



Title Living in the Shadows: Street Culture and its Role in the Development and Maintenance of Survival Strategies of Socially Marginal Young People

Name Margaret Melrose

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Living in the Shadows:  
Street Culture and its role in the  
development and maintenance of survival  
strategies of socially marginal young  
people

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November 2005

## Acknowledgements

The work that has formed the basis for this application for a PhD by publication has taken place over a number of years and along the way, there are a number of people to whom I owe my sincerest thanks for their support, encouragement and inspiration.

My friend and colleague Dr. Isabelle Brodie has been a constant source of inspiration and encouragement. She has always been willing to talk and listen to me even at times when I could barely articulate whatever it was I thought I was trying to say

Professor John Pitts has been unfailing in his support of my work. He has continued to make me think and re-think my ideas and the development of my work has benefited enormously from his critical attention. His wisdom, counsel and humour have been inspirational and deeply appreciated

For the fact that I have pursued a PhD by publication, I thank Professor David Barrett. He has demonstrated faith in my abilities since I first came to work at the University of Luton. Without his cajoling and encouragement, I would not be in the position I am today. He has supported much of the work in which I have been involved over the years and I remain indebted and sincerely grateful for his advice, support, camaraderie and trust.

My sincerest thanks go to Earl and Kris, who over the years have supported my endeavours without complaint and made everything worthwhile. Thanks also to Kris and Natalie for Leah and Harry.

I must also thank the following for their encouragement and support: Elaine Creith, Susan Drinkwater, Fiona Factor, Roger Jones, Alan Marlow, David Porteous and Michael Preston-Shoot.

Thanks also to Lynn Abbassi and Christine Ross in the graduate school.

If I've forgotten anyone – sorry!

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## Co-Authorship Statement

There are 3 publications for consideration that have been produced with the co-operation of others.

The first is: Melrose, M., Barrett, D. and Brodie, I. (1999) *One Way Street? Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution*, London, The Children's Society

I undertook approximately 85% of the work for this publication. I was responsible for research design, accessing participants, most of the fieldwork, data analysis and writing up the material for a report to The Children's Society. I subsequently undertook all the work to turn the report into the publication cited above.

The second is: Melrose, M. and Ayre, P. (2002) 'Child prostitution in the 1980s and 1990s' in Brown, A. and Barrett, D. *Knowledge of Evil: Child prostitution and child sexual abuse in twentieth century England*, Devon, Willan Publishing

I actually wrote this chapter while Patrick was on holiday. On his return I presented the chapter to Patrick who made one or two minor comments on it (please see attached comments) but he did not undertake any substantial work for it. I therefore undertook 95%-99% of the work for this publication.

The third is: Melrose, M. with Barrett, D. (2004) (Eds.) *anchors in Floating Lives: Interventions with Young People Sexually Abused through Prostitution*, Lyme Regis, Russell House Publishing.

This work originated in part from an evaluation of projects the Home Office had funded to work with young people involved in commercial sexual exploitation. David was a consultant to that project and in relation to editing the book, acted primarily in an advisory capacity once initial editing of chapters had been completed. I therefore undertook 90%-95% of the work for the publication.

Melrose, M.  
11/11/05

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Date Rec.

## Co-author declaration

Note: *This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).*

### 1. The Applicant

Name: Margaret Melrose

Title of research area of submission: Marginalised young people...

### 2 The Publication

Names of all authors: Margaret Melrose, David Barrett & Isabelle Brodie

Title and details of publication: One Way Street? Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution, 1999, The Children's Society, London.

### 3 Contribution

*(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)*

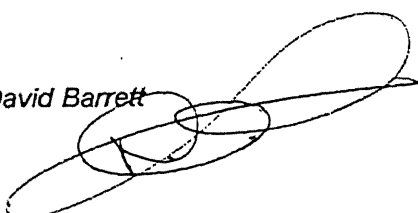
My role in this Children's Society funded project that subsequently manifested itself into the above publication was one of consultant to Margaret, she undertook the Principal investigator role, including the 'write-up' of the research Report and the book that followed. Margaret and Isabelle undertook most of the primary research work, Margaret was subsequently the lead on drafting of both the Report and the book detailed above. My contribution was quite minimal ie 5-8% of the entire Project, including the publication of the book.

### 4 Declaration

I am in agreement that, with regard to the details provided in section 3 above, this is an accurate reflection of the candidate's contribution to the publication specified and being submitted here, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Publication at the University of Luton. The publication has not, to my knowledge, been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed Prof David Barrett  
(Co-author)

Date 11.11.04



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Note: *This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications involving joint or co- authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).*

### The Applicant

Name: Margaret Melrose

Title of research area of submission: Margaret Melrose

### The Publication

Names of all authors: Edited by Margaret Melrose with David Barrett

Title and details of publication: Anchors in Floating Lives: Interventions with young people sexually abused through prostitution, 2004, Russell House Publishing, Lyme Regis.

### Contribution

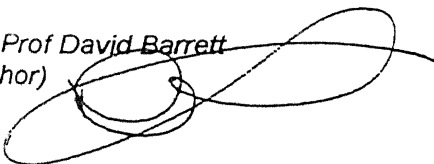
*(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)*

*My role in the early stages of this work was that of a consultants to a Home Office funded Project in which Margaret was the Principal Investigator. The funding for the project was extended. Although there were several chapters contributed by other authors to the above publication Margeret wrote some of the chapters herself, she also drafted the Report to the Home Office which included the origins of the book. The Home Office delayed allowing the publication of this book for some lengthy period of time, this delay caused much extra work and thus input for the lead editor ie Margaret. My contribution was quite minimal ie 5-6% of the entire Project including the book, the split of my energies favoured the research Project.*

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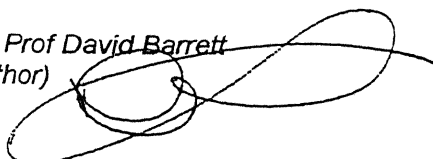
*My role in the early stages of this work was that of a consultants to a Home Office funded Project in which Margaret was the Principal Investigator. The funding for the project was extended. Although there were several chapters contributed by other authors to the above publication Margeret wrote some of the chapters herself, she also drafted the Report to the Home Office which included the origins of the book. The Home Office delayed allowing the publication of this book for some lengthy period of time, this delay caused much extra work and thus input for the lead editor ie Margaret. My contribution was quite minimal ie 5-6% of the entire Project including the book, the split of my energies favoured the research Project.*

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Signed Prof David Barrett  
(Co-author)

Date 11.11.04



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Note: This form is to be included, as part of a submission for PhD by Publication, where publications involving joint or co-authorship are to be considered. A copy of this form must be submitted for each individual work, and by each individual author involved (other than the candidate for the degree).

### 1. The Applicant

Name: MARGARET MELROSE

Title of research area of submission: STREET CULTURE & ITS ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT & MAINTENANCE OF SURVIVAL STRATEGIES OF SOCIALLY MARGINALISED YOUNG PEOPLE

### 2 The Publication

Names of all authors: MELROSE, M, BARRETT, D & SKODIE, I.

Title and details of publication: ONE WAY STREET ? RETROSPECTIVES  
ON CHILDHOOD PROSTITUTION. LONDON: THE  
CHILDREN'S SOCIETY

### 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

The candidate carried out the majority of fieldwork - principally qualitative interviews - which underpin this book. She also took primary responsibility for research design, including the difficult task of identifying a sample. The analysis is made up of the work was carried out mainly by the candidate

### 4 Declaration

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Signed  
(Co-author)

Janette M. Gudge Date 22/11/04

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### 1. The Applicant

Name:

Margaret Melrose

Title of research area of submission: STREET CULTURE & ITS ROLE IN THE DEVELOPMENT & MAINTENANCE OF CULTURAL STRATEGIES OF SOCIALLY MARGINALISED YOUNG PEOPLE

### 2 The Publication

Names of all authors:

Margaret Melrose and Patrick Agre.

Title and details of publication:

'Child Prostitution in the 1980s and 1990s' in  
A. Brown and D. Bennett, Knowledge of Risk: Child Prostitution in Twentieth  
Century England.

### 3 Contribution

(Please give concise information about the contribution made by the candidate to the above publication. An indication of the nature of the contribution - qualitative or quantitative - may be provided where appropriate, as well as an indication of the contribution in percentage terms if appropriate)

In all intents and purposes, Margaret wrote this chapter in its entirety. My contribution was limited to reading it over and making a few minor suggestions.

### 4 Declaration

I am in agreement that, with regard to the details provided in section 3 above, this is an accurate reflection of the candidate's contribution to the publication specified and being submitted here, in partial fulfilment of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy by Publication at the University of Luton. The publication has not, to my knowledge, been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other University.

Signed  
(Co-author)

PSA

Date

15-11-04

This is excellent!

Mostly, I have been reduced to trivial drafting suggestions and sub-editing because I am very impressed with the substance. Hope you don't find the int-pithy too irritating, but when I see it, I think I might as well mark it.

There is one section A 4 paragraphs in the social care response list which I would like to tinker with a little in the final version, if that's ok with you, but otherwise I'm content with this as a statement of our contribution.

Love

Ricky (I wish!)

## **Abstract**

This text demonstrates that my work on young people who are exploited through prostitution and young people involved in problematic drug use in Britain at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century constitutes a significant contribution to advancing our knowledge of these inter-related issues.

The text demonstrates that, in Britain, at the end of the twentieth and beginning of the twenty-first century, young people exploited through prostitution and young people involved in problematic drug use share in common lived experiences in poverty at the margins of society.

The common theme demonstrated here is that, as a result of the poverty generated by social and economic policies adopted in Britain in response to globalisation, 'street cultures' play an important role in the development and maintenance of survival strategies adopted by socially marginalised and economically disadvantaged young people.

The discussion argues that these cultures perform important functions in time and space for socially and economically marginal young people. They do so in different ways for different young people. At the same time, however, they serve to further entrench their social and economic exclusion and disadvantage.



## **Living in the Shadows:**

*Street culture and its role in the development and maintenance of survival strategies of socially marginal young people*

Margaret Melrose BSc (Hons) M.A. FRSA

Key Words: *Young People, Street Cultures, Globalisation, Sex Markets, Drug Markets, Survival Strategies*

### *Introduction*

This work pulls together empirical evidence from a number of research studies in which I have been involved over the past ten years to demonstrate the original contribution to knowledge my work has made. It shows that my work has made an original contribution in the following ways:

- By demonstrating the symbolic and material importance of ‘street culture’ and street level economic activity in the lives of young people who are poor and socially marginalised. My work has shown that these cultures and activities provide such young people with a sense of belonging and furnish them with the material means to reproduce themselves
- By demonstrating that young people who participate in alternative/informal or shadow markets do so because their opportunities in formal markets are so restricted or reduced that they have little or no alternative for income generation
- By demonstrating that young people are not merely the passive victims of economic forces but by adopting such activities and participating in these cultures are actively and creatively responding to the conditions created for them by global economic forces
- By contributing to methodological debates on ‘sensitive’ research with ‘difficult to access’ populations
- By informing debates about effective policy and practice with socially marginalised young people. My work has shown that young people’s reasons and motivations for engaging in practices such as prostitution and drug use need to be

understood and taken into account in order to respond effectively to them. It provides evidence to suggest that a 'one size fits all' approach does not provide what is required.

To demonstrate its original contribution to these spheres of knowledge, the discussion in this paper draws particularly on two studies that explore young people's<sup>1</sup> involvement in prostitution (**Melrose et al. 1999**) and drug use (**Melrose 2000a**). In this paper, these are considered as marginalised 'street level' activities adopted in the context of, and in response to, young people's poverty that has been exacerbated by processes of globalisation.

The study of young people involved in commercial sexual exploitation and those involved in drug use were two distinct research projects<sup>2</sup>. The evidence generated from them, however, as well as that from other work in this field (e.g. Faugier and Cranfield 1994, May et al. 1999, Melrose 2003, **Melrose with Barrett 2004**, Hester and Westmarland 2004) indicates that there are significant and substantial overlaps between these spheres of experience. This paper will therefore draw together findings from these studies to illustrate the commonalities in the experiences of these young people.

### *Organisation of the Discussion*

This paper draws on empirical evidence generated primarily through two research studies to demonstrate that young people's involvement in sex and/or drug markets are illustrative examples of their participation in 'informal economic activities' and 'street cultures'. In this paper, participation in these markets and cultures is theoretically constructed as representative instances of young people's social and economic disadvantage in the context of globalisation (Melrose 2000b, 2000c).

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<sup>1</sup> 'Young people' do not of course constitute an homogenous group and they are differentiated by factors such as class, ethnicity and gender. On the variability of discursive constructions of 'young people' in different institutional contexts, see Melrose 2005 forthcoming. Here I am using the term to refer to 'young people' as legally constituted by The Children Act 1989 although I am aware that in much of the drug literature, 'young people' are usually defined as those aged 25 and below.

<sup>2</sup> The first was funded by The Children's Society (1998) and the second through SCODA on behalf of the Department of Health (1999/2000).

The discussion begins with a brief reflection on the methodologies through which the studies were conducted. It then explores some changes to welfare rights and labour market policies in Britain that have been effected, since 1979, in response to globalisation and pays particular attention to the consequences these have had for young people. This section of the discussion demonstrates that young people's social and economic position and their social rights as citizens have been undermined as a result of such policy developments. It demonstrates that these developments have led increasing numbers of young people to participate in quasi-legal and illegal markets such as drug and sex markets.

The text continues by exploring young people's participation in sex and drug markets and considers the economic opportunities such participation affords for economically and socially marginalised young people. This section argues that at the level of neo-classical economics, participation in such markets appears to be a rational choice.

Following this, the links between 'poverty and prostitution' and 'poverty and problematic drug use' are explored. The similarities in the life experiences of young people who become involved in prostitution and young people who become involved in drug use are considered. This section of the paper demonstrates that what unites these two groups of young people is a shared position in the margins of society.

Subsequently, the discussion considers the interplay between structural, cultural and biographical factors in young people's lives and the circumstances in which the decision to prostitute and/or take drugs 'makes sense'.

The paper concludes by arguing that in order to prevent young people from becoming involved in prostitution and/or drug use, and to help those already involved to exit from such activities, macro-level solutions need to be developed alongside micro-level social interventions.

### *Researching the 'unrespectable'*

The issues I am discussing here are regarded as 'sensitive'<sup>3</sup> (Lee 1993) - or even 'unrespectable' (see Dean and Barrett 1996) - and the populations concerned considered 'difficult to reach' (for researchers and practitioners). In this discussion, 'sensitive' research is defined as 'research which potentially poses a threat to those who are or who have been involved in it' (Lee 1993:4). This includes both researchers and research participants (Warren 1988, **Melrose 1996, Melrose 1999, Melrose 2002**). Given this, some reflection on how the data were captured and the theoretical framework that has informed their capture and analysis would seem to be appropriate.

Feminist perspectives have in a broad sense informed the theoretical approach to my work (Oakley 1981, Finch 1984, Kirby and McKenna 1989, Reinharz 1992, Sieber 1993, Stanley and Wise 1993, Arendell 1997). It has followed in the tradition of the 'sociology of the underdog' (Gouldner 1968 cited in Dean and Barrett 1996; q.v. Becker 1967, Oakley 1981, Stanley and Wise 1993, Finch 1984, Beresford 1996). In addition to feminism, Marx<sup>4</sup> (Kamenka 1983) and interpretative approaches (e.g. Weber)<sup>5</sup> in sociology have informed my work. These perspectives have enabled me to apprehend social reality as a constructed and negotiated phenomenon (Berger and Luckman 1967) that is unequally structured. It is a social reality in which people make their own history 'but not spontaneously, under conditions they have chosen for themselves; rather on terms immediately existing, given and handed down to them' (Marx 1983:287). Furthermore, these perspectives have enabled me to understand that the social worlds people inhabit have to be understood from the inside in order to make sense of them (Mead 1934).

Some observers might consider this an eclectic or even promiscuous use of theoretical and/or methodological approaches. My work has demonstrated, however, that in order to generate worthwhile empirical data in relation to 'sensitive' issues, there is often a need for 'methodological ingenuity' (Lee 1993) and no room for methodological 'sectarianism' or 'dogma' (Brannen 1992, **Melrose 1996**). In this sense, my work

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<sup>3</sup> For the contribution my work has made to advancing theoretical and methodological debates in relation to 'sensitive' research, please see publications in Appendix 1

<sup>4</sup> Especially, 'Theses on Feuerbach', 'Economic-Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844', 'Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte'

<sup>5</sup> Especially, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*

suggests that when attempting to address ‘real world’ problems, it is necessary to employ whatever intellectual tools are available to do so.

Mann (1996:64) has asked, ‘What motivates people to spend time and energy with the poor, criminals, prostitutes, welfare ‘scroungers’ and other ‘unrespectable’ groups?’<sup>6</sup> What has motivated my work is a concern with poverty, inequality and socio-economic disadvantage, particularly as these relate to young people. The young people who are the subject of my work may be variously described as ‘poor’, ‘marginalised’ and/or ‘socially excluded’. Although there is some controversy surrounding the meaning of this latter term and how we might measure ‘exclusion’ (Levitas 1999, Byrne 1999) I am using it here to describe young people who are unable to enjoy the sorts of lifestyles that many of us customarily take for granted. Their social exclusion is understood as multidimensional and is located within ‘the complex dynamics of life trajectories’ (Byrne 1999:2).

I am also motivated by a commitment, where possible, to make research ‘serve the interests of dominated, exploited and oppressed groups’ (Kirby and McKenna 1989 cited in Robson 1995:293). My work has thus been concerned with articulating the practices that enable those who may be considered to be ‘beyond the pale’ of mainstream society to negotiate and live in and through their structural location ‘in a place with no future’ (Collison 1996). As I will show in this discussion, this structural location owes much to policy measures adopted in the face of globalising pressures and processes (Pentinnen 2004).

The object of my work has been further to understand the world in relation to young people’s involvement in prostitution and drug use rather than to attempt to tell some objective ‘truth’ (Ang 1989) about young people who may be involved in such activities. It has been committed to allowing the voices of marginalised, socially and economically disadvantaged and, often emotionally damaged, young people to be heard so as to further our understandings of their particular life worlds (**Melrose *et al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a**).

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<sup>6</sup> I have commented before on the objectionable objectifying dynamic this suggests (Melrose 1999)

At times, this work has been extremely difficult – both practically and emotionally (Melrose 1999, 2002). These are not, after all, ‘cosy’ life worlds but deeply disturbing ones that are full of human tragedy. As Bourgois (1996:14) has told us, such extreme settings are ‘psychologically overwhelming and can be physically dangerous’. Oddly, however, questions of the emotional impact of such research endeavours on researchers have been left largely unexplored (but see Warren 1988, Kleinman and Copp 1993, Arendell 1997, Scott 1998, Melrose 1999, Melrose 2002 for exceptions). This is despite a recent tendency towards reflexivity in the research process (Song and Parker 1995, Hertz 1996, Arendell 1997).

Research of this kind certainly involves a great deal of ‘emotional labour’ (James 1989:21, Melrose 2002). The nature of the work means that one may soon long for the ‘whiff of the white lab coat’ (Scott 1998: 4.2) and certainly be quickly disabused of the idea that ‘fieldwork is fun’ (Kleinman and Copp 1993). Indeed, experiences in the field can be so overwhelming that it is possible to experience a form of ‘empathetic paralysis’ (Melrose 1999) where one develops ambivalence (or even anger) towards one’s participants and/or towards oneself for having agreed to work on particular topics (Melrose 1999, 2002).

James (1989:21) defines emotional labour as a social process that contributes to social reproduction but whose significance in social reproduction is underestimated. Emotional labour refers to the labour involved in ‘dealing with other people’s feelings’ and regulating one’s own emotions (James 1989:21). These skills are often unrecognised in the labour process. Emotional labour can also be understood as a commodity in that it represents ‘the work done with feelings as part of paid employment’ (Marshall 1998:190, James 1989:16).

The gendered distinctions drawn between the ‘private’ realm (of the home) and the ‘public’ world (of work) tend to locate the former as the ‘appropriate’ place for the expression of ‘personal feeling’ and the latter as the realm of ‘economic production’ in which emotion should be ‘repressed’. As James (1989:29) points out, however,

*‘By making the expression of feelings in the workplace unacceptable, labour processes affect not only how feelings are expressed in the workplace, but also the emotional labour that is likely to be necessary at home’.*

My experience of conducting research into 'sensitive' issues with 'difficult to access' populations suggests that there is a need for research managers to understand and directly acknowledge the emotional labour involved in sensitive research and thus pay attention to the emotional health of fieldworkers (Melrose 1999, Melrose 2002). Allowing space for the expression of feelings and emotions generated in undertaking 'sensitive' and challenging research will thus minimise the emotional labour that will need to be engaged in away from the workplace.

When dealing with sensitive areas, the research territory may be 'charged' with emotion and thus generate stress in both participants and researchers (Warren 1988, Scott 1998, Melrose 1999, Melrose 2002). As James (1989:27) points out,

*'Emotional labour can be as exhausting as physical labour. Sitting with a distressed person (child, friend, relative) listening to someone when they are angry, courageous, resentful or sad, and acquiring the ability just to 'be' with someone who is lonely, frightened or in pain is taxing and requires an appropriate response'.*

Thus, just as we should ensure that there are mechanisms in place to support participants if they should require it after an interview, so we should provide the same for researchers. Ideally, research teams should be large enough, and time scales in which to complete any piece of 'sensitive' research long enough, to allow researchers some respite from the field. After a 'sustained period of emotional labour, an alternative or a rest are necessary', just as they are with physical labour (James 1989:27). In this sense, research managers need to recognise that emotional labour is not merely 'an extra within a job' but 'the job has to be designed to be flexible enough to accommodate emotional labour' (James 1989:34). This of course has financial and resource implications and in the competitive world of research funding, may not always be possible. However, my experience teaches me that this is best practice for which we should strive.

It is also important that provision is made to enable researchers to manage the emotions they may encounter in the field. In order to do this it is important to recognise that emotions that may be generated in the course of fieldwork are not 'irrational' but can be managed with 'anticipation, planning, timetabling and trouble-shooting' (James 1989:27).

My emotional (and physical) labour over the past ten years has enabled ‘sensitive’ topics, such as young people’s involvement in prostitution and drug use, to be explored with what are traditionally considered to be ‘difficult to reach’ populations (Lee 1993, Lee and Renzetti 1993). Empirically, the work has been able to answer quantitative and qualitative questions – that is, the who, when, what, why and how – of young people’s involvement in prostitution and their use of drugs.

Analysis of the data has combined conventional content coding with qualitative analysis. The qualitative nature of the work has generated ‘rich’ data and provided highly valid insights into the life worlds of socially and economically marginalised and disadvantaged young people who are involved in prostitution and/or drug use.

My theoretical approach to the data has been based on what has been described as ‘grounded theory’ (Glaser and Strauss 1967). This means that theory is developed through close observation of the data produced in different studies – it is an inductive, rather than a deductive, approach where theoretical ideas are developed from the data themselves.

This type of approach to data analysis has a long history and is closely associated with symbolic interactionist approaches in social science. A grounded theory approach means that the researcher allows the data to ‘speak’ to her rather than approaching the data with preconceived ideas or pre-constituted categories with which to interpret it. In this sense, theory and the development of categories in which to classify the data produced in the studies I am discussing here have ‘grown’ out of the data itself.

In my work, this has involved listening to interview tapes, or reading transcripts of interviews, over and over again (sometimes up to 20 times) in order to identify themes that emerge from them. In the study of child prostitution, for example, (Melrose *et al.* 1999) I did not have pre-conceived ideas about why young people might become involved in prostitution. Similarly, in the study of young people and drug use (Melrose 2000a), I did not approach the study with any preconceived ideas about why young people might start to use drugs. However, after numerous occasions of listening to the tapes and reading transcriptions generated from the studies, it became



clear that what young people were saying about their reasons for becoming involved in prostitution and/or drug use could be organised into key themes.

In the study of young people's involvement in prostitution, these emerged as,

- 1) Poverty/lack of money/inadequacy of benefits (36 of 50 participants gave this reply). After listening to the tapes/reading transcriptions further, this category was refined to take account of the fact that half of those who gave this reply said they had adopted prostitution as a 'survival strategy'. The other half said they became involved in prostitution because they wanted money for things they would otherwise be unable to afford. Typical responses that were classified in the former category were,

*'That's [prostitution] how I lived. To survive. I didn't go back home then [at 13], from that age, I managed to survive myself. You know, doing my own thing and getting along. By the time I was 15, I had a place of my own. It was just something you did. You had to live so you did it'* (Lesley, Age 40 at interview, first involved at 13 in the context of going missing from home and care, no longer involved at time of interview).

Replies typical of those that were classified in the second category were,

*'Well, I started when I was about 12 and nearly 13. Umm, I never lived with my dad, just lived with my mum. Went to school and that, as you do sometimes, and then like I start... Cos I was maturer (sic) than everyone else I started going to clubs and that and I needed money, so, easy way'* (Lisa, Age 18 at interview, involved on and off since 13. Still involved at interview).

- 2) Drug use and need to fund drug habits (7 participants). Typical of responses classified in this category were,  
*'When I was 16, I was going out, saying I was just going out with me friends but I was going out working, getting money. Got on heroin, got addicted to heroin, I was feeding mine and his habits, that's why I was going out. I did it really cos of me heroin addiction. Really just did it like to feed me heroin habit'* (Dawn, age 24 at interview, first became involved at 16 and still involved at interview)
- 3) Coercion by another. In all five participants said they had been forced by someone else to become involved in prostitution ('boyfriends', mother, pimps). A further two participants explicitly linked their entrance into prostitution to the experience of sexual abuse as a child. One of these young women said she became involved

after being raped by her father when she was 12 years old and the other said she became involved after being 'interfered with by various men' from the age of 9 (Melrose *et. al.* 1999).

Similarly, in the study of young people and drug use (Melrose 2000a, Melrose 2004b) the reasons young people gave for starting to take drugs were classified in five different ways depending on what the young people said about why they had started to use drugs. These classifications were,

- 1) Acceptance seeking
- 2) Thrill seeking
- 3) Oblivion seeking
- 4) Thrill and acceptance seeking
- 5) Oblivion and acceptance seeking.

Comments that were typical of those classified as 'acceptance seeking' were,

*'I was like hanging around in a big group, you watch them do it then you want to. Like peer pressure and like just trying to be like them. You just try it and then you think 'yeah'. You want to be one of them really don't you?'*

Those typical of responses classified as 'thrill seeking' were,

*'I didn't know anything about drugs so I tried it because I wanted to know what it was like'*

Those typical of 'oblivion seeking' responses were,

*'It [crack and heroin] was like a mental crutch to block out all the bad stuff'*

Thrill and acceptance seeking responses typically included comments about the young person being curious about the effect of the drug they had started using *and* their friends tended to be using drugs. For example, one young woman said she had begun to use drugs in order to make herself appear 'more grown up' in front of her older boyfriend. However, she also liked

*'Living on the edge. I like danger. I get a thrill out of the fact I might die, and the fact of doing naughty things and that. I get a thrill out of it'*

Those classified as 'oblivion and acceptance' seekers typically told us things such as,

*'It [drug taking] was the only way I knew. My mum and all her friends were using and they encouraged me and at eleven, I thought it was cool. It was also a way out of all the grief' (Melrose 2000a).*

Developing classifications such as those outlined above from the available data, enables the development of theory that demonstrates a complex range of factors that push and/or pull young people into drug use and/or prostitution. This is important for policy and practice because it suggests that different reasons for embarking on the activity may require different policy responses and different interventions if the young person is to be helped to move away from that activity (Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose and Brodie 1999, Melrose and Ayre 2002, Melrose with Barrett 2004, Melrose 2000a, 2004a, 2004b).

As the projects on which I am drawing here were distinct pieces of work, the methodological approach to each was slightly different. In the study of young people's involvement in prostitution, most of those studied were involved in street prostitution, all participants were accessed through agencies providing services to this client group and a retrospective approach was adopted. This approach resulted from various ethical considerations, practical constraints and practical difficulties (Melrose 2002). However, all participants had become involved in prostitution before they were 18 and six of the 50 participants interviewed were under 18 at the time of our meeting. Approximately half (26) the participants were aged 25 and under at the time of interview. The study aimed to explore when, how and why they had become involved in prostitution (Melrose *et. al.* 1999).

The study of young people and drug use involved young people who had offended, been excluded from school and/or looked after in local authority care. It aimed to explore when and why they had initiated drug use, what drugs they used and how frequently they used them<sup>7</sup>. It also investigated how young people were introduced to drugs, the ease with which they could access them and the forms of support young people might require in order to stop using drugs (Melrose 2000a). This study involved 49 young people aged 13-18 years and 10 aged 19-25<sup>8</sup> all of whom had been

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<sup>7</sup> All of these issues, offending, exclusion from school, being looked after in local authority care and taking drugs were also common themes in the research on young people involved in prostitution.

<sup>8</sup> The funding body was interested in those aged under 18 thus the analysis concentrated on this age group

involved in offending and/or exclusion from school and/or looked after in the local authority care system. Participants were recruited through Youth Offending Teams, Pupil Referral Units and Local Authority Care Homes<sup>9</sup>.

Young people were sought for inclusion in this research based on their experiences of offending, being excluded from school and/or being or having been in the care of the local authority rather than their known or suspected drug use. Given this, and the relative ‘youthfulness’ of those who participated, it was somewhat disturbing to find that only five of these young people had never used illicit drugs.

These particular categories of young people were looked at in the research as funding was made available to research ‘vulnerable’ young people and their ‘vulnerability’ to drug use<sup>10</sup>. This was because previous evidence had suggested that factors such as exclusion from school, involvement in offending and/or being ‘looked after’ render young people particularly vulnerable to initiating drug use and/or developing drug problems (HAS 1996, SCODA 1997, President of the Council 1998). In fact, this study found that experiences of offending, being excluded from school and/or being looked after overlapped in complex ways and that very often, their vulnerability to initiating and continuing drug use resulted from experiences beyond offending, being excluded from school and/or being looked after (**Melrose 2000a**).

The following section of this paper explores the social and economic processes through which young people who are poor or otherwise disadvantaged have been progressively marginalised, socially and economically, in Britain over the past 25 years.

### *‘The dictatorship of capital’<sup>11</sup>*

The concerns of my work have been broadly focused on issues of inequality and poverty and particularly with the practices that socially and economically marginal young people adopt in order to live through these experiences. It is however impossible to discuss the social and economic position of disadvantaged young people

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<sup>9</sup> There is no doubt that in both studies, the means by which participants were accessed determined the make up of the final ‘sample’. See Melrose 1996, Melrose 1999, Melrose *et al.* 1999, Melrose 2002

<sup>10</sup> The author is grateful to SCODA, on behalf of the Department of Health, for making the funds available

<sup>11</sup> Robinson 1996:15

in contemporary British society without addressing the concept of ‘globalisation’. This is because the forces of globalisation ‘affect and direct all structures and institutions of our present reality and nothing can be understood outside of this context’ (Sangera 1997)<sup>12</sup>.

While globalisation is a hotly contested concept (e.g. Held *et. al.* 1999, Sykes *et. al.* 2001) it is at the same time one which has slipped into everyday usage in popular, media, academic and political discourse. It has become something of a ‘buzzword’ of the twenty-first century. In other words, there is something about the concept and language of ‘globalisation’ and the policies and practices it entails that have become ‘taken for granted’ and translated into ‘common sense’. To this extent, the processes of globalisation and the policies and practices that follow in its wake have established their own (global) hegemony (Jordan 2003).

Within academic debates on globalisation, commentators are divided on the issue of what it is that ‘drives’ globalisation. Some argue that it is technology, some that it is politics and some that it is economics. These debates identify globalisation as occurring at different levels and in different spheres – the cultural, the political and the economic (Robinson 1996, Held *et. al.* 1999, Yeates 2001, Sykes *et. al.* 2001, Penttinen 2004).

For the purpose of the argument presented in this thesis, I am adopting a position that sees globalisation as ‘driven’ primarily by economic processes (i.e. international or global capitalism and trans-national corporations (TNCs)). In this discussion, I am concerned with the ways in which social and economic policies adopted by governments in Britain since the early 1980s, in response to the forces of globalisation, have impacted on welfare provision for young people (**Melrose and Ayre 2002**).

In the face of globalisation, national governments (nation states) adopt particular policy responses in terms of welfare state provision that have particular consequences

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<sup>12</sup> Globalisation also changes the prostitution market – leading to more trafficking in women for prostitution (Sangera 1997, Penttinen 2004, Melrose 2000b, 2000c, Melrose *et. al.* 2005 forthcoming) more foreign girls and women working in prostitution and more sex tourism (Penttinen 2004). The increased availability of drugs such as heroin and crack cocaine in Britain might also be attributed to globalising forces

for citizens of those states. There is nothing inevitable about the responses adopted by individual nation states to these processes (Sykes *et. al.* 2001).

It is argued that in Britain, the effect of globalisation has been to erode ‘the political, economic and social foundations of the Keynesian welfare state, altered the dynamics of welfare state development and severely curtailed the range of political strategies and policy options that can be pursued’ (Yeates 2001:21, q.v. Beck 2000, Jordan 2003). This is because, in the face of global competition, ‘states are expected to adopt social and economic policies which are most attractive to transnational capital and foreign investors’ (Yeates 2001:23). This results in a ‘changing balance of power nationally between capital and labour’ and, in Britain, has manifested itself in ‘the casualisation of employment and declining wage levels’ (Yeates 2001:21) as well as welfare retrenchment.

In Britain, it has been assumed that a neo-liberal state form is the most attractive to transnational (global) capital and foreign investors (Jordan 2003). This means low levels of public spending on social welfare, low levels of direct taxation and, as a result, retrenchment of welfare state provision (particularly in relation to young people). The process of welfare retrenchment, initiated in the 1980s under the New Right, has been continued into the twenty-first century under New Labour. It has had particularly dire consequences for young people, especially the young unemployed and those who are most vulnerable and disadvantaged, such as those who have been the subject of my research.

In fact, it was observed in the early 1990s that, ‘It is hard to escape the conclusion that young people have been deliberately selected as easy targets in the assault against benefits’ (Andrews and Jacobs 1990). And as a result,

*‘Unemployment, poverty and homelessness have become for a minority of young people tragically linked as their right to independent income and housing benefit have been lost’* (Andrews and Jacobs 1990).

The empirical evidence generated from my research does not allow me to draw any other conclusion.

The British neo-liberal state form has recently been described as a ‘Social Investment State’ (SIS) rather than a ‘Welfare State’. Whereas the latter sought to *protect* citizens from the worst ravages of the capitalist free market, the former seeks to *integrate* them into it. The concerns of the SIS are future orientated and revolve around issues of employability and the requirements of the economy rather than with present issues of social justice, social welfare and the needs of citizens (Fawcett *et. al.* 2004). In the SIS, citizens are expected to be autonomous, independent and self-reliant while at the same time, ‘the duty of governments to provide for those in ‘genuine need’’ (such as the young people who have been the subject of my research) is rendered ‘residual’ (Jordan 2003:202).

The poverty (lack of income) (often coupled with homelessness) of the young people who have taken part in my research certainly indicates that they are in ‘genuine need’ but the welfare support they require is either totally absent or completely inadequate to meet those needs. Instead, their needs push them towards ‘informal methods’ (Jordan 2003:204) such as drug use/dealing, begging and/or prostitution to sustain and reproduce themselves.

The globalised world has been described, metaphorically, as a place constituted by ‘landscapes’ and ‘shadowsapes’. The ‘subjects’ (acting within and upon the forces of globalisation) are said to inhabit the former while the ‘abjects’ (acted upon by those forces) are said to inhabit the latter (Pentinnen 2004).

These ‘abjects’ can also be understood as ‘the flotsam and jetsam’ of latter day capitalism (Sivanandan 1989) – buffeted around by policies adopted by national governments in the face of international economic forces and living in the shadowsapes created by those policies. Such are the young people who have been the subject of my research. They survive in the shadowsapes of a globalised world by engaging in ‘informal methods’ and ‘alternative opportunity structures’ (prostitution, begging, drug use and/or drug dealing).

Below I show how policies that have been adopted in Britain in the wake of globalisation have had effects in terms of employment opportunities and welfare

provision for young people and have thus pushed them towards 'informal methods' in order to survive the new socio-economic order.

### *Pulling Up the Gangplank*

We are witnessing, in these globalising processes, the 'transformation of capitalist *economy* to capitalist *society*' (Robinson 1996:15) where capitalist relations penetrate all spheres of life and commodify all aspects of human, social relations. These processes allow capital to 'free itself from labour while holding labour captive' (Sivanandan 1989) and thus exacerbate inequalities between and within countries. This results in 'the accelerated creation of lakes of wealth in Third World countries and seas of poverty in First World countries' (Robinson 1996:23). My work has demonstrated that the young people who are the subject of my research are swimming – or some might say drowning - in this sea but they didn't get there by accident and they have not plunged into this sea of their own accord. Rather, they have been thrown into this sea by forces beyond their control.

The forces of globalisation articulate with already existing structures of inequality based on class, gender, ethnicity and age and in this articulation effectively 'lock out' certain groups – particularly women, ethnic minority groups and those who are young (Robinson 1996:24). For these groups, structures of deprivation and hardship are the escorts of globalisation, signalling real changes in existing relations of exploitation (Hewitt 1994).

Since 1979, as a result of social and economic policies pursued by governments in Britain as a response to the forces of globalisation, poverty and inequality have grown phenomenally and are now deeply entrenched<sup>13</sup>. In the 1980s, income inequality rose faster than in any other industrialised nation except New Zealand (Barclay 1995). For those in work, the gap between the highest and lowest paid returned to levels not seen since the late nineteenth century (Novak 2002). While the rich were 'rewarded with tax cuts to boost their already spiralling incomes, the welfare services on which the poorest depended were reduced, abolished or stripped of their helping role' (Jones and Novak 1999 cited in Novak 2002).

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<sup>13</sup> These trends have not as yet been reversed by New Labour (Jones 2002, Today 25.01.01)



In Britain, the ‘fundamental restructuring of social policies’ that began in the 1980s under the Thatcher government represents ‘the logical concrete policy and ideological adjuncts of globalisation’ (Robinson 1996:20). This fundamental restructuring of social policies resulted in labour market re-organisation and welfare retrenchment, which have had devastating effects for many young people – particularly those who are most disadvantaged. Since the 1980s, the youth labour market has virtually collapsed and the position of young people within it has been transformed (Maguire and Maguire 1997). This has created ‘serious economic exclusion among sections of the young population’ (MacDonald 1997).

While young people were being expelled from the labour market, the state was busy restructuring the way it discharged its responsibilities to its citizens – particularly its young citizens (France 1996, Carlen 1997). By ‘officially disarticulating citizenship from the values of post-war welfarism’, and rearticulating them to ‘the values of popular capitalism and individualism’ (France 1996) the state created what Carlen (1997) has described as an ‘asymmetry’ of citizenship for the young. This means that young people are increasingly required to fulfil the obligations of ‘full’ (adult) citizens while the state fails in its duty to care for them as such. In this sense, young people may be more appropriately described as ‘denizens’ rather than ‘citizens’ (see Jordan 1996:104). That is, like certain categories of ‘foreigner’, they are admitted to residence in the country but enjoy only limited social rights.

Young people’s entitlement to receive welfare support in the form of social security benefits was seriously eroded by a whole heap of changes to social security legislation. These included removal of the right to benefit for 16 and 17 year olds and reductions in the level of benefit to which those aged 18-25 were entitled. In addition, changes were made to housing benefit regulations which ‘capped’ the level of rent support those aged under 26 could receive. Some have observed that these policy changes were an attempt by the Conservative government to use social policy ‘to redefine childhood’ (Dean 1997:59) and to ‘officially prolong’ it (Coles 1995:130). As it turned out, this attempt was very successful and by the end of the 1990s it was observed that young people’s rights to receive support from the state were now biologically determined and assessed on the basis of their chronological age rather

than their 'need' (Coles and Craig 1999). This meant that some young people were trapped in 'a perpetual state of adolescence' and prevented from 'growing up' because they simply did not have the means to do so (Pitts 2001).

The 'child hostile' (Mayall 1997) policy changes outlined above demonstrate a conscious social and economic disinvestment in young people, which has resulted, over the past 25 years, in what Davis (1988) has described as the 'juvenation of poverty'<sup>14</sup>.

### *Rationing Compassion*

While the processes described above were undermining young people's ability to live autonomously, discourses that sought to demonise these same young people reached a new nirvana in the 1980s and 1990s (Pitts 1988, Davis and Bourhill 1997, Muncie 1999, Pitts 2000, Melrose 2005). 'Thatcherism' heralded in 'an assault on youth' which 'provided the radical right with a method for identifying the legacies of economic hardship and social disadvantage as phenomena produced by those forced to endure them' (Craine 1997:131). This resulted in 'youth' being reconstituted 'in terms of its threatening qualities' (Dean 1997:57) and provided a 'rhetorical smokescreen' 'to obfuscate the social and economic consequences of what in 1983, Dennis Healey described as 'Sado-Monetarism'' (Craine 1997:131).

On coming to power in 1997, the New Labour government uncritically accepted this paradigm on 'youth' from its Conservative predecessors and signalled its intention to be 'tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime' – especially juvenile crime. Consequently, it introduced the *Crime and Disorder Act* (1998) in record time (Pitts 2001). This piece of legislation employed a 'parental deficit model' and identified the determinants of juvenile crime in terms of key 'risk factors'. These were described as, *'being male, being brought up by criminal parents, living in a family with multiple problems, poor parental discipline, school exclusion and associating with delinquent friends'* (Home Office 1997 cited in Muncie 2000:17).

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<sup>14</sup> Using half average income as a measure of poverty, one in three children were living at this level in 1999 compared to one in ten in 1979 (Novak 2002)

Adopting this model of the 'causes of crime' enabled the government to remove from the tax payer 'the burden of providing appropriate and necessary services' as a 'social responsibility' and instead placed it on 'failing families' as an 'individual responsibility' (Davis and Bourhill 1997:32).

Also as part of its intention to be 'tough on crime and tough on the causes of crime', the government introduced the 'New Deal' for young unemployed people (aged 18-25)<sup>15</sup>. This was intended to 're-orientate' young people to the labour market since it was believed that those who were integrated into the labour force were less likely to offend (Holden 1999:530). There is a considerable degree of convergence between the New Deal and the Job Seekers' Allowance introduced under the previous Conservative administration (Theodore and Peck 1999). What distinguishes the former from its predecessors, however, is 'the extent of coercion involved rather than the job creation measures it has introduced' (Tonge 1999, Theodore and Peck 1999).

Under the New Deal, claimants can be compelled to work (Jordan 2003) and it has been said that the New Deal 'goes considerably further than American workfare principles for claimants under 25' (Stepney *et. al.* 1999:110). It has been described as a 'new form of tough love administered by a new breed of tough luvvies' (Jordan 1999:58). Under the New Deal, 'a fifth option' of remaining on benefits or 'refusing offers of help' from those tasked with enforcing the 'deal' does not exist (DSS 1998 cited in Stepney *et. al.* 1999).

The New Deal means that for young people aged 18<sup>16</sup> and over, their entitlement to receive welfare support has been tied ever more closely to their obligation to work. Their participation in a fragmented and hyper-casualised labour market is secured through coercive techniques such as the threat of withdrawal of benefits (Jordan 1999). Unsurprisingly, many young people are increasingly experiencing the 'new deal' as a very raw deal indeed (Jeffs and Spence 2000, Stepney *et. al.* 1999).

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<sup>15</sup> I have written elsewhere about the provisions for young people under the New Deal and will not rehearse these again here. See Melrose (2000a).

<sup>16</sup> 16 and 17 year olds are not eligible for benefits except in exceptional circumstances

## *Catch-22*

While governments were busy cutting ‘new deals’ for youth and transferring responsibility for young people from the state to the family, family structures were themselves becoming more ‘brittle’ (Coles and Craig 1999). ‘Brittle’ family structures were particularly concentrated in communities that had become relatively dislocated from the economic mainstream and in which family and neighbourhood poverty was becoming further entrenched (Pitts 2001). Transferring economic responsibility for these young people to their families thus served to undermine rather than reinforce family relationships and responsibilities – particularly in poorer households (Coles and Craig 1999, Muncie 1999).

So young people living in these families and communities have increasingly found themselves caught in what I describe as a ‘pincer movement’ (Melrose 2000b, 2000c). On the one hand, they are caught by policies that are designed to respond to global economic conditions - reduction or removal of welfare rights thus enforcing dependence on families (parental responsibility) and enforcing participation in low paid work via New Deal (individual responsibility). On the other hand, they are caught by fragmenting labour markets, communities and families. Unsurprisingly, increasing numbers of them ‘vote with their feet’ and take to the streets (literally in the case of those involved in prostitution and/or begging) (Matthews 1986, Jordan 1996, Dean and Melrose 1999, **Melrose et al. 1999**, Jordan 2003). Here they discover ‘alternative opportunities’ (Craine 1997) in the informal economy.

In the summer of 2004, newspapers carried stories of a report produced for government that described ‘cash-in-hand’ work as a ‘major resource’ for deprived neighbourhoods. Evidence has shown that since the 1980s, young people have become increasingly involved in various forms of informal economic activity (Craine 1997, Dean and Melrose 1997, Dean and Melrose 1999, **Melrose et al. 1999**, Melrose 2000b, 2000c). This flourishing informal economy results from economic restructuring, welfare retrenchment and increasing levels of social exclusion, which might be understood as by-products of globalisation (Jordan and Redley 1994, Jordan 1996, Jordan 1999). It is therefore increasingly necessary to address this phenomenon in order to understand the income generating methods employed by young people

living in the margins of contemporary society. But just what is ‘informal economic activity’?

‘Informal economic activity’ is a term that refers to a number of different practices and activities that occur in different contexts (Thomas 1992, Marshall 1998). It is employed, for example, to describe practices that take place in the realm of household economy. Here such activities might involve DIY, dress making, knitting, baking, babysitting, informal care giving and/or unpaid domestic work. In this sphere, this activity may also encompass the barter of goods and/or services between extended families and communities (Gershuny and Phal 1981, Leonard 1994, Marshall 1998).

Additionally, the term may refer to activities that occur in informal, rather than formal labour markets, for example, ‘cash-in-hand’ or ‘off the cards’ work (Henry 1981, Gershuny and Phal 1981, Dean and Melrose 1996, Dean and Melrose 1997, Williams 2004). The term can also be used to refer to activities that take place in illicit or quasi-illicit markets, for example, drug dealing, prostitution and/or begging (Pahl 1988, Davis 1988, Adler 1993, Bourgois 1996, Dean and Melrose 1999, Jordan 1999, **Melrose *et. al.* 1999**).

There are various terms used to describe the informal economy<sup>17</sup> and recently, particularly when referring to young people’s participation in this economy, it has been described as ‘the alternative economy’ (Craine 1997). What unites the various activities covered by these terms is the fact that goods and services produced or traded in the informal sector ‘evade, wholly or partly the systems of public regulation and taxation’ (Gershuny and Phal 1981:77). Scholars have noted that personal benefits can and do occur as a result of participation in informal markets. Apart from economic benefits, those participating in informal economic activity might enjoy ‘a considerable degree of personal autonomy’ and ‘a considerable degree of flexibility in working patterns’ (Gershuny and Phal 1981:78). Others have suggested that participation in informal markets provides a mechanism by which those ‘at the very margins of society can achieve symbolic participation without ontological security’ (Dean and Melrose 1997:116).

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<sup>17</sup> For example, ‘the black economy’, ‘the hidden economy’, ‘the irregular economy’, ‘the subterranean economy’, ‘the dirty fiver economy’ (Gershuny and Phal 1981).

The informal economy, however, is no more an equal opportunities employer than the formal economy and different opportunities present themselves to young men and young women in this sector. My work has demonstrated that these gendered ‘opportunities’ (perhaps to be ‘super-exploited’) now confront many young men and women living in the shadows cast by globalisation as the only alternatives to no or low income<sup>18</sup> (Jordan 2003, Dean and Melrose 1999, **Melrose et. al. 1999**, Craine 1997, Green et. al. 1997, O’Neill 1997, Jordan 1996). For many young people living in the social and economic margins of contemporary society we might suggest that participation in shadow economies has become ‘normalised’ in the twenty-first century. For many young people, these shadow economies are often constituted by sex and/or drug markets and participation in them represents a form of gendered survival strategies.

### *It’s All Happening on the High Road*

During the 1980s, there was a steady increase in the number of young people using drugs with a concomitant fall in the age of first experimentation (Parker et. al. 1998, President of the Council 1998, National Strategy for Neighbourhood Renewal 2000). So widespread did recreational drug use appear to be that some commentators argued that it had become ‘normalised’ in mainstream youth culture (Parker et. al. 1998). It was suggested that ‘youth culture’ had become a ‘chemical culture’ (Henderson 1999) because drug availability had become a ‘normal’ part of a young person’s ‘leisure/pleasure landscape’ and even those who did not use drugs did not object if their friends did (Parker et. al. 1995:25).

Others argued that ‘normalisation’ had occurred in the sense that ‘awareness and ideas’ about drugs had been changing (South 1999:5) and that as a result,

‘Personal and popular awareness of drugs as a social, lifestyle and/or crime related issue is now pretty universal in Western culture’ (ibid.)

In this sense,

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<sup>18</sup> They also provide an alternative to involvement in more serious criminal careers (see Melrose et. al. 1999)

‘Something profound has happened in relation to the place of drugs in everyday life since the mid-1980s and the diffusion of heroin followed by the emergence of ecstasy and the rave culture’ (South 1999:6).

Contemporary concerns about young people and their drug use cannot easily be separated from broader concerns with ‘youth crime’ and with wider policy developments in relation to young people (described above) (Melrose 2004b, 2005). In order to discuss this issue sensibly, however, it is necessary to distinguish ‘recreational’ drug users from ‘problematic’ drug users and to recognise that although many young people may use drugs, a much smaller number become involved in problematic drug use (Melrose 2005).

Recreational users usually consume drugs such as cannabis, ecstasy and amphetamine while problematic users are most likely to be using drugs such as heroin and/or crack cocaine. For the latter group, their drug use tends to become entrenched and thus problematic both for themselves and the communities in which they live (Melrose 2000a, Melrose 2001b, Melrose 2004b, President of the Council 1998, Dorn and South 1987).

In terms of the ‘normalisation’ debate, it is usually the former group that is being discussed (Parker *et. al.* 1998, Parker *et. al.* 2001). This group can be described as involved in ‘drug use’ which allows the user to continue with ‘normal’ social life. The drug use of the latter group, on the other hand, is usually considered in the context of the crime in which they indulge in order to finance their drug use (Hammersley *et. al.* 2003, Bean 2002, Edmunds *et. al.* 1998). The latter group is involved in ‘drug misuse’, which tends to interfere with ‘normal’ social functioning (SCODA 1997, Stewart 1987).

These two groups of drug users/misusers are very different in terms of their social class position and their structural location in the contemporary social world. The former might be said to be securely situated in the landscapes of globalisation while the latter might be said to be insecurely situated in its shadows.

The young people who have been the subject of my research have been excluded from key social institutions such as school, the labour market, their families and so on (Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a, Melrose and Ayre 2002, Melrose with Barrett 2004). Collison (1996) has argued this exclusion is almost always ‘(mis) understood as volitional’. Such exclusion pushes these young people out of the ‘landscapes’ of the globalised world and towards ‘informal methods’ in its shadowscapes. These young people are unable to move from the shadowscapes to the landscapes as their exclusion from the latter, and the means they adopt to live in the former, tend to trap them in the shadowscapes. Thus, while many young people may engage in (recreational) drug use as a means to take ‘time out’ from normative demands (work, education, families) the young people who are the subject of my research find they have few, if any, normative demands to take ‘time out’ from. As these young people are less able than their more socially included, (recreational) drug using peers, to ‘move between different lifestyle sectors’ they are more likely to be found at the ‘heavy end’ of the drug use/misuse spectrum (Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a, 2001b, 2004b, Parker *et. al.* 2001).

Since ‘the reality of every day life maintains itself by being embedded in routines’ (Berger and Luckman 1967:169) the absence of formal routines (of employment, education, family life) may have devastating consequences. ‘Hustling’ (for drugs and/or through prostitution activity) may, in these circumstances, become a way of meaningfully structuring time in lives that are unstructured by the temporal demands of formal employment, education/training or family life. Where there is nothing to ‘take time out’ from, the rituals and routines that surround ‘heavy’ drug use (heroin and/or crack cocaine) lend temporal structure and meaning to everyday life (Pearson 1987, Stewart 1987, Ashton 2002). These rituals and routines involve ‘grafting’<sup>19</sup> for the money to ‘score’; finding a ‘dealer’ and ‘scoring’; ‘fixing up’, ‘banging’, ‘chasing’ or smoking the drug itself, in an endlessly repetitive cycle (Stewart 1987). In this context, informal/street level rituals and routines become important in sustaining the reality of everyday life. This, coupled with the fact that these substances are highly addictive, might therefore mean that these young people tend

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<sup>19</sup> This was the term employed by young women involved in prostitution to describe alternative forms of income generation (usually engaged in by their boyfriends) such as theft or robbery. One young woman said she would rather ‘go on the beat’ than let her boyfriend go out ‘grafting’ to fund their heroin use as he would probably get caught and receive a prison sentence.



not to 'grow out' of drug use in the way that recreational users do (Measham *et. al.* 1998, ACMD 1998, Warde *et. al.* 2003 q.v. Palmer and Pitts 2004). In this sense, problematic drug misuse, as much as the 'alternative' economic activities in which they engage, might be described as a 'normalised' part of life in the margins for many young people.

The evidence from the studies on which I am drawing here demonstrates that the rituals surrounding problematic drug misuse are in some ways paralleled by those involved in prostitution related activity. For example, hanging around for 'punters', going 'on the beat' and so on become a means of structuring a reality and furthermore, prostitution related rituals are often combined with those of problematic drug use (Melrose *et. al.* 1999). As with problematic drug use, prostitution activity related rituals and routines might be said to give temporal structure and meaning to everyday life where otherwise there is none. Young people may therefore become as entrenched in them as in those that surround problematic drug use (Melrose *et. al.* 1999).

Not only do the rituals of drug misuse and prostitution lend structure and meaning to everyday life, but also, these activities come to represent 'the means through which people manage to maintain a sense of dignity, self identity and self esteem' (Bourgois 1996). Additionally, drugs provide those who are struggling in the margins of society with a means of 'solace' or 'escape' for which there is a 'vociferous demand' in many deprived neighbourhoods (Pitts 2001)<sup>20</sup>. Nevertheless, their drug use is not part of a 'pleasurable' lifestyle – or even a hedonistic pursuit. It is, more often than not, just 'endemic' (Blackman 1996 cited in Blackman 1997:127).

### *Easy Money*

Both prostitution and drug markets are potentially very lucrative economies to be involved in and, at the level of 'neo-classical individual economic choice' (Davis 1988), young people's participation in them can be understood as rational. For disadvantaged young men in particular (May *et. al.* 1999) the drug economy appears to provide 'the best available source of income and status' (Davies 2000:11, q.v.

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<sup>20</sup> And, if newspaper reports are to be believed, also among the rich and famous

Bourgeois 1996, Davis 1988). This is not to suggest that young women do not also participate as 'major players' in drug markets – in some instances they do (Denton and O'Malley 1999, Adler 1993, Taylor 1993, Dorn *et. al.* 1992). Drug markets, however, have traditionally been regarded as male dominated (Adler 1993, Denton and O'Malley 1999).

The profitable nature of drug economies can be inferred from the estimated value of different drug markets in Britain. The overall market value of heroin in the UK is estimated to be £2.31 billion (Ashton 2002) while for cocaine it is £352.8 million and for crack £1817.4 million (Constable 2002). Reports of young men earning in the region of £5,000 per week from dealing in crack are not uncommon (Thompson 2004, Davis 1988). In 2001, Devon and Cornwall police launched 'Operation Ovidian' to tackle the trade in crack in the area. One member of the intelligence team reported that:

'Many users are spending £500 a day on their habit. In February 2002, we arrested one low-level supplier who was making £3,000 per day. We know this figure is accurate. We're talking about a supplier who was at the bottom of the chain and yet his income may have topped £1.2 million a year' (cited in Constable 2002:39).

Similarly, in 1999, 'gross annual earnings of prostitutes' in the UK were estimated to be £770 million (Paterson 2004). A small-scale study undertaken in Plymouth has estimated that £390,000 per annum is likely to change hands between 26 prostitutes and their clients. This is based on the assumption that each works four times a week and sees on average three clients on each 'shift' at £25 per client (Curren and Sinclair 1998). In my work with women involved in prostitution, the women said they aimed to earn in the region of £100 per night (Melrose *et. al.* 1999). Research conducted with 55 prostitute women working in the Kings Cross area of London estimated that each earned approximately £700 per week. However, the study found that '82 per cent of street prostitutes use crack cocaine on a daily basis' and the women who took part spent on average £650 per week on drugs (Olden 2001:5).

The links between sex and drug markets have been highlighted by previous research (Blom and van den Berg 1989, McKeganey *et. al.* 1990, Faugier and Cranfield 1994,

Plant 1997, Pettiway 1998, Crosby and Barrett 1999, May *et. al.* 1999, **Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a, 2001b**, Hester and Westmarland 2004). It has been suggested that it is 'not uncommon' for young women to become involved in prostitution to support their own or another's drug habit (O'Neill *et. al.* 1995, **Melrose *et. al.* 1999**). On the other hand, prostitution often appears as the only viable alternative for socially and economically marginalised young women whose already limited options have been further funnelled as a result of drug misuse problems (Oppenheimer 1989) and relationships with violent and/or abusive men. This is not to suggest that prostitution is an exclusively female activity. Boys and young men are also involved although they are thought to be outnumbered by young women by a ratio of 4:1 (**Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose *et. al.* 2002, Melrose with Barrett 2004**).

In the study of juvenile prostitution on which I am drawing here, those interviewed did not all become involved in prostitution for the same reasons. However, it is fair to say that for most, money was 'the bottom line'. Some had adopted prostitution as a 'survival strategy' (usually in the context of going missing); others began prostituting to support a drug habit; some became involved because they wanted money for things they would not otherwise be able to afford while a small minority (5) said they had been forced into prostitution by someone else (**Melrose *et. al.* 1999**)

In this study, those who were under 25 at the time of interview tended to say more frequently than those who were over 25 that they had become involved in prostitution in order to support a drug habit. Seven of this younger age group were already using drugs before they became involved in prostitution while 13 started using them after they had become involved (**Melrose *et. al.* 1999**). Many of the young women could see quite clearly the vicious circle in which they were so obviously trapped. Chloe (17 years old), for example, said, 'I have to get off drugs to get off the beat and I have to get off the beat to get off drugs'.

Over three-quarters of those who were 18 or younger at the time of the interview (10) said that drugs (heroin and/or crack) were, to some extent, important in keeping them involved in prostitution. What is striking about this is the relative youthfulness of those who were already involved in using highly addictive substances (**Melrose *et. al.* 1999**). In the study of young drug users to which I am referring here (**Melrose 2000a**)

two of the fifteen young women interviewed said they had been prostituting in order to finance their drug use (Melrose 2001b).

### *Comfortably Numb?*

The links between poverty and prostitution have been firmly established by previous research (e.g. Green 1992, O'Neill *et. al.* 1995, O'Neill 1997, Green *et. al.* 1997, Pitts 1997, O'Connell-Davidson 1998, Phoenix 2001, **Melrose with Barrett 2004**) and were confirmed by the study I am discussing here (**Melrose *et. al.* 1999**). The research also validated the observation that in Britain, the 'prostitution labour market' is populated by those groups 'for whom welfare provision is either wholly inadequate or completely absent – women who are single parent mothers and children of both sexes' (O'Connell-Davidson 1998:71).

In the study on which I am drawing here, approximately three-quarters of participants said their main reason for becoming involved in prostitution was lack of money. Josie, for example, had become involved in prostitution at 14 and was 17 when we met. At that time (1998) she was in receipt of £28 per week Job Seekers' Allowance. She found it impossible to live on this and when she was 'skint' went to 'work'. However, she disliked what she did so much that sometimes she chose to 'ignore that I'm skint'.

The young people interviewed were aware of the changed nature of the labour market and were cognisant of the fact that if they were able to secure formal employment, this would be minimum wage, insecure, perhaps temporary, employment (McJobs). They knew that they had no possibility of generating from formal employment the sorts of incomes they could generate through prostitution. Dawn, who had become involved at 15, was 24, and still involved when we met, said,

'What job pays £60, £100 a night? Sometimes you can earn £100 in an hour if it's busy. You know where you're well off don't you?' (**Melrose *et. al.* 1999:51**).

Prostitution and poverty have even been described as 'twin sisters' (Sangera 1997). In response to poverty, prostitution 'comes to represent for women a gendered survival strategy' but at the same time it represents 'a gendered victimisation' (Phoenix 2001:53) which over time tends further to entrench their poverty and social

disadvantage. Many of the young women in this study found that, once involved, they could not easily leave prostitution. Their need for money, the lack of formal employment opportunities available to them, the inadequacy of welfare benefits, their need for drugs combined with the stigma attached to prostitution activity/drug use tended to trap them in prostitution and drug use (Melrose *et. al.* 1999: 51-55).

The links between problematic drug use and poverty are perhaps more obscure than those between poverty and prostitution, after all, from the 1920s to the 1960s, opioid addicts were geographically and socially confined to the professional classes in London and the South East (Robson 1999). All this changed in the 1980s however and eventually the link between deprivation and problematic drug misuse was officially acknowledged (ACMD 1998). My work has provided empirical evidence further to substantiate this link (Melrose 2000a, 2001b).

During the 1980s an ‘epidemic’ of heroin use developed amongst working class youth across the country (Dorn and South 1987, Pearson 1999, Pitts 2001). What began as a perceived ‘epidemic’ has since become ‘endemic’ (Parker *et. al.* 1998). Alarming, recent research has shown that the average age at which young people now begin to use heroin has fallen to 15 – two years younger than the average age of first use in the 1980s (Parker *et. al.* 2001). These ‘new’ heroin users are young people who are ‘basically poor, undereducated, unemployed and marginalised’ and tend to come from ‘deprived urban environments’ (Parker *et. al.* 2001:4). Their substance abuse ‘is merely a symptom – and a vivid symbol – of deeper dynamics of social marginalisation and alienation’ (Bourgeois 1996:2).

In the study of young drug users on which I am drawing here, the participants had, on average, begun using illicit drugs at 13 years of age. They had begun using drugs for different reasons – to ‘block out’ other problems, to be accepted by their friends, and/or to get a ‘buzz’<sup>21</sup>. Often the types of drugs they used seemed to be related to their reasons for initiating drug use. For example, those who were trying to ‘block out’ other problems (‘oblivion seeking’) tended to use drugs such as heroin and/or

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<sup>21</sup> These were categorised as ‘oblivion seekers’, ‘acceptance seekers’ and ‘thrill seekers’ (Melrose 2000a)

crack. Steve, for example, a 17 year old who had been using heroin and crack, said he had been using these drugs because,

‘It (heroin and crack) was like a mental crutch to block out all the bad stuff’  
(Melrose 2000a).

A significant proportion of those who were under 18 had already developed problems in relation to the use of drugs such as heroin and/or crack. Six had used drugs intravenously although most denied that they were doing so at the time of the interview. Interestingly, it was the young women who appeared to have developed the most worrying patterns and levels of drug misuse. None of the young women had only ever used cannabis (as some of the young men had) but had tended to combine cannabis use with other illicit drugs and frequently volatile substances as well. Intravenous use was also more prevalent amongst young women than amongst the young men who took part. While more young men than young women had used crack, with heroin it was a different story. In all, ten young people had been or were using heroin, six of whom were female. This represented almost half the women who took part in the research compared to just one tenth of the young men (Melrose 2000a, 2001b, 2004b).

The finding of more opiate and intravenous use amongst these young women correlates with findings from other research. In Australia, for example, ‘higher levels of heroin use and HIV risk taking behaviour’ were found amongst young women than amongst young men in custody (McCallum 1998:14-15). Likewise, in Hammersley and colleagues’ study of drug use by young offenders, they found,

‘Thirteen respondents, six male and seven female, recorded that they had injected drugs, most commonly heroin only. While this is a small number, the disproportionate number of women injectors is striking’ (Hammersley *et. al.* 2003:42).

Like prostitution, problematic drug use amongst socially and economically marginalised young people, develops in the context of social deprivation in conjunction with ‘personal biography in connection with local conditions and more structural forces such as employment conditions’ (MacLeod 1982:3-4 cited in O’Neill 1997:13).

Using drugs such as heroin enables the harshness of daily survival and/or other problems to be 'blocked out' and it is probably no coincidence that the massive spread of heroin use in the 1980s grew up alongside young people's mass unemployment (Pearson 1987). Socially and economically marginalised young people, like everyone else, 'long for the dignity that poverty denies human beings' (O'Connell-Davidson 1998:80, q.v. Dean and Melrose 1996, Dean and Melrose 1999, **Melrose 2000a**). The difference between them and everyone else, however, is that their structural location in the shadows of globalisation means that their legitimate opportunity structures for attaining such 'dignity' have been blocked (Matza 1964).

### *Speaking from the Shadows*

Many young people involved in prostitution and/or problematic drug use encounter a complex constellation of problems and difficulties in their lives and may experience mental health, emotional and/or behavioural problems (**Melrose et al. 1999, Melrose 2000a, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2004a, Ward et al. 2003, Pearce et al. 2003**). In the studies on which I am drawing here, many of those involved in prostitution as well as some of those involved in drug use, had been sexually abused in their families. Majorities in both groups had endured disorganised, conflictual and often abusive family relationships and had 'dropped out' or been excluded from the education system. Furthermore, their families had frequently rejected them and they had been 'looked after' in the local authority care system and/or accommodated in secure units or young offender institutions (**Melrose et al. 1999, Melrose 2000a, 2001a, Melrose and Barrett 2001, Melrose et al. 2002, Melrose with Barrett 2004**). They might therefore be described as 'throwaway' populations (Friedberg 2000). Additionally, many in each group were homeless or living in hostels and had been in trouble with the police for offences ranging from shoplifting, violent assaults, theft, soliciting and supply and/or possession of drugs. These multiple problems and needs militate against their engagement in the formal labour market. Thus the type of support they might require to take steps out of prostitution and/or drug misuse, and possibly towards formal employment, is evidently much greater than that available to them through the New Deal (Dean et al. 2003).

The young people being discussed here have been habitually failed, and cast to the margins of society, by some of the key institutions in our society – their families, the education system, the labour market, the care system, the welfare benefits system and the juvenile justice system. Their self harm, in terms of involvement in prostitution and/or drug use, might thus be interpreted as an outward manifestation of the harm that has already been done to them by others (O’Connell-Davidson 1998).

By acknowledging that these young people have been harmed by key social institutions and macro social and economic processes beyond their control my work demonstrates that dominant discourses that seek to understand or explain their activities in terms of a ‘risk factor’ analysis are inadequate for fully conceptualising the problem.

‘Risk factors’ for young people becoming involved in prostitution (Lucas *et. al.* 2004), for example, have been identified as<sup>22</sup>:

- ❖ having an older boyfriend
- ❖ going missing from home or care
- ❖ having unexplained gifts or money
- ❖ disengaging from family or friends
- ❖ truancy
- ❖ self-harming
- ❖ previous abuse or neglect
- ❖ involved in drug use

In terms of becoming involved in problematic drug use, ‘risk factors’ have been identified as:

- ❖ difficult childhood temperament
- ❖ lack of attachment to school and low degree of commitment to education
- ❖ association with drug-using peers
- ❖ alienation from or rejection of dominant value system
- ❖ involvement in offending
- ❖ being looked after by the local authority

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<sup>22</sup> A combination of some or all of these is thought to indicate that a young person is ‘at risk’ or involved in prostitution



My work has shown that conceptualising the problems these young people confront in terms of a 'risk factor' analysis tends to emphasise the role of the individual while ignoring the structural basis of their disadvantage.

The previous discussion has suggested that policy measures adopted in response to globalising economic processes and forces tend to 'lock out' particular groups (especially women, ethnic minorities, young people) and cast them to the margins (shadowsapes) of the globalised world. A 'risk factor' analysis tends to overlook these processes and, instead, treat young people as if they existed in a social and economic vacuum.

Although a 'risk factor' analysis may be a useful diagnostic tool for indicating to practitioners when there might be a need for intervention, it tends to ignore the more enduring risks – generated by the articulation of class, gender, ethnicity and age – to which these young people are exposed. As Buchanan (2003:300) writes, 'It is important that consideration is given to the structural factors that alienate and damage the self-esteem of so many young people'.

In this thesis, I have argued that these 'structural factors' need to be understood within the context of a globalised economy and national policy responses pursued to accommodate that economy. These structural factors expose young people to risks generated by the poverty of the communities and families in which they grow up. Poverty has become entrenched in these communities as they have been cast adrift from the social and economic mainstream as a result of policies pursued in response to globalisation. Taking account of these factors therefore suggests a need to understand the interaction between structural, cultural and personal/biographical forces that may propel (push) or pull young people towards activities in the informal economy (Melrose *et. al.* 1999). At the same time, such an analysis would recognise the capacity of young people to negotiate their place in the shadowsapes and make their own decisions 'in the face of overdetermining social forces' (Phoenix 2001:54).

*Signing Up for Life*

The discussion to date may have appeared to reduce young people's involvement in prostitution and drug use to mere economic determinism by suggesting that these young people are simply the passive victims of (global) macro-economic forces. This has not been my intention. However, neither do I intend to allow 'dull economic compulsion' off the hook.

In this section of the discussion, I demonstrate that my work has made an original contribution to knowledge by showing that existing models of young people's entry into prostitution and initiation of drug use are too frequently mechanistically conceptualised<sup>23</sup> (**Melrose et. al. 1999**). These models tend to 'draw up the theoretical space' (Phoenix 2001:37) in which to acknowledge young people's agency. They thus deny the possibility that young people are active agents in their own lives who can and do make decisions for themselves – even if these decisions are ultimately self-defeating and self-destructive. Acknowledging that young people do sometimes take the decision to prostitute and/or to use drugs forces us to ask questions about the conditions in which such decisions appear as viable options (**Melrose et. al. 1999, Melrose 2000a**).

Questions about the relationship between structure and agency are not easily resolved and I am certainly not claiming to settle them here. Instead, following from the work of those who have followed Marx, I would argue with Willis (1990:159 cited in Craine 1997:137) that these young people 'have choices but not choices over choices'. Following Jones (1997:109) I would also want to distinguish between a 'choice' and a 'decision'. Such a distinction would acknowledge that young people may have made a decision to prostitute and/or use drugs but would recognise that although such a decision may involve 'choice', the 'choice' is not usually 'that of the person making the decision'. These young people therefore make their own history 'but not in circumstances of their own choosing' (O'Connell-Davidson 1998:105, Craine 1997:137). They have decided on a course of action based on 'an evaluation of the possibilities open to them' (O'Connell-Davidson 1998:105). It is also the case that

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<sup>23</sup> For example, a model of 'pimping and grooming' is often employed to explain young people's involvement in prostitution while their initiation of drug use is often attributed in popular discourse to 'pushers' or 'dealers' luring them into drug use. These explanations not only deny the agency of the young people but also ignore the structural conditions in which their prostitution and/or drug use occur

the capacity to act ‘within oppressive circumstances, limits the available options’ (Kelly and Regan 2000).

The space in the margins of contemporary society and the shadows of globalisation that these young people inhabit would certainly count as ‘oppressive’ and their agency is ‘powerfully determined by negative experiences and reduced circumstances’ (Pitts 1997). Their choices are thus highly ‘structured choices’ (Pettit 1997). As a result of their highly constrained agency these young people are inclined to follow lifestyles that serve further to entrench, reinforce and reaffirm their structural exclusion (Collison 1996, Bourgois 1996, Phoenix 2001).

O’Connell-Davidson (1998:3-9) argues that the institution of prostitution should be conceptualised as an institution ‘which allows certain powers of command over one person’s body to be exercised by another’. She demonstrates that generally, people ‘only elect to hire out the property of their person’ in the absence of alternative viable options. My work has shown that young people only elect to ‘hire out the property of their person’ to ‘punters’ and/or drugs ‘because the economic, political and social circumstances in which they live make it the best or the only means of subsisting’ (O’Connell-Davidson 1998:5, **Melrose et. al. 1999**, Melrose 2000b, 2000c).

My work has made an original contribution to knowledge by demonstrating that the young people who were the subject of my research were aware of the restricted opportunities available to them in the formal labour market (**Melrose et. al. 1999**, **Melrose 2000a**). Rather than ‘shit jobs and govvy schemes’ (Coffield et. al. 1986) they had opted for ‘alternative careers’ (Craine 1997). In pursuing these ‘alternative careers’, these young people might be said to be carving out a path for themselves in the spaces between the state, the family and the formal economy (Collison 1996). In this, they may be said to be responding creatively to the structural conditions with which they are confronted (Melrose 2000b, 2000c) and, at the level of neo-classical economics, acting rationally in that context.

My work has shown that their participation in sex and/or drug markets ‘makes sense’ to them because of their past experiences (Pitts 1997) and the social structural and material conditions in which they live (**Melrose et. al. 1999**, **Melrose 2000a**). Their

previous experiences and the social and material conditions in which they live have loosened the bond to the conventional order and left them in a state of 'drift' (Matza 1964). In this state, they become available for other sources of support, approval and identity and they tend to find these in 'street cultures' where the other young people with whom they interact are similarly situated to themselves (Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a).

The notion of 'sub-cultures' has a long tradition in sociology, particularly in relation to studies of deviance and in studies of 'youth cultures'. Subcultures are said to form 'as a collective solution to, or resolution of, problems arising from the blocked aspirations of members, or their ambiguous position in the wider society' (Marshall 1998:649). Classically, sub-cultural groups or formations are said to adhere to values and norms that are distinct from those adhered to by those considered to be part of the 'dominant' culture or the cultural 'mainstream'.

However, the diversification and fragmentation of post-modern social formations would lead us to question the idea of a 'dominant' culture and 'sub-cultural' groupings that are subordinate to it. Sub-cultural theory has also tended to overstate the cohesion of the sub-cultural groupings with which it has been concerned.

My work demonstrates that for the most part, the young people who took part in my studies do not hold values and norms that are distinct from the cultural mainstream. Instead, these young people share many of the aspirations of those who are part of 'dominant' or 'mainstream' culture – that is, they desire to have families and settle down in their own homes. Some desire opportunities to work in the formal labour market in jobs that will enable them to live without recourse to the informal economy. However, they know that they do not have the skills or qualifications to be able to access such employment opportunities even where they do exist (Dean and Melrose 1996, Dean and Melrose 1999, Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a).

In this sense, 'street culture' is understood not so much as an oppositional culture to 'mainstream' culture but a pragmatic and expedient vehicle that enables young people who are economically marginalised and socially excluded (i.e. in poverty) to participate, albeit in a limited way, in 'mainstream' culture.

Through engagement with the alternative opportunity structures that are available through ‘street cultures’, young people are able to generate the incomes they need to consume the sorts of goods and commodities that are valued in ‘mainstream’ culture. This may afford them a sense of ‘belonging’ within the wider culture but also within the networks of young people who are similarly located to themselves. Ironically, however, the longer they participate in these informal/alternative (and/or illegal) forms of income generation, the more these young people find that their formal opportunities in mainstream culture are blocked and the more socially marginalised they become.

### *Conclusions*

This discussion has shown that the empirical data generated in the course of my research has enabled us to address some important theoretical, methodological and practical questions in relation to young people who become involved in prostitution and/or problematic drug use. It has demonstrated that the micro practices and life worlds these young people inhabit need to be understood within the macro context of global economics in articulation with already existing structures of inequality based on class, gender, ethnicity and age. These macro processes and structures, combined with the personal biographies of the young people concerned, constrain the available options and delimit the micro practices in which these young people can become involved.

The discussion has described the processes through which young people have been progressively disempowered over the past 25 years. It has argued that these processes have undermined young people’s position as autonomous citizens and positioned them as ‘denizens’ who inhabit the shadows of a globalised world and the margins of contemporary society. My work has demonstrated that as young people become increasingly socially and economically marginalised, through policy change and labour market reorganisation, some of them are inclined to take to the streets in search of opportunities that are denied to them elsewhere. As a result of their social exclusion from mainstream culture and the formal economy, young people tend to engage in informal, street level, economic activities as the best available options in order to sustain themselves symbolically, physically and materially. In the long term,

however, these activities tend to reinforce their social exclusion and disadvantage because, although ‘street culture’ ‘emerges out of a personal search for dignity’, it becomes eventually ‘an active agent in personal degradation and community ruin’ (Bourgois 1996:9).

My work has made an original contribution to knowledge in this field by demonstrating that from the shadows of a globalised world, these young people take solace not only in drugs but also in ‘street cultures’ whose rituals and routines lend temporal structure and meaning to everyday life. The social capital possessed by these young people, rejected in mainstream society as ‘marginal’ and ‘peripheral’, enables them to negotiate, ‘succeed’ and ‘belong’ in ‘street cultures’ (Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a). Their ‘being in the world’ and sense of identity is therefore affirmed through participation in such cultures. In this sense, once they are ejected, or excluded from mainstream culture and social life, the peer group clusters and activities in which these young people become involved, facilitate and sustain and even legitimise their involvement in prostitution and/or drug use.

‘Street culture’ is, as Bourgois (1996:8) has said, ‘a complex and conflictual web of beliefs, symbols, modes of interaction, values and ideologies that have emerged in opposition to exclusion from mainstream society’. My work has demonstrated that the young people who took part in my research find in this culture a place to ‘belong’ and their participation in this culture thus furnishes them with a sense of ontological security that they cannot derive from elsewhere. Thus, my work has demonstrated that ‘street culture’ performs, for these young people, a number of important and interrelated functions.

Firstly, it is a means of income generation (through prostitution, drug dealing) and thus enables young people, materially, to sustain and reproduce themselves. Secondly, the widespread use of drugs such as heroin and/or crack cocaine within this culture provides a source of solace and/or means of ‘escape’ from the harshness of everyday life. The ‘normalisation’ of problematic drug use within this culture is accompanied by rituals and routines which provide structure and meaning to everyday life where otherwise there is none. Thirdly, this culture provides marginalised and socially excluded young people with a sense of ‘belonging’ and thus provides the basis for

some degree of ontological security. The importance of this should not be overlooked in relation to young people whose other social networks and sources of support, which might otherwise prevent their drift into 'self-destructive and self-defeating behaviour' (Pitts 1997) have disappeared or are absent.

Although street cultures perform these important functions for marginalised young people, it is important not to overlook their contradictory nature for they are established on the destruction of their participants 'and the community harbouring them' (Bourgois 1996:9). My work makes an original contribution to knowledge in this field by demonstrating that in order to understand young people's involvement and sustained engagement in such cultures, it is necessary to understand the interaction between structural dynamics, culture and personal biography (**Melrose *et al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a**).

This discussion has provided evidence to suggest that conceptualising young people's involvement in prostitution and/or drug use in terms of a 'risk factor' analysis tends to place responsibility on individuals. It also tends to pathologise the families and/or communities from which the young people come (see e.g. Home Office 1997 cited in Muncie 2000). This, the evidence demonstrates, is inadequate to conceptualising the issues at stake. My work has shown that it is the more enduring structural risks to which they are exposed in their families and communities, for example, poverty, inequality and unemployment, that render young people vulnerable to prostitution and/or drug use (**Melrose *et al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a, 2000b, 2000c**). A 'risk factor' analysis tends to ignore these more enduring structural risks.

As I have demonstrated in this discussion, macro-economic forces, combined with local conditions and personal biographies, are implicated in propelling young people into sex and/or drug markets and trapping them there once they are involved. Ultimately then, in the long term, in order to prevent other young people from becoming involved in such markets, and enabling those already involved to extricate themselves from them, it is these forces that need to be tackled (**Melrose and Brodie 1999, Melrose and Ayre 2002, Melrose 2000b, 2000c**).

It is by tackling the causes of poverty and disadvantage, and structures of inequality based on age, class, sex and ethnicity, rather than their symptoms, that in the long term we will begin to effect significant changes for the life chances of the young people discussed here (**Melrose et. al. 1999**, Melrose and Brodie 1999, **Melrose and Ayre 2002**, **Melrose 2000a**, 2000b, 2000c).

This does not mean however that ‘nothing can be done until everything is done’. What is required are macro-level approaches that tackle the poverty of these young people and the families and communities from which they come combined with micro-social multi-agency interventions that adapt to particular local environments and conditions (Melrose and Brodie 1999, **Melrose and Ayre 2002**, Melrose 2001a). These micro-social interventions need to take account of the fact that, in the context of poverty and social disadvantage, young people become involved in prostitution and/or drug use for different reasons. To work effectively with them, then, practitioners and policy makers need to take account of what these reasons are (**Melrose 2000a**, **Melrose with Barrett 2004**).

My work has demonstrated a number of areas in which policy and practice in relation to socially marginalised and excluded young people should be developed in order to respond appropriately to the needs of these young people.

In terms of policy responses, I have argued for a number of years now that welfare benefits should be restored to young people aged 16 and 17 and that benefit levels for those aged 18-25 should be provided at the same level as for those over 25 years of age. Housing benefit entitlements for this age group also need to be reviewed. In short, young people need to be provided for according to their needs, and not according to their chronological age (**Melrose et. al. 1999**, **Melrose 2000**, **Melrose and Ayre 2002**, **Melrose with Barrett 2004**).

Housing provision for young people is an area that needs urgent attention – too many are accommodated in inappropriate and unsuitable hostel accommodation

Opportunities in the formal labour market need to be created – for example, evidence from the New Deal programme shows that young people are likely to be unemployed



six months after completing a New Deal scheme (Jeffs and Spence 2000). This policy measure is therefore clearly not providing what is required in terms of formal labour market opportunities. The 'flexible' labour market and the low wage economy pursued under the present government will not deliver the sorts of opportunities that young people pursuing alternative opportunity structures need (**Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a, Melrose and Ayre 2002, Melrose with Barrett 2004**).

In terms of policy *influence*, my work on young people and prostitution (**Melrose *et. al.* 1999**) is cited in Government guidance on the treatment of, and responses to, young people involved in commercial sexual exploitation (DoH/HO 2000). The Home Office funded evaluation of projects to support young people involved in commercial sexual exploitation from which **Melrose with Barrett's (2004)** publication developed, has fed into the forthcoming review of prostitution legislation (see Hester and Westmarland 2004). My work on young people and drug use (**Melrose 2000**) is cited in a key government discussion document in relation to young people, drug use and disadvantage (DrugScope/SCODA 2000). My work is also cited in key government publications looking at the links between sex markets and drug use (Home Office 2004).

In terms of practice, my work has demonstrated the importance of understanding where vulnerable and socially excluded young people are, how they got there and what keeps them there if we are to develop interventions to work with them appropriately. It demonstrates that in order to prevent young people from becoming entrenched in alternative opportunity structures, there is a need to work with them to enable them to see that pursuing such opportunities is ultimately self-defeating and self-destructive. This suggests that in practice there is a need to provide them with opportunities to do something other than what they do and real opportunities to be someone or somewhere other than what or where they are (**Melrose *et. al.* 1999, Melrose 2000a, Melrose with Barrett 2004, Melrose 2004a, 2004b**).



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## Appendix 1

### Key Publications to be considered for PhD by Publication

#### Books

Melrose, M., Barrett, D. and Brodie, I. (1999) *One Way Street? Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution*, London, The Children's Society

Melrose, M. (2000) *Fixing It? Young People, Drugs and Disadvantage*, Lyme Regis, Russell House Publishing

Melrose, M. with Barrett, D. (2004) (eds) *Anchors in Floating Lives: Interventions with Young People Sexually Abused through Prostitution*, Lyme Regis, Russell House Publishing

#### Journal Articles

Melrose, M. (2002) 'Labour Pains: Some considerations on the difficulties of researching juvenile prostitution', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, Theory and Practice*, Vol. 5, No.4. pp. 333-352

Melrose, M. (2004a) 'Young People Abused through Prostitution: Some Observations for Practice', *Practice*, Vol. 16, No. 1. pp. 17-30

Melrose, M. (2004b) 'Fractured transitions: Disadvantaged Young People, Drug Taking and Risk', *Probation Journal*, Vol. 51, No.4. pp. 327-342

#### Book Chapters

Melrose, M. (1996) 'Enticing Subjects and Disembodied Objects', in H. Dean (ed.) *Ethics and Social Policy Research*, Luton, University of Luton Press in association with the Social Policy Association

Melrose, M. (1999) 'Word from the Street: The perils and pains of researching begging', in H. Dean (ed.) *Begging Questions: Street Level Economic Activity and Social Policy Failure*, Bristol, The Policy Press

Melrose, M. and Ayre, P. (2002) 'Child Prostitution in the 1980s and 1990s', in A. Brown and D. Barrett, *Knowledge of Evil: Child Prostitution and Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth Century England*, Devon, Willan Publishing

**Appendix 2: Key publications that make an original contribution to debates on research methodology in 'sensitive' research**

**Journal Articles**

1) Melrose, M. (2002) 'Labour Pains: Some considerations on the difficulties of researching juvenile prostitution', *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, Theory and Practice*, Vol. 5, No. 4, pp.333-352

**Chapters in Books**

- 1) Melrose, M (1996) 'Enticing Subjects and Disembodied Objects', in H. Dean (Ed.) *Ethics and Social Policy Research*, Luton, University of Luton Press in conjunction with the Social Policy Association, pp.78-86
- 2) Melrose, M. (1999) 'Word from the Street: The perils and pains of researching begging', in H. Dean (Ed.) *Begging Questions: Street Level Economic Activity and Social Policy Failure*, Bristol, The Policy Press, pp. 143-161

**Appendix 3: Key publications that make an original contribution to theory and practice issues, and knowledge generally, in relation to young people involved in prostitution and/or drug use**

**Books**

- 1) Melrose, M., Barrett, D. and Brodie, I. (1999) *One Way Street? Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution*, London, The Children's Society
- 2) Melrose, M. (2000) *Fixing It? Young People, Drugs and Disadvantage*, Lyme Regis, Russell House Publishing
- 3) Melrose, M. with Barrett, D. (2004)(Eds.) *Anchors in Floating Lives: Interventions with young people sexually abused through prostitution*, Lyme Regis, Russell House Publishing

**Journal Articles**

- 1) Melrose, M. (2004) 'Young People Abused through Prostitution: Some Observations for Practice', *Practice*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 17-28
- 2) Melrose, M. (2004) 'Fractured Transitions, Disadvantaged Young People, Drug Taking and Risk', *Probation*, Vol. 31, No. 4, pp. 327-342, Special Edition: Rethinking Drugs and Crime

**Chapters in Books**

- 1) Melrose, M. and Ayre, P. (2002) 'Child Prostitution in the 1980s and 1990s', in A. Brown and D. Barrett, *Knowledge of Evil: Child Prostitution and Child Sexual Abuse in Twentieth Century England*, Devon, Willan Publishing, pp. 176-188



#### *Appendix 4: Supplementary Publications*

##### *Books*

Dean, H. with Melrose, M. (1998) *Poverty, Riches and Social Citizenship*, Macmillan, Basingstoke

##### *Journal Articles*

Dean, H. and Melrose, M. (1996) 'Unravelling Citizenship: The significance of social security benefit fraud', *Critical Social Policy* 48 (16) pp.3-32

Dean, H. and Melrose, M. (1997) 'Manageable Discord: Fraud and Resistance in the Social Security System', *Social Policy and Administration* 31 (2) pp.103-118

Melrose, M. (2003) 'Street Prostitution and Community Safety: A case of contested meanings?' *Journal of Community Safety*, Vol. 2, No. 1. pp. 21-31

Barrett, D. and Melrose, M. (2003) 'Courting Controversy: Young people abused through prostitution – Are they everybody's distant relatives but nobody's children?' *Child and Family Law Quarterly Special Issue*, Vol. 15, No. 4. pp. 371-382

Melrose, M. and Barrett, D. (2005 forthcoming) 'The Flesh Trade in Europe; Trafficking in Women and Children for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation', *Police, Practice and Research: An International Journal*

##### *Book Chapters*

Dean, H. and Melrose, M. (1999) 'Easy Pickings or Hard Profession?' in H. Dean (Ed.) *Begging Questions: Street Level Economic Activity and Social Policy Failure*, Bristol, The Policy Press

Melrose, M. (2001) 'Vulnerable Young People and Drug Use: Health Implications of Gender Differences in Drug Consumption Patterns', in V. Puuronen (Ed.) *Youth on the Threshold of the Third Millennium*, Finland, University of Joensuu

Melrose, M. (2001) 'Targeted Groups: Young People involved in Sexual Exploitation', in F. Factor, V. Chauhan and J. Pitts (Eds.) *Russell House Companion to Working with Young People*, Lyme Regis, Russell House Publishing

Melrose, M. (2005 forthcoming) 'Young People and Drugs' in R. Hughes, R. Lart and P. Higate (Eds.) *Drugs, Policy and Politics*, Buckingham, Open University Press

##### *Other Publications*

Melrose, M. (2003) *Community Care*, 'Risk Factor' – March 17<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup>

Melrose, M., Greenwood, H. and Barrett, D. (2002) 'Young People Abused through Prostitution', *Highlight*, No. 194, London, National Children's Bureau

Melrose, M. and Barrett, D. (2001) 'Some reflections on the contexts, causes and responses to child prostitution', *ChildRight*, March

Melrose, M. and Brodie, I. (2000) 'Vulnerable young people and their vulnerability to drug misuse', in *Vulnerable Young People and Drugs: Opportunities to tackle inequalities*, London, *Drugscope*

*Unpublished Reports*

Melrose, M. (2002) 'It's great to have someone to talk to and I feel safe', Interim Report to the Home Office for the *Tackling Prostitution: What Works* Initiative

Melrose, M. (2003) 'Tackling prostitution: What works for young people? An evaluation of young people's projects in Bristol and Sheffield', Final Report to the Home Office for the *Tackling Prostitution: What Works* Initiative

## Appendix 5

### Research Experience and Awards Held

1994-96	<i>Citizenship and Economic Rationality: A Study of Benefit Fraud.</i> Research Assistant, <b>ESRC funded</b> (15 months)
1996-98	<i>Poverty, Riches and Social Citizenship.</i> Principal Researcher and Project Manager. Co-award holder, <b>ESRC funded</b> (20 months)
1998	<i>Begging in Contemporary Britain.</i> Principal Researcher and project manager. <b>Internally funded by University of Luton</b> (9 months)
1998-99	<i>Child Prostitution in the UK.</i> Principal researcher and project manager. <b>Funded by the Children's Society</b> (9 months)
1999-2000	<i>Vulnerable Young People and their Vulnerability to Drug Misuse.</i> Principal Researcher and Project Manager. Award Holder. <b>Funded by SCODA/Department of Health</b> (13 months)
2001-2002	<i>Evaluation of Bedfordshire Arrest Referral Scheme.</i> Project Manager. Co-award holder. <b>Funded by Bedfordshire Police</b> (8 months)
2001-2002	<i>A Different Deal: Understanding the problems of people with multiple Disadvantages.</i> Co-award Holder. <b>ESRC funded</b> (20 months)
2001-2002	<i>Evaluation of a policing initiative to tackle sex work and crack cocaine use in Seven Sisters' Road.</i> Researcher and Co-Award Holder. <b>Home Office funded</b> (15 months)
2001-2003	<i>Tackling Prostitution -What Works? Evaluation of projects supporting young people who are sexually exploited through prostitution.</i> Project manager and principal researcher. Award Holder. <b>Home Office funded</b> (27 months)
2004-2006	<i>Heavy Cannabis Use, Vulnerability and Youth Transitions.</i> Project manager and principal researcher. Award Holder. <b>Funded by Joseph Rowntree Foundation</b> (20 months)

**NAME:** Margaret Melrose B.Sc.(Hons) MA, FRSA  
**D.o.B:** 29.09.1957  
**Position:** Senior Research Fellow, Department of Applied Social Studies, University of Luton

### Education

1985-88 Polytechnic of North London, B.Sc. (Hons) *Sociology* First Class  
1990-93 University of East London, Department of Cultural Studies MA by Independent Study and Research in *Media and Cultural Studies*  
1992 ACSET Stage 1

### Employment

1988-1990 Home Tutors Teaching Co-operative, Muswell Hill, London. Tutor for young people with learning difficulties  
1990-94 Birkbeck College, University of London, Extra-Mural Department. Lecturer in Sociology and Study Skills on Access Courses (p/t)  
1990-1994 *The Working Men's College, Camden, London NW1* Lecturer in Sociology for 'A' level students (p/t)  
1993-1994 *Lecturer in Sociology and Study Skills, Vauxhall College, Kennington, London*  
1994-1999 Researcher and Visiting Lecturer, University of Luton  
1999-2001 Research Fellow, Department of Applied Social Studies, University of Luton  
2001- Senior Research Fellow, Department of Applied Social Studies, University of Luton

### Research Experience

- ◆ 1994-1995 *Welfare Citizenship and Economic Rationality*. Research Assistant. ESRC funded (15 months)
- ◆ 1996-1998 *Poverty, Riches and Social Citizenship*. Lead Researcher and Project Manager. **Co-award holder**. Funded by ESRC (20months)
- ◆ 1998 *Begging in Contemporary Britain*. Lead Researcher and Project Manager. Funded by University of Luton (9 months)
- ◆ 1998-99 *Child Prostitution in the UK*. Lead Researcher and Project Manager. Funded by The Children's Society (9 months)
- ◆ 1999-2000 *Vulnerable Young People and their Vulnerability to Drug Misuse*. Lead researcher and Project Manager. **Award Holder**. Funded by SCODA/Department of Health (13 months)
- ◆ 2001-2002 *Evaluation of Bedfordshire Arrest Referral Scheme*. Co-Award holder Project Manager. **Co-award Holder** Funded by Bedfordshire Police (8 months)
- ◆ 2001 – 2002 *A different deal: Understanding the problems of people with multiple disadvantages*. Project Supervisor. **Co-award Holder** Funded by ESRC (20 months)
- ◆ 2001-2003 *Tackling Prostitution – What Works? Evaluation of projects supporting young people who are sexually exploited through involvement in prostitution*. Lead Researcher and Project Manager. **Award Holder**. Funded by the Home Office (27 months)
- ◆ 2004 Evaluation of Stakeholder Policing Initiative Funded by Bedfordshire Police
- ◆ 2004-2006 *Heavy Cannabis Use, Vulnerability and Youth Transitions*. Lead Researcher and Project Manager. **Award Holder**. Funded by Joseph Rowntree Foundation (20 months)

### Publications

#### Books

- ◆ Dean, H. with Melrose, M. (1998) *Poverty, Riches and Social Citizenship*, Macmillan, Basingstoke
- ◆ Melrose, M., Barrett, D. and Brodie, I. (1999) *One Way Street? Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution*, London, The Children's Society
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- ◆ Melrose, M. (2000) *Fixing It? Young people, drugs and disadvantage*, Lyme Regis, Russell House Publishing
- ◆ Melrose, M. with Barrett, D. (2004 forthcoming) (Eds.) *Anchors in Floating Lives: Interventions with Young People Sexually Abused through Prostitution*, Lyme Regis, Russell House Publishing

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- ◆ Dean, H. and Melrose, M. (1996) 'Unravelling Citizenship: The significance of social security benefit fraud', *Critical Social Policy* 48 (16) pp.3-32
- ◆ Dean, H. and Melrose, M. (1997) 'Manageable Discord: Fraud and Resistance in the Social Security System', *Social Policy and Administration* 31 (2) pp.103-118
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2002) 'Labour Pains: Some considerations on the difficulties of researching juvenile prostitution' *International Journal of Social Research Methodology, Theory and Practice* Vol. 5 (4) pp.333-351
- ◆ Dean, H., MacNeill, V. and Melrose, M. (2003) 'Ready to Work? Understanding the experiences of people with multiple problems and needs' *Benefits* Vol. 11. No.1
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2003) 'Street Prostitution and Community Safety: A case of contested meanings?', *Community Safety Journal* Vol. 2 (1) pp.21-31
- ◆ Barrett, D. and Melrose, M. (2003) 'Courting Controversy: Children Sexually Abused through Prostitution: Are they everybody's distant relatives and nobody's children?' *Child and Family Law Quarterly* Vol. 15 (4)
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2004) 'Young People Abused through Prostitution: Some observations for practice', *Practice* Vol. 16 (1) pp.17-30
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2004) 'Fractured Transitions, Disadvantaged Young People, Drug Taking and Risk', *Probation*, Vol. 51 (4) pp.327-342
- ◆ Melrose, M. and Barrett, D. (2005) 'The Flesh Trade in Europe: Trafficking in Women and Children for the purpose of Sexual Exploitation', *Police, Practice and Research: An International Journal*

### Book Chapters

- ◆ Melrose, M. (1996) 'Enticing Subjects and Disembodied Objects', in H. Dean (Ed.) *Ethics and Social Policy Research*, University of Luton Press in association with the Social Policy Association
- ◆ Melrose, M. (1999) 'Word from the Street: Reflections on the perils, pains and gender dynamics of researching begging in contemporary Britain', in H. Dean (Ed.) *Begging Questions: Street level economic activity and social policy failure*, Bristol, The Policy Press
- ◆ Melrose, M. and Dean, H. (1999) 'Easy Pickings or Hard Profession?' in H. Dean (Ed.) *ibid.*
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2001) 'Targeted Groups: Young People Abused through Prostitution' in *Russell House Companion to Working with Young People*, F. Factor, V. Chauhan and J. Pitts (Eds.) Lyme Regis, Russell House Publishing
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2001) 'The Health Implications of Gender Differences in Drug Consumption amongst Vulnerable Young People', in *Youth on the Threshold of the Third Millennium*, V. Puuronen (Ed.) University of Joensuu, Karelian Institute, Finland
- ◆ Melrose, M. and Ayre, P. (2002) 'Child prostitution in Britain in the 1980s and 1990s', in *Knowledge of Evil: Child Prostitution in Twentieth Century England*, A. Brown and D. Barrett, Willan Publishing, Devon
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2005 forthcoming) 'Young People and Drugs' in *Drugs: Policy and Politics*, R. Hughes, R. Lart and P. Higate (Eds.) Buckingham, Open University Press

### Other Publications

- ◆ Melrose, M. and Barrett, D. (2001) 'Some reflections on the contexts, causes and responses to child prostitution' (2001) *ChildRight* (March)
- ◆ Melrose, M. and Brodie, I. (2001) 'Vulnerable young people and their vulnerability to drug misuse', London, *Drugscope*
- ◆ Melrose, M., Greenwood, H. and Barrett, D. (2002) *Young People Abused through Prostitution*, *Highlight* No. 194, London, National Children's Bureau
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2003) *Community Care*, 'Risk Factor' – March 17<sup>th</sup>-25<sup>th</sup>

### Conference Presentations (selected)

- ◆ Melrose, M. and Barrett, D. (1999) 'One Way Street: A retrospective study of juvenile prostitution', *National Vice Conference*, Bristol, June
- ◆ Melrose, M. and Barrett, D. (1999) 'Not much juvenile justice in these neighbourhoods: report on a study of juvenile prostitution', *British Criminology Conference*, Liverpool, July
- ◆ Melrose, M. and Brodie, I. (1999) 'Developing multi-agency responses to young people involved in prostitution', *The 4<sup>th</sup> International Conference on the Rights of the Child*, Laval, Quebec, Canada, October
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2000) 'The Health Implications of Gender Differences in Drug Consumption amongst Vulnerable Young People', *Youth on the Edge of the Third Millennium Conference*, Petrozavodsk, Republic of Keralia, June
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2000) 'Globalisation and Child Prostitution in Britain', *The Globalisation of Sexual Exploitation Conference*, London, July
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2000) 'Ties that bind: Young people and the prostitution labour market in Britain', *4<sup>th</sup> European Feminist Research Conference*, Bologna, Italy, September
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2000) 'Risky Lives, Risky Leisure', *Youth in a Risk Society Conference*, University of Ljubljana, Slovenia, November (Alps-Adriatic Youth Research Network)
- ◆ Melrose, M., Banks, G. and Barrett, D. (2001) 'Tackling Prostitution: What Works? Building Solutions to Common Problems', Putteridge Bury, University of Luton, October
- ◆ Melrose, M. and Brown, A. (2002) 'Traffic: Problems in Northern Europe', *Womenaid International Conference, Code Red: An Integrated Response to Global Trafficking*, London, 11<sup>th</sup> March 2002
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2002) 'Street Prostitution and Community Safety: A case of contested meanings', *Community Safety Five Years On*, London, 19<sup>th</sup> March 2002
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2003) 'Report on a Study of Juvenile Prostitution', University of Luton 10<sup>th</sup> Anniversary Conference: *Reaching Socially Excluded Young People*, June 18<sup>th</sup>
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2003) Tackling Prostitution: What Works for Young People? *Tackling Prostitution: What Works?* London, Home Office, October
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2004) 'The Flesh Trade in Europe: Trafficking in Women and Children for the Purpose of Commercial Sexual Exploitation', Paper presented at *International Police Executive Symposium Eleventh Annual Meeting: The Criminal Exploitation of Women and Children*, Vancouver, Canada, 16<sup>th</sup>-20<sup>th</sup> May
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2004) 'Trafficking in Women and Children for Sexual Exploitation', *Prostitution: Policing, Policies and Public Protection Conference*, London, October
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2005) 'Perishable Goods: Trafficking in Women and Children for the Purpose of Sexual Exploitation', *Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Conference*, Chicago, USA, March 9<sup>th</sup>-16<sup>th</sup>
- ◆ Melrose, M. (2005) 'Child Prostitution: Some Observations for Practice', *Street Prostitution: Protecting Children and Preventing Exploitation in the Sex Trade Conference*, London, May 19<sup>th</sup>

### Other activities

Co-ordination and teaching of undergraduate modules in Social Policy, Criminology and Research at University of Luton

Curriculum development

Membership of Institute for Learning and Teaching in Higher Education (from 2001)

Teaching contribution to EU funded Intensive Programme – Ethnic Minorities, Cultural Integration and Intercultural Communication in Europe (Alicante, August 2003 & July 2004)

Consultant/training for Barnardos (The emotional costs of work with young people involved in commercial sexual exploitation) (2003)

Member of UK Network of Sex Work Projects National Working Group (from 2003)

Fellow of Royal Society of Arts (from 2003)

Consultant to NSPCC research on service provision for young runaways (2004)

Membership of Luton Drug and Alcohol Partnership Steering Group (from 2004)

External Examiner Leeds University BA Applied Social Studies (from 2004)

Membership of Luton Borough Council Research Governance Steering Committee (2005)

Margaret is registered for a PhD by Publication at the University of Luton (from March 2004).

**New Deal, Big Deal? The experience of homeless young people in the first year of the Government's New Deal**

By Steve Wyler. Published by Crisis 1999. Price £5.00. 31 pages. ISBN 1 899257 37 3.

**One Way Street? Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution**

By Margaret Melrose, David Barrett and Isabelle Brodie. Published by The Children's Society. Price £8.95. 99 pages. ISBN 1 899783 27 X.

**Pathways to Accreditation for Lifelong Learning: Guidelines for Using the Open College Network**

By Margaret Wallis. Published by West and North Yorkshire Open College Network. Price £20.00. 47 pages (plus 37 pages of handouts, case studies and exercises). No ISBN.

**T**WO OF THE BIG buzzwords of the new Labour project are 'social inclusion' and 'lifelong learning'. These three very different books come together under that umbrella. The New Deal may have 'employability' as its touchstone but a key subtext is – through interventions to engender employability – to combat social exclusion. Therefore its capacity to reach, and to provide effectively for, the most disadvantaged groups of young people will be a stern test of its performance.

Homeless young people are one such group. Some may not be claiming Jobseekers Allowance which means that they fall at the first hurdle: receipt of Jobseekers Allowance for six months is a pre-condition for eligibility. Rough sleepers can, however, access New Deal early, as a priority group and other homeless young people may be able to do so if New Deal personal advisers consider them to be 'severely disadvantaged in the labour market'.

Much of this is, however, almost beside the point. This research for Centrepont and Crisis indicates a very

low level of take-up of New Deal by homeless young people through both automatic and voluntary entry, the 'best estimate' being between 10 and 20 per cent. This is attributed in part to problems associated with the 'six months' rule, whereby homeless young people – through chequered claiming patterns – do not reach the threshold for automatic referral. But there also appears to be a low level of voluntary entry. This is often because of the multiple needs of homeless young people which may relegate consideration of New Deal as a next step, and the report calls for a voluntary 'pre-Gateway' provision to address more pressing needs. However, it also argues that New Deal has been poorly promoted to more disadvantaged young people and that far more intensive, and independent, personal guidance and support needs to be provided throughout participation in New Deal.

Furthermore, New Deal needs to offer a greater sense of excitement and possibility, perhaps through improved links with the creative industries. Too often New Deal has become drab and coercive; a Charter setting out service standards which young people can expect is urgently required. Finally, New Deal needs to contribute to and learn from wider developments in benefits and economic regeneration policy to ensure appropriate connections between economic independence, income and accommodation. Homeless young people may find that they are deterred from moving to economic and social independence by the prohibitive costs of housing once they cease to be eligible for housing benefit.

This well-written report encapsulates a range of concerns about the delivery of New Deal. The programme retains enormous potential in meeting the needs of disadvantaged young people, but a range of issues impeding that potential have been identified. They are likely to apply in similar ways to other

disadvantaged groups. Unless they are addressed as a matter of urgency, the vast public resources committed to New Deal will have bypassed those who need them most.

One alternative way of 'getting by' outside the mainstream training and labour markets is through prostitution. We know that this can be an expedient measure for some young people, just as we know that they are readily exploited. What we do not yet fully comprehend are the range of factors – beyond an economic imperative – which propel young people into prostitution and keep them there. We can hazard a few educated guesses, but The Children's Society report offers a much fuller, if rarely clearer, picture. Indeed, child prostitution is a complex phenomenon, usually framed by economic and emotional issues but incorporating other themes such as educational dropout (or push out) and under-attainment, and being looked after away from home. The authors acknowledge that the 50 individuals whose recollections are analysed in the book may not necessarily be representative; since the population of young people involved in prostitution is invisible, it is impossible to know. But their accounts enrich both our understanding and our thinking on the question.

We are informed about the characteristics of this particular sample and what led or pushed them into prostitution. Few, perhaps surprisingly, had been actively coerced. Indeed, many had drifted into prostitution, often through economic need, having escaped from abusive family environments or simply wanting to earn a decent income. Prostitution was viewed as the most legitimate of a range of illegitimate alternatives to meet this need. Having become involved, it was often difficult to stop, either because the income was essential or desirable, or because there appeared to be no alternative. Significantly, though, it was claimed that the camaraderie among sex



workers provided succour and support and that prostitution sometimes conferred a sense of power and 'specialness' on those engaged in it. Of course, this was not always the case, but this perspective is an important corrective to the idea that prostitution is only and always about powerlessness, exploitation and oppression. What is clear is that peers have a key influence both in starting in prostitution and remaining involved. Stopping is very difficult, and often only triggered by traumatic personal experiences. Respondents were often unsure what might have prevented them becoming involved in the first place, but greater personal support and family mediation was routinely identified as important.

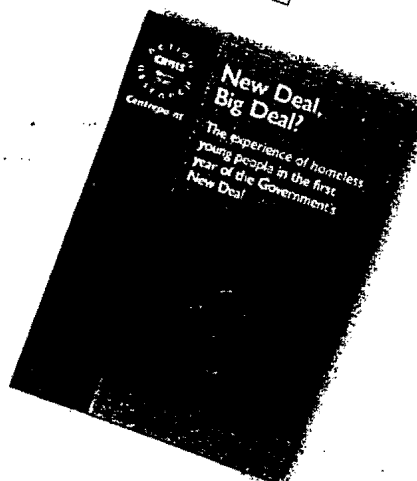
The authors indicate a number of policy implications arising from their research. These span statutory and voluntary intervention, the law and policing, and education and employment. Most critically, supporting young people in moving out of prostitution will require realistic opportunities in the formal labour market, but it is rather difficult to see how this could ever compete with the earning power of prostitution. Not that this is advocacy for a status quo: the majority had become involved in prostitution before the age of 16 and their involvement was the outcome of what is referred to as 'highly constrained agency', in that the choices made were often rather spurious ones. Alternative choices, and support in being able to make them, is the central message of this important book.

On the other side of the fence to social exclusion is the thrust for lifelong learning. And more and more emphasis is being placed on the recognition and accreditation of non-formal learning, precisely because it is believed that true engagement with a culture of lifelong learning will both forestall the risk of social exclusion and bring those at the margins and already excluded back into the fold.

The Open College Network has been at the forefront of these developments. This in itself is no bad thing; indeed, some non-formal achievements can serve as a proxy for more formal attainment. On the other hand, as I have argued elsewhere, there is a risk that certificates are being handed out at every step, without any real differentiation between the recognition of effort and participation (and modest achievement) and the validation of meaningful attainment. The former may have enormous importance to the individual concerned but carries little weight beyond; it is the latter which has some credibility but the most credibility remains attached to formal academic qualifications. Thus we must step cautiously on to this terrain which offers a learning experience and the possibility of an accredited award whichever direction one moves in and however slowly progress is made. However, if we believe it is useful to at least provide that possibility, then Margaret Wallis' detailed account of the way in which the Open College Network works will be very useful. It is a step-by-step guide, setting out the rationale for accrediting non-formal learning and explaining the terminology. It sets out what counts as 'evidence', how this is assessed and how 'credit' can be accumulated. The narrative and explanation are accompanied by numerous photocopyable handouts, case studies and exercises.

I once suggested, in all seriousness, that the motor vehicle skills of young car thieves should be subjected to formal assessment and accreditation, thereby providing a possible route back into the mainstream. Perhaps it would not be too absurd these days to argue that the same opportunities should be extended to homeless young people and those involved in prostitution, who have so often needed a full complement of resolve, resourcefulness and resilience to get by. The

formal recognition of the skills developed as a result might not be sufficient to serve as a passport to independent living and economic choice, but they might be a necessary first step in engendering the sense of confidence and self-worth which might bring about a willingness to contemplate moving along pathways to social inclusion. Public policy would, of course, need to be reshaped to meet them halfway down the track. □



workers provided succour and support and that prostitution sometimes conferred a sense of power and 'specialness' on those engaged in it. Of course, this was not always the case, but this perspective is an important corrective to the idea that prostitution is only and always about powerlessness, exploitation and oppression. What is clear is that peers have a key influence both in starting in prostitution and remaining involved. Stopping is very difficult, and often only triggered by traumatic personal experiences. Respondents were often unsure what might have prevented them becoming involved in the first place, but greater personal support and family mediation was routinely identified as important.

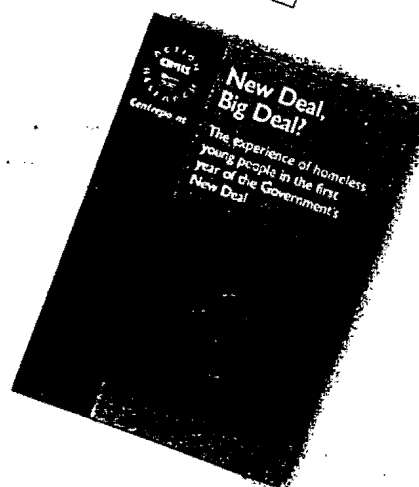
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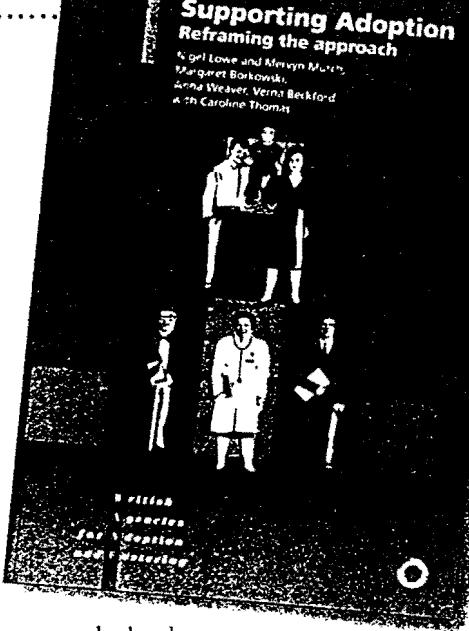
formal recognition of the skills developed as a result might not be sufficient to serve as a passport to independent living and economic choice, but they might be a necessary first step in engendering the sense of confidence and self-worth which might bring about a willingness to contemplate moving along pathways to social inclusion. Public policy would, of course, need to be reshaped to meet them halfway down the track. □



**Supporting Adoption - Reframing the Approach.**

Nick Lowe, Mervyn Murch et al. 1999. *British Agencies for Adoption and Fostering (BAAF), Skyline House, 200 Union Street, London SE1 1LX. £24.95.*

This book argues that the legal, policy and administrative structures in which adoption services operate are outdated. They are still based on recommendations made by the Houghton Committee as long ago as 1972. But the nature of adoption work has changed radically since then. In particular, the adoption of babies and infants is now rare. It is the adoption of older children out of care that has come to dominate adoption practice. The purpose of this research, undertaken by the Cardiff Law School, was to consider the experiences and perspectives of older children, adopters and placing agencies, as well as to gather more general information about adoption support services. On this basis, the book's authors make a number of recommendations for reform of adoption law and practice. For example, they recommend that local authorities should be placed under an express legal duty to provide post-adoption support with subordinate legislation spelling out what is required of post-adoption services. They favour a post-adoption service that sees its role as, primarily, the educative one of enabling adopters to learn as rapidly as possible the skills of parenting children who have experienced extraordinary and often turbulent childhoods'. They also argue strongly in favour of adoption allowances entitling all adopted children, at the very least, to the same level of financial support as children who continue in foster care. This is a landmark work with important implications for adoption policy and practice.



ences, the book covers the decision to adopt and the process of adoption, the adoption of school children and adolescents, children with a physical or learning disability, children who have been abused, adoption by single parents and gay couples and race and adoption.

**Stepping Forward - Children and Young People's Participation in the Development Process.**

Victoria Johnson et al (eds). 1999. *Intermediate Technology Publications, 103-105 Southampton Row, London WC1B 4HH. £7.95.*

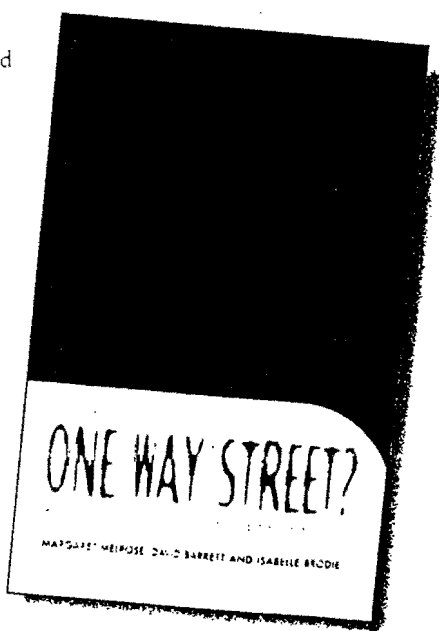
This collection of around eighty articles and workshop reports originated in an International Workshop - organised by the Institute of Development Studies, the Institute of Education and 'Save the Children' - in September 1997. Its theme was participation of children and young people, particularly in the developing world, and it brought together representatives from 30 countries spread across five continents. The articles cover children's participation in their own social groups: conferences, councils and community meetings; planning and analysis; research; and the production by children of their own photographs, videos, drama, broadcasts and television programmes. The cumulative effect of reading about this wealth of experience of child participation is to explode those myths that have underestimated children's capacities in order to justify their exclusion from participatory processes. This book also raises the fundamental question of what precisely 'participation' means and requires. In particular, it considers the dangers of a tokenism in which the mere visibility of children and young people in public forums is, wrongly, assumed to equate to equal participation and empowerment. It looks at ethical dilemmas, examines methods adopted in participatory research, looks at the interdependence between culture and partic-

ipation and considers the appropriate forms and structures of participatory projects for children and young people in a range of contexts.

**One Way Street - Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution.**

Margaret Melrose, David Barrett and Isabelle Brodie. 1999. *The Children's Society, Edward Rudolf House, Margery Street, London WC1X 0JL. £8.95.*

This book begins by noting that there has been a lack of research on juvenile prostitution which has listened to and documented young people's own accounts of their experience of prostitution. The Children's Society set out to remedy this deficiency by interviewing 50 people who became involved in prostitution as children. Their stories provide a disturbing insight into how young people become involved and entrapped. Unsurprisingly, the research found that many children took up prostitution as a means of survival. The obvious links between entry into prostitution and deprivation and exclusion lead the book's authors to call for some 'joined up thinking'. Their recommendations include the restoration of benefits for 16 and 17 year olds, the development of drug detoxification services and more refuges and street based services for young runaways. They also add their voices to those calling for a change in the law bringing an end to the practice of prosecuting children for selling sex. Instead, all the energies of the police and courts should be directed to investigation and prosecution of adult abusers. This is difficult but essential reading for anyone concerned about the plight of excluded and vulnerable young people in contemporary Britain.



**The Adoption Experience.**

Ann Morris. 1999. *Jessica Kingsley Publishers, 116 Pentonville Road, London N1 9JB. £10.95.*

This collection of accounts of first hand experiences of adoption has been compiled by Adoption UK. It is aimed primarily at adopters and prospective adopters and has the express aim of encouraging those who are thinking about adoption to consider it more seriously. However, it will be of general interest and offers an engaging and informative read for anyone interested in the adoption process and the issues it raises. Adoption UK believe that all children have a right to a family life, and lament the number of children who still wait for suitable adopters - particularly black children, older white children and children with disabilities. Through adopter's own experi-

uitable last month. A number of lead-experts on pre-school learning have said that children would benefit, and be better in later years, if formal lessons were further delayed until they were six (CHILDRIGHT No 151 p. 21). Further details are available on the QCA website at [qca.org.uk](http://qca.org.uk) and [Ofsted.gov.uk](http://Ofsted.gov.uk).

### NATIONAL STANDARDS FOR FOSTER CARE

On 22 June, the Health Minister, John Hutton, launched the first-ever UK National Standards for Foster Care and Code of Practice for recruiting foster carers. The 25 standards have been produced by the UK joint working party on foster care. They place new responsibilities on local authorities to provide a comprehensive service for children and young people and appropriate support for foster carers. The National Foster Care Association has copies of the National Standards (priced £0.00 for members and £20.00 for non-members). Prepayments will be required from non-members who should request copies in writing from the NFCA, 87 Blackfriars Road, London SE1 8HA, fax: 0171 620 6401.

### CHALLENGE TO UNIFORM CODES

A mother is to take legal action against a school on the grounds that it does not allow her 13 year old daughter to attend wearing uniform. Under current arrangements, school governors and head teachers decide on uniform regulations, and the DfEE has told the mother that it has no power to interfere. This case is believed to be the first ever to challenge the legal right of schools to enforce a uniform code. The mother is bringing a case under the Sex Discrimination Act. It will be argued that the school is disadvantaged by the requirement that they wear skirts. Trousers are warmer and cheaper for parents.

### PUPIL SITS GCSES IN WIG AND STICKY PLASTERS

A pupil at a Comprehensive School in Newport, Wales, has been forced to sit GCSEs in a wig and sticky plaster to conceal a pierced lip. The pupil commented: 'The wig is itchy and gets in my eyes and the plasters get on my nerves and affect my concentration. I am really upset about it as my career is being put at risk by something so silly'. The headteacher responded that '[s]trange hair styles could distract other pupils from getting on with their exams'. Presumably strange wigs and sticky plasters will not.

### CHILDREN'S VIEWS ON THEIR RIGHTS

On 29 June, representatives of children and young people who have participated in a Save the Children consultation on children's rights presented their findings to the Minister of Health. Very few of the young people consulted had heard of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) before becoming involved and all thought it was extremely important and should be better publicised. The 500 young people consulted have come up with a range of recommendations encompassing education, youth justice, children in care, discrimination, children's participation in society, recreation, work, domestic violence and healthy living. Copies of the report are available from Save the Children Fund, England Programme Office, 2nd Floor, 1 Eastgate, Leeds LS2 7LY, price £10.00.

### REPORT ON CHILD PROSTITUTION

On 29 June, The Children's Society launched the most in-depth report to date on children involved in prostitution in the UK. The report shows, in the words of Ian Sparks, Chief Executive of the Society, that for many of those surveyed 'their childhood was a fast track from destitution to degradation'. In particular, early experience of drugs, sexual abuse and running away were key factors in children's entry into prostitution. Of a sample of 50 interviewees, 64% had become involved in prostitution before reaching the age of consent (48% before they were 14 years old). 42% said that their first sexual experience was of abuse, and 26% that this abuse occurred before they were 10 years old. 56% were using drugs (with drug use far higher amongst those aged 25 and under). 26 of those surveyed had been runaways and more than a third had first become involved in prostitution to survive while on the run. The Children's Society is calling for harsher penalties for those who entice or coerce children into prostitution and for those who abuse them; more help for young runaways; better alternatives for vulnerable young people, including an end to discrimination against 16-17 year olds under minimum wage legislation; more thought to be given by local authorities when placing young people in the 'looked after' system who might be pressurised into selling sex; and proper monitoring of all children who are absent from school. The report *One Way Street? Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution* is available from The Children's Society on 0171 841 4415, priced £8.95 plus 90p p&p.

### NEWS IN BRIEF

**CAMPAIGN TO STOP THE USE OF CHILD SOLDIERS**  
Amnesty International is spearheading a campaign by the UK Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers. A petition is currently being circulated to be presented to the Prime Minister to mark the 10th Anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. For further information, contact Amnesty International on 0171 814 6200.

**NO FURTHER PUNISHMENT FOR FATHER WHO SMACKED DAUGHTER**  
Martin Flynn, the Scottish teacher convicted of assault for smacking his eight year old daughter, appeared before Hamilton Sheriff Court for sentencing on 9 June. The Sheriff, who could have imposed a three month prison sentence, concluded that 'what has occurred already should be sufficient to ensure no recurrence of such behaviour' and admonished and discharged Mr Flynn.

**CHILDREN TO PLAY IN THE ROAD**  
On 13 June, it was reported that the Government is planning to turn residential streets in 50 towns into 'home zones'. Traffic will be discouraged and there will be pitches for playing ball games instead of road markings.

**CHILDREN SMUGGLED ABROAD UNCHALLENGED**  
Reunite has added its voice to those pressuring the Home Secretary to tighten emigration controls to prevent parents in custody disputes smuggling children abroad. Emigration Officers were removed from departure gates some time ago, despite warnings about child abduction from senior judges from the Family Division of the High Court.

**GIANT TORTOISES MAKE YOUNG PEOPLE THINK ABOUT SEX**  
The Health Education Board for Scotland has produced a TV commercial to make young people think about the emotional side of sex. It features copulating giant tortoises, damsel flies, garter snakes, rhinos and tropical fish. Teenagers are urged 'not to be animals'.

**BUYING ANIMALS.**  
The Conservatives want to raise the age at which children can purchase pets from 12 to 16. They argue that children have little understanding of the responsibilities involved in looking after animals.

**BOOK REVIEWS** *Ged Smith* studies a work on child protection systems and *Gill McIvor* a book on prostitution; *Jackie Rodgers* discusses sex and learning difficulties; while *Peter Marsh* focuses on research pr



## The Management of Child Protection Services

Robert Sanders  
Ashgate  
£19.95  
ISBN 1 85742 393 3

This is a book about child protection, not child abuse, and the inter-agency arrangements that are necessary to ensure that child protection operations are effectively managed.

The book is divided into five chapters which deal with all systems of protecting children in the UK, followed by a concluding chapter where the author states his belief in the connectedness of themes in child protection work; that it is everybody's business, not just social services, and that the whole system will be inadequate until it is properly resourced.

Beginning with an historical review of child protection, we see clearly how the history of a legitimisation of infanticide and child cruelty; the barbaric treatment of "deformed" children, and the widespread use of beatings have contributed to where we are today and how some centuries old values persist.

The book moves on to an examination of cross-cultural themes in child protection work and explores the controversy around ethnocentrism (the tendency to view the world from

the perspective of one's own culture) compared with multiculturalism (the position that values and standards of all cultures differ and deserve respect).

With frequent references to *Working Together* (1991), most of this book deals with the structural and policy context of child protection, the workings of area child protection committees, and the professional and agency context. It contains useful accounts of the Pigot report, several child abuse inquiries, and the question of Gillick competence.

This is not a book about how to manage staff but how to manage and understand the systems of which the child protection manager is a part, and as such it is extremely impressive. Ged Smith is family therapist, Greenwich NHS Trust

## One Way Street? Retrospectives on Childhood Prostitution

Margaret Melrose, David Barrett and Isabelle Brodie  
The Children's Society  
£8.95

ISBN 1 899783 27 X

*One Way Street?* is the latest in a series of publications by the Children's Society on the issue of child prostitution in the UK. Based on interviews with 50 young people involved in prostitution, it explores their reasons for entering prostitution, their experiences of prostitution, and the factors which helped them to leave prostitution or prevented them from doing so.

A final chapter discusses the implications of the findings for a range of agencies including social services and the police.

The book is strongest in its discussion of the relationship between prostitution and going missing from care or home but it does have several weaknesses. The respondents were recruited through projects and the limita-

tions of this sampling method are barely acknowledged. The description of the sample as "young people" is misleading - a large proportion were in their 30s and 40s, and one was over 50, at the time of interview.

The treatment of many important issues is superficial while some receive no comment at all. There is little systematic discussion of the nature and frequency of the work engaged in by young people; the circumstances of their first paid sexual contacts; the nature of the abuse experienced as children; and their experiences of violence. Surprisingly, there is no reference to the types of services available for young people or to the crucial issue of sexual health.

The book succeeds in highlighting the relationships between abuse, poverty, drug misuse and childhood prostitution and identifies an agenda for policy and practice, but leaves many questions unanswered.

Gill McIvor is professor of social work and director, Social Work Research Centre, Department of Applied Social Science, University of Stirling

## Sexuality and Women with Learning Disabilities

Michelle McCarthy  
Jessica Kingsley  
£15.95  
ISBN: 1 85302 730 8

Anyone who is involved in the lives of women and men with learning difficulties should read this work.

It succeeds on a number of levels. It takes forward the academic and philosophical debate, moving discussions from "sexuality" in the abstract to the reality of women's lives.

The book will be of particular interest to anyone undertaking research into learning difficulties, providing a thoughtful

discussion of the methodological considerations in undertaking a study of this nature.

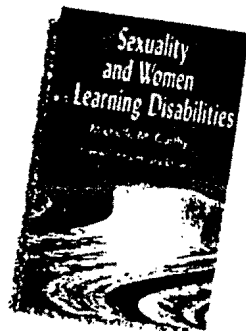
The study could be criticised for a lack of participation by disabled people other than as participants. However, McCarthy's work is presented in a considered framework and it would be hard to deny it could make a contribution to challenging the oppression faced by women with learning difficulties. This is reinforced by the author's practical suggestions in the last chapter, offering recommendations for policy and further research.

The book is relevant to everybody, not just policy makers, academics and those who work directly with people with learning difficulties. It is a very moving work, as it presents the voices of the women themselves and describes their often negative and abusive experiences.

The author describes how the mistaken assumption is sometimes made that she must have experienced sexual abuse to be "so" interested in it. On the contrary, we should all take responsibility for facing up to and tackling this issue, she says.

It can only be hoped that the experiences described in this book will remain in the reader's mind, and provide continued motivation to improve matters for this neglected group of women.

Jackie Rodgers is a Medical Research Council research fellow, Norah Fry Research Centre, University of Bristol



## The Political Work Resevaluation

Edited by Bob...  
Venture Press  
£12.50  
ISBN 1 8617...

This book-a dilemmas process, prov the issues tha to bear in m out their wo culties of sen through to research publ

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This boo widely read, b missioning those carrying Peter Marsh is and family wel Sheffield

65

research activity in (their) own right'. There is a discussion about the validity of this research, based as it is on the observers' subjectivity, and comparison is made to field anthropology and other human sciences research methods. The monitoring or 'honing' function of the seminars is explained and the principles of psychoanalytic thinking offer the theoretical frame that form the preconceptions or 'hypotheses'.

There are five observations reported in mental care settings: a chronic psychiatric ward, the canteen of a mental hospital, an acute psychiatric admission ward, a long-stay psychiatric ward and a mental health hostel. Without exception, through the verbatim reporting of events, including the emotional 'events' experienced by the observer, the power of the prevailing culture is exposed time and again. It is a battle fought between the defensive culture and the individual's capacity to keep thinking; overwhelming helplessness versus the capacity to continue caring and connecting with the individual person, patient or member of staff.

The 'agony' of being a passive observer is flippantly noticed by a nurse in William Skogstad's observation of a general medical ward in Part III, but the 'fear of watching' is beautifully described in all eight papers. The issues in a day-care centre, a palliative care unit and a stressed out chaotic medical ward are described equally poignantly, with the physical care of bodies raising anxiety in the staff to levels that require a formidable range of defences to exist and persist in order, supposedly, for the nurses to survive. The resort to mania, control, regulation and distance seemed irresistible in the face of such dependence which was not apparently able to be contained.

The final chapter reflects briefly on each paper, which was welcome although a bit unexpected as reflection on the observers' perceptions had been clearly and powerfully maintained throughout, linked as they were to the here and now of the particular setting. As Anton Obholzer notes in the Foreword, the book does not set about addressing the issues described, at least not in a head-on sense. However, there is surely a model, rather than a solution proposed, which is implicit in the observation training itself: that is, if we can preserve time to think about experiences and how they impact on our functioning, we have more chance to remain truly connected in a caring capacity with our clients.

Margaret Oke

Clinical Psychologist, Llwyn Onn Child and Family Service, Wales, UK



Margaret Melrose, *Fixing It? Young People, Drugs and Disadvantage*. Dorset: Russell House Publishing, 2000, 122 pp. £11.95. ISBN 1-898924-79-1.

ON AGREEING TO review *Fixing It?* I was immediately aware that I was hopeful I would not be reading a book that would add fuel to the fire of the media-led portrayal of the thrill-seeking, spontaneous drug-using 'youth of today'. I was also hopeful it would be a relatively painless experience and quick to read! This is a relatively easy read, and more importantly, Margaret Melrose sensitively communicates the complexity of youth and drug use.

*Fixing It?* has at its core, the results of a qualitative study of 49 13-18-year-old young people who have been in statutory care, and/or committed a criminal offence, and/or been excluded from school. The premise is that these groups of young people are thought to be most vulnerable to drug misuse. The first chapter provides a brief historical review of the perception of drugs and drug use within British culture. Chapter 2 discusses the historical, social and cultural context in which young people make their transition into

## BOOK REVIEWS

young adults. In this chapter, Margaret Melrose convincingly argues that the changes in British social policy over the last 20 years have contributed to disadvantaging young people in this transition. Chapter 3 introduces the study and looks in more detail at the relationship between vulnerable young people and drug use. Chapters 4, 5 and 6 explore the experience of the study's participants in terms of their decisions to use drugs, the patterns and perceptions of their drug use, their thoughts on changing their behaviours, and the services available to support them in these changes. Chapter 7 introduces the finding that there are gender differences in the drug use of young vulnerable people and that girls may be more at risk of the consequences of drug misuse than boys. Finally, Chapter 8 discusses recent government policy introduced to tackle the problems relating to drug use and young people. Here, Margaret Melrose highlights areas of good practice and warns of potential pitfalls in the implementation of such policies.

While *Fixing It?* at times reads like a dissertation and is by no means a definitive text, it is engaging and informative. The book does serve well as an introduction to the key issues in the drug use of young people. Each chapter is illustrated by quotes from the 49 young people who took part in the study, as well as some case history material. Margaret Melrose is successful in conveying the importance of acknowledging that drug use isn't an isolated behaviour in young people but rather the result of a complexity of social, personal, familial and chemical factors.

In my professional role, I serve to bridge the gap between child protection services and substance misuse services. Consequently, I am acutely aware of the relatively few materials that exist bringing these specialities together. *Fixing It?* is an easily accessible book for those working within the youth sector and for those working within the substance misuse field. This is not a 'how to fix it' guide for practitioners but more a source for anyone working in these fields wishing to understand the issues, and inform the philosophy, of their practice. Managers and policy-makers struggling to marry drug legislation and changes in child and adolescent focused policy would also find *Fixing It?* to be a good starting point.

Russell House Publishing is a collaborative endeavour between a publishing team, and practitioners and academics in social work, probation, education, youth and community work. Their aim is to provide 'innovative and valuable materials to help managers, trainers, practitioners and students'. As a forum for information exchange and debate this book works.

**Amanda Bremble**

*Clinical Psychologist, Option 2, Social Services, Cardiff, UK*

**Martin C. Calder**, *The Complete Guide to Sexual Abuse Assessments*. Dorset:  
Russell House Publishing, 2000. 337 pp. £29.95. ISBN 1-898924-76-7.

THIS BOOK has a lot to offer the specialist practitioner as well as the front-line social worker in a busy intake and assessment team within a statutory setting. It is intended that it will be one of a series by the author that will provide additional guidance on how to apply the new Department of Health's assessment framework to a range of childcare circumstances.

The author is a child protection co-ordinator in Salford with a special interest in people who sexually abuse others and the whole of process of assessment and how to apply it to the new government guidelines. This book will be of particular relevance to

## Fixing it?

Young people, drugs and disadvantage

By Margaret Melrose

"... essential... there is so much in it." Youthwork. "... successful in conveying the importance of acknowledging that drug use is not an isolated behaviour." Clinical Child Psychology and Psychiatry. "...makes connections between the kinds of vulnerabilities and the risk of serious involvement with drugs." Probation Journal.

Gives "real insight into young people's motivations for drug-taking... important information towards providing appropriate responses." Adoption and Fostering. "Interventions will only be effective when young people's motivations for using drugs are better understood... the different ways in which young people perceive their drug misuse and (therefore) their different views about the help they might need or want... This is an interesting book... Melrose has brought to the surface the complexities of drug use by vulnerable young people, testified to the 'rationality' of that use (from their perspective) and made more prominent the motivations which are often more likely to sustain their use of drugs rather than find reasons to stop... In particular, Melrose seeks to uncover the gender-blindness which has so often characterized the drugs debate.. Fixing it? is enriched by case studies which run throughout the text... an important corrective to the daily diet of strategy documents and political pronouncements." Young People Now.

**20**

"holistic and individual responses and working with the young person in his or her context are the way forward." Adoption and Fostering. 128 pages. Paperback. 1-898924-79-1. £12.95.



.Georges House, Uplyme Road,  
Regis, Dorset DT7 3LS.

**FIXING IT? – Young people, drugs and advantage**

Jaret Melrose

edited by Richard Passmore.



Generally this is a very good and informative book with a lot of up to date information. It would be an essential book for anyone working with young people and drug use and very high priority for people working mainly with disadvantaged young people as it contains a lot of good general information. I guess for most of the readers of this review only a part of your work is with marginalised young people. If so it is an important read as it will help you get your head around some of the actions of these young people, as a key tenet of the book is to look at the complex motivation of young drug users. The only problem I had with the book was the sheer quantity of quotations. This on the other hand contained a look of great information and important research but made it quite hard to follow.

The book covers a wide range from basic drug info to contemporary society with disadvantaged youth. The coverage around vulnerability and drug use were especially good and the book is based on interviews with young people who have been excluded from school or looked after in public care. This again adds weight to its credibility. It has direct interviews and case study information which is helpful in rounding some of the more academic text, however I would have liked to have seen more direct links between the two in the early chapters.

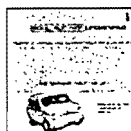
Don't let the price put you off from getting "Fixing it?" as there is so much in it. Maybe start a book-sharing club with other workers in your area, and this would be a good one to start with.

Russell House Publishing £11.95  
plus £1.50 (p&p), from The  
Business Park, 4 St. Georges House,  
Uplyme Road, Lyme Regis, Dorset  
DT7 3LS  
ISBN 1-898924-79-1

**MUSIC**

**UNDIGNIFIED – SOUL SURVIVOR**

Reviewed by Kev Elliot, a detached volunteer youthworker based in Cheltenham.



[undignified a: The lack of showing true worth or excellence. Unstately. Not self-respecting.]

The ever-increasing Survivor catalogue, presents a best of 'the best of' from 5 years of SS worship music. In reality it's mostly the best of songs by Matt. sung by Matt.

The concept might lack dignity, but all else about what this embodies is a far cry from the album's title. A budding engineer in her year out joined my company recently and exhibited a confident mature faith at our lunch-time fellowship meetings. The suspicions of a life-time in Church were dispelled when she explained that she had become a Christian at a recent Soul Survivor.

In itself, that speaks volumes. CD-Rom worship footage from Manchester last year, gives one insight into the inspiration invoked to many, and I hope that in 50 years time there will be many active Christians who remember the decision they made in a barn at Shepton-Mallet, the Nynex arena, or in the new super-temple!

There is a dignity here that excludes embarrassed restraint, one which may even call on our pride in what God has done and is doing for our youth through the Watford based crew.

It doesn't really matter that you know what is going to be on this album without me telling you (O Sacred King, Can a Nation, Heart of Worship, Let your Glory Fall, Everything that has breath, etc), because no doubt it will still be an inspiration to many. God bless you Soul Survivor, keep striving for true worth and excellence. Long live your dignity.

Survivor Records £14.99

**WHAT COULD I SAY? A Handbook for Helpers**  
Peter Hicks.

Reviewed by Heather Boyd, a secondary school teacher in Harrow.



Like all (ex) youthworkers, I have the books on 'how to' counsel youth through the various ups and downs of teenage life. I have the classic McDowell, do I need another one?

Well, this book is not specifically aimed at adolescents, which suits me, as I am immersed in the world of both teenagers and adults, at work. I was quite intrigued at the sub title, 'a book for helpers'. Much friendlier than 'counsellor' I think. Does this mean that the book has a target audience of ordinary people who have to help their mates through life in general and crisis in specific? The author says the book is to equip the 'listening ear of a Christian friend.'

There are two main parts. One is about the theory of helping and being a friend. All about listening, not judging, empathy, actions, support, using the Bible and prayer.

The second looks at 71 issues. The usual suspects are there (abuse, drink, rejection etc.). It was great to see other issues like miscarriage, work, trauma, terminal illness, single parents, unemployment and carers. In my experience issues like these don't get much air, but they are there, hiding away, making people miserable.

Each topic is defined, followed by 'what could I say?', 'What does the Bible say?', and follow up contact addresses, and resources.

About two or three pages are given to each topic, that does mean advice is more summary than comprehensive. As the book is targeted at helpers and covers such a wide range, that is what you would expect. Basic principals and background info is what the books aims to give. If at times things can sound a bit like sound bites, they are very helpful and wise ones, and just what you need over coffee with a mate with a problem.

Christians are called to be a caring community – I think this book might just help that happen.

IVP £9.99  
ISBN: 0 85111 538 1

**KILLER PING-PONG – Surviving Life at Home**

David Lawrence

Reviewed by Jenny Baker, a writer and a regular contributor to Youthwork magazine.



Although I never played Killer Ping-pong myself – I was a silent, sulky teenager – I have often apologised to my parents for being such a pain all through my adolescence. Maybe David Lawrence's latest book, designed to help young teenagers understand themselves, their faith and their families, might have saved a lot of grief.

Killer Ping-pong is the game played by families all round the world. Parents ask a question, such as 'why are you in so late?', and the teenager does all they can to avoid an honest answer. The ten chapters of the book start with a funny tale of a typical family issue written from a teenager's point of view – when there's not much money, when parents put you down, when brothers or sisters are a pain. Practical advice follows, giving a biblical perspective and suggestions for when to seek further help.

Useful for teenagers to read on their own, or as a stimulus for youth group discussions, this is an excellent book – it wouldn't hurt parents to read it either.

Scripture Union £3.99  
ISBN: 1 85999 468 7

**CORRECTION Actual Reality**

In the review of the Actual Reality CD-ROM (April), it was stated that all the bands are American except the Message Tribe. In fact the CD also features Newsboys (Australian), Rebecca St James (Australian) and Christafari (American/Jamaican). The following free resources are also available to accompany the CD: a youth web site, a searchable index of all eight hours of material and an index of all movie clips for power point use. These resources assist in the use of CDR alongside young people.

**Vulnerable young people and drugs: Opportunities to tackle inequalities**

edited by Kathy Evans and Sade Alade.

Published by DrugScope 2000.

No price attached. 24 pages.

No ISBN

**Fixing It? Young People, Drugs and Disadvantage**

by Margaret Melrose.

Published by Russell House

Publishing 2000.

Price £11.95. 122 pages.

ISBN 1 898924 79 1

**Tried and Tested: a practical manual, based on the Cascade model, for developing youth-led drug awareness programmes**

by Helen Thompson and Len Mackin.

Published by CASCADE/Crime

Concern 2000. Price £17.50.

72 pages.

ISBN 0 872079 35 0

**I**N HIS RECENT book *A Stranger's Eye*, in which he looks at social exclusion in contemporary Britain, Fergal Keane writes:

The drug crisis defied any expectation I might have had. Crack and heroin are everywhere in the undercountry.... The 'cure' will be a long, hard road; it will involve jobs and housing, and getting addiction counsellors on to the big estates, and it will involve a fundamental change in the values of society.'

Keane argues more generally that we need to invest at ground level: 'it will take money and attention, not speeches and think-tanks – and listening to what people have to say, making the funds available to transform the estates into fit places to raise families'. Such arguments should not surprise us, but policy continues to focus on the top-down 'strategic thinking' required, not the bottom-up human thinking which tells us that drug misuse represents a form of (illusory) escape from pessimism and desperation or provides a sense of attachment and belonging. Yet unless

we start to address the causes and provide a more rapid response to deal with the symptoms, the aspirations of Connexions in England and other youth support strategies elsewhere in the UK are doomed to fail.

*Vulnerable young people and drugs* brings together some of the latest literature on the prevalence of drug misuse, the groups who are most susceptible to misusing drugs, and improving procedures for identifying those for whom drug misuse is likely to be most problematic. These are the executive summaries of a Department of Health research programme to provide the evidence 'which will underpin the development of high quality and effective interventions with groups of young people thought to be vulnerable'. DrugScope has brought them together to establish some baseline information on terminology, age definitions and groupings, and principles of 'good practice'.

It is a courageous enterprise, one which is largely fulfilled. The problem is that sophisticated research, through its thorough consideration of the range of risk factors involved, can obscure as much as it reveals. If factors associated with drug misuse encapsulate physiological, social, psychological and economic factors, it is inevitable that the call is for an 'holistic' response, which has become the mantra of all those seeking to combat social disadvantage and exclusion. But what exactly does this mean, and how can it be integrated throughout policy arenas beyond health and into education, training, family support, youth justice and so on? Advocates of 'holistic' responses, from whatever corner of the policy field, can end up as apologists for paralysis rather than pioneers of new approaches to supporting young people.

This is what worries me here. DrugScope offers a comprehensive shopping list of interventions: earlier drug education, family support, more gender sensitive practice, more research on the dynamics of drug use

amongst minority ethnic young people, more support for young people with poor mental health, and much more. All good stuff, but what chance is there of any really significant resource base to make progress on these fronts? And while we cry out for more 'effective and innovative' methods in reaching out to those young people most in need, the undercountry portrayed by Fergal Keane sucks more and more vulnerable young people into its web. As Keane notes, most politicians and commentators (and, I would add, policy makers and most researchers) 'haven't the remotest notion of what it is like to live without power and without choice'. Drug misuse is but one manifestation of displacement and exclusion. Attention to the wider context of (vulnerable) young people's lives is imperative if real change – and sustained motivation to change – is to be effective.

This is not to disparage the work DrugScope has compiled. Improved and more diverse assessment is certainly necessary if the limited resources available are to find their way to those who are most vulnerable. Services can certainly become more effective, but drug misusing young people are most adept at skirting the infrastructure of intervention if they see no reason to change. They must be given much more robust incentives to alter the destructive course of their lives. Geoff Pearson said long ago that it is not so hard to come off heroin, but when you find that life is just as bleak as it was before, there is every reason to go back on it.

*Fixing It?* gets closer to these issues by seeking to connect intervention and response to the complex motivations of young substance misusers. Melrose argues that while we know a lot about the increase in drug use amongst young people, we still know relatively little about *why* this is happening. What we do know is that families and communities, and the current practices

the social institutions to which they are connected, have been ineffective in equipping them with the 'resiliency' skills needed for them to desist from drug taking. And interventions will only start to be effective, Melrose asserts, when young people's motivations for using drugs are better understood.

At first, Melrose treads familiar ground, such as the changing nature of 'youth transitions' and 'demonstrating' that our current dividing line between legal and illegal drugs has not always existed and is patently socially (and politically) determined. It is only in the second part of the book that valuable new material starts to surface: the different ways in which young people perceive their drug misuse and (therefore) their different views about the help they might need or want. In particular, Melrose seeks to uncover the gender-blindness which has so often characterised the drugs debate. She maintains that, at least amongst the vulnerable young people she studied, young women's drug misuse has outstripped that of young men. More research is clearly needed. Finally, Melrose raises a number of implications of the social exclusion debate for those working in this field. She provides examples of the different ways in which policy and practice will need to respond to those whose reasons for drug use span the seeking of oblivion, acceptance and thrills.

This is an interesting book, though rather laboured at times. The policy debate towards the end is somewhat bland, providing a checklist of recent initiatives, rather more focused attention on their relation to the questions generated earlier in the text. For example, much more should have been said about the (questionable) capacity of the Gateway element of New Deal – which is explicitly designed to address 'barriers' to employment – to make appropriate and effective responses to drug-using young people. This criticism notwithstanding, Melrose has brought

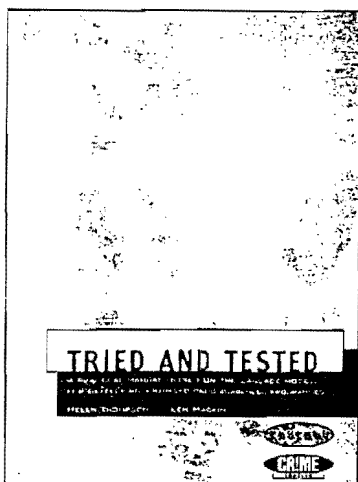
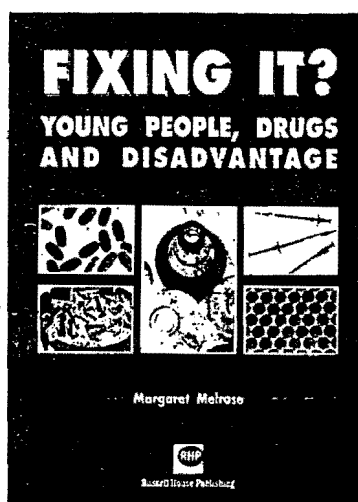
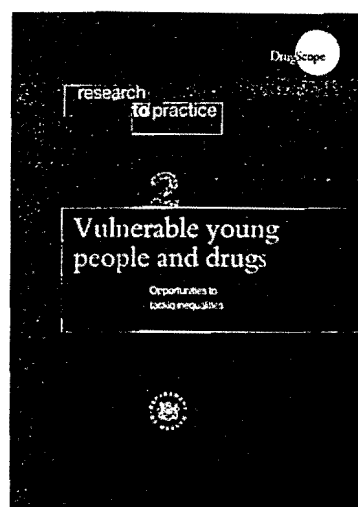
to the surface the complexities of drug use by vulnerable young people, testified to the 'rationality' of that use (from their perspective), and made more prominent the motivations which are often more likely to sustain their use of drugs rather than find reasons to stop. Getting the message across to such young people, we should not be surprised to discover, is likely to be an arduous task. *Fixing It?* is enriched by the case studies which thread through the text. They remind us, repeatedly, of the human condition of drug misuse – an important corrective to the daily diet of strategy documents and political pronouncements.

What, therefore, can be done in the immediate term? Melrose herself discusses the new strategies for school inclusion, which at least mean that more vulnerable young people will have access to drugs education. She is also cautiously positive about the role of peer education and the potential of inter-agency collaboration under the Crime and Disorder Act. *Tried and Tested* is a practical manual aimed at crime and disorder partnerships and those agencies interested in implementing local youth-led drug awareness and education programmes. This is a well-designed manual (though I have to say, I've seen many similar ones over the years). At its heart, after considering a range of planning needs and mechanisms for supporting and training volunteers, is a nine-session training programme covering legal questions, participants' knowledge, the social contexts of drug use, and approaches to harm reduction.

What I liked about the manual is that it is modest and realistic. It seeks to convey clear messages but not to expect immediate outcomes. It is a foundation stone through which individuals may establish more accurate understandings, safe behaviours and positive orientations.

And what I was very mindful of when reading all three publications is

that, in both the understanding of young people's use of drugs and in the ways in which policy and practice respond to this, we have come a long way in a short time. Only a few years ago, young drug users were an undifferentiated and demonised group; and the policy response was naively hooked on 'Just Say No' □



## Review

# The theory and reality of sexual exploitation



**Anchors in Floating Lives**  
By Margaret Melrose and David Barrett  
Published by Russell House Publishing  
Price £14.95  
160 pages  
ISBN 1 903855 21 7

Authors Margaret Melrose and David Barrett have produced an excellent resource for novice and experienced practitioners or for anyone with an interest in the issue of sexual exploitation of young people. It is a rich blend of theory and personal experiences and accounts that captures the voices of young people.

The specifics of tackling issues such as working with young men are particularly informative since this is an area that has previously been neglected. More and more professionals contact agencies because they have concerns about the sexual behaviour of a young man they are working with. One chapter shows that gender-specific work is essential and that for too long the needs of young men have been ignored.

There has been a need within this field to convey the latest developments and to represent different approaches and conceptual views. A broad range of issues is

captured recurrently in different contributions throughout the book. The need for multi-agency working is also echoed, with some contributors offering clear examples of how this works in their own area. However, in the field we know that in some areas a multi-agency forum either does not exist or lacks the commitment demonstrated in the book. While some areas operate a successful forum without dedicated funding, it is clear that resources have a considerable impact on the ability of services to deliver action plans.

It is encouraging to see how schools are beginning to play an active role in a few areas. In the past there has been a distinct reluctance to become involved. In my area of Doncaster, the education department has played a pastoral role in attempting to meet the needs of young people exploited through prostitution and has striven to ensure they receive

equality of opportunity through innovative education provision. It is evident through the examples in this book that young people benefit from doing "pieces of work", albeit outside a mainstream educational environment.

Overall, the contributors have been able to translate their experience and knowledge into a highly readable account of the historical and current situation regarding this vulnerable, yet resilient group of young people.

The book is imbued with their passion and commitment to bringing about change in the lives of those they work with. It will help to improve the understanding of some of the complexities of sexual exploitation and to influence the working practices of many organisations in the field.

*Reviewed by Marilyn Houghton,  
assistant manager, Streetreach, Doncaster*

## Quick guide to...

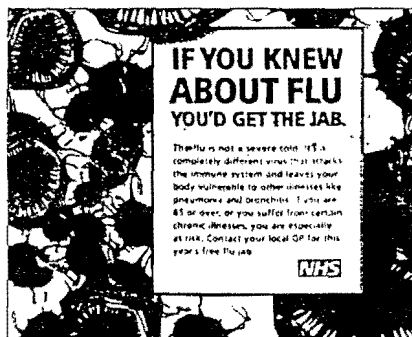
### ...flu vaccination

By PJ White

The elderly are the usual targets of the annual campaign for flu vaccines. But this year, it is recommended that some younger people have the jab too. That includes some youth workers. Inoculate yourself and young people with the anti-viral quick guide.

**1** Former England international footballer? Paul Scholes of Manchester United is having a flu jab this winter. He has asthma and is supporting the Department of Health's campaign to persuade others with chronic illnesses to get this year's vaccination against the flu virus. The thinking is that when those who suffer from a chronic illness such as asthma or diabetes catch flu, there is a higher likelihood that it will lead to a more serious illness. So high-risk groups are being advised to contact their GP for a free jab.

**2** Flu is not a bad cold. Cold symptoms develop slowly and, even with the accompanying sore throat, coughs, sneezes or runny nose, people can still get through the day if they have to. But flu comes on suddenly, affects the whole body and generally wipes you out. As well as standard cold symptoms, there will be fevers, chills, extreme fatigue and aching muscles. The Department of Health says, cheerily, you



know you've got the flu, "if a £20 note landed on your windowsill but it would be too exhausting to get out of bed and fetch it".

**3** Paul Scholes says he is obviously keen to avoid missed games and the damage to his career that two weeks off with flu would mean. But he knows that his asthma means flu could bring even more serious complications such as pneumonia and bronchitis. The same applies to diabetes. Simon O'Neill, director of research and care at Diabetes UK, says: "Flu can really upset the control of your diabetes, causing your blood glucose levels to fluctuate."

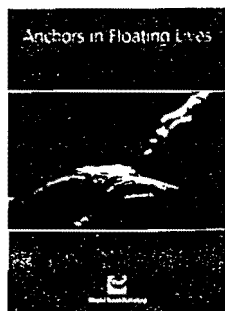
**4** Young people ought to be the experts on coping with colds. It is estimated that adults suffer two to five colds a year on average, while school-age children have the pleasure of seven to 10 a year. Like flu, colds are viruses, so they aren't helped by taking antibiotics, which fight only bacterial infections.

**5** Viruses are always found clustered together in their thousands in respiratory mucus from the nose, says the Common Cold Centre. When you catch a cold, it says, it is "interesting to speculate" whose mucus has got up your nose. This isn't just an opportunity for making the squeamish go "Yuck!" It is an insight into how you can cut the risk. People transmit the virus droplets, picked up from door handles or elsewhere, to their own nose via their hands. Simply washing your hands regularly is now thought to help.

**6** Don't panic; but do take viruses seriously. The severe form of flu might be over in a fortnight, but a person may still be weakened for a while afterwards. Young people need to learn to spot the symptoms and distinguish them from meningitis, which needs fast medical treatment. This year's Youth Work Week theme of The Best of Health provides a good chance to discuss such issues. Bless you.

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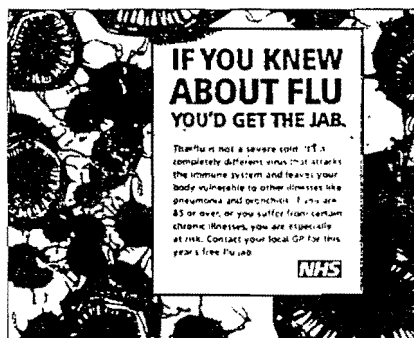
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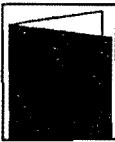
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## BOOK REVIEWS

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book

### FOSTERING A CHILD: A GUIDE FOR PEOPLE INTERESTED IN FOSTERING

★★★★★

Henrietta Bond, Baaf  
Adoption and Fostering  
ISBN 1 903699 24 X, £8.50



Prospective foster carers usually come armed with a list of questions that need answers. And this clearly written book features those most frequently asked, writes *Collette Batho*.

The author honestly balances the facts about fostering without deterring prospective carers from taking their interest further.

A short introduction, putting fostering in the context of child care law, leads into a presentation of the most important aspects of the task.

A comprehensive section at the back details fostering service providers, further reading and other useful organisations.

However, there is no mention that agencies are registered and that their inspection reports can be read at the Commission for Social Care Inspection website. This is a serious

omission from what is otherwise a useful and well presented book.

Collette Batho is director of Asphaleia Fostering, a registered independent fostering agency

### THE HEART OF THE NIGHT – THE WORK OF SOCIAL SERVICES EMERGENCY DUTY TEAMS

★★

Martin Smith, Russell House  
Publishing

ISBN 1-903855-30-6, £15.99

A few years ago, when I was working night shifts in hostels, it would have been useful to have read this book, writes *Wil Lilburn-Quick*.

Its strength lies in the number of real examples of the work emergency duty teams (EDTs) do, and how they intervene both in person and, more often, by telephone.

But, with some experience behind me, I found this book frustrating. Although Martin Smith is obviously passionate about EDTs, I felt he ducked the issue of how out-of-hours social work will develop, with the emergence of children's trusts and crisis resolution in mental health services.

Overall, if you are new

### The Heart of the Night



to dealings with EDTs, it's a good place to find out what they can and cannot do. For anyone more seasoned, I feel it misses a trick.

Wil Lilburn-Quick is a planning manager for mental health services in Bradford, and is also a user of mental health services

### ANCHORS IN FLOATING LIVES: INTERVENTIONS WITH YOUNG PEOPLE SEXUALLY ABUSED THROUGH PROSTITUTION

★★★★★

Edited by Margaret Melrose  
with David Barrett, Russell  
House Publishing

ISBN 1-903855-21-7, £14.95

The commercial sexual exploitation of children is a challenging and complex subject to tackle and the author deals with it in a frank and straightforward way, writes *Mikenda Plant*.

The book looks at what needs to be done (and not done) to help the young people involved.

It includes a clear overview of the legislative and social contexts, useful definitions of terms and concrete examples of applying policy into practice in a range of agencies.

It offers no quick fixes, however, and recognises the commitment and skills needed by practitioners in the field.

The lack of research and resources in the area of working with sexually exploited boys is evident and is acknowledged.

Mikenda Plant is a social services team manager, Nottingham Council

#### KEY

FANTASTIC ★★★★★

VERY GOOD ★★★★★

GOOD ★★★

AVERAGE ★★

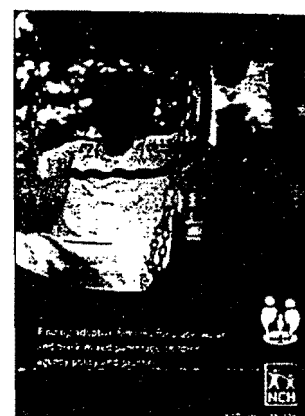
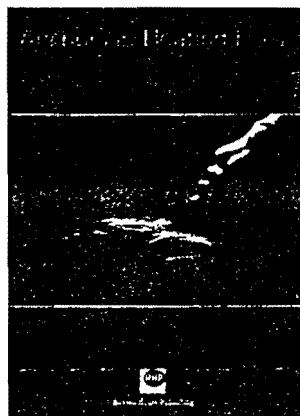
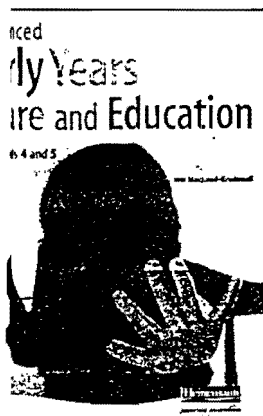
NO THANKS ★

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please e-mail  
[graham.hopkins@rbl.co.uk](mailto:graham.hopkins@rbl.co.uk)

# Learning Watch

Updated by Mike George, Learning Watch is designed to help trainers, practitioners, students and academics.

For complete listings visit "Books" at [www.careandhealth.com](http://www.careandhealth.com)



## Learning/Guidance

**Incented Early Years Care and Education.** Iain Macleod-Brudenell, Heinemann, £24.99, 015888084

This textbook is aimed at students studying foundation degrees in Early Years; it is relevant for those seeking to obtain the Higher in Childhood Studies, and the Level 4 NVQ in Early Years Care and Education. Most of the fifteen chapters define theory and practice issues, and there are numerous case studies and assessed activities. The first two chapters discuss traditions and trends in early years care and education, and the notion of the reflective practitioner. Children's social, emotional and language and communication development are covered in subsequent chapters, as are: how children learn; play and parenting; preparing for early learning; observation and assessment; appropriate research methods; working with parents; health, nutrition and physical safety, and child protection and children's rights. This is a comprehensive and accessible publication, modestly priced.

**Children in Floating Lives: Interventions with young people sexually abused through prostitution.** Margaret Melrose with David Pett (Eds.): Russell House Publishing, £14.95, 01297 443948. This publication should be of use to a wide range of practitioners in child protection and child welfare fields, to youth workers and those working with the police or young offenders. It introduces the reader to historical constructions of child prostitution in

England, and there is a literature review which lays out, in brief, current knowledge of the problem. However, the majority of the book consists of accounts of seven schemes or projects around the country, each of which explains how and why schemes were set up, the key ingredients of their work, staffing and resource matters, and what goes into making policy and practice effective.

**Models of Care for Drug Service Provision.** Richard Bryant-Jefferies, Radcliffe Publishing, £24.95, 01235 528820

Although this publication is aimed primarily at drug treatment managers and providers, it should also be of use to others who work in some way with adult substance abusers, in DATs and elsewhere. It is in tune with, and complements the Models of Care framework set out by the National Treatment Agency, which is essentially a national service framework for the commissioning and delivery of treatment. It describes the different range of treatment responses that can be offered, and illustrates the patient's journey through the model. It takes on board the often-complex range of needs of service users, and stresses the importance of close co-ordination between treatment services and other health and social care provision.

**All Join In DVD.** NSPCC and Triangle, £35.00, 020 7825 2775. This unique resource, on DVD (or video) features fourteen children aged three to seven who also played a major part in the filming and editing. It shows how disabled and non-disabled children play with, and engage with, each other, through the

children's eyes. It is an engaging and authentic look at friendships, play and dealing with difference. The video promotes inclusion, by encouraging them to wonder about other children and the differences between them in a positive way. The children are introduced to strategies for making sense of each other, for example by using sign language to discuss feelings; they are also shown skills through which they can develop emotional literacy. This attractive resource can be used with parents and children alike, in individual or group settings.

## Research

**Finding adoptive families for black, Asian and black mixed-parentage children: agency policy and practice.** Julie Selwyn, Lesley Frazer and Angela Fitzgerald, NCH, £12.00, 08457 626579

This report is based on a study of how a sample of local authorities went about finding adoptive parents for the one in five children who are waiting to be adopted who are black, Asian or of mixed parentage. The researchers found that while councils and agencies have known for a long time of the difficulties in recruiting suitable adoptive families, there is still a serious shortfall. There were also inadequacies in understanding the children and young people's needs, and sometimes not enough understanding of the local demography, which could lead to unrealistic assumptions about the number of potential adopters in the area. The report includes a best practice guide, which draws on this research, and other knowledge sources. □