work and the wage is likely to produce a very particular crisis for these traditional masculine senses of identity and meaning. There are no chances to make the sacrifices even, no dignity from that. One real possibility is simply depression, disorientation, personal decline and pathology. Routine suicide stories in the papers now read matter-of-factly, '...depressed about being unemployed...'.

The Struggle Over Public Space

Directly associated with these tensions and possible changes in patterns of consumption is the emerging struggle over the use of public space.

The base line here is that many young people must escape from the overpacked parental home. All council housing and most private housing is designed, barely and just adequately at that, for the small nuclear family - and for the **working** nuclear family. Unemployment often clusters in the families and on the same estates, so that the home is always overcrowded with adults of different ages, temperaments and interests. Psychic and material tensions, recriminations about lost roles and broken transitions, can flare and break almost hourly.

Partly, then, because youth want to escape from this overpacked family home, partly because there are no other 'private' areas for them, partly because there is now so much more time to kill, groups of young people are exploring social space in new ways. The lacks of money means of course that spending and use of commercial outlets is strictly limited. Yet our society orders much of its public space to accommodate commercial transactions. The busiest concourses of human activity and movement, the main focus for all those warm bodies doing things and supplying endless possibilities for observation, humour and interaction is, of course, the shopping centre. And most of our urban centres are just shopping centres. So what more natural than for groups of kids to be attracted to these bright and active places - and what better sites either for the longings of a frustrated consumerism - or for mischief to, challenge and exposure of those trapped in it. Perhaps both at once. Small wonder that the urban centres get fuller of shoppers of no use to the tradesmen, and the drop-in centres for the unemployed get emptier of those of no use to the economy. The unemployed don't know their place - they're in the wrong space.

Older images of unemployment were often about the street: 'street arabs'; 'street urchins', 'street corner kids' and cloth-capped groups of men leaning on the balustrades of empty streets. They were in the street, but usually that was no threat.

The older pattern is true now as well, of course, but there is another kind of unemployment. It has moved to the High Street. That's when they're in the wrong space. That's because

the unemployed are not wanted in the busiest public spaces devoted to commerce and buying. But this isn't only a question of **physical** space, it's a question too of **symbolic** space - the unemployed in the shopping centre are an invasion, disruption and 'unfair taking' of a public world of symbols.

Consumerism not only tries to teach us about our private desires and motivate us to consume. It also tries to organise a whole symbolic public space. This is because capitalism is running out of the raw materials of 'basic' needs - food and shelter. Now it has to try to **make** us desire to consume the things it makes. So we are surrounded by images of consumption in order to make us ready to consume. In fact this becomes, almost, two kinds of consumption: first we must consume 'signs' - adverts, images, symbols, representations - to make us want to be something else, to create 'new' appetites and needs which then must be satisfied through expanded consumption. The reference point is often the 'good life', the usually American dream purveyed through television adverts and films of informal consumption, cans of coke, tight jeans, flashy cars and Hollywood glamour. This is a world of pictures, images to be consumed first with the eyes and ears to make you want to really consume in order to be like that. Consume an image to make you really consume to be like the image. The image may always be elusive and illusory. It's pursuit may be never ending. But this insatiable appetite is just what commerce needs. Ever greater consumption is necessary to try to get closer to the every retreating mirage. it may be crazy, but at least you're buying!

This is a view 'in theory' at any rate. It isolates the tendency of capitalist production and advertising for its own internal motives and drives - what it **tries** to do. As I argued before, though, in my view, the employed working class at least can never by 'duped' much or for very long by consumerism. It's different sections can anyway take 'new' commodities for their own purposes, to extract 'use values' for themselves, for their own purposes and projects: for the safety and comfort of the home, for the building perhaps, of their own style and identity, which may be some way from the 'inner coding' of consumerism and the 'good life'. Indeed it may even be that the over-riding impulse to sell things through associated images - whether or not they really fulfil any human purposes - so violently breaks the connection between an object for its uses and for its market 'image', that 'creative' adaptions and unexpected uses are thoroughly, though unintentionally, encouraged by modern capitalism. If capitalism is indifferent to the actual uses of objects, it can hardly object when they are used for private, subversive, or resistant ends.

But for marketing executives and for the tendency of change in a whole visible realm of public space and signs - the images of how we should be - the 'theoretical' view has some real effects. We are now thoroughly in a public society of marketed images rather than 'useful' things. Consumerism is attempting to redesign the public of our imagination - the ideal ways to live, to enjoy yourself, to be a person. The sign has joined the commodity in the market place. The shopping centre, the new high street, is both the concrete heart of daily commerce and the mecca of images, the dream centre of the good life, the abundant fountainhead of all those things which are supposed to make us better.

But the unemployed have also come to the new shopping centres. They have no money, they're consumers without consumer power, they're shoppers who can't shop. What right have they got to interrupt the celebration of things and commodities? What right have they got to consume the images and the glamour when they can't buy the things it makes you desire? But if the images of the good life are anyway illusory, signs unconnected with reality even for those who purchase the commodities, this opens up a massive space for a 'unemployed shopping' that feasts on signs and on the irony of real shopping that only feeds further desire. What is the difference between window shopping and real shopping if neither satisfies desire? If signs and adverts and commercial razmataz are an **artificial** extension of consumption, then they can be detached and enjoyed for themselves - for their spectacle, for their dream, for their concentration of gazes, interests and human attention. This is perhaps the positive, dialectical side of 'cargo cultures' - when they are not trapped in dependence on the housing estates and in the DHSS. Perhaps the secular 'cargo secret' is just this in the metropolitan centres - the unemployed must consume signs because they have nothing else. They may develop a parasitic consumerism which responds to how the sign has been taken into economics and commerce, but it actually autonomous from them - the 'other side' of why consumerism invaded the sign. Signs can be consumed themselves without their objects!! The consumption cycle is broken at its most glamorous point. Cargo comes home!

So the unemployed in the dream city turn consumption into the consumption of symbols; the excitement of 'things' into the excitement of looking, being and interacting. If consumerism has gone 'public' and tries to define a public life of what we should be, then it has also discovered and made a whole public realm including the public stage of the shopping centre. The commodity made incandescent through the sign has lit a stage for performances consumerism never imagined. It makes a stage for the unemployed somehow to have a part in history, to **matter**, even if that if no more than to be conspicuously seen.

Shopping for images without buying is one such performance which disrupts the plan, but shopping for real things without paying causes more concern - what the Dutch call 'proletarian shopping'. The supposed increase in shoplifting and theft by the new visible groups has become a major issue. It is also a method of explaining 'what they're up to' - why the groups are in the shopping centre at all. But these groups are the easiest thing in the world for the police and security staff to spot and follow. They actually **want** surveillance, to turn it into a game, to attract one more spotlight to their meta-symbolic drama. What a strategy for secret theft! What a way to avoid detection! A systematic approach to theft would be quite a different thing.

And many of the attempts to attract the 'new thieves' from the public spaces into safe drop-in centres and other provisions are doomed to failure through the same misunderstandings. No drop-in centre in the world can offer the glorious light of the new market place. Youth want the public eye. Why go behind closed doors when they can walk through the neon doors which commerce must keep open for 'business'.

And in the public space and symbolic stage of the shopping centre the young unemployed can make a greater impact through some of the very imperatives of commercial design and architecture - 'turning back' and discovering subversive potential in what was supposed to control the consumer. For the new shopping centres have been designed to create the maximum human traffic past the bright display windows, channelling humans through bottlenecks and constrictions so that they pass

as many shop fronts and windows as possible - to consume as many 'signs' as possible in order to make them really to buy. But the unemployed are not only shoppers who don't buy, consumers without money. Their conspicuous non-shopping and eternal window shopping clogs up the thoroughfares and prevents others from buying. Where they are in groups interacting, laughing, shouting - they subvert the others who want to buy. They may even frighten away potential buyers. They can act to prevent real consumption. The architectural designs to push the potential consumer past as much neon as possible have attracted humans only too successfully. But they're not all willing to play the game as planned. The sheer density of 'signs' and walkways makes it that much more easy to be a new kind of human spanner in a new kind of commercial works. If capitalism has succeeded in producing a new semiotic market place of signs, it still bitterly complains when it is used for anything except its own business. The unemployed can become a spectacle and steal the glamour and real 'busy-ness' of the High Street merely by standing still - in the right (wrong) places.

Again the possibilities in the new public contest over the use of social space are diverse. This new colonisation or urban space can alarm business interests who alert the official controllers of public space - the police. Moral panics keep emerging and subsiding over 'gangs of lawless youths' in some of the newest shopping centres in the midlands. The police response to this new presence can be coercive and direct. This in turn may lead to a spiral of viciousness with a spirit of macho confrontation developing amongst youth - experiencing a crisis of masculinity on other grounds.

On the other hand, there is a clear positive side to this lived critique of the ludicrous domination of our collective, open public space by commerce and consumerism. Public centres, the gathering grounds of people and foci of interactions, could be organised on more human and open grounds - shopping centres themselves could be more attractive and 'fun' places to be with activities and outlets not solely devoted to buying things. Unemployed youth - if not stigmatised and ostracised - could play a vital role in suggesting new forms of public life.

Unemployed youth, not yet formed as consumers, but parastically and subversively invading and enjoying some of its most modern features, may also be telling us something very important about the relations between economic life and the visible, riotous kaleidoscope of communications and images around us.

No matter how consumerism tries to possess the world of signs - and simultaneously develop that world beyond what we could have imagined - unemployed youth show how easily the sign can be detached from the commodity. Perhaps capitalism has discovered something against its will about the field of signs. The representations and images of desire and pleasure may well produce 'new' needs but they properly belong to consciousness and culture : a zone of relative freedom, unpredictability and of some human choice and control. Once there they cannot be controlled and easily recouped back into safe consumption, and its role in the endless reproduction of labour and profit. The meaning of work itself may change if the consumption of signs doesn't need money; if the glamour of the market and public spectacle can be taken free. Certain kinds of meta-consumerism may not send workers back to wage labour as its final exactment.

New designs of public space not devoted to the buying and selling of things, but which aim to be busy places, to stimulate and attract people, may learn many things from both fascination for, and subversion of, the new shopping centres by the unemployed.

TOWARDS A YOUTH POLICY

In the U.K. we do actually have a 'new' youth policy almost by default - a manpower policy. The Youth Opportunities Programme which was started in 1977 by the MSC and now the Youth Training Scheme starting up last September understand post sixteen youth through industrial eyes and from the perspective of employers. In courses lasting now a full year for 16 year olds, low paid work experience is offered as well as a myopic behaviourist preparation for work concentration on atomised 'social skills' and technical 'transferable skills'.

The dominance of the MSC and its schemes is also constituting a kind of social control through the promise of future work - discipline, self-control and subservience are necessary **in general** to even have the hope of work.

Of course much of this is unlikely to work in its own terms because of some of the arguments outlined in this article. Furthermore there is nothing planned for youth after the age of 17 - except perhaps massive police surveillance. Meanwhile if there is not other kind of intervention in this area we are left vulnerable to a further and more sinister right wing offensive carrying its own explanations of real social and cultural change and uncertainties. What are we to do? What can be done?

To start with, of course, it is very important to support the labour movement in the 'traditional' struggles over the protection of jobs and the wage. Some of the 'new' demands within this current can also make a real contribution - shorter working week without loss of pay, limits on overtime, work sharing, really extended opportunities for training and education especially for youth. An emerging 'alternative' sector of voluntary groupings, co-operatives, small businesses, projects and community organisations should also be firmly supported and encouraged. In some of the big cities these may form a network of alternative self-supporting 'business' and reciprocating services operating within the overall capitalist system, but on different lines and principles and on a more humane and labour intensive basis. There are defintie prospects here for employment or for alternative life projects which could offer something to the young unemployed - though whether this will meet the experiences and social orientations of most working class youth must remain doubtful.

At any rate, even with some success in these initiatives and in the main trade union struggle, many working class youth will, in my view, face the prospect of really extended periods of worklessness and wagelessness unless there is a major, and so far unforeseeable, upturn in the economy. What do we say to the workless apart from 'We hope you'll get a job one day'? Are we to implicitly agree with capitalism, 'What's the use of a worker who doesn't work'? Are we to be stultified by the loss of work and have nothing to offer but apologetic sticking plasters for the visceral wounds of unemployment? Are we really to abandon youth to discover its own profane way through its broken transitions to adulthood.

We are bankrupt partly because we are caught defensively on

the grounds and definitions that capitalism has made - so we just ask to be given back what has been taken away. Jobs please. Or we fall into a passive and inertial view that all change is somehow programmed for the best; our society will become the 'leisure society'; the old working class and its hardships will disappear; sports centres and the informal economy will take up spare capacities 'liberated' from the formal economy. But this is the laziest and worst utopianism. It contradicts the actual tendency of change around us: warehoused poor in the inner cities; demoralisation; irrational understandings of the social process; class and race divisions; prejudice and hatred in the affluent employed working class. Unless we try to act more decisively and imaginatively now the future will simply be more of the same.

But, especially for young men, expecting perhaps but not yet having experienced this pattern of sacrifice-reward-dignity, there are some other possibilities. I've heard many youth workers in the English midlands during the current recession say that they're 'sick and tired of aggressive young males'. One 'creative' form of the resolution of a 'gender crisis' among young men may well be in an aggressive assertion of masculinity and masculine style for its own sake. If the essential themes and personal identities of masculinity do concern power and domination, and if they are to continue without 'the secret guarantees', they they must be worked through a more direct domination. Male 'power' may throw off its cloak of labour dignity and respectability. This may involve a physical, tough, direct display of those qualities not now 'automatically' guaranteed by doing productive work and being a 'breadwinner': 'Dare to say I'm not a Man!' This, of course, has a logic of its own and is an exposure of just how little of a full social and cultural identity our 'official' society offers when a job is not available. It may also deepen some of the brutalities and oppressions experienced by working class women.

Since many young men are trapped in the overcrowded home of their parents by their inability to move through lack of the wage, this assertive and aggressive style may also lead to much heightened family tensions and difficulties. The dramatic rise in homelessness amongst the young in the West Midlands, for instance, is a measure of these and other generational conflicts in the pressured home - from which the fledglings cannot fly in the usual way.

There is another possible pattern to consider however. The forcible unlinking of a certain traditional male working class identity from manual work and the wage, and from the pattern of dignity and sacrifice involved for men in wage labour, may actually question that traditional identity and its divisions of labour. In some cases this may lead to softer and more open versions of masculinity and to a more thoroughly equal sharing of domestic duties and child care for instance. If there are no rewards associated with a traditional masculine interest and identity, no 'pay-offs' in anti-mentalism, then certain educational and political potentials may be opened. It may be that alliances and common struggles with women and with other races may be possible when the conditions of all are equalised, and the world of work and the wage - and all of the cultural ramifications which flow from them - has not structured out sectional interests and identities to start with.

Femininity

For young working class women unemployment may well mean a deepening of domestic duties and oppression. The traditional role of housewife and of child care and support may become a feasible fallback position in the crisis of unemployment - the traditional role may not be broken but strengthened. Indeed a much higher level generally of domestic production may be necessary anyway because the cash income into the family does not meet the costs of its reproduction. Unemployment tends to cluster in particular families in particular areas and on particular estates in the West Midlands. Some council housing estates in Wolverhampton have a 40% male unemployment rate. Often it may only be the mother who is in (part-time) work at all, so that domestic production can fall squarely and early on family daughters - often while they are still at school.

It may also be that the disappearance of the role of the male as future 'breadwinner' fundamentally alters the sexual and romantic relations between the sexes. If, for young women, there is no longer the realistic prospect of gaining access to the 'family wage', and to a transition into a separate household through this earning power, then the material base for the courtship dance, passive and subservient respect for the more 'skilled' and 'powerful' male may also disappear. One feasible way to 'get your own place' may simply be to get pregnant and to rely on the state to house and support you. Many Careers Officers and Social Workers in the West Midlands say that there is a noticeable trend towards early pregnancy and the setting up of single parent homes. It's also cynically said that it's one way to 'get off the register' at the Careers Office or Job Centre and to avoid the embarrassments and failure of trying to find work.

More positively, child rearing does offer a clear role, the work of meeting the needs of someone else, and a transition of a kind to adult status. Whether or not pregnancy is chosen by some as a conscious strategy, it is certainly the case that the prospect and reality of pregnancy, however it might come about, is experienced in a changing field of ideological and cultural force. There is, at least, more 'choice'. It is now much more acceptable, even a recognisable 'career', to become a 'welfare mother' in state housing. The addition of the male to this arrangement, apart from the necessary procreation, may simply be an economic and social disadvantage. The prospect for males of becoming apparently useless, except as sexual appendages, is unlikely to increase their own self respect, already challenged on other grounds. In Wolverhampton 60% of the housing waiting list is comprised of single of one kind or another and fully 69% of tenants claim housing or rates allowances of one kind or another. In a way that is barely recognised yet, the public housing sector has come into a very particular relationship with new gender relations and family forms, even when its housing stock, developed mainly during the 60's and 70's, is overwhelmingly designed for the traditional nuclear family model.

Again the possibilities here must be open. There is no clear pattern yet. This attack on romance and growth of single parent households may induce a passive dependency on the state, and an acceptance of an isolated poverty. But it might also be the grounds of a real independence and liberation for some women, now much more completely responsible for their own destiny with respect to males. It may also be the material basis for a vigorous gender politics around child care, housing and other state policies. Such developments certainly constitute an exposure and implicit critique of the 'gender power' of men as based on their possession of the wage and may lead to a certain demystification of 'love', 'romance' and the 'perfect couple'.

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.

The following is an abridged version of the recent Government White Paper 'Training for Jobs' (Cmnd 9135 : 1984) which outlines the strategy for revised programmes of training through to 1985/86. The usual structuring by numbered paragraphs has been ammended here due to lack of space.

TRAINING FOR JOBS

Britain lives by the skill of its people. A well trained work force is an essential condition of our economic survival. But training is not an end in itself. It is a means to doing a good job of work for an employer or on one's own account. Training must therefore be firmly work-oriented and lead to jobs.

The Objectives

With this in view we set out in our December 1981 Training White Paper (Cmnd. 8455) the national objectives of securing

(a) better preparation in schools and colleges for working life and better arrangements for the transition from full-time education to work;

(b) modernisation of training in occupational skills (including apprenticeships), particularly to replace out-dated age limits and time-serving with training to agreed standards of skill appropriate to the jobs available;

(c) wider opportunities for adults to acquire and improve their skills.

In the last two years a great deal has been achieved: the Youth Training Scheme is now fully under way: important steps have been taken to improve the preparation of young people for their working lives while they are still in full-time education: training in occupational skills is being modernised in various sectors of industry and commerce: for adults, the Open Tech Programme to improve access to training and re-training opportunities has been introduced and the Manpower Services Commission has put forward recommendations to give a better focus for adul training generally.

Rôles and Responsibilities

If we are to improve vocational education and training, everyone concerned must have a clear understanding of what his or her own responsibilities are and what part others are expected to play. In 1980 employers were estimated to be spending around £2½ billion a year on training. Central and local government provide about £4 billion a year for further, higher and adult education, all of which directly or indirectly prepares people for employment. The Government has also been drawn more and more into financing training, from about £10 million in 1960 (at constant 1983 prices) to some £580 million in 1980 and (with the advent of the Youth Training Scheme) nearly £1 billion this year. Yet we may still face shortages of particular skills and deficiencies in quality. **Training is an investment.** It must be seen to pay for itself by making people better able to produce the goods and provide the services that other people are prepared to pay for. Thus, the decisions as to who is trained, when and in what skills are best taken by the employers (and indeed the individuals concerned) who have to satisfy the needs of the market, rather than by central direction. **So investment in training needs to be attractive financially.** That means keeping training costs down, including the acceptance by trainees of levels of income which reflect the value to them of the training given. And it requires further development of cost-effective methods of giving and assessing competence. These improvements are all attainable provided industry and commerce play their part. Most depend on the decisions of **employers**. It is for them to make the investment in training people to do the work that they require; to see that the training they buy is provided economically and to standard; and to act collectively through employers' organisations and, in association with others concerned, through voluntary training bodies and Industrial Training Boards where this may be necessary. It is for **central and local government** at the expense of taxpayers and ratepayers, to ensure that general and vocational education are provided in such a way as to improve the transition to work and respond to the changing needs of employment. And it will remain the Government's rôle, exercised largely through the Manpower Services Commission, to assist the flow of information about skill needs, training provision and jobs, especially at local level; to encourage the application and development of nationally recognised standards of competence. **Trainees themselves** need to accept that the total costs of training must be taken into account in determining the level of their pay or allowances. They can also show individual enterprise in the use they make of opportunities such as those offered by the Open Tech programme, including training for self-employment. These conclusions on the sharing of responsibility are reflected in the action set out in the following paragraphs for developing specific areas of vocational education and training.

The Transition from Full-time Education to Work

We are continuing to develop the contribution which schools and colleges make to the preparation of children and young people for working life.

Developments within education

Full time education plays a leading part in equipping young people for work, both in the period of compulsory schooling and later. About one-third of young people aged 16 to 18 inclusive remain in full-time education at school or college. In **England and Wales** since the 1981 White Paper further steps have been taken within the education service to improve preparation for working life:

(a) **The school curriculum is being developed for this purpose**. Objectives have been set for mathematics and will shortly be set for science teaching. National criteria are being established for the improvement of the 16 plus examinations and their syllabuses. New programmes are in operation for micro-electronics education and for pupils for whom the 16 plus examinations are not designed. Records of achievements are being developed for all school leavers.

(b) **The arrangements for vocational education after 16 are being improved and better co-ordinated**. The certificate of Pre-Vocational Education is being introduced for those who stay on full time for one year. There is now a unified national body - the Business and Technician Education Council - dealing with the education and training of technicians and their equivalents in the professions and commerce.

(c) **Employers' links with schools and colleges are being strengthened**. The Industry/Education Unit of the Department of Trade and Industry has facilitated schemes to promote such links and the Department of Education and Science is establishing pilot college-employer links.

In addition, from September 1983 pilot projects have been operating in 14 local education authorities to test the provision of four-year courses with a strong technical and vocational element starting at the age of 14. This Technical and Vocational Education Initiative aims to open to young people within education, across the whole range of ability, a technical and vocational route to recognised national qualifications.

Similar important advances are being made in **Scotland**.

(a) From 1984-85 new courses are being introduced for 14-16 year olds in the Scottish Certificate of Education Standard grade, to provide pupils with more relevant experience in schools for later working life.

(b) For 16-18 year olds, the Government's Action Plan of January 1983 will result in a more flexible system of modular courses, leading to single new vocational certificate developed in close relationship with certification under the Youth Training Scheme and intended to absorb the Scottish Certificate in Vocational Studies and other non-advanced further education qualifications.

The Youth Training Scheme

Some 300,000 young people have so far begun training under the Youth Training Scheme. This major achievement is the outcome of a co-operative effort to which the Manpower Services Commission, employers, the careers Service, trade unions, local authorities, colleges and voluntary organisations have all contributed. The Scheme is work-based. This is essential to meet its aim of making young people more adaptable and productive and so improve their chances of getting jobs. The great majority of places are therefore sponsored by employers and are centred on the factory, office or other places of work (Mode A). So far as possible the training will be provided through such employer-led schemes, but some training places will continue to be provided by a variety of organisations in, for instance, Information Technology Centres (which it is intended to increase to 175) and on community projects (Mode B). Mode B provision by local authorities and voluntary organisations is particularly important in areas, such as inner cities, where there may be a shortage of employer-led schemes. We announced the Scheme in its final form in June 1982. It was launched in April 1983 and came fully into operation last September. The undertaking to make a suitable offer of a place by Christmas to all minimum-age school leavers without a job was effectively met. Its second year will be essentially a period of consolidation, with particular attention to improving the quality of training given, both on and off the job. The Scheme will cater for much the same groups of young people as now. The Young Workers Scheme is designed to encourage the creation of more jobs for young people at realistic rates of pay. From 1 April 1984 it will offer employers a subsidy of £15 a week for 17 year olds in their first year of employment if they are earning £50 or less a week. Employers who take part in the Youth Training Scheme as Mode A managing agents will continue to receive a grant for each trainee taken on. This is subject to annual review and is currently £1,950 a year - comprising £100 managing agent's fee and and contribution towards the cost of training, as well as meeting the costs of the trainee allowance of £25 per week. Participation in the Scheme is voluntary for employers and for young people and will remain so. The young people normally have trainee status, with a trainee allowance at a level taking account of the cost of training given, but employers who take part in the Scheme may engage them as trainees or employees as they wish. Any young person who unreasonably refuses an offer of a suitable opportunity under this Scheme may have his or her benefit reduced in the same way as other young people and adults who refuse suitable employment or training opportunities. The period of training is normally one year. But it will take account of any relevant further education, training or work experience already received by the trainee. The Scheme will continue to be available to cover the first year of training for young people in occupational skills. Particular attention is being given to the health and safety aspects of the Youth Training Scheme. Trainees have always been protected by the general duties placed on employers under the Health and Safety at Work Act, but the Government has accepted a proposals by the Health and Safety commission that

trainees on work placements under the Scheme should be treated in exactly the same way as employees. Regulations to this effect came into operation on 11 January.

The standards of training required under the Scheme will correspond closely with those required for the successful completion of pre-vocational and vocational courses in schools and further education. To this end we will seek to define standards of performance and to develop a system of certification which can be applied to both and which will link with other training standards and qualifications. Looking further ahead, we see a continuing need for co-ordinated provision to help young people progress from education to work as smoothly and effectively as possible. This is as much in the interests of the nation as of the young people themselves.

Training in Occupational Skills

Beyond foundation training lies training in occupational skills, which must remain the responsibility of employers and individual trainees. In the early 1970s employers recruited over 100,000 apprentices a year. The figure has fallen over the years in spite of the introduction of special schemes of Government assistance for apprentice recruitment, which have not in the event been fully taken up; and will be less than 40,000 in 1983-84. To some extent this striking fall reflects a long-term decline in employment in major industries which have provided traditional apprenticeships. W are continuing to provide financial support for first-year apprentice training through the Youth Training Scheme. It does not make sense, however, for either industry of Government to train people who will have no foreseeable opportunity to practise their skills. Instead, the system of training must be able to respond quickly and flexibly to changing needs. This will happen only if we modernise the way in which people are able to get training in occupational skills and to apply the skills so acquired. Some industries have already made substantial progress towards reforming their training arrangements. But much still needs to be done to meet the target adopted in the 1981 White Paper that by 1985 training for all significant skilled occupations should be based on achievement of agreed standards rather than time-serving. The Commission's Skillcentres are providing much valuable training in occupational skills. it is essential, however, to ensure that this training is delivered more efficiently and cost-efficetively. The new Skillcentres will adopt a commercial approach in identifying and supplying the training that the Commission and employers want.

Adult Training

While action on the first two of our national training objectives has caught public attention, there has also been significant progress on the third objective - to open up improved opportunities for training and retraining adults. The Open Tech programme now has in train 45 projects to provide open and distance learning in technician and supervisory skills. On current plans about 50,000 people will benefit from training supported by the Open Tech in 1985-86. The Government's Professional, Industrial and Commercial Updating (PICKUP) programme is encouraging colleges, polytechnics and universitites to undertake similar developments and, more generally, is seeking to promote more flexible and relevant provision by the education service in response to the needs of industry and commerce. Last year the Manpower Services Commission produced an important discussion document on the development of an adult training strategy. It led to the publication in November of recommendations to the Government for a major initiative to improve adult training. They include:

- mounting a national campaign to raise awareness of the need for adult training amongst employers, potential trainees and providers of training;
- action at national level to secure greater coherence and responsiveness in the machinery for providing adult training and education;
- encouraging collaboration locally between employers and providers of education and training to identify and meet the needs of local industry and commerce;
- strengthening some important features of the training and labour markets; and
- restructuring the Commission's own adult training programmes so as to contribute more cost-effectively to meeting the needs of industry and commerce.

The Commission's recommendations are of two kinds.

(a) The first of these is an industry-focused programme for both employed and unemployed people, which would give them job-related training directed to known employment needs in industry and commerce and to helping the creating and growth of businesses. Under this programme the Commission would offer help to employers to train or up-grade the skills of their employees in key areas. It would also relate the supply of skill training unemployed people more closely to identified local employment needs and continue to support demonstration and pump-priming projects.

(b) The Commission's second programme would give further help for unemployed people who need training at a more basic level, particularly to restore their chance of getting a job after long periods of unemployment. Such training might be provided through the short work-preparation courses already provided under the Commission's Training Opportunities Programme, or in conjunction with the existing Community and Voluntary Projects Programmes.

The Commission proposes to start implementing these proposals experimentally in 1984-85 and to begin restructuring its own programmes in 1985-86. We endorse this strategy as entirely in line with the market-oriented approach to training that is now required. It will enable many more people to be trained and improve their prospects of employment by placing greater emphasis on equipping them with skills that are currently required. The total number trained each year would be over 250,000 (including some 125,000 unemployed) compared with some 110,000 (80,000 unemployed) under existing programmes. As a result of tailoring provision to meet specific needs, this would be achieved within the £250 million a year currently allocated to support adult training. We will consider the Commission's specific proposals to incorporate more training or work preparation into the Community Programme whent he results of the Commission's survey of that Programme shortly become available. The Commission has also proposed that, as part of a wider study of funding training, it should look in detail with the financial institutions at the practicability of establishing a scheme of loans for training purposes, with a view tomounting a pilot scheme.

New Arrangements within Vocational Education

If the important developments described in this White Paper are to be carried through successfully, public sector provision for training and vocational education must become more responsive to employment needs at national and local level. The Manpower Services Commission, which consists of representatives of employers, unions and local authority and education interests, is now the main agency through which the Government institutes action and monitors progress in training. For this purpose we have decided to give the Commission important new responsibilities by enabling it to purchase a more significant proportion of work-related non-advanced further education provided by local education authorities. Non-advanced further education (NAFE) comprises the provision offered by local education authorities through colleges of further education at qualification levels below degree, higher diploma, higher certificate and professional courses of equivalent level. The "work-related" NAFE referred to in this White Paper includes the technical and vocational courses (full and part time, including short courses and evening classes) offered by the great majority of colleges. It does not include courses exclusively comprising 'O' and 'A' level examination work in non-technical subjects nor courses of the type which go traditionally under the adult education label. At present, total expenditure on NAFE in England and Wales is about £1.2 billion per annum, of which some £800 million is devoted to provision that is work-related. The Manpower Services Commission itself currently spends about £90 million as a customer, direct or indirect, on NAFE courses or services. We have decided that the amount to be devoted by the Commission to such provision in England and Wales should increase to £155 million in the financial year 1985-86, and to £200 million in 1986-87. The intention is therefore that the Commission should by 1986-87 account for about one quarter of the total provision in this area. In Scotland current arrangements for funding further education will remain unchanged while the major development programmes referred to earlier in the White Paper proceed. We expect the Commission to give priority to provision for newly emerging skills, e.g. in electronics and robotics; to provision for occupations where traditional programmes no longer match modern industrial and commercial needs, e.g. some part of business studies; and to arrangements for keeping courses and staff training up-to-date and relevant to work needs. It is envisaged that the great bulk of the resources, though not necessarily all, will continue to be spent within local authority colleges. The statutory composition of the Commission itself, which includes two members appointed after consultation with local authority associations and one after consultation with professional education interests, will remain unchanged. Its members will continue to be appointed by the Secretary of State for Employment. In future appointments, however, the Secretary of State for Education and Science, in consultation with the Secretary of State for Wales, will be responsible for the necessary consultations not only on the representation of professional education interests but also of local authority interests in England and Wales, as the Secretary of State for Scotland already is in respect of Scotland

The Next Steps

In the two years since the publication of the 1981 White Paper an encouraging start has been made towards realising the objectives then set by the Government. We now need to build upon these foundations.

In schools and further education

(i) There should be continued systematic improvement, within the available resources, of full-time education as a preparation for working life, with increasingly close co-operation between the education service and employers.

(ii) The Technical and Vocational Education Initiative will be extended and developed and its progress evaluated for application more widely in schools and colleges.

For young people starting work

(iii) The Youth Training Scheme will continue to provide a good foundation training, to complement what has been previously learned and to serve as a basis for more specific skill training as later required.

(iv) The Government and the Manpower Services Commission will seek to define standards of performance and develop a system of certification which can be applied to both vocational education and the Youth Training Scheme and which will link with other training standards and qualifications.

Occupational skills

(v) Modernisation of the arrangements for training in occupational skills must continue, for both young people and adults. Agreed standards need to be established (the target date is 1985) and all remaining restrictions removed as quickly as possible.

For adults

(vi) Employers and others concerned must be made more aware of the need to offer more opportunities for adults to acquire, improve or up-date their skills. The Manpower Services Commission will initiate a national awareness capaign for this purpose, in co-operation with the Government and others.

(vii) The Manpower Services Commission and the Education Departments will encourage closer collaboration locally between employers and education and training organisations, particularly local education authorities and colleges, in identifying and meeting the needs of local industry and commerce.

(viii) The Manpower Services Commission's own £250 million adult training programmes will be restructured to help many more people with job-related training, as well as training geared to the needs of the unemployed.

(ix) The Open Tech programme will continue to be developed in order that more people may obtain training through new learning methods and opportunities.

(x) The Government will examine, in collaboration with the Manpower Services Commission and others, the possibility of establishing a loan scheme for adult trainees.

New arrangements within vocational education

(xi) To ensure that public sector provision for training and vocational education is more responsive to employment needs, the Manpower Services Commission's resources for purchasing work-related non-advanced further education in England and Wales will be increased to represent by 1986-87 about one quarter of the total public sector provision for this area, with a resultant reduction in local authority expenditure. Successful training is a continuing investment in the most valuable of all our national resources - the energies and qualities of our people. In the past we have not sufficiently recognized its importance. This we must now remedy and ensure that the skills of our people are fitted for the challenge of the years ahead.

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.

	Co
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

V32 N16

Education (Mandatory Awards) D

Mr. Philip Whitehead moved: That the Education (Mandatory Awards) Regulations 1982 (S.I., 1982, No.954), dated 12th July 1982, a copy of which was laid before this House on 16th July, in the last Session of Parliament, be revoked. Labour Members have fulfilled their pledge to bring the regulation to the House after the Government's ignominous defeat in Committee. That is the first time the Government have suffered such a defeat on a statutory instrument since 1980. cont: exch: 6 pages C.S. Defeated on Div.

Religious Education

Mr. Ancram asked the Sec. State Scotland if he has completed his consultations on the introduction of inspection of religious education in schools. **Mr. Younger:** Yes. I have consulted a wide range of educational and religious interests. I intend therefore to make a commencement order shortly to bring into effect on 1 January 1983 section 16 of the Education (Scotland) Act 1981, which repeals the statutory bar on inspection of religious subjects in schools contained in section 66(2) of the Education (Scotland) Act 1980. A start will be made with the inspection of religious education in the spring term of 1983. An experienced and suitably qualified inspector of schools will take on responsibilities as national specialist inspector and a specialist in religious education will be recruited as soon as possible.

Glue Sniffing WA

Mr. Hill asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will promote a national education programme to warn schoolchildren of the dangers of glue sniffing. **Dr. Boyson:** In his speech in the Adjournment debate on 26 October the Under-Secretary of State for Health and Social Security set out the action which the Government are already taking. As my hon. friend said then, representatives of a number of interests, including those concerned with the education service in England, are shortly to be consulted about the scope for further action.

Sixth Forms WA

Dr. Roger Thomas asked the Sec State Wales, how many secondary schools in each education authority area in Wales have sixth forms of fewer than 20 pupils; how many have between 21 and 50 pupils; and whether his Department makes recommendations as to the minimum size of sixth forms. **Mr. Michael Roberts:** There are no schools with sixth forms of less than 20; those with between 20 and 50 pupils are shown as follows:

	Number of schools having sixth forms with
	Between 20 and 50 Pupils
Clwyd	2
Dyfed	4
Gwent	1
Gwynedd	5
Mid Glamorgan	3
Powys	5
South Glamorgan	4
West Glamorgan	-

V32 N17

Youth Opportunities Programme OA

Mr. Haynes asked the Sec. State Northern Ireland how many people are currently engaged on the youth opportunities programme in Northern Ireland. **The Minister of State, Northern Ireland Office (Mr. Adam Butler):** The youth opportunities programme in Northern Ireland is being phased out and replaced by the youth training programme. At the end of October 1982 there were 5,412 young people still engaged in the youth opportunities programme. The new comprehensive youth training programme, under which schemes generally began on 20 September, has got off to an excellent start, and by the end of October 6,417 young people were in training: abrev. **Mr. Fitt:** Does the Minister agree that the figures he has given are utterly derisory as there are 130,000 unemployed people in Northern Ireland? Does he agree that it was the absence of any schemes to give employment to disaffected youth in Northern Ireland that has led to the very problem that the Secretary of State has condemned - the complete alienation of young people in Northern Ireland, especially those in my constituency. **Mr. Butler:** My figures about the youth training programme are extremely encouraging. Next year, everyone in the 16 and 17 year old age group will either be in full-time education, or have a job, or if they wish, participate under the youth training programme. This is excellent news.

Plastic Bullets OA

Ms. Harman asked the Sec. State Northern Ireland how many rounds of plastic bullets were fired in Northern Ireland in the last six months; how many injuries resulted; how serious the injuries were; and how many deaths resulted. **Mr. Prior:** Since 1 June 1982, 370 plastic baton rounds have been fired by the security forces in Northern Ireland and three people are believed to have been injured by them. There have been no deaths caused by baton rounds during that period. Since the beginning of this year I or my Ministers have answered 19 questions in the House or in another place on the subject of baton rounds. In addition, I or members of my Department have replied to 35 letters; not all were complaints.

Unemployment Statistics OA

Mr. Skinner asked the Sec. State Northern Ireland, how many people are currently unemployed in Northern Ireland; and what percentage of those have been without work for more than one year. **Mr. Adam Butler:** At 11 October 1982, it is estimated that there were 113,700 unemployed claimants in Northern Ireland, of whom 43 per cent. had been continuously claiming unemployment benefit for more than one year.

Audio Tapes WA

Mr. Sheresby asked the Minister for Trade how many blank audio tapes having a running time exceeding 15 minutes are sold annually. **Dr. Vaughan:** The only information is published by the British Phonographic Industry Ltd., which estimates, on the basis of extensive research, that 73.4 million blank audio tapes with a running time exceeding 15 minutes were sold in the United Kingdom in 1981.

"Experience and Participation" (Youth Service Review) WA

Mr. Newens asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he intends to introduce legislation recommended in the Youth Service review "Experience and Participation" during the course of the present Session of Parliament; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. William Shelton:** I refer the hon. Member to the answer which I gave to the Member for Bedford (Mr. Skeet) and to the hon. Member for Liverpool, Edge Hill (Mr. Alton).

16 to 18-year-olds

Mr. Foster asked the Sec. State Education and Science what percentage of 16,17 and 17 year old youths in the Northern region and Bishop Auckland constituency are participating in full-time education; and what is the corresponding national figure. **Mr. William Shelton:** Statistics are readily available by local education authority but not by parliamentary constituency. The percentage of young people aged 16,17 and 18 participating in full-time education in schools and colleges of further education in Durham - which includes the Bishop Auckland constituency - was 17 per cent. in 1980-81, the latest year for which information is available. The corresponding figures for the Northern region and for England were 19.8 per cent. and 23.8 per cent., respectively.

Religious Education WA

Mr. Greenway asked the Sec. State Education and Science what is the distribution of religious teacher education places under the revised arrangements for teacher education recently announced; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Waldegrave?** The final decisions announced by my right hon. Friend on 8 November 1982 provided for annual admissions to secondary courses for specialised teachers of religious education as follows:

	PGCE	*BEd*
Universities	120	
Voluntary colleges	99	105
Maintained institutions	21	

Poverty Trap WA

Mr. Arnold asked the Sec. State Social Services how he defines the poverty trap. **Mr. Newton:** The so-called poverty trap is the situation where a low-paid worker may lose a substantial part of an increase in earnings because he pays higher income tax and social security contributions and because his meanstested benefits are reduced or withdrawn. The main means-tested benefits in this context are family income supplement, free school meals and housing benefits.

Benefits WA

Mr. Foulkes asked the Sec. State Social Services what is the weekly supplementary benefit rate for a family of two adults and two children of secondary school age. **Mr. Newton:** For a family of two adults and two children aged between 11 and 16, the ordinary scale rate is £68 and the long-term scale rate £78.60.

Children (Purchase of Drugs) WA

Mr. Penhaligon asked the Sec. State Social Services if he will seek to introduce measures to prevent children under the age of 16 years from purchasing without prescription the drugs: Asproclear, Asprin, Phensic, Disprin, Beechams Powders, Hedex, Coldrex, Anadin, Tramil, Venos and Vick Cough Mixtures, Haliborange, Febs, Paracodol, Pharmacin Bunion Lotion, Corn Salve, Veganin, Benelyn, Gees Linctus, Migraleve, Buttercup Cought Mixture Anadin (maximum strength;, Do-Do, Mucron, Karvol and Contact 400. **Mr. Geoffre Finsberg:** No. Several of the products listed are

restricted to supervised sale in pharmacies, where their purchase by children is a matter for the professional judgment of the pharmacist. The remainder are medicines on the general sale list.

Unemployment Statistics WA
Mr. Arthur Lewis asked the Sec. State Employment whether he will give for the latest and most convenient stated date the numbers of unemployed in Newham, on a basis of youths, females and men; and if he will give comparative figures for each quarter from May 1979. figs in table: CS.

Training Opportunities Programme WA
Mr. Foster asked the Sec. State Employment how many people have received training under the training opportunities programme in each of the last five years in the Bishop Auckland constituency, Durham county council, the Northern region and the United Kingdom. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** The information is as follows:

	Bishop Auckland	*County Durham*	*Northern Region*	*Great Britain*
1977-78	-	-	-	78,610
1978-79	-	-	5,200	70,190
1979-80	38	1,458	5,670	74,490
1980-81	26	1,248	5,160	66,420
1981-82	11	1,057	4,450	61,400

Community Programme WA
Mr. Alexander W. Lyon asked the Sec. State employment how much money has been allocated to advertising the community programme in the budget of the Manpower Services Commission for the currenty year. **Mr. Alison:** The total amount allocated to this campaign in 1982 is around £600,000.

V32 N18

Overseas Students WA
Mr. Sheerman asked thc Sec. State Education and Science if he will publish details of the number of students from overseas currently studying in British universities; from which countries they come; and if he will give comparative figures for the academic years 1979-80, 1980-81 and 1981-82. figs in talbe: 1 page: CS.

Nursery Education WA
Mr. McNally asked the Sec. State Education and Science (1) what was the estimated average cost per full-time equivalent child in (a) nursery schools and (b) nursery classes in primary schools, in 1981-82, 1980-81, 1979-80 and 1982-83 if figures are now available: (2) what is the average unit cost of a place in (a) a primary school and (b) a secondary school in England in (i) 1981-82 and (ii) 1982-83. **Dr. Boyson:** Figures are not yet available for 1981-82 and 1982-83. Net expenditure per full-time equivalent pupil in nursery primary and secondary schools in 1979-80 and 1980-81 is estimated to have been as follows (at outturn prices):

	1979-80 £	*1980-81* £
Nursery Schools	923	1,110
Primary Schools (including nursery classes)	547	676
Secondary Schools	791	964

Separate figures for nursery classes in primary schools are not available.

V33 N19

Urban Aid Programme WA
Mr. Ernie Ross asked the Sec. State Scotland which local authorities have made application for a women's aid refuge or rape crisis centre under the urban aid programme; and if he will indicate the successful applications and the amount of money provided. **Mr. Allan Stewart:** Applications have been made by Strathclyde, Lothian, Fife and Grampian regional councils, and by Angus and Dundee district councils. All were for refuges rather than rape crisis centres, and all were approved; details of the costs, on which 75 per cent. grant is payable, are as follows. Current costs are supported for an initial period of three years. Figs. in table: CS.

National Playing Fields Association WA
Mr. Maclennan asked the Sec. State Scotland if he will make available to the National Playing Fields Association, Scotland, financial assistance on the same terms and for the same purposes as it is made available to the association in England. **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** My right hon. Friend has had no request for financial assistance from the Association in Scotland. It is of course open to the association to apply to the Scottish Sports Council which assisted it with a grant prior to 1981.

Job Creation WA
Dr. Dickson Mabon asked the Sec. State Scotland how many jobs will be provided in Scotland in 1983 by the special employment and training measures. **Mr. George Younger:** Information is not available in the precise form requested. During the year to September 1983 an estimated 23,000 long-term unemployed adults are expected to find up to 12 months' temporary work on the community programme in Scotland. In addition, up to 74,000 young people will enter the youth opportunities programme during the 1982-83 financial year. The Youth Opportunities Programme will be replace din September 1983 by the Youth Training Scheme which will guarantee up to a full year's foundation training for all 16 year old school leavers who find themselves without a job.

New Training Scheme WA
Mr. Barry Jones asked the Sec. State Employment how much funding from the Exchequer is required for the new training scheme which is additional to the youth opportunities programme schemes which the new training scheme is to supersede; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Our estimates for the costs of the youth training scheme for next year are not yet complete, but the full financial costs are likely to be around £1 billion. The current year's provision for the youth opportunities programme is £743 million.

Unemployment Statistics WA
Mr. John Grant asked the Sec. State for Employment what difference the new method of counting the unemployed would have meant to the figures for Greater London for each month since 1979, giving comparable totals on the old and new basis. figs in table: 1 page: CS.

Women's Affairs WA
Mr. Timothy Smith asked the Sec. State Employment what important improvements have been made by his Department since May 1979 in the field of women's affairs. **Mr. Alison:** Women's employment interests are best served by Government policies aimed at creating the right economic climate for an effective and competitive industry. Women can and do make use of Government employment and training services which are open on equal terms to men and women. In addition, the Government have set up the new training initiative, at an annual cost of £1.5 billion - from 1983-84 - which includes a £1 billion a year youth training scheme. Women as well as men will benefit from the opportunities offered. The Government do, however, recognise that in some circumstances women have special needs.

Voluntary Organisations (Grants) WA
Mr. Hannam asked the Sec. State Home Department if he will publish details of grants to voluntary organisations in the United Kingdom from his Department during the financial year 1982-83, showing the amount awarded to each organisation. figs in table: 1 page: CS.

Children in Care WA
Mr. Wardell asked the Sec. State for Wales (1) if he will list for each county in Wales, the number of children taken into care in the calendar years 1979, 1980 and 1981; (2) if he will publish the number of children taken into care in Wales in each year during the period May 1979 to October 1982. figs & exch. in 2 pages: CS.

Unemployment Statistics WA
Mr. Wardell asked the Sec. state Wales what has been the unemployment rate in Wales in each year since May 1979. **Mr. Nicholas Edwards:** The information is as follows:

May	*Percentage*
1979	7.4
1980	8.6
1981	13.5
1982	15.2

Students Grants WA
Mr. McNally asked the Sec. State Education and Science what was the total number of full-time equivalent students in any form of education in 1981-82 in (a) England and (b) Great Britain; and what was the total cost to central and local government of maintenance awards paid to them. **Mr. Waldegrave:** Information on the cost to central and local government of maintenance awards paid to students in 1981-82 is not yet available. However, the corresponding cost for the financial year 1980-81 in England was £532 million. The total number of full-time equivalent students in any form of education, including schools, in the academic year 1981-82 in England was 9.4 million - 9.6 million in 1980-81.

State Education (Costs) WA
Mr. Foulkes asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will publish the estimated annual cost of State education for a family of two adults and two children of secondary school age. **Dr. Boyson:** The cost would depend upon whether the adults followed any courses of further education. For example, if one was following a full-time advanced course in a polytechnic and the other was following a course at an adult education institute, the approximate public expnediture on the family's education in 1980-81, based on average unit costs, might have been as follows:

	£ cash
Polytechnic advanced course	3,466
Adult education course	392
Two secondary pupils	1,928
Total	5,786

Secondary and High Schools WA
Mr. Greenway asked the Sec. State Education and Science how many secondary and high schools htere are in England and Wales; and if he will list the number in each local education authority. figs in table: 1 page: CS.

Voluntary Organisations (Grants) WA
Mr. Hannam asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will publish details on grants to voluntary organisations from his Department during the financial year 1982-83 showing the amount awarded to each organisation. figs in table (includes all DES Youth Orgs): 1 page: CS.

V33 N20

Children (Clothing) OA
Mr. Gordon Wilson asked the Sec. State Social Services if he will make a statement on the new arrangements whereby the responsibility for identifying children in clothing need has been passed to teaching staff. **The Under-Secretary of State for Health and Social Security (Mr. Tony Newton):** The statutory provision for assistance with school clothing needs in Scotland is contained in section 54 of the Education (Scotland) Act 1980, which is the responsibility of my right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Scotland. So far as the responsibilities of this Department are concerned, single payments for children's clothing under the supplementary benefit scheme can be made only were the need arises for reasons other than normal wear and tear. etc. exch. CS.

Perinatal Mortality OA
Mr. Carter-Jones asked the Sec. State Social Services if he will take steps to publicise the regional breakdown of the perinatal mortality rates for 1981 in England and Wales when they are available. **The Under-Secretary of State for Health and Social Security (Mr. Geoffrey Finsbert):** The figures the hon. Gentleman refers to were published last week. They show that regional differences persist, but there has been a remarkable overall improvement. Five years aog, only one English region had less than 14 perinatal deaths per thousand births. Now, every region is below this figure, and the two best regions are below 10 per thousand - a figure which bears comparison with any country in Europe. This achievement reflects great credit on all the health professionals whose sustained efforts have helped to bring it about. etc. exch. CS.

Voluntary Organisations (Ministerial Vists) OA
Mr. Peter Bottomley asked the Sec. State Social Services how many visits were made by Ministers in his Department to voluntary organisations in 1982. **Mr. Newton:** Over 100 so far. **Mr. Bottomley:** I congratulate my hon. Friend on the number of such visits that he has made. I pass on to him the great welcome for the opportunities for volunteering scheme. Will this programme be expanded? **Mr. Newton:** I return the compliment by saying that it is a pleasure to see my hon. Friends at many of these functions. I am pleased to confirm that we shall make additional resources available to continue the scheme at about the same level next year. **Mr. Alfred Morris:** Leaving aside the statements of mutual admiration, did the Minister discuss with the voluntary organisations the effect of the doubling of VAT on their activities? Is he aware that the Spastics Society last year paid £350,000 in VAT and that the Royal national Institute for the deaf paid £100,000? What representations is he making to the Treasury to end that burden? etc. etc. etc.

Police and Criminal Evidence Bill D
Mr. Speaker: I have not selected the Instruction onh the Order Paper. **The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Mr. William Whitelaw):** I beg to move, That the Bill be now read a Second time. We bring the Bill before the House as a major step towards more effective enforcement of the law. To enforce the law, and thereby to protect our freedoms, we look primarily towards the police. They serve us with great professionalism and devotion. The Government have been determined, in spite of economic difficulties, to improve their pay and conditions and to increase their number. As a result, there are now in the police service in England and Wales mor than 9,000 officers additional to the toal when we took office. They are better trained and equipped than ever before. etc. etc. 2R. 20 pages: CS.

Perinatal and Infant Mortality WA
Mr. Wardell asked the Sec. State Social Services what were the perinatal and infant mortality rates, respectively, for each social class where babies were born into married households in England for each year since 1978. **Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg:** The available information for such births in England is as follows:

Perinantal and Infant Mortality Rates by Social Class (Legitimate Births) England 1979 and 1980

	All	*Social Class of Father* *I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*
			Perinatal mortality rate			
1979	14.0	10.2	11.9	14.0	16.3	18.2
1980	12.9	9.7	11.1	12.8	15.0	17.5
			Infant mortality rate			
1979	11.9	9.9	9.8	11.0	14.4	18.4
1980	11.2	8.9	9.4	10.5	13.6	16.5

X perinatal and Infant Mortality Rates in 1979 by 1970 and 1980 Social Class Classifications (Legitimate Births) England and Wales

	Social Class of Father				
All	*I*	*II*	*III*	*IV*	*V*
	Perinatal mortality rate				
14.0	10.7	11.8	14.0	16.4	19.0
14.0	10.3	11.8	14.0	16.5	18.7
	Infant mortality rate				
11.8	9.7	9.7	11.1	14.1	19.9
11.8	9.8	9.7	11.0	14.3	18.7

Family Income WA
Mr. Field asked the Sec. State Social Services if he will list for each year since 1945 the total financial support from public funds given to one, two and four-child families by way of family allowances, child tax allowances and child benefit. figs in tables: 1 page: CS

Urban Programme WA
Mr. Pavitt asked the Sec. State Environment when he expects to complete his review of the competing claims on urban programme resources; what is his estimate of the total money available to authorities accorded programme status; **Mr. King:** We hope to announce decisions before the end of the year. The level of urban programme resources available for programme authorities will depend on the outcome of the review. My right hon. Friend announced that total urban programme resources had been substantially increased to £348 million in £983-84, including urban development grant, in his statement on 15 November.

Poverty Trap WA
Mr. Arnold asked the Prime Minister if she is satisfied with the co-ordination between the Department of Health and Social Security and the Treasury in relation to the problems caused by the poverty trap. **The Prime Minister:** Yes.

Youth Opportunities Programme WA
Mrs. Shirley Williams asked the Sec. State Employment what proportion of young people who have completed youth opportunities programme courses entered employment (a) after six months, and (b) after one year in 1979, 1980, 1981 and to the latest available date in 1982. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** Information is not available in the precise form requested. The Manpower Services Commission follows up a sample of entrants to the youth opportunities programme 12 months after the start of their schemes. The following table provides the results of quarterly surveys of entrants since 1979 in employment at the time of survey - percentages.

	1979	*1980*	*1981*
Quarter One	58	38	40
Quarter Two	58	33	41
Quarter Three	55	52	-
Quarter Four	59	45	-

Women (Cause of Death) WA
Mr. Tilley asked the Sec. State Social Services what is the most common cause of death in women aged 35 years and over. **Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg:** In England and Wales in 1981, the most common cause of death in women aged 35 years and over was ischaemic heart disease.

Youth and Community Courses WA
Mr. David Steel asked the Sec. State Scotland what are the plans of the Scottish Education Department in relation to the intake of youth and community courses as from session 1983-84; what will be their effect on the output of youth and community workers; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Younger:** I am consulting the bodies concerned about a proposal that the intake to these courses should be reduced as from the 1983-84 session. I shall reach a final decision when I have considered their comments.

Schools (Vandalism) WA
Mr. Peter Robinson asked the Sec. State Northern Ireland what has been the cost of vandalism to schools in each of the five educational board areas in Northern Ireland in each of the last four years. **Mr. Scott:** The following broad estimates of expenditure in each of the last four financial years to remedy damage by vandalism caused to school property have been supplied by the five education and library boards.

Board	*1978-79 £000s*	*1979-80 £000s*	*1980-81 £000s*	*1981-82 £000s*
Belfast	145	169	187	262
North-Eastern	44	54	44	54
South-Easter	82	83	102	145
Southern	11	35	100	90
Western	20	28	65	75

Voluntary Organisations (Grants) WA
Mr. Hannam asked the Sec. State Environment if he will publish details of grants to voluntary organisations from his Department during the financial year 1982-83 showing the amount awarded to each organisation. **Mr. Heseltine:** Grants to voluntary bodies, other than housing associations and excluding grants made by statutory bodies associated with the Department are as follows: figs. in tables: 1 page: CS.

V33 N21

Unemployment Statistics WA
Mr. Skinner asked the Sec. state Employment what percentage of the potential work force became unemployed from June 1979 to June 1982 in the following countries: (a) the United Kingdom, (b) France, (c) West Germany, (d) Canada and (e) the United States of America. **Mr. Alison:** The following is the information:

Increase in seasonally adjusted unemployment percentage rate: national definitions

	Percentage Points
United Kingdom	6.8
France	3.4
West Germany	3.8
Canada	3.5
United States	3.8

Family Incomes WA
Mr. Ralph Howell asked the Sec. State Social Services if he will updat the reply to the hon. Member for Norfolk, North on 27 October 1980, *Official Report*, c. *193-210*, concerning net weekly spending power of families in the following situations: (a) when earnings-related supplement is in payment, (b) if earnings-related payment had been abolished, and (c) when supplementary benefit is in payment for wages of £50, £75, £100, £150 and £200, respectively, per week, figs in table: 3 pages: CS.

V33 N22

Unemployment Statistics WA
Mr. Wardell asked the Sec. State Employment what was the rate of increase between April 1979 and October 1982 in the number of persons registered as unemployed for more than 52 weeks for (a) England, (b) each county in England, ranked from highest to lowest and (c) each of the economic regions. figs in table 1 page: CS.

Birth Statistics WA
Mr. Marlow asked the Sec. State Social Services if he will set out the percentage of live births attributed to mothers of New Commonwealth and Pakistan ethnic origin for each of the past 10 years. **Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg:** The available information relates to the birthplace of mothers. The proportion of births in England and Wales tomothers born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan is as follows for the years 1971-1980. The figure for 1981 will be published as soon as it is available.

Births to mothers born in the New Commonwealth or Pakistan as a percentage of all births

Date	*Per cent*
1971	5.8
1972	5.9
1973	6.1
1974	6.2
1975	6.6
1976	7.2
1977	7.8
1978	8.0
1979	8.2
1980	8.5

Criminal Statistics WA
Mr. Kilroy-Silk asked the Sec. State Home Department (1) when and where a deaf and dumb boy was sentenced to a short, sharp shock treatment; what happened to him; and if he will make a statement. (2) when and where a boy who had undergone open-heart surgery was sentenced to a short, sharp shock; what happened to him; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Mayhew:** Each of the four detention centres operating tougher regimes receives all persons sentenced to three months detention in a detention centre by courts in the centre's geographical catchment area. Each trainee is examined by the medical officer within 24 hours of reception. Those who are found to be unfit for the regime are transferred to a detention centre not operating a tougher regime as soon as practicable and, until their transfer, take no part in the normal regime of the centre. A deaf and dumb trainee was received by New hall detention centre on 16 February 1981 from Manchester city magistrates' court and was transferred to Werrington House detention centre. A trainee who had previously undergone open heart surgery was received by Send detention centre from Bedford juvenile court on 23 July 1981 and was transferred to Blantyre House detention centre. Another trainee who had undergone open heart surgery was received by New Hall detention centre from Bolton magistrates' court on 13 July 1982 and was transferred to Buckley Hall detention centre.

International Child Abduction (Hague Covention) WA
Mr. Lawrence asked the Sec. State Home Department if he has yet come to a decision on whether the United Kingdom will sign the Hague convention on the civil aspects of international child abduction. **Mr. Mayhew:** A consultative document on the considerations relating to the United Kingdom's signature of the convention will be issued shortly by the Lord Chancellor's Department Library. **Mr. Lawrence** asked the Sec. State for the Home Department what countries have so far signed the Hague convention on the civil aspects of international child abduction finalised in October 1980 by the Hague Conference on Private International Law. **Mr. Mayhew:** The convention has so far been signed by Belgium, Canada, France, which has also ratified it, Greece, Switzerland and the United States of America.

Video Films (Children) WA
Mr. Wardell asked the Sec. State Home Department if he will set up a study into the psychological effect on young children of watching home video films of an adult category. **Mr. Mayhew:** We are not satisifed that such a study would produce reliable results, even if it were possible to undertake it without incurring risks to the children themselves. We are aware, however, of the general concern of the possible effects of the material referred to by the hon. Member and we will keep the matter under close review.

V34 N37

Welfare Milk Scheme WA
Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg: It is estimated that in 1981 1.84 million tokens were exchanged for modified dried milk - infant formula - without cost to beneficiaries, under the Welfare Food Order 1980, as amended. The provisional figure for the first six months of 1982 is 1.09 million. I regret that figures are not held centrally in respect of sales of infant formula by health authorities, under the Sale of Good for Mothers and Children (Designation and Charging) Regulations 1978.

Benefits WA
Mr. Ralph Howell asked the Secretary of State for Social Services if he will list the cost of all social security benefits ian the year 1981-82 and the estimated cost for 1982-83.

Social security benefit expenditure

Benefit	*1981-82*	*£ million 1982-83*
Retirement pension	12,126	13,543
Widows benefits	691	736
Unemployment benefit	1,702	1,650
Invalidity benefit	1,371	1,611
Sickness and injury benefits	668	659
Maternity benefits	174	170
Death grant	17	17
Industrial injuries disablement benefit	315	340
Industrial injuries death benefit	47	51
Other industrial injuries benefits	5	5
Christmas bonus (for contributory pensioners)	101	101
Old persons' pension		
War pension	518	546
Attendance allowance and invalid care allowance		
Non-contributory invalidity pension	637	670
Mobility allowance		
Christmas bonus (for non-contributory pensioners)	4,840	5,682
Supplementary benefit		
Child benefit	3,514	3,867
Family income supplement	3,514	3,867
Rent rebate	490	888
Rent allowance	64	83

V35 N38

Citizens Band Radio
Mr. Austin Mitchell asked the Sec. State for the Home Department how many prosecutions there were in 1982 for (a) illegal AM citizens band transmissions and (b) FM citizens band transmissions without licence. **Mr. Mellor:** (a) approximately 2,350; (b) 24 including 13 cases where a licence was held but its terms were not complied with. About 350,000 licneces were issued in the first year of the C.B. service; and 36 per cent of those issue in the first month have been renewed.

Nursery Education WA
Mr. Dobson asked the Secretary of State for Education and Science if he will estimate the likely per-

centage of children in the relevant age groups who will be attending nursery schools or nursery classes in primary schools in 1983-84 and 1984-85.

Numbers in maintained schools as percentage of relevant age group

	January 1984	*January 1985*
Total nursery and primary	35.2	35.0
Nursery schools and nursery classes only	19.9	20.1

Single Parent Families (Christmas Bonus) WA
Mr. Best asked the Sec. State for Social Services what would be the cost in a full year of giving single parent families a £10 bonus at Christmas time. **Mr. Newton:** A Christmas bonus of £10 for those single parent families who do not receive one already, through qualifying for other benefits, would costs about £7.3 million.

V35 N39

Young Persons' Rights D
Mr. Tom Clarke (Coatbridge and Airdrie): I beg to move. That leave be given to bring in a Bill to entitle all sixteen to nineteen year old persons to work, education and training. The bill would give to every person between the ages of 16 and 19 a comprehensive entitledment to work, education or training with an appropriate wage or allowance. It would place a duty on the Ministers with responsibility for education and employment in Scotland to provide such opportunities and to arrange the scheme in such a way as to ensure that as young people move in and out of employment their education and training would continue according to a planned provision. Bill presented: 1 page exch: IR.

Special Schools
Mr. Wigley asked the Sec. State Wales if he will publish, by county, the officially recognised number of special schools; and how many of these are (a) day schools, (b) day and boarding schools, (c) boarding schools and (d) hospital schools.

Special Schools in Wales (Sept. 1981)

	Day schools	*Day and boarding schools*	*Boarding schools*	*Hospital schools*	*Total*
Clwyd	8	5	-	-	13
Dyfed	2	3	1	-	6
Gwent	4	1	1	1	7
Gwynedd	4	2	-	1	7
Mid Glamorgan	6	4	-	-	10
Powys	2	2	-	-	4
South Glamorgan	10	7	-	2	19
West Glamorgan	5	2	-	-	7

Liverpool (School Leavers) WA
Mr. Parry asked the Secretary of State for Employment (1) what is the level of unemployment amongs school leavers in the Liverpool travel-to-work area at the latest available date; (2) how many school leavers in the Liverpool travel-to-work area have failed to obtain employment at the latest available date. **Mr. Alison:** At 9 December 1982, in the Liverpool travel-to-work area, there were 3,784 school leavers under 18 years of age who had failed to find employment. Percentage rates of unemployment are not calculated in respect of school leavers.

Special Schools WA
Mr. Carter-Jones asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will give the amount per student that is being spent on special education in each local authority for the years 1979, 1980, 1981 and 1982; and if he will make a statement. figs in 1 page: all L.E.A.'s: Copy.

V35 N40

Solvent Abuse WA
Mr. Wheeler asked the Sec. State Social Services when he will consult representatives of statutory and voluntary bodies and of retailers about solvent misuse; and if he will make a statement. **Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg:** Letters were sent to representatives of statutory and voluntary bodies concerned with solvent misusers in England and to representatives of retailers in England and Wales seeking their views on ways of tackling solvent misuse. My right hon. Friend the Secretary of State for Wales is similarly consulting statutory and voluntary bodies in Wales. The letter to the statutory and voluntary bodies set out the problems of solvent misuse and describes what these bodies have variously been doing to prevent solvent misuse and help solvent misusers and their parents. The Government action alread in hand in support of their work is listed. The letter also seeks views on further Government action in support of this work. etc. etc.

V35 N41

Education and Science
Questions on Nursery Education closures: Assisted places scheme: number of places in England 1981. Copy.

Apprenticeships WA
Dr. Dobson asked the Secretary of State for Employment how many young people entered into apprenticeships in 1982-83; and how many entered in each of the preceding five years. **Mr. Peter Morrison:** It is estimated that about 45,000 young people entered apprenticeships in 1982-83. Estimated figures for the preceding five years are as follows:

Year	Number
1977-78	110,100
1978-79	113,600
1979-80	100,000
1980-81	90,000
1981-82	60,000

V35 N42

Youth Treatment Centres WA
Mr. Terry Davis asked the Sec. State for Social Services how many youth treatment centres are provided by his Department for difficult or disruptive children. **Mr. Geoffrey Finsberg:** Two.

V35 N43

Video Cassettes
Mr. Timothy Smith asked the Minister for Trade if he will estimate the annual value of the illegal trade in video cassettes. **Mr. Sproat:** The trade and the British Videogram Association estimate the total retail value of pirate video cassettes sold in the United Kingdom at about £100 million a year. This represents, in terms of numbers of pre-recorded video tapes, about 65 per cent. of the market. **Mr. Smith:** Is my hon. Friend aware that one company alone-Thorn EMI - on its own reckoning is losing between £15 million and £20 million of business a year? **Mr. Sproat:** Yes, etc. etc.

Regional Impact of Unemployment Ajd, D.
Mr. Cyril Smith (Rochdale): I have taken part in many debates on unemployment. I have often said that it is doubtful whether any such debate takes one person off the dole queue. I accept that this is likely to be the outcome of today's debate as well, but it is right that debate should take place and continue. One of the functions of parliamentary opposition is to press constantly for Government action and to spotlight the Government's weaknesses. If this Government have a weakness, it is in their unemployment record. I do not intend to rehearse all the humane arguments against unemployment. Suffice it to say that unemployment is soul destroying; it easts at the fabric of our future as a nation because it teaches a whole generation how to live without working; it allows skills and knowledge to be wasted when they should be used; and it takes away self-respect and human dignity. It is, indeed, evil. etc. etc. exch in 14 pages.

Police (Salary Scales) WA
Mr. Robert Atkins asked the Sec. State for the Home Department if he will list the salary scales of police officers for each year from 1976 to the most recent conveniently availab date. **Mr. Mayhew:** Following is the information: (abridged). Full answer in copy.

Rank	*1976*		*1979*		*1982*	
	Min	*Max*	*Min*	*Max*	*Min*	*Max*
Constable	2,609	3,685	4,086	6,471	6,189	9,798
Sergeant	3,611	4,243	6,186	7,095	9,369	10,749
Inspector	4,169	5,119	7,095	8.445	10.749	12,789
Chief Inspector	4,823	6,217	8,058	9,348	12,204	14,160
Superintendent	6,431	7,306	11,124	12,156	16,848	18,411
Chief Superintendent	7,319	8,143	12,258	13,365	18,564	20,241
Assistant Chief Constable	8,142	9,468	14,188	-	21,069-	
Deputy Chief Constable	8,268	10,600	15,072	18,615	21,621	25,143
Chief Constable	8,523	14,202	18,840	23,268	25,419	31,107
Senior officers in Metropolitan Police						
Commander	8,532	8,964	14,442	-	21,429-	
Deputy Assistance Commissioner	9,576	10,683	17,592	-	23,913-	
Assistant Commissioner	13,089	-	21,990	-	29,442-	
Deputy Commissioner	14,445	-	24,192	-	32,388-	

Youth Training Programme WA
Sir John Biggs-Davison asked the Sec. State Northern Ireland what proportion of young unemployed in the Province is now benefiting from the youth training programme. **Mr. Adam Butler:** The youth training programme has got off to an excellent start and the Government's pledge to 16 year olds that all those who wished to take advantage of 12 months training would be given a place under the programme - has now been met. Seventy-nine per cent of the 16 year old school leavers who have not yet obtained employment are in full time training, as are 39 per cent of 17 year olds without jobs. In the first year of the programme we have concentrated our efforts on the provision of training for those who left school at 16. As this permanent programme develops, it will increasingly include full time training for 17 year olds and training for young people in employment.

Children Art 1975 WA
Mr. Foulkes asked the Sec. State Scotland if he plans to implement section 66 of the Children Act 1975. **Mr. John MacKay:** Implementation of section 66, which provides for the appointment of a person to represent the interests of a child in children's hearings proceedings and in certain consequential cases before the sheriff court, has cost implications for local authorities. Since the exact costs are not known, my Department is about to carry out a short survey to establish in how many cases such a representative might be appointed and what costs would be involved. When the findings of this survey are available, I intend to have further consultations with the interests concerned.

V35 N44

School Curricula OA
Mr. Hooley asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will meet the chairman of the Manpower Services Commission to discuss the curriculum offered in local authority schools and colleges. **The Secretary of State for Education and Science (Sir Keith Joseph):** I am in regular contact with the chairman of the Manpower Services Commission about matters of common interest. Officials of this Department and Her Majesty's inspectors are also in constant contact with commission officials about the content of the education and training within the commission's own schemes, and the relationship to that to school and college curricula. **Mr. Hooley:** Does the Secretary of State agree that while it is perfectly proper for the MSC to commission courses and training in colleges of further education, it is not its business to interfere in the curriculum nor to give those colleges directives on how and what they should teach? etc. etc. exch. 1 page.

School Curricula OA
Mr. Newens asked the Sec. State for Education and Science if he will make additional resources available to enable education authorities to maintain the quality of education and choice of subject in schools in which staffing numbers are significantly reduced as the result of a fall in the school roll. **Sir. Keith Joseph:** The rate support grant settlement for 1983-84 will, if costs are contained, provide for some improvement in pupil-teacher ratios. Where pupil numbers are falling, local education authorities should rationalise their school provision in the interests of the curriculum. **Mr. Newens:** Yes, but does the right hon. Gentleman not recognise that falling school rolls result in a reduction in the number of classes regarded as viable for minority subjects, which may reduce the number of those classes below the level at which the employment of a teacher for such minority subjects is justified? etc. etc. exch. Is it not essential, therefore, that some guidance should be given to remove.

School Books OA
Mr. Andrew F. Bennett asked the Sec. State Education and Science what is his Department's current estimate of the number and costs of school books that will be bought in the current year. **Dr. Boyson:** Provisional figures for the financial year 1981-82 show the local education authorities in England spent £56 million on books for primary and secondary schools in that year. Expenditure figures for the current financial year will not be available until the autumn.

16 to 18 year olds WA
Mr. Norman Hogg asked Sec. State Scotland the names of persons and organisations to whom he has sent copies of the paper "16-18s in Scotland - An Action Plan". **Mr. Alexander Fletcher:** When the paper was published on 17 January, copies were sent to the following organisations. The paper is freely available and since publication a substantial number of copies have been issued in response to requests from individuals and organisations, all organisations listed; copy.

Sex Education WA
Mr. Iain Mills asked the Sec. State Education and Science if he will introduce legislation to provide that parents have to opt on behalf of their children for sex education in schools. **Dr. Boyson:** We have no plans to introduce legislation on this subject, but we have repeatedly made it clear that there should be the very closest possible consultation and co-operation between parents and schools about the way in which sex education is provided. etc. exch. 1 col.

Lambeth WA
Mr. Tilley asked the Sec. State Employment what proportion of (a) unemployed males and (b) unemployed females in the Lambeth area had been out of work for over (i) a year (ii) two years and (iii) three years at the latest available date. **Mr. Alison:** The following is the information at October 1982, the latest date for which an analysis by duration of unemployment is available. The figures, which are on the registration basis of the unemployment count, relate to the area covered by the Brixton, Stockwell, Streatham and West Norwood jobcentres, which corresponds closely to Lambeth.

Duration in weeks	*Proportion of all registered unemployed males Per cent*	*Proportion of all registered unemployed females Per cent*
Unemployed for over 52 and up to 104 weeks	25.9	21.8
Unemployed for over 104 and up to 156 weeks	10.2	6.2
Unemployed for over 156 weeks	6.6	3.8

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.

29-6-83 Social Security officials have cracked down on benefits paid to families to help them to keep their handicapped children at home. (Guardian)

1-7-83 The Government agreed yesterday to change the rules which withhold benefits from parents who send severely handicapped children to hostels in order to get a few days rest. (Guardian)

11-7-83 The Legal Action Group condemned as illegal the practice of the Law Society of trying to stop solicitors from using the legal advice and assistance scheme for welfare law problems. (Guardian)

12-7-83 The Social Services Secretary wants to tighten up a "compassion clause" to grab back supplementary benefit concessions now made to people who are sacked or resign from jobs. (Guardian)

22-7-83 Thousands of people are to be given back money wrongly deducted from their benefits because of errors by the social security policy inspectorate. (Guardian)

25-7-83 Social security staff have been warned by the DHSS that they are breaking the law if they wrongly deduct benefits from claimants and fail to refund the money. (Guardian)

8-8-83 An independent inquiry is being demanded into the confusion surrounding the Department of Health's new housing benefit scheme. (Guardian)

10-8-83 Home owners living on supplementary benefit have won the right to claim extra cash from the DHSS to redecorate the outside of the homes without touching their saving. (Guardian)

12-8-83 Regulations to force tenants to leave properties with high rents for cheaper lodgings if they claim housing benefit are being proposed by the Social Security Minister. (Guardian)

20-8-83 A new national drive to seek out benefit claimants suspected of fraud is under consideration by the Department of employment (Guardian)

22-8-83 A poll published indicates that nearly 7 million people have had to go without food at some time during the last year because of lack of money. (Guardian)

22-8-83 Rent arrears amongst housing association tenants have almost doubled in Britain in the past four months because of the new housing benefit scheme. (Guardian)

7-9-83 Nearly 40,00 disabled and ill social security claimants are to receive cheques for up to one year's laundry expenses wrongly deducted from their benefit. (Guardian)

10-9-83 The National Conference of Roman Catholic Priests passed a resolution to show support for the weak by their example and lifestyle. (Guardian)

2-5-83 **Prisons:** Rules have been published for the new procedure which comes into operation on May 24th under which a person can be remanded in custody by the courts in his absence. (Guardian)

9-5-83 The Prison Reform Trust published a report showing that those kept in remand in prisons are in the worst conditions and that this is the fastest growing section of the prison population. (Guardian)

24-5-83 The former medical adviser to the Prison Inspectorate has revealed that he resigned because of the lack of independance and the inspectorate's failure to tolerate free comment. (Guardian)

27-5-83 The Parliamentary Adviser to the Police Federation called for tougher sentences including the death penalty and greater public support for the police. (Guardian)

2-6-83 Despite overcrowding in many of Britain's gaols cells at the newest gaol, Frankland, remain empty. (Guardian)

14-6-83 The Law Society has sent a protest to the Home Office about the difficulties being caused by the transfer of prisoners from London's overcrowded prisons to others far away. (Guardian)

4-7-83 An MP urges Strathclyde socil work department to find more suitable accommodation for a seventeen year old girls who has spent the last seven weeks in gaol. (Guardian)

6-7-83 In the first month of operation the 1982 Criminal Justice Act has achieved one of the Government's main objectives; a re-education of the number of offenders in detention centres. (Guardian)

15-7-83 The all-party Parliamentary Penal Affairs Group is proposing a new system of day detention with offenders attending on a set number of days in six-month periods to do community work and weekend imprisonment. (Guardian)

18-7-83 The Prison Reform Trust published its assessment of the first ten years operation of community service orders and finds that there are big differences in the use made of CSOs in different parts of the country. (Guardian)

22-7-83 The Home Secretary promised to end the criticised practice of holding untried prisoners in police cells before the end of the year. (Guardian)

25-7-83 The Home Office is becoming increasingly concerned over conflict between staff at Holloway women's prison and the governor. (Guardian)

28-7-83 An internal Prison Department circular from the Deputy Director of Prisons has highlighted what it call "the alarming increase" in the number of escapes by prisoners under the escort of prison officers. (Guardian)

29-7-83 An HMI report recommends much closer contact between mainstream education and the teaching staff who work at the prison, detention centre and borstal which makes up the Hollesey Bay Colony in East Suffolk. (TES)

30-7-83 The Government is planning early legislation to enable some foreign prisoners in British gaols to serve their sentences in their own countries. (Guardian)

30-7-83 Within the next few weeks two of Britain's most dangerous prisoners will be put into new cells at Wakefield Prison to give them better conditions and reduce the risks to prison staff and other inmates. (Guardian)

10-8-83 The Prisoners' rights movement PROP is calling for urgent action to cut fire risks after the Prison Inspectorate's discovery of a catalogue of failures. (Guardian)

18-8-83 An MP calls for a public enquiry into deaths at a young offenders unit in Scotland. (Guardian)

24-8-83 A proposed legal advice service for prisoners at Wandsworth gaol has been rejected for the second time by the Home Office, this time for operational reasons. (Guardian)

29-8-83 An examination is made of the attempt to ease overcrowding in prisons by reducing the terms served by non-violent offenders. (Guardian)

8-9-83 The Labour Party spokesman on home affairs has come out in favour of more controls over the judiciary so that prison sentences can be reduced. (Guardian)

9-9-83 The British section of the International Commission of Jurists have recommended that prisoners be allowed to vote and that a prisons Ombudsman be appointed. (Guardian)

6-5-83 **Race Relations:** The Government published a breakdown of the London crime figures which illustrate the ethnic origin of the capital's criminals. (Guardian)

6-5-83 The President of the Muslim Association said that parents are sending their daughters back to India and Pakistan to avoid sending them to co-educational education in Britian. (TES)

9-5-83 Home Office officials have declined an invitation to attend a conference on immigration policy organised by the Action Group on Immigration and nationality on the grounds that it was too closely allied to the Labour Party. (Guardian)

11-5-83 The Commission for Racial Equality's code of practice on eliminating racial discrimination in employment has fallen by the wayside because of the election. (Guardian)

12-5-83 The Association of Assistant Masters and Mistresses recommend that teacher trainers should be on the look-out for students with overtly racialist attitudes so as to prevent unsuitable people entering the profession. (Guardian)

12-5-83 The Home Affairs Select Committee of MP's has come down strongly in favour of including a question on people's ethnic origin in the next census. (Guardian)

13-5-83 A new committee structure is likely to be set up by the ILEA to ensure that black people's views are heard. (TES)

13-5-83 A research fellow at the London Institute of Education called for the monitoring of the progress of black teachers and pupils with an accurate record kept of applications, rejections and reasons. (TES)

20-5-83 Bradford Met. Borough reports that record numbers of black teenagers in the city are staying on at school after their fifth year. (Teacher)

25-5-83 The Central Council of Probation and After-Care Committees calls for the Home Office to carry out a detailed study of sentencing practices and parole decisions to see if they are fair to black people. (Guardian)

10-6-83 Urgent Government action to ensure that multi-cultural education covers all aspects of teacher training is recommended in a report published by the CRE's teacher education group. (TES)

1-7-83 Researchers have found that black pupils are three times as likely as whites to be involved in extra curricular sports. (TES)

1-7-83 The Runnymede Trust report that there is persistent and widespread discrimination against black people in most areas of life including education. (Teacher)

6-7-83 The Commission for Racial Equality is to ask the Government for changes in the 1976 Race Relations Act which would speed up its procedures for investigating allegations of racial discrimination. (Guardian)

7-7-83 A Code of Practice giving guidance for employers on the elimination of racial discrimination was published. (Guardian)

15-7-83 The National Union of Teachers has pledged to continue to support its members by disseminating its positive policies on multi-ethnic education. (Teacher)

19-7-83 The CRE declared that employers should be required to keep records of the ethnic origins of their work force and of job applicants who are turned down. (Guardian)

22-7-83 A group of black councillors in the London Borough of Brent is to quiz children who have been barred from school and their parents about the fairness of disciplinary procedures. (TES)

4-8-83 Black day trippers on 60 hour identity cards are being turned away from France because of Britain's Nationality Act. (Guardian)

8-8-83 The Home Office Prison Dept. has issued a warning to staff showing racial prejudice because of the growing numbers of black prisoners and recent racial tension. (Guardian)

16-8-83 the Government has decided to set up a new centre at Brunel University to provide courses to train the police in community and race relations. (Guardian)

17-8-83 The Runnymede Trust reports that black people are more likely than white to be sent to mental hospitals by the police or transferred to there from prison. (Guardian)

1-9-83 Tough new procedures to curb illegal immigration including that of British Commonwealth citizens were approved by the French Cabinet. (Guardian)

1-9-83 A campaign has been launched by the Joint Council for the Welfare of Immigrants to persuade the Government to give immigrants the benefit of the new data protection laws. (Guardian)

2-9-83 For the first time teachers negotiated time off with pay to attend a meeting of black teachers. (Teacher)

2-9-83 Police in Greater Manchester deny that officers have been instructed to ask people calling for help about their colour or racial origin. (Guardian)

9-9-83 The Government is to go ahead with plans to divide people who claim uneployment benefit into racial groups. (Guardian)

9-9-83 The National Association of Community Relations Councils blames white racism for causing racial tension. (Guardian)

10-9-83 Ethnic groups in Manchester are generally less involved in crime than the rest of the community according to a police monitoring scheme. (Guardian)

12-9-83 The country's 105 community relations councils are involved in a re-think of their role. (Guardian)

25-7-83 **Rape:** A Woman's sexual history would not be admissable evidence in rape cases under proposals made yesterday by the Scottish Law Commission. (Guardian)

4-8-83 **School Discipline:** Trouble shooting teams atached to the staffs of difficult schools could help to tackel the problems of disruptive behaviour among school children according to research in two London schools. (Guardian)

26-8-83 A researcher claims that disruption is becoming a normal part of school life. (TES)

11-7-83 **Schoolgirl Pregnancies:** Teenage motherhood is now almost at the same level as it was in 1961 according to a report from the Institute for Social Studies in Medical care. (Guardian)

6-5-83 **Sex:** Teachers come bottom of the list as a source of information about sex according to a survey in 'Education and Health'. (TES)

4-6-83 DES has withdrawn support from a project on health education for slow learners because it includes sections on sex education and drawings of naked adolescents. (Guardian)

15-7-83 **Sports:** The CCPR has gone ahead with its scheme to train young sports leaders despite the protests of youth leaders in the London Borough of Brent. (TES)

9-9-93 The manager of the England football team has again called for promising boys still in junior schools to be able to train with professional clubs. (TES)

9-5-83 **Students:** Report of the plight of students who have to give up their studies because their parents refuse to sign grant forms. Highlights especially position of Asian girls. (Guardian)

13-5-83 Spending on discretionary grants by local authorities between 1979/80 and 1980/81 shows a 4% drop. (TES)

8-7-83 New spending cuts bode ill for student grants which have been significantly reduced in value already. (Guardian)

1-9-83 **Vandalism:** "Hooligan Fans Abroad" a book published today shows that the football hooligan is here to stay and has become part of the sociology of violence. (Guardian)

19-8-83 **Voluntary Service:** Twenty one years after the establishment of Community Service Volunteers, the effects of the scheme on some of the earliest volunteers are examined. (TES)

9-5-83 **Women:** Job sharing has the potential to improve women's job opportunities and break down occupational barriers. (EOC bulletin)

13-5-83 A leaflet entitled "Education for Girsl - what do you think" is being sent out by the ILEA to be discussed by pupils, teachers, governors and parents. (TES)

13-5-83 Girls are discriminated against when it comes to getting time off from work for education and training states a report from the EOC. (EOC)

20-5-83 EOC publish two leaflets dealing with decisions of the courts on cases involving service in public places and selection for redundancy (part time workers). (EOC)

27-5-83 A Schools Council study reports that an awareness of sex bias in children's books will widen the range of books available in the classroom. (TES)

10-6-83 A Department of employment spokesman declared that it was uncertain whether part of the European Social Fund would still be set aside for women-only projects, following the shakeup in the Fund.

15-6-83 A study of single women's housing problems shows that the only access women usually have to adequate housing in Britain is through their role as mothers or dependent women. (Guardian)

16-6-83 Women face discrimination at all levels of sport according to a report published today by the EOC. (EOC)

17-6-83 An examination of the strategies that schools and women's groups are adopting to combat sexual intimidation in the classroom. (TES)

20-6-83 The NCCL call for the amalgamation of the Sex Discrimination and Equal Pay Acts to eliminate grey areas which prevent women at work from taking legal action against discrimination. (Guardian)

24-6-83 A book published today analyses in detail the way that sexism pervades the curriculum and warns that English lessons can damage girls' self-esteem and aspirations. (Teacher)

1-7-83 A test case on alleged sexual discrimination in school admissions procedures is to go before Lincolnshire Count Court. (TES)

7-7-83 The Government is widening the scope of the Equal Pay Act from January next year to meet objections from the EEC. (Guardian)

14-7-83 Japan is still a bastion of male supremacy where women accept their inferior status, despite the promise of equal rights enshrined in the country's post war Constitution. (Guardian)

15-7-83 The Welsh Joint Education Committee has agreed to remove all sexist language from its examination papers in line with a request from the NUT. (Teacher)

15-7-83 On 13% of households consist of a man who goes out to work and a wife who stays at home looking after the children according to a new TUC education book. (Teacher)

5-8-83 Girls are likely to do well from what few extra jobs are created by economic recovery reports the Institute for Employment Research. (TES)

22-8-83 The EOC is to carry out a formal investigation into teach training in craft, design and technology. (TES)

2-9-83 The Women's National Commission has urged the Government to take urgent measures to improve opportunities for both girls and women teachers. (Teacher)

9-9-83 The Irish Education Minister has promised early action on a major report which reveals the extent of sex bias and sexism in the country's schools. (TES)

13-5-83 **Youth Exchanges:** A report to the government has recommended the setting up of a new unit, responsible to the Education Secretary, to fund and encourage youth exchanges. (TES)

13-5-83 **Youth Organisations:** Scout groups in ILEA are to be investigated to see if their activities are in line with its policies. (TES)

18-5-83 New grants to Scouts in London are to be frozen pending an investigation into accusations of 'militarism'. (Guardian)

5-8-83 London scouts have had their grant restored after a two month free'e imposed by the ILEA. (TES)

5-8-83 A youth charity New Planet Trust which stood in the way of a Sainsbury's supermarket development must quit the old engine shed which it had turned into a centre for problem children. (Guardian)

6-5-83 **Youth Unemployment:** The Youth Training Scheme bar against 17 year olds with vocational qualifications is being re-examined. (TES)

13-5-83 50,000 copies of a booklet for managing agents of YTS have been re-printed because of a wrong word. (TES)

13-5-83 Local authority representative are arguing with the MSC about the fees which are to be charged by colleges for the youngsters they take under YTS. (TES)

13-5-83 The CSV's Kent Springobard Scheme, run as part of the YOP has been closed after MSC's local advisors claimed it was badly managed. (TES)

14-5-83 Some school leavers last year refused to join the youth opportunities programme schemes because of the low rates of pay and their objection to being exploited as cheap labour reports Red Tape the journal of the Civil and Public Services Association. (Public Service)

20-5-83 A lecturer at the Open University claimed that the MSC was usurping the traditional role of local education authorities and that this is consistent with the Government's desire to centralise education services. (Teacher)

20-5-83 Some local authority colleges are faced with the prospect of employing surplus staff because the level of trainees on YTS looks like falling short of that indicated previously. (TES)

23-5-83 Youthaid claims that temporary training schemes do nothing to solve the problem of youth unemployment. (Guardian)

24-5-83 NATFHE claim that only about 5% of the industrial training places which will be needed next September for the MSC's Youth Training Scheme have so far been found. (Guardian)

26-5-83 A check has been ordered on whether any TUC Centres for the unemployed contain posters or pamphlets which question government policy. (Guardian)

law

This is a regular column which will provide updates on the general legal framework of youth affairs. Inclusions are only intended as a brief and general guide. Practitioners are advised to seek comprehensive advice on particular issues if they are at all unsure. Content is provided by Gateshead Law Centre, First Floor, 13 Walker Terrace, Gateshead NE8 1EB.

Unemployment Law Penalties and YTS

This present Government has the belief that unemployment is self-inflicted; that the level of Social Security Benefit is so high as to encourage the unemployed not to actively seek work and that a lot of unemployed claimants are "fiddling" the system. This has led to the setting up of special investigation squads - known to the unemployed as "Super Snoopers" - whose job it is to harass and intimidate DHSS Claimants into coming off Benefit. These squads are outside the control of the normal investigation department.

Although the Unions within the DHSS and Dole offices oppose the use of "Super Snoopers", it has been the unemployed and their supporters who have campaigned to good effect against what this, basically non-statutory, body has been doing. Until about February 1984, the "Snoopers" concentrated their attention on claimants such as One-Parent Families and Co-habitees, but recently a new approach has emerged.

New Developments

This new approach is in two parts:-

the first part is detailed in a DHSS internal document as an "Unemployment review of people between the ages of 18 and 25", and the purpose of the review is "to inculcate good working habits" by offering low paid jobs to the 18 to 25 year old claimant, which, if refused can result in their benefit being reduced.

The second part concerns School leavers who have refused a YTS place or given one up. A previous article (Y&P V.2 No.3) dealt with the question of the status of YTS Trainees in relation to Employment Law and associated legislation, and observed that most YTS Trainees would not be accorded Employee Status and consequently would not be protected by Employment Law. However, in relation to Unemployment Law, the reverse appears to apply under this new development. Young people who leave a YTS before the end of training or who refuse to go on a YTS are being treated under DHSS and National Insurance Regulations as having given up "Employment".

This is being done by the use of:-

The Social Security Act 1975 (Section 20)
The Supplementary Benefit (Requirements) Regulations 1983 (No. 1399, Reg. 8)
The Employment and Training Act 1973

Voluntary Schemes?

The introduction of YTS in September 1983, it's acceptance by the TUC was on the undertaking that the Department of Employment **dropped** it's intention that the Youth Training Schemes would be compulsory, and that School Leavers refusing places on Schemes would have their Social Security Benefit stopped. This undertaking was for the first year of operations of the YTS at least, and it was the intention of the TUC that anyone refusing a scheme would not be penalised, and anyone leaving a scheme would be regarded as available for work and therefore entitled to benefit. It appears that the Department of Employment are now asking the Careers Service to inform them of any young person rfusing a YTS, with the specific intention of stopping their benefit as a result.

In 1983, before the start of YTS, the Department of Employment designated the Youth Training Schemes as approved training under the Employment and Training Act 1973. It is under this Act that Careers Officers state that they have a statutory duty to inform the Department of Employment about School Leavers in relation to YS; there is nothing specific in the Employment and Training Act 1973 that requires Careers Officers to inform about YTS refusers, but a catch all regulation allows the Secretary of State to be supplied with any information he asks for. In some parts of the country, Careers Officers are refusing to give this information, on the advice of their union NALGO, who argue that "the Youth Training Scheme was negotiated via the TUC as a **voluntary** scheme" and they are requesting that the TUC demand that YTS no longer be accorded status of "approved training" under this piece of legislation.

Voluntary Unemployed Deduction

Under the Social Security Act 1975 Section 20(1) (1), anyone registering as unemployed and claiming benefit will have the claim disallowed if the Claimant has:

"voluntarily left employment (as an employed earner) without just cause"

Most claimants when disallowed a claim for Unemployment Benefit, are forced to fill in a form B1 to claim Supplementary Benefit if they wish to receive some financial support. A claim for SB is dealt with under the Requirement Regulation 8, and under Reg. 8 (1)(c) a claimant is disqualified for Benefit if they are:

"Disqualified for receiving unemployment benefit under Section 20(1) of the SSA 1975 (disqualification by reference to conduct resulting in unemployment or conducing to it's continuance)".

If this paragraph applies to a YTS refuser or leaver, as it may do, then under Reg. 8 (2) benefit will be reduced by 40% and under Reg. 8 (4) the reduction will last for a period not exceeding six weeks.

The implication of this procedure is that someone who is not regarded as an employee under Employment Law can be penalised as an "employed earner" under Unemployment Law! Not only can they be penalised for a period of six weeks, but if the Department of Employment so order, Careers Officers will have to offer a YTS Scheme to youths who have refused one every six weeks so that the "voluntary unemployment reduction" could continue. This is a situation that the TUC did not intend, nor did the MSC, and it is certainly something that School Leavers do not expect, and should not have to be faced with.

We may, therefore, be seeing the deepening of some aspects of the oppression and home-linkage of young working women, but also a strengthening and increasing independence of some of its traditional strengths. Certainly the crisis of unemployment has different and specific effects for women and thus must be understood. The outcomes of these changes, for better or worse, may depend on such an analysis and on the application of a concrete and practical socialist-feminist politics which is neighbourhood based.

Commodities and Consumerism

Commodities are things capitalism makes for profit. They have practical uses of course, but their main use, from the point of view of commerce, it to produce profits. In order to do this commodities have to be purchased - warehouses don't produce profits. And this means they are purchased by workers with their wages in order usually that they and their families may live. So in effect workers work to buy the things they make to get fresh enough to go to work again. A treadmill for them; a profit pump for capitalism.

But this never ending circuit is not always experienced by workers as a treadmill. **Consumerism** is an attitude to commodities which sees them as not only necessary to reproduce life, but as positively desirable in their own right. Admiring commodities, wanting them, organising your life more completely to get them and display them may obscure or justify the sacrifices necessary to get them.

As Jeremy Seabrook powerfully argues much of this society is built around consumerism. TV programmes, adverts, newspapers are all telling us to consume, treating us as consumers rather than workers, seeking to organise our innermost motivations to purchase things in order to be inflated and made better by them. And when it works, there is indeed a 'magic' in the market place for capitalism. The actually objective **work** of shopping - the vital final stage in the never ending circuit of Production and Consumption - is turned into a pleasure, into a desirable activity!

But the young unemployed are stuck in the midst of this process without a role to play. They experience commodities, consumption and consumerism in a special way - the wage simply does not exist as an access to commodities. And yet the need and demand for commodities may be greater than ever. There is more free time than ever, more boredom, and that free time - unlike 'leisure' - carries with it all the burdens and possibilities of identity, life projects and construction of meaning formally structured by work and planning for marriage, home and the family. Unemployed youth face all the contradictions and problems of consumption without commodities, of life construction without money.

As before with gender, there are sets of possible alternatives here. One set concerns a dependency on meagre state provision and welfare with a paradoxically inflated, though frustrated, consumerism dominating the social perspective of the unemployed. In my view, pace the many powerful arguments concerning the consumerism and market orientation of the working class, the **employed** working class is part inoculated against passive consumerism by its experience of the brutalities, sufferings and power relations of production. It 'knows' the other side: the costs of consumption. It is related to commodities partly only through the desire to make the proletarian home as safe a sanctuary as possible away from the ravages of production. It is impossible for those in work to believe that shining cars come drifting down from heaven on golden parachutes. They know, at some level, that these things are **made** - through power relations, suffering and struggle.

For the unemployed, however and especially for the young who have never known production, there can no knowledge of how commodities are produced. They foreshadow the time, perhaps, when capitalism will produce them without people. For them it may be that commodities are just there. They may just be those desirable things you cannot have. They may indeed have drifted down from heaven on golden parachutes. The knowledge that, inexplicably, some people possess them and others do not, may displace altogether any interest in the social relations of power and domination with both produces them and decides who gets what. Without consumption, without work, the disease of consumerism - commodity fetishism - might become more virulent and with no inoculations available.

When colonists invaded the Melanesian Islands, the huge material wealth of the white man generated in the minds of the Melanesian Islanders a passionate desire to share in this abundance. This desire sometimes took the form of 'Cargo cults' pursuing the 'cargo secret' to bring the white man's material goods to the Islanders by supernatural means. The worship of mock-up bamboo radios and the sending of secret, ritual messages, the endless search for the 'cargo secret' in the Christian bible, were supposed to bring planes and ships with their own 'cargo'. We may be seeing the emergence of dependant, demoralised urban 'cargo cultures' - with family forms patterned by state provision - waiting on a meagre flow of goods and commodities with no idea of the relations and technologies, power and politics which produced them. Superstition and suspicion may surround the state agents 'doling-out' 'the cargo'.

Of course this exaggerates the case, and the colonial allusions may not make the metaphor really appropriate. I'm trying to indicate a thoroughly modern, western, post welfare, set of possibilities. But many unemployed claimants do have an 'irrational' view of how the society works, and a magical view of how you get access to commodities - not helped, of course, by the bureacratic and under-resourcing of state agencies. Already for many the experience of going to the DHSS or the Housing Office is like playing Bingo. You play an incomprehensible numbers game and simply wait for the unpredictable result. Folk law, fate and chance inform a sense of how the state works - not the sense of legitimate rights in a rational and collective society.

The possible emergence of such cultures constitutes a mute critique of the actual tendency of how modern production and state forms are massively rationalised, opaque and secretive, and under no real democratic control or accountability to the society in which they are embedded. such cultures also show a devastating logic in relation to the massive continuing inequalities of distribution in society and to the uncharitable politics of 'the haves' - likely to deepen and become even more divisive in an era of mass unemployment, capital holding by a minority, and some sectors in the service and high technology areas enjoying relatively high wages.

For other segments of urban youth the 'cargo secret' of urban poverty may be secular crime, petty theft and hustling anything to 'turn a buck', allied with a general fatalism and disillusion

with the main society. This might mean an angry and apocalyptic separation from society with an analysis of it based on street wisdom, toughness and expediency with vision of the future as a projection of current solutions and desires: no police, getting by, more things falling off the back of passing (cargo) lorries. Anti-social as this vision is, it may nevertheless be a realistic and creative exploration of the actual urban possibilities.

Since some people possess those glittering objects - commodities parachuted in from nowhere - and for no apparent reason other than luck, successful magic, or the mere fact of possession, what is wrong with taking them? If objects seem to be arbitrarily distributed, why not push the arbitrariness a bit my way? If commodities seem to inflate the importance and power of their possessors, why not join in that inflation? Consumerism tells us that commodities are good, cargo is good. Some people get them in ways they know, why shouldn't we get them in ways we know?

But the situation is still open and contradictory in my view. The **forcible** unlinking of people and things brought about by unemployment can have many effects. If some sections of youth may fall prey to a more virulent and impotent consumerism, others may turn it inside out. The response to 'leisure' without consumption may be to challenge the whole role of commodities in the consumer society and to criticise and expose the extravagance of the sacrifice made in boring, and inhumanely rationalised work to become a consumer. The enforced position of **conserved** energies and powers, **fresh** because unsatisfied appetites, may give a critical vantage point from which to view the treadmill worker circuit. If you're so tired, smash and crazed with work that when you do get home, you go to sleep in front of the TV and with the car parked outside, what is the point? Objects are only objects, especially if they're only rarely used. The condition of unemployment may offer possibilities, not for a weird exaggeration and reification, but for a laying bare of consumerism. This seems to happen to some extent though the very openness and collectivity of youth, where gathering in groups, making fun and excitement out of 'nothing', developing language, humour and jokes just for the purpose of passing time, actually point towards forms of life not dependent on commodities. They exploit crucial human capacities given up by those at work - time and immediate personal control over disposition of the body. In this light work may be a terrible trap surrounded only by the glitter of consumption.

It's quite likely that many of these possible processes, or more likely their media images, will also have an effect on some sectors of the employed working class and for how they see and experience the cycle of sacrifice and reward in work. What is the point of work and its sacrifices if it's possible to live without the wage? If theft and 'hustling' make it possible to have commodities as well as freedom, this altogether undercuts, makes silly and degrades the 'dummies' who work. The social contrast with other groups may help to explain some of the authoritarian drift and 'callousness' of those in work.

I have tried to show some of the internal features of how the contradictions and tendencies of change are experienced by the young unemployed. In my view it is necessary to try to learn from the experiences of the unemployed because it is they who actually work through the difficulties of the broken transitions. It is they who are changed and who are the human material through which potential change is worked. Currently our analysis, theory and politics are simply not up-to-date. They do not respond to the reality of social life. But the unemployed **live** it. They are therefore in advance of our theories and must directly inform our policies. But the nature of change, and of the new contradictions experienced by the young, is still very open. There are no guarantees, no predictable outcomes. We've surveyed and speculated about a number of possibilities. The question is not so much of how to try to design a new 'top down' policy for the unemployed, but to try to be more inward with the nature and tensions of the cultural changes they experience. We must try to work along the grain of their 'best side'. Seek progress through the 'good' side of the 'bad'; for the main society is, for the moment, developing through its bad side.

To be clear: some of the emergent possibilities for the unemployed are already visible. They exist. We do not have to invent them. The question is how to work for the better possibilities. The difference between the possible futures spelt out in the last section is partly a matter of political praxis now. Are the young to face despair and broken transitions, or some sense of a future and of other transitions? Are they to understand themselves, their identities and capacities through an aggressive and violent masculinity, and through deepened domestic drudgery, or through new and more open gender forms and roles? Are the young to sink into demoralised urban cargo cults with alienated and fantastic views of how the state and the main society works, or can they develop a critical, rational and participative view of the society around them? Are they to be herded like criminals and outcasts around those town centres which the rest of us celebrate as the new consumer meccas, or can they be partners in a really human as well as modern construction of public space and communal activity?

But how are we to work dialectically, and partly 'from the inside', to help realise the 'better' possibilities? I think it helps here to conceptualise the problems in the following way. Under capitalism the wage and commodity consumption remain central formative categories and references - even for the unemployed, whether positively, negatively or dialectically. The wage is the key to the transitions we looked at earlier. The loss of the wage breaks these transitions, though they are still broadly desired. We need, therefore, not only to understand what it is to suffer from broken transitions, but also seek to repair them, or replace them as realistically as may be possible. But at the same time we can also learn from the ferment of the suffering of unemployed youth, recognise that the old transitions may never be reinstalled, and try to suggest and develop new alternatives, life processes and possibilities which are drawn from, and connect with, where we stand now but which may actually supersede some of the old transitions.

The wage is at the heart of matter. One possibility is to consider, for the young unemployed, some kind of substitute wage, or more precisely, for the imaginative replacement of some of the transitions it makes possible. I'm not arguing for a simple minded replacement of the wage - even if that were possible. We hardly need to celebrate and re-affirm wage labour - as if the peak of our ambitions were to return to old oppressions! But without some thinking of this kind, which starts from the base line economic, social and cultural reality of the wage for the working class, the unemployed will indeed be thrown into the wings of history and become properly only the subject of how best to warehouse and stultify their creative human capacities.

The state, and the local state in particular, must provide for the moment the crucial mechanisms for developing new wage like forms and these must go very much beyond the current minimum and leisure oriented 'Youth Service' type provision. This raises very directly whether the state can ever be a vehicle for progressive demands. There is any way a very widespread crisis of legitimation for the welfare state, and a working class suspicion of it which Thatcherism feeds on. The state provides and mediate the 'social wage' and we understand some of the problems with this, not least the dangers of the 'clients' of the bureaucratic welfare state being made passive, dependent and mystified.

But the state need not deal with people only in their roles as victims, incompetents and inadequates. The 'clients' of the state need not be the scattered, passive recipients of grace: taking its 'benefits' like charity as supplicants in a strange, secular ritual. I suggest that our thinking should now develop beyond state provision as some kind of compensatory springboard into - and safety net beneath - the market economy. It should actually replace some of the sinews and power of the wage. The 'social wage' might become more individualised and deal with the direct and central problems of unemployment - those dilemmas arising from the absence of the wage and its broken transitions dealt with before. In part this must be a matter of the direct control of the maximum of cash - the Labour Party's proposal to give all 16-19 year olds not in work an allowance has some importance here. Partly it is a question of opening up - and opening up through a range of choices rather like those which exist on the market - some of the blocked transitions which the loss of the wage has enforced. The local state might think much more seriously about providing special housing for youth, or 'half way' housing, to ease some of the tensions in the parental home, to lessen some of the pressures and distortions on future family and gender forms, and to make it possible to move out of the parental home in a way which is not breakdown or crisis. It should be apossible to 'get your own place' without paying the price of poverty and or early motherhood.

We saw before that the loss of the wage breaks social and cultural transitions as well as the material one into the separate home. Unemployment results in an industrial, political and cultural disenfranchisement: a removal from all the formal and informal knowledges of production, as well as from the collective democratic powers of trade unions. In order to re-enfranchise on another base it may be that the unemployed, in some way, should be given, and encouraged to take part in, local democratic forms of control. The young unemployed could, for instance, participate in running the institutions and services which affect them. We should try to develop a notion of the 'interface' between the state and its clients, not as a vertical brickwall with state personnel and resources to one side, and 'serviced', suspicious supplicants to the other, but as a much more diffuse and horizontal net with some 'clients' 'in' the state, with the state 'in' the cultures and groups it serves - with no hard line divisions of knowledge and power between them.

State spaces and resources could be more open, used more often, and in a more relevant way to 'needs' defined locally and through collective processes, connecting more directly with those social groups actively experimenting with new identities, cultural themes and family forms. For instance it must be possible to develop a whole practical, working class feminism based on the needs of single mothers in inappropriately designed flats and housing estates.

A much greater involvement in real, active, political and contested processes may also give a dynamic basis for 'seeing into' social processes. It may provide a social map and materials towards understanding something of how society works through power and interest - producing and inoculation for 'cargoism' and antidotes to irrational, fatalistic and superstitious views of how things work. Political knowledge and activity can replace the pursuit of magical cargo secrets.

But nor should we forget the importance of the wage for the powers of consumption it brings: the attraction of commodities - that which makes 'consumerism' possible. It is absurd to imagine that the state could replace monetarily the wage in full. But the local state does provide a whole range of services to meet 'need' - youth clubs, the Careers service, drop-in-centres for the unemployed; social services in general. The market economy aso meets 'needs' - that for which the wage is desired. But it also caters for **pleasure** and **desire**. State services can be 'stained' with puritanism, boredom and anti-humanism. But why leave desire and pleasure to commerce? Why should state provision be cold corridored with self-denial? State resources currently support masses of buildings, places and spaces - most of them empty for the glitter of the market place. To fill them we need to think imaginatively of sensuous consumption. We need to develop a politics of pleasure.

This may be, in part, an attempt to replace directly the market and provide services, commodities and pleasures similar to those provided by commerce. Of course capitalist commodities and consumption can never be replaced in the same form - and nor perhaps should they. But this is the point. The more democratic local state would not be able to trust the 'hidden hand' of the market to see whether a particular disco, club or social centre fails or succeeds. In order to socialise the 'mysterious power' of commodities it is necessary, first, to define them. If pleasures and desires are not met, **what is it** that is **not** met. The famous 'market mechanism' must then be replaced with a 'collective mechanism' of discussion and exploration - another reason and basis for the expanded participation of the unemployed in local democratic and state processes. And a collective process frankly seeking to define and provide, not a puritanical 'social service', but for pleasure and desire, may expose the inherent individualism, false promises and manipulations of consumerism. The attempt to define and realise the pleasure of consumption, till now the preserve of the market, may throw open the market relations of commodities, deconstruct their received forms, and expose the consumer wage labour treadmill circuit. It would help to inoculate against the 'cargo' view that things just exist, come from nowhere, or drift down from heaven. It is necessary to know the history of things if you are to make a history of them for yourself.

Collective discussion may also open the possibilities of defining need and pleasure in new **collective** ways not bound by individualism and consumerism. Crucially and at the heart of the argument here, these possibilities may connect materially and positively, strengthen and democratise, the better side of some of the 'spontaneous' and 'organic' processes of change discussed before arising out of unemployment: a masculinity not structured by work; the new use of public space; the questioning of passive consumerism.

My argument, then, is that it may be necessary to respond to,

recognise and try to duplicate the undoubted power and attraction of commodities. But so too can the subversive response to them be examined. So too can we examine what can be taken from them even when they are **not** consumed. There is a pleasure in consuming the signs, images of, and communications about commodities even when they are not themselves consumed. This is what the unemployed clogging up the new shopping centres are telling us. Style and image may become permanent parts of a new culture, but not necessarily in the way of consumerism and capitalism. We can try to learn from the 'mysteries of commodities' to apply some of their qualities to our own ends. And if commerce and consumerism have designed our main public spaces and gathering grounds for their own ends, the discovery and development of a public social space full of signs can be taken and adapted for another kind of design and experimentation - for an architecture and design which at least bears in mind the ambiguous and experimental condition of the wageless and non-consumers, and at most involves them in the processes of planning and consultation.

The general position here is that consumerism, re-ification of commodities, urban cargosim, suspicion of the state, 'anti-social' use of public space, will not be overcome through exhortation, but by working through the dilemmas and experiences of the unemployed as they happen in their lives. This means recognising their simultaneous and ambiguous desires both to have the wage, to be consumers, to make the old transitions, **and through necessity**, to make a living subversion of, to experiment with alternatives to, these very things. A pluralist and libertarian acceptance, and attempted duplication, of the attraction and power of commodities - but upon new social grounds and territory - may paradoxically open the way to the transcendance of the wage and commodity forms. Knowing them through the inside is one route to transcendance.

Connected with this, in my view, we should also be encouraging very much more wide ranging and massive educational provision for young people, allowing continuing education beyond 16, open access, training for skills and vocation of course, but also developing imaginative ways of dealing with the real experiences of cultural change. As in all other areas discussed, there are pressing dangers and new possibilities. Often lost to formal schooling on one side, and not taken up into the complex informal knowledges of work on the other, young people may be crucially without some of the widest social bearings for their educational experience. It is into this potential vacuum that fascist and racist explanations of their worsened social conditions may flow - with their own associated cultures, symbols and excitements to fill out boring expanses of time and provide what look to be fleshed up and resistant identities. By the same token there is also a potential here for critical and social thought to supply more rational and progressive explanations for the social condition of the young. It may be possible to take the crisis and tensions within received views of gender, for instance, to work for more progressive and positive ways of being men and women. The break in transitions for working class males and their failed apprenticeships into shop floor culture **and** its automatic anti-mentalism, may open up very wide possibilities for mental work and understandings, for a critical examination of the costs, sacrifices and gender enforcements of the now unobtainable wage. There must also be progressive visual and design possibilites starting from a critical and practical extension of an interest in the images, representations and signs of the new shopping centres - that capitalism has perversely forced the unemployed to understand.

Of course there are enormous difficulties in trying to open up the discussion of new and imaginative possibilities for the young unemployed. Why shouldn't it be difficult when we are faced with a new situation, disarray and incomprehension all about. But the starting point I'm suggesting is that, for some, wage labour and its associated transitions and cultural identities may be disappearing. If this has any truth, then it's vital now to consider and debate in the broadest way: what new life projects; what new transitions; what new maps of meaning, modes of maturity and development; may be possible for the young unemployed. How can we make possible a viable personal life history and a set of recognisable life stages for the young unemployed?

What is for sure in my mind is that such developments must recognise and work through the real conditions, changing cultures and understandings of the unemployed. Such developments must also rethink the state and the nature and logic of its provisions in relation to what wagelessness really means in a society still mainly organised by wage labour and consumerism.

The old slogan 'Work for all' is still tops, but it's time to add some others:

Replace the wage for the unemployed!
Politically wage the unemployed!
Culturally wage the unemployed!
Socialise the mysterious power of commodities!
Pleasure for the unemployed!
Progress through the 'better side' of 'the bad'!

REFERENCES & NOTES

1. **Jacques, M. & Hall, S. (eds)** The Politics of Thatcherism. Lawrence & Wishart 1983.
2. **Massey, D.** The Shape of Things to Come. Marxism Today, April 1983.

education after 16 for young people with disabilities

MICHAEL HIRST

Until the mid-1970s there was little provision in continuing or further education for young people with disabilities.[1] Most special schools did not cater for pupils over 16 and students had to be able-bodied and have reached a minimum educational standard to be admitted to local colleges. Special programmes such as work preparation courses and social skills training designed to ease the transition to adult life were uncommon. Whilst school-leavers who entered Adult Training Centres and other day centres were unlikely to continue their formal education.

The Arnock Committee (1978) found in a nationally representative sample of 18 year olds, that five times as many of the non-handicapped as of the handicapped were still at school or in further education.[2] The Committee gave high priority to the education and training of young people over 16 with special needs. It argued that relatively few young people with disabilities will have reached their full educational potential by the end of their compulsory schooling; apart from interruptions to their schooling for health or other reasons, many will be slow in their educational development. The Committee also pointed out that continuing education beyond 16 may smooth the transition to adult life and in the long-term help to maximise potential for independent living.

In recent years, there has been a substantial development in the range and number of further education and vocational training opportunities for young people with disabilities. Provision has, however, not developed as part of a national and regionally co-ordinated programme as suggested by the Warnock Committee. Rather progress at the local level seems to depend upon committed individuals in key positions and the amount of pressure exerted by parents.

A survey of developments in further education and related areas for students with special needs concluded that:
1) provision is patchy so that the opportunities available depend very much on geographical location;
2) provision is often unrelated to other agencies involved in assisting young people with special needs through the transition from school to adult life;
3) provision is often lacking the integration of curricula, assessment procedures, careers guidance, counselling and support services.[3]
The consequences for young people are: first, that many will find it difficult if not impossible to secure the educational provision most appropriate to their special needs; and second, that the potential benefits for those who enter further education and vocational training may not be realised on leaving.

The principal objective of this article is to show that substantial inequalities exist in the education after sixteen of young people with disabilities despite the expansion of specialist provision beyond the period of compulsory schooling. A second objective is to look critically at what further education achieves for young people with disabilities. The continued expansion of specialist education for those aged 16 to 19 may mitigate inequalities in educational opportunities. But there is a need to pause to ask the question 'expansion for what?'.

The curricula of specialist further education are diverse and often depend on the needs and abilities of individual students. Courses may be designed to develop life and social skills, to improve basic reading or mathematical skills, to train for a job, or to prepare for GCE or CSE examinations. Students choose further education for a variety of reasons but one important aim of specialist provision is to increase their employability. Provision of educational opportunities alone however, is unlikely to lead to employment possibilities for all those young people with disabilities who are able to take advantage of them. Evidence to support these arguments will be drawn from a recent survey.

The article is divided into three sections. The first section outlines the methods used and describes some characteristics of the sample. The second section is concerned with inequalities in the educational experience of the sample and also investigates the relationship between further education and current weekday occupation. The final section examines the implications of the survey findings.

Method and sample

The data are derived from a postal survey of families with a severely disabled young adult. The sample was drawn at random from the register of families who have been helped by the Family Fund. This Fund is administered for the government by the Joseph Rowntree Memorial Trust and receives applications for help from families with very severely disabled children.[4] The Family Fund register is the most comprehensive register of children with severe disabilities in Britain: it is estimated that the Fund has helped two-thirds of all the families with a severely disabled child who are eligible for help.[5]

A one in four sample of young people aged 16 to 21 years and living in England was taken. A total of 1164 questionnaires

completed by parents were received. This represents a net response rate of 82 per cent. The survey was undertaken in November - December 1981.

In this article, we are interested in those families where the young person lived at home all the time: 934, representing 80 per cent of the sample, did so. The young people were described by their parents as physically impaired only (24 per cent), mentally impaired only (30 per cent) and sensorily impaired only (4 per cent). The term multiply impaired (42 per cent) covers those who were described as both mentally retarded and physically impaired; some also had a sensory impairment.

More than 93 per cent of the young people had received some form of special schooling including special provision in an ordinary school.

Table 1: Type of school attended

Type of school	Frequency	Percentage
Day special school	706	79
Residential special school	88	10
Ordinary school	59	7
Special unit in an ordinary school	17	2
Home tuition	14	2
Hospital school	12	1
No schooling	3	0.3
Total (35 cases missing)	899	100

Table 1 presents information on the type of school which the young person attended just before leaving or attended at the time of the survey. The largest proportion of young people had attended a special school on a daily basis.

FINDINGS

Education after 16

This research attempted to identify gaps as well as indicate the extent of variations in educational provision after sixteen. All the young people were over the age of compulsory education. Nevertheless, almost a fifth still attended school. Just over half had left school in their sixteenth year (Table 2).

Table 2: School-leaving age

School-leaving age	Frequency	Percentage
Less than 14 years	7	1
14	7	1
15	14	2
16	477	53
17	124	14
18	64	7
19	30	3
Still at school	167	19
No schooling	3	0.3
Total (41 cases missing)	893	100

It is possible to estimate from the survey data the proportion still at school in January 1979 and to compare this directly with similar information for all young people in England at that time. This is shown by age in Table 3.

Table 3: Proportion at school by age, January 1979.

Age	Number in age group	Number at school	Percentage at school	Percentage of age group at school in England +
14	235	232	99	100
15	207	200	97	100
16	187	70	37	51
17	149	23	15	21
18	112	7	6	7

+ Source: Great Britain, Department of Education and Science (1981). Statistics of Education 1979 Volume 1 Schools (England). London: HMSO (p. 12-13)

The evidence indicates that the young people in the survey were much less likely to remain at school beyond statutory leaving age than were pupils in the general population. The differences in proportions of those aged 16 or 17 who were still at school are statistically significant between the sample and young people in general. However, leaving school did not necessarily mark the end of formal education. Of the 695 young people who had left school at sixteen years or older, 44 per cent (300) had received some further education after leaving school (excluding those where receipt of further education is not known). The majority went to colleges of further education but some young people had received further education at an Adult Training Centre or at an establishment sponsored by a voluntary body. The percentage who received further education decreases systematically with increasing age: from 50 per cent for those born in 1964 to 41 per cent for those born in 1960. This trend may reflect in part the expansion of provision in specialist further education since the mid-70s; it may also reflect the greater difficulties young people have in finding jobs. Overall, of the young people who had completed their period of compulsory education, 69 per cent (581) had received some education after their sixteenth birthday. This group comprises those who either stayed on at school after 16 (including those still at school) and/or those who received further education after leaving school (Table 4).

Table 4: Post-16 education

Post-16 education+	Frequency	Percentage
Still at school	167	20
Left school at 16, received FE	198	23
Left school at 17 or over, received FE	102	12
Left school at 17 or over, received no FE	114	13
Left school at 16, receieved no FE	264	100
Total (58 cases missing)	845	100

+ excludes those who received no schooling (3) and those who left school before 16 (28), i.e. n = 903

The age on leaving school of the 300 young people who had received further education after leaving was examined further. The findings suggest that where suitable further education provision is available, the young people prefer to leave school at 16 and continue their education elsewhere rather than stay on at school. Where the young person may not be ready at sixteen to enter further education, staying on at school another year or more increases the likelihood of taking up further education.

There were significant variations in post-16 education according to type of impairment. Those young people who were only

physically or only sensorily impaired were more likely to have left school at sixteen and taken up further education and less likely to be still at school. Those who were multiply impaired were much more likely to have stayed on at school after 16 (or to be still at school) and much less likely to have taken up further education after leaving school. The proportions of those only mentally impaired did not differ significantly inrespect of their post-16 educational experience from the overall sample proportions shown in Table 4. These differences in educational experience after 16 may reflect variations in further education provision for young people with different types of impairment; they may also reflect variations in the practice of allowing young people with particular disabilities to stay on at school after 16.

The scope of further education

Where the young person had taken up further education since leaving school, parents were asked to describe its focus and content in terms of three broad areas: formal education (eg. reading, writing, arithmetic), employment training and work preparation, and personal and social skills (eg. use of money, telephone, public transport; shopping; cooking and personal care).[6]

Of the 300 young people who had received further education since leaving school, 44 per cent had received formal education, 47 per cent had received employment training, and 45 per cent had received training in social skills. These three aspects of further education are found in varying combinations:

Figure 1: Types of further education (n = 300)

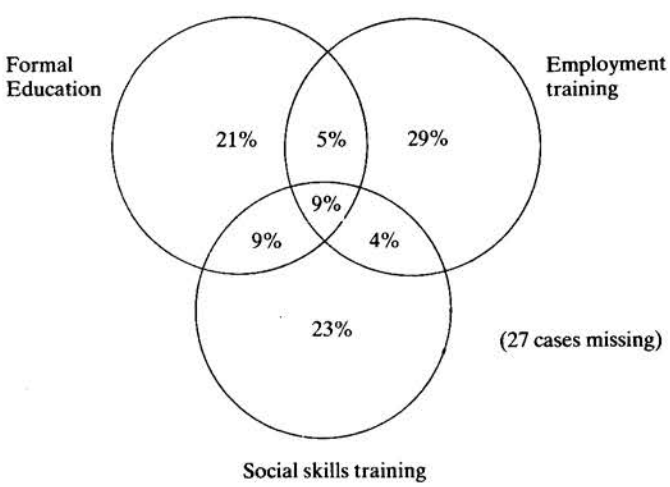

Figure 1 shows the proportion of young people receiving one or more of the individual components. For example, 21 per cent received only formal education and four per cent received both employment and social skills training.

The scope of further education received varied markedly according to type of impairment. For example, those young people who were only physically impaired were significantly more likely to have received formal education or employment training or both and were unlikely to have received training in social skills. Those who were multiply imapried or only mentally impaired were significantly more likely to have received only social skills training since leaving school.

Does further education make a difference in terms of occupation?

Table 5: Type of weekday occupation

Full-time Weekday occupation +	Frequency	Percentage
Adult Training Centre	292	48
Day centre	89	15
Open employment	60	10
Sheltered employment	32	5
At home, unoccupied	140	23
Total	613	100

+ excludes those still in full-time education or training and those in part-time placements.

Table 5 shows the full-time weekday occupation of the young people who had left school or further education and who were not engaged in any temporary placement such as a work preparation course. Over half were in some form of day provision for adults with disabilities. The largest number attended Adult Training Centres which are primarily for adults with mental impairments. Only 10 per cent were working in open employment. These findings were used to determine whether access to further education after leaving school had any effect upon current weekday occupation.

No strong and significant relationship was found between current weekday occupation and take-up of further education. That is, whether or not further education had been received had no marked effect on the proportion of young people who were found in the weekday occupations identified. In particular, take-up of further education had no significant effect on the proportion who were in open employment or the proportion who were at home all week with no structured occupation.

The absense of any strong relationship between weekday occupation and access to further education was repeated when the definition of further education was broadened to also include those who had stayed on at school after 16 but had not received any further education after leaving. Furthermore, when the different aspects of further education described above were examined separately, no significant effect upon weeekday occupation was found. For example, whether or not employment training had been received after leaving school did not increase the likelihood of working in open or sheltered employment. When the sample was disaggregated by type of impairment, again there was no substantial relationship between current weekday occupation and access to further education. This was the case even for those who were only physically impaired, despite their greater likelihood of having entered further education after school.

The findings of this survey therefore suggest that access to further education has little or no effect on subsequent weekday occupation. In particular, take-up of further education did not appear to increase the chance of a job in open employment for those young people who were only physically impaired.

Discussion

Young people with disabilities face seriously restricted opportunities for continuing and further education after 16. This survey found that they tend to leave school earlier than young people in general and that six out of ten may never take-up

further education.[7] This survey also found marked differences in the take-up of further education by type of impairment: those who were only physically or only sensorily impaired were much more likely to enter further education after leaving school. There was also considerable variation by type of impairment in the take-up of different types of further education.

The majority of young people with disabilities need the opportunity to continue their education and training beyond the age of 16 to prepare them for adult life. The mentally handicapped, in particular, are often just beginning to make real progress and to respond to more formal work around 16. And yet in many areas children are being forced to leave special school at just this age. Most get no chance for further education.

Nowadays, the majority of school-leavers are unable to find a permanent job on first entering the labour market. Young people can, of course, enhance their employment prospects by continuing their education after 16 to improve qualifications and obtain vocational skills. Unfortunately, this option is not open to many school-leavers with special needs. Not surprisingly therefore, the young adults in this sample were several times less likely to be in paid employment than their peer group in the general population.[8]

The shortfall of further education opportunities and the marked variation in take-up suggest the need for overall planning to eliminate gaps in provision. Most important, the continued development of specialist further education should take account of the diversity of disablement experiences and ensure that the needs of young people with different impairments and disabilities are fully met. In particular, the needs of those with severe physical and mental impairments must not be overlooked.

There are legal and organisational obstacles to a policy which accepts that the further education sector should cater for those with disabilities as much as young people in general. Making provision for special educational needs at 16 plus is unsatisfactory under exisiting law. Although compulsory schooling ends at 16, the 1944 Education Act states that the LEA has a duty to provide full-time education to all young people who want it until their 19th birthday. But interpretation of this legal duty has been controversial and very few authorities guarantee places at schools or colleges for young people with disabilities who want to continue education beyond 16. The 1981 Education Act, which changed the law on special education, sidestepped the issue of education to 19. Legislation making proper provision compulsory should therefore be considered.

Progress in the provision of specialist further education is also hampered at the local level by the gulf between Education and social Services Departments and between the further education and schools departments within the DES. Those who care for the mentally handicapped in, for example, Adult Training Centres which are run by the Social Services Department, do not always recognise the full possibilities of further education and those who provide education do not always recognise the potential of mentally handicapped people to benefit from further education. Increased collaboration and coordination could secure more effective and more equitable provision for young people with special needs.

This research found no relationship between weekday occupation and take-up of further education. In particular, take-up of further education did not increase substantially the likelihood of working in open or sheltered employment or reduce the likelihood of being unoccupied at home all week. Such findings point to a need for a systematic evaluation of the aims and curricula of specialist further education in terms of the eventual placement of students.

If an important aim of specialist further education is to increase the number of successful placements, then there are two essential ingredients which need to be considered. First, there should be a planned placement process of college-leavers. This would help students choose amongst the possibilities appropriate to their special needs and take account of their capabilities, interests and preferences. Second, there should be consistent follow-up over a period of six months, or perhaps a year after leaving college. This would make successful adjustment more likely by giving support and help especially with initial problems. The results of follow-up would also feed back to help staff in planning future courses and placements. It is therefore critical that further education establishments should have some control over placement procedures and take greater responsibility for a follow-up and support services. This would involve closer links with students' families as well as firmer relationships between further education and placement services, eg. the careers service, job-centre staff, social workers, voluntary bodies serving people with disabilities, and private employment agencies. Closer involvement between specialist further education and local employers would help change attitudes towards employing people with disabilities as well as integrate curriculum development with local conditions.

These suggestions are put forward as ways of increasing opportunities for young people with disabilities. They will not however ensure a successful placement for each young person. Changes in education policy and practice alone will have less impact in the context of current high unemployment and public expenditure restraint,[9] for there are important factors influencing job availability and the provision of adult day services, including sheltered workshops, which are beyond the control of the education sector. Nevertheless, further education and vocational training are important pre-requisites of employability. Careful and realistic planning of education provision after 16 for young people with special needs will enhance their opportunities to play a positive and independent role in society.

Acknowledgement

The author wishes to express his gratitude to Sally Baldwin and Norman Rea for reading an earlier draft of this paper and offering valuable comments.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. **Thomas, E. and Ferguson, T.** (1964). The Handicapped School-leaver. London: British Council for Rehabilitation of the Disabled; **Tuckey, L. et al.,** (1973). Handicapped School-leavers: Their Further Education, Training and Employment. Windsor: National Foundation for Educational Research.
2. **Warnock Report:** Great Britain. Department of Education and Science (1978). Special Educational needs. Cmnd. 7212, London: HMSO.
3. **Bradley, J. and Hegarty, S.** (1982) Stretching the system. London: Further Education Unit.
4. **Bradshaw, J.R.** (1980). The Family Fund: An Initiative in Social Policy. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
5. **Bradshaw, J.R. and Lawton, D.** (1982). 'Utilization of the Family Fund', Child: care, health and development, 8, 227-37.
6. The differences between the three curriculum areas are not clear cut and it is not implied that each has a distinct existence.
7. This estimate of take-up of further education takes account of those who, at the time of the survey, expected to enter further education after leaving school.
8. **Hirst, M.A. (1983).** 'Young People with Disabilities: What happens after 16?', Child: care, health and development, 9.
9. **Walker, A. (1982).** Unqualified and underemployed: Handicapped young people and the labour market. London: Macmillan.

the problem of youth and problems in the sociology of youth

DAVID M. SMITH

In western industrial societies, adolescence is seen as a social problem. Newspaper headlines, television and radio broadcasts and magazine features concern themselves with the 'problem of youth'. The discovery by the media of youth as a problem dates back to the 1960s. Thus, for example, the New Stateman in 1967 said:

'clearly we must recognise the existence of a deep division of thought and outlook, reflected in behaviour, between generations ... Young people today have enough independence and affluence .. to constitute an autonomous group with a culture of its own. They think differently from their elders about the structure of politics, organised religion, sexual relations, class assumptions, the values of career, ambition and many other things.'[1]

Although most newspapers are unlikely now to characterise youth as 'an autonomous group with a culture of its own', they do still see youth as a major problem. Hence in recent years we have had series in both the 'quality' and 'tabloid' press asking what society can do about young people.[2] The extent to which this approach is engraved in journalistic practice can be found it an article by Tom Crabtree.[3] He is in this article attacking psychiatry and to some extent sociological explanation in relation to child guidance clinics. In doing so he describes young people in terms of the following categories 'the football hooligans, the muggers, the thieves, the school absentees'.

These are the very categories in which the media tend to present young people. The Guardian itself produced a four part series on juvenile crime and its treatment, entitled 'Nicked in the Bud', shortly after this article.[4] Football hooliganism has received extensive coverage in recent years, with the FA's threat to ban Millwall team's home matches for the 1978 season, and the report of Denis Howell's Working Party on Soccer Violence, amongst others, as spurs to action.[5] Mugging has already been discussed at great length in the literature.[6] In this case the problem is seen not so much as one of youth but rather of black youth. Truancy and running away from home,[7] on the other hand, are presented as more general youth problems. Indeed, this is one of the few youth problems seen to relate in large measure to girls as well as boys. The other is, of course, sex. Sex, drink and drugs are the other main areas of behaviour where youth is high-lighted by the press. Sex is interesting in this respect since it is associated with youth both in its undesirable and desirable aspects. The Sun, for example, in 1978 produced the usual crop of headlines typified by 'Rent-a-thrill Lolitas sold sex in the hay',[8] but also produced a Special Four Page pull-out, called 'The truth about Young Love' arguing that the young: 'may know more about sex and be more experienced. But they have developed their own moral code to go with their new freedom'.[9] As recently as the end of October 1983, the Daily Mirror made reference back to its 1977 'Savage Generation' piece by re-interviewing one of the original respondents, now aged 21. The whole emphasis of the article was on how she had now matured, given up casual sex and learned to love her mother.[10]

'The Youth Problem' is also discussed by the media in relation to various 'youth styles', both in pop music and dress, which are presumed to relate to particular kinds of behaviour. The press reportage of 'Teds' and 'Mods' and 'Rockers' in the 1960s has been extensively discussed in the sociological literature.[11] More recent coverage of seaside disturbances have been strongly linked to the earlier experiences by the press. The Observer, referring to such reported disturbances at Brighton at Easter 1980 warns of further trouble to come in the summer because 'Mods and Bikers have already laid their plans and arranged their rendezvous in the growing nostalgia for the 1960s'.[12] The description of these events as an updated re-run of the 1960s is typical of press reaction: 'The big divide in the Easter violence was between those who rode scooters and dressed smartly and the leather jacketed motor-cycle riders, but the youth groups of the 1980s are more complicated than the mods and rockers of the 1960s'.[13] The article goes on to summarise the distinctive appearances of Mods, Skinheads, Rude Boys, Roots Boys, Punks, Teds and Bikers. The implication of this reporting was that the problem is similar to that of the 1960s but even more complicated because the violence relates to wider groups of youth.

In the late 1970s and the 80s most press coverage concentrated on 'Punks', with headlines like 'Its the Punk Rock Horror Show',[14] 'The Night of the Nasties',[15] and 'Mad about Punk Rock'.[16] Although ostensibly about one or more particular pop groups, the material is presented in such a way that it can be generalised to youth as a whole. Thus, the Sex Pistols have been

presented as 'foul mouthed',[17] violent: 'I'd smash Mclaren's face in quite happily';[18] drug-addicts: 'Sex Pistol in Drug Drama';[19] and affluent: 'Filthy Rich'.[20] Yet the Observer described punk rockers as 'conceivably... England's next generation',[21] and gave prominence to the Sex Pistols' manager's comment that they are 'part of this generation which has come out of school with no future, no jobs, no chance to buy decent clothes because they have no money and only a lot of unemployment ahead of them'.[22] The press coverage of particular pop groups is, of course, closely related to the 'image' of the group itself and there is no question that managers manipulate the media in order to gain publicity. The Rolling Stones and the Who are classic examples of this technique working.[23] What is significant about the process for our purposes is the connection with Youth as a Social Problem. In each of the areas discussed the implication is that youth is a significant factor on the behaviour reported. The behaviour is real enough; that it is committed by young people is real enough. However, that it represents a social problem of youth is highly suspect.

More sophisticated positions pose youth as a problem but locate the explanation of the problem not in youth itself but in the social structural context of the youth involved. Thus, John Palmer in the Guardian series 'The Beaten Generation', quotes a Common Market Commissioner as saying: 'Everyone knows that youth unemployment is the biggest powder keg in European politics. What we are all wondering is how long is the safety fuse'.[24] The author goes on to discuss 'a growing alienation from the political and social order' of the young, and the link between unemployment and juvenile crime, concluding that 'the time fuse on the powder keg is burning away'. Two months later the Women's Guardian discusses the 'alienation' of youth in terms of the dubious practices of the rest of society: 'Top people lie, politicians legislate against what they do themselves, captains of industry embezzle, favourite sons bribe, the army tortures, the police corrupt:'[25] Youth is not to blame for the problem. Nevertheless, it remains a problem of youth. We find this position stressed in official circles also. During the last Labour Government an all-party Parliamentary Committee for Youth was set up under the Chairmanship of Ted Heath to deal with the mounting issues they face everyday - rising unemployment, racial intolerance and political extremism'.[26] Subsequently a Conservative Party Study Group[27] called for the implementation of Youth Opportunities Programme to reduce the impact of unemployment and the appointment of a Minister of State for Youth. It also stressed the need for social and political education for the young. Although this report was subsequently severely attacked by the right-wing of the Conservative Party[28] and was not adopted by the incoming government, it had much in common with the All-party committee's terms of reference.

The Conservative government's attitude towards the Bristol riots of April 1980 is revealing in this respect. A police raid on the Black and White cafe in the prodominantly black St. Paul's area of Bristol, led to a demonstration and subsequently to rioting and a total police withdrawal for period of about four hours. The government's position soon became clear with a statement from the Home Secretary that 'This was definitely not a race riot'.[29] It was rather to be seen as a conflict between youth and the police. The BBC's position appears to have been to accept this not as government opinion but as fact. Hence in the Newsround programme aimed at younger people, it was stated that: 'Everyone is stressing that this was not a race riot but was between youth and police'.[30] This was repeated twice during the course of the programme, and the arrest of white youths was heavily stressed. Since the following day was Good Friday, the press were unable to react immediately, and when they were able to they tended to adopt the position that the problem was one of black youth rather than youth or race in general.[31] Nevertheless, when the seaside disturbances occurred over the subsequent Easter holiday the press and television tended to refer back to Bristol as another example of youthful deviance.

Occasionally the accuracy of some of the evidence presented by the press in support of youth as a problem has been questioned by the media themselves.[32] Even in the tabloids the praiseworthy efforts of youth are also stressed. However, it is perhaps no accident that young people presented as victims rather than perpetrators tend not to be referred to as youth. We might, for example, compare two large headlines in a local paper. The first, criticising the local Council is headlined 'Council's rule OK - but youngsters still miss out'.[33] The second a crime report is headlined 'Youths admitted catalogue of crime'.[34] The age group referred to is the same.

A different local paper makes the point even more strongly. A report of an assault frequently reiterates the view that youths were responsible. Under the title 'Mugging Victims Walk of Agony' it says:

> '... Police are hunting a gang of about 20 youths who caused trouble at a party and were thrown out ... Police believe that 20 youths who were causing trouble during the party were thrown out shortly before the attack ... "We want to find these youths because we believe they may be responsible for the attack", said Det. Sup't.'[35]

The next edition reported the story with no further information:

> *'Police wait to talk to gang victim*
> The 26 year old man is in Coventry and Warwickshire Hospital and detectives are waiting for him to recover enough to talk to them ... Police believe a gang of 20 youths who caused trouble at a 21st birthday party the man was attending at the old hall were responsible.'[36]

Yet in the same edition, the Front Page was headlined:

> *'Mercy Dash for Teenage Knife Victim*
> A Teenager with a sheath knife deeply embedded in his back was rushed more than 20 miles by ambulance last might to undergo emergency surgery'.[37]

It would appear, in part at least, that youth has become a code word used by the media for the undesirable aspects of young people. Aggressors are youth, victims are teenagers or youngsters.

The mass media tend to portray youth as a social problem. The present author has argued in the past[38] that we may take a traditional definition of a social problem in terms of its objective and its subjective condition. The objective condition 'is a verifiable situation which can be checked as to existence and magnitude (proportion) by impartial and trained observers'.[39] The subjective definition is 'the awareness of certain individuals that the condition is a threat to certain cherished values'.[40] Whilst there is some evidence that Youth is perceived popularly as a social problem, its objective condition is open to dispute. Certainly the reportage of court-appearances of young people can be presumed to be accurate and the behavioural element of what is reported is not generally in dispute. What is more dubious is the contention that youth is significant. Stan Cohen has argued convincingly that it is in the nature of the media that

they produce moral panics.[41] In many respects the media coverage of youth bears the hall-marks of a moral panic. Yet Cohen,[42] surveying local people at the time of one presumed moral panic found that they did not take the matter anything like as seriously as did the media. Indeed, the same process of creation of moral panics, as described by Hall et. al.[43] is seen to operate without reference to the major part of the audience. It is not that the media 'autonomously create news items'; rather they are 'cued in' to specific new topics by regular and reliable institutional sources.[44]

In a situation where the general audience has knowledge of the subject matter, a moral panic campaign may be unsuccessful, but in most cases the media are the primary source of knowledge. How youth might come to be created a 'folk devil' in the public mind is described in an early article by the present writer.[45] In this it is argued that stereotypes do exist in regard to youth as a whole - particularly in terms of its irresponsibility, and in regard to specific groups of young people - like Mods, Rockers, Skinheads, Punks, etc. - as well as to certain other groups of the population which though not youthful are associated with youth - actors, fashion models. As long as criteria, other than age, remain important for the maintenance of the stereotypes these distinctions can be maintained. However most people's primary source of knowledge about youth is the mass media which tends to present the deviant behaviour of numerous 'youthful' groups in close succession, often in the form of 'folk devils'. Thus 'student riots in Japan, draft dodgers in America, hippy sit-ins in London and the delinquent behaviour of local skinheads, all come to be seen as aspects of the general irresponsibility of adolescence'.[46]

Whilst the press actually bring forth no compelling evidence for believing that there is any objective support for the labelling of youth as a social problem, it hardly behoves the sociologist to lay the blame at the door of the media. There is ample sociological work which argues that youth represents a social problem. From the 1960s onwards, youth began to appear as a chapter in sociological works on social problems.[47] More importantly the social problem of youth implies a sociological problem of youth. For the most part sociological theories see the sociological problem of youth arising out of its significance as a major force for change, or stability, in contemporary society. This assumption that youth constitutes a major explanatory category is incorporated in work from a wide variety of theoretical perspectives. It is to be found in Structural-Functionalism with its emphasis on social order and social stability; and it is to be found in various Neo-Marxist and Conflict Theories with their emphasis upon change. It is an assumption about youth which needs to be examined more carefully.

How Sociologists Characterize Youth

The sociological literature - both empirical and theoretical - on Youth is now massive and as such no single paper can do justice to the full range and complexity of that which is available. Nevertheless, I would argue that the bulk of this literature can be categorised under three headings, each with a distinctive characterization of youth. These are: youth as a social problem; youth as a political problem; and youth as essentially normative. I shall deal with each of these in turn.

(a) **The Social Problem of Youth**

I have laid emphasis upon this aspect of youth in the early part of this paper because it is in this area that most popular discussion of youth is treated. The sociological legitimation of youth as a social problem arises mostly from Structural-Functional Theory, particularly from the use of the concepts of Youth Culture and Youth Subculture. Structural-Functional Theory is concerned with the functionality of youth groups in the maintenance of conditions of stability and continuity within societies. Age groups and youth movements are see to perform integrative functions in society by providing an interlinking sphere between the family and other institutional spheres of society.[48] The social problem arises in that youth groups do not always do this. In establishing themselves as distinct from other institutional contexts they tend to develop distinctive cultures or subcultures which may be in opposition to dominant values. It is the oppositional nature of these values that is the focus of much Structural-Functionalist work and it is in this context that the concepts of youth culture and subculture become so central.

Youth are characterized as having adopted values which reject the dominant values of parents,[49] the school,[50] or in extreme forms of the thesis, the rejection of the dominant values of society as a whole.[51] The oppositional nature of youth is either characterized as a series of youth subcultures, all arising from the distinctiveness of youth but differentiated according to the social-structural and historical context of different youth groups or as a distinct Youth Culture which 'comprises a range of distinct attitudes, gestures, life-styles and patterns of action'.[52] Young people operate within informal institutions - like the peer group - which enable them to play the peculiarly irresponsible role of youth,[53] thereby experimenting with adult 'responsible' roles in a socially acceptable context. Youth subcultures or Youth Culture are the culture(s) of these informal institutions. The social problem arises when these cultural elements become too far divorced from the dominant culture. In typical Structural-Functionalist fashion this possibility is explained by either faulty socialization and/or a failure of social control at the local level. Youthful irresponsibility then becomes youthful deviance and youth are seen as a social problem.

(b) **The Political Problem of Youth**

Some sociological theorists go beyond posing youth as a social problem, and see youth as a problem in the political sphere as well. The difference here is that whilst Youth Culture implies youth as in opposition to dominant societal values, in this case youth are seen to be openly rebellious against those values. Thus, youth are characterised not merely as questioning or rejecting such values but as attempting to replace those values with another set of values. They are, then, seen as a force for dramatic and radical change within society. The range of theoretical positions which pose youth in a radical role is very wide, stretching from various neo-Marxist positions, through Conflict Theory to some versions of the Counter-Culture thesis. Most of this work is organised around the concept of youth class.

The concept of youth class is used to characterise youth as on the one hand synonymous with or in the vanguard of, the proletariat,[54] or on the other hand, as a new class which has arisen following the decline of the old proletariat as a revolutionary force.[55] The latter is most commonly posed in terms of the Post-Capitalist thesis; that is to say, the claim that contemporary industrial societies have passed beyond the historical stage of capitalism into a new society in which conflict is based on criteria other than the relation to the means of production.

Youth is not a problem arising from faulty socialization or fai-

lure of control in a particular institutional setting; youth, rather, is a force for social change which arises out of the given historical situation.[56] In practice, many writers from this position concentrate on the revolutionary role of students as the leaders of the youth movement. This is sometimes linked with the concept of educational capital to explain the nature of the conflict. The significance of industrial capital has been replaced by educational capital. Thus access to educational capital become the focus of conflict. Hence students are in the forefront of the battle. In this case youth is more than a social problem which can be resolved by the application of prophylactic measures, but a political force which must either be placated through radical reform or crushed.

(c) **Youth and Deviant Categories**

Both of the positions so far outlined characterise youth as an oppositional force in contemporary society. Yet in neither case does this characterisation of youth accord very well with the empirical evidence available on the nature of youth behaviour. There is, of course, ample empirical evidence for deviant and oppositional behaviour by some youth. The literature on juvenile delinquency is enormous,[57] as is that on deviant behaviour in schools.[58] There are numerous studies of various ephemeral 'deviant' youth groups.[59] However, for the most part these relate to working class youth, to black youth and particularly to boys not girls. Other evidence exists for some youth as political radicals and as drop-outs setting up alternative societies of communes. These for the most part consist of white middleclass youth.

The significance of all this evidence, I suggest, lies in two factors. First, although each body of empirical material is able to demonstrate the existence of 'deviant' categories amongst youth: of the association of youth with social or political problems, the youth associated with each are quite specific groups of young people. None of these categories relates to youth as a whole. Nor are the positions held by the various groups compatible with one another. Secondly, even taking all these 'deviant' categories together, we are still dealing with a minority of youth. It is generally accepted within the sociological literature that the vast majority of youth are normative. Matza[60] has proposed four categories under which to subsume youtful activity. They are bohemianism, radicalism, delinquency and conventionality. Of these, he argues, by far the largest response by youth is a conventional one. This remains undisputed in the literature. Thus, although sociological theory has tended to characterise youth either as a social problem in its opposition to dominant values, or as a political force acting for radical change, empirical work in sociology, acknowledges that most youth are conventional and cannot be characterised by either of these responses.

Some writers have been led to question the utility of youth as a sociological concept and to argue that it has little or no explanatory value at the level of generality at which it is used in these theories. Hall[61] for example, has argued that youth only has significance as an explanatory factor in sociological explanation with the boundaries of class, sex and ethnic differences, and that youth as a concept applied across such boundaries in unacceptable. The justification for this is that the subcultural responses of young people - the various 'deviant' actions - are to be seen as responses to underlying social structural conditions rather than to their status as youth. It may be that the response of the young differs from that of their elders in the same social structural context but these differences arise from differences in institutional contexts and generational responses.

Hall's position is useful in providing a corrective to the theoretical stances discussed above. Certainly it can be argued with some justice that the way in which the concepts of Youth Culture and Youth Class have been used in Sociology is unsatisfactory in that they make youth the major explanatory concept in the analysis of social stability and social change. Yet to reject youth as a concept is to go to the opposite extreme. For Hall, the future of the Sociology of Youth is confined to the study of young people within certain class, sex and ethnic boundaries.

Conclusions

The characterisations of youth presented by sociological theory raise real problems at the level of policy implementation. The view of youth as essentially normative might almost be regarded as a truism. Yet it is so at odds with the hysterical reaction of the media that it is unlikely to be taken too seriously. What is more, the level of abstraction at which normative conformism is discussed makes it appear to have little relevance to the empirical reality of youth. Youth, on the whole, may actually be demonstrated to be as conservative as their parents in their value orientations; yet in looking and acting as youth they too readily invite caricature in the media. We can all see that 'youth' are deviant. What is more, there is some evidence that some youth are genuinely so.

On the other hand, sociologists emphasising youth as a social problem have tended to exaggerate the problem nature of youth and so have encouraged, whether deliberately or not, the use of their work as a confirmation of the 'common sense' view. This is perhaps surprising when so much of this work is theoretically grounded, however loosely, in Structural-Functionalism, with its emphasis upon consensus and equilibrium. [62] The posing of youth as a political problem by some sociologists is, or rather was, refreshing in this respect. However, the emphasis upon youth as a political force is firmly grounded in the 1960s. Whilst refreshing, it has come to be seen as an historical aberration.

Sociological Theory, then, has had relatively little impact upon 'common sense' views of youth, and consequently, with one or two notable exceptions,[63] relatively little impact upon youth policy. As a sociologist, this is a position which I regard as particularly serious at this time. With unemployment rates at their current levels, and with its differential impact upon young people, it is particularly important that youth policy should be adequately grounded in theoretical understanding. None of the characterisations of youth offered are adequate for an understanding of the contemporary condition of youth. Now is a time when ALL young people face a crisis in education and employment. A crisis which is likely to have an impact upon all other aspects of their lives. Yet at the same time, the force of the crisis varies widely in its impact upon the young depending upon their class, their colour, their sex, their region, etc. It is absurd, in such a situation to characterise their response as 'deviant'; as explained by reference to youth 'as a problem'. It is also absurd to write only of youth as a whole when the differences in consequences vary so widely. But, it is just as dangerous to ignore the significance of their youthfulness. What is needed is a sociological account of youth which addresses the issues in such a way that it can offer clear perspectives on policy directives and counteract 'common sensical' views of youth.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. New Statesman, 7th July, 1967.
2. See, for example: 'The Changlings', Guardian, Women's Page, 18th Sept., 1978 following. 'The Savage Generation', Daily Mirror, Shock Report, 19th Sept., 1977, following. 'On the Beat', Observer, Colour Magazine, 19th March, 1978.
3. Guardian, 17th May, 1978. Crabtree is both a Social Psychologist and Journalist.
4. Guardian, 13th June, 1978, following. For a classic example from the tabloid press, see: 'How can we stop the thugs now wrecking platform one', Daily Mail, 27th March, 1980.
5. See for example: '"Lock up Soccer thugs", says Judge', The Sun, 28th Jan., 1978 'The Five Faces of a Hooligan', The Sun, 16th Feb., 1978. Guardian, Women's Page, 20th March, 1978. 'Football: are hooligans once again let loose amongst us', Guardian, 19th August, 1978.
6. See, **Hall, S. et. al.** Policing the Crisis, Macmillan, 1978.
7. See, for example: 'Getting out of School', Education Guardian, 7th Feb., 1978. 'Runaways', BBC 1, Dramatized Documentary Series, 9th March, 1978, following. 'Bad time Girls', Guardian, 9th March, 1978.
8. The Sun, 23rd march, 1978.
9. The Sun, 21st March, 1978.
10. Daily Mirror, August 31st, 1983.
11. See, **Cohen, S.** Folk Devils and Moral Panics: the Creation of the Mods and Rockers, MacGibbon and Kee, 1972.
12. Observer, 13th April, 1980.
13. Ibid.
14. The Sun, Centre Spread, 1st Dec., 1976.
15. Daily Mirror, Centre Spread and Headline, 3rd Dec., 1976.
16. Observer Colour Magazine, 30th Jan., 1977.
17. This following their appearance in an interview with Bill Grundy on Thames TV, 1st Dec., 1976.
18. The Sun, Subheading, 18th Jan., 1978.
19. The Sun, Headline, 20th Jan., 1978.
20. Daily Mirror, 18th March, 1977.
21. 'How Punk became a four letter word', The Observer, 5th Dec., 1976.
22. Malcolm McLaren, Ibid.
23. The subsequent release, of 'The Who' film 'Quadrophenia', produced a number of special features on the 'new' Mod style. See for example: 'The Mods Speed Back', The Observer, Colour Magazine, 2nd Septe., 1979. 'Trend, furnished with Mod cons', Guardian, Weekend Arts, 1s Sept., 1979.
24. Guardian, 17th Oct., 1977.
25. Guardian, Women's page, 2nd March, 1978.
26. Guardian, 8th March, 1978.
27. A Time for Youth.
28. 'Tory document on Youth "ridiculous"', Guaridan, 24th June, 1978.
29. Reported BBC 1 News, 5.30pm, 3rd April, 1980.
30. John Craven's Newsround, 5.05pm, 3rd April, 1980.
31. See, for example: 'How Bristol Blew Up', Sunday Times, 6th April, 1980.
32. See, for example: Pearson Phillips, 'When Hugging was the wrong word to use', The Observer, 17th Oct., 1976. Peter Fiddick, 'When the Action replay isn't the real thing', Guardian, 17th Nov., 1977.
33. Harlow Gazette, 26th May, 1978.
34. Harlow Gazette, 30th June, 1978.
35. Coventry Evening Telegraph, Sat. Aug., 1983, Front Page.
36. Coventry Evening Telegraph, Monday, Aug. 22nd, 1983, Page 4.
37. Coventry Evening Telegraph, Monday, Aug. 22nd 1983, Front Page.
38. **Smith, D.M.** 'Adolescence: is it a Social Problem', Education in the North, 1972.
39. **Fuller, R.C. and Myers, R.R.** 'The Natural History of a Social Problem', American Sociological Review, 6, 1941, pp. 320-329.
40. Ibid.
41. **Cohen, S.** Op. Cit.
42. Ibid.
43. **Hall, S.** et. al. Op. Cit.
44. Ibid, Page 57.
45. **Smith, D.R.** 'Adolescence: a study of stereotyping', Sociological Review, 18, 1970, pp. 197-211.
46. Ibid, Page 206.
47. See, for example: **Becker, H.S.,** Social Problems: a Modern Approach, Wiley, 1966. **Bredemer, H.C.** and **Tody, J.** Social Problems in Ameica, Wiley, 1960. Lindenfeld, F. Radical Perspectives on Social Problems, Collier-Macmillan, 1968.
48. Eisenstadt, S.N. From Generation to Generation; Age groups and Social Structure, Glencoe, The Free Press, 1956.
49. **Coleman, J.S.** The Adolescent Society, The Free Press, 1961.
50. **Sugarman, B.** 'Involvement in Youth Culture, Academic Achievement and Conformity in Schools', British Journal of Sociology, 18, 1967, pp. 151-164.
51. **Wilson, B.** The Youth Culture and the Universities, Faber, 1970.
52. Ibid, Page 158.
53. **Parsons, T.** 'Age and Sex in the Social Structure of the United States', American Sociological Review, 7, 1942, pp. 604-616.
54. Neo-Marxist.
55. Conflict Theory.
56. There are Idealist versions of the thesis as well.
57. Recent important British Studies include: **Patrick, J.** A Glasgow Gang Observed, Eyre Methuen, 1973. **Barker, H.** View from the Boys, David and Charles, 1974.
58. See, for example, the classic studies: **Downes, D.** The Delinquent Solution, RKP 1966. **Hargreaves, D.H.** Social Relations ina Secondary School, RKP 1967.
59. **Mungham, G. and Pearson, G.** Working Class Youth Culture, RKP, 1976. For a a discussion of American Youth Styles, see **Grinder, R.E.** Adolescence, 2nd Ed. Wiley, 1978.
60. **Matza, D.** 'Subterranean Traditions of Youth', Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences, 338, 1961, pp. 102-118.
61. **Hall, S., Jefferson, T. and Clarke, J.** 'Youth: a Stage of Life?', Youth in Society, 17, May/June 1976, pp. 17-19.
62. **Smith, D.M.** 'Structural-Functionalist Accounts of Youth', Youth and Policy, Vol. 1, No. 3, Winter, 1983, pp. 1-9.
63. **Marsland, D.** Sociological Explorations in the Service of Youth, NYB, 1978. **Butters, S. and Newell, S.** Realities of Training, NYB 1978.

young peoples rights - who's responsible for the reality?

BOB STEAD

The following article is based on some of the issues raised concerning the content and style of two 'alternative' rights guides for young people in Scotland, and the implications of the controversy which have surrounded their production and distribution.

These guides, the first of which was produced in 1981, contain information presented in a direct, informal manner, on such subjects as benefits, the police, sex, employment, housing, drugs and homosexuality. This information which was initially culled from the publications of such organisations as the Brook Advisory Centres, the Scottish Council for Civil Liberties, and the Child Poverty Action Group and the intention has been to acknowledge many of the teenage 'problems' which are usually either avoided or dealt with only superficially on the premise that, 'If you talk about it, they'll do it'.

The response to such an approach is unpredictable. Although the booklet caused no controversey when issued in Edinburgh, when issued in Fife whilst working in an MSC funded drop-in/ advice centre for young people, the booklet was publicly denounced. Comments, which were reported in the papers under headlines such as 'Sex Shocker in Book for the Young' included the reactions of local trades councillors, one of whom said the booklet should contain more information on benefits instead of *"showing teenagers how to have sex or become homosexuals or gluesniffers"* another more telling comment was as follows:

> *"There are many many rights which should be made known to the young unemployed and that is what these centres are for. Of course other information should be available and given when asked, but not just dished out".*

The desire to sanitize, if not censure the sort of information available to young people is widespread, and has been further illustrated by the fact that one of the agencies which was to have been involved in the production of the latest version was forced to withdraw after threats to their grant. In producing the latest more detailed edition it was necessary to look beyond the guides produced by other agencies for a clearer understanding of the law. This has, however, revealed not only less clarity than is often suggested by rights digests, but disturbing contradictions between theory, interpretation and practice which have led me to examine more closely the whole area of young peoples rights.

In Britain, any attempt to compile a comprehensive statement on rights is complicated by the fact that we have no constitution or bill of rights, (whether or not this would give us a better guarantee of those rights is, of course, another question). This means that any positive statement on the rights we possess can only be made by establishing which things we are legally prevented from doing. This is a complex task as our law is based overwhelmingly on the precedent of individual case law, the documentation of which is often obscure and difficult to locate.

Having negotiated these difficulties we are still only left with the somewhat simplistic conclusion that we have an automatic right to do anything which is not specifically prohibited, and conversly (and often more importantly) that we are not obliged to do anything unless we have a legally enforceable duty to do so. This process, however, takes no account of the perhaps better known, powerful network of socially defined rights, established by custom and practice, allowing us what 'society' deems reasonable, appropriate, fair and proper. Young people are particularly effected by this popular definition of rights, for it may not only effect the outcome in any legal test case, but will have an important influence on how any legally defined rights are defined in practice.

I would like to look at two issues, both of which I feel are closely linked to this powerful social definition of what rights young people should be accorded, how these should be administered in practice, and how any information on these rights should be presented.

The first issue is the call to emphasise to young people their responsibilities and obligations to society, presumably to encourage them to accept their roles rather than providing them with information which they might use to challenge, change or improve these roles. Such calls may be better understood when it is remembered that they come for the most part from those who have witnessed the growth in education, the welfare state, improvements in housing and standards of living etc., and who have a lot to be proud of in our society. Their approach, therefore as John Ewan points out may be:

> "about conformity, a kindly device to contain the young until they have the good sense to recognise the value of 'that which is' .... keeping them out of mischief until they accept 'their status in our quo'"[1]

Unfortunately for young people their experience of the society in which they have to find a place may be almost the mirror image of those described above, for not only are they faced with massive unemployment, but they are witnessing a decline in the provision of housing education and social services. They may consequently be less able to appreciate the value of 'that which is' and in need of positive guidance which will help them establish both what society expects from them and what they can expect from society. In providing any such help it is important to remember that if it is to be of any use at all it must be based not an adult perceptions of what comprises reality for young people, but in reality as young people know it, (even though this may not always be 'convenient' for us) as Friere says:

> "our role is to dialogue with the people about their view and ours (not to attempt to impose our view on them). We must realise that their view of the world manifested variously in their actions, reflects their situation in the world."[2]

Diaglogues, partnerships, chances to participate have been recommended repeatedly in the reports which act as the milestones of the youth service. There have been calls to allow the young opportunities to experience the assumption of responsibility and decision making within the 'safe' environment of the youth club etc. The report 'Youth and Community Work in the 70's' went so far as to say:

> "The young adult should have responsibility for his own affairs .... We have in mind not simply that he would be practicing democracy for future use in real life, but rather that he would be living and contributing directly towards a democratic way of life."[3]

It is often said that young people are not interested in 'participation' when it is on offer, if this is true I would contend that they are not interested in the sort of token participation all to often offered by a society, which having prejudged them as irresponsible, indeed having educated them to be so, discusses such concepts as, 'future use in real life'.

Young people are, whether we like it or not, faced with the need to make decisions on many issues. They will have to do this regardless of our input, and despite the fact that many of these issues may be controversial, awkward or inconvenient. It is therefore time, I feel for us to face up to the reality of life as currently experienced by young people, however much this may differ from our own experience, and do everything in our power to contribute useful information which will help young people to make informed responsible decisions. For, we can sanitize the information we present, but we cannot sanitize their reality, however attractive a prospect this may seem.

Unfortunately it is this gap between the reality which young people experience (and are largely powerless to challenge) and their rights as ideally or theoretically defined which was the second issue which I faced in the preparation of the rights guide. I had to decide whether to present the theory of rights as they should ideally be obtainable, and risk some of the information being at best acedemic, at worst liable to cause problems for its recipients, or, whether to flavour the advice with some hints as to the reality of how these rights are in fact administered, hopefully better preparing young people to deal with this, but thus facing the accusation that such an approach is merely colluding with the system in perpetrating the powerlessness of young people.

So, should one set aside public disquiet about the police complaints proceedure, and their attitude to complaints, and inform young people about the theoretical process of complaining, or should one inform them of the difficulties, and of the need to seek legal advice for example.

Or again, does one inform young people that if they feel they've been sacked unfairly they can make a complaint to an industrial tribunal where the complaint will be sorted out informally, (which may indeed be the theory), or should one advise young people that although they can't get legal aid for industrial tribunals, employers will usually be represented by specialist lawyers who have recently been complaining about the formality of the proceedure.

My feeling is that it is our duty to advise young people how best they may deal with reality, and that it is irresponsible to use young people to assist us in either attempting to achieve or return to the ideal, **when we know they are unlikely to succeed**, for, in situations where adults may also be destined to fail, we should not compound their experience of failure however laudable are our intentions.

Society I believe (and that means us not some other breed of professionals or some anonymous 'they') needs to examine the causes for the disturbing discrepancy between theory and practice, between legal and social definitions of rights, between intention and interpretation. This is illustrated in the Scottish Juvenile Justice system, the theory of which is based on welfare and treatment, rather than justice and punishment. Once the 'grounds for referral' to a Children's Hearing have been accepted the three 'panel' members are supposed, through discussion with both child and parents, to reach a decision **based on individual needs** (a confusing notion for young people, particularly if they are accused of 'acting with' others and they are the only one to have been brought before a hearing). How these 'individual needs' are defined, and what sort of 'treatment' is prescribed may be influenced by the fact that panel members are, as Paul Brown points out, a largely middle class group, who may be lead into merely supporting and encouraging their own form of family life consequently:

> "There was little effort to discuss the child's and parents values, as hearings are supposed to do. The panel tended to see its role as enforcer of social norms in a moralistic fashion. As the needs of the child have already been limited to changing his mind rather than his social situation, the panel failed to discuss any structural or social cause for what was going on. There was no attempt to discuss the general context of the childs life."[4]

Still more worrying is the evidence collated in the book 'Children out of Court'[5] of the low priority accorded by panel members to the legal proceedures e.g. although the young person has the right to be told the substance of the reports which will have informed panel members, these were referred to in only 35% of the 301 hearings which they examined. Their practices and attitudes (only 6% felt these proceedures to be important) are obviously a reflection of how panel members allow their interpretation of their remit to 'promote the best interests of the child' to effect the intention of the act.

Young people are faced daily by this gap between theory and practice, they are called upon to act responsibly, and indeed they overwhelmingly do so, but they receive little help in so doing, and are often directly hindered by a societal consensus determined to view young people as overgrown children, and delay their inevitable access to power as long as possible.

Legal rights such as the right of minors, (girls over 12, boys over 14) to consent to medical treatment may be granted in instances

of a non-controversial nature, but such a legal 'right' is obviously at odds with the societal definition of rights, as is illustrated by the recent 'Under 16's and the pill' controversy. That this social definition is bound to effect the practice of the law is illustrated by the fact that it called forth a comment from Lord Denning, until recently master of the Rolls and famous for his controversial pronouncements, who is reported as having said in a television interview:

> "that he believed girls under 16 lacked sufficient maturity or experience to decide whether her parents should be told. He was not worried that a girl might be too afraid to ask for contraceptives if she believed that the doctor might tell her parents and so become pregnant as a result. He said 'I should have thought it more important, even though she may fall pregnant that we maintain the family relationship."[6]

The recent controversy centred around the 1980 DHSS memo to doctors in England, where young people only aquire the right to consent to their own medical treatment at 16. The fact that this makes the content of the memo largely redundant in Scotland where minors have always possessed this right has not, however, prevented this debate from being carried into Scotland. No amount of such legal or social nonsense will, however, make the issue of adolescent sexuality go away, nor absolve young people from the need to make decisions about it.

As has previously been stated, the overwhelming pressure of our society seems to be **against** an education towards informed, responsible, individual decision making, and towards conformity. This is illustrated by the manner in which schools, although they have no legal power in Scotland to regulate such matters as uniform, hairstyles and homework have, through custom and practice established themselves as a body with the legitimate right to make decisions on such matters, and, as society has not challenged this right, any individual wanting to do so in court is unlikely to succeed. The pressure on the education system to ensure conformity is growing, for, as Bernard Davies [7] points out, although schools were allowed to flirt briefly in the 60's with more liberal, individually based concepts of education, since the growth of youth unemployment in the 70's they have increasingly had to base their methods more on the theories of 'national interest' and 'societal need' which underpin the Life and Social Skills programmes of the MSC. Indeed, the MSC are currently reaching yet another of their tentacles into the school system in the form of the New Technical and Vocational Education Initiative for 14 to 18 year olds. This shift in priorities enforced by the control of resources has meant, as Davies points out that:

> "fewer and fewer critical questions are now being asked about those expectations (of society) about their justification, or about whose interests they primarily serve. The nature of the work itself and of the labour market generally; compulsory education and the way schools actually operate; the power and operation of the law in young peoples lives; the power and operation of the mass media and of the popular images of youth generated in our society - all these and other institutional expressions of young peoples marginality and powerlessness are increasingly treated as given, and so removed from the areas of public debate and criticism".[8]

This period of powerlessness and dependance to which young people are subjected is lengthening, due to the fact that society, and to some extent young people still associate the point at which they 'graduate' to adulthood and are 'allowed' to make their own decisions with the attainment of full time employment. Few 'real' jobs remain available to school leavers for even those employers who may have recruited are being encouraged to enter the YTS fold. The vast majority of young people therefore have no alternative but to take part (however reluctantly) in that extended form of schooling known as YTS. This scheme is unlikely to offer any real experience of what it is to be at work, for as 'trainees' the participants are denied many of the rights accorded to workers. This comes as little or no surprise for the MSC exist to serve the interests of employers not young people, and they have never been eager to foster independance preferring rather to channel the young as quickly as possible into their roles as 'compliant workers'. Indeed the original 'Instructional Guide to Social and Life Skills' (the philosophy of which is unlikely to have changed) operated on the direct assumption that the unemployed were in need of 'treatment' referring constantly to 'attitude adjustment'.

The unemployed fare no better for although they have officially been denied the responsibiliy to contribute towards their housing costs whilst living at home or in someone elses household, three quarters of adolescents make some contribution regardless of their income[9].

Perhaps this reduction in responsibility, is, however, only a reflection of the way in which the current emphasis on national interest is affecting us all and limiting our responsibilities, and can thus be seen as a realistic preparation for adulthood. After all since the Housing Benefit Act (1982) council house tenants in receipt of supplementary benefit have been deprived of the right to manage their own finances, due to the fact that in effect their rent is now paid 'direct' (a service previously only 'offered' to those deemed too irresponsible or incapable of meeting their financial committments).

Society cannot, I feel afford to treat young people in such a cavalier fashion, isolating them from any form of legitimate opportunity to gain experience in the excercise of the responsibility which it demands they practice. For, as Leslie Silverlock says:

> "Why should society bother? because, as a matter of social organisation it cannot afford an inexperienced or confused generation in the future, because it is in the economic and social interests of adults to see that the next generation of young adults are committed and participant, not silent or violent."[10]

One can only conclude that it is high time that we stopped exploiting the powerlessness of the young, and using them as a sponge to soak up the rising social costs of our capitalist society, and sat down with them to discuss their future.

The latest edition of the guide entitled 'Basic Rights for Young People' will be available in March '84 through the bookshop of the IT Resource Centre, Quarriers Homes, Bridge of Weir, Renfrewshire. The information contained, however, applies only in Scotland.

REFERENCES AND NOTES

1. **Ewan, J.** Crisps and Coca-Cola or agents of change? In the 1980's and Beyond. (eds)**Booton, F. and Dearling, A.** NYB. 1980.
2. **Friere, P.** 'Pedagogy of the oppressed'. Penguin 1972 p68.
3. **Fairburn/Milson** 'Youth and Community Work in the 70's (Fairburn/Milson Report) H.M.S.O. 1969.
4. **Brown, P.** The Hearing Process: 'Telling it like it is' from Legality and Community - The Politics of Juvenile Justice in Scotland. Aberdeen Peoples Press 1979.
5. **Martin, Fox and Murray.** Children out of Court. Scottish Academic Press 1981.
6. **Guardian** 5 December 1983.
7. **Davies, B.** In whose Interests NYB Occasional Paper 19.
8. **Davies, B.** The State We're In. NYB Occasional Paper 21.
9. Young People in the 80's - A survey H.M.S.O. 1983 (commissioned by the review group on the youth service, whose report Experience and Participation was published in 1982 Cmnd 8686).
10. **Silverlock, L.** Inexpereinced adults: Youth work in the Community in Booton, F and Darling, A. (eds). NYB 1980.

reviews

Donald G. Baker
RACE, ETHNICITY AND POWER
Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983
ISBN 0 7100 9467 1
£14.95
pp. 243

John Solomos
THE POLITICS OF BLACK YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF OFFICIAL IDEOLOGIES AND POLICIES
Working Papers on Ethnic Relations No. 20, 1983
S.S.R.C. Research Unit on Ethnic Relations
The University of Aston in Birmingham
St. Peter's College, College Road
Saltley, Birmingham B8 3TE
ISSN 0309 6394
£2.25 (inc. postage)
pp. 23

Our knowledge of black youth in Britain is like a patchwork, made up of bits and pieces of information and commentary drawn from a number of sources. These sources are mostly studies of effecting agencies, such as the police, or policies, as in the case of employment, and are usually carried out with a "crisis" incentive. Only rarely do they involve actual research in the black communities or of black youth themselves. While they do provide some indication of the ways in which society relates to black youth, and in terms of particular relationships how they respond and act, they still tell us very little about them or how they relate to society. The knowledge we have tends to be one-sided and inward looking, crisis-torn, and lacking in substance, quantity or depth. For such an important subject it is remarkable that it should be so under researched, inadequately defined and poorly conceptualised.

These two pieces of work, each in their own way only confirm and illustrate this predicament.

The Baker book appears at first glance to be the least relevant to that subject or to the interests of this journal. The author has taken on the mammoth task of examining the effects of Anglo-settler influence in six countries: USA, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, South Africa and S. Rhodesia. It is very much a broad historical overview of each country, and the author himself admits that it is only a tentative first step to establish the need for further research.

His main concern is examining the patterns of group relationships and interaction that occurred in each country, particularly race-based relations, and it is here that the book does have some relevance, offering and interesting point of comparison with the pattern of similar group relationships in Britain. In the first two chapters he also provides useful grounding for understanding the basis and development of such relationships.

The Solomos piece while clearly relevant is less helpful. Although offered as a research paper it is essentially political polemic, analysing those government policies which effect the position of black youth. Unfortunately there is no attempt to substantiate the actual position of the recipient group. This seems to be taken as given and is supplemented by references to very small groups such as Rastas, or ill-defined situations of unrest, or vague references to "thinking" or "feeling" in the black community to show the effect of policies.

The analysis of ideological shifts which determine policy is interesting but for the most part a retread of the position which is an amalgam of three schools of thought: the youth subculturalists of the early 70's, Sivanandan's "Race and Class", and the Birmingham cultural studies group. These views have dominated thinking on black youth for the last ten years to the extent where they have determined the construction of our knowledge, and now seem to be part of that knowledge. Solomos fits firmly into this mould.

Sadly it has also become a strait-jacket, preventing us from learning much about the mainstream of life and experience of the majority of black youth. It is a sensitive area where challenge is not easy or well-received but as it is our knowledge seems to have more to do with the interests of groups of academics than with the actual lives of these young people.

Fred Wilenius

Geoffrey Pearson
HOOLIGAN - A HISTORY OF RESPECTABLE FEARS
Macmillan 1983
ISBN 0333 23400 6 (paperback)
pp. 243

"History" wrote Michael Katz "can serve reform by emancipating it from dependency upon an idealized past." Echoing this dictum, Geoffrey Pearson proceeds to demolish the widely held belief that England was once a haven of tranquility compared with today's chaos and disorder, and points to the dangers of such self-delusion. Such is our obsession with "law and order" at the expense of other areas of social experience, concludes Pearson, and so much has the subject been mythologized in the popular, collective imagination, that there is little hope of social progress until the past is "repossessed". In the wake of Thatcher's exhortation to return to Victorian Values, this book is a timely reminder that bullshit is not a new phenomenon but recurs throughout time and adopts much the same rhetoric.

The author draws upon sources from four centuries in order to demonstrate the way a past is 'created'. Working back from the moral panics expressed so fervently following Brixton, he traces the remarkable consistency of nostalgia that has permeated peoples' views of the past. Thus the Teddy Boys, though regarded with alarm at the time, are now looked upon with affection; crowed violence at football matches during the 30s is carefully overlooked; large gangs of youths "holding the street" in the early years of this century are never allowed to sully the pastoral serentiy of the England we "remember" so well, an England which was of course presided over by law and order policies which were far tougher than they are today, and by a police force which,a though "firm", was universally loved by a grateful populace.

Pearson dissects these inaccuracies with precision and no little humour, despite the sober tone of a blurb which I feel does this highly readable book a gross disservice. He marshalls his evidence judiciously with the help of the ubiquitous Mr. Punch, and though his breezy style occasionally obscures the facts - his too-loose definitions of reformatory and industrial schools for example might bring the knowledgeable reader to an abrupt halt - it also enhances his argument in a way which, I hope, will guarantee popular readership.

"Hooligan", by its very title, also draws our attention to a consistently racialist tendency in these law-and-order debates. The word apparently originates from Ireland and came into general useage during the long hot summer of discontent in 1898 in order to heap the blame on the Irish. Wandering children had for many years before this became known as "street Arabs", and of course the xenophobia continues today with headlines from the Paper that Supported Our Boys following Brixton - "To think this is England", and so on. In these versions of events; something called "The British Way of Life" is constantly under threat.

Were this tendency to romanticize the past just so much hot air, or the understandable nostalgia of the old, then it might be possible to dismiss their essential innaccuracies. But, as Pearson points out, it is a dangerous phenomenon upon which reactionary forces can and often do feed. In his conclusions, the author enlists the aid of Ryle who once made the distinction between "fairy tales" and "myths" to try to explain this predilection to get things so drastically wrong. The former are essentially "nonsense", whilst the latter arise because of the way that the facts are presented - that is, present-day crime (which is not "nonsense" because it is evident) is constantly compared, mistakenly, with this mythical past and hence is placed in the wrong **idiom**. The real danger, however, is that those who know perfectly well the nonsensical nature of the fairy tales they propogate, nevertheless compound them into myths in order to serve their own ends. Thus Hitler rose to power on the backs of the Valkyrie, and of Nietzche, and it could be argued Reagan used the Wild West mythology in a similar way. In this light, Thatchers' "Victorian Values" take on a sinister hue.

My one reservation about Geoffrey Pearson's stance is that by calling into question so vigorously the "remembered" past, he is presenting a powerful argument against "History from Below" in general, and oral history in particular. His recent attack in these pages on Jeremy Seabrook's latest offering (**Youth and Policy** Vol. 2 No. 2 Autumn 1983) continues this line, so that if one takes the whole thrust of his argument to their logical conclusion, one could say that "no-one can be trusted". "Hooligan" certainly leaves few sacred cows unslaughtered (no sexism intended). Orwell and the Women's movement (reclaiming the night) are lumped together with Robert Mark and Keith Joseph to show the reader that mistaken interpretations of England's past know no political boundaries. The danger is that he may find himself throwing the baby out with the bathwater, however. Whilst it is true that many "ordinary" people regard the streets as less safe than they once were, most of the hulabaloo about this is created by the press and the politicians (as Pearson's own references suggest), and these are the very forces which oral history is - often very successfully - trying to counter. Nostalgia is an inconvenience for the oral historian. And in the particular area which Pearson has investigated, it is clear

that nostalgia has been taken up and abused by the powerful. Nevertheless, to go on to deny the sense of loss which many working-class people feel about other issues, genuinely and justifiably, would be to deny the general credibility of witnesses in favour of secondhand reportage of events.

"Hooligan" is an important book. I only hope that the arguments presented in it are used to have a go at the real enemies of freedom, rather than to hinder a branch of historical enquiry which has done much to break the monopoly of knowledge.

Rob Mawdsley

Dennis Gleeson (ed.)
YOUTH TRAINING AND
THE SEARCH FOR WORK
Routledge and Kegan Paul 1983
ISBN 0 7100 9513 9
£9.95 (paperback)
pp. 360

Paul Scofield, Eric Preston and Ernie Jacques
YOUTH TRAINING -
THE TORIES' POISONED APPLE
Independent Labour Publications 1983
ISBN 903245 078
£0.70
pp. 44
available from: ILP, 49 Top Moorside, Leeds LS11 9LW

Youth Employment Resource Unit
COMMUNITY JOBS - OK?
Youth Employment Resource Unit 1983
ISBN 0 946464 00 6
£0.50 (inc. p&p)
pp. 24
available from: YERU, Rooms 54-55, 1 Albert Street, Dale End, Birmingham B4 7TX

Government employment and training initiatives, which have mushroomed in recent years as the recession has bitten deeper, have been subjected to both widespread polemic and careful analysis. State intervention in this area, often paralleled by the burgeoning MSC's further encroachment on the traditional territory of further education and the youth service, has received both violent criticism and cautious praise; more considered analyses of these developments have usually placed certain benefits arising from such provision (accruing to **individuals** who participate in such schemes) within the context of a more critical view of government policy, a view which often alludes to the more covert and insidious goals of these strategies. The three publications under review here encapsulate all that is good and bad in the writing about such state provision.

Gleeson's efficiently edited collection of sixteen papers offers the reader a much-needed insight into the changing state and role of further education. The book has three distinct, though related, sections. First, it examines the theoretical issues concerning the relationship between further education and the labour market (between training and work); secondly, it considers selection and differentiation in FE between different social groups through an examination of various patterns of participation in FE; and thirdly, it looks at the increasingly important question of the relationship between FE and unemployment. The thrust of much of the book is that FE training has less to do with training for work than with training for the social order: the role of FE provision is to regulate various openings and closures in the labour market and to select and separate out distinct categories of young workers. However, since FE is currently undergoing transition and innovation (primarily as a result of the increasing participation in FE of young people who otherwise would be unemployed), some of the contributors - although arriving at broadly similar conclusions about the role of FE - argue that scope exists for the purpose of FE to be subjected to critical scrutiny and perhaps redefined.

This is, in fact, what is attractive about this book. The contributions offer some thought-provoking discussion and useful empirical findings on a much-neglected general area (further education) and point clearly to directions for future research. Yet while the specific areas and issues discussed in individual papers cover a broad range - for example, the book is not just on FE and YOP/YTS, which would have been tempting, but also on other areas of FE training, such as BEC and the Certificate of Further Education - this takes place within a general consensus of opinion, thus providing a cohesive thread throughout. This sets the book apart from many other collections of this nature.

Clearly it is not possible to cover all the contributions, and to select out just one or two for comment would be invidious in view of the high quality of all; there are no 'weak links'. Of course I found some chapters more stimulating than others, but that was simply because of my personal interests. No doubt others would have chosen different ones. It is sufficient recommendation to say that this book offers a comprehensive account and analysis of contemporary FE training and its connections with the world of work - of how wider social relations find their expression in college practice. Its publication is timely given that FE is at the crossroads between its 'voluntaristic' tradition and the newer 'compulsory' elements which have come to challenge that tradition.

The same praise cannot be directed at either of the other two publications. The ILP booklet presents us with a polemical attack on the Youth Training Scheme. Of course there is nothing inherently wrong with a one-sided, blatantly political account of YTS, and certainly that is what this booklet intends. In some quarters, in fact, I would make it essential reading: ie. for those who fail (or choose not) to acknowledge the political dimension to such training initiatives. The booklet, though somewhat repetitive as a result of its triple authorship (each author contributes a section, one on the background to YTS, one on YTS itself, and one on the MSC), documents clearly the range of criticisms frequently levelled at YTS: that it is part of a wider strategy to suppress wage levels (particularly of young people), that it inevitably threatens real jobs, that it constitutes an attack on the apprenticeship system, etc. But precisely because it is pitched at this 'macro' level, where such criticism is often justified, it fails to take account of the **immediate** problems of **individual** youth unemployment, where YTS may produce some benefits, for at least **some** young people in at least **some** kind of way. The ILP booklet maintains, however, that the comprehensive class attack (waged by the Tory government, through the "poisoned apple of YTS", on all working people) demands a comprehensive class response, and that it is reprehensible that the Labour Party's implicit approval of, and trade union involvement in YTS serves to legitimate this poisoned apple.

The YERU publication - on the Community Programme for unemployed adults - is altogether of a different kind. It outlines methods of using the CP constructively but, unfortunately, much of its argument is flawed with a surprisingly naivé idealism. YERU content that what is usually considered to be a substandard, low wage version of the former Community Enterprise Programme can be redefined as a potentially dynamic, innovative programme with its own distinct logic, philosophy and practice. So whereas the ILP booklet seeks to demonstrate that YTS is an integral part of an overall Tory government strategy to restore the dominance of capital and the maximisation of profit, the YERU paper seeks to divorce the CP from wider economic and social (and indeed historical) issues, and treat it as an independent 'animal' which does not necessarily have to bark at the government's (or MSC's) call. It is argued that the CP is an important testing ground for developing new, 'alternative' employment initiatives. Much of the argument is based on an **assumption** of the 'goodwill' of local authorities (ie. in topping up the wage levels of the CP) and the **assumption** that the worst aspects of the CP will be opposed and resisted collectively by all those on whom the success of the CP depends. I am not at all convinced by all this, and history does not lend any weight to these assumptions. What is **likely** to emerge from YERU's proposals amonts to no more than at tinkering with what is in essence a bad scheme. YERU fails to consider the wider political issues which prompted the establishment of the CP; these were certainly **not** based on a sense of social responsibility, community concern and an anxiety to come to terms with a changed economic and occupational structure where people, not profit, take precedence.

Gleeson's book maintains that "the understanding of new training practices must, at the present time, be based on the realisation that it is essentially a political issue" (p.332) . It is to this issue that his book is broadly addressed, though this does not preclude the consideration of other possibilities for further education. The ILP booklet, on the other hand, recognises and emphasises the political dimension of 'new training initiatives' to the exclusion of all else, while, for YERU, the political thrust underpinning training programmes is subjugated to a point where it might as well be non-existent.

Howard Williamson

John Springhall et al
SURE AND STEDFAST
Collins, 1983
ISBN 0 00 434280 1
£10.00
pp. 297

As John Springhall says in the preface to this book the Boys' Brigade showed a 'certain amount of courage (or foolhardiness!)' in commissioning a professional historian to write a history of their organisation. Well, Springhall in his youth had already taken a critical look at the Boys' Brigade as part of his 'Youth Empire' thesis then publication and although he makes great play about the fact that he is not part of the 'Boys' Brigade' organisation his two fellow authors Fraser and Hoare are. Fraser, a Brigade Officer has two sons who are members and he got his Doctorate for a history of the Brigade up to 1914. Hoare is involved with the Brigade in New Zealand where he is Brigade Historian. So the claim that they are outsiders looking in is only true for a third of the team. The Introduction by Springhall and Frazer

follows the melting pot idea when a number of historical influences are shown to have developed or formed into a particular structure or in this case organisation. An attempt at historical formulation can run the risk of missing vital elements and over emphasising others. The point made about 'Adolescence' p.26 and in **'Youth and Policy** Vol 2 No.1 p.20,' as far as Britain is concerned, is slightly premature. It was Dr. Slaughter with his condensation of Stanley Halls ideas first published as **The Adolescent** in 1911 that to a limited extent presented the 'Adolescent' to the public. The 'School World' said "The psychologist has only discovered the adolescent in recent years, and except for Dr. Stanley Hall's encyclopaedic volumes on the subject there was no available book such a busy teacher might read" and one could say understand!

The influence on Smith made by the American evangelist D.L. Moody is shown by the fact that Smith wrote in his diary in red ink p.37 "12.2.74. Heard Moody and Sankey for the first time". Smith was then twenty, a prime age for conversion, and as Goodfellow 1876 p.102 notes about the crusade "it was another Pentecost" and on the evening that Smith attended he writes that "All comers were welcome on Thursday, so long as there was any room. In spite of the rain the Palace was filled by seven o'clock, and about one-half of the audience seemed to be young men of the middle-classes".

Moody had himself begun his Christian career as a Sunday School teacher with a far from easy group of children to manage so that Smith's Boys' Brigade idea is probably one of many ideas; see for instance Thomas Guthries experiences of Ragged Schools in Edinburgh pub. 1860. Smiths idea not only bore fruit in Scotland and England but was carried across the seas as a useful form of Social Imperialism where Britannia had rights to all the fruits of the earth. The Authors never quite reach what was involved in the psychology of Smith as far as his need to develop an organisation for "advancement of Christ's Kingdom among boys", his two sons shared the same residue of strangness? p.189 as Baden-Powells son and as certain others whose fathers were involved in the public projection of particular youth schemes.

The most interesting, as far as new knowledge is concerned, of the books sections is on the Boys Brigade abroad and one of the most haunting photographs in the book is a brooding Aboriginal Brigade Company taken in 1910 - Shades of Jimmy Blacksmith!

The old debate on the military, or not, nature of the Boys Brigade is covered in historical detail and Springhall follows the view presented by the Brigade that drill was a means to an end rather than an end in itself. It is clear that a number of realities were involved in the movement, and outsiders views of it including Springhalls own can probably not reach the level of identification. With the image that would demonstrate whether a possibly unconscious need for discipline or automation was gratified within the organisation.

By the late 1960's the Brigade originally founded to promote order within the Sunday School Movement was having trouble keeping order in its own ranks and instead of its members becoming involved in the 'culture' of the Brigade there was a falling away into cultures that were presented from what was felt to be their own generation. The Boys Brigade of today has far more younger members than ever before, some as young as six. The Brigade has lost many of its older members due to changes and developments in the identification of youth. Perhaps there needs to be groups like the 'Rasta Boys Brigade' or even the 'Casual Boys Brigade' to encourage older members who already have links of their own making within the culture. If the Boys Brigade wishes to still retain its original aim of 'advancing Christ's Kingdom among boys' it must look to more progressive ways of promoting the gospel; The Methodist Association of Youth Clubs seems to have adapted elements of youth culture in order to bring its members to Christ. It should be remembered that Moody spoke in the language of the people and that by using Music Halls and Warehouses as venues the environment became the medium to decode the message.

The attempt by two historians and one Head of Personnel to investigate historical aspects of youth give rise to a number of shortcomings. Firstly as had already been stated Smith and his particular psychology need a better form of investigation, likewise people who become Brigade officers. Its not that important if they are University lecturers or dustmen, what is important is why are they doing it; how much of what is being transmitted within the interaction of a group comes from the organisation and how much from the individual? Why do people become leaders of the Boys Brigade rather than the Scouts or just a youth club: what personality factors do leaders have in common? What needs are being met by, and involvement with, the Brigade? In many ways the book is an elaboration of the 'Sure and Stedfast' part of **Youth Empire and Society** which is a pity when with the assistance of others with different skills more use could have been made of the material. Lets hope that in the next 25 years before the 'Boy Scouts' reach their Century that we have moved away from the single discipline approach of investigating youth provision. Perhaps **Youth and Policy** will help those with an interest in youth but no common academic discipline to form themselves into groups to undertake this important and fascinating task.

Stuart Murray

The Open University
PARENTS AND TEENAGERS
Harper and Row 1982
ISBN 0 06 318 243 2
pp. 222

This book has been written for parents by a team from the Open University primarily as material for an O.U. course of the same name, run in their Community Education Series. The course includes video, T.V. programmes, a study guide and skills package, but the book is also intended to be used by itself. A number of parents have read the book in advance of publication and their sane and balanced comments are included in the text throughout.

The book is divided into nine chapters with readers being encouraged to read the first section thoroughly, and then to use the following chapters more selectively. Each chapter begins by introducing the material and highlighting the areas of interaction between parents and teenagers particularly in relationship to values and attitudes. The book's approach is to get parents to understand their teenagers by first understanding their own attitudes, values and lifestyle, and rather than focussing on their teenager as the "problem", understand the impact of changes affecting their own lives both on themselves and on their children.

In the first chapter, parents are asked to prepare life maps based on events e.g. middle age and tasks e.g. getting a new job, for each member of their household and then to examine how far the "maps" fitted or clashed with each other. They are asked to examine their own support systems and look at how upheavals such as moving, illness, redundancy might affect all members of their family. Only towards the end of this section were we introduced to the theories of adolescence and these were preceded by a more common sense and imaginative review of different parenting styles. The material in this first chapter was excellent and written with sensitivity and perception.

The following chapters covered the main areas of adolescence, physical development, mental maturity, the importance of friendships and peer groups, sex, education, careers (or lack of them) and finally, new lives and independence for both parents and teenagers. The content of these chapters was rather sketchy particularly if being used for reference, though they did contain a lot of material useful to parents and not necessarily common knowledge. The chapters on physical development and intimacy were well written and thorough with a good emphasis on the emotional impact of adolescence on both parents and teenagers. The section on clothing stressed the need to tolerate different styles and cultural differences but was not really adequate enough to acknowledge many parents horror at the extreme if transitory appearances adopted by their teenagers.

The section on schools was good as far as it went, but we felt that the authors could have made much more of the opportunities for learning outside of the official educational environment. Equally, the section on careers was rather staid in it's approach to the current opportunities and lack of them for young people - the section just described what was available and whilst it acknowledged unemployment as an issue, did very little to acknowledge how great an impact it has on young people's lives and self images, still giving the impression it would be a passing phenomena.

We felt the book could have had a special section on unemployment - 3 pages was not enough - which really examined the impact on modern teenagers when their traditional route to independence - paid work, is now being denied them. We also felt that issues about sexism could have been more thoroughly integrated throughout the book, and not just discussed in the one section at the end.

Parents differential expectations of their sons and daughters could have been raised in chapter 1, the impact of teenage pregnancies could have been discussed more in the section of sex and the expectations of girls by school and employers raised in the relevant sections. Lastly, we admired the authors approach in stressing the "normalities" of teenage development and parental interaction, but we felt that the very brief acknowledgement of special circumstances such as single parenthood, disability, mental illness etc., meant that anyone facing such circumstances might not find the book as useful.

The format is that of a workbook and the authors stress that just reading the contents alone is not enough. The suggestions for activities and exercises are a vital part of the book. It has a large layout with plenty of illustrations, cartoons and diagrams amply conveying the colour, variety and

occasional violence of adolescence. At times, we felt that the art team might have forgotten they were preparing a book aimed at parents rather than adolescents, because we found the designs could detract from our concentration. It was not an easy book to read individually, or to dip into for reference, because of the scattered natures of the factual information, exercises and illustrations. It's format was one which best lent itself as source material for people working with parents in schools, family centres and F.E. classes. Much of the material would be much better used in groups where parents could support each other in examining their own attitudes - the style of the book is a liberal one and we both knew of many parents who would not easily identify with some of the material and would feel worse in examining their own attitudes unless provided with some support. In the absence of such groups in many parts of the country, we wondered if the authors could have made some suggestions about how parents might go about organising their own support groups, and who might help them.

The final reference section does give some useful hints on getting further help, starting with general local organisations and then moving into more specific ones listed by subject. We found it confusing to list books and organisations together in the same list. In the experience of both reviewers to make the best use of this reference section, parents needed some discussion about the way to use these organisations. They need to know that local services are not always consistent around the country, and that some agencies may have a problem focussed service whilst others may be more likely to support parents in self help initiatives than others.

Finally, we supported the authors in encouraging parents to include their teenagers in using the book, but we were sceptical about how successful they would be unless they had a very good relationship together, and then to some extent we wondered if they would be using this book. Here, the wise note of the parent testers can be reiterated for both desperate parents and disaffected teenagers; "do choose you time to talk - when there's a topic that interests you both and you have time to listen to each other"

Pat Taylor and Sue Stevenson

Fred Inglis
THE PROMISE OF HAPPINESS
Cambridge University Press 1982
ISBN 0 521 27070 7
£5.95 (paperback)
pp. 311

Nicholas Tucker
THE CHILD AND THE BOOK
Cambridge University Press 1982
ISBN 0 521 27048 0
£5.95 (paperback)
pp. 232

'A story', writes Inglis, 'goes on walk like a child'. The walks taken by these two books on children's literature are very diffrent, Inglis taking us on a ramble through a tropical rainforest of ideas, bursting off in unpredictable directions whenever a new bright thought takes his fancy, Tucker leading us by the hand through an elegant and ordered garden.

The central preoccupation of both authors, however, is similar: what, they ask, constitutes value in children's literature and how - given that we can say what it is - do we as adults respond to it? Both, rightly, take children's literature seriously, and presuppose that it is in some subtle way 'important' in its influence. What, then is valuable? Tucker's cautious and sensible conclusion is that it depends. The qualitative judgment is contextual: it depends on our definition of function. At their most primitive, stories are simply fantasy, enabling us, as Freud put it, to enjoy our daydreams without shame or guilt. Qualitative judgments however, can be made even of pure entertainment. "The Beano" and Richard Crompton's William books, for example, (approved by both writers) encompass small worlds with unmistakeable vitality. And, perhaps pure entertainment is never quite so pure. The anarchic child-centredness of Denis and William show the moral portentousness of adults at their most exhilaratingly vulnerable. Simple moral tensions and resolutions are enacted, a first step towards provoking the reflexivity of thinking which Inglis, in particular, sees as a key to all good stories.

Inglis's analysis rests on the Leavisite proposition that the novel, in which the children's novel is included, is a kind of moral agency, not in a simple didactic way, but in creating worlds which explore moral dilemmas whilst dramatizing them in a manner that moves us and commands our attention. Both Tucker and Inglis are rightly cautious however, about being censorious. At the present time, when panic about video nasties and the general mood of new puritanism, combine into a protective and (at worst) sentimental and patronising censoriousness, this needs saying. The avuncular pomposity of (say) STOPP who would have us censor out dad's slipper from 'The Beano' on the grounds of good taste, or the preposterous modernisations of fairy tales to create "non-sexist/non-agist situations", would have us end up with an anodyne never-never land of fictional porridge, or spineless neo-moral tracts, in which imaginative or moral complications or the real world have no place. Thus sentimentalisation of children, is closely bonded (as it always has been) with moral puritanism.

Certainly there are themes from which children need protection. Perversity of sex and violence would be one; racism another - and on this both authors might have had more to say. It is a problem, of course, to know whether stories have any effect at all on behaviour, and there is virtually no evidence at all that they do, though one feels uneasily, that when in the Barbican Punch and Judy Show, the devil is the only black character, some unconscious associations are being made in the perceptions of the little children watching, which may later emerge from the age of latency, stripped of their Edwardian contextual overtones.

Censorship at best assumes the vulnerability of childhood innocence and at worst cossets and castrates: but children, like adults, respond, reject, interpret and avoid information according to their reading skills and perceptual habits. Tucker, studying the development of children's interests from the earliest years to adolescence, points out that we know remarkably little about what children themselves make of fictional narrative. There are enormous individual differences, and what children do to the stories may be more significant than what the stories do to them. Zola's remark that "a work of art is a corner of nature seen through a temperament" reminds us of the intricacy of the meetings of two minds as the child-reader responds to the adult-author. Children have volatile interests and tastes, and slowly evolving skills, underlying which are deep and persistent ways of interpreting the world. Perhaps, however, the experience of stories does in the end influence a child's understanding of the world (and of him/herself) in important ways. Inglis would like to think so, though the question of the relationship of moral knowledge to art is one of extreme philosphical complexity, a banana skin on which even the greatest minds slip (eg. Tolstoy), and which few treat with the delicacy of judgement required. (Richard Wollheim, in my view, comes nearest).

In these interesting discussions, Inglis is an excitable and distractable companion. On the periphery of his arguments he throws in Marx, Freud, Lenin, Kant, Hegel, amid a huge clutter of anecdotal references. He mounts a peculiar and (I thought) rather unconvincing attack on individual liberalism. He has many distracting quirks, not least of which is his tendency to see literature as a kind of horse race - the great, the quite great, the better-than-minor, the minor and the non-runners. Dickens emerges as leading the field. But then there is a compensating glitter of lively perceptions, and the quoted examples of what he means by 'valuable' are convincing and often moving. None of us will surely question the remarkable power of 'Huckleberry Finn' or 'Tom's Midnight Garden'. Tucker, for his part, is concerned to describe the development of children's reading and the possible deeper meanings of their stories in a measured and self-effacing way. He is eminently sensible, writes well and all in all has produced the best introduction to children's literature I have yet read. It is refreshing at a time when the arts are a Cinderella in an educational system ruled increasingly by Bethamite managers and political philistines, to have two such strong advocates for the mysterious and powerful alternative world of fiction. Perhaps the most important thing, however, is the surprising fact that children still read at all.

David Winkley

Claire Wendelken
CHILDREN IN AND OUT OF CARE
Community Care Practice Handbooks 13
Heinemann Educational Books 1983
ISBN 0 435 82926 2
pp. 119

This book is addressed to social workers. It is a practical guide for those working with youngsters who are in the situation of going into the care of the local authority, or leaving care. It indicates matters to be considered and taken into account in such cases. It details the options available and the procedures to be followed. It identifies the feelings to be attended to, not only in the child, but also feelings likely to be experienced by those from whom he is parting and those he is going on to. It sets out to be a guide to good practice.

The book begins with the process of assessment. It suggests that the social worker should take into account the purpose of the assessment, the distress it may evoke, the constraints of departmental policy, the life time of the assessment, the place where it is conducted and the people contributing to it. It then defines the childrens needs in the familiar terms of love, new experience, recognition and responsibility. It explores the options for meeting these without recourse to care. Under the general theme of prevention, both financial assistance and intermediate treatment receive some-

what cursory references. The account of Day Care for the under 5's takes particular trouble about considerations in regard to child minding. The majority of the text however relates directly to the movement of the 100,000 or so children in full time care.

The procedures of preparation and admission are described and the possible feelings arising from separation are attributed to the child, his family, those receiving the child and to the social worker herself. The need for the social worker to give time to those involved is emphasised and there is clearly scope for imaginative work with children so that their roots will not be lost to them. The process of placement is laid out in terms of the childs perceptions and the obligations upon the social worker. The role expectations of social workers are then explored in relation to both foster parents and residential staff. The chapter on the process of 'coming out' is divided into the legal position and the social work task, in regard to both children returning home and those moving on to independent living. At this point the book stops.

The sense of abruptness is compounded by the manner of presentation. The material is conveyed in the form of extended notes with check lists and guide charts reinforced by end of chapter role play exercises. Although written as a 'tool' for practicing social workers, to be readily at hand in 'dealing' with such cases, the style leaves the impression that its origins lie more closely in the training of student social workers. It has the features of a summary of the significant factors to be considered. It is clear and concise and the tone is set by the intelligent concern for the welfare of young people which pervades the text.

The difficulty in handling the material in this manner is to strike a balance between the economy of simplicity and the need to convey the depth of knowledge and awareness available. It is in the nature of a practice-based book that it errs on the side of over simplification. The material itself will need continued revision as the flow of legislation and regulations extends throughout Child Care. Moreover the changes in economic fortune effect both policy towards young people and the facilities available to them. Attitudes against residential care are hardened when expense becomes the prime consideration. Much of the work with young people coming out of care now focusses on the hassle of getting accommodation and 'regular work'. A life in care to prepare them for what?

The position taken by the author towards the situation in which these particular young people find themselves is very much that of the 'liberal' professional intellectual. This will frustrate both those who see youngsters as the victims of the economic and political manipulations of others, and those who try to reach into their experience and the self-imposed loneliness that masks their fear of abandonment. Both views demand a commitment to radicalise social work practice in ways that are outside the mandate which society gives its social workers. They are expected to manage social problems not to remedy them. In these circumstances the youngsters are at least entitled to the informed care described within these pages.

Jeff Hopkins

Gloria Lee and John Wrench
SKILL SEEKERS
National Youth Bureau, Leicester 1983
ISBN 86155 067 6
£3.45
pp.95

Pauline Davies
TRAPPED: UNMARRIED WEST INDIAN MOTHERS IN HANDSWORTH
Westhill College, Birminham B29 6LL, 1983.
ISBN 0 9502706 2 8
£1.00
pp. 24

Immediately after reading Pauline Davies' paper, I interviewed a white 21-year-old single parent woman, who had moved from Brighton to Birmingham to escape the continual violence of her husband. After the move to the Midlands, the woman, depressed and without friends, contacted the Gingerbread organisation; it was a decision that changed her outlook. Over the months that followed, she regenerated her self-confidence and began to integrate. During the interview, we talked about the lack of black involvement with Gingerbread. At the Birmingham (central) branch, there is a membership exceeding 100; yet only about 3 black women regularly attend meetings. But there is a disproportionately high number of black single parent families (relative to the number of blacks in the total population). Perhaps it is because the actual experience of being a single parent is different for blacks.

Certainly, Davies' small study hints at some of the differences in experience. For example, the parent's family is likely to respond in a way that suggest single-parenthood is an acceptable family form. "Any disadvantage attached to being a single mother is outweighted by the status conferred on motherhood," writes Davies. "It could be further said that within West Indian culture, it is acceptable for a woman to live with a man of her choice in a common law arrangement even though this may not lead to marriage."

Davies' study shares with that of Lee and Wrench a focus on young black people. Whereas, for Lee and Wrench, the concern is with how blacks and other members of ethnic groups have great difficulties in securing apprenticeships and training scheme placements, for Davies, the concern is with black one-parent families living in Handsworth. Hers is an admittedly limited study comprising a sample of only 15 people biased in the favour of "those in most desperate need." Her aims were: (a) to assess the "social and financial problems" faced by the mothers; (b) to appraise the worth of organisations such as the Social Services and the Handsworth Young Mothers' Project; and (c) to make recommendations as to how the position of black single parents could be improved.

At the time of study a Community and Youth Work student at Westhill College, Davies conducted her interesting work using a questionnaire technique. Features of her investigation included the important relationships between the mother (or would-be mother) and her parents, the housing issue as it affects single parents, particularly blacks ("Young unmarried West Indians are more likely to be placed in hard to let accommodation than any other groups," she asserts) and the pervasive problem of unemployment. In the last of these, she concludes: "Young unmarried West Indian mothers are affected more adversely by unemployment, as they belong to an ethnic minority group with the highest unemployment figures in comparison to the indigenous population and other ethnic minority groups and are also affected considerably by their underachievement in the education system." Unfortunately, Davies does not confront the popular notion that black women actively and deliberately seek pregnancy in order to gain Social Security benefits in a time when employment is a virtual impossibility. Racist, sexist nonsense it might be; but it **is** a popular idea and one which Davies had a perfect opportunity to expose.

However, the limitations of Davies' approach are understandable, given the nature of the work and the restrictions on her time and resources. She chose an interesting and difficult area and provides with the report a guide perhaps to further research.

The study by Lee and Wrench is an altogether more sophisticated piece of work - as, of course, it should be: it was commissioned to two experienced researchers by the CRE. To start, Lee and Wrench sent 429 questionnaires to employing organisations in the Midlands (covering private and public sectors) to assess their apprenticeship intake requirements. Follow-up interviews with personnel staff of the organisations were design to isolate the factors that disadvantage ethnic school-leavers when it comes to gaining training. "This research could not be, and was not intended to be an investigation into racial discrimination as such," claim the authors midway through the paper. "The conclusions from the present research are less dramatic and the scope is much broader." Well, perhaps it is not what the authors call "direct discrimination" that is under scrutiny, but Lee and Wrench certainly highlight some of the factors which, as they point out, "work systematically against the interests of ethnic minority youngsters." In this respect, the study tells us what most of us already know, but succeeds in actually pinning down the factors that do work to the detriment of mostly black kids (Asian youths seem to come off quite well in several areas - certainly when compared to youths of West Indian origin or descent). The "lads of dads" syndrome militates against ethnics, for instance: informal contacts gained through relations and passed down from generations and handly **entrées** that are not accessible to ethnic kids. The selective use of catchment area policies also serves to disadvantage ethnic groups from certain innercity areas.

Lee and Wrench demonstrate convincingly that the fact that ethnic school leavers have a hard time getting training is not just attributable to a bunch of bigoted personnel officers (though, there are some examples of this), but the result of a series of often hidden processes, most of which are not overtly racist at all.

Two very different studies then, but both illuminating in their conclusions about the ways in which innercity ethnic kids lose out in a system that gets more and more remote from them. Lee and Wrench show how the world of work gets distant; Davies shows how black families, good housing and money drift out of the reach of black single parents.

E. Ellis Cashmore

Dave Burley
STARTING BLOCKS:
Aspects of Social Education
Group Work with Young People
NYB 1982
£1.20

John Baldwin, Colin Butcher, Mark Harrison, Tony Holden, Jeff Parker, Alan Perry,

Dave Ward (editor)
GIVE 'EM A BREAK. Social action by young people a risk and in trouble
NYB 1982
£1.85

Alan Dearling (editor)
THE SMALL GROUP HOLIDAY GUIDE
I.T. Resource Centre, Renfrewshire, Scotland
£1.50

A decade and a bit ago, there really was a lack of written material, though not a lack practice on the 'coal face action' - 'the nitty gritty' of our work with young people. Thankfully, times have changed and in more recent years, workers have been putting pen to paper; and for the most part, humbly and unpretentiously providing us with valuable description and critical analysis of professional practice. Two such books currently available are **Starting Blocks: aspects of social education group work with young people;** and **Give Em A Break. Social action by young people at risk and in trouble. Starting Blocks** describes, discusses and analyses a joint project between the Young Volunteer Resources Unit and Nottingham Young Volunteers. The broad aims of the project were to: 1. Explore the use and application of social education techniques with a group of young people. 2. Together with the group, explore the means of converting ideas into action and 3. Increase the understanding about work with young people and the social and political context in which it takes places. The projects own starting blocks are declared in its assertion that social education is a method and not a subject; and in its workers early clarification about their own philosophy of work with the young in the community and what they are trying to achieve. Each stage in the development and process of the project as it is related, ends with a most valuable "comments and questions" section. This honest and revealing area of the book explicitly points to the collective form of social relations in which the learning achieved by the workers and the young people takes place.

The notion of collective learning is also central to **Give Em A Break**. It starts off with a discussion centred around the workers dissatisfaction with the current approaches to working with young people in trouble - moves on to a consideration of some genuine, realistic alternatives - and challenges what it implies is a dominant ideology of Individualism permeating the forms of social relations between the offenders and the offended. The group roots its practice in "creating opportunities for choice which mean something to young people themselves", and in "the achievement of such a task must entail such young people achieving and exercising power in order to bring about changes". It goes further in asserting that "this is best achieved collectively". Presenting three case studies as illustrative material highlighting the tensions and inherent contradictions of each, the following chapter picks out certain practice issues arising from these which are common to the project as a whole, and those which are peculiar to the individual settings. Organisational issues involved in the development of the groups are dealt with in a sixth chapter, and in a sense reinforce the multi-disciplinary approach in terms of staffing, consultation and resources, together with those core features of approach manifest in co-operative planning team work and shared evaluation. Readers familiar with **Social** Group work practice, **Non Directive** approaches to Community and Youth Work and **Informal** Education Methods will find much to keep them nodding in agreement. What may be a new area of awareness for them is that the worked out philosophical stance before the action takes place, indicates a conscious attempt to operate through what Gary Easthope describes as Communal Education approach: that is where social interaction is the paramount element in the process, where what is to be learned and how it is to be learned is dependant upon the process of social interaction. Thus it is the processess of social interaction that are ordered (organised) not the skills or knowledge.

Many projects like those above, find from time to time the needs of the membership is to get away. Alan Dearling and the I.T. Resource Centre, Renfrewshire, has produced another useful document of practical advice and information. **The Small Group Holiday Guide** lists one hundred or so residential centres, mainly in Scotland and the North of England. Each Centre listed includes the address, telephone number, contact person, location, accommodation, costs, centre facilities, local facilities together with either the local or nearest tourist office address. The introduction gives guidelines for youth group residential periods and advice on programme planning. Every worker should have one! (plus one for the kids!)

Peter M. Clason

Pasuk Phongpaichit
FROM PEASANT GIRLS TO BANGKOK MASSEUSES
International Labour Office, 96/98 Marsham Street, London SW1P 4LY
£4.30

By any measure, the scale of prostitution in Thailand is staggering. Pasuk Phongpaichit says that country-wide about 500,000 girls are involved ... "About 10 per cent in the age group 14-24." While most towns and cities have their red light areas, it is the capital, Bangkok, which acts as some flesh hungry magnet. In a city of about eight million, there are, by most estimates, about 200,000 girls involved in trades ranging from masseuses, to 'tea house girls', girls who work in bars encouraging customers to buy drinks and selling their bodies if asked, to the plight of 'bonded girls' who are at the mercy of their masters and pimps until debts incurred by their parents are repaid. Often, this is never done.

The overall picture painted by Pasuk Phongpaichit in this informative book is one of girls and their families, caught in the inequalities of an economic system, and from which the only escape - and sometimes there is none - is by becoming involved in the massage business. And it is big business. It has become, says Pasuk, an integral part of the Thai economy, and if it were reduced there would be unemployment and balance of payments difficulties. While prostitution has existed for many years in Thailand, with polygamy and concubinage practised as symbols of wealth and power, there is no doubt that the trade was given a considerable boost, first by the R & R influx of American GI's during the Vietnam war, and subsequently by the tourist boom of the seventies.

Despite prostitution being illegal, the Thai authorites were quick to see what a valuable asset the country's trade in beautiful women was. Pasuk leaves much of this delicate area alone, entwined as it is with government corruption and collusion, and concentrates more on the economic reasons that bring often completely innocent girls to the massage parlours of Bangkok. Often, an agent comes to the poor village in the north or north-east of the country and offers the family a sum in return for a daughter to work as a 'waitress' in Bangkok. Only later does the family, and the girl herself find out her real work. Or perhaps an aunt who worked as a mistress at one of the U.S. air bases suggests that a pretty niece joins her trade. The returns, for a family living below the poverty line, are irresistable. Rates vary: a good looking girl in a posh establishment is estimated to earn 25,000 Baht a month (about US $1,300). But that applies to only a minority of the girls. "A bonded girl in a grotty place with a drunken and dishonest owner would be lucky to get 500 ($25)". Many girls, for a 'massage' would receive less than one dollar. Again, only the top few like their work - almost all find their clients distrustful, their work degrading. A large number have at any one time VD (Veneral Disease) (41 per cent of a 1,000 girls interviewed in one sample). Abortions, though again illegal in Thailand, are common. About a quarter of the Bangkok girls are on drugs of one kind or another.

It is a tribute to these girls that in the midst of all this, the majority seem to have one goal in mind - to send most of their income back to help their family or build houses in their villages. And thankfully, their communities do not ostracize them, as in many less tolerant and more hyprocritical societies. Most girls sent about half their incomes back to their poverty-stricken villages, in the north and north east. Sometimes, a daughter's remittances are the difference between poverty and starvation. But as Pasuk points out, with remittances being used as current income rather than as capital investment, the families and villages do not develop the capacity to replace this source of income. In other words, that income becomes like a cash crop, and once removed, even worse poverty than before exists. The girls are caught in a vicious circle. The causes of all this, says Pasuk, lie in the unjust economic system which has been allowed to develop in Thailand - a country where incomes are so disparate and where areas, particularly in the north-east and north have been allowed to stagnate, with no capital investment, and from where an increasing population has fled to Bangkok in search of work. He points out that there is nothing especially 'loose' about Thailand's rural women.

The solution, says Pasuk is a long term one, and it lies in a massive change in the distribution of income between city and country, and in a fundamental shift in Thailand's orientation to the international economy. Perhaps prudently, he does not say how this shift will be achieved in a conservative state, where power rests on an uneasy alliance between factional politicians, King and an ambitious military.

Kieran Cooke

Nicholas Dorn and Nigel South
OF MALES AND MARKETS : A CRITICAL REVIEW OF YOUTH CULTURE THEORY
Middlesex Polytechnic Centre for Occupational and Community Research, Queensway, Enfield, Middlesex EN3 4SF
ISBN 0 90804 25 9
No price given
pp. 42

This is a stimulating but ultimately frustrating pamphlet. It begins with the most lucid critique of "youth culture" theory I've ever read. Dorn and South concisely summarise the sub-cultural approach to youth from 1920s Chicago to 1970s

Birmingham. They provide, in passing, acute comments on everyone from Talcott Parsons to Dick Hebdige, but the central thrust of their argument is that the "mainstream" of youth cultural studies has consisted of accounts by "young men of slightly younger men". The result is not simply that young women are effectively excluded from sociological definitions of "youth culture", nor even that the "youth culture" so described is a male discourse, but that the very terms of the description, the theoretical assumptions involved, depend on a male view of the world. They conclude: "Whether the conceptual jemmy used is class, style or race, youth culture seems to be a way of **not** talking about several related areas - eg. work and relations in the home; continuities between girls and women; ways in which girls and women can deal with men and their violence; our need for love and affection." (p.24)

So far so good. Dorn and South's problems emerge in the second half of the pamphlet, when they outline an alternative approach to youth. They assert, rightly, that we can't simply add girls to existing theories. We need to reconceptualise youth, and to do so Dorn and South turn to a more "fundamental" category, labour, which, they suggest, is the hidden structure underpinning youth culture. By labour they don't just mean the processes directly related to capitalist production and consumption, but also the much wider patterns of work involved in the household (domestic labour) and the "black" economy (casual/illicit labour). In short, they retain the materialist assumption that "youth" describes the state of preparation for/socialisation into adult labour, but widen the concept of labour, placing sexual divisions at its core and taking account of the "informal" effects of changes in the labour market.

This argument raises a number of questions - what differentiates "youth" from "adult" experiences of labour? What is the relationship between the Dorn/South concept of "labour" and Marxist (or other) concepts of class? Can the concept of labour really be extended to include not just the work of consumption but also the processes in which sexuality is defined, "love and affection" produced? What's frustrating is that nowhere do Dorn and South offer us their approach in action, show us **how** labour underpins youth culture. At one point they chide the Birmingham sub-culturalists for producing a theory of youth that would make no sense to the young people involved, but until they ground their own theory in empirical work they face the same rebuke - I hope their next pamphlet reports on their fieldwork (they work for the Institute for the Study of Drug Dependence).

For the moment, though, the importance of Dorn and South's pamphlet is that it is a persuasive attempt to break out of the stranglehold that the sub-cultural approach has had on socialist youth studies in the last decade. They inspired in me, certainly, two points of self-criticism. First, I read Dorn and South as rescuing "ordinary" youth from the condescension bred by years of the sociological attempt to interpret juvenile delinquents and cultists as some sort of revolutionary cultural vanguard. But if we are going to study "ordinary" youth again, then we need to draw on the enthnographic tradition that Dorn and South ignore (Coleman in the US, for example, Kitwood here), on attempts, that is, to show how young people "labour" to construct their own culture (if in certain historical conditions, under certain material constraints) - youth culture, remains in this context, a valid concept.

Second, I am increasingly conscious of the wimpishness that comes over male sociologists when we attempt to display our "feminist" awareness. In youth studies this means a new generation of students romanticising girls, just as the previous generation romanticised stroppy working class boys. The theoretical effect of such romance is that girls are treated simultaneously as **victims** (of patriarchy, the ideology of femininity, etc.) and **heroines** (struggling clear eyed and correct). Both images reflect male fantasies, so that Dorn and South argue, with equal passion, that girls are **not** excluded from deviant sub-cultures - that's just male sociological blindness - and that they **are** - because of the sexual division of labour. In the end, it seems, they are no more able to escape the problem they raise than all the other male sociologists they criticise - they imagine the world as men.

Simon Frith

YOUTH FILMS

A review of a few recently released films in which youth are a major theme.

As the depiction of youth in the cinema remains a commercially profitable theme, film makers still seem more willing to forsake contemporary settings in favour of earlier eras. This trend, which really took off with **American Graffiti**, seems to reach its apotheosis with Francis Ford Coppola's **The Outsiders**. Here, the rosy glow of nostalgia is all.

From the slushy opening theme song by Stevie Wonder to the final sentimental death-bed message of "Stay Gold", the film determinedly presents a rose-tinted view of rootlessness and delinquency: an unabashed visual depiction of a Golden Age.

The story, set in sixties Tulsa and taken from Susan E. Hinton's novel of the same name (published in 1967 when she was 17), revolves around the street rivalry between two gangs from different sides of the tracks: the priveledged "Socs" and the no-hope "Greasers" - amongst whom the sense of dead-end is astutely identified by one character, who says of an imminent major rumble, "It won't change anything. Even if the Greasers win, they'll still be on the bottom." Any sense of social realism is soon sacrificed for exaggerated and romantic melodrama, however, as it is revealed that ALL the Greasers come from broken homes or are completely parentless. In fact, adults scarcely appear at all, in common with sex - a teenage obsession which is here depicted as a mild flirtation at the beginning of the film (after which the girl conveniently disappears from the story) and which is quickly transformed into vague yearnings and strange scenes in which the two young protagonists read aloud from **Gone With the Wind**.

The story develops as two Greasers (Ponyboy and Johnny) are forced to go on the run after defending themselves from a gang of drunken Socs which ends in the death of one of the latter. They hide out in an old church and are much given to dreamily posing in close-up before endless chocolate-box sunsets. "Too bad it can't stay like that all the time" says the younger character, gazing at the golden-hued sky, to which the other responds by quoting a lengthy extract from the poetry of Robert Frost. Later the two are re-instated as unlikely heroes after they rescue a group of children from the inexplicably burning church. After Ponyboy is reunited with his tough street-fighting brother - who never-the-less are prone to break down in gulping tears in this and similar over-emotional episodes in the story - the film provides a second death scene (in addition to Johnny's, who dies from fatal burns from the fire) with the shooting of Dallas, an older, helpful, but more obviously 'delinquent' Greaser who, we suspect from the beginning, is unlikely to be made of the same salvageable material as Ponybody. Thus, after robbing a store, the distraught Dallas is tracked down by the police: "He's just a kid!" somebody yells as the bullet-ripped body of the good-bad boy falls to the ground - wayward youth blown away by trigger-happy cops. This corny ending has echoes of the disposable teenage hood played by Vic Morrow in **The Blackboard Jungle**, and the wasting of Plato (Sal Mineo) at the end of **Rebel Without a Cause**, but **The Outsiders** carries none of the memorable force of those two films. Though it is a change to find a nostalgic youth picture a step away from the brainless crudities of the **Porkys** and **Lemon Popsicle** sagas, Coppola does not really achieve his stated intention of giving his no-hoper kids from the wrong side of town "heroic status". He detracts from this aim by producing a rather two-dimensional cartoon effect shot through with the unreality of overlush sunsets and lyrical dialogue which leave the viewer with memories of repititious, though often beautiful, images which carry no depth or substance.

Admittedly, my view of **The Outsiders** was somewhat jaundiced by viewing Luis Bunuel's **Los Olvidados** (releasd as **The Young and the Damned** in 1951) during the same week. This stunning study of slum life in Mexico City did not find any room for romance or rosy nostalgia as it uncompromisingly depicted the brutalising effects of poverty, poor housing and broken homes on a group of children slowly turning from street urchins into professional criminals. Here street gangs are formed for survival, not love-bonding with peers, and the film emerges as a savage reflection and indictment of a society which allows and even condones such conditions (and which may condone it, to some extent, through films such as **The Outsiders** which presents impoverishment and street warfare in terms of deoderised nostalgia and hardly shows any real suffering or hardship at all).

The only recent film to examine the effects of urban deprivation on children and teenagers with this kind of rigorous honesty has been Hector Barbenco's **Pixote** (so far not granted national distribution, but available on video), which pulls no punches in showing the violent and criminal means of survival employed by just some of Brazil's 3 million homeless youngsters. The pre-adolescent focus of the film, little Pixote himself, is brought up in squalor and poverty, indulges in petty crime and is sent to a detention centre where he witnesses internal cruelty, transvestism, homosexual gang rapes, and official brutality, corruption and cover-ups. On escaping with older friends he survives by mugging, dealing in hard drugs, robbing the clients of an alcoholic prostitute - in whose bathroom he witnesses the aftermath of a bloody and primitive abortion - and finally by murder. 'Not yet a teenager, by the end of the story Pixote is a hardened and experienced criminal, but not, the film suggests, an exceptional case in a country where poverty and cynicism is rife and where neglected children are regularly enlisted by professional criminals to carry out their law-breaking for them. The film wins by eschewing sentiment and employing documentary

detachment to reveal each new shocking revelation but with such an obvious concern for the protagonists that the film is never less than compelling.

Since first writing this the film has been lent further resonance by a recent report in **The Observer** ('Brazil victims lynch thieves' - 8-1-84) which describes the vigilante hanging of three snatch-and-run youngsters, including a 13 year old boy. About 12 thieves had been hung by lynch mobs in the previous two months, and the latest triple hanging occured just days after a barrister had kicked to death a 15 year old thief at lunchtime in Sao Paulo's city centre. In the ill-planned, overcrowded cities of Brazil, in a climate of economic uncertainty and very high unemployment, the crime rate, like those for malnutrition and homelessness, is soaring; and it is claimed that the police ignore the vigilante beatings and killings in order to later extort a hefty bribe from any middle-class citizen who goes berserk, or just in thankfulness that another young criminal - much like the fictional Pixote - is removed from the streets.

Of the less important recent youth films, **Bad Boys** cannot be accused, like **The Outsiders**, of sentimentalising characters. Here nearly all the leads seem thoroughly unpleasant, including the protagonist (Mick), who, despite an ending which suggests he is not completely irredeemable, does present a convincing portrait of an apprentice psychopath, the consequences of which are lovingly dwelt upon by the vigilant camera. The most sympathetic character is the detention centre cellmate, a lawbreaker wise beyond his years, played well by the diminutive Eric Gurney - who becomes Mick's guide and mentor in the mores of prison life. In the end, though **Bad Boys** is just an example of the oft-resurrected prison break movie, complete with sadistic inmates and one avuncular warder - the film even has a scene in which a rushing train serves as a time-honoured metaphor for intercourse - or rather in the context of this eighties film, rape. In fact it is the modern up-dated trappings which makes **Bad Boys** such a gruelling film to watch. The product of uncaring parents, Mick, in common with his peers, carries not a flick-knife but a gun, and makes money not by shoplifting but by dealing in dope, and faces violence as a reality of every day life - although box-office sensationalism rather than any honesty is the obvious goal of the film makers. In fact, apart from the graphic depiction of brutality and sadism this juvenile delinquents story offers no advance on similar films of the fifties, although the concentration on more 'realistic' dialogue does lead to some amusing character confusion as everybody in the film seems to share the same two reiterated names, i.e. 'shit-head' and 'fuck-face'.

Also supposedly rooted in reality, but far more gross and eventually far more entertaining, **The Class of 1984** depicts a school system in America - slightly set in the future (the film was made in 1981 and banned for a year or so in Great Britain) where violence, extortion and drugs in the classroom are the norm and pupils are routinely frisked by cops as they lurch menacingly through the school portals each morning. The tone is set with an exchange early in the film when the new member of staff taking up his first teaching appointment notices a revolver in his experienced colleague's brief-case:-

"What's the gun for?"

"Where have you been teaching lately?"

"Lately - nowhere."

"It figures ..."

Eventually the experienced teacher, (played by Roddy McDowell in his usual over-the-top manner) cracks up completely - unable any longer to take the apathy and derision from his class of jeering thugs - and threatens to shoot any pupil who does not give him correct answers! The novice teacher has his own problems when his pregnant wife is kidnapped and tormented on the roof of the school by a central core of 5 moronic students. From then on the film steps hysterically in to the realms of a kind of "Death Wish III" rather than "Blackboard Jungle II", as the teacher proceeds to gorily annihilate the 5 pupils one by one with a range of school equipment: The circular saw in the carpentry room (lops off one miscreant's arm); a hoist in the auto-shop (comes crashing down on the female member of the dastardly quintet); the crowbar in the metalwork room, etc. etc. The chief nasty on the roof pleads for mercy claiming he's "just a kid". No matter; the teacher kicks him crashing through the skylight where his neck becomes entangled in a length of rope that leaves him dangling above the assembled parents, who have filed into the hall below to see the school concert! The director, Mark Lester, says he likes a "kernel of social comment" in every film he makes. Somewhere, the kernel of social comment got buried under the splintering bones and ketchup in this one, but surprisingly, it is so trashy and awful that **Class of 84** is often a fun bad film to watch - if you enjoy it as over-the-top black humour.

Elsewhere (and upmarket in terms of budget and gloss) youth movies have mostly remained devoid of any recognisable merit, with the latest weary trend being the graphic depiction of often fantastic adolescent fantasies from voyeurism to topless dancing and from prostitution to striptease. Familiar themes, but now (since **Porkys** took us peeping into the girls' shower room) made with much younger protagonists, where teenagers can enjoy having illicit sex with mature married women **(Class; Private Lessons)**; where school children with absentee parents can manage a brothel from their own home **(Risky Business)**; and where 14 year olds can videotape sexual gymnastics between schoolmasters and prostitutes **(Getting it on)**. Equally witless "youthpix" have abounded in 1983, and as usual the film industry has in the main been far more willing to sacrifice integrity and honest portrayal of adolescent lifestyles in favour of pure sensationalsim and fast profits. It is a sad reflection on the cinema that the former commodity has found far more chance of surfacing in entertainingly filmed plays on Channel 4 than on the large screen.

Stuart Norman

LABOUR MOVEMENT INQUIRY INTO YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT AND TRAINING

In 1983 the TUC Conference warned that "the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) could be used to conceal unemployment and to substitute for real jobs and educational opportunity." To prevent such abuses it called on the labour movement to be vigilant in monitoring the Manpower Services Commission (MSC) and all such schemes, and to report back to Congress in 1984, when continuing union support for these would be reviewed.

This call has been taken up by trade unions and others, who recently came together at a national meeting on monitoring MSC schemes, in Sheffield. Following that, this Inquiry has been formed, in order:

- 1. To examine state responses to unemployment and training, including YTS.
- 2. To exchange information on the various strategies being adopted, particularly within the labour movement, to best monitor these schemes and to collate information about them.
- 3. To develop a national network to develop monitoring work further in order to curb present abuses more effectively.

The Inquiry's overriding aim is to bring together and pass on information from a wide range of sources, through to all levels of the labour movement, locally and nationally. In particular we will be commissioning reports and discussion documents arising from this monitoring work. We want this evidence to help inform future labour movement policies on youth unemployment and training as well as the day to day work of all those concerned with government special measures.

WE HOPE THAT YOU WILL SUPPORT THE INQUIRY IN TWO WAYS:

1. Sponsoring it: adding your name to those bodies who have already made this commitment.

2. Submitting Evidence: by sending any information, including discussion and policy documents and other reports, to the inquiry at the address opposite, particularly about the Manpower Services Commission and the Youth Training Scheme in your area.

Please write to:
National Co-ordinating Group, Labour Movement Inquiry into Youth Unemployment and Training,
c/o Brian Salisbury
Employment Dept
Palatine Chambers
Pinstone Street
SHEFFIELD S1 2HN
(0742) 755215

contributors

Don Blackburn is Deputy Head Teacher at a special school in Leicestershire and is currently undertaking research at the University of Leicester on handicapped young people.

Frank Booton is a lecturer in the Department of Social Sciences at Sunderland Polytechnic. He was a member of the N.Y.B. Publications Advisory Committee from 1974 to 1984.

E. Ellis Cashmore is Senior Research Fellow in Sociology at the University of Aston in Birmingham.

Peter M. Clason lectures in community and youth work at Westhill College, Birmingham.

Kieran Cooke is a journalist and spent 6 months teaching and broadcasting in Thailand.

Bernard Davies is a lecturer in the Dept. of Applied Social Studies, University of Warwick.

Bob Franklin lectures in the School of Government at Newcastle Polytechnic.

Simon Frith lectures in sociology at the University of Warwick.

Michael Hirst is a member of the Social Policy Research Unit, University of York.

Jeff Hopkins is lecturer in social work at the University of Keele.

Alison Little - voluntary youth and community worker in Edinburgh.

Rob Mawdsley is co-ordinator of the North Kensington Local History Project, London.

Stuart Murray is a lecturer at Waltham Forest College, London.

Stuart Norman works at a special school in Leicestershire.

Eamonn Rafferty is a social work student at Newcastle Polytechnic.

David A. Smith lectures in the School of Sociology at Middlesex Polytechnic.

Bob Stead is a part-time youth and community worker in Edinburgh.

Sue Stevenson is a parent and lives in Bristol.

Tom Storrie is a Principal of Cassio College, Hertfordshire.

Pat Taylor is a community worker in Swindon.

Fred Wilenius is a youth worker for the Inner London Education Authority.

Howard Wilkinson is a research officer in the Department of Sociology at University College, Cardiff.

Paul Willis author of **Learning to Labour** currently advises Wolverhampton Council on youth policy with special reference to youth unemployment.

David Winkley is Head of Grove School, Handsworth, Birmingham and Gwilym Gibbon Fellow, Nuffield College, Oxford.

YOUTH AND POLICY

the journal of critical analysis

SUBMISSION

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

ARTICLES

Editor: Tony Jeffs, 'Burnbrae', Black Lane, Blaydon Burn, Blaydon, Tyne and Wear NE21 6DS.

ANALYSIS

Editor: Frank Booton, Westgate House, 22 Meadhope Street, Wolsingham, County Durham DL13 2EL.
Enquiries for specific information are welcomed, though comprehensive answers may not always be possible.

REVIEWS

Editor: Keith Popple, 16 Coquet Terrace, Heaton, Newcastle-upon-Tyne NE6 5LD.
Suggestions for future review material and names of possible contributors are invited from the readership.

ADVERTISING

Details and rates of advertising and circulation from:
Geoff Harris, Harris Associates, Longcrofts, Lumen Road, Royston, Herts. S68 7A6. Telephone (0763) 46625.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Youth and Policy, 13 Hunstanton Court, Ravenswood Estate, Low Fell, Gateshead NE9 6LA.

Annual Subscription (4 issues): £14.00
Students and unwaged £11.00
Individual copies: £4.00
Back issues (if available): At cover price
Overseas rate: £15 sterling
(includes postage at 'printed paper' rate)

Special terms for orders of ten or more, on request.
There is no special rate for institutions.

YOUTH AND POLICY

the journal of critical analysis