

***THE EFFECTS OF YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT
ON THE TRANSITION FROM SCHOOL***

A.J.FURLONG

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ABSTRACT

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A.J.FURLONG

Much of the literature on the transition of young people from school was undertaken at a time when employment opportunities for young people were quantitatively and qualitatively different from the 1980's. This thesis uses data collected in a longitudinal study in order to examine the youth transition in the 1980's. The young people whose experiences are studied, follow various post-sixteen routes. Not all the young people in this study have direct personal experience of unemployment, yet high levels of youth unemployment in a local labour market are shown to have far reaching consequences.

On an empirical level, this thesis makes a number of contributions to sociological and social-psychological knowledge of the transitional period. It examines the relationship between schooling and the local labour market, paying particular attention to the development of occupational aspirations. It looks at the development of work attitudes and shows how young people may develop "image maintenance" strategies in order to maintain their aspirations in the face of adversity.

On a theoretical level, the thesis enhances sociological understanding by

using an experiential dimension to bridge the gap between the structural approaches which are often neglectful of the effects of human action and interpretive approaches which are sometimes guilty of neglecting the very real constraints on action. In doing so, it goes some way towards bringing together theoretical traditions which have long been seen as irreconcilable.

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Chapter One

THE YOUTH TRANSITION AND THE SOCIAL STRUCTURE.

i. The Social Creation of Adolescence.

The interests of social scientists in the youth transition can be traced back to Rousseau (1911) in the Eighteenth Century. The transition to adulthood has a crucial bearing on many facets of social life in all societies and within the social sciences there is a wide body of literature on this transition. From their different perspectives, the social science disciplines share a common interest in how young people from different cultures and eras are incorporated into adult society.

Analysis of the historical dimension of the youth transition has not been totally absent from sociological debate. Yet the failure to apply history to the sociology of youth has been one of the major shortcomings in contemporary analysis. Without the historical dimension, we become blind to the long term trends which provide the solutions to our questions.

In mediaeval society, the phase we now term adolescence was

totally lacking. Historians such as Tuchman (1980) have argued that mediaeval society lacked a separate role for adolescents whom were accepted as adults once they reached physical maturity. As such, adolescence can be regarded as a social construction insofar as the cultural expressions of adulthood have become separated from their base in physiology. Musgrove goes as far as to say "as a society we have been astonishingly successful in ignoring biology. Indeed, it is precisely as the maturity of the young has been accelerated, since the middle of last century, that we have kept them in ever longer tutelage and dependence" (Musgrove, 1964 p162).

To set the scene for a discussion of the youth transition in the 1980's we should first look at the factors which led to the development of adolescence. Yet from the outset we must destroy the myth that the semi-dependence of youth is the creation of capitalist society. In feudal society, Springhall (1983/84) argued that young people commonly existed in a dependent state well into their twenties. He suggests that "an extended period of 'youth' was common from the Fifteenth to the Seventeenth Centuries, when some village 'boys' in England and France did not marry until their mid-twenties or even later.... The young in the early modern period passed through a lengthy period of semi-dependence as servants and apprentices" (P21).

Initially, the factory system in England led to a drastic reduction in the dependent years of youth and the age at which young people married. Musgrove provides numerous illustrations of the independence enjoyed by young people in the

early period of industrialization. From the 1780's up until the 1860's young people's status within the labour market entered a "golden age". In the new industries parents were often appendages of their children and were quite frequently dependent upon their offsprings earnings. In London, girls of fourteen were earning as much as eight or ten shillings per week, and "if they had cause to be dissatisfied with the conduct of their parents, they would leave them" (Musgrove, 1964 pp67-68).

Musgrove argues that when farm labourers moved to the new towns with their families, this was quite often due to the potential earnings of their children in the new industrial centres. Indeed, the father was often only able to gain marginal employment. In this golden age then, "young people, particularly the working class young, were able to approximate to adult status because of their importance to the economy" (Musgrove, 1964 p76).

The movement from rural employment and domestic labour into the factories also had important repercussions for young people from upper and middle class families. Prior to the 1830's these young people tended to share a similar status to the servants and apprentices in the household. After the 1830's, domestic education declined as the reformed public schools increased in popularity (Musgrove, 1960). In the new public schools, the young enjoyed a status and importance they previously lacked (Musgrove, 1964).

In the latter half of the Nineteenth Century a new phase of

youth dependence came about which led to the development of the status we now term adolescence. According to Biddle (1983), two key movements set the scene for the re-establishment of an extended period of youth dependence. Firstly, increased mechanization brought about a decline in the need for manual labour. It has been argued that it was only when the need for employing children in industry had elapsed, that laws prohibiting child labour were introduced (Musgrove, 1964). Secondly, there was a move towards compulsory public education which was brought about both by the need for a more highly educated workforce, as well as through middle class concerns about morality (Fraser, 1973). Automation and increased industrial efficiency, rather than capitalism per se plunged youth into a new period of dependence and led to their removal from manufacturing industry and their placement in compulsory education.

By the middle of the Twentieth Century the exclusion of youth from economic activity was more or less complete. By then Biddle (1983) says, "most Western societies had large groups of post-pubertal citizens, youths, who were separated from adult society in academies, and were denied access to full-time employment and other privileges of adult status". This trend was not as marked in Britain as in the USA. In America, the institutional provision was such that a much larger percentage of young people remain in education for much longer periods than is the case in Britain (Osterman, 1980).

Throughout this century the economic importance of youth has declined. School attendance has been made compulsory, and the age at which young people may leave school has been raised

several times. As we enter the recession of the late 1970's and 1980's young people's adult status is postponed even further, as they fail to secure jobs on leaving education.

At the present time, young people in Britain are able to finish their compulsory education at sixteen. Yet increased levels of youth unemployment over the past decade have effectively extended adolescence by providing a disincentive for young people to leave school. In addition, the various forms of youth training scheme have effectively delayed the entry of many young people into paid employment. In 1986 the Youth Training Scheme was converted from a one year to a two year scheme, (amid discussion over whether or not it should be made compulsory for unemployed youngsters). This has led to it being described as the "unannounced RoSLA" (Coles, 1988). This trend is extended as the Government announce plans for the Job Training Scheme for 18 to 25 year olds.

Yet employment is not an essential ingredient in the youth transition. As opportunities for youth have declined and periods spent in education and training have increased, so more young people enter the adult phase prior to becoming economically independent. Consequently, in this thesis I will use the term "youth transition" or "transition from school" in recognition of the fact that adulthood can be granted prior to the entry into paid employment. As Anderson & Blakers (1980) argue, the term "transition from school" leaves open the possibility that the transition can be into a variety of post-school roles. For instance the roles of spouse, parent or claimant. Throughout history, economic independence through work has been the

cornerstone of the transition, yet as we enter the advanced capitalist stage, a future in which many people are denied access to paid employment for much of their lives seems to be a distinct possibility, (see Clemitson & Rodgers, 1981). Under these circumstances, economic independence from parents may come about through state benefits rather than through economic activity.

ii. The Youth Transition and Social Reproduction.

The sociological literature on the youth transition encompasses work on many different aspects of the young persons' experiences as they move from school to the labour market. While some writers have concentrated on the work situation in order to study the ways in which new workers settle into the world of work (eg Keil, 1976), most of the interest has focused upon the family and educational systems in order to study the development of orientations towards work and explain how some young people readily accept unskilled jobs (Carter, 1962; Ashton & Field, 1976; Willis, 1977).

One of the primary concerns of sociologists has been the investigation of the nature of the transition within different social groups. They have also been concerned to understand the processes whereby young people are incorporated into new economic roles and forms of exploitation. One of the major contributions of the interactionist tradition within sociology has been to illustrate the ways in which people negotiate changing roles. This school, with its roots in the sociology of Mead and Cooley, is especially concerned with the manner in which young

people react to changing roles.

Much of the previous work on the transition from school (eg Carter, 1962; Ashton, 1973; Willis, 1977) was undertaken in a period when occupational opportunities for youth were quantitatively and qualitatively different from what they have become in the 1980's. Consequently, the aim of this thesis is to study the youth transition and to examine the ways in which it is affected by high levels of youth unemployment. In doing this, I will examine the extent to which theories which were developed in the 1960's and 1970's are still able to provide a framework for explaining youth transitions within a declining youth labour.

The earliest sociological work on the transition from school to work, tended to follow the psychological work in seeing the transition to work as being a stressful period in a young persons life. As young people made the move from school to work, it was argued, they encountered "considerable frustration" as their previous aspirations were "beaten down" to fit the realities of the occupational world (Miller & Form, 1951).

Yet by the 1970's sociological analysis (perhaps reflecting the buoyant economy) had come to a broad consensus that in most cases the transition from school could not be characterized as a period of "stress and strain". A "socialization" model was utilized in order to explain the ease with which many young people made the transition from school. Those adopting this perspective argued that the experiences of young people occurring in the home and school, provided them with adequate preparation for

the realities they will encounter as they enter the world of work (Ashton & Field, 1976). Yet in the early 1970's levels of youth unemployment were significantly lower than they are today and young peoples' expectations could be translated into jobs much more easily.

In analysing the transitional process, I will examine the extent to which the youth transition can be described as a stressful period in a young persons life. An examination of the transition in a society characterized by high levels of youth unemployment should allow us to test the validity of the "socialization" model of the transition. The validity of this model would seem to rest upon the assumption that young people enter jobs which confirm their prior expectations. An assumption which must be questioned due to deteriorating employment prospects for youth.

Yet in this thesis I will be suggesting that the "socialization" model is still important to an understanding of the youth transition. The "socialization" model is able to illustrate the importance of the family, the school and the local labour market in the youth transition. However, while I will be suggesting that the model is still a valid one, I will argue that it is necessary to re-structure the model in order to incorporate an appreciation of the role of negotiation and interpretation in the process.

While the youth transition in capitalist society cannot be separated analytically from social class, it is misleading to present an overdeterministic picture of the transition from school. Indeed, the main theoretical contribution of this thesis is

that it offers an alternative to the structure-action dichotomy which has only served to confuse sociological analysis.

Social reproduction occurs in ways which allow people some control over their life situation. It is wrong to depict the process as one in which people are little more than "cultural dopes" with little scope to react against external processes. However, I do not intend to replace a crude structuralism with an equally crude and naive subjectivism in which people have full control over their own destinies. People are active in the creation of the structures which constrain their future action. Indeed, structures emerge through our own past action as well as the action of others, past and present. It is misleading to characterize these structures as "objective" as their power derives from the way we experience them, our experiences being inseparably "subjective" and "objective". As the standard dictum of philosophy goes, something which is experienced as real, is real in its consequences (Thomas, 1966). Whether that "reality" is objective or subjective is irrelevant as further action occurs on the basis of an assumed reality.

Central to sociological approaches to the youth transition is a desire for a better understanding of the processes of social reproduction, yet little consensus exists on the interpretation of the role of youth in this process. Parsons (1942) suggested that during adolescence young people come to adopt the value orientations of the society they are growing up in. Yet this approach assumes that society is a stable and integrated social order based on a value consensus. Because of these assumptions, Parsons has been criticized for presenting a model which is

conservative and unable to account for change (Dahrendorf, 1959). At the other extreme, youth has frequently been seen as a separable concept which is central to the class struggle and to social dynamics (Mannheim, 1927; Feuer, 1969; Gillis, 1974). Mannheim (1927) made the distinction between generational consciousness and class consciousness. Generational consciousness can be seen as a youth-for-itself which through its own distinctive culture was overtly opposed to the dominant style of the adult generation and rebelled against it.

Feuer (1969) described the generational struggle as the driving force of history, a force even more important than the class struggle. Marxists who follow this approach, often regard the change in equilibrium between the material base and the ideological superstructure as being affected by youth as key agents of social change.

Among Marxists, such a view is not universal. Hall et al (1976) for example, regard youth as a concept as "unthinkable". For this school, youth is subsumed into social class. Hall et al (1976) regard youth as a "secondary and dependent or determinant factor of social differentiation, a factor affecting the individual or group within those social relations which structure not just their youth but their whole life".

The subsumption of youth into class is a common feature of the sociological literature on the youth transition. Analysis on this level concentrates upon explaining the reproduction of class, and to a lesser extent gender, relationships within capitalist societies. Indeed, the subtitle of Willis's book (1977), "How Working

Class Kids Get Working Class Jobs", summarizes the level on which much of the analysis takes place.

In this thesis I will be treating youth as a secondary and dependent factor in social differentiation. It is not possible to understand the social position of youth by separating it from the social structure within which it is located. This is because youth is central to the process of social reproduction within capitalist societies. Consequently, analysis of the position of youth necessitates the subsumption of youth into class. The incorporation of youth into the socio-economic order is central to class dynamics, and the way in which incorporation takes place helps us to understand the way in which the existing social order is maintained.

The social condition of youth can also be explained on a social class level. Youth experiences are, to a large extent, shaped by social class. As I will show in subsequent chapters, the normative orientations of young people cannot be understood without the inclusion of class analysis.

Yet I will be suggesting that because humans react to and re-interpret situations, declining employment opportunities do not necessarily result in traumatic transitions for all young people. An understanding of interpretation is essential to any sociological analysis since it enables us to explain reactions to changing social structures. For some young people, in the short-term at least, their reactions towards declining employment opportunities may help minimize the effects in personal terms. As such, a further aim of this thesis will be the

examination of the duality of status progressions, that is, the relationship between the objective elements of the social world and young peoples experiences.

The youth transition is not simply a subjective psychological adjustment, but is a psychological adjustment which takes place within a particular external environment. Just as Mead (1943) argued that stressful youth transitions in America did not mean that adolescence was universally stressful, so I shall be suggesting that sociological analysis must be aware of the economic and geographical location of the samples on which they base their theories. The transition is made in terms of a local labour market, not within a national or international context (Sawdon, Pelican & Tucker, 1981 Vol.1; Coles, 1988). Consequently, the transition from school in Sunderland may be radically different from the transition in the same year in the more prosperous South East (Murray & Orwell, 1972). As such, it is essential in any theory to present the transition as a social variable.

Chapter Two

METHODOLOGY

i. The Sample.

The research upon which this thesis is based involved a longitudinal study of a group of one hundred adolescents who entered their final year of compulsory education in the academic year 1983/1984. The sample was initially composed of fifty males and fifty females who were selected with the aid of random numbers from the role of fifth year pupils at two contrasting Leicester schools. The full fifth form roll rather than a sampling frame containing only fifth form leavers was used in order to allow an examination of the relationship between continued education and labour market orientations. In addition, those staying on serve as a control group against which it is possible to measure changing orientations among those entering the labour market.

Leicester was selected for the study area due to its level of

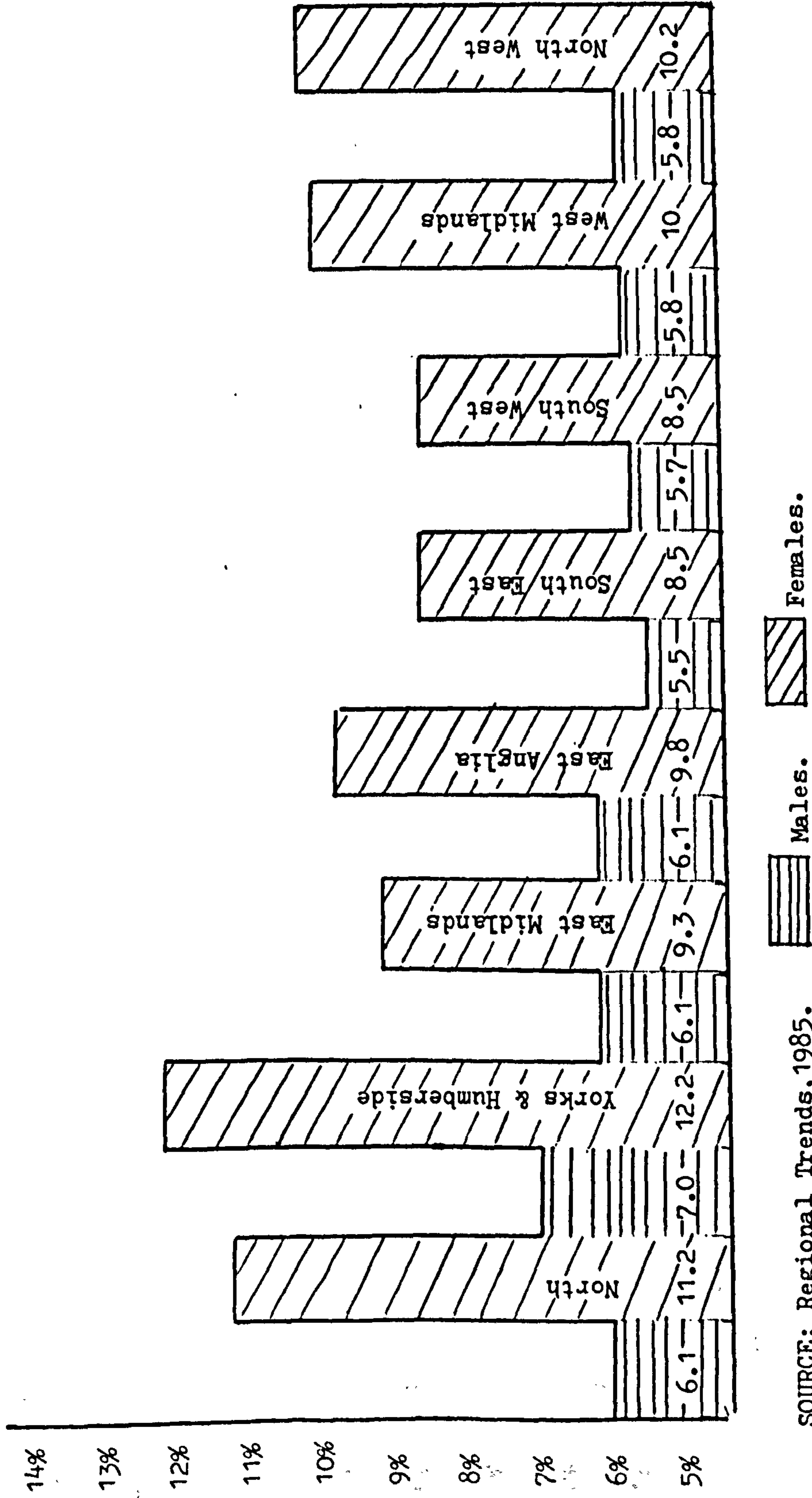
unemployment, which runs slightly below the national average, (figure 2:1 & figure 2:2). The industrial structure of Leicester is typical of many of the older English cities with an imbalance between the manufacturing and service sectors of the economy. After the West Midlands, the East Midlands has the highest regional proportion of its employed population in manufacturing industries, and the lowest proportion in service industries, (Regional trends, 1985 p13). Indeed, it has often been argued that the weakness in the economic structure of Leicester is due to its reliance upon these old staple industries. The engineering, textile and shoe industries have traditionally been dominant, yet these industries have been the most seriously affected by the recession. Table 2:3 summarizes the effects of the current recession on the most important sectors of the Leicester economy, one of the key trends being the decline of manufacturing industry and the growth of the service sector.

This study is of the transition from school in a fairly typical English city whose industrial base has declined during the current recession. While the study is of the effects of unemployment on the transition, it is important to note that this is the study of one local labour market which does not display the extremes of exceptionally high or low levels of unemployment.

The schools selected drew their intakes from contrasting areas. "Newtown Community College" had an urban fringe catchment area and consequently had a high proportion of middle class students. In fact the standing joke at "Newtown" among the teachers was that unemployed school leavers went to cash their

Figure 2:1

UNEMPLOYMENT BY REGION. UNDER 18'S. OCTOBER 1981



SOURCE: Regional Trends, 1985.

Males.

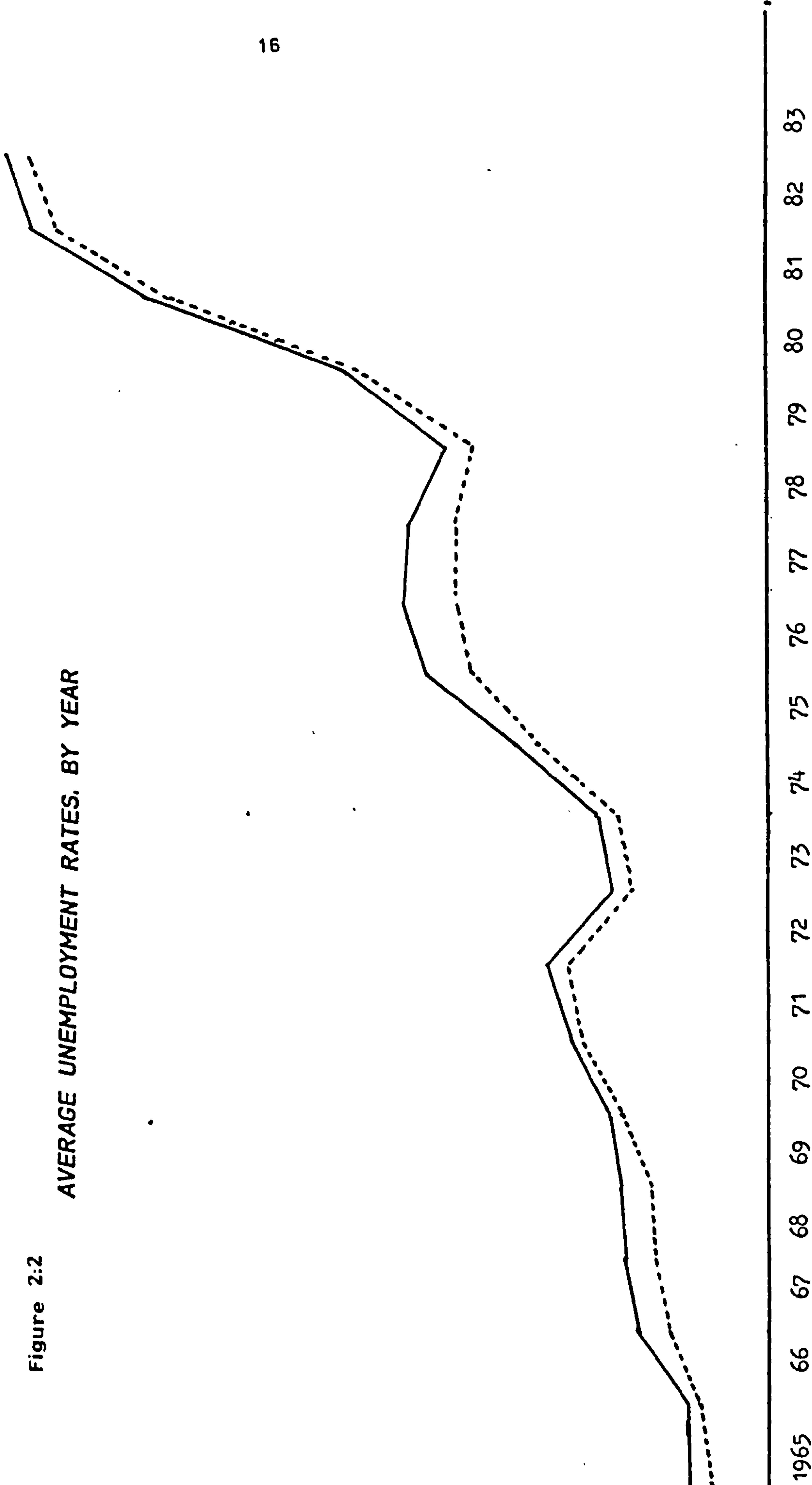
Females.

- 1.Excludes adult students registered for vacation employment.
- 2.From April 1983 excludes men over 60 who are no longer required to register as unemployed.

13%
12%
11%
10%
9%
8%
7%
6%
5%
4%
3%
2%
1%

Figure 2:2

AVERAGE UNEMPLOYMENT RATES. BY YEAR



SOURCE: REGIONAL TRENDS, 1985

— England.

----- East Midlands.

Table 2:3

THE EFFECTS OF THE RECESSION ON LEICESTERSHIRE INDUSTRY

	RECENT HISTORY	FUTURE PREDICTION	NUMBERS EMPLOYED		
			1977	1981	1985
TEXTILES & HOSIERY.	DECLINE	DECLINE	44,620	38,460	36,770
FOOTWEAR & CLOTHING.	DECLINE	STEADY	15,900	13,420	12,990
MECHANICAL ENGINEERING.	DECLINE	STEADY	24,695	21,360	19,050
ELECTRICAL ENGINEERING.	GROWTH	STEADY	15,610	17,830	18,200
METAL INDUSTRIES.	DECLINE	DECLINE	4,350	3,310	2,800
FOOD, DRINK & TOBACCO.	DECLINE	GROWTH	10,688	9,900	10,030
RETAIL & DISTRIBUTION.	GROWTH	GROWTH	39,380	43,100	45,800
OTHER SERVICES (PRIVATE).	GROWTH	GROWTH	39,914	41,360	43,640
OTHER SERVICES (PUBLIC).	DECLINE	STATIC	61,080	57,940	56,000

SOURCE: ECONOMIC PROSPECTS WORKING GROUP (1983)

AND LEICESTER CITY COUNCIL (1982)

Giro's on horseback. In contrast, the intake of "Crescent" was strongly working class. The influence of social class has been identified in numerous studies as being one of the most powerful determinants of educational and occupational aspirations and expectations (eg. Hayes, 1970; Halsey, Heath and Ridge, 1980). Consequently I expected that the experiences of young people in the different areas would show a marked variation, within the same local labour market.

"Newtown Community College" is a "Phase III" block budgeted Community College, opened under the Leicestershire Educational Plan in 1977.¹ The college serves four main urban villages, as well as part of the North West fringe of the City of Leicester. It has an intake of over eight hundred pupils between the ages of fourteen and eighteen. Prior to the age of fourteen, most pupils attend a lower school (confusingly termed an Upper school) situated in the same grounds.

The schools catchment area has a high social class composition, (Whiteside, Tann & Gann, 1981). In the village of "Newtown", according to the 1981 Census, forty-four per cent of economically active heads of household were listed as social class one and two. Only five per cent of economically active heads

¹ For further details on the Leicestershire Plan see Fairbairn (1978). A Phase III block budgeted college is allocated its total financial resources in one lump sum. Out of this it must pay for items such as salaries, fuel, upkeep and maintenance of the school. The more usual system of funding is where a school is allocated specific sums for each purpose. In a phase III college the principal and management committee have much more discretion on the spending of money and the uses to which it is put.

of household were classified within social class four and five. The table below (table 2:4) shows how the social class composition of the "Newtown" catchment villages compares with the composition of the City of Leicester.

The populations of these commuter villages have undergone fairly rapid expansion over recent years, indeed, "Newtown College" was founded to cater for the expanding population of the area. "Newtown" itself has doubled its population in the last twenty years. Whilst one of the features of village life used to be its stable population, these urban villages have a more transient population. In one of the villages in the catchment area, for example, thirty-seven per cent of households had moved in within the last four years, (Whiteside, Tann & Gann, 1981).

"Crescent Community College" was granted its community status much more recently, (1984). It is a school which caters for the age range eleven to sixteen, and has an intake of approximately five hundred and sixty students. Those wishing to continue their education after sixteen must attend a College of Further Education or Sixth Form College. The catchment area of "Crescent Community College" is centred upon a large council estate composed mainly of semi-detached houses built in the 1920's and 1930's. Consequently its intake is predominantly working class.

In a study of "Crescent" estate in 1981 (Sills, Tarpey & Golding, 1981) it was discovered that at a time when the official unemployment rate for Leicester was nine per cent, the

Table 2:4

SOCIAL CLASS COMPOSITION OF THE "NEWTOWN" CATCHMENT VILLAGES

	I	II	IIIA	IIIB	IV	V
VILLAGE A	9.5%	34.1%	7.4%	28.0%	4%	0.8%
VILLAGE B	10.4%	31.7%	10.6%	17.6%	8.2%	2.5%
VILLAGE C	3.6%	17.5%	4.2%	34.6%	17.5%	1.6%
VILLAGE D	6.6%	22.5%	11.9%	33.7%	10.4%	4.8%
LEICS CITY	2.6%	12.75	8.6%	29.7%	16.4%	4.5%

SOURCE: 1981 CENSUS.

Table 2:5

RESPONSE RATE OVER THE THREE INTERVIEWS, BY SEX AND SCHOOL.

		1984	1985	1986
"NEWTOWN".	MALES	100%	92%	92%
	FEMALES	100%	100%	100%
"CRESCENT".	MALES	100%	100%	80%
	FEMALES	100%	96%	88%
		N= 100	N=97	N=90

unemployment rate for Crescent estate was thirty-four per cent. Since then the official unemployment rate for Leicester has risen to eleven per cent and the rate of unemployment on "Crescent" estate is likely to have risen proportionately.

The economically active residents of "Crescent" estate work predominantly in manual occupations, and tend to be over-represented at the semi and unskilled levels. According to the study by Sills et al (1981) fifty nine per cent worked in semi and unskilled manual occupations with a further thirty-eight per cent in skilled manual occupations. The large proportion of semi and unskilled workers in the "Crescent" area accounts for the high unemployment rate, as this group of workers tends to be least secure in their employment, and least able to find alternative employment if made redundant.

The two schools were chosen because of these differences in the social class composition of their intakes. The contrast being necessary in order to illustrate the effects of both a young persons class of origin as well as of the school they attended upon the subsequent transition. Importantly though, the catchment areas of the two schools border on each other, and all have good access by bus to the city centre. Consequently, the young people from the two areas share access to the same local labour market.

However, the young people are not equal beneficiaries of the jobs available in the local labour market. According to figures held by the Careers Office in 1983, in October, twenty-three per cent of "Crescent" leavers were unemployed, as compared with

three per cent of "Newtown" leavers.

ii.Methods.

Setting out from a theoretical perspective which recognized the importance of structural factors in the transition such as economic conditions of the local labour market and social class, yet also emphasized the importance of interpretation and reflexive action, it was important to select a methodology which would permit the measurement of objective indices as well as the analysis of interpretive processes. In sociology, the types of method adopted often reflect the theoretical position of the researcher. Those who regard structural factors as paramount often use techniques of data collection and measurement, such as surveys and structured interviews, which gather "hard" data (eg. Douglas, 1967; Gray et al, 1983). On the other hand, sociologists employing interpretive theoretical perspectives tend to rely more on methods such as participant observation and depth interviews (eg. Becker et al, 1961; Goffman, 1968).

Yet a portrayal of such a dualism in methodology is misleading. Both methods are important and complementary. While quantitative methods are primarily concerned with measurement, qualitative methods are especially valuable when we are trying to determine "what things exist" (Walker, 1985). Becker (1970) suggests that qualitative methods are most valuable when we know little about a particular phenomenon. In such cases qualitative research can help us to outline problems and can generate hypothesis which may be tested using other methods. The Chicago school, who are usually thought of as pioneers of

qualitative methodology, were not averse to conducting follow up studies which relied more on quantitative techniques.

Research into the youth transition is a well established area within sociology. Consequently, we already know a lot about what exists. This is not to say that there is no longer a place for qualitative methods in the study of the youth transition, but a study which sets out to examine the interface between structural factors and interpretive processes requires a method which is flexible enough to examine both. To fulfill this function, I selected an interview technique which used a mixture of semi-structured and open ended questions. The reason for this choice being that while qualitative methods are not conducive to measurement, the use of questionnaires does not preclude the study of processes. Yet it is important that fixed choice questions are avoided where possible so that unanticipated responses can be gathered.

The respondents in the sample were first interviewed at school during January and February 1984. A year later they were interviewed in their own homes, and a year after that, (in January and February 1986), they were interviewed at home for the last time. The longitudinal element was important in order to trace the movement of young people into the labour market and further education. A retrospective study would have placed too much reliance upon memories of a period in which many changes occur, and would have been less likely to have picked up the processes of change. The main weakness of this method is that the time span covered is limited. Ideally it would continue for several years after the last person left full-time education.

Also, "snapshots" taken at three points of time during a complicated process will inevitably miss some of the detail between these points.

At each school, before the first interviews, I was able to speak to the members of the sample as a group in order to explain the purpose of the research and to outline what would be required of them. At Crescent I was allowed to interview during time allocated for careers and sports lessons. At Newtown I was able to take students out of any lesson. Consequently, I asked everyone to fill in a form indicating the timetable periods where they had a lesson they did not mind missing. This ensured that I did not disrupt them during lessons they regarded as important, and also increased my popularity and possibly the response rate by enabling pupils to escape lessons they disliked, (mainly French and Maths).

Interview times at both schools lasted for one school period (forty minutes). All first interviews were tape recorded in order to maximise the qualitative data. The presence of a tape recorder did not seem to inhibit anyone and was soon forgotten, but it had the advantage of enabling me to take part freely in the interview without the trouble of taking notes. The tape recorder was abandoned in subsequent interviews as when moving from house to house it was found to be more cumbersome than it had been in a fixed location.

Arranging subsequent interviews was more complicated. For the first home interview I called at each house in a given area on one night simply to find out when it was convenient to

interview the respondents. This allowed me to arrange day-time interviews for those out of work, as well as those still at school or with a day-off from work during the week. The main problem with this system was that it involved calling twice at each address, and that there was still no guarantee that a pre-arranged interview would be remembered by the respondent. The advantage was that it enabled me to undertake quite a high proportion of the interviews in the day-time.

For the second home interview, I simply sent out letters saying I would be calling between 6.00pm and 8.00pm on a particular evening. If it was convenient I would conduct the interview there and then, if not, I would arrange a more convenient time. This system was faster than the first system, although all interviews had to be carried out in the evening.

The circumstances in which home interviews took place varied considerably. Generally the middle class respondents tended to have more than one sitting room, and so the interviews were conducted in privacy. Many working class homes on the "Crescent" estate had only one sitting room. Consequently, interviews were either carried out in the kitchen or bedroom, or in the sitting room with other members of the family present. In most cases, the presence of other family members did not seem to inhibit respondents, and comments or contradictions by parents often gave me more information than I would have gained in a more private interview.

The interview technique involved more than filling out a questionnaire schedule. The longitudinal element meant that I

was able to build a relationship with the young people and got to know their family circumstances as well as something about the groups they spent their time with. This kind of knowledge meant that there was a built in check as to the validity of their answers, and I was able to give some attention to the meaning structures employed by the actors. Further, as the study was longitudinal, impressions gathered at one interview could be developed and checked through incorporation in the design of the next questionnaire.

Longitudinal research often encounters high non-response rates, and over time re-contact becomes more difficult as respondents move away, or tire of answering questions. In the Leicester study the response rate in the final year was ninety per cent of the original sample (see table 2:5), the non-response rate being highest among working class males from "Crescent Community College". Taking an interest in each respondent and forming a good relationship with them, persistence and good detective work ~~were~~ the key to good response rates.

Persistence can lead to high response rates, yet the line between pestering a respondent into submission and perseverance is a fine one, and each case must be judged on its merits. When young people had active social lives, it sometimes meant calling five or six times simply to find them at home. (On "Crescent" estate it was quite common for a parent to tell me that they had not seen their offspring for a week, and had no idea when they would next be home). In the case of other respondents it became quite clear after two or three calls that they were avoiding being interviewed.

Good detective work is also important in obtaining a high response as this age group is particularly mobile. Sixteen per cent of the sample moved house or left home between first and last interviews. In some cases my letter would be forwarded and the respondent would 'phone and let me know their change of address, in others I had to try and find the new address from the new occupant or neighbours. If repeated calls were unfruitful, or if a respondent had moved out of the city or joined the Forces, a postal questionnaire was administered. Twelve postal questionnaires were distributed, of which ten were returned.

Forming a good relationship with the respondent and ensuring that I knew what they had told me the previous year was one of the most important factors behind the high response rate. After spending forty minutes of someone's time one year asking them about their plans, they expect you to remember what they told you. Despite initial explanations, some clearly thought I was there to help and advise in their search for work. One person asked if I'd get in touch if I saw any suitable jobs for him, while another wrote and thanked me for "helping me to understand what I want".

iii. Analysis.

In analyzing the collected data, it was again necessary to employ two methods. The quantitative data was computerized and tabulated using the SPSSx package, and the statistical reliability of the tables was tested through the use of the Chi Square procedure. When relationships between variables are said to be

significant, they have been found to have a statistical significance of at least $P \leq 0.05$. A relationship at this level means that there is a five per cent chance of the relationship being a result of chance. Numerical data was also verified through analysing it alongside the qualitative material. A dual methodology such as this, helps to avoid some of the problems which may occur through interpretation bias when using a single methodology. Analysis of the qualitative data was more piecemeal. At each stage in the longitudinal process, the notes taken would be used as a basis of formulation of the next questionnaire. In other words, the processes discovered fed back into questionnaire design. In addition, the qualitative material has been used in conjunction with the quantitative data in order to illustrate processes. Qualitative data was particularly strong when looking at experiences of unemployment and training schemes, but of less importance when looking at labour market biographies.

In the text, I occasionally use attitude scales to illustrate particular processes. These attitude scales are derived from groups of structured questions, and approximate the scales used in the psychological literature. The scaled responses for "work attitude", "job attitude" and "self esteem" are Guttman scales (Stouffer, 1950). Respondents were asked to indicate their feelings towards a group of statements by ticking the most appropriate response box for each statement. Possible responses ranged from "strongly agree" to "strongly disagree". In order to minimize the danger of "role set" (Oppenheim, 1966), positive and negative statements were mixed.

The scale questions are listed below in the form they were presented to the respondents. I have superimposed the scores given for each response on the questionnaire. For analysis, the scores were totalled and divided by the number of respondents. The figure arrived at here is the mean score. Deviations from the mean were arrived at through crosstabulation of variables with calculation carried out in the same manner.

The school attitude scale was arrived at in a similar manner, using the first three items in Question 29 on the first interview schedule, ("I will be glad to get away from school"; "There are some things I expect I will miss about school when I leave"; "I get bored with school because it's always the same"). On these three items the possible responses were "Yes, often", "Occasionally", "Hardly ever" and "No, never". However, on this scale, rather than present scores numerically, scores were grouped to provide three attitude types.

Information collected in surveys always suffers to some extent from measurement error. This is a problem which may be more acute in the collection of attitudinal data than is the case with more factual data. Checks on the reliability of single responses to attitudinal questions are limited. Attitudes which contradict responses to other questions or appear inconsistent may be probed by the interviewer, but ultimately it is necessary to rely on the respondent to give honest answers.

Attitudinal scales are often seen as being more reliable than are the single constituent elements of which they are composed (Thomas & Wetherall, 1974), as scale consistency can be measured

Table 2:6

I would like to ask you some questions about work. Below you will see some statements people have made about how they feel about work. I would like you to place a tick in the boxes below to show how strongly you agree or disagree with each statement.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNSURE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
If I was out of work I wouldn't feel right.	5	4	3	2	1
Having a job is not important to me.	1	2	3	4	5
Work makes me feel I'm doing something with my life.	5	4	3	2	1
I wouldn't work if I could get 1 more money on Social Security.	1	2	3	4	5
I wouldn't like being out of work.	5	4	3	2	1
I would soon get bored if I had no work to do.	5	4	3	2	1

Table 2:7

I have listed some statements which people have made about themselves, and I would like you to place a tick in the boxes below to show me how strongly you agree or disagree with the statements.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNSURE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
I feel that I'm as good a person as anybody.	5	4	3	2	1
All in all, I'm inclined to feel that I'm a failure.	1	2	3	4	5
I feel that I have a number of good qualities.	5	4	3	2	1
I am able to do things as well as most other people.	5	4	3	2	1
I feel I don't have much to be proud of.	1	2	3	4	5
I'm very happy with myself.	5	4	3	2	1
I wish I could have more respect for myself.	1	2	3	4	5
On the whole, I'm satisfied with myself.	5	4	3	2	1
At times I feel useless.	1	2	3	4	5
I'm not really getting anywhere with my life.	1	2	3	4	5

Table 2:8

If you have a job or are on a Youth Training Scheme at the moment I would also like you to answer these questions. If you are at school or at college, or are out of work at the moment, you need not answer them.

Listed below are some statements people have made about their jobs. While thinking about the work you do at the moment, I would like you to tick the boxes below to show how strongly you agree or disagree with each of the following statements.

	STRONGLY AGREE	AGREE	UNSURE	DISAGREE	STRONGLY DISAGREE
The major satisfaction in my life comes from my job.	5	4	3	2	1
Most things in life are more important than my job.	1	2	3	4	5
I'm late for work pretty often.	1	2	3	4	5
The most important things that happen to me involve my work.	5	4	3	2	1
I have other activities more important than my job.	1	2	3	4	5
For me, mornings at work really fly by.	5	4	3	2	1
I feel depressed when I fail at something connected with my job.	5	4	3	2	1
I used to be more ambitious about my work than I am now.	1	2	3	4	5
Quite often I feel like staying home from work instead of coming in.	1	2	3	4	5
I'm really a perfectionist about my work.	5	4	3	2	1

using a "coefficient of reproducibility". A ninety per cent reproducibility requirement being the normal level of acceptability (Stouffer et al, 1950). The work attitude, job attitude and self esteem scales used in this study have been used by psychologists for some time (eg. Warr, Cook & Wall, 1979; Warr & Jackson, 1983), their reliability is generally accepted and they conform to the established levels of reproducibility. The school attitude scale in Chapter 4 is a new departure; while it is no less valid than the sum of its constituent elements its accuracy must be established through reproduction in future surveys.

iv. Conclusion.

Within this study, accuracy has been enhanced through the dual methodology adopted. The design of the questionnaires facilitated the exploration of processes, while the longitudinal dimension helped to minimize the problems associated with asking retrospective questions at the end point of the transition. At the same time, the social context of the interviews enabled me to build up a relationship with the respondents and learn about the social networks in which they participated. This also helped to verify the validity of responses.

However, any method represents a compromise. Richer data could have been collected through a method such as participant observation, yet in a field which has benefited from an abundance of research it is important to build on the quantitative side in order to put things into their proper perspective. While a large scale survey using more structured

techniques may produce results which are more reliable in a statistical sense, I feel that the method adopted resulted in a good balance. It enabled me to collect sufficient quantitative data to make statistically significant crosstabulations, while at the same time getting some of the richness and understanding of processes which are found in qualitative methods.

Chapter Three

SOCIAL CLASS, GENDER AND SCHOOLING

i.Social Class.

Throughout this survey, social class of respondents has been operationalized by means of a modified version of the Hope - Goldthorpe scale (1974). It became clear in the early stages of analysis that the Registrar General's (1981) operationalization had too many inherent problems for sociological analysis. The general lack of distinction between owners and non-owners of the means of production, and employees and self employed means that social classes which are based on these categories are seriously flawed. Further, the high proportion of traditionally female occupations which are placed in category IIIa confuses the analysis of womens occupational position within the labour market. According to Bland (1979), whilst the Registrar General's index has been used since 1921, there has never been any attempt to test its validity. Bland argues that "it seems possible that the scale represents no more than a series of guesses as to what members of the community would have said had they been asked" (1977, p284).

As a result of these deficiencies, I based my analysis on the Hope-Goldthorpe scale which not only met the basic criteria of distinguishing between owners, managers, and employees, but has been tested empirically. Consequently it enables, for example, the distinction between a plumber who is employed by a company, a plumber who works on his own account, and one who employs other plumbers to help him. Such distinctions are not possible using the Registrar Generals scale. The Hope-Goldthorpe scale was unable to deal adequately with "womens" occupations, which tend to accumulate within a section of their "intermediate class". Many women are employed in relatively few occupations, which tend to be concentrated in the service sector, (for example, personal service, clerical and shop work). An occupational scale which exaggerates this tendency by separating service workers from non-service workers is clearly unsatisfactory.

As such, I set out to reorganize the Hope-Goldthorpe scale to take account of these criticisms. Hope and Goldthorpe identify three main class groupings and I shall deal with them each in turn.

The Service Class

Hope and Goldthorpe collectively name groups one and two the "Service Class", defining them as those having "discretion and autonomy" in their work, that is, having considerable freedom from control by others. Group two is the subaltern level of the service class; while members of this group exercise some

degree of authority and discretion in their work tasks, they are subject to some control from above.

The occupational categories placed in this social class are quite satisfactory and require little modification. It does not differ in principal from the Registrar General's Professional and Managerial classes one and two. For clarity, rather than use the term "Service Class" I shall use the more conventional term for this grouping and will refer to them as the "Professional and Managerial Class".

However, I have made one addition to this class (see table 3:1). Occupational category eleven, (farmers and farm managers), have been removed from group four of the intermediate class and placed in the service class. This group does not fit comfortably into the intermediate class alongside shop keepers and self employed workers, especially as many farmers are very large landowners. For instance, following the Hope-Goldthorpe scale, a very wealthy landowner would be placed in the same class as the owner of a corner shop who may earn little more than a skilled manual worker.

In fact, I found it necessary to divide farmers and farm managers into two groups; group "A" consisting of large farmers and farm managers, and group "B" consisting of small farm managers. Group "A" then, (large farmers and farm managers) fall into Hope and Goldthorpes' own definition of class one of the Service class, having considerable freedom and autonomy in their work, and smaller farm managers into their definition of class two of the service class, exercising some authority and

Table 3:1

THE SERVICE CLASS.

<u>CLASS ONE</u>	<u>CLASS TWO</u>
The class of those exercising power and expertise on behalf of corporate bodies.	Members exercise . some degree of authority and discretion, but are subject to some control from above.
<p>1. Self Employed Professionals (Doctors, lawyers, accountants dentists engineers).</p> <p>2. Salaried Professionals; higher grade. (Engineers, accountants doctors, university teachers)</p> <p>3. Administrators and Officials; higher grade. (Senior Civil Servants, managers in large commercial enterprises).</p> <p>4. Industrial Managers; large enterprises. (Managers in engineering, commerce, manufact)</p> <p>7. Large Proprietors. (Working owners of large shops and service agencies).</p>	<p>5. Administrators and Officials; lower grade. (Police Officers, radio and telegraph operators.</p> <p>6. Technicians; higher grade. (Computer programmers, draughtsmen, lab. technicians).</p> <p>8. Industrial and Business Managers; small enterprises. (Managers in commerce, public utilities, general manufacturing).</p> <p>9. Self employed professionals; lower grade. (Journalists, entertainers, artists).</p> <p>10. Salaried Professional; lower grade. (teachers, nurses, social welfare workers).</p> <p>12. Supervisors of Non-Manual Employees; higher grade. (supervisors of clerical workers)</p> <p>14. Managers in Services and small Administrative Units. (Managers of shops and service agencies).</p> <p>16. Supervisors of Non-Manual Employees; lower grade. (supervisors of sales staff).</p>
11a. Large Farmers and Farm Managers	*11b. Farm Managers; Lower grade.*

discretion, while subject to some control from above.

b.The Intermediate Class.

Hope and Goldthorpe's intermediary class contains three subdivisions, groups three, four and five. The groups which make up this class have long been a source of contention within sociological analysis, for both Marxist and neo-Weberian theorists. Hope and Goldthorpe see this class as being structurally located between the service class and the working class, in a similar way to which the traditional petit bourgeoisie was seen as structurally located between the working class and the ruling class. The intermediary class though still resembles what C.Wright Mills calls an "occupational salad", containing many of those positions Erik Wright (1976) sees as being located in a contradictory manner. That is, the objective position of members of this class is "marginal", and an occupant bears characteristics both of working class and middle class membership. In some respects he or she is a worker, and in others a businessman. As a consequence, they belong to neither class.

The truth is, that sociological analysis has always found difficulty in accommodating a class which does not own the means of production, and therefore must sell its labour power, but has advantages over the working class in authority as well as in their market and status situations.

When it comes down to identification of the members of the intermediate class, there is the temptation to use it as a waste disposal system for problematic groups. Unfortunately, Hope and

Goldthorpe do fall into this trap at times, particularly as far as group three is concerned. As a result, their intermediate class is in need of some reconstruction. However, a radical restructuring of Hope and Goldthorpe's scale is not necessary as many occupational categories can be unambiguously accommodated within other classes.

In order to say why a group fits into the intermediary class it is first necessary to say why it does not fit into one of the two main classes. If we start with group three, (table 3:2), we can see that these occupational categories positioned here seem to be excluded from working class membership apparently upon two grounds. Their job is characterized by its service function, and the incumbent is often located within the base of a bureaucratic hierarchy.

Neither of these propositions, I would suggest, are adequate class boundaries, although they are seen as such by many Marxists like Poulantzas (1975). Firstly, there is no justification for separating a group simply because they provide a service as opposed to producing goods for the market. There is little basis for regarding a productive-unproductive division as representing the boundary of the working class on the economic level, (Wright, 1976), as there are elements of service and production in most jobs, and the two spheres are not as radically polarized as Poulantzas would have us believe. Further, a service as well as a product may be produced for the market, (as for example is the case with the Birmingham binmen who have recently been privatized), but also, as Braverman (1974) suggests, advanced capitalism is characterized by the growth of commercial concerns

Table 3:2

HOPE-GOLDTHORPE'S INTERMEDIARY CLASS.

CLASS 3.

CLASS 4.

CLASS 5.

Rank and file employees in services. Usually integrated to some degree into the base of bureaucratic hierarchies. Not usually engaged in authority.	Small proprietors, equated with petit bourgeoisie. High degree of autonomy.	Lower grade technicians and supervisors of manual work. Involved to some degree in exercise of authority, but subject to close control.
21. Non-Manual employees in Admin & Commerce. (Clerical workers).	11. Farmers and farm managers.	15. Technicians; lower grade. (electrical & electronic engineers).
25. Service Workers; High grade. (Cooks, hair-dressers).	13. Small proprietor (Working owners of small shops & service agencies)	17. Supervisors of manual employees: higher grade. (engineering foremen)
28. Service Workers; Intermediate grade (Shop sales)	19. Self employed workers; higher grade (painters & decorators)	20. Supervisors of manual employees; lower grade. (foremen in warehousing)
34. Service Workers; lower grade. (barmen caretakers, attendants)	24. Smallholders without employees	
	29. Self Employed; intermediate grade (taxi drivers)	
	36. Self Employed; lower grade (street vendors).	

which are totally separated from the process of production. Such enterprises, for example those specializing in the purchase and resale of commodities, carry out their activities entirely through clerical labour.

Poulantzas' reasons for the class separation of productive and unproductive workers is based upon a fairly uncontroversial interpretation of Marx. That is, by definition, it is productive workers who produce an extractable surplus value. As such, although not themselves responsible for this exploitation, service workers are seen as not belonging to the working class as they live on the spoils of the capitalist system; in other words, they exist on the surplus value of productive workers.

I would suggest that such an analysis is incorrect on two grounds. Firstly, it has often been insinuated that the service worker is paid for out of revenue. This is not the case unless the service worker is performing a private service. Secondly, such a rigid interpretation of Marx is unjustified. As I have suggested, many service workers, while not producing physical commodities, do produce values in the form of services. And if these services are produced for the market, there is no reason to suggest that they do not generate surplus value in the same way as do the producers of physical commodities.

If a service function is inappropriate as a class boundary, the only justification we are left with for this groups exclusion from the working class is the positioning of these groups in the base of the bureaucratic hierarchy. This feature is seen as aligning a group with the ruling class by virtue of placing them

in the same objective position vis a vis the ruling class. That is, they have authority over, and aid in the control of, the working class, thus aiding in their exploitation. A group who exploit the working class cannot, by virtue of this fact, be a part of that class.

If we look more closely at the people we are talking about, (occupational categories 21,25,28,34) it becomes hard to sustain an argument that these people occupy a different objective position to the working class. While the jobs may be organized on bureaucratic lines, they are not integrated into the bureaucratic hierarchy.

Leaving aside category twenty-one for the moment, the occupations typical of these categories are hairdressers, cooks, shop assistants barmen and barmaids and refuse collectors. Group twenty-five I would suggest are more logically integrated with skilled wage workers as they are largely composed of the "female apprenticed occupations", hairdressers, caterers et cetera, and are only separated by Hope and Goldthorpe due to their service function, a function which I have argued is inadequate as a class boundary.

Groups twenty-eight and thirty-four are best included with semi & unskilled workers due to the skill level they possess, their similarity of material rewards, and status all of which they share with the rest of this class, and of course, they also share the same objective position vis a vis capital.

Now to pick up again on group twenty-one, (non manual administrative workers typists, secretaries, clerks, administrators

etc.), it is clear that this category contains many diverse elements. (Although not as diverse as the Registrar Generals class IIIa). Again, those integrated into the bureaucratic hierarchy and exercising authority over the working class, are mixed with those who do not occupy such positions. As a result, I will split this group into two new groups. Group 21A, those exercising some authority on behalf of capital and aiding in the control and exploitation of the working class, and, 21B, those not occupying such positions; for instance typists and low grade clerks whom are more logically placed within the working class.

Group four of the intermediary class can be left as it stands, (minus the farmers whom we extracted earlier). This group is intermediary in the traditional Marxist sense, representing a petit bourgeoisie, composed of small proprietors and self employed workers.

Group five of the intermediary class again needs restructuring. Within this class there are two groups whose juxtapositioning cannot be justified. One, (the supervisory groups), have a semi managerial function, the other, (the technicians) do not. Those with a semi-managerial function, who exercise power and authority over the working class cannot be a part of the working class, as they directly assist in the exploitation of the working class. Whatever the similarity in conditions, they are structurally positioned outside of the working class. However, they do lack the discretion in work tasks and the full integration into the bureaucratic hierarchy necessary to justify their inclusion in the ruling class. As such their inclusion in the intermediary class as a new petit bourgeoisie is justified due to

Table 3:3

MODIFIED INTERMEDIATE CLASS.

CLASS 3.

CLASS 4.

Traditional petit bourgeoisie	Supervisors and higher clerical grades
13.Small Proprietors. (Working owners of small shops & service agencies). 19.Self Employed Workers: higher grade. (Painters and decorators). 29.Self Employed Workers: intermediate grade. (Taxi drivers). 24.Smallholders without Employees. 36.Self Employed Workers: lower grade.(Street vendors).	17.Supervisors of manual Employees: higher grade. (Foremen in engineering) 20.Supervisors of Manual Employees: lower grade. (Foremen in warehousing). 21.Non-Manual Employees in Administration and Commerce: Higher grade.(lower clerical grades).
Small-holding and tenant farmers.	

Table 3:4

HOPE-GOLDTHORPE'S WORKING CLASS

CLASS 6	CLASS 7
Skilled Manual Wage Earners who have a relatively high degree of skill.	Manual Wage workers in semi & Unskilled Grades.
18. Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing: High grade. (Maintenance fitters, Tool Makers)	26. Semi Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing. (Assemblers Process Workers).
22. Skilled manual Workers in Manufacturing: intermediate Grade. (Machine Setters, Sheet Metal Workers).	31. Agricultural Workers.
23. Skilled Manual Workers in Construction. (Carpenters Bricklayers)	32. Semi Skilled manual Workers in Construction and Extractive Industries. (Roofers, Cable Layers)
27. Skilled Manual workers in Transport, Communications & services and Extractive Industries. (Coalminers, Engine Drivers).	33. Skilled manual workers in Transport Communications and services. (Lorry Drivers, Warehousemen, Packers, Groundsmen, postal workers).
30. Skilled manual Workers in Manufacturing: Lower Grade: Metal Working Craftsmen, Woodworkers, Butchers).	35. Unskilled manual Workers. (General labourers, industrial cleaners, labourers).

Table 3:5

MODIFIED WORKING CLASS

CLASS 5	CLASS 6
Skilled Wage Earners	Wage workers in semi & Unskilled Grades.
18. Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing: High grade. (Maintenance fitters, Tool Makers)	26. Semi Skilled Manual Workers in Manufacturing. (Assemblers Process Workers).
22. Skilled manual Workers in Manufacturing: intermediate Grade. (Machine Setters, Sheet Metal Workers).	31. Agricultural Workers.
23. Skilled Manual Workers in Construction. (Carpenters Bricklayers)	32. Semi Skilled manual Workers in Construction and Extractive Industries. (Roofers, Cable Layers)
27. Skilled Manual workers in Transport, Communications & services and Extractive Industries. (Coalminers, Engine Drivers).	33. Skilled manual workers in Transport Communications and services. (Lorry Drivers, Warehousemen, Packers, Groundsmen, postal workers).
30. Skilled manual Workers in Manufacturing: Lower Grade: Metal Working Craftsmen, Woodworkers, Butchers).	35. Unskilled manual Workers. (General labourers, industrial cleaners, labourers).
15. Technicians: Lower grade (Electrical Engineers, Post Office Technicians)	*28. Service Workers: Intermediate grade (Shop Assistants)*
*25. Service workers: Higher Grade. (Cooks, Hairdressers)	*34. Service Workers: Lower Grade. (Barmen, Attendants).*
*21. Clerical Workers: Low Grade. (Typists).	

their "contradictory location" (Wright, 1976).

Group fifteen, (lower grade technicians), really form a blue collar elite. While they may enjoy better conditions of employment, wages security et cetera than do the majority of skilled workers, their higher point in the hierarchy is insufficient to place them outside of the blue collar hierarchy. By Hope-Goldthorpes' own criteria, better conditions alone do not justify re-positioning, therefore I have placed them in the skilled working class as they cannot be structurally located outside of them.

After making the above modifications, we are left with a modified version of the intermediary class illustrated in table 3:3. Hope and Goldthorpe's operationalization of the working class (table 3:4) has now grown to include the categories which were argued could not be seen as part of an intermediary class, and is illustrated in table 3:5. The working class in its enlarged form needs its heading changed from "skilled manual" and "semi and unskilled manual" to "skilled wage workers" and "wage workers in semi and unskilled grades", in order to accommodate the changes I have made. In the text these groupings will be referred to as the "upper" and "lower" working class respectively.

ii. Social Class and the Leicester Sample.

Class analysis of the sample using the usual occupation of the respondents fathers reveals the differing intakes of the two schools (table 3:6). The majority of students from "Crescent Community College" have fathers who are normally employed in semi and unskilled work (70%), while the largest single proportion

of students from "Newtown Community College" have fathers who are normally employed in professional and managerial occupations, (48%). An equal number of respondents from both schools have fathers who are usually employed in a skilled manual capacity (11%), and a higher proportion of students from "Newtown" (24%) than "Crescent" (8%) have fathers with occupations which place them in the intermediary class.

Feminists have been critical of the practise of basing social class on the occupation of the male "head of household" (eg Stanworth, 1983; Yeandle, 1984). Yet little consensus on the resolution of the problem has emerged. One of the reasons for this is the argument that patriarchy pre-dated capitalism, and that class divisions were superimposed onto gender divisions (Hartman, 1976; Beechey, 1979). In addition, a woman temporarily out of the labour market may have last been employed at a higher level than the male. The crux of the problem is that women's status within the labour market is not constant. Some periods of their lives are spent in full time employment, while at other times they work part time (Martin & Roberts, 1984). One of the few constant features of their work history is their engagement in domestic labour. Yet domestic labour poses a problem for Marxist analysis as well as conventional economics in that it is defined as unproductive because it is not exchanged against capital. In other words, it is judged to be valueless as it is performed outside of the money economy.

The persistence of sexual inequality has led some (eg Eichler, 1980) to argue that gender should be regarded as a form of class division. Introducing gender as another dimension of social

Table 3:6

RESPONDENTS SOCIAL CLASS, BY SCHOOL

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
"NEWTOWN"	24 48%	12 24%	11 22%	3 6%
"CRESCENT"	0 -	4 8%	11 22%	35 70%

N=100

Table 3:7

RESPONDENTS MOTHERS OCCUPATION, BY SOCIAL CLASS.

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
PROF & MANAG.	10	2	1	0
ROUTINE NON-MANUAL	10	4	5	8
SELF EMPLOYED	0	0	1	0
SKILLED MANUAL	0	1	0	0
SEMI & UNSKILLED	0	0	11	11

N=64

Table 3:8

OCCUPATIONS OF WORKING BROTHERS, BY CLASS

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
PROF & CAREER	3 43%	1 14%	0 -	3 14
SHORT CAREER	4 57%	5 71%	7 70%	7 33%
SEMI & UNSK.	0 -	1 14%	3 30%	11 52%

N=45

Table 3:9

OCCUPATIONS OF WORKING SISTERS, BY CLASS

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
PROF & CAREER	4 31%	0 -	0 -	0 -
SHORT CAREER	9 69%	3 75%	5 50%	8 44%
SEMI & UNSK.	0 -	1 25%	5 50%	10 55%

N=45

stratification, though, does not solve the problem. As Garnsey (1978) points out, the position of women in different locations within the class structure display an immense diversity of condition.

This study will retain the conventional practice of analysis by fathers occupation, although recognizing that this can obscure important differences within families. The justification for this approach is that the family, as opposed to the individual, must be regarded as the proper unit of stratification. Indeed, the family is treated as a unit by the agents of capital who are able to pay women and young people beneath the value of their labour power, leaving them dependent on the family for part of the cost of their maintenance, (Beechey, 1977). Further to this, it is the family which is important in the transmission of cultural and financial advantages across the generations. Nevertheless, analysis by social class is sometimes inadequate and needs to be supplemented by an understanding of the way in which gender roles structure our expectations and experiences.¹

¹ Throughout the 1980's the gender issue has become central to debates on stratification (eg Goldthorpe, 1983; Stanworth, 1984; Goldthorpe, 1984; Crompton & Mann, 1986). Many sociologists now argue that class analysis must take account of the position of women, although there is little agreement on how this should be done. Some sociologists now use combinations of male and female occupations in constructing their classifications (eg Willis, 1986). Other influential researchers continue to base their analysis on male 'head of household' on the grounds that womens participation in the labour market has only marginal implications for the class position of families (Goldthorpe, 1983). Goldthorpe argues that in cases where women hold occupations which would place them in a different class from their husbands, the importance of this cross-class combination is marginal for class analysis.

Members of the families in this study tended to work predominantly in occupations of a similar level to each other. At the time of the first interviews, half (9) of the economically active wives of professional and managerial men held jobs of a professional or managerial level themselves. While at the other end of the scale, fifty-eight per cent (11) of working women married to men in semi or unskilled occupations, held jobs of the same level as their husbands (table 3:7).

Similarity of occupational level among members of the sample can be illustrated by looking at occupations of siblings. In the Leicester study, information about the occupations of siblings was collected on forty-five brothers (table 3:8) and forty-five sisters (table 3:9). Just over half of the working brothers (52% 11) of respondents from the lower working class work in semi and unskilled occupations; the same is true for working sisters (59% 10). Seventy per cent (7) of the working brothers of respondents from the upper working class had managed to enter short career jobs such as apprenticeships themselves, whilst half (5) of the sisters of those from the upper working class had entered "short careers" (some of this discrepancy is due to the tendency to classify womens jobs as semi skilled). The majority of brothers and sisters of those from the intermediary class were in short career jobs. Within the professional and managerial class the majority of both brothers and sisters had not succeeded in obtaining professional and managerial work themselves, most having entered short career work. However, this picture is misleading as many of those destined for professional and managerial work are likely to still be in the

educational system due to the extended periods of training necessary to enter such positions.

Areas with a high proportion of workers in semi and unskilled occupations, as I mentioned earlier, are likely in a recession to have large numbers of unemployed workers. As a consequence pupils from "Crescent" were more likely to have had some contact with unemployment within the family than were "Newtown" pupils. In fact, at the time of the first interviews all the living fathers of the pupils in the "Newtown" sample were in full time employment, whilst thirty-two per cent of the fathers of the "Crescent" pupils were unemployed (table 3:10).

All of the fathers who were unemployed last worked in a manual occupation, and the majority of these, (75% 12), were last employed in work of a semi or unskilled nature. The majority of the unemployed (87% 14) were long term having been out of work for over a year.

Unemployed women are often less visible than unemployed men. One of the reasons for this is because they are often unable to claim state benefits and therefore do not register as unemployed. Also, women tend to "disappear" into domestic labour when the labour market cannot absorb them. Consequently, only two respondents described their mothers as unemployed. Thirty-three were described as housewives, a figure which probably contains a proportion who are seeking work.

The respondents' mothers who were married to professional and managerial workers were most likely to be in full time employment themselves, while the wives of semi and unskilled

Table 3:10

RESPONDENTS FATHERS OCCUPATIONAL STATUS BY SCHOOL.

	FULL TIME WORK.	PART TIME WORK.	UNEMP.	SICK	UNKNOWN	OTHER
NEWTOWN	49 98%	0 -	0 -	0 +	0 -	1 2%
CRESCENT	29 58%	1 2%	16 32%	1 2%	2 4%	1 2%

N=100

Table 3:11

FAMILY SIZE BY SOCIAL CLASS.

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
1 TO 2	54%	50%	36%	21%
3 TO 4	46%	44%	45%	29%
5 +	0%	6%	18%	50%

N=100 p=<0.001

workers the least likely to be in full time employment. Fifty eight per cent, (14), of those married to professional and managerial workers were in full time employment, as compared with thirty-one per cent (5), of the intermediary, thirty-two per cent (7) of the wives of skilled manual workers, and eighteen per cent (7) of the wives of semi and unskilled men.

Those married to blue collar workers though, while having fewer full time jobs than those from other classes, were most likely to have a part time job. In fact, thirty-three per cent, (20), of them had some form of part time employment, as compared with seventeen per cent (7), of the wives of professional and managerial and intermediary workers.

The incidence of unemployment among brothers and sisters of the respondents increases according to social class, although the numbers are very small, they are nevertheless statistically significant ($P = < 0.01$). While no one from the professional and managerial class had a brother or sister who was unemployed, one person from the intermediary class had an unemployed brother. Three of those from the upper working class and twelve of those from the lower working class had a brother or sister who was unemployed.

The ways in which the social class of the parents influences the future educational achievement of the child has been well documented (Eg. Douglas, 1967; Bernstein, 1971). Lower levels of remuneration for semi and unskilled work results in a lack of resources to provide the stimulus necessary to give their children the advantages enjoyed by their middle class

counterparts in the educational system. High levels of unemployment within the lower working class exacerbates this problem of lack of resources, which results in a primary concern with the problem of getting through each day rather than being able to plan for the future. Large families are often associated with poverty, and children from large families have been found to achieve lower scores on intelligence tests, (Douglas, 1967). It is within the lower working class that family sizes tend to exceed the average. While the majority of professional and managerial, intermediary and skilled workers in the sample tend to keep their families fairly close to the average, the lower working class families tended to be much larger. In fact, fifty per cent (19) of these families contained five or more children (table 3:11).

Cultural differences between the social classes mean that educational success is not always defined as important. Working class "life styles" often emphasize different sets of values and priorities than middle class styles of life (Jenkins, 1983; Willis, 1977). By looking at the different experiences of young people from the contrasting backgrounds and schools described here, I have been able to examine the relationship between social class, educational outcomes and occupational aspirations, as well as looking at the factors influencing the development of normative orientations.

In examining the types of occupation young people aspire towards and enter, I found it desirable to use a restricted range of occupational categories. The main reason for this is that occupations entered by young people are often starting

points from which they may progress. It is important therefore, that youth occupational categories capture the potential and possible range of progression. In addition, occupational aspirations are not always as specific as would be required in order to classify them using the Hope-Goldthorpe's schema. This is because a young person may aspire towards a skilled trade or profession without necessarily minding which of a number of trades or professions they wish to enter.

To solve this problem, youth occupations have been grouped using categories similar to those used by Ashton & Field (1976). The advantage of this scheme is that the categories represent differing skill levels, promotion prospects and statuses. "White Collar Careers Occupations and Professions" are broadly comparable to occupations placed within the modification of Hope-Goldthorpe's Service and Intermediary classes. "Short Term White Collar Career Positions" are comparable to the upper section of the modified working class, while "Semi and Unskilled Manual Occupations, Sales and Low Grade Services" can be equated with the lower section of the modified working class.

Entry into "White Collar Career Occupations and Professions", (for example Lawyers, Police, Nurses, Teachers and higher clerical grades), usually involves some further education and a period of formal training which may take place on or off the job. The careerist can, theoretically at least, expect advancement throughout the course of his or her career, although in practice this may take the form of a limited gradational movement, as in a teacher moving within the first two scales or a nurse becoming a sister.

Entry into "Short Term White Collar Career Positions", (for example Typists and lower clerical grades, mechanics, caterers, hairdressers), does not usually require further education, although the entrant will often be required to attend college on a day or block release basis. The career will probably end after qualification, except for the possibility of advances into minor supervisory positions.

On the other hand, entry into "Semi & Unskilled Manual Occupations, Sales and Low Grade Services", (for example machine operators, labourers, shop assistants), often suggests that career movement will be even more limited. Mastery of the task is generally achieved within a short period of time. Maximum earnings are generally achieved fairly rapidly through gaining speed and competency or by learning short-cuts and "fiddles".

iii. Schooling & Social Class.

Within, "modern capitalism", inequalities are often justified in terms of the opportunities which people receive, and schools play an important role in preparing young people for the positions they will enter in the occupational hierarchy. As education is in theory available to everyone, it has been suggested that "one's position in the division of labour could be portrayed as the result not of birth, but of one's own efforts and talents" (Bowles, 1975 p261). In a society which purports to be meritocratic, schools stand between family background and labour market position, and are supposed to ensure that the most able and best qualified people are placed in the best jobs.

Sarup (1982) has suggested that "the educational system

legitimizes economic inequality by providing an open and ostensibly meritocratic mechanism for assigning individuals to unequal economic positions. Bourdieu (1974) refers to this as the "ideology of giftedness" which enables the justification of the position of elites. This ideology "helps to enclose the underprivileged class in the roles which society has given them by making them see as natural inability things which are only the result of an inferior social status, and by persuading them that they owe their social fate to their individual nature and their lack of gifts" (P42).

Despite the common belief that ascribed occupational roles have gradually been eroded as society becomes increasingly characterized by "universalism" (Blau & Duncan, 1967), the truth of the matter is that social ascent through education is limited and family background has remained important. While attempts to ensure that working class pupils get a better deal from the education system have not been entirely devoid of success, the relationship between social class and educational performance retains its importance (Tyler, 1977; Reid, 1978; Halsey, Heath and Ridge; 1980). In this section I will look at the links between social class, gender and school achievement in order to develop a better understanding of the ways in which these factors may inhibit educational performance.

Educationalists and sociologists have tried for many years to understand the mechanisms by which social class influences scholastic and occupational achievement. If education is available to all, how is it that social class remains an important indicator of how well a child will perform at school? Much of the early

work within the sociology of education focused upon the way in which the unequal distribution of resources in society affected educational performance, and how social and economic disadvantage was translated into educational disadvantage. At the beginning of the century some of the more visible ways in which social background affected educational performance were used to explain the relationship. As Floud, Halsey and Martin (1957) put it, "poverty caused ill health and poor attendance, facilities for study could not be provided in slum houses nor proper instruction given in overcrowded schools".

The link between poverty and educational disadvantage was well documented in early sociological work, as well as in the reports of the school inspectors. Yet it soon became apparent that social class affects educational performance in other, less obvious ways. Bernstein (1971), for example, suggested that the acquisition of different lingual codes by children from different social class backgrounds affects the schools' view of the ability of the child. Bernstein suggested that working class children tend to be brought up to use a "restricted" language code. The possession of such a code will then lead to the child being disadvantaged within an educational system which places a high value upon verbal fluency. Working class children are more likely than their middle class counterparts to be verbally disadvantaged, as their parents are least able to afford the apparatus of verbal fluency, such as books, and a rich language

environment.²

On the other hand, an "elaborated" lingual code is held to be the product of a rich language environment in which children are constantly offered explanations instead of orders, and have more ready access to books. As a result of the schools judging the "restricted" code to be inferior, children possessing elaborated codes are less likely to be relegated to the lower streams.

Effectively, theorists like Bernstein are arguing that the relative handicaps of working class pupils can be seen as the result of the unequitable distribution of "cultural capital". In a similar vein, Bourdieu (1973, 1974) sees middle class advantages in the educational system as being largely due to the similarity between its culture and the dominant culture, and that the mode of learning employed in schools is similar to that practised within middle class families. As he puts it, "structures reproduce themselves by producing agents who are adapted to the structure and thereby contribute to the reproduction of the structure" (1973). Or more coherently, "teachers assume that they already share a common language and set of values with their pupils", but the lower classes "only acquire with great effort something which is given to the children of the

² In his later work Bernstein was careful to avoid portraying a restricted lingual code as an exclusive working class characteristic. He was also at pains to point out that the elaborated code was not necessarily "better" than a restricted code, although elaborated codes are valued within the educational system.

cultivated classes" (1974).

While the possession of "cultural capital" may be responsible for many middle class educational advantages, Bourdieu makes his analysis unsupportable by pushing his argument to an extreme position which he is unable to support. Thus, he goes on to argue that the education system "puts into practice an implicit pedagogic action, requiring initial familiarity with the dominant culture, and which proceeds by imperceptible familiarization, offers information and training which can be received and acquired only by subjects endowed with the system of predispositions that is the condition for the success of the transmission and of the inculcation of culture" (1973). (My emphasis).

The numbers of working class children who are able to succeed in an educational system which operates through an alien culture makes such a position untenable. Yet the "cultural capital" thesis is supportable if, following Bernstein (1971) and Becker (1963), we lay the emphasis on lingual codes, (as an element of the more nebulous concept of "culture"). It can be successfully argued that familiarity with the dominant lingual code is a "condition" for educational success, the same cannot be said about an all encompassing term like "culture".

While pupils from different social classes may start school with advantages or disadvantages, the way in which schools are organized can either minimize initial differences or they can maintain them. It is not uncommon for schools to draw their intakes from areas which are as socially exclusive as the two in

the Leicester study. Consequently, the location of the school may be a crucial variable. Yet Jencks (1972) has suggested that the school a pupil attends has very little effect on that pupils eventual attainment. In fact he argues, "qualitative differences between high schools seem to explain about two per cent of the variation in the students educational attainment".

The weight of evidence, though, seems to go against such a view. As the Rutter report (in Banks, 1971) discovered, schools do have a real affect upon school performance. Halsey, Heath and Ridge (1980) argue that "the type of school one attends would seem to be the single most important factor in determining how long ones school career will be". This can be illustrated using Wilsons' American study (1959). Wilson shows how in "grade A" schools ninety-three per cent of the sons of professionals wish to go to college as compared with sixty-six per cent of those from similar backgrounds in "grade C" schools. And while a third of the sons of manual workers attending predominantly working class schools wish to go to college, more than half of those from similar backgrounds attending predominantly middle class schools do.

Evidence from the Leicester study lends weight to those who argue that the school attended is a crucial variable. Although teachers at Newtown tended to hold a higher estimate of their pupils than Crescent teachers, in the sample the majority of pupils from lower working class homes attend Crescent. Nevertheless, a pupil from a lower working class background attending Newtown is likely to be judged as more capable than is a similar child attending Crescent. Indeed, Crescent teachers

view seventy four per cent, (26), of their students from lower working class families as being only capable of low grade CSE's, (in fact half of these are seen as not being capable of passing four CSE's at any grade). Although the numbers involved are very small, all the young people at Newtown from lower working class backgrounds are seen by their teachers as capable of average CSE passes, (four or more CSE's at grades two and three).

The same relationship holds for higher level qualifications. Newtown teachers viewed eight (16%) of their pupils as being capable of passing A' levels, while Crescent teachers regarded only one pupil, (2%), as capable of a pass at this level. In fact, while Newtown teachers thought that thirty-four per cent (17) of their pupils were capable of four O'levels or better, the teachers at Crescent only regarded ten per cent (5) as capable of such passes. At the other end of the scale, Crescent teachers saw sixty-four per cent (32) of their pupils as being incapable of more than low grade CSE's, the comparable figure for Newtown being twenty percent (10) (table 3:12).

The recognition that the type of school a young person attends can affect their academic performance led to the move towards "Comprehensive" education in the 1960's. Under this system, as the name implies, children were to be educated in a common school, irrespective of ability. Educationalists hoped that the introduction of Comprehensive schools would go some way towards providing greater equality of opportunity for young people.

Comprehensive schools were supposed to encourage a greater social mixing of pupils. In theory this would aid the academic performance of lower class pupils as well as being conducive to the broadening of occupational horizons which tend to be narrowed by premature educational segregation and class based social relationships. However, according to Ford (1969), there is no evidence that Comprehensives have led to a greater social mix within peer groups. She largely blames this failure on the continued use of ability streams within Comprehensives, which, it has often been noted (eg. Douglas, 1967) reinforces the effects of social class. In fact, as Douglas (1967) suggests, just as Grammar schools often increased the performance of their pupils relative to those attending Secondary Modern schools, so within the Comprehensive school those placed in the top streams tended to improve their performance relative to those in the lower streams.

While Comprehensive schools were intended as a means for bringing about greater equality of educational opportunity, Ford (1969) has argued that the middle class child stood a better chance of placement in the "Grammar streams" than did the working class child. Her evidence supports Holly's (1965) hypothesis that streaming in comprehensives helps maintain class differentials in a similar manner as did the tripartite system.

Whilst a particular educational structure may encourage maximization of student goals, it has been well demonstrated that within schools teacher expectations can affect student performance. Douglas (1967) showed how teachers' expectations of pupils produce a "self-fulfilling prophecy", whereby those pupils

whom teachers assign to the top groups, expecting them to perform well, do in fact progress. The pupils placed in the bottom groups, of whom teachers have low expectations, tend not to do so well.

Under the Leicestershire plan, formal streaming arrangements are not supposed to occur. Rather the system consists of loose setting arrangements whereby a child may, theoretically at least, be in an O'level group for English, and yet in a non-exam set for Maths. It used to be argued that streaming resulted in teachers reacting differently to pupils of different streams. Yet if, in a school with a very fluid set of arrangements, teachers attitudes vary according to social class, then that judgement would seem to be based more directly upon social and cultural indicators of social class.

Considering all respondents came from one of two schools there was little agreement among the pupils as to whether or not the school had streams/sets or not. The majority of pupils in both schools thought that their schools had either no streams/sets, (46% 45), or that the school had a very limited setting arrangement, (39% 38). However, fourteen pupils said that their school had either formal streaming or comprehensive setting arrangements. Eleven of these said that they were in the same set for all or most subjects. No one who was aware of a comprehensive streaming or setting arrangement was in a lower stream (table 3:13).

In the absence of formal streaming arrangements, teachers still react differently to their pupils, and this different treatment is

Table 3:12

TEACHERS' ASSESSMENT OF THEIR PUPILS' ACADEMIC ABILITY, BY SCHOOL.

	A'LEVELS	4+O'LEV ELS	4+ CSE GR.2-3	4+ CSE GR.4-5	LESS THAN 4 CSE'S
NEWTOWN	8	9	23	7	3
%	16	18	46	14	6
CRESENT	1	4	13	17	15
%	2	8	26	34	30

N=100 X2 = 22.31197 df=4 P=<0.001

Table 3:13

PUPILS' AWARENESS OF SCHOOL STREAMING. (Schedule 2, Q51)

NO STREAMS OR SETS	LIMITED SETS	COMPREHENSIVE SETS	FULL STREAMING
45	38	6	8
46%	39%	6%	8%

N=97

* percentages are rounded and therefore do not always equal 100.

Table 3:14

TEACHERS' ASSESSMENT OF THEIR PUPILS' ACADEMIC ABILITY, BY CLASS.

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
A'LEVEL.	33%	0%	5%	0%
	(8)	(0)	(1)	(0)
4+O'LEVEL	21%	19%	18%	3%
	(5)	(3)	(4)	(1)
4+CSE GRDS	42%	44%	36%	29%
2-3	(10)	(7)	(8)	(11)
4+CSE GRDS	4%	25%	27%	34%
4-5	(1)	(4)	(6)	(13)
LESS THAN	0	12%	14%	34%
4 CSE's	0	(2)	(3)	(13)

N=100 x2 =43.33649 df=12 p=< 0.001.

picked up upon by the pupils. In the Leicester study the majority, (64% 62), felt that teachers did not treat their pupils equally. However, the differential treatment of pupils was not perceived by young people in terms of gender or cultural differences. No one said that teachers treated young people from certain social backgrounds unfairly, and no one seemed to think that it was the girls who were treated unfairly. Twenty-two per cent (22) of the young people felt that they had personally been neglected at some time, but again there was little difference by class or sex.

A large proportion (39% 24) felt that it was mainly the "slow" ones or the "thick" ones who were treated unfairly due to those who were "brainy" getting most of the attention, while another five per cent (3) felt that all those doing either CSE's or Sixth Form O'levels were likely to be neglected. A further twenty-seven per cent (17) felt that those who suffered were those who "messed around" or did not work, as it was felt that the teachers did not have the time to waste on those who failed to put much effort into their work. It was felt that people tended to be categorized as a "messenger" rather easily, and this label would stick even if that person decided to work at a later stage. Fourteen per cent (9) felt that teachers just took a simple dislike to some people for no apparent reason.

Whether or not Bourdieu (1974) is correct in stating that "minor signs of social status such as "correct" dress and bearing and the style of speech and accent are minor class signs and help shape the judgement of their teachers" remains unproven, but in the Leicester study it was found that the teachers

assessment of their pupils academic ability varied according to the pupils social class. For example, while just over half (13) of those with a father in a professional or managerial occupation were assessed as being capable of either A' levels or four plus O' levels, this was true of only nineteen per cent of those from the intermediate class, twenty-three per cent of those from upper working class backgrounds, and one person, (3%), from the lower working class.

Further, while only one person (4%) from the professional and managerial class was expected to get low grade CSE's, (low grade CSE being defined as less than four CSE's overall, or four plus CSE grades 4-5), thirty-seven per cent (6) of those from the intermediate class were expected to get such grades, forty-one per cent (9) of those from the upper working class and sixty-eight per cent (26) of those from the lower working class (table 3:14).

How is it then, that teachers attitudes can vary according to the social class of their pupils without the pupils being aware of any class based discrimination? I would suggest that the teachers definition of someone as "thick" or a "messenger" is an acceptable justification for the neglect of pupils who do not fit into the academic culture. In other words, the behaviour which teachers discriminate against with the blessing of the more academic pupils, is really a manifestation of class position. By defining these pupils in terms of lack of effort or ability rather than in terms of their social class, their neglect is justified in a way that would be unacceptable simply on class grounds. Under a system legitimated by the principle of

meritocracy, neglect of a section of pupils is legitimated by their failure or by their indifference towards that system. Indeed, Keddie (1971) has argued that the categorization of pupils along ability lines occurs largely through judgements about their social class.

The process whereby the cultural manifestations of social class predetermine educational outcomes has been well documented in the modern ethnographic literature, (Willis, 1977; Jenkins, 1983). For Willis and Jenkins it is not so much the way schools treats the pupil which is of prime importance. Rather it is the normative orientations of the "kids" themselves which determine educational success. In other words, the poor academic performance of young people from lower working class backgrounds is a consequence of their rejection of success in middle class terms.

No analysis of social class and educational performance is complete without an account of the different normative orientations of young people. In this context Willis and Jenkins add to our knowledge of the sociology of education. Yet the process has an essential duality. While young people from lower working class families may reject a school culture which is based on predominantly middle class values, as we have seen, the school also places a high premium on middle class cultural attributes such as forms of language, dress and demeanor. Without the necessary characteristics a working class pupil can be at a disadvantage despite a desire to succeed at school.

iv. Qualifications and Continued Education.

So far I have discussed the ways in which young people from working class homes are disadvantaged within an educational system which values middle class culture. I will now turn to look at the distribution of educational rewards. Those from the higher social classes were most likely to be entered for O' level examinations than were those from other classes (table 3:15). The higher the social class background of a young person, the more qualifications they are entered for. Whereas the majority (58% 14) of young people from professional and managerial families have been entered for three or more O' levels, forty-five per cent (17) of those from the lower working class have been entered for four or less CSE examinations (table 3:16).

Given the pattern of examination entries, it is hardly suprising that examination results also display a significant variation by the respondents social class. This is illustrated in table 3:17 below. Pupils from the highest social class are over-represented in the higher grades, whilst those from the lower social classes are over-represented at the bottom end of the results table. Further, examination results tended to be related to what the teachers originally predicted their pupils would obtain (table 3:18), this is predictable in that many CSE examinations are heavily dependent upon the teachers assessment of their school performance.

Given the predictability of examination results, few (18% 17) were disappointed with their results. Many (46% 43) said that they were pleased with their results whilst the rest (34% 32), felt that their results were "alright". Most young people, (74% 69) either expected similar results to what they achieved, or else

Table 3:15

NUMBER OF O'LEVELS TO BE TAKEN BY SOCIAL CLASS.

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
NONE	33% (8)	56% (9)	59% (13)	63% (24)
1-4	29% (7)	37% (6)	36% (8)	37% (14)
5+	37% (9)	6% (1)	5% (1)	0% (0)

N=100 $\chi^2 = 23.58269$, df=9 $p < 0.001$

Table 3:16

FIFTH FORM EXAMINATION ENTRIES, BY SOCIAL CLASS.

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
4 OR LESS CSE'S	0% (0)	6% (1)	18% (4)	45% (17)
4+ CSE'S	33% (8)	50% (8)	41% (9)	18% (7)
1 - 2 O'LEVEL + CSE'S	8% (2)	25% (4)	27% (6)	29% (11)
3 + O'LEVEL	58% (14)	19% (3)	14% (3)	8% (3)

N=100 $\chi^2 = 41.32066$ df=9 $P < 0.001$

Table 3:17.

EXAMINATION RESULTS BY CLASS

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
LESS THAN 4 CSE'S	0 -	2 12%	4 19%	16 42%
4+CSE'S	2 8%	5 29%	6 29%	14 37%
4+ CSE'S	14 58%	8 47%	10 48%	8 21%
4+ O'LEVELS	8 33%	2 12%	1 5%	0 -

N=100 $\chi^2 = 39.42924$ df=9 $P < 0.001$

achieved higher results than they anticipated, but others (26% 24) had expected to obtain higher results.

The majority of respondents (68) had left school by the end of the Fifth year, (table 3:19) most left after sitting summer exams although twelve left at Easter. In September 1984, thirty-two respondents returned to full-time post compulsory education. Sixteen of these continued to attend school, while sixteen entered Sixth Form Colleges or Colleges of Further Education.

At the time of the second interviews, (January 1985), twenty-six young people remained in full-time education, and by the third interviews, (January 1986), fifteen remained. Of those remaining in full-time education in 1986, those from the professional and managerial classes were most likely to have stayed on at school (table 3:20).

Social class was an important determinant of attendance in post-compulsory education (table 3:21). Whereas fifty-nine per cent (13) of those from the professional and managerial class had spent some time in post-sixteen education, only eleven per cent (4) of young people from the lower working class had stayed on. Newtown pupils were more likely to have entered post compulsory education, ($P < 0.01$). Forty-eight per cent of Newtown pupils (23) as compared with nineteen per cent of Crescent pupils (9) had spent some time in post sixteen education.

The majority of those in full time education at the time of the second interview, (January 1985), were studying either all O'levels,

Table 3:18

EXAMINATION GRADE BY TEACHER' ASSESSMENT.

<u>ASSESSMENT</u>					
<u>GRADE</u>					
	4+O'LEVELS	4+CSE GR 2-3	4+CSE GR 4-5	LESS 4 CSE	
LESS 4 CSE	0	2	8	12	
	-	6%	33%	67%	
4+CSE GR 4-5	1	9	12	5	
	4%	25%	50%	28%	
4+CSE GR 2-3	11	24	4	1	
	50%	67%	17%	6%	
4+O'LEVEL	10	1	0	0	
	45%	3%	-	-	

N=100 P=<0.001

Table 3:20

RESPONDENTS IN FULL-TIME EDUCATION, JANUARY 1986.

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
IN EDUCATION	9	1	2	3
	41%	6%	10%	8%
LEFT EDUCATION	13	15	18	34
	59%	94%	90%	92%

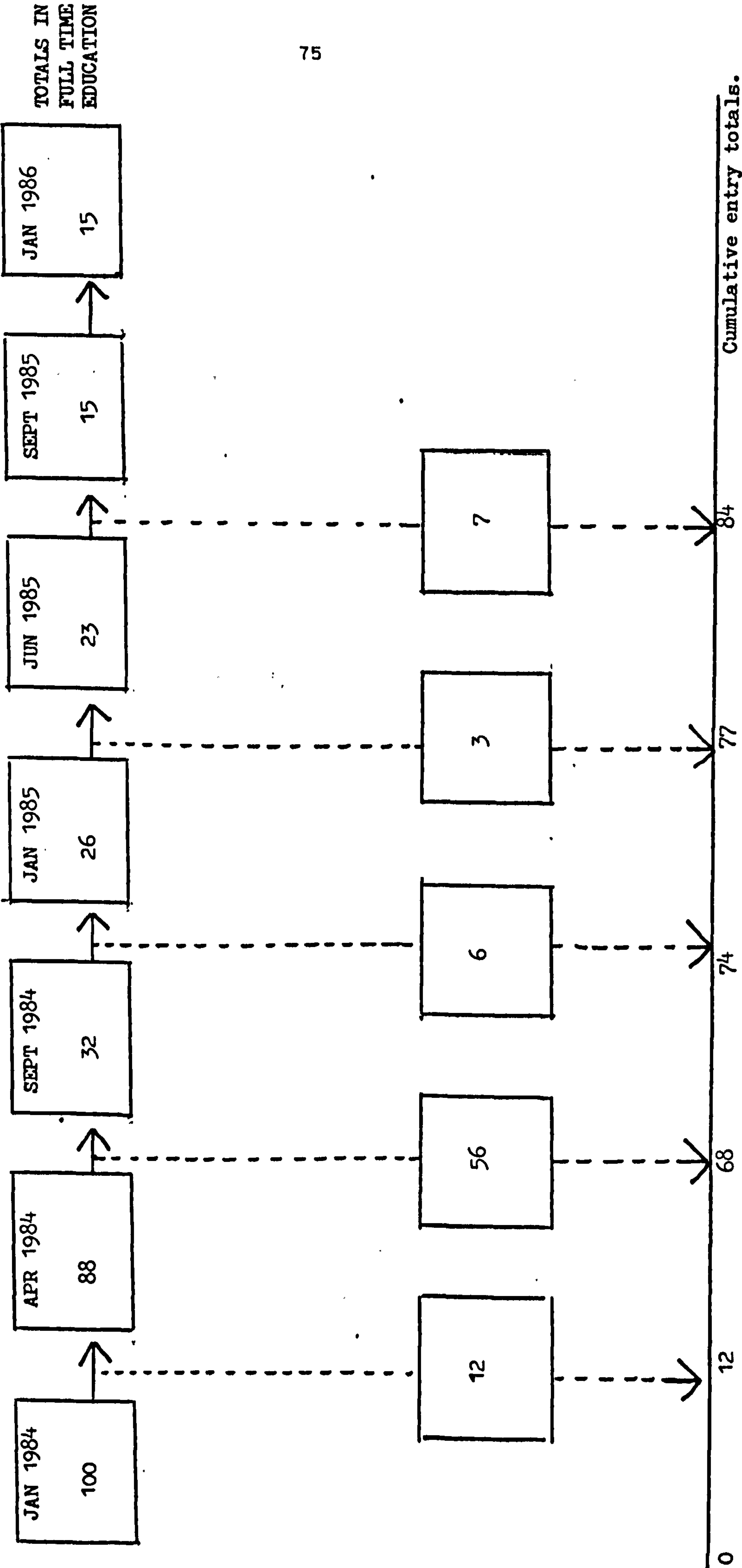
N=95 X²=13.68145 df=3 P=<0.01Table 3:21 SOCIAL CLASS AND EXPERIENCE OF POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION.

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING.
POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION	13	6	9	4
	59%	35%	45%	11%
NO POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION	9	11	11	33
	41%	65%	55%	89%

N=96 X²=16.26854 df=3 P=<0.01

CONTINUED EDUCATION AND LABOUR MARKET ENTRY.

Table 3:19



(12), or a mixture of O'levels and commercial or pre-vocational courses, (6). Three people were taking vocational courses. Five were sitting all A'levels, and of these, all were from the professional and managerial class. Most of those staying on for a second year of post-sixteen education (8 53%) were studying for A'levels, although five (33%) were studying commercial and vocational subjects, and two (13%) were spending their second Sixth Form year repeating O'level examinations (table 3:22).

Of the seventy-four who had left full time education, twenty-four of the seventy-one interviewed had attended classes on a part time basis since leaving school. Nineteen of these were on day or block release from their work, mainly under YTS, two were attending academic type night classes at FE colleges and two were attending interest related night classes. In all then, twenty of the twenty-four were on vocationally orientated courses. For all but three people, attendance on the courses was compulsory.

v. Schooling and Gender.

The achievement of meritocracy is not only prevented by the prevalence of advantage on the basis of social class. Gender divisions also stand in the way of equality of opportunity.³ In this context the positioning of women within the lower echelons

³ There were only two coloured young people in the Leicester sample, consequently there is little scope for analysing the effects of race on the transition. However, it is important to note that racial inequalities may have important implications for scholastic achievement (see for example Mack (1977) and Brah (1984))

Table 3:22

EXAMS STUDIED BY THOSE IN FULL TIME EDUCATION, BY CLASS

	PROF & MANAG		INTERMED		SKILLED		SEMI & UNSKILLED	
	1985	1986	1985	1986	1985	1986	1985	1986
O'LEVELS	3	0	2	0	4	1	3	1
	25%	-	50%	-	57%	50%	100%	33%
O'LEV & COMMERCIAL	2	0	1	0	3	0	0	1
OR PRE VOCATIONAL	17%	-	25%	-	43%	-	-	33%
A'LEVELS	5	7	0	0	0	1	0	0
	42%	78%	-	-	-	50%	-	-
VOCATIONAL	2	2	1	1	0	0	0	1
	17%	22%	25%	100%	-	-	-	33%

N=26

Table 3:23

HIGHEST QUALIFICATION HELD BY SCHOOL LEAVERS, BY SEX, 1983/4

ENGLAND

000'S

	1 OR MORE A'LEVEL PASS	5 OR MORE O'LEVEL *	1 TO 4 O'LEVEL *	1 OR MORE OTHER GRADE+	NO GRADED RESULT
BOYS	67	34	92	139	51
GIRLS	62	40	104	126	32

*GRADE A - C INC CSE GRADE 1,
+O'LEVEL D & E, CSE GRADE 2 - 5.

SOURCE: D.E.S. STATISTICAL BULLETIN, 1983, TABLE 9.

Table 3:24

BREAKDOWN OF COURSES STUDIED BY STUDENTS OVER SCHOOL LEAVING AGE, IN SCHOOLS AND IN NON-ADVANCED FURTHER EDUCATION.

	BOYS	GIRLS
COURSES OF STUDY (%)		
A'LEVELS	79.2%	74.3%
O'LEVELS	17.0%	19.5%
OTHER	3.8%	6.2%

SOURCE: D.E.S. STATISTICAL BULLETIN, 4/85, FEB 1985.

of the occupational hierarchy is often seen as being partly due to their experiences within the educational system. It has been suggested, for example, that schools re-inforce existing sex and gender roles (Delamont, 1980a) and that the ways in which the school expects femininity to be expressed, does not encourage academic achievement or ambition (McDonald, 1980). A theme along these lines which has been developed by psychologists (Horner, 1971) is the "fear of success" syndrome. In this approach, which has mainly come out of the American literature, it is suggested that girls face pressure within schools to play down academic success for fear of frightening off potential male suitors.

Later attempts at replication of the "fear of success" studies have yielded contradictory results. Hoffman (1974) used similar methods to Horner, yet found that men displayed a greater fear of success than did women. Other studies (eg Levine & Crumrine, 1975) have also reported unsuccessful attempts to validate Horner's work. In a review of fifty-two "fear of success" studies, Tresemer (1977) came to the conclusion that the results did not support the hypothesis that females displayed a greater fear of success than males. In the studies surveyed, fear of success in women varied between eleven and eighty-eight per cent, while in men it varied between twenty-two and eighty six per cent. The contradictory nature of the evidence must cast doubt upon the usefulness of the concept in understanding the narrowness of womens aspirations.

I shall be suggesting here that as a result of improvements in girls educational performance over the past few years the evidence for this point of view does not hold anymore. Such a

view is often a result of researchers using, or taking for granted, figures or the implications of figures quoted in the well known texts of the 1960's and early 1970's, (ie Douglas,1967; Ford, 1969 etc), to demonstrate the position of girls in the education system. (Delamont (1980b,P65) for example argues that girls experience the change from high achievement in primary school to poor performance in Secondary school). However, I would suggest that developments in the last decade have meant that many statistical comparisons between the sexes have become dated.

In the 1960's and early 1970's researchers were quite correct in stating that at each crossroad in school life, boys did better than girls, (as Douglas (1967) noted in "The Home & The School", girls start school life with advances on the boys of as much as two years, an advance which is rapidly lost within the secondary school). More boys sat and passed O' level examinations, and more sat and passed A' levels. As a consequence more boys went on to higher education.

Now, while girls still suffer some disadvantages within the school (such as lack of encouragement and/or facilities in science subjects), up to the O' level stage they now tend to take a greater share of examination passes than the boys. That is, they are now more likely than boys to leave school with a graded examination result, more likely to have an O' level pass, and more likely to pass five or more O' levels (D.E.S.,1983). Today it is only when we reach the A' level stage that girls performance falls relative to that of boys. (table 3:23)

Between the ages of sixteen and eighteen there are more females than males in the schools and on non-advanced further educational courses. However, the numerical superiority of girls within this sector of the educational system, (169,600 girls as compared with 157,800 boys), disguises the fact that a higher percentage of sixth form boys (79.2%) are sitting A'levels than are sixth form girls (74.3%). Girls are more likely to be in the sixth form in order to retake O'levels (19.5%) than are boys (17.0%) (table 3:24).

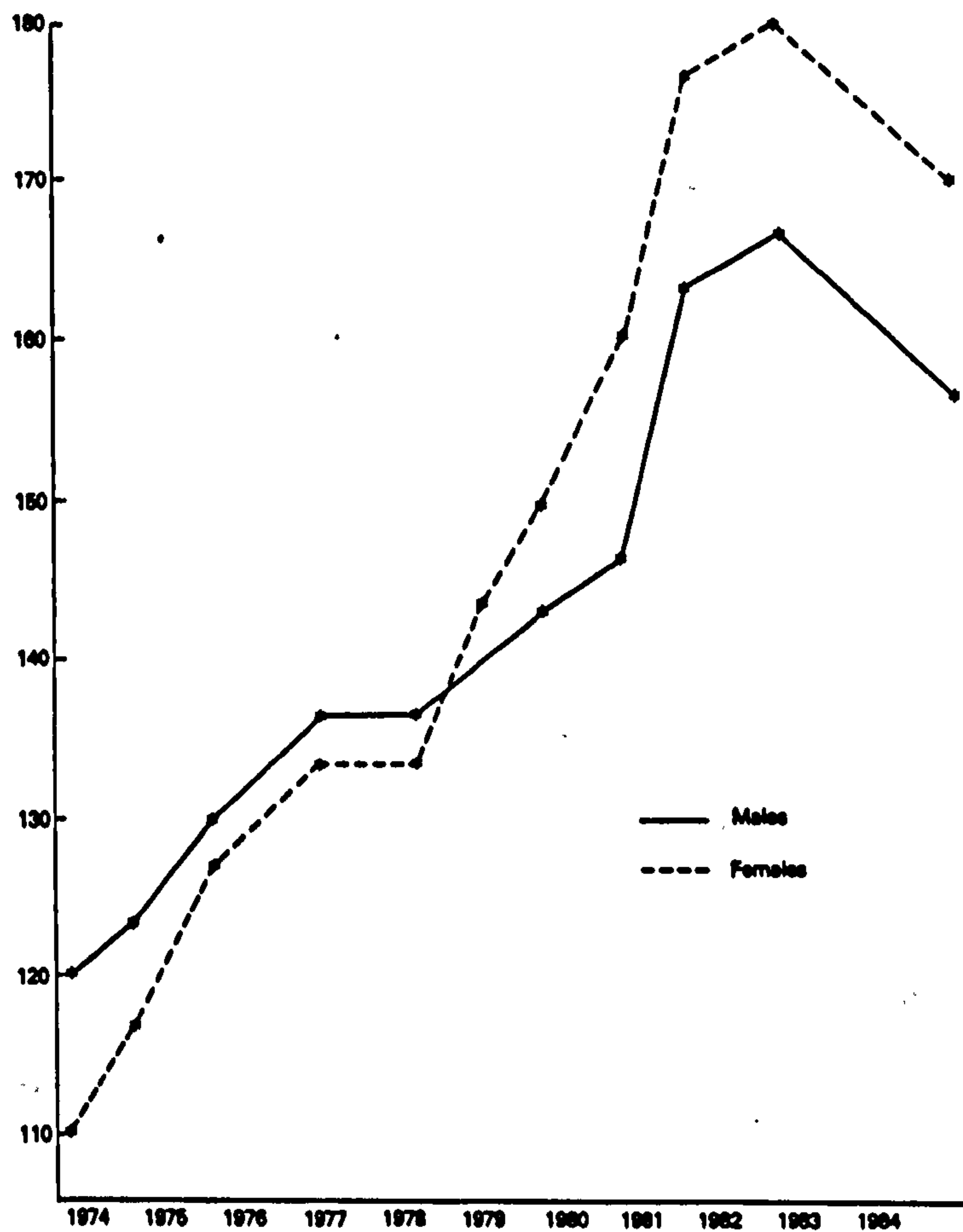
While males continue to receive a disproportionate share of the higher educational qualifications within both the Higher and the Further educational sectors, here too the performance of girls has improved over the last ten years. As Pearson, et al (1984) show the proportion of women admitted to degree courses over this period has risen by about a third, (from 4.7% to 6.7%).

So, what has brought about these changes? Firstly, as we have seen, girls are doing better than they used to within the years of compulsory education, and secondly, more girls than boys, (since 1978), now stay on at school after it ceases to be compulsory (D.E.S., 1985) (figure 3:25).

One of the reasons for larger numbers of girls remaining at school is the existence of high levels of youth unemployment, combined with their tending to have a more favourable attitude towards continued education than the boys.⁴ Evidence from the

⁴ A detailed explanation of the construction of attitudinal scales are provided in *Chapter Two*.

Table 3:25



Numbers of pupils staying on at school after reaching the minimum leaving age (000s). Source: *Statistical Bulletin 4/85*, February 1985 (London, DES).

Table 3:26 TEACHERS' ASSESSMENT OF PUPILS' ACADEMIC POTENTIAL, BY SEX.

	MALE	FEMALE
A' LEVELS	4 8%	5 10%
4+ O' LEVELS	3 6%	10 20%
4+ CSE GRADE 2-3	13 26%	23 46%
4+ CSE GRADE 4-5	17 34%	7 14%
LESS THAN 4 CSE'S	13 26%	5 10%

N=100 $\chi^2 = 14.38034$ $df=4$ $P < 0.01$

Leicester survey supports Dove's (1975) findings which suggested that girls have a more positive attitude towards school than boys. Consequently the girls were likely to say that they exerted more effort into their school work than do the boys. ($P = <0.05$). Further, girls who do not benefit from the school system remain less visible than boys as they tend not to express anti-school feelings through the development of anti-school subcultures (Shaw, 1976).

Boys are more likely than girls to say that they have had enough of school, or that they are longing to start work. As such, girls are remaining at school longer due to the absence of a reason to leave, (in that they are less likely to leave due to a hatred of school), there being fewer jobs to tempt them away. In fact, in the Leicester study the majority of girls who remained in full-time post compulsory education, said that unemployment had prompted their decision to stay. None of the boys who remained said that levels of unemployment had any bearing on their decision to remain in full time education.

In the Leicester survey it was discovered that boys who expected to get work of a semi or unskilled nature are most likely to reject the legitimacy of the school, which is reflected in the level of effort they said they exert. On the other hand, girls are less likely to reject the values and legitimacy of the school even if they do not stand to benefit from the system. (See also Griffin (1985)).

Irrespective of their expectations, the majority of the girls said that they worked hard at school. Thus it seems that while boys

heading towards semi and unskilled occupations will reject the school, (by lack of effort, anti-school subcultures etc.), girls in comparable positions tend to work harder than their peers with high expectations in order to try to keep up. In fitting with this attitude towards their school work, girls are also more likely than the boys to see their fifth year at school as being beneficial to them ($P = <0.05$).

Girls attitude towards school does not go unnoticed by the teaching staff. Indeed, as Douglas (1967) noted, teachers tend to be more critical of boys than of girls. The tendency of teachers to rate girls more favourably than boys was initially noted by Ingelby & Cooper (1974) in their study of primary school pupils. Teachers were asked to give ratings for their pupils on their "character, brightness, work, sociability, home background and their language"; girls were given more favourable ratings on all scales except "sociability". These ratings tended to be made fairly quickly and once formed were relatively stable over time. This phenomenon is also to be found in Secondary schools in that teachers of pupils in the Leicester sample tended to rate girls more positively than boys. That is, when teachers were asked to assess the academic potential of their pupils, girls were twice as likely to be seen as capable of gaining at least four O'levels than were the boys. Also, boys were more than twice as likely as girls to be assessed as being only capable of low grade CSE's ($P = < 0.01$) (table 3:26).

Now obviously the teachers assessment of a pupils ability is directly transferable to the number and type of exams that a pupil is entered for. Here again girls now take the lead, female

Table 3:27

FIFTH FORM EXAMINATION ENTRIES, BY SEX.

	MALE	FEMALE
4 OR LESS CSE	15 30%	7 14%
4+ CSE	18 36%	14 28%
1-2 O'LEVEL +CSE'S	7 14%	16 32%
3+ O'LEVELS	10 20%	13 26%

N=100 $\chi^2=7.32213$ df=3 p=0.05

Table 3:28

EXAMINATION RESULTS, BY SEX

	MALE	FEMALE
4 OR LESS CSE'S	17 34%	5 10%
4+CSE GRADE 4-5	14 28%	13 26%
4+ CSE GRADE 2-3	14 28%	26 52%
4+ O'LEVELS	5 10%	6 12%

N=100 $\chi^2 = 10.27340$ df=3 P=<0.05

Table 3:29

EXAMS STUDIED BY THOSE IN FULL TIME EDUCATION, BY SEX.

	JAN 1985		JAN 1986	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
ALL O'LEVELS	2 40%	10 48%	0 -	2 18%
O'LEVEL & COMM- ERCIAL OR PRE VOC	0 -	6 29%	0 -	2 18%
ALL A'LEVEL	2 40%	3 14%	3 75%	5 45%
VOCATIONAL	1 20%	2 9%	1 25%	2 18%

N=26

N=15

members of the Leicester sample were more likely than the male members to be sitting an O'level subject, and slightly more likely to be sitting three or more O'levels (table 3:27). Similarly, the females in the Leicester study gained higher examination results than did the males (table 3:28). These figures, as we have seen, are supported by national educational statistics.

The national picture in which girls are more likely to remain in post compulsory education is reflected in the Leicester sample. While twenty-five females had spent some time in post-compulsory education (50%) only seven males had returned (15%) ($\chi^2 = 11.52522$ $df=1$ $P<0.001$). Further, of the fifteen respondents who were still in full-time education when interviewed for the third time (January 1986), there were eleven females and four males.

The numbers staying on for post-sixteen education get too small after 1985 to make reliable statements about ^{them} ~~the~~ Yet despite more girls remaining in education, the Leicester sample reflects the national picture in which boys tend to be over-represented in the higher examination categories (table 3:29).

vi. Conclusion.

In this chapter, I have looked at the social backgrounds of the members of the Leicester sample and analysed the influence of social class on educational achievement. In looking at social class, the Hope-Goldthorpe scale was found to be the most valid scale, yet it was necessary to re-structure this scale in order to meet some theoretical short-comings.

In modern industrial capitalism the unequal distribution of resources is justified in terms of differential achievement. The school is central to the distributive process as educational certification is important in the allocation of jobs. An educational system which is open to all, legitimates the existence of inequality. The occupants of advantaged positions within the occupational hierarchy are able to justify the rewards they receive in terms of ability and effort rather than in terms of an accident of birth.

However, in this chapter we have argued that the meritocracy is largely illusory. Social class, and to a lesser extent gender, both influence educational outcomes, although it was noted that the educational achievements of females have improved over recent years. The reproduction of social advantage and its legitimation is a dual process. The social background of a young person results in different levels of advantage within a system which favours middle class cultural values. Yet this process is legitimated through the normative orientations of the young people themselves. In other words, many of those who "fail" within the school system do not define "success" in these terms as important.

Chapter Four

ATTITUDES TOWARDS EDUCATION

AND THE DECISION TO LEAVE SCHOOL.

i. Attitudes Towards Education.

In the 1950's and 1960's a predominance of functionalist perspectives in sociology meant that the desirability of educational success was often taken for granted. Since the 1970's many sociologists have come to argue that the value placed upon educational success is a class variable. Indeed, "cultural divergence" theorists (eg. Willis, 1977) have suggested that working class pupils are more likely to fail at school as they are not interested in what the middle classes define as success. In other words, working class pupils develop negative school attitudes as their values tend to be at odds with those of the dominant class which are represented in the educational system. It has been argued in this context that working class action is present orientated and linked to impulse gratification, whilst middle class action is more likely to be future orientated and based upon deferred gratification. As such, there tends to be a conflict between academic success, which requires a postponement of immediate rewards in order to gain future

advantages, and working class values which stress the importance of enjoyment in the here and now.

In this chapter I will examine the relationship between social class, the attitudes of young people towards their schooling and the decision to leave education. I will suggest that the relationship between social class and school attitude is not straightforward. To understand the relationship it is necessary to show how social class exerts its influence on school attitude through the mediation of factors like achievement, occupational aspirations and the structure of the local labour market.

In the Leicester study, no significant differences were found in the attitudes towards education of pupils from the different social classes. If lower working class pupils reject the importance placed upon educational success, then their attitude towards school as well as the effort exerted into their school work would be expected to be significantly lower than that of their middle class counterparts. This was not the case, while a young persons attitude towards school ¹ did show some variation by social class, it was not statistically significant (table 4:1). Other recent studies (for example, Ashton & Maguire et al, 1986) have also concluded that the relationship between school attitude and social class was weak.

There was also very little variation between the social classes in the levels of effort young people said they exerted at school

¹ A detailed explanation of the construction of the school attitude scale was provided in Chapter 2

Table 4:1

SCALED ATTITUDE TOWARDS SCHOOL, BY SOCIAL CLASS.

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
NEG.	37% (9)	31% (5)	27% (6)	45% (17)
AVE.	27% (5)	30% (6)	36% (8)	23% (9)
POS.	42% (10)	31% (5)	36% (8)	32% (12)

N-100 X² - 3.58811, df-6 Not significant.

Table 4:2

EFFORT PUT INTO SCHOOL WORK BY SOCIAL CLASS. (Schedule 1, Q39)

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
V.HARD/	54% (13)	69% (11)	59% (13)	63% (24)
F.HARD.				
AVERAGE	27% (6)	17% (3)	27% (6)	10% (4)
NOT V. HARD/	23% (5)	12% (2)	14% (3)	26% (10)
NO EFFORT.				

N-100 x² - 4.72886 ,df-6

Table 4:3

THE RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN SCHOOL ATTITUDE AND OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS.

<u>ASPIRATIONS</u>	<u>SCHOOL ATTITUDE</u>		
	POSITIVE.	AVERAGE.	NEGATIVE.
1.PROF & CAREER.	39% (14)	33% (12)	28% (10)
2.SHORT-TERM CAREER	37% (15)	28% (11)	35% (14)
3.SEMI & UNSKILLED	19% (4)	24% (5)	57% (12)

N-97 X² - 15.40129, df-4 P-<0.01

(table 4:2). Similar proportions of both the professional and managerial class, and the lower working class said that they put no effort into their school work. In fact, the intermediate and working classes were slightly more likely to say that they worked hard at school than were those from the professional and managerial class. As such, their lack of results cannot be put down to their lack of effort. This can be illustrated by comparing the pupils at Crescent and Newtown. Despite a heavy concentration of working class pupils at Crescent and middle class pupils at Newtown, seventy-two per cent (36), of Crescent pupils said that they had worked either "very hard" or "fairly hard", as compared with fifty per cent (25) of Newtown pupils.

The lack of success of working class pupils, despite working hard at school, can be explained by the adaptation of the "ladder" analogy used by Empey (quoted in Turner, 1964) in his discussion of relative measures of ambition. While young people from different social backgrounds may exert similar levels of effort at school, effort does not equate with results due to the different "rungs" of the ladder on which people start. In other words, a young person from a professional background may put in the same amount of effort as a person from a working class background of similar ability, yet the former is likely to be more successful due to his or her advantageous starting point. Despite a meritocratic appearance, success, (even if moderate), is granted by the school to those of the "appropriate" class background, or in Bourdieu's terms, to those whose families have endowed them with the requisite cultural capital and ethos, and lingual codes.

Among members of the Leicester sample, school attitude was more closely related to a young persons occupational aspirations than to their social class (table 4:3). In fact, a persons attitude towards school may itself help shape aspirations and expectations. Epstein and McPartland (1976) suggest that for young people school satisfaction is comparable to job satisfaction for adults. It follows from this that a person who gains little satisfaction from school, and despite their efforts achieve poor results, may seek an alternative method of achieving a goal. A person who has a negative attitude towards school may make a tentative career choice from occupations not requiring extensive educational credentialism in order to minimize the time spent at school. As the table ~~above~~ illustrates, there is a significant relationship between holding a negative attitude towards school, and low occupational aspirations.

Bourdieu (1973) argues that these "negative predispositions" towards the school held by young people primarily from "the most culturally unfavoured classes" must be seen as their "anticipation, based on the unconscious estimation of the objective probabilities of success possessed by the whole category". It is true that young peoples school attitude is partly shaped by their estimation of their career opportunities, and that their anticipation of their future occupation relates to their school achievements. Yet the picture is more complex than this. The value young people place on post-sixteen education must be examined in the context of the structure imposed by the local labour market which is important in determining both the probabilities of a person entering a particular occupation, as

well as the importance of educational qualifications for entry into the occupational structure (Ashton & Maguire, et al, 1986; Coles, 1987).

ii. The Decision to Leave Education.

A young persons attitude towards schooling and their decision about whether to leave education at the minimum age is strongly influenced by the structure of the local labour market they grow up in. Coles (1987) has suggested that these "area factors" are important as a young persons willingness to stay on at school and get higher qualifications are dependent upon the opportunities available in the local labour market. This is certainly true. The differences in rural labour markets indentified by Coles, as well as the international dimension introduced by Ashton (1987) give us a better understanding of the ways in which opportunities are internalized and shape future action.

Ashton (1987) shows how, in Britain, the norm within the working class is to leave school at sixteen. This is because many of the occupational segments open to young people largely restrict their recruitment to sixteen year old leavers (Ashton, Maguire & Garland, 1982; Lee & Wrench, 1983). Although staying on at school does not inevitably disadvantage young people in the long term (Payne, 1987) the assumption is that a decision is usually made on whether to leave or remain at school. This decision is often made with the knowledge that remaining in education may cost them the opportunity to enter certain segments of the labour market. In Canada, Ashton (1987) suggests the

assumption is that a young person will remain at school until they are eighteen. One of the reasons for this is that employers recruitment policies are not focused towards sixteen year old leavers the way they are in Britain.

In Britain social class is an important determinant of school achievement as well as occupational aspiration, because of this it is useful in predicting how long a young person will remain in education. The "significant positive relationship" discovered by Sewell & Strauss (1957) between a young persons educational aspirations and his or her class of origin was also evident in the Leicester study. While the majority of those from the professional and managerial and the intermediary classes intended to remain in full time education after the age of sixteen, a smaller proportion of those from the upper working class (41% 9) intended to continue, and only sixteen per cent (6) of those from the lower working class intended to stay on (table 4:4).

One of the reasons for this class differential is that parental encouragement to remain in education varies with social class. Young people from middle class homes being more likely than working class pupils to receive parental encouragement to remain at school (Jackson & Marsden, 1962; Douglas, 1967; Plowden Report, 1967). Sixty-nine per cent (18) of those who stayed on at school said that their parents had encouraged them to stay, although nineteen per cent (5) said that the decision was left entirely to them, or that they got encouragement from one parent and discouragement from the other. Three of the young people who stayed on (11%) said that their parents did not

Table 4:4

POST SIXTEEN EDUCATIONAL INTENTIONS, BY SOCIAL CLASS. (Schedule 1, Q22)

PROF & MANAG	INTERMEDIATE	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
FULL TIME 62%	62%	41%	16%
EDUCATION (15)	(10)	(9)	(6)
NO FURTHER 29%	37%	55%	79%
EDUCATION (7)	(6)	(12)	(30)
UNSURE 8%	-	5%	5%
(2)	-	(1)	(2)

N-100 X2 - 19.74921 df-6 P-<0.001

Table 4:5

CONSIDERATION OF POST COMPULSORY EDUCATION, BY SOCIAL CLASS.
(Schedule 1, Q21)

PROF & MANAG.	INTERMEDIATE	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
NOT CONSIDERED 17%	31%	32%	66%
STAYING (4)	(5)	(7)	(25)
STAYING OR 83%	69%	68%	34%
CONSIDERED (20)	(11)	(15)	(13)
STAYING			

N-100 X2-16.92356 df-3 P-<0.001

Table 4:6

INTENTION TO ENTER POST-COMPULSORY EDUCATION, BY SEX.
(Schedule 1, Q22)

	MALE	FEMALE
YES	13	27
	26%	54%
NO	37	23
	74%	46%

N-100 X2-7.04167 df-1 P-<0.01

encourage them to stay at all. However, few of the young people in the Leicester study experienced any hostility from their parents towards the idea of continued education. Indeed, only five of the young people who left at the end of the fifth form (7%) said that their parents would not have been happy to let them stay on.

Although most of the parents of those who stayed on were encouraging, the young people were at pains to point out that in the end the decision to leave or stay was made by themselves. Sixty-seven (94%) fifth form leavers said that the decision to leave was their own and taken without any help from other parties. Similarly, sixty-one per cent (16) of those who stayed on at school said that their decision to remain at school was made without any help.

Consequently it would appear that the decision to remain in education is partly influenced by the taken-for-granted assumptions in a particular society or social class. In Canada there is a generalized assumption that young people will stay in education until eighteen (Ashton, 1987). In Britain, there is a sense in which post sixteen education is part of the assumptive world of the middle classes. Indeed, there were only four people (17%) from professional and managerial class backgrounds who said they had never considered extending their education beyond the age of sixteen. Yet within the lower working class the majority (66% 25) said that they had never considered remaining in education after sixteen (table 4:5).

The relationship between social class and the leaving decision is

fairly complex and goes beyond taken-for-granted assumptions. Levels of parental encouragement are influenced by their child's school achievements, as well as by the sorts of occupation available in the local labour market and the qualifications required to enter these careers. The combination of how well a pupil has been doing at school and the level of occupation to which they aspire, influences the decision to leave. Social class is an important determinant of achievement, and through achievement affects future aspiration.

Aside from parental encouragement and assumptions, structural inequalities can also make remaining in education a more natural process for middle class pupils. In Leicester, it is the schools in the more affluent county areas which tend to have Sixth Forms, whilst those schools serving inner city areas tend not to have any post-sixteen provision. Consequently, pupils from Crescent who wished to continue their education had to apply to local Sixth Form Colleges, whilst Newtown pupils merely had to indicate to their teachers their intention to remain at school. If the opportunity for post-sixteen education had existed at Crescent, thirty-six per cent (18) said that they would have considered staying on. As it was, only twenty-two per cent (11) of pupils from Crescent actually intended continuing their education.

In the not so distant past, girls or their parents may have felt that continued education was of less importance for them than for males. This is less true today. The vast majority of girls (94% 46) and their parents (90% 44) felt that the education of girls was just as important as for boys. In keeping with this, more girls (54% 27) than boys (26% 13) intended to remain in

education after the age of sixteen (table 4:6).

When students were asked about their reasons for leaving school, most rationalized their decision in terms of their attitude towards the school. Only ten of the fifth form leavers could be said to have an actual dislike of school or the teachers, the majority just felt that it was time to go. Eighty-four per cent (48) of intending fifth form leavers said that they were leaving school because they had had enough of it. That is, they said that they had grown bored with school and had started to feel constrained by the school and the role of school pupil. Consequently, they felt that it was time to leave and get a job in order to earn some money of their own. Three respondents decided to leave school as they could see no benefit in staying. As one put it "there'll be no more jobs in a years time so I might as well leave now", while another thought that "I've been here five years and I still can't read or write,so what good'll another year do ?"

At the second interview, respondents were asked retrospectively how they felt about leaving school. A similar pattern to that found at the first interview emerged. The majority of those leaving (69% 49) said that they were glad to leave school. This again was mainly due to a feeling that they had had enough of school and it was time to leave (35) rather than being due to an active dislike of school (12). However, eighteen respondents (25%) discovered after leaving that they missed aspects of school, fifteen of these saying specifically that they missed their school friends. Seven young people regretted leaving school when they did.

Although it was common for young people to look forward to leaving school, many (21 21%) said that they would return to full time education rather than go on the dole. Consequently, many potential fifth form leavers may never find their way onto the unemployment register or onto the Youth Training Scheme figures as they return to education in September after an unsuccessful summer job search. Although a proportion of those who prefer to leave are unsure if they would return or not, a summer out of work may persuade them to enter post-sixteen education.

It has often been noted (eg. Makeham, 1980) that those from working class homes disproportionately shoulder the burden of youth unemployment. Yet the effects on young people from the higher social classes are more concealed. In other words, young people from middle class homes who fail to find work are more likely to continue their education than are young people from working class homes. In the Leicester study it was discovered that the majority of those from the professional and managerial class said they would return to education if they had no job, while the majority of those from the lower working class said that they would not consider returning should they be unable to find work (table 4:7). The normative orientations, or

"life styles"² which result in young people from middle class homes having a greater pre-disposition towards continued education help shield these young people from unemployment. They do so by making them more inclined to remain in education if there is no suitable opening in the local labour market. At the first interview, of those intending to remain in education, twenty-six per cent (11) said that current levels of unemployment had prompted their decision to stay on.

The rise in Sixth form numbers over recent years is disproportionately caused by increasing numbers of girls staying on, (O.P.C.S., 1985) (table 4:8). One of the reasons for more girls continuing their education is that youth unemployment is more likely to prompt girls to remain at school due to their favourable disposition towards the school. Having fewer objections towards the school, the girls are more likely than the boys to stay at school until they find work, so when work is hard to come by, there is less to attract the girls away from school. Thus in the Leicester study, girls were more likely (31% 9) than the boys (14% 2) to say that unemployment levels had

²The terms "normative orientation" and "life style" are used in different ways. Goldthorpe et al (1968) (1986) adopts the concept of normative orientation to refer specifically to orientations focused towards work. In contrast, Jenkins (1983) regards normative orientations as having more far reaching implications for everyday behaviour. Consequently he uses the term "life style" to convey the broadness in his interpretation. Here I will retain the more conventional term of normative orientation as I am particularly concerned with the examination of behaviour which is focused towards the world of work. However, my usage of the term is broader than that of Goldthorpe et al in recognition of the wide implications for everyday behaviour in a society no longer characterized by full employment

Table 4:7

WILLINGNESS TO RETURN TO EDUCATION IF UNEMPLOYED, BY CLASS.
(Schedule 1, Q26)

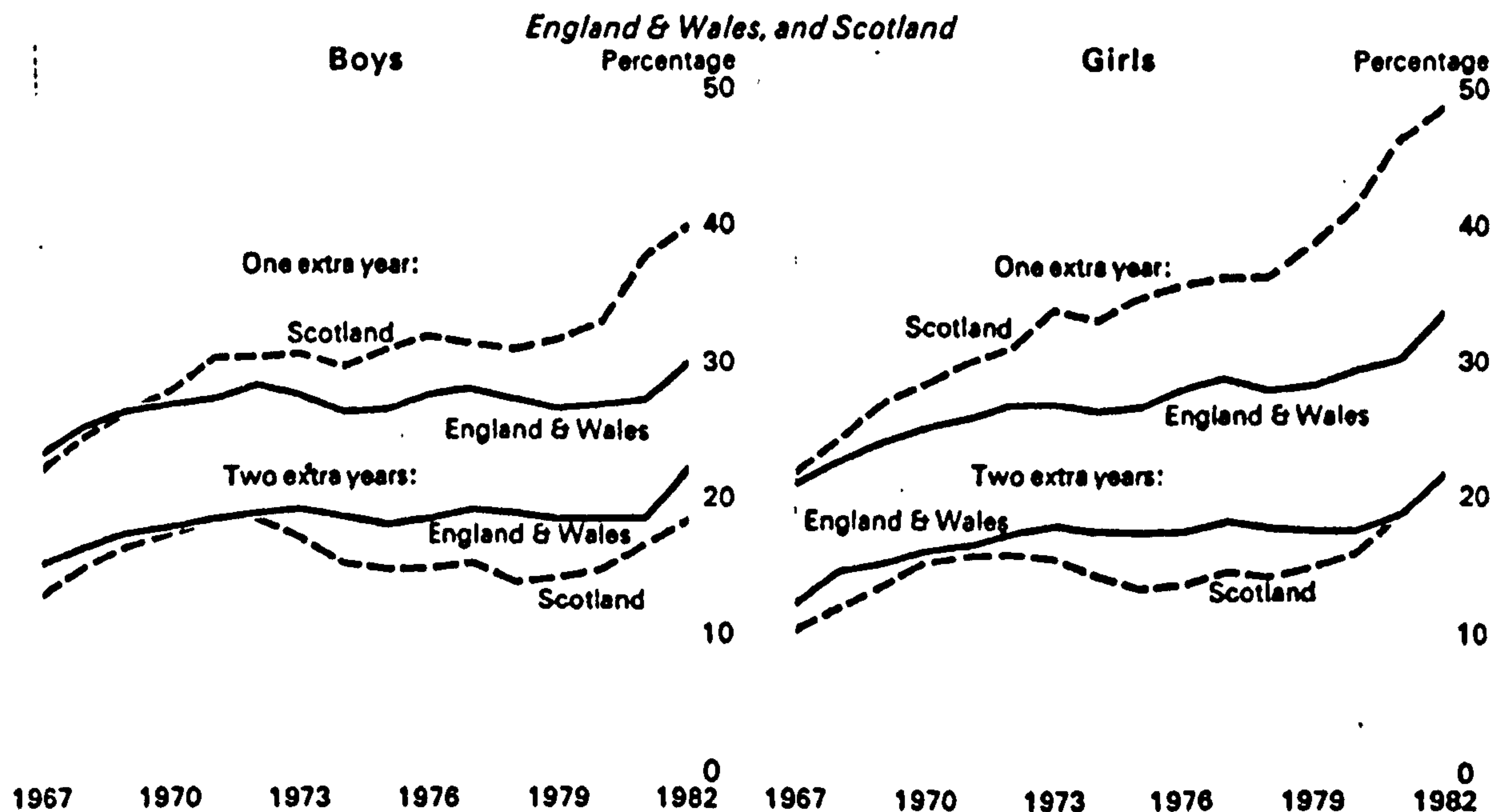
	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
PREPARED TO RETURN IF UNEMPLOYED	75% (6)	0% (0)	33% (4)	34% (11)
UNSURE, BUT POSS RETURN	0 (0)	14% (1)	33% (4)	12% (4)
UNWILLING TO RETURN	25% (2)	57% (4)	33% (4)	53% (17)
JOB FIXED SO UNEMP NOT POSS.	0	29% (2)	0	0

N-59 X2-26.56041 df-9 P<0.01

Figure 4:8

PUPILS STAYING ON AT SCHOOL FOR ONE AND TWO EXTRA YEARS.

**Pupils staying on at school for at least 1¹ extra year, and at least 2² extra years:
by sex**



¹ To 1st year sixth in England & Wales and S5 in Scotland.

² To 2nd year sixth in England & Wales and S6 in Scotland.

SOURCE: O.P.C.S., 1985.

prompted their decision to stay on.

The normative orientations of young people differentially predispose them towards remaining in education. Yet those who remain in education in preference to entering the labour market do so in the belief that such a strategy will pay off in terms of their future career. Of the twenty-six in education at the second interview, twenty-four said that they remained in education in order to get more qualifications which they hoped would aid their entry into the career of their choice. At the third interview, the respondents who had spent some time in continued education were again questioned about the value of their qualifications. Twenty-two of those who stayed on for at least a term (88%) thought that the extra time in education would eventually help in their search for work. Of these, ten felt that employers placed a high value on paper qualifications, and that gaining sufficient qualifications would give them an advantage in the job market. A further eight were more specific and thought that certain qualifications were necessary to enter a specific career, while two people thought that it was the skills learnt in further education rather than the qualification which would help them get work. Two people saw qualifications as being necessary to progress to Higher Education.

A belief in the value of qualifications is a necessary part of the decision to remain in education, and a favourable attitude towards school is also important. Yet an extra year at school, even if it results in a net gain in qualifications, does not automatically result in advantages in the labour market. For girls, it is true that an extra year in education can help open

the door to clerical positions. However, for boys, staying on at school may increase their qualifications, but may close certain opportunities in the labour market. This is especially true when employers tend to recruit their apprentices from sixteen year old school leavers. (Ashton, Maguire & Garland, 1982; Raffe, 1983).

Although most young people believed in the value of extended education, gaining additional qualifications was not necessarily the sole objective of those who returned. Forty-six per cent, (12), of the respondents said that they remained in education as much out of enjoyment of school life as for the qualifications they hoped to gain. Yet those who stayed on at school tended to have fairly high occupational aspirations. Of the twenty-six young people in education at the second interview, twenty (77%) had originally aspired to professional and white collar career occupations, while six (23%) aspired to short term careers. Of those still in education at interview three, the majority (12 80%) said that they expected to enter professional and managerial occupations upon completing their education. Two girls expected to enter clerical work, while one was unsure what to expect.

It has long been the case that those planning to enter "extended careers" have stayed on at school after it ceases to be compulsory (Ashton & Field, 1976). Yet as opportunities for youth decline, so more young people try to give themselves advantages in a declining labour market by getting extra qualifications, or else use school as a haven in an uncertain labour market. At interview two, six of those who remained in education (23%) said that they would not have returned to education had employment prospects been better. Indeed, nine

of the girls who remained admitted that they looked for work, (albeit casually), at the end of the fifth year. Had suitable vacancies arisen (which it did in only one case) they would have applied for the jobs in question. Ten young people left education between the second and third interviews, three of these had only embarked upon a one year course and so left, as planned, in the summer of 1985. Yet three others left as they found jobs, these said they would have continued in education had their search for work been unfruitful. A further four left simply because they were "fed up" with education.

Of the fifteen who were still in education at the last interview, seven intended to leave in the summer of 1986 having completed two years further education. Five young people expected to remain in education for at least three more years as they intended to go on to Higher education. The other three expected to carry on for a year or two longer, pursuing A' levels or commercial courses.

iii. Conclusion.

In this chapter I have examined the relationship between social class and young peoples' attitudes towards education. No significant differences between the social classes were discovered in relation to young peoples' attitudes towards school, yet social class was an important factor when it came to the decision to remain in education. Middle class parents being more likely to expect their children to remain in education and encourage them to do so.

The decision to leave education must be placed in the context

of young peoples orientations as well as the sorts of opportunities available to them in the local labour market. The existence of high levels of youth unemployment increases the likelihood of a young person remaining at school. Those with high occupational aspirations especially are given an incentive to remain in the education system longer. Yet staying on does not carry any guarantees of later success in the fulfilment of aspirations. In the long term though, any extra qualifications they gain are likely to give them advantages in the labour market (Payne, 1987).

Chapter Five

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF WORK ATTITUDES IN YOUNG PEOPLE.

i.Occupational Aspirations.

As an important part of our socialization we gain impressions of what the world of work has in store for "people like us", and of the types of opportunities available within a limited sector of the local labour market. Initially, a young person's pre-entry knowledge of the local labour market develops within the family as they share in the assumptive worlds of their parents. The experiences of childhood and adolescence enable young people to build up impressions of the opportunities available to them, and it is these impressions which shape their expectations (Hayes, 1970). In turn, expectations determine the types of work they look for as well as affecting their future job satisfaction. In this chapter I will examine the development of occupational aspirations and work attitudes in young people.

One of the ways in which family background affects the development of occupational aspirations, is through the ways in which the work experiences of the family affect young people's occupational horizons (Hayes 1970). If the work experiences of the family and other regular contacts are limited, then the occupational horizon is likely to remain undeveloped. (Hayes,

1967). Young people gain knowledge of work roles through family contacts and through casual conversations in the home (Paul, 1962). Yet parents do not simply act as passive role models, but are often active advisors (Hayes & Hopson, 1972). In this context, young people from lower class backgrounds may lack an advisor within the home who is knowledgeable about middle class work roles (Ginzberg, 1951; Hayes & Hopson, 1972). It is because of this, that Bazelgette (1978) has suggested that careers programmes in schools should be focused towards parents rather than children. Similarly, girls who wish to enter non-traditional work may lack a family role model.

The way in which young peoples' occupational horizons are limited within their families was emphasised by the Leicester sample, where it was discovered that for most people (68% 68) their chief source of knowledge of the world of work was someone known personally to them; this person usually being a member of their family. Thus tentative occupational choices tend to be restricted to the familiar (also Carter, 1962; Hayes, 1970).

The role of the family in imparting occupational knowledge means that social class has a strong influence upon a young person's occupational aspirations (table 5:1). A substantial proportion of young people in each social class aspired to the same occupational level as their fathers. Those with fathers in professional and managerial positions were, for example, most likely to aspire to a white collar career occupation or profession, (61% 14). Similarly, the largest proportion of those from the upper working and intermediate classes aspired to short-term

white collar careers and apprenticeships (57% 21). However, within the lower working class the majority, (57% 21), had aspirations outside of their class of origin. The numbers of young people from lower working class families with aspirations above their class of origin is not a recent phenomenon. Other studies (eg Douvan & Adelson, 1966) have also shown that many of those from the lower working classes hoped for something more than a semi or unskilled job.

The literature on the occupational aspirations of young people has produced contradictory results. As I will show later, the aspirations of young people have important implications for the transition from school. Some (for example Hutson, 1962; Gurney, 1979,) have argued that young people leave school with occupational aspirations which are out of line with the jobs they were likely to enter. While others (for example Ashton & Field, 1976; Bowles & Gintis, 1976) have argued that prior to leaving school young people come to develop fairly accurate ideas about the level of job they will get.

Some of these ambiguities are a consequence of the contrasting labour markets in which the studies were undertaken. In the American literature, for example, it is commonly argued (Miller & Form, 1951; Douvan & Adelson, 1966) that adolescents leave school with unrealistically high aspirations. However, the American educational system has a lower degree of stratification than the English system (see Ashton, 1987). Consequently, the early closure of occupational horizons is largely prevented through the systems close approximation to Turners' (1961) "contest mobility" model. As a result, young peoples' occupational horizons tend to

remain fairly broad until quite late into school life. On the other hand, it would appear from the literature (for example Ashton & Field, 1976) that in England young peoples' experiences within the educational system leaves them with fewer illusions, and they have often developed fairly strong occupational self concepts at a relatively early stage. This has important implications for the transition from school.

It has been suggested (eg Carter, 1975; Raby & Walford, 1981) that young people are unlikely to hope for the unattainable because their aspirations are a product of objective conditions. In other words, the occupational aspirations of young people are largely determined by the opportunities available in the local labour market. In the Leicester study the views of adolescents on the world of work were examined from their position in the penultimate term of compulsory schooling. Their aspirations could be seen as realistic in that "fantasy" aspirations were rarely given, and the distribution of occupations they aspired to resembled the local occupational structure. For example, only five out of the hundred respondents aspired to higher professional occupations, while in the 1981 Census 2.6% of the economically active population of Leicester were employed in the Registrar General's highest category. Their aspirations were also related to their class of origin and to the types of occupations their teachers expected them to get.

However, aspirations do not necessarily reflect a young person's expectations. When expectations are compared with aspirations, a certain amount of lowering is experienced, although the differences between aspirations and expectations are not

excessive (table 5:2), and both displayed similar patterns. When it comes to expectations, a greater number expect to get unskilled work than would ideally like such work.

The degree of continuity between aspirations and expectations is a result of young people's occupational aspirations being conditioned through their experiences whilst growing up within a particular local labour market. By the time they reach the minimum school leaving age, their aspirations will bear some resemblance to the opportunities available to someone of their particular class, sex and ability within the local labour market.

Although social class has an important influence upon aspirations, it is only one factor, (albeit an important one), among many. In this chapter I will systematically explore this and how it occurs. In order to explain how many young people from working class backgrounds can have upward aspirations it is necessary to look at young people's normative orientations which, as we have seen, are not simply class determined.

While the home is certainly a vitally important factor, this influence is mediated by other agencies such as the school and the peer group all of which are capable of exerting some independent influence. Teacher expectations not only affect a young person's school performance, but can also be important in confirming the occupational horizon of the young person. It is through the low expectations teachers have for their working class students, that their initial impressions of their future occupations are confirmed.

Teachers were asked to fill in assessment sheets on all students

Table 5:1

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY SOCIAL CLASS

	<u>CLASS</u>			
	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
<u>ASPIRATIONS</u>				
PROF & CAREER	14 61%	6 37%	6 29%	10 27%
SHORT CAREER	8 35%	8 50%	13 62%	11 30%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	1 4%	2 12%	2 9%	16 43%

N=97 $\chi^2 = 22.01311$ df=9 $P < 0.01$ Table 5:2 OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS AND EXPECTATIONS OF FIFTH FORM PUPILS

	ASPIRATIONS	EXPECTATIONS	DIFFERENCE
HIGHER PROFESSIONAL	5	4	-1
LOWER PROFESSIONAL	22	16	-6
ROUTINE NON-MANUAL	29	27	-2
SMALL PROPRIETORS	1	1	0
TECHNICIANS	9	5	-4
SKILLED MANUAL	14	14	0
SEMI SKILLED MANUAL	10	10	0
UNSKILLED MANUAL	7	14	+7
UNSURE	3	9	+6

N=100

Table 5:3

TEACHERS' OCCUPATIONAL ASSESSMENT BY SOCIAL CLASS.

	<u>SOCIAL CLASS</u>			
<u>TEACHER ASSESS.</u>	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
PROF & CAREER	13 54%	2 12%	2 9%	0 -
SHORT CAREER	11 46%	12 75%	16 73%	17 45%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	0 -	2 12%	4 18%	21 55%

N=100 $\chi^2 = 49.99811$ df=6 $P < 0.001$

in the sample, and it was found that the types of occupation the teachers expected their students to enter were related to that student's social class (table 5:3). Within each social class, most students were expected by their teachers to obtain work of a similar level to that of their parents. Most of those from the lower working class (55% 21) were expected to get semi or unskilled work, and none were expected to get professional or white collar career work. In contrast, the majority of those with parents in professional or managerial work were expected to get professional or white collar career work themselves (54% 13), and none were expected to get semi or unskilled manual work.

The school may often reinforce the effects of social class through the way teachers tend to make negative assessments of many of their working class pupils. Yet education can also help a young person to break away from class congruent roles. For some time we have been aware of the mechanisms within schools which inhibit the development of working class students, yet the analysis can be taken much further by showing how different educational systems may broaden a young person's occupational aspirations or inhibit their development.

The ways in which education is organized can have important effects upon the development of occupational aspirations. Roberts (1973) has shown, for example, how the "climate of expectation" of one's future prospects tends to vary according to the type of educational institution attended (also West & Newton, 1983). In other words, aspirations and expectations tend to be rooted in the impressions that the school system portrays

to the young person of his or her ability.

Indeed, the recognition that schools, although often confirming initial impressions of the world of work, have the potential to provide a framework within which young peoples' occupational self-concepts are capable of development, has led to changes in the organization of education. In Britain this was one of the factors behind the abolition of the "tripartite" system (Ford, 1969).

It has been suggested (eg Cherry, 1974) that young people from working class homes, in schools composed primarily of middle class pupils, suffer from a "poverty of ambition" and consequently are less likely to come to want to break away from traditional working class occupational choices. Conversely, supporters of the tripartite system often argue that attending a Grammar school can help young people from working class homes to broaden their occupational horizons.

In the Leicester study it was discovered that "Crescent" pupils received lower occupational ratings than did "Newtown" pupils (table 5:4). Yet there was a broad agreement between young people's aspirations and the type of occupation their teacher thought they were likely to enter. In the three aspirational groupings, a large proportion were seen by their teachers as likely to attain a job within the occupational category they aspire to (table 5:5). For example, forty-seven per cent (17) of those aspiring to professional and white collar careers were seen as likely to attain this level by their teacher, as were fifty-seven per cent (12) of those aspiring to semi and unskilled

work. Nevertheless, there are many pupils in the sample (30% 29) who the teachers feel will be disappointed, as well as some (9% 9) who are seen as aiming too low.

Although teachers at Crescent have lower expectations of their pupils than do Newtown teachers, this is largely due to the higher percentage of working class pupils attending Crescent. In both schools (table 5:6) mobility expectations among the sample were fairly high and the majority of pupils from working class families were expected either to achieve social mobility, or to obtain an occupation of a similar level to that held by their fathers.

One of the ways in which a young persons aspirations may be influenced by the type of school they attend, is through the way the social composition of the school affects the composition of peer groups. A working class child in a primarily working class school is much more likely to mix exclusively with working class friends than is the same child within a primarily middle class school (Turner, 1964). In turn, the social composition of the peer group will have an affect upon the aspirations of its members. In "Newtown" where a high proportion of the students are from middle class and upper working class backgrounds, 'all those from the lower working class had aspirations above their class of origin. On the other hand, in "Crescent" a much smaller proportion (47% 16) of those from lower working class homes aspired to a higher class position. Thus the effects of the social composition of a school are filtered through to the pupil through the peer group as the social composition helps produce a culture of "acceptable"

Table 5:4

TEACHERS' OCCUPATIONAL ASSESSMENTS, BY SCHOOL.

	NEWTOWN	CRESCENT
HIGH PROFESSIONAL	4	0
	8%	-
LOW PROFESSIONAL	11	2
	22%	4%
ROUTINE NON-MANUAL	13	6
	26%	12%
SMALL PROPRIETERS	6	4
	12%	8%
TECHNICIANS & SUPERVISORS	7	4
	14%	8%
SKILLED MANUAL	4	12
	8%	24%
SEMI & UNSKILLED MANUAL	5	22
	10%	44%

N=50 X²=28.73160 df=6 P=<0.001

Table 5:5

PUPILS' ASPIRATIONS BY THE TEACHERS' OCCUPATIONAL ASSESSMENT.

<u>PUPIL</u> <u>ASPIRATION</u>	<u>TEACHERS ASSESSMENT</u>		
	PROF & CAREER	SHORT TERM	SEMI & UNSKILLED
PROF & CAREER	17 47%	15 42%	4 11%
SHORT-TERM	-	30 75%	10 25%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	-	9 43%	12 57%

N=97 X²=45.36696 df=6 P=<0.001

Table 5:6

EXPECTATIONS OF SOCIAL MOBILITY, BY SCHOOL.

<u>NEWTOWN</u>					<u>CRESCENT</u>			
	PROF	INTERMED	U.W.C	LOW W.C	PROF	INTERMED	U.W.C.	LOW W.C
PROF & CAREER	13 62%	6 46%	2 18%	1 25%	0 -	1 25%	4 40%	9 26%
SHORT CAREER	6 29%	7 54%	7 64%	3 75%	0 -	2 50%	6 60%	9 26%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	2 10%	0 -	2 18%	0 -	0 -	1 25%	0 -	16 47%

N=97

aspirations.

As young peoples' occupational self concepts develop and are incorporated into their overall self image, so they tend to mix with friends who share a similar future. Turner (1964) discovered that peer groups tend to divide more along lines of occupational aspirations than along strictly class background lines. Similarly, in the Leicester study, a young person rarely had friends with aspirations far above or below their own (table 5:7). Only three (5%) of those aspiring to professional or white collar career jobs had a friend who aspired to a semi or unskilled job. Conversely, only two (7%) of those aspiring towards semi or unskilled manual work had a friend who aspired towards a professional and white collar career job.

Young people who have aspirations outside of their class of origin will tend to face derision at school if they mix with friends of a similar background who lack such aspirations (Bain & Anderson, 1974). As a result, they must either learn to put up with the derision, or else mix with people holding similar aspirations. Thus, people tend to adopt the attitudes and values of the groups they belong to, and anticipate their future class membership by learning in advance the "appropriate attitudes" (Turner, 1964). For example, young people from the working classes who aspire to middle class positions will often tend to come to see themselves as members of the middle class and adopt values befitting a member of that class, through membership of a predominantly middle class peer group.

ii. Sex Differences

The relative strength of influences such as the family, school and peer group upon the development of occupational aspirations have been extensively debated within the literature (eg Cater, 1962; Bain & Anderson, 1974). Yet there is still some confusion over whether the mechanisms operate in the same way when it comes to the development of occupational aspirations among females.

It has been well demonstrated that young women have a narrower range of occupational aspirations than do their male counterparts (Rauta & Hunt, 1972). Girls come to the end of their time at school with occupational aspirations which are focused towards the narrow range of jobs women hold in the wider society. In the Leicester study sample, nearly half of the girls (48%) aspired to one of three occupations; nursing, hairdressing & clerical work. Similar findings were reported by Rauta and Hunt (1972), who conclude that the range of jobs that the girls aspired to are "largely confined to those which are either mainly carried out by women or have opened their doors least reluctantly to women" (P 49).

As young women tend to make their exits from the educational system with narrower occupational horizons than young men, some people have suggested that it is girls' experiences within the school which are of particular importance in shaping their occupational aspirations (eg Delamont, 1980a). And girls' occupational aspirations which are focused upon traditional female occupations in turn help to maintain the existing sexual division of labour in which "women's occupations" are concentrated at the base of the occupational hierarchy.

However, it can no longer be argued that young women emerge from the educational system with occupational aspirations which are more narrowly focused than their male counterparts as a result of their lack of academic success at school. As it was demonstrated in Chapter Three, the position of girls within the English educational system has shown marked improvement over the past decade.

Recent writers who have noted the improving qualification levels of girls, such as Shaw (1976), have tended to dismiss it as an irrelevance which is not translated into jobs. Stanworth (1983) argues that even girls with outstanding academic records enter subordinate and conventionally feminine occupations. One of the reasons for this is that both their families and school teachers expect them to enter such occupations. In the Leicester study these sorts of expectations were not found among school teachers. Not only were girls often seen by their teachers as being more academically competent than boys, girls were assessed by their teachers as being more likely than boys to enter a professional occupation (table 5:8). While twenty-four per cent (12) of the girls were rated as likely to enter a profession, only ten per cent (5) of the boys were similarly assessed. And while eighteen per cent (9) of the girls were seen as likely to obtain semi or unskilled work, thirty-six per cent (18) of the boys were similarly rated.

If the different types of occupational aspiration held by boys and girls are not reducible to their experiences within the school, we must seek to explain the differences in aspirations by reference to their socialization within the family and peer

Table 5:7

RESPONDENTS ASPIRATIONS BY THEIR FRIENDS ASPIRATIONS. (Schedule 1, Q124)

FRIENDS ASPIRATIONS	RESPONDANTS ASPIRATIONS		
	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKILLED
PROF & CAREER	22 34%	17 26%	2 7%
SHORT CAREER	40 62%	41 63%	15 55%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	3 5%	8 12%	10 37%

N=158

Table 5:8

TEACHERS' OCCUPATIONAL ASSESSMENT OF THEIR PUPILS, BY SEX.

	MALE	FEMALE
HIGH GRADE PROFESSIONAL & MANAGERIAL	2 4%	2 4%
LOWER GRADE PROFESSIONAL AND MANAGERIAL	3 6%	10 20%
SMALL PROPRIETORS & SELF EMPLOYED ARTISANS	4 8%	6 12%
TECHNICIANS & SUPERVISORS	8 16%	3 6%
ROUTINE NON MANUAL & SALES	4 8%	15 30%
SKILLED MANUAL	11 22%	5 10%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	18 36%	9 18%

N=100

P=<0.05

groups. It has been argued for instance that the socialization of girls tends to produce a gender identity which is focused upon future marital roles. Douvan & Adelson (1966) have argued that many girls see their future roles as wives and mothers as being more important than their role in the labour market.

I would suggest that much of this is over-emphasised and is often a consequence of their position in the labour market rather than a prior determinant of it, (Westwood, 1984). At sixteen, marital and maternal roles are seen as something which will happen to most of them (80% 40) sometime in the future, but only ten per cent (5) intended to marry while they were "still quite young", and a further ten per cent (5) did not intend to marry at all. The arrival of children of their own is also seen as a rather distant event for most girls. The most popular age to have children was given as between twenty-three and twenty-five by the girls in the Leicester sample. Only three girls (6%) thought that the ideal age for having children was before the age of twenty.

Marriage and motherhood no longer signal the end of a girls career, (Hakim, 1979; Martin & Roberts 1984) nor do most girls envisage anything more than a temporary break from their careers whilst their children are young. In the Leicester study seventy five per cent of the girls (36) thought that they would be back in full time employment by the time their youngest child started school. A further ten per cent (5) said that having children would not interfere with their working lives at all. Similarly, the adolescents in Griffins" (1985, P50) study saw marriage and motherhood as "distant if inevitable events" and

certainly were not preoccupied with it to the exclusion of work roles.

If the low aspirations of female fifth-formers are not reducible to either their school experiences or to their expecting to spend only a short period of time within the labour market, how are they to be accounted for? I would suggest that girls aspirations are conditioned in exactly the same way as are boys. They develop within the family, and are confirmed through every day examples in all aspects of social life, including the signals conveyed within the educational system.

It is due to their experiences within social structures such as the family, the peer group and the school that young people gain impressions of the opportunities available to themselves in the local labour market, (Ashton & Field, 1976) and form ideas about the desirability of certain types of work (Willis, 1977). As these impressions develop out of experiences, young people tend to come to incorporate fairly realistic appraisals of the opportunities which have been open to members of their particular class and sex within the local labour market.

To that extent, the future aspirations of both sexes are constrained by what Roberts (1968) refers to as "opportunity structures". While boys aspirations are developed through semi-conscious appraisals of the areas actually open to them, so a girls aspirations are also conditioned by the structure of the local labour market through the assumptive worlds of their parents. However, the sexual segregation of labour markets imposes an additional constraint on the development of

aspirations which effectively limits the opportunity structures open to school leavers of both sexes. For girls though, this segregation effectively cuts them off from many of the higher paid and more interesting careers paths.

Young people are socialized into a world in which some jobs have masculine stereotypical images, whilst others hold feminine images for the potential entrants. In the course of developing an occupational self concept, young people develop ideas about the types of jobs which are "appropriate" for someone of their gender. Ideas of gender appropriate roles are largely developed within the family. One of the most popular methods of discovery of one's future ambitions is through knowing someone who does a particular job, (this person usually being a parent or close family member). Further the person known is nearly always a person of the same sex. Ninety-four per cent of the boys (33) said that the person they knew in the job they aspired to was a male, whilst ninety per cent of the girls (27) said that the person they knew was a female ($\chi^2=43.09356$ $df=1$ $P = <0.001$).

The single most important influence on the occupational aspirations of young women is that of their mother and female friends and relations. This is because persons of the same sex within the family are most likely to be experienced as significant others. Such evidence lends weight to Sharpe's (1976) contention that the structure of occupational opportunities commonly available to the women in a given generation shape the aspirations of the next generation. "Every generation of girls grows up within a family situation which is trying to adapt and survive within present economic and social conditions, and

eventually plays its own part in continuing this process"(P46). Yet it is important to realize that the family as an entity may be experienced in different ways by boys and girls as they may inhabit very different assumptive worlds. Even more women placed in positions of authority within the school would do little to open the occupational horizons of the majority of young women, as women in such positions would be unlikely to be experienced as significant others. As Sharpe (1976) suggests, girls today do not have to look too hard to find an example of women in positions of authority, but girls have a tendency, (as indeed do boys), to choose from more familiar role models, often women within their own families.

The chief source of parental influence on occupational choice tends, in general, to emanate from the parent of the same sex. And, as the Leicester sample demonstrates, if a girl does have aspirations towards professional work or white collar work with career opportunities, then she is more likely to say that her father had been the chief source of occupational advice. (Jones (1980) also noticed that when girls aspire to occupations outside of the traditional female sphere the influence of their fathers tends to be paramount).

Wolpe (1978) 'suggests that a radical restructuring of female aspirations is not possible without prior changes in the structural base. Changes in the ideas of women, she suggests, are insufficient to change their overall position within the labour market. I would suggest that Wolpe's position suffers from structural overdeterminism. Ideas, such as the occupational aspirations a young woman leaves school with,

develop through their experiences growing up within a particular society. As Marx puts it, "life is not determined by consciousness, but consciousness by life" (Marx, 1970 p47). It follows then, that increasing labour market participation by women this generation will structure the work expectations of the next generation through family experiences. Similarly, increasing numbers of women in positions of authority in this generation will result in more girls aspiring to such positions in the next generation.

The images women hold about themselves prevents the majority from applying for, or considering many jobs. This is much more powerful and effective in maintaining segregation than is employer discrimination. Many of the ideas women hold about themselves and consequently the ideas they develop about "appropriate" future jobs which are congruent with their self image are developed within the family and peer group, and, as Sharpe (1976) suggests, they reflect past experiences of women within the home and labour market. That is, a division of labour within which women occupy inferior positions will structure the next generation's ideas about their appropriate position, primarily by transmitting the ideology by which they justify the positions they occupy in the division of labour to the next generation. Consequently Jones (1980) is correct in her argument that irrespective of the different ways in which schools may be organized, they fail to have much effect upon girls future aspirations. As one of the girls in Jones' study put it, "I don't think it's the school that prevents girls being engineers, but probably their own ideas about themselves and

probably society's ideas about girls generally". Ultimately it is the role models within the family which have the greatest influence upon girls future career paths, and such influences are by far the most difficult to breakdown.

For girls as for boys, the school and casual contacts can be an important supplement to information gained within the family. Yet the role models girls adopt within the family often serves to confirm the sexual division of labour. While extra-familial contacts provide an opportunity for girls to discover non-traditional work, such contacts often serve to confirm sex stereotypes.

iii. Careers Education

In the context of information and advice provided by sources outside of the family, it is important to examine the role of careers education in the development of occupational aspirations. Careers programmes within schools were partly developed in order to prevent the premature closure of occupational horizons. In recent years teachers have become more aware of their influence upon young peoples occupational aspirations, and have taken positive steps to ensure that their pupils are prepared for the world of work (West & Newton, 1983). As the scarcity of jobs for young people began to concern educationalists, many schools developed and extended their careers programmes.

Both schools in the Leicester study placed a high level of importance on their careers education programmes and had a senior member of staff in charge of careers work. The school is supported in its Careers education programme by the Careers

Officer who attempts to see each pupil before they leave in order to advise them on aspects of their future careers. In the Leicester sample, the majority of respondents (72% 70) had an interview with the Careers Officer at some time prior to the summer of 1984. However, a sizable proportion (26% 18) of those who left at the end of the Fifth year, left without being interviewed.

The theoretical justification for contemporary careers education programmes and the position of the Careers Officer within the programme largely stems from the work of Ginzberg et al (1951) and Super (1968). In this model, occupational "choice" is presented as a developmental process in which individuals "seek the optimal fit between their career preparation and goals and the realities of the world of work". Thus, occupational "choice" is seen as the process of developing and implementing a self concept. While in the Ginzberg/Super model, individuals choose an occupation on the basis of the congruence of a particular occupation with their self concept, the purpose of the careers programme is to help young people achieve vocational maturity, and "to extend the range of their thinking about opportunities in work and in life generally" (D.E.S., 1973 p6).

As levels of youth unemployment have risen, the Ginzberg/Super model has become unfashionable and has been criticized for presenting the process as being a very conscious affair. Roberts (1968), for example, rejects the notion that entry into an occupation can be understood in terms of the implementation of a self concept. Rather he suggests we adopt the concept of "opportunity structure" to provide a more adequate

understanding of occupational entry. For Roberts, ambitions are to a large extent based upon the occupation a person expects to enter rather than one a person would ideally like to enter. Thus, ambitions are seen as a subjective interpretation of objective reality.

Similarly, Blau (1968) argues that occupational entry is not directly determined by the crystalization of a self concept. To argue that it is, is to push the significance of social structures into the background. According to Blau, these structures have a dual significance in that they influence the personality development of the chooser, and also define the socio-economic conditions under which selection takes place.

Yet in their concern to criticize the Ginzberg/Super model, both Roberts and Blau overlook the importance Ginzberg and Super attach to objective conditions. It is true that the model presents the process in a fashion that displays more deliberation than is usually present, yet neither Ginzberg nor Super neglect the structural constraints on action. Ginzberg, for example, argues that in addition to his own subjective reactions, an individual must take account of the "objective conditions of his environment" (1951 p22). In other words, Ginzberg and Super suggest that individuals build up an occupational self concept through their experiences in the "real world", as such the self concept is shaped by the constraints of that world.

A careers programme influenced by the Ginzberg-Super model tends to adopt a non-directive approach and teachers tend not to suggest jobs to young people preferring them to reach their

own conclusions about their suitability for particular types of work. Conversely, those adopting a more structural philosophy tend to take a more directive stance and help individuals adjust to the opportunity structures to which they have access. Counsellors adopting this approach would be more prone to make suggestions to young people. A recent study which looked at careers guidance (West & Newton, 1983) was able to identify schools operating under these different philosophies. In Leicester such a clear differentiation was not possible as the practitioners observed tended not to operate under a single model, but took a more pragmatic approach.

The information and advice given in the course of a careers interview tended to be fairly general, and while Careers Officers usually adopted a non-directive stance they were willing to take a more assertive role when young people came to them with aspirations which were incongruent with school achievements. Nine young people said that in the course of their Careers interview a specific job was suggested to them. In five cases the job suggested was of a lower level than that to which the young person had aspired, three people had different jobs suggested of a similar level to their aspirations, while one person was advised to set his sights higher.

Whatever the philosophy behind a particular careers programme young people tend to come with their own ideas in order to seek advice on how these thoughts can be translated into reality. In the careers interview most respondents told the Careers Officer what they wanted to do and sought help on finding a specific job or sought advice as to the best entry

methods. Sixty (86%) of those interviewed said that the Careers Officer did not suggest a job to them.

The advice young people got at careers interviews tended to be of a quite general nature, such as suggestions of where to apply to, the content of a specific job, and the qualifications necessary for entry. Sixty-one per cent (43) of those who had been interviewed by a Careers Officer said that they had gained some information from the interview, although a sizable proportion (39% 27) said that they got no information from the interview. The most common information given tended to be about which firms were recruiting young people (30% 13) and about the qualifications necessary for a particular job (30% 13). Ten said they were given information about the industry they inquired about or were given leaflets describing aspects of a job. One was told of different entry methods into a particular job, and five (12%), were told of alternatives to the jobs they had in mind.

Although most of the young people in the Leicester study had received some information in the course of their careers interview, the majority (56% 39) of those who were interviewed by the Careers Officer did not feel that the interview helped them in any way. This tended to be because by the time they were interviewed they had gathered much information themselves. Similarly, in a study of school leavers recall of their interview with the Youth Employment Officer, Jahoda and Chalmers (1963) discovered that only forty-seven per cent of their sample considered their careers interview helpful.

However, some of the young people in the Leicester sample did find the information they were given to be useful. Eleven (38%) felt that the interview helped by giving them a wider knowledge of firms to apply to, as well as by giving them general advice on how to get a job. Nine others (31%) felt that it was helpful to receive further information on a job or course they had in mind, while four thought that the help they were given with interview presentation was useful.

In the last interview, those who had been interviewed by a Careers Officer at some stage were asked how good they thought the advice had been. Again, the response was unenthusiastic. Forty-six per cent (36) felt that the advice had been either "very bad" or "bad", and only about a third (35% 27) thought that the advice had been "good" or "very good". Nineteen per cent (15) thought the advice was neither good nor bad.

Measuring the effectiveness of a careers programme is problematic as there is little agreement as to what constitutes success. It could be argued that the effectiveness of a programme is measurable in terms of job placements and job satisfaction, while on the other hand a successful careers programme could be judged as a programme which broadened the occupational horizons of the participants. What is clear, is that the consumer approach to the evaluation of a careers programme is not always satisfactory. A careers programme may bring in results which are not necessarily appreciated by the young people themselves, as in developing their personal and vocational maturity and their self awareness.

When success is judged by the consumers, poor levels of satisfaction with the service are commonly reported (Jahoda & Chalmers, 1963; Maizels, 1970; West & Newton, 1983). Yet developmental careers work does yield results in that it helps in the development of young peoples' occupational horizons and encourages them to raise their sights (West & Newton, 1983). Indeed, developmental careers work has been criticized due to its effectiveness in raising aspirations (Roberts, 1975). The broadening of occupational horizons may only cause young people distress if they must make downward modifications in their aspirations in the light of opportunities available locally (West & Newton, 1983).

In Leicester, the role of careers education in the development of young peoples occupational aspirations was limited. While attempting to get young people to broaden the range of their thinking about their future careers, it failed to counteract the strength of the influence of the experiences gained in the family and school. The main reason for this, I would suggest, is that careers education in schools does not operate at a level at which it can challenge the taken-for-granted assumptions held by young people about their future lives.

iv. The Development of Work Attitudes.

Although social class is an important factor in the development of occupational aspirations, I do not wish to imply that the development of work attitudes prior to school leaving is understandable simply in terms of the dynamics of class position as is often implied (Fox, 1971; Willis, 1977). Social class certainly

influences the developing work attitude in that the family is central to the development of occupational aspirations. Yet other factors such as school achievements, gender and the opportunities available in the local labour market must also be taken into account, as well as an understanding of the way in which attitudes are a product of a particular community and work environment (Goldthorpe et al, 1968 & 1969). The work of Goldthorpe et al (1968 & 1969) was important in showing how work orientations and community ties were connected. All these factors produce a set of experiences, and these experiences ultimately crystalize into a work attitude.

During the first interview the young people in the Leicester sample were shown a card listing a series of statements which emphasised different aspects of work which may be regarded as more or less important. From this list, they were asked to specify which three items they regarded as being the most important. From analysis of these categories it became clear that a young persons social class of origin was not directly associated with the centrality of work within their overall frame of reference (table 5:9). When questions seeming to indicate a concern with the intrinsic features of a job were grouped, no statistically significant differences between the social classes were discovered. In fact, young people from lower working class families thought it just as important as young people from professional and managerial backgrounds to have interesting work and to be able to take a pride in it.

Much of the established literature on the youth transition carries the assumption that young people who are destined for

Table 5:9

WORK CENTERED ATTITUDES, BY SOCIAL CLASS. (Schedule 1, Q143)

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
BEING ABLE TO TAKE	5	5	6	4
A PRIDE IN WORK.	14%	22%	24%	13%
LEARNING A TRADE OR	7	5	10	13
GETTING GOOD TRAINING	20%	22%	40%	42%
PROMOTION PROSPECTS	10	6	5	2
	29%	26%	20%	6%
INTERESTING WORK WITH	13	7	4	12
PLENTY OF VARIETY	37%	30%	16%	39%

N=114

Table 5:10

WORK CENTERED ATTITUDES, BY ASPIRATIONAL GROUP. (Schedule 1, Q143)

	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKILLED
BEING ABLE TO TAKE	9	9	2
A PRIDE IN WORK.	18%	19%	15%
LEARNING A TRADE OR	9	21	3
GETTING GOOD TRAINING	18%	44%	23%
PROMOTION PROSPECTS	10	10	3
	20%	21%	23%
INTERESTING WORK WITH	23	8	5
PLENTY OF VARIETY	45%	17%	38%

N=112

Table 5:11

INSTRUMENTALITY, BY ASPIRATIONAL CODE. (Schedule 1, Q143)

	PROF & CAREER	SHORT TERM	SEMI & UNSKILLED
JOB WHICH IS NOT TOO	1	0	2
DIFFICULT	2%	-	4%
NOT BEING TOLD WHAT	1	0	2
TO DO ALL THE TIME	2%	-	4%
GOOD PAY	12	15	14
	21%	21%	28%
WORK NEAR HOME	2	5	4
	3%	7%	8%
A SECURE JOB	22	24	7
	39%	33%	14%
HOURS WHICH SUIT	2	3	5
	3%	4%	10%
FRIENDLY PEOPLE TO	8	18	16
WORK WITH	14%	25%	32%
BEING ABLE TO HELP	9	7	0
OTHERS	16%	10%	-

N=179

semi and unskilled jobs will leave school with a peripheral interest in work as an area of achievement, (Ashton & Field, 1976; Willis, 1977). Yet this "self damnation" process was by no means obvious in the Leicester study. Work centered attitudes were regarded as important by many young people, including those destined for semi and unskilled work (table 5:10).

While work centred attitudes continued to be highly regarded irrespective of the occupational aspirations of young people, those who saw themselves as destined for semi and unskilled jobs tended to rationalize the process by the adoption of instrumental work attitudes (table 5:11). A young person can value meaningful work and still adopt instrumental attitudes towards work. Recent work suggests that instrumentalism must not be regarded as class based commitment towards work (Salaman, 1981) but is best seen as a reaction to work and to expected features of the work environment. Instrumentalism helps young people to accept their subsequent labour market experiences.

A congenial working atmosphere can go some way towards compensating for monotonous work, (Herzberg, et al, 1959; Roy, 1973). Consequently, in the knowledge that the jobs they were seeking offered few intrinsic rewards, it was discovered that the majority of those aspiring towards semi & unskilled work were more likely than those with higher aspirations to regard friendly workmates as one of the three most important aspects of a job. ($\chi^2 = 15.81481$, $df=2$, $P=<0.001$).

Again, having a job which paid well was more important for

those aspiring to semi and unskilled occupations than it was to those aspiring to professional and white collar careers, ($\chi^2=6.67333$ $df=2$ $P=,0.05$). Those who aspire to professional and white collar careers expect to gain something other than material rewards from their jobs, and good pay tends to be a part of their assumptive worlds. Conversely, those destined for semi & unskilled work tend to be concerned about money in the absence of intrinsic rewards from their work.

However, the amount of money a job pays is not generally regarded as the most important feature of a job, and few saw it as an issue which was of central importance. Sixty nine per cent of the respondents (69) disagreed with the statement that when choosing a job, pay is the most important thing to consider, and a further ten per cent (10) had neutral feelings about the statement.

v.Conclusion

Social class has a powerful influence upon the development of occupational aspirations in young people. Its importance stems from its role in the development of occupational horizons as well as in imparting occupational information and advice. In a society where occupational roles are not ascribed, other influences outside of the family are also important. Young peoples' contacts are not confined to family members and others often give them information and advice. These contacts outside of the family are of special importance to able young people from working class families, for whom the range of work experiences in the family may be limited.

While social class has an important influence on the development of occupational aspirations, work attitudes do not share this relationship, and it oversimplifies the process to depict the development of work attitudes as a class based commitment towards different work forms. Instrumental attitudes towards work do not necessarily indicate a commitment to forms of work which provide little in the way of intrinsic reward. Most young people would like to have jobs they could take an interest in and find rewarding. However, in anticipating the work forms they will engage in, instrumentalism develops as a justification of the value of that work. In other words, experiences are central to the development of orientations and attitudes. The development of a peripheral interest in work as an area of achievement is also a consequence of employment in forms of work which offer little in the way of intrinsic reward (Simon, 1977).

Chapter Six.

THE ENTRY INTO EMPLOYMENT.

i.School Leaver Destinations.

Central to the process of socialization is the way in which young people build up impressions about their future place within the local labour market. As they approach the end of their formal education, so their ideas about the sorts of jobs they will get become more realistic (Fogelman, 1979). The development of normative orientations and work related attitudes, as I have shown, cannot be explained simply in terms of social class. Yet when we look at recruitment, the family takes on a new importance. Not only is the family important to a full understanding of the development of orientations, the family exerts a dual influence in that it often plays a part in securing work for its members.

In this chapter, I will look at what happened to the young people in the Leicester sample upon leaving full-time education. Focusing on those who have been successful in finding employment, I intend to take a detailed look at the jobs they entered and the methods they used to secure these jobs.

By January of 1986, eighty-one per cent (63) of the school leavers in the Leicester study were in employment (table 6:1). Statistics gathered at set points in time can be misleading in that they often obscure some of the movements taking place. Of the eighty-four young people who had left education by January 1986, seventy-six had been employed at some time. A third of those who had left education had been on a Youth Training Scheme (28), and thirty per cent (25) had experienced unemployment. Unemployment and Youth Training Schemes will be discussed in detail in subsequent chapters. For now it is worth noting that an official youth unemployment rate in the East Midlands of 16.7% per cent (under 20's at January 1985, Hansard, 1985) obscures the fact that some thirty-three per cent of those under eighteen who have left education are likely to be unemployed at some time.

In January 1985 forty-three per cent of the original sample (43) were in employment, yet a total of seventy-one per cent (71) had applied for a job. Of those who had made an initial job application prior to January 1985, the majority, (68% 43), had applied for between one and three jobs, sixteen per cent, (10), had applied for between four and six jobs, while a further sixteen per cent (10) had applied for more than seven jobs (table 6:2). Those who were successful in finding work tended not to owe their success to large numbers of applications. Indeed, most of those in employment had not applied for more than three jobs.

During the second interview, respondents were again asked for details of the jobs they had applied for, up to a maximum of

Table 6:1

DESTINATIONS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS IN THE LEICESTER STUDY.

	JAN 1985	JAN 1986	EVER
EMPLOYMENT	43 58%	63 81%	76
GOVT. SCHEME	15 20%	1 1%	28
UNEMPLOYED	16 22%	14 18%	25
TOTAL %	100 N=74	100 N=78	N=84

Table 6:2

EMPLOYMENT STATUS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS, JANUARY 1985, BY NUMBER OF APPLICATIONS MADE.

	1 TO 3	4 TO 6	7 +
WITH JOBS	32 74%	6 60%	2 20%
WITHOUT JOBS	11 26%	4 40%	8 80%

N=63 $\chi^2=10.42781$ df=2 $P<0.01$

Table 6:3

TOTAL JOB APPLICATIONS, JANUARY 1985.

	TOTAL
PROFESSIONAL AND CAREER.	12 7%
SHORT TERM CAREER.	57 34%
SEMI & UNSKILLED OCCUPATIONS.	98 59%

N=166

four.¹ This produced details of applications for a total of one hundred and sixty-six jobs, the majority of which (59% 98), were for semi and unskilled work (table 6:3).

Between the second and final interviews, thirty-seven respondents had applied for at least one job. Eleven of these were young people in full-time education at the time of the second interviews. These thirty-seven respondents were asked for details of the applications they had made, (up to a maximum of four), this produced details of eighty-one applications (table 6:4). Those who had undergone a term or more of post-compulsory education, tended to make more applications for career work, than did those who had been in the labour market for a longer period.

The majority of those who left education at the end of the fifth-form entered semi and unskilled occupations, while only two of those who left school at the minimum age managed to secure a professional or white collar career occupation (table 6:5). The majority of young people from working classes families firstly entered semi and unskilled jobs. Only nine of those from the professional and managerial class left school, yet six of these managed to secure short career jobs such as apprenticeships and routine white collar work (table 6:6). Recent work suggests that segmentation of the youth labour market

¹ In order to keep the information gathered to manageable proportions, for those who had made numerous applications, those who had made more than four applications were only asked for details of the first two and most recent two applications.

occurs both on the skill dimension as well as on a gender dimension (Ashton & Maguire et al,1986). This was confirmed in the Leicester study where most young people worked in sexually segregated jobs. Only eleven young people (15%) said that there were members of the opposite sex who did similar work to themselves in their first job. Yet despite the segregation which makes it possible to attach different conditions and rates of pay to those in segregated jobs, no significant difference was observed in the levels of occupation entered by males and females (table 6:7). Although a male and female may enter the labour market at similar levels, segregation means that the female is likely to enter an occupation offering fewer prospects for advancement than is the male.

Although the females were more likely to remain in education for an extra year, this extra period did not mean that they managed to secure higher occupational positions than the males. When the most recent occupation held by members of the Leicester sample was broken down by sex, no significant difference was found in job levels (table 6:8). Increasingly females are tending to remain in education for an extra year, and this often results in them leaving with additional qualifications which help them to get the types of job they are seeking (Raffe, 1985). Yet the levels of occupation they enter at seventeen are similar to those boys often enter at sixteen. Nevertheless, this extra year does not give them advantages over the boys. The boys who obtain skilled work tend to do so at sixteen via an apprenticeship. The girls tended to enter skilled jobs at seventeen after an extra year in education.

Table 6:4

JOBS APPLIED FOR BETWEEN SECOND AND THIRD INTERVIEWS, BY
ACTIVITY AT SECOND INTERVIEW.

	WORK	YTS	UNEMPLOYED	SCHOOL
PROFESSIONAL & CAREER	1 5%	2 20%	5 19%	2 8%
SHORT CAREER	5 25%	3 30%	6 22%	15 62%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	14 70%	5 50%	16 59%	7 29%

N=81 $\chi^2=13.35430$ df=6 $P<0.05$

Table 6:5

OCCUPATIONAL DESTINATIONS OF SCHOOL LEAVERS.

FIFTH FORM LEAVERS FIRST DESTINATION		1985 LEAVERS FIRST DESTINATION	MOST RECENT OCCUPATION, JAN 1986
PROF. & WHITE	2	1	5
COLLAR CAREER.	3%	11%	7%
SHORT TERM	24	5	29
CAREER.	36%	56%	38%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	41	3	42
	61%	33%	55%
N=67		N=9	N=76

Table 6:6

FIRST DESTINATIONS OF FIFTH FORM LEAVERS, BY CLASS

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
PROFESSIONS & CAREER		1 8%		1 3%
SHORT CAREER	6 67%	7 58%	5 36%	6 19%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	3 33%	4 33%	9 64%	25 78%

N=67 $\chi^2=12.71489$ df=6 $P<0.05$

By the time of the final interviews, more young people had obtained professional and white collar career occupations as well as short career occupations. Undoubtedly some of this is due to those who continued their education entering the labour force at higher levels than those leaving at sixteen, (see table 6:5). Yet the trend is also due to job changing amongst those who were dissatisfied with their initial jobs. What is important is that both these factors disadvantage those from the lower working class, of whom a greater proportion come to occupy semi and unskilled occupations, (table 6:9).

In table 6:10 the job changing pattern of the members of the Leicester sample are broken down. The highest level of job changing is to be found among those who begin their working lives in semi and unskilled occupations. Forty-four per cent (17) of those initially entering semi and unskilled work had made at least one job change before the final interview. A lower proportion (31% 9) of those initially entering short careers made a move, whilst no one who entered a profession or white collar career job moved before the final interview. The first job change generally resulted in the respondent getting a job of a similar level to the first (54% 14), and in some cases (19% 5) obtaining a lower level job. However, in a few cases (27% 7) the respondent did manage to make an upward move.

Job-hopping is largely confined to those in semi & unskilled jobs, and must be regarded as a consequence of being in the type of job which provides little in the way of intrinsic rewards (Pahl & Wallace, 1980; Roberts, 1982). Even in periods of high unemployment, young people are not simply content to have any

Table 6:7

FIRST DESTINATIONS OF FIFTH FORM LEAVERS, BY SEX

	MALE	FEMALE
PROFESSIONS & CAREER	1 3%	1 3%
SHORT CAREER	17 45%	7 24%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	20 53%	21 72%

N=67 X²=3.03690 df=2 P=Not Significant

Table 6:8

MOST RECENT OCCUPATION, JANUARY 1986, BY SEX.

	MALES	FEMALES
PROFESSIONS & CAREER	1 2%	4 11%
SHORT CAREER	17 42%	12 33%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	22 55%	20 56%

N=76 X²=2.55386 df=2 P=Not significant

Table 6:9

MOST RECENT OCCUPATION, JANUARY 1986, BY CLASS.

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
PROFESSIONS & CAREER	2 17%	2 14%		1 3%
SHORT CAREER	7 58%	8 57%	9 50%	5 16%
SEMI & UNSKILLED	3 25%	4 29%	9 50%	26 81%

N=76 X²=20.20070 df=6 P=<0.01

job, but are concerned with the nature of their employment. According to Ashton & Field (1976) young people from lower class backgrounds who enter "careerless" jobs are often concerned more with work as a means to an end. In the Leicester study, it is this group who display the highest level of job changing. This would seem to suggest that these young people want interesting jobs, even though they may eventually become resigned to unskilled jobs.

In the Leicester study, most young people were satisfied with their pay (81% 59) but other conditions did not always match their hopes. Despite the importance with which they regarded promotion prospects, many felt that the jobs they had entered did not offer them any prospect of promotion (table 6:11, table 6:12). Whether or not this was held to be important is closely related to the perceived opportunities of promotion at work, yet many of the young people who valued the opportunity for advancement were aware of the restrictions at their place of work. Those who have expectations of promotion tend to be aware of the limited range of jobs to which they potentially have access, and most do not expect to be promoted above supervisory levels (table 6:13).

ii. Recruitment.

The importance of social class as a predictor of future occupational levels of young people is well established in the sociological literature. Some of the mechanisms through which class of origin is translated into occupational advantage have been described in previous chapters. Social class affects the

Table 6:10

BREAKDOWN OF JOB CHANGING

FIRST JOB		SECOND JOB		THIRD JOB	
PROFESSIONAL & CAREER.	3				
SHORT CAREER	29	PROF & CAREER SHORT CAREER SEMI & UNSKILLED	1 3 5	SHORT CAREER SEMI & UNSKILLED	1 1
SEMI & UNSKILLED	44	PROF & CAREER SHORT CAREER SEMI & UNSKILLED	1 5 11	SEMI & UNSKILLED	2

Table 6:11

IF JOB OFFERS PROSPECTS OF PROMOTION, BY JOB TYPE.(Schedule 2,Q31)

	<u>FIRST JOB</u>			<u>MOST RECENT JOB</u>		
	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSK.	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSK.
YES	3 100%	23 79%	6 15%	4 80%	16 55%	7 18%
NO	0 -	6 21%	35 85%	1 20%	13 45%	32 82%
	N=73			N=73		

Table 6:12

IF PROMOTION IS IMPORTANT, BY JOB TYPE.(Schedule 2, Q32)

	<u>FIRST JOB</u>			<u>MOST RECENT JOB</u>		
	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSK.	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSK.
YES	3 100%	23 79%	13 32%	5 100%	21 72%	15 38%
NO	0 -	6 21%	28 68%	0 -	8 28%	24 62%
	N=73			N=73		

development of job horizons through the occupational information available in the home as well as through the availability of role models. Yet others have suggested that the most important dimension is the way in which social class affects school performance.

It is because those with fewest educational qualifications tend to enter the least skilled jobs (Gray, et al, 1983) that it is often assumed employers place a high premium on paper qualifications in their recruitment of youth labour (Jones, 1985). Indeed, it has often been suggested that increasing levels of unemployment have led to a qualification inflation (Berg, 1970; Dore, 1976) as employers are able to demand higher qualifications from their potential recruits. Yet much recent evidence has stressed the flexibility of employers with regard to the qualifications of their applicants. Personal qualities are held in high esteem, and employers will often choose someone on the basis of their personal attributes rather than simply in terms of qualifications (Maguire & Ashton, 1981; Ashton et al, 1982; Manwaring & Wood, 1984).

Jones (1985) suggests that "socialization" factors are vital to an understanding of recruitment in that young people pre-select themselves for jobs. Those with few qualifications rarely enter the race for the most desirable jobs. I would suggest that to place too much of an emphasis upon qualifications misses the point that a qualification is an outcome of a lengthy process. The process is just as important as the qualification. The process has its roots in early socialization in the family and is confirmed in the school and peer group as the growing child

develops a view about their own ability. As I have shown in earlier chapters, the family is of importance in the development of these normative orientations. Yet the influence of the family does not end there. When it comes to securing work, the family is important in another dimension. Family contacts are important in securing work for young people.

The importance of informal methods of job placement has been reflected in the wide attention it has received in the literature, (eg Jenkins, 1984; Kiel et al 1984, Manwaring & Wood, 1984; Raffe, 1985). One of the reasons for this attention is that informal channels may be particularly significant in restricting social mobility by making it difficult for groups such as the sons and daughters of the unskilled to make inroads into the more desirable areas of employment, and can also help maintain existing patterns of gender segregation.

In the Leicester study informal methods of job discovery (such as finding out about a vacancy through family and friends), were crucial (table 6:14). The majority (53% 39) knew someone with the same type of work before they started their first jobs. This person was usually a personal friend (51% 20). Nine people (23%) had parents in the same type of work while ten people (26%) had a brother, sister or other relative, in the same type of work. Knowing someone in the same type of work was regarded as helpful by most young people who knew someone (72% 28). Forty-one per cent (30) of the respondents who had found work claimed to have discovered their first jobs through informal sources. More formal methods, (such as discovery from Jobcentre, the Careers Office or newspaper adverts), were the

second most popular method of finding first jobs, whilst casual methods, (such as finding a job through writing speculative letters or making speculative calls on employers), and experience related methods, (such as discovery through school work experience placements or through the Youth Training Scheme), are important to some young people.

Experience related methods of discovery are related to formal methods in that work experience or YTS may have been entered with help from formal agencies, such as the school or the Careers Service. Although only twelve people (16%) claim to have discovered their jobs in this way, the influence of this channel seem likely to be on the increase as employers use YTS as a source of recruitment (Knasel, et al 1982). Indeed, Knasel et al (1982) suggest that training schemes introduce young people to employment based information networks through which they may subsequently find employment.

Of those who had worked, most young people (68% 50) said that someone had helped them find their first job. Of those who were helped, the person helping was more often a friend or member of their family (76% 38) than an official source such as a Careers Officer or a teacher, (24% 12). Seventy-four per cent of those who received help in finding their first jobs (29) said that the person who helped them worked for the same firm. Prior knowledge of someone already in the firm can provide help in many ways, and personal contacts can play an important part in restricting social mobility. In many cases (50% 14), the person either actually helped to fix up the first job for the young person concerned, or else put in a word for them with the

Table 6:13

POSITION RESPONDENTS THINK IT POSSIBLE TO BE PROMOTED TO.
(Schedule 2, Q33)

	FIRST JOB	MOST RECENT JOB
MORE SENIOR POSITION, NO SUPERV. RESP'S.	6	7
SUPERVISORY POSITION.	14	11
MANAGERIAL POSITION	8	6
PARTNERSHIP, FAMILY FIRM.	3	3
FULL TIME JOB.	1	0
	N=32	N=27

Table 6:14

METHOD OF DISCOVERY OF FIRST JOB.

	FORMAL	CASUAL	EXPERIENCE RELATED	INFORMAL
	19 26%	12 16%	12 16%	30 41%

N=73

Table 6:15

RESPONDENTS RECEIVING HELP IN FINDING THEIR FIRST JOBS, BY CLASS
(Schedule 2, Q18)

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
HELPED	5 42%	8 57%	12 67%	25 86%
NOT HELPED	7 58%	6 43%	6 33%	4 14%

N=73 X²=9.08206 df=3 P=<0.05

Table 6:16

REGULARITY OF WORK TALK IN PEER GROUP, BY LAST JOB IN, 1985.
(Schedule 2, Q73)

	PROF & CAREER.	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSK.
V.OFTEN/ O.OFTEN.	1	15	7
NOT V. OFTEN/ V.RARE.	2	14	34

N=73 X²=945550 df=2 P=<0.01

boss. In thirty-six per cent of cases (10), the help given was in the form of information on a type of job to apply for, or else details of a job vacancy. Four people (14%) received practical help at work.

Young people from working class families were more likely to have received help in finding their first jobs than were those from the professional & managerial and intermediary classes (table 6:15). Most of those with fathers in professional and managerial occupations (58% 7) said that they received no help in finding their first jobs, conversely, only four (14%) of those with fathers in semi & unskilled work said that they had not received help in finding their first jobs.

The network of family contacts who help in obtaining work for young people does not imply high levels of discussion about the work itself. Indeed, while many had a contact in a job, discussion was limited, often to pointing out the existence of a vacancy. Thirty three per cent (24) did not discuss their first jobs with a parent prior to starting. Nor was work a popular topic of discussion within the peer group; most young people said either that they did not talk to their friends very often about work or that they talked very rarely about work (68% 50). This was particularly true for those first entering a semi or unskilled jobs of whom only seven young people (17%) said that work was discussed "very often" or "quite often" with their friends. In contrast, just over half of those in a short career,(52% 15) said that they discussed their work "very often" or "quite often" with their friends (table 6:16).

Informal methods of job discovery were not just important for finding initial jobs. Those who had changed jobs also reported that informal channels were important in discovering their subsequent jobs, (table 6:17). However, job changers are more likely to have discovered their later jobs unaided than first time entrants, and forty-two per cent (11), of those who had changed jobs said that they received no help in finding their most recent job. Whilst sixty-seven per cent (49) of young people discussed their first job with their parents, a lower proportion (35% 9) of those who changed jobs had discussed their most recent job change with a parent.

Around a third of young people in the Leicester study said that if they were offered another job, they would not discuss it with anyone, although many said that they would discuss any job offer with members of their family or with friends and workmates (table 6:18).

Job changers tended to move into firms in which they had personal contacts. Just as a majority of young people knew someone in the type of work they first entered, an even larger majority (73% 19) knew someone in the same sort of work as their subsequent job. Again, most had a friend in the type of work (68% 13), although thirty-one per cent (6) had relatives in the job. Generally the person known with the same type of work tended to be employed in the same firm that the young person joined (74% 14). Of the sixteen who found the contact helpful, five (31%) said that the job had been fixed up by the contact, while fifty-six per cent (9) were given information on the vacancy or told about the job prior to interview.

Table 6:17

METHOD OF JOB DISCOVERY, JOB CHANGERS.

FORMAL	CASUAL	EXP. RELATED	INFORMAL
9 35%	2 8%	2 8%	13 50%

N=26

Table 6:18

PERSON WITH WHOM A NEW JOB OFFER WOULD BE DISCUSSED.
(Schedule 2, Q54 & Q55)

FIRST JOB		LAST JOB	
PARENTS	34 43%	35 45%	
SIBLINGS	2 3%	2 3%	
FRIEND	4 5%	6 8%	
BOSS	6 8%	3 4%	
WORKMATE	6 8%	4 5%	
CAREERS OFFICER	1 1%	1 1%	
NO ONE	26 33%	27 35%	

N=79*

N=78*

*MORE THAN ONE PERSON COULD BE NAMED.

Table 6:19

FIRST JOB, BY METHOD OF DISCOVERY.

	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKILLED
FORMAL	1 33%	7 24%	11 27%
CASUAL	1 33%	4 14%	5 12%
EXP. RELATED	1 33%	6 21%	5 12%
INFORMAL	0	12 41%	20 49%

N=73 X²=3.89611 df=6 P=Not Significant.

Rising levels of unemployment have led some (eg. Jenkins, 1984) to suggest that plentiful supplies of labour will tend to promote a shift towards the usage of informal channels by employers, and it has often been suggested that it is the most desirable jobs which tend to be filled through such channels. However, the evidence collected in Leicester contained no support for the hypothesis that the more skilled jobs tend to be discovered through informal channels (table 6:19). Semi and unskilled jobs were as likely as short career jobs to have been discovered via formal channels, (see also Raffe, 1985).

iii. Conclusion.

In this chapter we have looked at the post-school destinations of the young people in the Leicester sample, and at the ways in which they found employment. From this examination we must conclude that the influence of the family is crucial. In order to build up a complete understanding of the entry of young people into employment, it is first necessary to come to terms with the way the family's influence impinges on all aspects of social life. Through the inheritance of "cultural capital" and the development of normative orientations the family determines the backdrop against which external influences such as the school and the peer group take effect. In the 1980's when the entry into employment is often characterized as a formal process involving certification and bureaucratic procedures, informal sources are of prime importance in securing both first and subsequent jobs for young people. Just as occupational aspirations develop out of experiences in the family and peer group, so family influences are also crucial in the materialization

of aspirations. Yet while informal methods of recruitment can restrict social mobility by limiting knowledge of vacancies to those groups who already have access to a particular group of occupations, there is no evidence to suggest that the more desirable jobs such as apprenticeships are more likely to be secured through informal sources.

Chapter Seven

THE TRANSITION TO WORK AND THE NEGOTIATION OF STRUCTURAL CHANGE IN THE LOCAL LABOUR MARKET.

i.Orientations and Labour Market Entry.

In previous chapters I have argued that childhood and adolescent experiences are important to an understanding of the development of occupational aspirations. In this chapter, I will look at the transition to work in order to establish the extent to which prior orientations are useful in explaining subsequent experiences within the local labour market. Many writers on the transition from school have stressed the importance of adolescent experiences for understanding the way in which young people experience the transition. Those adopting a "socialization" approach to the transition (Reynolds & Shister, 1949; Carter, 1962; Keil, Riddell & Green, 1966; Maizels, 1970; Ashton & Field, 1976) explain the ease with which many young people make the transition from school to work by reference to the congruence between adolescent experiences and the world of work. Others adopt more of an ethnographic approach (Willis, 1977; Jenkins, 1983; Brown, 1984 & 1986) in which subcultural experiences lead to the development of specific attitudes towards work. Despite the difference in emphasis between these approaches, all tend to agree that orientations are important to an understanding of the way in which the labour market is experienced and the ease

with which the transition is made.

As the young person makes the transition from school they are forced to take stock of the degree to which prior impressions of the world of work match with the reality they now face. Whether the transition is made with ease or frustration depends to a large extent upon the discrepancy that exists between a young person's prior impressions and this reality. However, it has been argued that (Ashton & Field, 1976) the experiences of young people occurring in the home and the school provided them with adequate preparation for the realities they will encounter as they enter the world of work. Thus the smoothness of the transition is explained in terms of "congruence of experience".

Ashton & Field (1976) argued most young people experience a continuity of experience in the home, at school, and at work. As a result, the transition from school is not a period of stress. In most cases young peoples' previous experiences adequately prepare them for the work situation they will enter. Thus, the initial "frame of reference" which has been acquired in the home and school directs them towards different bands of occupation. As a result of these experiences, young people from lower working class families tend to come to seek their pleasures in the immediate present. On the other hand, those from middle class families tend to learn to postpone gratification in order to enhance their career prospects.

It is due to their experiences within social structures such as the family and school that young people gain impressions of the

opportunities available to themselves in the local labour market, (Ashton & Field, 1976), and form ideas about the desirability of certain types of work (Willis, 1977). These impressions, being rooted in experience, reflect the realities and constraints of the local labour market. They result in smooth transitions for most young people, as entry into the labour market tends to confirm their prior expectations.

The socialization model was developed at a time when levels of youth unemployment were much lower than they are now. Consequently, young peoples' expectations could be translated into jobs much more easily. As a result of deteriorating employment prospects for youth, the validity of a model which rests on the assumption that young people enter jobs which confirm prior expectations must be called into question.

Roberts (1984) has suggested that throughout the industrial age, the transition to work has been a problem for most young people. In fact, he suggests that the smooth transitions of the post war decades were exceptions to the rule. In taking a more structural approach, Roberts sees orientations as being of lesser importance than the socialization theorists. For Roberts, orientations simply reflect available opportunities.

On the face of it, Roberts is correct as local opportunities are important in determining the sorts of jobs young people enter (Carter, 1962; Main & Raffe, 1983; Ashton & Maguire et al, 1986). The occupational aspirations of young people are not finely tuned to the local labour market. Indeed, in 1962, Carter discovered that fewer than half the school leavers in his study

managed to find a job similar to the sort they had aspired to. In Leicester, just over half the respondents (52% 38) had a first job which was of a lower skill level than that to which they had originally aspired (table 7:1).

Although many will fail to achieve their earlier goals, aspirations are nevertheless important as orientations help us to understand future action. In effect the "opportunity structure" model depicts humans as the more or less passive products of socializing forces. Yet humans are capable of acting upon their impressions of a situation. Occupational orientations are not purely subjective, but show us how a young person comes to terms with the objective elements of the social structure. I will be suggesting here that it is precisely because humans react to and reinterpret situations that declining employment opportunities do not necessarily result in traumatic transitions. Thus, an understanding of interpretation is essential to any sociological analysis since it enables us to explain reactions to changing social structures. In the short term at least, young peoples' reactions may minimize the effects of declining employment opportunities.

One of the ways in which aspirations are important can be seen when we examine the reasons given by young people for accepting their jobs (table 7:2). Twenty six per cent (22) accepted their first job as being the job they had originally sought, whilst a further eleven per cent (9) accepted their first job as they thought it would be interesting or they thought it had prospects. Nine young people (10%) accepted their first job as it paid well or had favourable conditions. Yet just over half

the young people in the Leicester sample (52% 43) gave a negative reason for accepting their first job, saying that as jobs were in short supply, they could not afford to be choosy (38% 32), or that they just accepted it as a temporary measure whilst seeking something more in line with their tastes (9 11%). Those from working class families, especially the lower working class, were much more likely to say that they accepted the first job they were offered than were those from other classes.

The reasons given by young people for accepting a particular job vary by the sort of job it is the person is considering. Consequently those accepting a semi or unskilled job were the most likely to give a negative reason for accepting it, such as lack of choice in a time of high unemployment, or taking it as a temporary measure. On the other hand, those accepting short career jobs such as apprenticeships were more likely to stress that this was the type of job they had been seeking anyway, or that they accepted the particular job due to it appearing interesting or its offering good prospects (table 7:3).

Of the respondents having held more than one job since leaving school, twenty seven per cent (8) accepted their most recent job in order to move into the job they had originally sought. A further twenty-one per cent (6) accepted their most recent job as they saw it as interesting work or as having better prospects than their previous job. Again, many had accepted their latest job for less positive reasons (41% 12), such as feeling that, in adverse conditions, it is not advisable to be too choosy about jobs, (38% 11) or as a temporary fill-in (3% 1). Three young people (10%) had accepted their most recent job

Table 7:1

OCCUPATIONAL ASPIRATIONS BY FIRST JOB HELD, ALL LEAVERS

<u>ASPIRATIONS</u>			
	PROF. & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKILLED
<u>JOB</u>			
PROF. & CAREER	3	0	0
SHORT CAREER	10	15	3
SEMI & UNSKILLED	11	17	14

N=73 X²=11.19911 df=4 P=<0.05

Table 7:2

REASONS FOR FIRST JOB ACCEPTANCE, BY SOCIAL CLASS, (Schedule 2, Q20)

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
CAN'T BE CHOOSY /	6	4	11	22
TEMP. JOB	40%	27%	50%	71%
JOB ORIGINALLY	5	8	4	5
SOUGHT	33%	53%	18%	16%
INTERESTING JOB /	3	1	2	3
HAS PROSPECTS	20%	7%	9%	10%
GOOD PAY OR	1	2	5	1
CONDITIONS	7%	14%	24%	3%

N= 83* X²=16.96916 df=9 P=<0.05

*More than one response was allowed.

Table 7:3

REASONS GIVEN FOR JOB ACCEPTANCE, BY JOB TYPE, (Schedule 2, Q20)

	<u>FIRST JOB</u>			<u>CHANGERS MOST RECENT JOB.</u>		
	PROF. & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSK.	PROF. & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSK.
CAN'T BE CHOOSY	0	8	35	0	0	12
TEMP. JOB	-	22%	83%	-	-	67%
JOB ORIGINALLY	3	16	3	2	5	1
SOUGHT	75%	43%	7%	100%	56%	5%
INTERESTING JOB/	1	6	2	0	3	3
PROSPECTS	25%	16%	5%	-	33%	17%
GOOD PAY OR	0	7	2	0	1	2
CONDITIONS	-	18%	5%	-	11%	11%

N=83* X²=37.28586 df=6 P=0.001

N=29*

*More than one response was allowed.

due to favourable pay or conditions.

As we have seen, many young people did accept jobs other than those to which they had originally aspired. These young people were asked about their reasons for accepting alternative jobs in order to find the importance of their prior orientations (table 7:4). Nearly a third of the young people in the Leicester study (30% 15) abandoned their initial aspirations upon finding alternative employment. This would be because they found a different job which they felt would be interesting, or would provide better prospects than their initial choice of job. Some simply lost interest in their initial aspiration. Others (32% 16) accepted alternative employment due to problems securing the sort of work they wanted, such as difficulties in finding vacancies, finding they lacked the qualifications required, or else they discovered that they were too young. As we have seen, some of these are likely to try to make a move to the sort of work they would like and will adopt strategies to maintain their earlier aspirations.

Many young people (38% 19) categorically stated that while circumstances had forced them to accept a job which was not of their choosing, they had in no way changed their minds about the type of work they wished to enter. These young people employed a variety of strategies in order to maintain their earlier aspirations. The females were more likely than the males to have experienced difficulties in obtaining the job of their choice, yet more males retained their original aspiration in the face of the problem.

One of the reasons for which young people are willing to take alternative work temporarily is the age restrictions on entry into some sorts of work (Ashton & Maguire et al, 1986). Nearly half of those who had left school prior to January 1985 (49% 35) said that there were jobs which they would have liked to apply for had there been no age restrictions on the job. Girls faced age restrictions in a similar number of occupations to the boys, although restrictions applied to different segments of the local labour market. Girls tended to say that their age excluded them from non-manual administrative jobs and many types of service work, from receptionist to shop assistant, and cleaning work. Males on the other hand, tended to say that they were excluded from semi skilled work in transport, (mainly lorry driving), and from the Armed Forces.

At the final interview, those who had left education over the previous year, as well as those who had remained in education, were asked if there were any jobs they would have liked to have applied for in the absence of age restrictions. Seven replied in the affirmative. Some of the jobs they said they were excluded from were similar to the early leavers; the Armed Forces, the Police, and semi skilled work in transport (4). However, the others were excluded from professional and managerial jobs, not simply on the grounds of age, but also due to their not having taken the relevant qualifications.

It has often been suggested that people do not usually maintain aspirations they cannot realize (Ashton & Field, 1976; Hayes & Nutman, 1981). However, it would seem that for young people reactions are rather different. A combination of strong

occupational self images and a feeling of uncertainty about what the future holds, means that, in the short term at least, prior orientations are often retained.

Ashton & Field (1976) suggested that a high rate of unemployment in one locality over an extended period of time is likely to bring about a corresponding adjustment in the perspectives young people hold. There is some evidence that young peoples occupational aspirations are lower in places with high levels of youth unemployment, (Ashton & Maguire, et al, 1986) such as in Sunderland where the labour market opportunities for young people have been in serious decline for a period of time. Yet such areas have long been characterized by poor employment prospects. Consequently, young peoples occupational aspirations have developed through their experiences growing up in a locality with high unemployment. In a recent study of school leavers in Tower Hamlets, Ainley (1986) discovered that there had been no lowering of aspirations over an eight year period which saw a rapid increase in levels of youth unemployment.

Young people's occupational aspirations develop over a long period of time, and as a result they tend not to be abandoned too easily, but develop many different strategies which enable them to retain a belief that their aspirations are credible. Goffman (1961) suggests that "role distancing" is a defensive strategy which is adopted by those individuals in roles they feel are beneath them. One "role distancing" strategy which is adopted by those in a different type of work to that to which they had aspired, is to see the current work they do as being a temporary situation whilst they find the type of work they

want. The young person who adopts this strategy realizes that current levels of unemployment mean that the type of work they want may be in short supply. By accepting a different type of work they see themselves as biding their time until the long promised economic recovery occurs.

ii.Orientations and Commitment.

Young people often feel no commitment to remain in a type of work which they see as a stop-gap. I would suggest that this is one of the reasons for the continuation of relatively high levels of job changing among young people in times of high youth unemployment. Of the seventy-eight people in the Leicester study who had entered the labour market by January 1986, twenty-six had changed jobs at least once (table 7:5). Although eight of these were sacked or made redundant (31%) thirty-eight per cent left in order to get better jobs either directly or through YTS. Seven (27%) left as they had had enough of a job they disliked.

Many young people were happy in their work having managed to secure the sorts of job they wanted. Consequently a majority said that they would stay for over three years, or had no leaving plans. At interview two, fifty-eight per cent (27) felt this way, while at interview three the figure was sixty per cent (37) (table 7:6). Others were less satisfied and treated their current jobs as temporary. At interview two, twenty-six per cent (12) of those in employment said that they would only stay until a better job came up, while at interview three thirty-one per cent (19) felt this way.

Table 7:4

REASONS GIVEN FOR ACCEPTING A JOB OTHER THAN THAT TO WHICH THE YOUNG PERSON HAD ASPIRED, BY SEX. (Schedule 2, Q59)

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
ABANDONMENT OF ASPIRATION ON FINDING DESIRABLE ALTERNATIVE	5 17%	11 52%	16 32%
ENTRY PROBLEM LEADING TO ABANDONMENT OF ASPIRATION	10 34%	5 24%	15 30%
ENTRY PROBLEMS BUT ASPIRATION RETAINED.	14 48%	5 24%	19 38%

N=50

Table 7:5

REASONS GIVEN FOR LEAVING JOBS. (Schedule 2, Q42)

	FIRST JOB	SECOND JOB
REDUNDANT/SACKED	8 31%	3 30%
BETTER JOB OR CONDITIONS	8 31%	3 30%
DISLIKE OF JOB	7 27%	3 30%
ILL HEALTH	1 4%	1 10%
YTS	2 8%	0 -

N=26

N=10

Table 7:6

LENGTH OF TIME RESPONDENTS SEE THEMSELVES STAYING IN THEIR JOBS. (Schedule 2, Q34)

	JAN 1985	JAN 1986
UNTIL SOMETHING BETTER	12 26%	19 31%
1 TO 2 YEARS	5 11%	3 5%
3 TO 6 YEARS	8 17%	6 10%
NO LEAVING PLANS/ OVER 7 YEARS	19 41%	31 50%
DON'T KNOW	2 4%	3 5%

N=46

N=62

Indeed, many of those employed at the time of the second interview said that they had considered changing jobs, and a year later at the time of the third interview this number had increased, (table 7:7). Young people often wanted to change jobs in order to enter the type of work they originally wanted, or to get work with better prospects. Others were unhappy in their jobs or had experienced difficulties, while some simply wanted better money or conditions (table 7:8).

Some of these young people had taken action towards changing jobs, although it was often admitted that they had only looked around casually and had done little more than flick through the newspaper every now and again. Others had put more effort into finding alternative work and had made initial applications (table 7:9). Yet the methods people use in their search for jobs and the intensity with which they seek work, cannot be seen as indicative of how seriously they are looking for work. In a study of unemployed males in America, Yancey (1980) showed how people may restrict their job hunt to calling casually on firms asking if they had any jobs. The rationalization for this being that it was a less serious blow to the self confidence being told that a firm had no vacancies than it was to be turned down after making a formal application for a known vacancy.

Low levels of satisfaction tend to be found predominantly among young people in semi and unskilled work. The majority of young people in short career work (80%) either had no leaving plans or planned to spend over three years in their current job. In contrast, the majority of those in semi and unskilled jobs plan to either leave their jobs as soon as they find a better job, or

Table 7:7

WHETHER RESPONDENTS HAD CONSIDERED CHANGING JOBS. (Schedule 2, Q43)

	JAN 1985	JAN 1986
YES	14 30%	28 45%
NO	32 70%	34 55%
	N=46	N=62

Table 7:8

REASONS GIVEN FOR CONSIDERING A CHANGE OF JOB. (Schedule 2, Q44)

	JAN 1985	JAN 1986
UNHAPPY/ DIFFICULTIES.	5	7
FOR BETTER JOB.	5	13
FOR BETTER MONEY/CONDIT.	4	8
	N=14	N=28

Table 7:9

ACTION TAKEN TOWARDS JOB CHANGING. (Schedule 2, Q45)

	JAN 1985	JAN 1986
NOTHING	5	15
CASUAL LOOK	5	5
SERIOUS LOOK	3	1
MADE APPLICATIONS	1	6

else remain in their present job for a period of less than two years (table 7:10).

Yet entering semi and unskilled work does not necessarily result in a low level of job satisfaction, indeed Willis (1977) argues that young men from lower working class subcultures may enter such work as it enhances their masculinity and status within the subculture. However, a good proportion of young people in the Leicester study felt that they would fit into another job better than their current. This feeling declines from the first to second year, in part as young people become reconciled to their jobs, but also as those entering the labour force later were likely to get better jobs.

Low levels of job satisfaction are not the automatic consequence of job conditions, and it is necessary to take account of prior orientations. When we look at first occupational destinations, we find that eighty-one per cent (25) of those saying they would fit into another job better are in semi and unskilled work, the comparable figure for most recent jobs at Jan 1986 being seventy-five per cent (15) (table 7:11). What is important is that the majority of those who feel dissatisfied are those who have not fulfilled their earlier aspirations (table 7:12).

Failure to achieve earlier occupational aspirations does not necessarily mean that they are abandoned, and the majority continued to state that their ideas about the sort of work they want have not changed since their last year at school (table 7:13). This again demonstrates the importance of prior

Table 7:10

LENGTH OF TIME RESPONDENTS PLAN STAYING IN THEIR JOBS, BY JOB TYPE.
(Schedule 2, Q34)

	<u>CURRENT JOB 1985</u>			<u>CURRENT JOB 1986</u>		
	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.		PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.
UNTIL SOMETHING BETTER.	1 5%	11 42%		1 25%	3 10%	15 54%
1 TO 2 YEARS	2 10%	3 12%		1 25%	2 7%	1 4%
3 + YEARS/ NO LEAVING PLANS.	16 80%	11 42%		2 50%	24 80%	10 36%
DON'T KNOW	1 5%	1 4%		0 -	1 3%	2 7%

N=46

N=62

X²=8.82682 df=3 P=<0.05X²=17.09273 df=6 P=<0.01

Table 7:11

WHETHER RESPONDENTS THOUGHT THEY WOULD FIT INTO ANOTHER JOB BETTER.

	<u>FIRST JOB</u>	<u>JOB AT JAN 1986</u>	(Schedule 2, Q50)
YES	31 45%	24 33%	
NO	30 43%	37 51%	
DON'T KNOW	8 12%	12 16%	

N=69

N=73

Table 7:12

RESPONDENTS SAYING THEY WOULD FIT INTO ANOTHER JOB BETTER, BY
ASPIRATION AND TYPE OF JOB IN. (Schedule 2, Q50)

	<u>FIRST JOB</u>			<u>JOB AT 1986</u>		
	PROF &	SHORT	SEMI &	PROF &	SHORT	SEMI &
ASPIRATION.						
PROF & CAREER	1	3	7	1	2	7
SHORT CAREER	0	1	12	0	2	7
SEMI & UNSK.	0	1	5	0	0	2
NO ASPIRATION	0	0	1	0	2	1

N=31

N=24

orientations in understanding future action.

Those young people whose ideas had changed tended to have abandoned hope of achieving their original aspiration, although some retained a hope of achieving a job with a similar or higher skill level to that of their original aspiration (table 7:14).

When young people were asked about the features of their job that they liked, very few failed to think of some favourable aspect of their work, (table 7:15). Many thought that their work was interesting or varied, and the social side of the job, such as having friendly workmates or dealing with people, was a positive aspect to many young people. While the males often mentioned that they liked the hours or conditions, or that they liked the pay, these aspects were mentioned less frequently by females.

Different types of work will have different features which young people find attractive, yet those in semi and unskilled work were more likely than those in other types of work to say that there was nothing they liked about their job. Those in short career jobs and professional and white collar career jobs were often impressed by interesting work or by the training given. While those in semi and unskilled work, given the absence of intrinsic rewards from their jobs, tended to stress the compensatory features of work, such as the social aspects, the money, or having good conditions or reasonable hours (table 7:16). The ways in which workers seek methods of gaining some satisfaction within an otherwise alienating situation have been well documented by industrial sociologists (Roethlisberger &

Table 7:13

WHETHER RESPONDENTS JOB IDEAS HAD CHANGED SINCE SCHOOL.

(Schedule 2, Q68)

	JAN 1985.	JAN 1986
YES	30 42%	22 29%
NO	41 58%	52 69%
DON'T KNOW	0 -	1 1%
	N=71	N=75

Table 7:14

HOW RESPONDENTS SAID THEIR JOB IDEAS HAVE CHANGED SINCE SCHOOL LEAVING. (Schedule 2, Q69)

	JAN 1985	JAN 1986
ABANDONED ASPIRATION	22 73%	13 59%
CHANGED ASPIRATION, SIMILAR SKILL LEVEL	6 20%	7 32%
CHANGED ASPIRATION, HIGHER SKILL LEVEL	2 7%	2 9%
	N=30	N=22

Table 7:15

FAVOURABLE ASPECTS OF WORK MENTIONED BY RESPONDENTS, BY SEX
(Schedule 2, Q25)

	<u>FIRST JOB</u>		<u>MOST RECENT JOB</u>	
	MALE	FEMALE	MALE	FEMALE
NOTHING	6	8	5	7
INTEREST/ VARIETY.	23	23	27	27
TRAINING	1	2	3	3
MONEY	11	3	10	4
CONDITIONS/ HOURS.	10	1	12	1
SOCIAL ASPECTS.	11	15	16	15
MANUAL NATURE.	3	0	3	0

N=117*

N=133*

* More than one response was allowed.

Dickson, 1937; Herzberg et al, 1959; Roy, 1971), and it is important to remember that middle class outlooks on work are not necessarily appropriate to workers in semi and unskilled occupations (Ashton, 1986).

When asked about specific dislikes about their work, a sizable proportion found nothing to dislike about their jobs, but many did find cause to complain about aspects of their jobs (table 7:17). Bad conditions and monotonous work were often mentioned, as were long hours and the need to get up early in order to get to work on time. Others named a specific aspect of their jobs that they disliked, such as having to make the tea or sweep the floor. The type of work the young person was employed in was directly related to his or her dislikes, with bad conditions and monotonous work, and long hours and lack of prospects coming in for criticism by those in semi and unskilled jobs more often than by those in other more skilled types of work.

As we have just seen, young workers tend to react to low levels of job satisfaction by either leaving their jobs or by expressing a desire to leave. Thus for young workers adverse job conditions are often negotiated on an individual level rather than through collective action. Being relatively new workers, the majority of young people had not yet been members of a trade union (85% 62). Further to this, most young people failed to see the relevance of trade unions, the majority saying that trade unions were of no use (79% 58). A further seven young people (10%) did not know whether they thought unions were useful or not, while only eight people (11%) felt unions to be useful.

Table 7:16

FAVOURABLE ASPECTS OF WORK MENTIONED BY RESPONDENTS, BY TYPE OF WORK
(Schedule 2, Q25)

	<u>FIRST JOB</u>				<u>MOST RECENT JOB</u>		
	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.		PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.
NOTHING	0	4	10		1	3	8
INTERST/ VARIETY.	2	23	21		5	31	18
TRAINING	0	2	1		1	4	1
MONEY	0	5	9		0	5	9
CONDITIONS/ HOURS.	1	2	8		1	4	8
SOCIAL ASPECTS.	2	6	18		2	8	21
MANUAL NATURE.	0	2	1		0	2	1

N=117*

N=133*

*More than one response was allowed.

Table 7:17

DISLIKED ASPECTS OF WORK, BY JOB TYPE. (Schedule 2, Q26)

	<u>FIRST JOB</u>				<u>MOST RECENT JOB 1986</u>		
	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.		PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.
LOW WAGES	0	3	1		1	1	3
BAD CONDITIONS/ MONOT. WORK.	0	4	13		1	3	12
LONG HOURS/ UP EARLY.	1	2	7		2	3	7
SUPERVISORS	0	1	2		0	0	5
WORKMATES	0	0	2		0	0	2
LACK PROSPECTS/ NOT JOB WANTED.	0	2	4		0	3	5
OTHER ASPECT OF JOB.	0	8	8		0	9	8
NOTHING	1	14	12		3	20	15

N=85*

N=103*

*More than one response was allowed.

The majority, for all their likes and dislikes, said that they slotted into their jobs without any difficulties (table 7:18). Of those who had experienced some sort of difficulty in slotting in, six said that their difficulties were caused by the differences between school and work, and especially the longer hours. Five said that it was their dislike of the work which made slotting in difficult, while four found it hard to get used to their workmates.

About a third of the sample (31% 22) felt that work was different to how they had expected it to be. Eleven people (50%) thought that work would be organized more strictly than it was, or that work itself would be more difficult. Two people (9%) thought that work was stricter than they had expected, and one (5%) had expected her workmates to be friendlier. Four people (18%) thought their work was easier than they had expected. Two (9%) thought their work was more interesting than they had expected, while another two thought it was less interesting.

A common feature of the literature on young people and work is the argument which emphasises that young people from working class homes are committed to work through their need for money to finance their non-work activities (Ashton & Field, 1976; Willis, 1977 etc). Even though most fifth form leavers in the Leicester study had fairly routine jobs, work meant more to them than the money. The majority, (79% 58) said that if they won a large sum of money they would continue to work (table 7:19). A similar conclusion was reached in a study of adult workers (Morse & Weiss, 1955). In that study, work was seen as more than a source of income by ninety per cent of

respondents who said that they would continue working if they inherited enough to live comfortably. Young people from lower working class homes were just as likely as those from more advantaged backgrounds to say that they would still work if they did not need the money. In Chapter Five I suggested that instrumental attitudes towards work were often a reaction towards work rather than being a prior orientation. The evidence presented here indicates that even when a young person enters semi and unskilled work, they continue to regard work per se as important although come to place an emphasis on aspects of work other than the intrinsic features of the job.

Not all young people are able to gain intrinsic rewards from their work. Employment helps to structure time (Jahoda, 1982) and young people often gain pleasure from mixing with friends at work (Warr, 1983). Yet more fundamentally, for many young people work is closely related to identity. It can provide status, not only for those in "good jobs", but the role of wage earner may be satisfying in itself and give a boost to the young persons self esteem. Irrespective of the types of work they are engaged in, a majority said that they would continue working if they won a large sum of money as they would be bored with no work to do, or else would miss their workmates. However, those in short career work more often expressed a liking of the intrinsic features of the job than did those in semi and unskilled work (table 7:20).

In the first interviews young people were asked to specify three aspects of work, from a list, which they saw as being most important, (Chapter Five). The question was repeated for

Table 7:18

EASE WITH WHICH YOUNG PEOPLE SAID THEY SLOTTED INTO THEIR JOBS, BY TYPE OF WORK, (Schedule 2, Q27)

	FIRST JOB				MOST RECENT JOB		
	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.		PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.
EASILY	3	23	37		5	26	37
HARD	0	6	4		0	3	2
N=73				N=73			

Table 7:19

WHETHER YOUNG PEOPLE THOUGHT THEY WOULD CONTINUE WORKING AFTER WINNING A LARGE SUM OF MONEY, BY CLASS (Schedule 2, Q62)

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
YES	9 75%	12 86%	14 78%	23 79%
NO	3 25%	2 17%	4 22%	6 21%

N=73

Table 7:20

REASONS GIVEN FOR ANTICIPATING CONTINUING WORK AFTER WINNING A LARGE SUM OF MONEY, BY TYPE OF WORK (Schedule 2, Q63)

	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKILLED
ENJOYS WORK/ NEED TO ACHIEVE	1 50%	12 46%	3 9%
BORED OTHERWISE/ MISS WORKMATES	1 50%	14 54%	33 92%

N=64* X²=12.20513 df=2 P<0.01

*More than one response allowed.

those who had entered the labour market at the time of the second interviews, and again at the third interviews. Again, social class was of marginal importance in accounting for whether the emphasis was placed upon intrinsic or instrumental features of work. As table 7:21 shows, intrinsic features of work were more important to those from professional and managerial backgrounds than those from the lower working class, and conversely instrumental features were of greater importance to those from the lower working class than the professional and managerial classes. Yet the differences between the classes, across the years, amounts to no more than ten per cent. This would seem to suggest that the greater dichotomies between those with intrinsic and instrumental outlooks which have been found in studies of adults (eg Goldthorpe et al, 1968; Blackburn & Mann, 1979) largely derive from life experiences rather than being elements of earlier socialization.

Having entered the labour market, the sort of work a young person had entered had an influence on their priorities. That is, intrinsic features of work were held in higher regard by those in the sorts of jobs which enabled the retention of such values. Those in career jobs were more likely than those in non-career jobs to stress the importance of the intrinsic features of the job, (table 7:22). Conversely, those in semi and unskilled work, having little in the work itself to interest them, tended to stress more of the instrumental features of work, such as having good pay and friendly workmates. Such factors can go some way towards compensating for uncongenial work.

Table 7:21

MOST IMPORTANT FEATURES OF WORK, BY SOCIAL CLASS. (Schedule 2, Q70)

		JAN 1985 (SCHOOL LEAVERS ONLY)				JAN 1986			
		PROF & MANAG.	INTERM.	UPPER W.C.	LOWER W.C.	PROF & MANAG.	INTERM.	UPPER W.C.	LOWER W.C.
JOB NOT TOO DIFFICULT.	1	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0
NOT TOLD WHAT TO DO.	0	1	1	3	2	0	0	0	2
GOOD PAY.	3	3	8	18	5	6	7	16	
WORK NEAR HOME.	1	1	1	5	0	2	1	1	
SECURE JOB.	2	5	5	10	6	7	6	12	
HOURS WHICH SUIT.	0	3	2	4	1	2	1	2	
FRIENDLY WORKMATES.	9	5	12	25	6	5	12	21	
HELPING OTHERS.	1	2	1	3	1	2	1	2	
TOTAL 1 INSTRUMENTAL.	57%	51%	71%	67%	54%	56%	52%	64%	
PRIDE IN WORK.	2	3	2	6	4	7	6	6	
GOOD TRAINING..	6	5	5	12	5	7	9	8	
PROMOTION PROSPECTS	2	6	0	0	4	4	3	1	
INTERESTING WORK.	3	5	5	16	5	2	8	16	
TOTAL 2 INTRINSIC.	44%	49%	29%	34%	46%	45%	49%	35%	

N=71 RESPONDENTS,
213 RESPONSES.

N=75 RESPONDENTS,
225 RESPONSES.

Table 7:22

MOST IMPORTANT FEATURES OF WORK, BY JOB TYPE. (Schedule 2, Q70)

	JAN 1985		JAN 1986	
	PROF & CAREER, & SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.	PROF & CAREER & SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKIL.
JOB NOT TOO DIFFICULT.	0	0	1	0
NOT TOLD WHAT TO DO.	1	3	1	1
GOOD PAY.	7	16	6	24
WORK NEAR HOME.	2	5	4	0
SECURE JOB.	11	7	14	15
HOURS WHICH SUIT.	2	6	1	5
FRIENDLY WORKMATES.	13	28	15	25
HELPING OTHERS.	2	4	5	1
TOTAL % INSTRUMENTAL.	55%	72%	46%	66%
PRIDE IN WORK.	6	3	15	7
GOOD TRAINING.	11	8	19	9
PROMOTION PROSPECTS..	6	1	8	4
INTERESTING WORK.	8	15	13	17
TOTAL % INTRINSIC.	45%	28%	54%	34%

N=55 RESPONDENTS,
165 RESPONSES.

N=70 RESPONDENTS,
210 RESPONSES.

iii. Conclusion.

The prior orientations of young people are of great importance in explaining their subsequent behaviour in the labour market, and the decline in demand for young workers in Leicester has not resulted in the wholesale abandonment of aspirations. Young people are often able to retain their aspirations through strategies such as job changing and regarding current work as temporary. Such strategies facilitate the retention of occupational self images. Although many had not achieved the sorts of work they had aspired to, these initial orientations can help in explaining patterns of job changing, levels of work satisfaction as well as the importance young people attach to various aspects of their work. However, as we have seen, not all young people leave their jobs in order to pursue earlier ambitions. Some had no choice in the matter, being sacked or made redundant. Others were persuaded to leave as a result of the monotony and insecure conditions which are common in many unskilled jobs.

While orientations are important to a complete understanding of the youth transition, orientations are not completely developed prior to entry into the labour market. Just as the early development of orientations is a result of life experiences, so new experiences will affect future development and labour market participation will have an important affect upon the features of the job which are held to be important.

Chapter Eight.

THE EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

i. Introduction.

Capitalist economies are subject to booms and slumps which can affect the overall levels of employment within a society. Increases in levels of unemployment are often the consequence of downward cyclical shifts. When an economy goes into recession, as it did in much of the Western world in the 1930's and the late 1970's, the employment levels of both adults and young people decline. Aside from cyclical fluctuations, levels of unemployment can be affected by structural factors. The installation of labour saving technologies, for instance, and the consequent changes in patterns of employment being one example of structural unemployment.

Labour economists have often tried to explain variations in levels of unemployment in terms of these demand factors. Yet in the 1970's the supply side of the market, in the form of demographic shifts, came to the forefront of the debate. The 1970's saw a rapid rise in the numbers of school leavers unable to find employment, and during the same period the numbers of

16-20 years olds in the population reached a peak.

However, the demographic argument has come in for severe criticism from Makeham (1980). He has argued that the number of 16-20 year olds who were economically active actually declined as a proportion of the population from 1971 to 1977. This decline being due to the effect of raising the school leaving age to sixteen. Makeham uses this evidence to argue that there was no association between the rise in the proportion of 16-20 year olds in the population and the rise in school leaver unemployment.

Yet Makeham (1980) is wrong to dismiss demographic features altogether on the basis of such evidence. The increasing demographic representation of 16-20 year olds in the population may not be translatable into an increase of the economically active in this age category. What is important though, is that the increase in the number of young people aggravated youth unemployment, at a time when industrial growth was limited, insofar as a decline over the same period would have eased the problem. Since the late 1970's a demographic downturn has resulted in 16-20 year olds declining as a proportion of the population, yet the fact that youth unemployment continued to increase after this time shows that the problem in the 1980's is not a consequence of demographic features. Indeed, Raffe (1984) demonstrates that, in Scotland, most of the increase in school leaver unemployment occurred at a time when the flow of school leavers into the labour market was declining.

Even in periods of low unemployment, school leavers are

especially vulnerable to unemployment. One of the reasons for this is because school leavers are faced with the initial problem of entering a labour market in which they are excluded from a wide range of jobs (Ashton, Maguire & Garland, 1982). Further, young people tend to display higher levels of job changing than adults as they try out different types of employment. The tendency for young people to be concentrated in jobs characterized by high rates of labour turnover also exacerbates the problem (Ashton, 1985).

The effects of the recession in Britain since 1970 has been felt with particular severity by young people. Makeham (1980) estimated that a rise or fall of one percentage point in male unemployment would see a corresponding rise or fall of 1.7 percentage points in male youth unemployment. Yet Makeham excludes school leavers from his analysis, and as such probably underestimates the relationship between youth and adult employment fluctuations (Raffe, 1984).

Both Makeham (1980) and Raffe (1984) suggest that the rapid rise in youth unemployment over the past decade is explicable by cyclical factors which have a tendency to hit the young the hardest. Raffe (1984) suggests that the young always suffer disproportionately in a recession because they "tend to be at the bottom of any hiring queue; they have less experience of working life, fewer general or specific work skills, and (arguably) fewer of the personal characteristics desired by employers. Consequently they tend to lose out at times of high unemployment when employers can be more selective" (Raffe, 1984 pp2-3). School leavers are more likely than adults to be

seeking work in the first place, and are more likely to be affected by last-in-first-out redundancy policies. Further, the high concentration of young people in semi and unskilled jobs, makes them especially vulnerable to cyclical fluctuations.

Those who see the increase in youth unemployment in terms of cyclical fluctuations have been criticised by others who suggested that one of the main factors behind the disproportionate levels of youth unemployment is a tendency for young people to be concentrated in sectors and occupations which are in decline. The implication of this argument is that in the event of economic recovery youth unemployment would remain a problem.

Yet those who hold to the cyclical view of youth unemployment, have been unconvinced by the structural argument. Raffe (1984) utilizes data collected by Jolly et al (1980) to refute the argument that young people are concentrated within declining industries and occupations. Further, Raffe presented data collected from the Scottish Young Peoples Surveys to show that during the period 1979 to 1983, school leaver employment fell by forty-five per cent. A mere two per cent of this loss of youth jobs could be attributed to a concentration of school leavers in the declining sectors of the economy.

Both cyclical and structural factors have played a part in increasing levels of youth unemployment, and the separation of these two factors can not be made as easily as the opposing arguments imply. In practice, cyclical and structural factors work alongside each other. While cyclical fluctuation may result in a decline in employment opportunities, employers tend to

reappraise their employment policies as well as their technologies in the light of a recession. Consequently jobs lost through cyclical factors will not necessarily re-appear with economic recovery. If jobs do re-appear, there are no grounds for believing that employers will recruit the same sorts of labour as previously. Raffe (1984) has suggested that young people will benefit disproportionately in the event of an economic upturn. To a certain extent he is correct. Recent work by Spilsbury (1986) confirms that in some industries an upturn will result in relatively large intakes of young people. Yet Spilsbury also shows that this is not true in the case of most industries.

Within sociology and psychology there is an established body of literature, dating from the 1930's (Eg Bakke, 1933; Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld, 1938) on the social and psychological effects of unemployment. Yet much of the literature concentrates upon adults and conclusions are not always seen as appropriate to discussions of the effects of unemployment on young people. Typically the unemployed adult must cope with the effects of job loss in terms of adjustment to the loss of status, and the lowering of standards of living and diminishing social life due to loss of a wage.

The literature on adult unemployment therefore, centres around the consequences of job loss. Psychologists especially have looked at unemployment in terms of loss of status, and the consequent challenges to the occupational self concept. The models put forward by psychologists to explain people's psychological reactions to unemployment broadly follow the early model of Eisenberg & Lazarsfeld (1938). In this model, the unemployed

person firstly experiences shock. This is followed by a job search period in which the individual remains optimistic about the chances of securing alternative employment. As time passes, the individual comes to enter the depression stage; losing hope of an early end to unemployment, the person concerned becomes pessimistic and distressed. The third stage in Eisenberg and Lazarsfeld's model comes when the individual adapts to unemployment and becomes fatalistic.

A more extended version of this model, but one which still follows this broad outline, was put forward more recently by Hopson & Adams (1976). In this model, the individual firstly experiences "immobilization", which is a state of shock and disbelief. Secondly they enter the "minimization" stage in which they continue to act as if they had not become unemployed. The third stage is characterized by depression as they come to appreciate the extent of the changes that will have to be made. After the depression stage, comes the first of four stages in which the individual comes to terms with changing circumstances. In order for this to happen, they must accept the changed reality and let go of their past assumptions and expectations. They then test out the new reality and experiment with new ways of coping. The stage which follows, is a search for meaning within the changed reality, which eventually becomes internalized.

Analysis of this kind is often seen as inappropriate to school leavers for whom occupational self concepts are relatively undeveloped. Willis (1984) for example, argues that while adults are "culturally formed" as people, the situation for young people

is different as they "are not yet fully formed". Also, in some parts of the country, many young people anticipate spending some time out of work after leaving school. Yet I shall be arguing that the occupational self concept is important in understanding the unemployment experiences of young people. While job loss may result in challenges to established self images, so non-achievement can threaten a tentative occupational self image. The effects on the individual are similar. As Hayes and Nutman (1981) suggest, 'throughout their socialization children are taught about the importance of work and come to realize that their future occupations will form the basis of their identity and future status. These social-psychological stages are only inappropriate to school leavers insofar as the initial stage of "shock" or "immobilization" is generally absent as there is no job loss. Consequently, the social-psychological stages for school leavers tends to begin with what for adults is the second stage; that of "optimization" or "minimization".

During this stage the individual remains optimistic about their chances of gaining employment and fill their days by the "constructive" use of leisure. Again, within this stage the experiences of unemployment between adults and young people are often seen to differ. Adults must come to terms with an increase in "leisure" due to the loss of a job. On the other hand, the unemployed school leaver is not faced with the loss of a job which structured their day, yet they do lose the daily structure provided by school attendance. If their friends find work, they may also face increasing isolation. In respect of the loss of daily structure, I will suggest that the great divide is

not so much between adults and school leavers, but between males and females. In the absence of paid employment, I will suggest, there is a tendency for women to be drawn into the realm of domestic labour in ways which males are not.

ii. Impressions of Unemployment Among School Students.

Young people growing up in Britain in the 1980's develop an awareness of the consequences of high levels of unemployment in their local labour markets. When interviewed at school, the majority of the respondents in the Leicester sample had no illusions about the difficulties they will face in finding work. Sixty-one per cent (61) felt that it would be either very difficult or quite difficult to find a job when they leave school. Even at this early stage some young people (26% 26) said that unemployment had affected their expectations in a negative sense.

Awareness of the unemployment situation in the local area develops from experiences within that area. As levels of unemployment rise, so many young people will come into contact with the effects of unemployment within their family and peer groups. This is especially true for young people from working class families who were more likely to have a father (table 8:1), or brother or sister (table 8:2) unemployed. Having had more contact with unemployment, those from the lower working class tended to regard unemployment in the local area as being more severe than did those from the other social classes (table 8:3). Also, some young people (23% 23) had an older friend who was unemployed.

Table 8:1

FATHERS EMPLOYMENT STATUS, BY CLASS

	PROF & MANAG	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
UNEMPLOYED	0	0	4	12
NOT UNEMPLOYED	24	16	18	26

N=100 X²=14.55913 df=3 P=<0.01

Table 8:2

UNEMPLOYED SIBLINGS, BY CLASS.

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
UNEMP. SIBLINGS	0	1	3	12
	-	6%	14%	32%
NO UNEMP. SIBLINGS	24	15	19	26
	100%	94%	86%	68%

N=100 X²=12.65673 df=3 P=>0.01

Table 8:3

PERCEIVED SEVERITY OF LOCAL UNEMPLOYMENT, BY CLASS. (Schedule 1, Q60)

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
NOT TOO	18	9	11	12
BAD	90%	64%	58%	32%
SAME AS OTHER	1	0	2	1
PLACES	5%	-	11%	3%
WORSE THAN	1	5	6	24
MOST PLACES	5%	36%	32%	65%

N=90 x²=22.75785 df=6 P=<0.001

While still at school about half the respondents had given some thought to the possibility of being unemployed (51% 51). Indeed, less than half of the sample, (43% 43) could say that they did not expect to be unemployed themselves. Thirty of these respondents said that the reason they expected to be unemployed was due to there being a general shortage of jobs, for which they had various explanations; from the simple "Thatcher" to the more complex. Some for example, blamed foreign imports "that's why we're told to buy British", while others blamed a lack of money to generate jobs, "people are not buying the stuff so there's not the stuff to make". While they may expect to spend a time out of work, the majority had not given any thought to how long they may be unemployed. Although of those who had thought about it, the majority thought that they would be out of work for less than three months. Only two people expected to be unemployed for over a year.

The prospect of unemployment caused great concern among the young people, and most respondents (57% 57) said that they were worried by the prospect of becoming unemployed. Those from the working classes tended to be most concerned about the prospect of unemployment (table 8:4).

Despite young people's concerns about unemployment, the topic was one which was largely avoided by the school, possibly due to a fear of loss of legitimacy if students question the value of schooling for their future working lives. Most young people (58% 58) said that no one at school had ever talked to them about unemployment. The main culprit in this respect was "Newtown" in

that eighty-four per cent (42) of its pupils said that no one had talked to them about unemployment, as compared with thirty-two per cent (16) of "Crescent" pupils ($\chi^2=25.65681$ $df=1$ $P<0.001$).

Given that unemployment is neglected in this way at school, young people are able to form their own opinions about the causes of youth unemployment. Partly as a consequence of teachers using the threat of unemployment as a way of trying to get some work out of their less eager pupils, some young people had come to regard youth unemployment as a consequence of personal inadequacies such as lack qualifications or as a result of lack of effort in the search for work (62% 62) (table 8:5).

"If they can't find a job, there must be a reason, so they should find out what it is and make it better".

[A.F.] What kind of reason ?

"They must dress wrong or talk wrong, and they can be better".

However, many young people (46 46%) saw unemployment in structural terms blaming a general shortage of jobs for the level of unemployment.

Thirty-nine young people thought that youth unemployment was primarily a case of young people not looking hard enough for jobs, as the following quotes illustrate;

"There's jobs if you want them"

"there's always plenty of jobs in the paper"

"it's not as though there's really a shortage [of jobs], if they look harder they'll find a job"

"there's no such word as unemployment to me really, you can get a job if you look hard enough"

Another eighteen people said that it was not just a case of young people not looking hard enough, but that those who are unemployed must not really want a job. These thought that such people would rather pick up their dole and sit around all day than go and find a job.

"It's just because they're lazy, there's jobs going, but no one goes for them"

"some are bone idle, they just don't want work"

A further seventeen people blamed a lack of qualifications by those unemployed for their plight.

When anticipating the personal consequences of unemployment, the majority (64% 72) thought that the worst aspect of unemployment would be the fact that they would have nothing to do and would end up getting bored. Others (30% 34) said that the worst aspect would be the lack of money. Nevertheless, young people had a wide variety of ways in which they thought they would occupy themselves should they become unemployed. Even prior to leaving school, the girls were aware that lack of paid work would result in their taking more responsibilities for domestic labour. Eleven people said that they would occupy themselves by helping around the house, nine of these being girls who often said "I'll end up doing all the housework".

Table 8:4

RESPONDENTS WORRYING ABOUT UNEMPLOYMENT PRIOR TO SCHOOL LEAVING BY CLASS. (Schedule 1, Q54)

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
WORRIED	8 33%	8 50%	16 73%	25 66%
NOT WORRIED	16 67%	8 50%	6 27%	13 34%

N=100 X2=9.22235 df=3 P=<0.05

Table 8:5

REASON FOR YOUTH UNEMPLOYMENT, BY CLASS. (Schedule 1, Q57)

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
SHORTAGE OF JOBS	8 29%	5 26%	12 44%	21 46%
DON'T LOOK HARD ENOUGH	7 25%	6 32%	9 33%	17 37%
DON'T WANT JOBS	5 18%	4 21%	2 7%	7 15%
LACKS QUALIFICATIONS	8 29%	4 21%	4 15%	1 2%

N=120*

*More than one response was allowed.

Table 8:6

LONGEST PERIOD OUT OF WORK.

LESS THAN SIX MONTHS.	13
SIX MONTHS TO ONE YEAR.	7
OVER ONE YEAR.	8

N=28

Yet many girls did not resent being expected to undertake household tasks. Thirty-eight per cent (19) of the girls said that it was the boys who suffered most from unemployment as girls could always occupy themselves by helping around the house, "girls can always help in the house, but boys would feel a right cissy". A further five thought that the independence and status which comes with employment was needed more by boys than by girls, boys "need work for independence, getting motorbikes, or taking girls out". Fourteen girls (28%) felt that girls suffered more than boys from unemployment precisely because it led to their confinement in the home and prevented them developing careers of their own.

iii. Unemployment Experiences.

Unemployment figures gathered at one point in time hide the growing normality of the experience of unemployment among young people in many parts of the country. In the East Midlands unemployment figures run close to the national average, and according to official sources in January 1985, 16.7% of the under twenty's were unemployed (Hansard, 1985). This figure conceals the fact that a third of the school leavers in the Leicester study (28) had experienced a spell of unemployment. This was true even though periods of unemployment immediately after school leaving which now fail to qualify school leavers for benefit, were excluded. Most of these young people had been out of work on one occasion only (79% 22) although over half of these (54% 15) had been unemployed for over six months (table 8:6).

There was no significant difference between social class or sex in the likelihood of unemployment among the Leicester sample, although qualification levels were useful predictors of whether or not a young person was likely to experience unemployment, (table 8:7) (also Colledge, 1977; Main & Raffe, 1983; Spilsbury, 1985). At the upper end of the qualification scale, no one had experienced unemployment, whilst at the lower end, nearly half (48% 10) had been unemployed on at least one occasion.

However, qualifications alone do not determine success of young people in the job market (Jones, 1985). Those with higher qualifications may be less likely to experience unemployment, but this is partly because they are more likely than their lower qualified peers to remain in education. It is not simply a case of qualifications resulting in success in the labour market, for a complete picture it is also necessary to take the young people's aspirations into account.

Earlier I argued that aspirations develop out of a complex interplay of variables, including social class, labour market conditions, and school achievement. Consequently it is important to look not just at qualification levels, but at aspirations as an indicator of the probability of unemployment (table 8:8). Aspirations can help in the short term avoidance of unemployment by making young people more willing to remain in education, rather than enter a labour market devoid of the opportunities they desire (Furlong, 1987).

Neither young people nor adults have uniform experiences of unemployment, as seems to be implied by the psychological

Table 8:7

EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT, BY EXAMINATION RESULTS.

	LESS THAN 4 CSE'S	4+ CSE'S GR.4-5	4+ CSE'S GR.2-3	4+ O'LEVELS
NEVER	11	17	28	11
UNEMPLOYED.	52%	71%	74%	100%
UNEMPLOYED AT	10	8	10	0
LEAST ONCE.	48%	29%	26%	-

N=95 $\chi^2=8.18240$ df=3 $P<0.05$

Table 8:8

ASPIRATIONS, BY INCIDENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT.

	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKILLED
NEVER	27	30	9
UNEMPLOYED.	77%	81%	45%
UNEMPLOYED AT	8	7	11
LEAST ONCE	23%	19%	55%

N=92 $\chi^2=9.14995$ df=2 $P<0.05$

Table 8:9

TYPE OF HOUSEHOLD DUTIES UNDERTAKEN, BY SEX. (Schedule 2, Q30)

	<u>MALE</u>	<u>FEMALE</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
PERIPHERAL.(tidying, cleaning,washing dishes).	10 56%	14 67%	24 62%
CENTRAL.(washing clothes, shopping,childminding).	2 11%	7 33%	9 23%
'MASCULINE'.General repairs, gardening).	6 33%	0 -	6 15%

N=39*

*More than one response was allowed.

theories of stages of unemployment. The way in which a person experiences unemployment tends to vary according to young people's prior orientations (Ashton, 1985). Young people's orientations towards work are of crucial importance in that for some work is seen as a central area of achievement; a means through which to implement their occupational self concept, while for others satisfaction comes not from work itself but from the material rewards of work (Ashton & Field, 1976) as well as from the status of becoming a worker, (Willis, 1977).

Thus, for school leavers normative orientations are important to the way in which young people experience unemployment. For those young people for whom work is a central part of their overall self concepts, the uncertainty caused by unemployment can be distressing. Yet paradoxically, for these young people, unemployment may be preferable to entering unskilled work which may negate a young person's image of themselves as someone capable of securing a white collar career or an apprenticeship (Jackson et al, 1983; Furlong, 1987). The young people for whom work is peripheral to their overall self image experience unemployment differently. For them it is the absence of a wage which is important, as well as the non-achievement of worker status.

It has been suggested that young people from working class homes have less trouble filling the time provided by unemployment than their middle class peers (Ashton, 1985; Willis, 1977). To a certain extent this is true. The young people of both sexes in the more middle class areas are often socially isolated during the day. In areas of high unemployment boys

suffer less from isolation, yet frequently find boredom a problem. However, girls who live in areas of high unemployment are often just as isolated as girls living in middle class areas (also Griffin, 1984). Of the fourteen young people unemployed at the time of the second interview, half (7) said that their social lives had deteriorated since leaving school in that they had lost touch with former friends, and get out less than they did whilst at school.

Becoming unemployed involves a rapid increase in the time available for "leisure" activities. For adults this enforced "leisure" is often utilized at first as the unemployed worker catches up with neglected household tasks, such as painting the house or tidying up the garden, (Hill, 1978). Consequently the loss of daily structure may not be felt for some weeks. Similarly, for young people, the initial weeks after the end of school are often treated as an extended holiday, (Hendry, Raymond & Stewart, 1984). Friends who have jobs to go to may well not start until September, and the loss of the daily structure imposed by the school is replaced by "summer holiday" leisure.

When the young people were asked about how they filled their days, twenty-one young people mentioned active social events, such as meeting friends, engaging in sports or interest related activities, or attending a club. While many of the male unemployed filled their time with such activities (18), relatively few females (3) engaged in active social events, (also Donovan & Oddy 1982). Four people said that they devoted their days to looking for work.

While out of work, young people had different ways of spending their days which were heavily influenced by their sex and the area in which they lived. The unemployed males on the Crescent Estate all described a fairly similar "typical day".

"I get up at about 9.30, I sit around the house in the morning or maybe go to the jobcentre. At about 1.00 I go to the 'Rec centre' & stay there until about 4.00. I go back home till about 7.00, then I go out and hang around with my mates."

"I get up quite late, about 11.00 to 11.30, I meet me mates and hang around with them, then we go to the 'Cabbage Club' for most of the afternoon. I go home and have me tea & watch the telly; then I go out on an evening to meet up with me mates".

All the males on the estate had a fairly regular pattern to their day. They tended to utilize some of the facilities for the unemployed on the estate; the "Rec." centre if they liked sports, or the Unemployed Drop-in Centre, known locally as the "Cabbage Club" if they preferred something less energetic. Everyone's day included a fairly large element of social activity which tended to reach a climax "on an evening" when other friends who had jobs in the day were free. As social activity involved mixing with the employed it could always lead to a knowledge of employment vacancies, although work was something which tended not to be discussed at length.

Conversely, the boys living in other areas tended to be much more isolated in their unemployment and have fewer activities to engage in.

"I get up between 9.00 and 10.00 and listen to music all day; I do the same in the evening"

"I get up about dinner time, watch TV until after tea, then go to my girlfriends."

"I get up about 8.00, and sit watching the telly all day until closedown; I don't get out much".

Banks and Ullah (1985) suggest that unemployed young people are relatively isolated from their employed peers even at times when the employed have finished work. Yet while this was true in the more middle class areas, on Crescent Estate the social interaction of the employed and unemployed continued. The crucial factor here being whether or not they lived on the council estate. Boys who did not live on the estate often lived in areas with low levels of unemployment and did not have friends nearby who were out of work. In areas where unemployment is low, the unemployed tend to be more stigmatized (Banks & Ullah, 1985), this can aggravate the isolation of the unemployed. In addition, the areas in which they lived were sometimes isolated from the city and had no provision for the unemployed.

The girls in both areas faced problems similar to each other, that is they were often expected to do the housework, especially if their mothers went out to work.

"I get up about 10.00, and do the housework, sometimes I go to the Careers on an afternoon. In the evening I go round to my boyfriend's".

"I do the housework and look after my sister's baby while she's at work"

"I don't have much to do really, I help around the house and watch TV."

None of the girls participated in any of the activities aimed towards the unemployed, and most were socially isolated during the day.

Most unemployed young people spent a good proportion of their day around the house, yet not all of them were drawn into domestic labour. Some sat around the house passively, watching TV and listening to music (13), while others spent their time in the house more actively (11) doing household work. Those who had been unemployed on more than one occasion tended to spend more time in the house during their subsequent period of unemployment and tended to be more socially isolated. All of these mentioned a house centred activity, while only three engaged in any social activity. However, the main determinant of who get drawn into household labour is sex rather than number of times unemployed. Household activities are named as a part of a normal day by nine women (also Coffield et al, 1983) but only by two males. On the other hand, ten of the males said they sat around the house passively, as compared with three females.

Females were not simply drawn into household labour due to a greater willingness to undertake such tasks, it was more a case of their families expecting their unemployed daughters to do the housework. All the females who had been unemployed (11)

said that their parents had expected them to do some work around the home, as compared with less than half (47% 8) of the males. Those who had been unemployed more than once displayed a similar level of household activity, with all the females being expected to do some work in the house, but only half the males, (see also Hendry, Raymond & Stewart, 1984; Millham, Bullock & Howsie, 1978; Pahl, 1978).

Most of those who did some work about the house did some general cleaning and tidying and washed up some dishes, what I have called 'peripheral' housework, (62% 24). Nine people (23%) engaged in what I called 'central' housework duties, such as washing clothes, childminding and shopping, but only two of those who did this sort of activity were males (table 8:9). Indeed, where males helped around the house, it tended to be in the peripheral capacity, or in 'masculine' work, such as general repairs and gardening (6 33%). When males undertook household duties they tended to undertake the "masculine" jobs, and when they did get involved in the more "feminine" type jobs, it was in a peripheral capacity.

Those young people for whom unemployment led to social isolation suffer an additional handicap in their search for work. I have previously argued (Chapter Six) that personal contacts are of particular importance in the entry into employment. Consequently those who become cut off from the social networks of the employed have their chances of entering the labour market reduced. This isolation as we have seen, is felt more severely by young women who are often drawn into domestic labour.

A substantial proportion of those in employment hear of job vacancies within other firms through contacts at work (table 8:10). Most of the young people who heard of other vacancies actually came to hear of the job through workmates, while others learnt of jobs through internal notices or trade papers. A much smaller number of young people came to hear of vacancies from sources external to their work, such as parents and friends (table 8:11). Most of those who were unemployed when interviewed (76% 16) said that they never hear of any job vacancies. Of the five who did hear of vacancies, four had working friends who kept them informed.

Because the unemployed are often excluded from the social networks of the employed, they rely more upon official channels of recruitment such as the Careers Office and the Jobcentre. Most of those who were out of work (93% 26) registered as unemployed, the two who did not register believed that their unemployment would be a very temporary situation. Most (79% 22) kept in regular contact with either the Jobcentre or Careers Office throughout their unemployment. Yet official channels of recruitment were fairly ineffective in that the majority (71% 20) said that they were not given details of any job vacancies by the Careers Office or Jobcentre. Of the eight who were given information on a vacancy, five applied for the job they were told of. Three people did not apply as they thought the job they were told about was unsuitable.

Most of the unemployed (54% 15) had been interviewed for a job at some stage, and most had been interviewed more than once. During the first spell of unemployment one person had only

Table 8:10

IF HEARS ABOUT OTHER JOB VACANCIES. (Schedule 2, Q48)

	FIRST JOB	MOST RECENT JOB
YES	30 41%	36 49%
NO	43 59%	37 51%
	N=73	N=73

Table 8:11

SOURCE OF KNOWLEDGE OF OTHER JOB VACANCIES. (Schedule 2, Q49)

	FIRST JOB	MOST RECENT JOB
WORKMATES	17	21
FRIENDS	8	9
INTERNAL NOTICES	4	4
TRADE PAPERS	2	3
PARENTS	4	5
	N=35*	N=42*

*More than one response was allowed.

been interviewed the once, seven (47%) had been interviewed twice, and another seven (47%) between three and five times. Similarly, during the second spell of unemployment, five of the eight had been interviewed for at least one job. One person had been interviewed twice, and three people between three and five times.

Despite widespread expectations of unemployment prior to leaving school, half (14) of those subsequently experiencing unemployment thought that the search for work would be easier than it turned out to be. Similarly, half of the unemployed respondents (14) had previously imagined that unemployment would be different. Twelve of these (86%) thought that being unemployed would have been more boring than it in fact turned out to be. One person experienced more financial problems, and another found it not to be as bad as previously imagined. Of those who had been unemployed on more than one occasion, only one person felt that unemployment was different the second time around. This person felt that it was more boring the second time.

Those who had been unemployed were asked what their main problems were whilst unemployed. Boredom (18) and lack of money (16) were the two most frequently mentioned factors. Others mentioned family problems which were made worse by being out of work (7). Those who had been out of work more than once experienced similar problems the second time around.

Within the psychological literature on unemployment it is currently fashionable to link attitudes towards unemployment to

Rotter's (1966) theory of "locus of control", (Donovan & Oddy, 1982; Hayes & Nutman, 1981). Locus of control is used to refer to the development of personality traits in which the individual has a tendency to attribute contingencies to either "external" or "internal" forces. Thus an individual with an "external" locus of control would be more likely to blame their unemployment upon external structural conditions and consequently to hold on to the belief that the entry into work has little to do with their own actions. Conversely, the individual with an "internal" locus of control would be more likely to regard their unemployment as being the result of a personal inadequacy. According to the theory (Phares, 1976) "internals" have more control over events than "externals". Consequently, "internals" are more likely to find employment than are the "externals" who are more commonly found among the ranks of the unemployed.

The trouble with this theory lies in its failure to give an adequate account of the initial development of the personality trait. This omission seriously questions the theory as "personality" is partly shaped through our experiences within the constraints of a particular society. Those who blame their unemployment on external factors are not necessarily unemployed due to holding a personality trait which results in their having less control over the external world. If those with an external locus of control are over represented among the ranks of the unemployed then this may be a result of their experiences within an area of high unemployment. Conversely, an internal locus of control may develop out of experiences within a local labour market with lower levels of unemployment.

As we have seen, prior to leaving school most young people (62% 62) adopted an "internal" approach; regarding unemployment as being a consequence of the personal inadequacies of the unemployed. When those members of the Leicester sample who had experience of unemployment were questioned about the reasons for their unemployment, the majority (68% 19) blamed external forces. Seeing their unemployment as a consequence of the overall job shortage, they felt that there was no way to avoid it. A much smaller proportion (21% 6) blamed their unemployment upon internal factors. Four (14%) thought that they were unemployed because they did not put enough effort into looking for a job, while two people (7%) said that they were unemployed as they left their last job before fixing up another job. Three young people did not know why they were unemployed. Those unemployed for a subsequent spell at the final interview gave similar reasons for their unemployment. Five blamed external factors such as the overall job shortage, while one saw their unemployment being due to leaving their previous job before fixing up another. This would seem to suggest that "internal" or "external" approaches to unemployment are not simply the result of inherent personality traits, but develop out of experiences. This would support the view that someone who is unemployed is unlikely to see their current status as being the result of personal factors if there is a factor in the environment they can hang the blame on (Gurney, 1979).

One "internal" factor behind unemployment which has recently gained some popularity in the sociological literature is the

unemployment which results from young people preferring to stay out of work rather than take a job they regard as beneath them (Roberts, et al, 1982; Pahl & Wallace, 1980; Jones, 1983). In the Leicester study many of the unemployed (53% 9) continued to seek their ideal choice of occupation. However, of those who had experienced unemployment but subsequently found work, the majority (54% 15) said that unemployment had eventually made them more willing to accept any job, at least in the short term. A similar conclusion was reached by Jones (1983) in her recent study of Birmingham school leavers. She discovered that those young people with the greatest confidence in obtaining the sort of job they wanted tended to persist in their attempts to find that job, whilst those with lower levels of confidence were more likely to accept the less desirable alternative. (See also MacKay & Reid, 1972).

It is in this context that some youth unemployment has been characterized as self inflicted (Roberts, et al, 1982) in that some youngsters prefer to remain unemployed and retain their previous aspirations, rather than enter unskilled jobs when they feel themselves to be capable of better. This is especially true of those with high occupational aspirations. While most young people (86% 18) who aspired to semi and unskilled work agreed that they should take whatever job they could find and not be too fussy, the level of agreement with the statement was lower amongst those aspiring to short careers (42% 17) or professional and white collar careers (42% 15). ($\chi^2=12.57476$ df=4 $P<0.05$).

This is not to suggest that a large proportion of unemployed young people hold out for jobs which are well above their

capabilities. The types of jobs sought by the unemployed did not reflect high expectations, having developed such expectations within the constraints of the local labour market. Most (62% 13) said that they were looking for any type of work at all, or else were seeking semi and unskilled work. Five were looking for short career work, whilst three (14%) said that they were not currently looking for work. Similarly, of those undergoing a subsequent period of unemployment at the time of the second interview, most (4 57%) were not fussy about the sort of job they got. Two were holding out for short career work, while one was not currently seeking work.

Experiences within a local labour market characterized by high levels of youth unemployment will eventually "cool out" (Goffman 1952) young peoples aspirations. Of those unemployed who had originally aspired to professional and white collar careers or short term career occupations, all had lowered their expectations and expected to get work of a lower skill level. However, some of these were only willing to accept work of a lower skill level on a temporary basis. As Seabrook (1982) puts it "one of the great advantages to capitalism of the present high level of unemployment, with the sense of futility that attends it, is that it prepares people to accept any kind of work, because anything is better than staying idle. Jobs in themselves come to seem desirable, no matter what indignities their creation heaps upon people, no matter how demeaning they are. The young who have never had a job come to feel it is a privilege to do anything" (P 104).

iv. Conclusion.

- While unemployment "cools out" young peoples aspirations, Seabrook exaggerates the eagerness with which young people take up menial jobs and underplays their resentment at having to do so. As I have shown, unemployment may make some people more willing to accept jobs they once considered to be beneath them, but others continue to hold out for the jobs they originally desired, or whilst accepting other jobs, regard them as being temporary. These young people are not simply concerned about the prospect of continued unemployment, but are also concerned about the quality of jobs they are offered (Pahl & Wallace, 1980; Coffield, Borril & Marshall, 1983; Furlong, 1987).

The sociological literature on youth unemployment has just started to come to terms with significance of young people's reactions to their unemployment. As we have seen, it is not simply a case of finding a job at any cost, the type of work sought must be congruent with prior aspirations. The occupational self concept is central to a complete understanding of the ways in which unemployment is experienced by young people. It has been suggested (Ashton & Field, 1976) that in times of relatively full employment, being out of work is often a traumatic experience. It can often lead to the abandonment of occupational self images as the young people involved come to see themselves as failures. However, in times of high unemployment, some young people are able to retain a belief in their capabilities, seeing unemployment as temporarily thwarting their aspirations, but nevertheless retaining a belief in their eventual attainment. Those who hold out for the job of their

choice may prolong their unemployment, yet the strategy may be successful. For the majority, the experience of unemployment "cools out" young peoples aspirations as they come to terms with the opportunities available locally.

By looking at the objective changes in local labour market conditions on the one hand, and young peoples' subjective perceptions of these conditions on the other, this thesis represents an important step forward. The traditional psychological model which is often used in the study of unemployment is mechanistic and fails to understand the role of culture and human action. As we have seen, this dimension is of vital importance as the subjective response to unemployment is developed in the light of experience and class based knowledge.

Chapter Nine.

YOUTH TRAINING SCHEMES AND THE TRANSITION.

i.Introduction.

In the advanced industrial societies the youth transition is often characterized as involving two stages; leaving full-time education, and the incorporation into the labour force. Obstacles which block the transition, such as that caused by high levels of youth unemployment, have often prompted Government intervention in the transition. The rise in levels of youth unemployment in Britain throughout the 1970's, for example, prompted Government intervention in the form of job creation schemes for the unemployed. In part the schemes developed out of fears of increasing levels of hooliganism and delinquency (Sinfield, 1981) as well as motives of concern that young people were becoming frustrated and disillusioned, and that work is a habit caught early or not at all. Intervention in the transition effectively delays the granting of adult status to a social group who have traditionally left school at the minimum age in order to enter the labour market.

In 1975 the Manpower Services Commission set up the Job

Creation Programme with the aim of providing short-term jobs of social value for unemployed young people. The scheme was not intended to create permanent jobs, but to maintain the employability of the individual until they were able to find employment (Holland, 1977). The Job Creation Programme was abandoned in 1978, but during the three years in which it operated, 200,000 young people participated in the programme.

In April 1978 the Youth Opportunities Programme was launched to supersede the Job Creation Programme. This was largely a result of the Holland Report (1977) which contained an appreciation of the structural factors underlying youth unemployment. Consequently, while the Job Creation Programme had been concerned to maintain employability until a cyclical upturn, the Youth Opportunities Programme (YOP) was designed to "enable the individual to do more things, achieve a higher level of skills, knowledge and performance, and adapt more readily to changing circumstances or job requirements" (Holland, 1977).

The Youth Opportunities Programme was an unemployment based scheme insofar as to become eligible for a place young people must have been unemployed for a minimum of six weeks. In the main, YOP was delivered through six month work experience placements with an employer for which the young person was paid a tax free allowance set slightly above the unemployment rate (£25).

The Youth Opportunities Programme was widely criticised for providing little in the way of training for young people, while

providing employers with a free source of labour (Cohen,1982; Stafford; ¹⁹⁸¹Watts,1983). At this time the whole context of industrial training was at the forefront of debate due to the economic recession. In response to this debate, the Manpower Services Commission developed its New Training Initiative which aimed to improve the training of the British workforce (MSC,1981).

The Youth Training Scheme was the part of the New Training Initiative which was concerned to improve the training of young people by giving all young people the opportunity to enter post-sixteen education, training, or a period of planned work experience which would include elements of off-the-job training.

The Manpower Services Commission (MSC) had envisaged the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) as a "permanent bridge between school and work". The scheme was intended as a twelve month broad based, high quality course of vocational preparation and training. It was to include a minimum of three months off-the-job training for all trainees. Training was not to be job specific, but was to go beyond the needs of the job through the learning of core skills which were transferable within a "family" of occupations and which could be built on in later years.

In practice, a compromise was reached when it came to implementing the new scheme. While MSC had envisaged YTS as a training initiative available to all young people whether employed or unemployed, the Government was primarily concerned with providing training for unemployed school leavers. Consequently, the emphasis of the scheme changed from what was intended as

a comprehensive training scheme, to a measure for dealing with the unemployed (Hockley, 1984). In 1986 the scheme was extended to two years, although this did not affect the respondents in the Leicester study who had all completed YTS prior to its extension.

ii. Young Peoples Reaction to the Youth Training Scheme.

In this chapter I will look at the experiences of members of the Leicester sample on the Youth Training Scheme, as well as examining the views of those who did not join the scheme. I will suggest that many young people see YTS as a scheme for the unemployed, and regard it as a last resort for those who have failed to find employment. One of the reasons why YTS is regarded as an unemployment scheme is due to the lack of distinction in young people's minds between YTS and its predecessors (Kirkby & Roberts, 1984). Yet paradoxically some young people, having failed to secure the sort of work they wanted, regard YTS as a method achieving their aspirations (also Brown, 1985). Indeed, Ainley (1986) suggests that despite any negative feelings towards YTS, young people will consider joining if they believe it offers them a chance of a trade.

Over recent years youth training schemes, in their various forms, have become an established part of the transition to work. In the Leicester study, nearly a third of the sample (30% 28) had spend some time on the Youth Training Scheme. Nationally more boys join YTS than girls, and this is reflected in the Leicester sample where boys have more experience of YTS (35% 17) than do the girls (22% 11).

Of the twenty-eight respondents who had been on a scheme, the majority (76% 22) had been on a Mode A, employer based scheme. Five of the twenty-two have been classified as "YTS employees". While they were formally a part of the Youth Training Scheme, they did not see themselves as being on the scheme, and their conditions differed from the other trainees. These young people were paid more than £25, and had been guaranteed from the outset that they will still be in the job after the end of the year. In these circumstances YTS is little more than a subsidy to employers to take on more young workers. The young people on schemes of this type often did not realize they were on a YTS scheme, while others only discovered they were paid under YTS after starting work. Consequently "YTS employees" often do not see themselves as YTS trainees, and therefore could not answer questions about their experiences of YTS. As a result, these five have been excluded from further discussion. A further six young people (21%) had been on a Mode B scheme, whereby the trainee was placed within a community project.

Although youth training schemes have become a common feature of the transition from school, many young people leave school with little knowledge of schemes. Just over half of the young people in the Leicester study (54% 54) said that someone at school had talked to them about schemes. When information was given on schemes, it tended to come most frequently from Careers teachers (43% 23) and Careers Officers (33% 18). Other teachers rarely broached the subject (9% 5).

Some young people (15% 8) got information on Youth Training

Schemes from more informal sources such as friends and parents. Yet irrespective of the source of information, discussions about schemes were rarely comprehensive. Such discussions tended to reinforce the view that schemes were alternatives to the dole. One young woman gave a fairly typical account of the information she was given on YTS; "she (the Careers Officer) asked me if I couldn't get a job would I go on a scheme, and I said "yes". She said, "look for a job and if you can't find one come and see me about getting on a scheme". Most young people (69% 37) were simply given a general outline of YTS, being told how much it paid and how long it lasted. However, eleven people (20%) were told how YTS could be used as a method of entering a particular job.

Although Careers Officers often talked about YTS during the course of a Careers interview, most young people felt that the Careers Officer was against them joining (57% 38). Others felt that the Careers Officer wanted them to bear it in mind as an option in case they did not find a "proper" job (18% 12). Only sixteen young people (24%) felt that the Careers Officer was enthusiastic about them accepting a place on YTS.

The Careers Officer has background information on a student prior to the interview. Such information will relate to the opinions of various subject teachers as to the students strengths and weaknesses, as well as an overall academic assessment of the student. The advice given by a Careers Officer to a given pupil is formulated within the context of a short interview and these background notes. Whether or not the Careers Officer talked to a student about YTS must be seen in

the context of these impressions. Those who said that the Careers Officer had talked to them about YTS tended to be mainly lower ability pupils (table 9:1) from lower working class families (table 9:2). It would appear that the view of YTS as an alternative to unemployment rather than as a useful training scheme is not confined to the young people themselves but is shared by members of the Careers Service.

Fifth-formers impressions about YTS were rather patchy, despite the fact that many (40% 40) knew someone personally who had been on a scheme. Very few young people, (5% 5), knew that YTS contained different training modes, and many held misconceived views. One young person, for example, thought that if he failed to get an apprenticeship he would be able to "do" YTS on a part time basis while supporting himself with another job. Another person thought that schemes were to enable people to progress to better jobs. However, the most common misconception was that the main purpose of YTS was to enable people to sample different jobs, "to see what you'd like to do".

Despite a limited knowledge of YTS, fifth-formers impressions were favourable, and the majority (80% 80) felt that the scheme was a good idea. To some extent this attitude was a consequence of the favourable reactions of their friends towards the schemes. Of those who knew someone who had been on a scheme, most (62% 40) said that their friends reacted positively towards the scheme.

However, it soon became apparent that although many felt the schemes to be a good idea, they did not regard them as being

suitable for themselves and would not join a scheme unless they were desperate. In other words, they were "good if you can't get anything else". The prevalent attitude among fifth-formers was that schemes were a good idea for others, and possibly for themselves if they happened to be stuck. Seventy per cent of the sample (70) said that they would not go on a scheme unless they were desperate, although when it came down to it eighty-three per cent (83) said that they would join if they were out of work.

Those who were positively predisposed towards the Youth Training Scheme tended to regard the scheme as beneficial in a period of high unemployment. Many thought that joining a scheme would lead in some way to their finding a job (50% 50). In this respect some young people were quite optimistic, "you'd know you were going to get something at the end". Some of these (42% 21) thought that if they joined a scheme they stood a good chance of being kept on by the firm, (some even thought that firms were legally obliged to employ a certain percentage of trainees), while others (34% 17) thought that the work experience gained was likely to result in a job. Twenty-four per cent (12) though, had a false impression of the standard of training provided by the scheme. They thought that their training would provide them with a marketable trade which would itself ensure them employment.

"They [YTS] learn yer, they give you the skills you need to get the job", or

"yer get good jobs after yer train, we saw a film an' it showed

how people finishin' it [the scheme] ended up in good jobs at the end".

Others (28% 28) were less impressed by the publicity and thought that if they joined YTS it would not be for the training, but simply to relieve the boredom of unemployment, for something to do. Three others said that if they joined the scheme, it would be for the extra money.

Of the twenty-eight who joined a Youth Training Scheme after leaving school, the majority (20) joined as they believed the promises made about YTS (table 9:3). They thought that YTS would give them a basic training in a particular area which would pave their way into the sorts of jobs they wanted. Six young people were more sceptical and joined for a little extra money, or as they thought it would be better than being on the dole. One person joined because she thought it sounded interesting, and one, to her annoyance, did not know she was on a scheme until after she had joined. Had she known that it was a scheme, she would have taken another job she had been offered.

While YTS may be perceived as a route into certain types of work, education may also serve as a route into career jobs. Some of those who joined a scheme (39% 9) had given some consideration to school or college as an alternative route. Indeed, one person registered at a college of Further Education, leaving soon after to join a scheme. Of those who considered college as an alternative to YTS, five decided to join as they thought the combination of practical on the job skills and

Table 9:1

WHETHER OR NOT THE CAREERS OFFICER TALKED ABOUT YTS, BY THE SCHOOLS ACADEMIC ASSESSMENT OF THE PUPIL.

	4 O'LEVEL OR HIGHER	4+CSE GRADE 2-3	4+CSE GRADE 4-5	LESS THAN 4 CSE
YES	9 56%	19 76%	14 87%	12 92%
NO	7 44%	6 24%	2 12%	1 8%

N=70 $\chi^2=6.64835$ df=3 $P<0.05$

Table 9:2

WHETHER OR NOT THE CAREERS OFFICER TALKED ABOUT YTS, BY SOCIAL CLASS.

	PROF & MANAG.	INTERMED.	UPPER WORKING	LOWER WORKING
YES	8 50%	12 80%	8 67%	26 96%
NO	8 50%	3 20%	4 33%	1 4%

N=70 $\chi^2=13.11900$ df=3 $P<0.01$

Table 9:3

REASONS GIVEN FOR JOINING YTS.

MONEY/BETTER THAN DOLE	6
TRAINING/ ENTRY ROUTE	20
SOUNDED INTERESTING	1
DIDN'T KNOW IT WAS A SCHEME	1

N=28*

*More than one response was allowed.

day/block release would provide them with a better training than would college. Another person thought that the training would be similar whether she joined YTS or went to college, yet she would be paid on YTS but not at college. The other three joined as a second choice, having firstly applied to college, but having failed to secure places.

In contrast, those in full-time education tended not to have considered alternatives, only two of those who remained in education had given any consideration to YTS as an alternative. Of those who remained in full-time education without considering joining a scheme, many (41% 10) felt that full-time education was preferable to a scheme in terms of their future careers. Five (20%) said that the idea of a scheme had not occurred to them at all as an alternative, and another five said that they saw it as a waste of time or did not fancy the idea. Two saw it as a "rip-off", and one person did not know why they had not considered it. One person thought it was only for those who had been unemployed for a while.

Youth Training Schemes have little credibility among those who have never been on one (Kirkby & Roberts 1984). Many of these (41% 29) said that they would not join YTS as it was not worthwhile, or they saw it as a "rip-off". A further nine young people (13%) saw school or college as being more beneficial than a scheme. A few (4% 3) felt YTS was not relevant to the sort of career they wished to enter, these people being those wanting to join the Police or Armed Forces. The rest gave schemes no consideration as they managed to get "real jobs".

Yet whether or not Youth Training Schemes are seen as credible by young people must be put in the context of their personal aspirations. A Scheme which stresses training is not going to be valued by those who know their future jobs require little in the way of training or skill. Those who aspire to professional occupations often know that the best route for them is through extended education. Consequently, Youth Training Schemes are given most credibility by those who hope to enter short-term careers. In the Leicester study young people's initial aspirations were found to be important in whether or not they joined YTS (table 9:4). Those wanting to enter semi or unskilled occupations were least likely to join, while those aspiring towards professional and white collar career work tended to use other routes into work. Those aspiring towards short careers were the most likely to enter YTS if they failed to gain access by more traditional routes; those hoping for professional and white collar career jobs often joined if they failed to get a place at college. For this group of people, joining YTS may often be regarded as an image maintenance strategy.

In this context, schemes were seen as a way into a skilled job. For these young people, joining a Youth Training Scheme can be seen as an image maintenance strategy insofar as the majority of those on schemes (62% 13) still expected to get the sort of job they had aspired to when they left school. Of the eight who had changed their mind, four changed as they had difficulty getting into a job of their choice or difficulty getting the qualifications to get into the job of their choice. The other four had either found something that they now found as

preferable, or else had simply gone off their original choice. No-one who had changed their mind said that they were particularly bothered about having to change.

When the respondents were asked what they had gained from the scheme, they were split between those who thought that being on the scheme had helped them gain work experience (35% 8), and those who said that it had taught them the basics of a job or a skill (35% 8). Two said they had gained confidence or self discipline, and a further two said that they were now able to make an informed decision about their future career. Three people (13%) said that they had gained either nothing at all, or only something to do.

Of those who joined a Youth Training Scheme, the majority (87% 20) found it to be useful. Most of these (60% 12) felt that the scheme was worthwhile as it helped them to get work, while others (35% 7) said that it was worth joining due to the skills they learnt. One felt it to be worthwhile simply because she enjoyed it.

That most young people found the scheme to be useful was largely a result of planned work experience and training provided by the scheme. Most people (20 87%) said that they had received some training whilst on the scheme, of whom twelve received on-the-job training. Eleven received day or block release either in addition or instead of on-the-job training. The vast majority (91% 21) thought that the training they received while on the scheme was "good", while two thought it was "poor". Similarly, a high proportion thought that in a

general sense their scheme was "good" (74% 17), and a further seventeen young people (4), thought that it was "OK". Again, only two people, (9%) thought that the scheme was "poor".

Yet not all trainees got the opportunities they wanted whilst they were on YTS. Two had wanted some sort of skill training but were not given it, while one person had wanted the opportunity to take vocational exams whilst on YTS. Four young people had wanted to learn a different trade to that which they were being taught.

At the time of this study Youth Training Schemes were designed to last for a year, yet of those who had left by the time of the final interview (27) just over half (52% 14) had remained on a scheme for over nine months (table 9:5). In 1984 it was reported in the "Guardian" ^(4.4.84) that one in four YTS trainees dropped out within the first six months. In the Leicester study the figure was higher with forty-one per cent (11) having stayed for less than six months. The majority of these had left for a permanent job, (18 67%) either with the firm they were placed with or with another firm. Three had come to the end of their year, while the others (22% 6) left due to becoming disillusioned with an aspect of their placement or due to a dispute at work.

Of the young people who joined YTS wanting more than a semi or unskilled job, the strategy they employed was often successful. Fifteen of these eventually entered short-career work (60%). The aspirations of eight young people (32%) had been "cooled out" either as a result of their experiences on YTS, or

Table 9:4

WHETHER JOINED YTS BY INITIAL ASPIRATIONS.

	PROF & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKILLED
JOINED YTS	7 20%	18 50%	2 11%
NOT JOINED	28 80%	18 50%	16 89%

$X^2=11.50396$ $df=2$ $P<0.01$

Table 9:5

LENGTH OF TIME SPENT ON YTS.

1 - 3 MONTHS	6 22%
3 - 6 MONTHS	5 18%
6 - 9 MONTHS	2 7%
9 MONTHS - A YEAR	14 52%

as a result of difficulties translating aspirations into reality. Two young people, having failed to find the sort of work they wanted after YTS, still retained a hope of eventual fulfilment.

The literature on youth training schemes is full of illustrative quotes from young people who resent the schemes (eg Stafford 1981, Kirkby & Roberts, 1984). Yet evidence from the Leicester study, (which it must be remembered, has lower levels of youth unemployment than many parts of the country), suggests that those who join have quite favourable attitudes towards YTS, and those who leave early, in the main, do so in order to accept permanent employment. Indeed, over a third of the Leicester sample (39% 9) said that there was nothing about the scheme they disliked. Of those with a specific dislike, most (57% 8) complained about the poor money. Others disliked the work they were doing or an aspect of it (29% 4), while two young people (14%) disliked the supervisors on the scheme. However, the majority of young people (58% 15) felt that being on the scheme had helped them get a job. Nine of these being kept on by their YTS sponsor, whilst two found their job through contacts on the scheme. Four young people felt that the experience gained on the scheme was invaluable in finding work.

iii. Conclusion.

In conclusion I would suggest that the main short-coming of the Youth Training Scheme in Leicester lies in its failure to attract young people destined for low skilled jobs, and in its failure to be seen as anything more than a second best by those who are willing to join. This stems from the poor

impressions young people have of the scheme prior to joining. The Youth Training Scheme is the current form of a series of initiatives set up in Britain over the last few years. Whilst the Manpower Services Commission claims it to be a quality training initiative, young people often associate it with the cheap-labour unemployment alternatives out of which it developed. A key factor which keeps this link alive is the similarity in levels of remuneration.

Consequently young people regard the Youth Training Scheme as a last resort. This view of the scheme is promoted by the schools who often give scant attention to explaining the scheme, as well as the Careers Officers who tend to advise young people to join YTS "if you can't get anything else". Yet young peoples' reactions to YTS must be set against the backdrop of the local labour market. The youth labour market in Leicester is not as depressed as it is in some parts of the country. As a result, those who are not too bothered what they do may eventually find a job. However, those who have set their sights on something more than an unskilled job may join YTS in preference to an unskilled job when their first choice is to enter a skilled trade. The way in which the scheme is experienced in areas of very high, or very low, unemployment may bear little relation to this pattern.

In Leicester those who joined the scheme regard it favourably. They use it as a route into the sort of jobs they want, and use it to maintain their occupational self images against the threats posed by shortages of the sorts of jobs they are seeking. However, such a favourable view must be put in the

context of the local labour market. Whether or not a young person is successful in using YTS as an image maintenance strategy is conditional upon local labour market conditions. In Leicester YTS retains some credibility among trainees as many of its graduates find work. In contrast, in areas where jobs for young people are scarce, then YTS may lose credibility precisely because it cannot place its trainees in jobs. Even a high quality training scheme can command little respect among young people if it fails to deliver the goods (a job) at the end of the day.

Chapter Ten.

CONCLUSION.

i. Emerging From the Transition: Work Commitment and Self Esteem.

One of the problems of studies of the youth transition is that the full protraction of the process is rarely captured. Limited time and resources mean that studies are often finished before young people have completed their transition. This study is no exception. When interviewed for the final time, some young people had yet to enter the labour market, others were still pursuing earlier ambitions. Yet the success of the strategies young people adopt to protect their self images cannot be measured accurately at such an early stage. Fulfilment of ambitions may take many years, and cannot necessarily be prejudged.

In order to examine the effects of transitional experiences on young people, at the final interview stage, young people were asked to indicate their responses to a set of questions which were later used to determine their involvement in the specific job they were employed in, their level of commitment to work generally, and their self esteem. For some young people work is

a central part of their overall self concept. These young people tend to regard work as a central feature of their lives. Through work they achieve, and gain pleasure and satisfaction. Conversely, others do most of their living off the job (Lodahl & Kejner, 1965; Ashton & Field, 1976). Work is a peripheral part of their overall self image, and is often regarded as an uncongenial and unsatisfying feature of life which supplies the material resources for enjoyment of leisure time. The "work involvement" scale I have used borrows from the work of Warr, Cook and Wall (1979) and attempts to measure the degree to which work is a central feature of a young persons life. Its questions are directed at work in general and not at the features of a specific job.

The "job involvement" scale has similar aims. Borrowing from the work of Lodahl & Kejner (1965) it attempts to measure the extent to which a young person identifies psychologically with the type of work they do. In contrast to the "work involvement" scale, the "job involvement" scale refers to the specific job the young person is in, and tries to assess to what degree this job is central or peripheral to the overall self concept.

The "self esteem" scale used is adapted from that used by Rosenberg (1965). The concept refers to an individuals evaluation of his or her personal worth. Consequently, self esteem can be expected to be positively linked to educational and occupational attainments of young people. Answers to these

pre-coded questions were scaled ¹ and the scale values given indicate deviations from the average (mean).

Job involvement, work involvement and self esteem were all found to be related to the types of work young people enter.

The higher the skill level of the job young people are employed in, the higher their scores on the "job involvement", "work involvement" and "self esteem" scales (table 10:1).

What is important in terms of the transition, is that those who have failed to achieve their aspirations have a lower involvement in their jobs than do those who have achieved their aspirations

(table 10:2). However, as we have seen, many non-achievers regarded their current jobs as temporary whilst seeking

something better. Whilst having a low "job involvement" their "work involvement" was of a similar level to their counterparts

who achieved their aspirations. Whilst a specific job may occupy a peripheral role in their self concepts, work itself does not come to assume a peripherality.

Commentators on the psychological aspects of youth unemployment have often pointed out that the unemployed have

lower levels of self esteem than the employed (Douvan & Oddy, 1982). Yet as I suggested earlier, those out of work are

sometimes engaged in strategies which maintain their positive self images. However, despite these strategies, unemployment

has a negative effect upon self esteem (table 10:3). Not only

¹ Full details of the methods of scaling were provided in Chapter 2

Table 10:1

JOB INVOLVEMENT, WORK INVOLVEMENT AND SELF ESTEEM SCALE VALUES, BY MOST RECENT OCCUPATION.

	PROF. & CAREER	SHORT CAREER	SEMI & UNSKILLED	MEAN VALUE
JOB INVOLVEMENT.	39.0	36.8	28.5	32.9
WORK INVOLVEMENT.	27.2	26.7	23.9	24.9
SELF ESTEEM.	41.8	41.5	37.3	39.3

Table 10:2

JOB INVOLVEMENT, WORK INVOLVEMENT AND SELF ESTEEM SCALE VALUES, BY FULFILLMENT OF ASPIRATIONS.

	FULFILLED	NON-FULFILLED	MEAN SCORE
JOB INVOLVEMENT.	35.1	30.2	32.9
WORK INVOLVEMENT.	25.4	25.4	24.9
SELF ESTEEM.	39.8	39.1	39.3

Table 10:3

EXPERIENCE OF UNEMPLOYMENT AND LEVELS OF SELF ESTEEM

UNEMPLOYED AT JAN.1986	35.1
WORKING AT JAN 1986, BUT HAS EXPERIENCED UNEMPLOYMENT.	37.5
NEVER UNEMPLOYED	40.4

have the unemployed lower levels of self esteem than the employed, but even when they find employment their levels of self esteem remain lower than those who have never experienced unemployment. This is not necessarily due to unemployment having lasting psychological effects, but can be a result of the compromises that are made in order to get back into employment. Indeed, recent psychological work has shown that young people in unsatisfying jobs have similar levels of self esteem to those who are unemployed (Tiggemann, 1986; Warr, 1987). From this evidence, Tiggemann suggests that the psychological benefits of employment are conditional upon job satisfaction.

Aspirations play an important part in the transitional process, and image maintenance strategies ensure that while non-fulfilment may lead to a low job involvement, work involvement remains high. Non-fulfilment of aspirations does not lead to a radical shift in the position of work in the overall self concept and the level of self esteem remains stable in the short-term. This would appear to indicate a smooth transition for some of those who have not achieved their aspirations. Congruence of experience is not a precondition for a smooth transition from school. In the absence of congruent experiences, role distancing strategies can smooth the transition for some by enabling individuals to retain self images.

At the final interview the young people were again asked about the sort of work they would like to do given the choice. Just under half (41% 27) said that the job they were in was the type of job they would do, even if given a free choice. Most of

those who preferred a different type of job would have liked something of a higher skill level (66% 25), although others (21% 8) would have liked a different type of job at a similar skill level. Five (13%) were unsure what sort of work they would do if they were given the choice.

Of those who had not entered the sort of job they initially aspired to by the time of the last interview, most (52% 26) still retained their original aspirations. However, their original aspirations had been "cooled out" insofar as of these twenty-six, only four (15%) rated their chances of entering such work as good. The others tended not to be optimistic about their chances regarding their failure to achieve their aspirations as being due to obtaining poor qualifications, lack of experience or shortage of jobs.

In making their transition, young people develop clearer ideas about the world of work and of the sorts of jobs available to them in their local labour market. This sometimes means accepting that an earlier aspiration, whilst still desired, is unlikely to be achieved. However, most young people (57 63%) said that there was nothing they regretted doing or not doing over the previous two years. Of those who did have regrets, many regretted their lack of effort or lack of success at school (78% 25), although one person regretted staying on for an extra year. Others did regret not getting the sorts of work they had wanted.

Yet few (14% 13) felt that they were not given the opportunities which would have enabled them to pursue their

desires. Young people often blamed their lack of success in fulfilling their aspirations on their own lack of effort and success in school. Consequently, a sizable proportion of young people said that they regretted leaving school when they did (36% 27). Most of these said that they would liked to get the additional qualifications which could have led to a better job (17 63%). Others (6 22%) simply missed their school friends, or else missed the short school days and long holidays (4 15%).

ii. The Youth Transition in the 1980's.

The last few years have seen a sharp rise in the incidence of unemployment among school leavers. When levels of unemployment among young people suddenly rise, it is not just those who cannot find work who are affected. Many others fail to find the type of job that they could realistically expect in different circumstances. Others, anticipating the difficulties they will face in the labour market, manage to postpone their entry into the job market by remaining in education or by joining Government sponsored training schemes. Consequently, the increase in levels of youth unemployment has had far reaching affects upon the transition from school.

In this thesis I have looked at the transition from school in a local labour market where unemployment levels have been rising. By looking at the effects of high levels of youth unemployment and new institutional arrangements on the transition from school, we have been able to see how young people negotiate and come to terms with structural changes. Examination of the youth transition against the backdrop of social change appeared

to challenge some of the explanations of the transition from school which were developed in an era of stable employment patterns. Such theories suggested that the transition from school was smooth due to congruence of home, school and work situations. In the 1960's and early 1970's the relative stability of employment levels made it possible for young people to develop ideas about their future roles which bore a fairly close relationship to their objective futures. Declining opportunities for youth has meant that the transition from school in the 1980's is far less predictable than it was in the 1960's and early 1970's. As a result, a congruence between home and work situation is less likely to be achieved.

Theoretical positions on the youth transition which were developed in periods when youth unemployment levels were lower, often explained the ease with which young people seemed to make the transition as a result of their socialization in the family, school and peer group. Young people developed frames of reference which orientated them towards the different bands of occupation which they would later come to occupy in the world of work (Ashton & Field, 1976).

On the basis of the socialization model, a sudden rise in the level of youth unemployment would be expected to result in a disjuncture between young peoples' expectations and experiences. As a congruence of experience provided smooth transitions, so this disjuncture could be expected to result in rough, traumatic transitions.

Examination of the youth transition in the 1980's has

demonstrated the importance of retaining the "socialization model", although it was found to be necessary to restructure the theory to take account of the role of negotiation and interpretation in the process. While there is more likelihood of a young person experiencing a disjuncture between earlier experiences and labour market realities, we have seen how young peoples' orientations are important to an understanding of the ways in which they make the transition and come to terms with changed realities.

The evidence presented in this thesis suggests that high levels of youth unemployment do not always result in traumatic transitions for those who experience a discontinuity between expectations and experience. It is because young people's normative orientations are a product of their past experiences that events which challenge their assumptions are often resisted. As I have shown, young people often continue to pursue early aspirations despite the difficulties they face.

One of the central themes of this thesis has been to show the importance of young peoples' aspirations and orientations upon their transition from school, whilst showing that aspirations and orientations develop out of experiences. In particular, I have argued that interpretation and consequent action is important to a full understanding of the transition. Indeed, young people's reactions can go some way towards minimizing the effects of declining employment opportunities on the transition.

In arguing that aspirations can affect young people's career trajectories I have taken care to avoid a Ginzbergian strategy

in which individual aspirations are seen as the crucial determinants of occupational entry. Equally the more structural approaches to the transition, such as that adopted by Roberts (1968,1977), ignore the ways in which individuals experience the transition. Such approaches often suffer from a structural overdeterminism in that while able to portray objective elements of the youth transition, they cannot account for the ways in which reactions and interpretations affect the ways in which the transition is experienced. Those adopting a primarily structuralist approach towards sociology will often concede that interactionist and social psychological approaches can provide valuable insights into the way social processes are experienced. Yet the analysis of the processes themselves are viewed in structural terms with little allowance made to negotiations and the way in which these processes consist of experiences. The advantage of the theoretical and methodological approach adopted in this thesis is that it has allowed us to see the ways in which structure and action are complementary.

Negotiating the transition from school is not a case of reconciling subjective impressions with an objective reality. Rather it is the negotiation between an orientation which develops out of experience, with another social realm which is also experiential. It is because the power of structures derive from experiences which are inseparably "subjective" and "objective" that use of the latter two concepts are misleading. For example, routine manual work may often lack intrinsic rewards, yet this may not necessarily lead to low levels of involvement. It is necessary to understand the interplay between

orientations and experience in order to see how other aspects of work, such as friendly workmates, may compensate for limited satisfaction from the job task.

Despite the fact that many young people had not fulfilled their prior orientations by the time of the last interviews, and although many of these will probably not fulfill them in the long term, young people's aspirations and orientations are important in explaining their subsequent labour market behaviour. Initial orientations help explain patterns of job changing and levels of work satisfaction, as well as the importance young people attach to various aspects of their work. Structural analysis has often over-simplified the development of these orientations, which develop not simply as a consequence of class of origin or the availability of jobs. In order to conceptualize this process, it is necessary to adopt the synthesis presented in this thesis which takes account of the differential experiences of young people within a local labour market.

A young person's occupational aspirations and attitudes towards work are the result of experiential factors such as family background, school achievement and the local labour market structure. Consequently, young people tend to develop fairly realistic appraisals of the types of opportunities which have been open to members of their particular class and sex within the local labour market. Changes in aspirations and work attitudes are the result of new experiences, therefore, in the long term, high levels of unemployment will lead to a lowering of aspirations. When high levels of youth unemployment persist in an area over time, the young persons' experiences within an

area of high unemployment will often lead to a lowering of aspirations.

Young people in the Leicester sample grew up and developed ideas about the sorts of jobs they could expect through their experiences within the home and the school. Such ideas related not just to the skill levels of jobs they could expect, but also to the sex stereotyping of occupational roles. Yet by the time these young people completed their compulsory education, the local labour market had gone into recession. With the recession, the availability of jobs for young people went into decline. The ways in which young people reacted to these changes went some way towards cushioning the impact of such changes for some young people.

It is because young people's aspirations develop out of their experiences, that they are constrained in their negotiation of labour market structures. In other words, young people come to terms with local occupational opportunities within parameters which are set in terms of their past experiences. Indeed, one of the reasons why trauma is not a common feature of the youth transition is because negotiation occurs within experiential limits. Young people are not making a transition into an unknown social realm. They have been in contact with the world of work since childhood through the mediation of the family, the school and the peer group.

Consequently, the ideas young people hold about the world of work develop through interaction and experience within the constraints of particular social and economic circumstances.

Changes in these social and economic circumstances, will not automatically and immediately produce altered forms of consciousness. Young people's ideas are the product of experiences, and new ideas will emerge in time through new experiences. Until new experiences set the backdrop for modified ideas people will often continue to act on the basis of familiar experience. Such a process has already occurred within local labour markets characterized by long term decline. The experience of growing up within a declining economy has resulted in expectations which are substantially different from those growing up in the more affluent areas of the country (Ashton & Maguire et al, 1986).

iii. The Way Ahead.

The transition from school has long been a popular area of interest for sociologists, largely because of the importance of the transition for the understanding of processes of social reproduction. High levels of youth unemployment have led to an increased interest in the transition, yet there is much more we need to know.

The research upon which this thesis is based concentrated upon young people between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Yet one of the consequences of high levels of youth unemployment is that the transition becomes more protracted. With the new two year Youth Training Scheme and increased levels of participation in education, many young people will not have entered the labour market by their eighteenth birthdays. Future research on the transition needs to take account of this protraction by

designing studies which follow young people from sixteen until well into their twenties.

This thesis has only been able to describe the effects of youth unemployment on the transition from school in one local labour market. While I believe many of the conclusions are generalizable to other local labour markets, this is something which must be tested. In particular, it is important that the conclusions advanced here are tested in the many parts of the country which are more depressed than Leicester. In parts of the country where the job situation appears hopeless, there may be less room for the adoption of image maintenance strategies.

If further work is to be done on the investigation of image maintenance strategies and processes of negotiation, then it would be advisable to adopt qualitative methods for the study. While the methods I have used enabled the identification of the processes, to get a better understanding of their operation it is necessary to become more immersed in the lives and social networks of the respondents than my methodology has allowed.

Appendix A

THE QUESTIONNAIRES

At the first interview, all the young people in the sample were asked to answer the questions contained in Part One. The questionnaire contained a mixture of open ended and structured questions, and interviewees were encouraged to talk at length about the various issues mentioned.

By the second interview, young people had started to follow different routes. Some being at work, some unemployed or on schemes, while others were still at school or at college. Consequently a modular questionnaire was designed for the second. The respondents being questioned on each of the sections applicable.

In order to keep the questions comparable, a similar questionnaire was used for the third interview. For example, those who had started a job for the first time prior to the final interview, would be asked the same questions about work as those starting work a year earlier. Those who moved jobs or were unemployed on more than one occasion had the core questions about the job or unemployment asked for a second time.

II

The questions contained in Part Two contain the items used in the second and third interviews. Additional questions asked only at the third interview appear in Part Three.

Part One

SECTION ONE.

(Completed by interviewer at the end of the interview).

1.Name.

2.Sex.

3.School.

4.Ethnic origin.

SECTION TWO.

Firstly I'd like to ask you some questions about yourself and your family.

5.How old are you now ?

6.When is your next birthday ?

7.Could you give me your address so that I can contact you again ?

8.Exactly what sort of work does your father usually do ?

Occupation:

Industry:

9.Has he got a job at the moment ?

10.(If not) How long has he been out of work ?

11.What sort of work does your mother usually do ?

12.Has she got a job at the moment ?

13.(If not) How long has she been out of work ?

14.Can you tell me who else lives in your house apart from your parents, and what exactly they all do ?

15.Are you a member of any clubs or societies ?

16.(If yes) What sort of club is that ?

17.Have you had any part time jobs while you have been at school ?

18.(If yes) Doing what ?

19.What sort of things do you do in your free time ?

SECTION THREE.

I'd now like to ask you some questions about school.

20.When do you expect to leave school ?

Month:

Year:

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- 21.(If leaving at the end of Fifth year) Have you considered going to another school or college in September ?
- 22.Do you intend to go to another school or college in September ?
- 23.(If yes) To do what ?
- 24.(If leaving at the end of the fifth year and not continuing elsewhere) Would you have liked to stay on at school ? (Probe).
- 25.What made you decide to leave ?
- 26.Would you come back to school or go to another college if you can't find a job ?
- 27.(If staying on or transferring to another college) Has the increase in youth unemployment played any part in your decision to stay on, or would you have stayed on anyway ?
- 28.(Crescent pupils only) If there was a Sixth Form here would you have considered staying on ?
- 29.I'm going to read out a few things people have told me about leaving school, I'd like you to tell me if you have ever felt the same way yourself.
Some people have said that ____ (a) ____, have you ever felt like that ?
(If yes) Have you felt that way very often, occasionally or hardly ever ?
- a) I will be glad to get away from school.
 - b) There are some things I expect I will miss about school when leave.
 - c) I get bored with school because its always the same.
 - d) I get a little nervous when I think about leaving school.
- 30.What exams will you be taking this year ?
- 31.Do you expect to pass them all ?
- 32.(If not) Which ones do you expect to pass ?
- 33.Are you taking any subjects which you are not doing exams in ?
- 34.(If yes) Which ones ?
- 35.Do you do any practical subjects like woodwork or cookery ?
- 36.Which ones.
- 37.Do you come to school regularly ?
- 38.(If not) Why is that ?
- 39.Generally, how hard would you say you have worked at school ?
- 40.Do you think you could have done better at school if you'd put more effort into your work ?

41. Why is that ? (Probe).
42. On the whole, do you think that this last year at school has done you:- (read)
- a) a lot of good
 - b) some good
 - c) not much good
 - d) no good at all
 - e) don't know
43. Has anyone at school talked to you about work ?
44. (If yes) who ?
45. What did they talk about ?
46. Has the school taken you on any trips to see different places of work ?
(note number and types of places visited)
47. Is the school going to try and organize any work experience for you before you leave, or have you already done some work experience ?
(Probe: what sort of work and how long spent on it).
48. (If has already undertaken work experience) Did you find work experience useful ?
49. (If yes) In what way ?

SECTION FOUR.

50. Have you given much thought to the possibility of being unemployed ?
51. Do you expect you will be unemployed at all yourself ?
52. Why is that ?
53. (If yes) How long do you expect to be unemployed for ?
54. Does the prospect of unemployment worry you at all ?
55. (If yes) How much ?
56. What do you think would be the worst thing about being unemployed ?
(Probe)
57. Why do you think so many young people are unemployed at the moment ?
58. Is there anything they can do to avoid unemployment ?
59. If you find yourself without a job, how will you fill your time ?
60. How bad do you think unemployment is in your area ?
61. What sort of work is available around here ?
62. Has the level of youth unemployment had any affect on the type of

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job you expect to get ? (Probe).

63. Would you consider job sharing or taking a part-time job ?

64. Why is that ?

65. (If No) If you were out of work for a while, would you consider job sharing or taking a part-time job ?

66. Why is that ?

67. Has anyone talked to you about Y.T.S. or the Young Workers scheme ?

68. Who ?

69. Can you tell me what you know about these schemes ? (Probe)

70. Do you think that they are a good idea or not ? (Probe)

71. Would you accept a place on a Youth Training Scheme ?

72. Why is that ?

73. (If No) If you were out of work for a while, would you consider accepting a place on a scheme ? (Probe)

74. If you did go on a scheme, what sort of thing would you like to do ?

SECTION FIVE.

75. What would you really like your first full-time job to be ?
(Full title and description)

76. Why is that ?

77. How long have you wanted this ?

78. Do you think you will be able to get a job as a.....(Job given at Q75) ?

79. (If no) What type of job do you think you are in fact likely to get ? (Probe)

80. Why is that ?

81. How hard do you think it will be to find work when you leave school ?

IF ALREADY HAS A JOB FIXED UP, ASK Q82 TO Q91. IF NOT GO TO Q92.

82. What exactly is the job you have fixed up ?
(Full title and description).

83. How did you find this job ?

84. What made you accept this particular job ? (Probe).

85. Where will it lead eventually ?

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- 86.Does it involve a training scheme ? (Probe)
- 87.Do you think you will stay in this job ?
- 88.(If job is regarded as temporary) What job are you hoping to find ?
- 89.Is there any type of work you don't want to go into ?
- 90.(If yes) What type of work is that ?
- 91.Why is that ?
- 92.If you get a job as a _____(job given at Q79), do you have a good idea of the jobs you'll be given to do, or do you just have a vague idea, or not much idea at all ?
- 93.How much do you expect to get paid when you start ?
- 94.How did you find out about this sort of work in the first place ?
- 95.Do you know anyone who does the type of work that you hope to do ?
- 96.(If Yes) Who is that ?
- 97.Do you think that they have influenced you at all ?
- 98.(If Yes) In what way ?
- 99.Do you know anyone who is thinking of taking up this type of work ?
- 100.(If Yes) Who is that ?
- 101.Do you think that they have influenced you at all ?
- 102.(If Yes) In what way ?
- 103.What made you think about doing this type of work ?
- 104.Have you talked to your parents at all about what you want to do when you leave school ?
- 105.Did they give you any advice or have anything to say about it ?
(Probe).
- 106.Who do you think influenced you the most, your mother or your father ?
- 107.Do you agree with what they said to you or not ? (Probe)
- 108.Have you applied for any jobs yet ?
- 109.(If yes) What was the job(s) which you applied for ?
- 110.Have you ever thought about doing any other work apart from _____? (Job given at Q79)
- 110.(If yes) what sort of work ?

SECTION SIX.

111. Have you any friends you see regularly ?
112. (If yes) How many ?
113. Can you go out with them as often as you like ?
114. When you go out do you have to be back by a certain time ?
115. (If yes) What time do you have to be in by ?
116. Do you talk with your friends much about your future jobs ?
117. (If yes) How much ?
118. What sort of things do you talk about ? (Probe).
119. Are all your friends still at school, or are any of them working ?
120. (If working) What sort of work do they do ?
121. Are any of your friends unemployed, or have any of them been unemployed ?
122. Have any of your friends, or anyone else you know, been on a Youth Opportunities Programme or a Youth Training Scheme ?
123. (If yes) What have they told you about it ?
124. What type of work would your friends like to get ? (List jobs to maximum of three).
125. Do they expect to be able to find such work ?
126. Will your friends who are still at school leave this summer, stay on, or go to another school or college ?
127. Would you be willing to accept a job which would stop you from seeing your friends as often, like shift work or work away from home ?
128. Have you had any sort of work recommended to you by any of the teachers here ?
129. (If yes) Did this advice help you decide what you want to do ?
130. Have you talked with the Careers Officer yet ?
131. What information did you get from him ?
132. Did his/her advice help you make your mind up ?
133. Did it help you in any other way ? (Probe)
134. Has the Careers Officer or any of the teachers talked to you at all about unemployment or the Youth training scheme ?
135. (If yes) What was said ?

SECTION SEVEN.

136. Who do you think suffers most if they can't find a job, boys or girls ?

137. Why do you say that ?

138. When it comes to getting a job, do you think that boys or girls have the widest choice ?

139. Why do you say that ?

140. Can you tell me if you:- (read)

- a) intend to marry as soon as possible
- b) intend to marry while you are still young
- c) possibly get married some time in the future
- d) not get married at all

141. If you get married will you:- (read)

- a) stop working altogether
- b) work until you have kids then stop altogether
- c) stop working while your kids are young
- d) not have any kids so that you can carry on working
- e) carry on working whatever happens

142. What age do you think would be the ideal age for you to have children ?

SECTION EIGHT.

143. I'm going to show you a list of things some people see as important when choosing a job, (Card A), could you tell me which three you see as being most important ?

- a) Friendly people to work with
- b) Work that is not too difficult
- c) Not being told what to do all the time
- d) Good pay
- e) Work near home
- f) A secure job
- g) Being able to take a pride in your work
- h) Learning a trade or getting a good training
- i) A good chance of promotion
- j) Interesting work with plenty of variety
- k) Hours of work which suit you
- l) Being able to help other people

144. Now I'm going to show you some things people have said about work.

I would like you to tell me for each of them how you feel about the statement. You may agree or disagree with a statement, or you may not have any particular feelings about it. (Card B).

- a) You should always choose a job which will lead on to a better job
- b) Getting a good job depends on luck more than anything else.
- c) It's best to take whatever job you can get and not be too fussy.
- d) Once you have a job you should stick to it and not think about other jobs.

145. When it comes to finding work, is it adults or young people who

X

are in the worst position ?

146. Why do you say that ?

147. Do you have any transport of your own, such as a bike or a car ?

148. How far would you consider travelling for work ?

149. What do you think you'll be doing in ten years time ?

150. What age do you think you'll be when you get your highest wage or salary ?

Part Two.

Section 1:1

Education

(To be answered by everyone)

1. Are you still at school, or have you now left ?
(If still at school go to Q6)
2. (If left) When did you leave school ?
3. Are you going to any other school or college at the moment ?
4. (If yes) Is that full-time or part-time ?
5. (If in full-time Further Education) Why is it that you decided to go to college rather than stay on at school ?

Section 1:2

(To be answered by all those who are still in full-time education.)

6. What made you decide to stay at school/go to college ?
7. What exams will you be working towards ?
8. Do you think that you'd still be at school if there were more jobs available ?
9. Did anyone help you make up your mind to stay at school/go to college ?
10. (If yes) Who ?
11. Did your parents encourage you to stay at school/go to college ?
12. (If yes) Who do you think gave you the most encouragement, your mother or your father, or was it about the same ?
13. Why do you think that was ?
14. During the summer holidays did you look for a permanent job at all ? (Probe)
15. Have you applied for any jobs at all ?
16. (If yes) How many jobs have you applied for ?
17. What were the jobs that you applied for ?
(Note job title/s and industry/s)
18. Did you get any interviews ?
19. (If yes) Which job/s was that for ?

20. Were you offered any of these jobs ?

21. (If yes) Which job/s was that ?

22. (If yes) Why did you not take it up ?

23. (If no) Why do you think that was ?

24. (If has not applied for any jobs) If you had seen a suitable job, would you have applied for it ?

25. Did you ever think about going on a Youth Training Scheme ?

26. (If no) Why not ?

27. Generally, would you say that you are staying at school because you quite enjoy it, or do you think it is important to get some more qualifications ?

28. Since you've returned, do you think that you're treated any differently than you were in the Fifth Form ?

29. (If yes) In what way ?

30. Why do you think that is ?

Section 1:3

(To be answered by those no longer in full-time education).

31. Have you attended any classes since you left school ?

32. (If yes) What type of class ?

33. Was this voluntary or compulsory ?

34. How did you feel about leaving school ?

35. Why is that ?

36. Did you consider staying at school ?

37. (If yes) Did you try to go back to school or go to college ?

38. Is there anyone who helped you decide to leave school ?

39. (If yes) Who ?

40. (If yes) How did they help you ?

41. Would your parents have been happy for you to stay on at school longer ?

42. Why do you think that was ?

43. (If currently working) Would you have returned to school in September if you hadn't a job to go to ?

Section 1:4

(To be answered by everyone)

44. Did you get any C.S.E's at school ?

45. (If yes) How many ?

46. (If no) Why was that ?

47. Did you get any O'levels ?

48. (If Yes) How many ?

49. How did you feel about your results ?

50. Did you expect to do better or worse ?

51. In some schools, people are put into different streams according to how good the teacher thinks they are at their school work. Did this happen at your school ?

52. (If yes) Were you in the same stream or set for all subjects, in the same one for most subjects, or in a mixture of streams ?

53. (If in the same stream for all or most subjects) What stream/set was this ?

54. Do you think that teachers treat all their pupils equally ?

55. (If not) Who is it you think is treated unfairly ?

56. Why do you think that is ?

57. Some people think teachers are out of touch with the people they teach. Do you think that this is true ?

58. (If yes) Why do you think that is ?

59. Have you ever felt that the teachers don't really care about you as a person ?

60. Why do you think that is ?

61. (Girls only) Do you think your parents see education as being just as important for girls as for boys ?

62. (If not) Why do you think that is ?

63. Do you think that education is just as important for girls as for boys ?

64. Why is that ?

Section 1:5

(To be answered by everyone)

65. Has the Careers Officer talked to you at all yet ?
66. Did he/she suggest to you a job that he/she thought you may like to try for ?
67. What type of job was that ?
68. Did he/she give you any other information at all ?
69. What sort of information was that ?
70. Did the advice you got from the Careers Officer help you to make your mind up about what sort of job you'll be doing.
71. Did the advice help in any other way ?
72. Did the Careers Officer talk to you about Youth Training Schemes at all ?
73. What sort of thing did he/she say about them ?
74. Did he/she think that you should go on a Youth Training Scheme ?
75. What sort of thing did he/she think you should do on it ?
76. (If left school) Have you had any contact with the Careers Officer since you left school ?
77. (If yes) Did you contact them or did they contact you ?
78. As a result of talking to the Careers Officer have you changed your mind at all about the sort of job you expect to get ?
79. (If yes) In what way ?
80. Did the Careers Officer ever mention to you a type of job which you thought of as mans/womans work ?
81. What sort of work was that ?
82. Have you ever considered doing a job that is mainly carried out by members of the opposite sex ?
83. What sort of work was that ?

Employment.

Section 2:1

1. Have you applied for any jobs yet ?

2. How many ?

3. What jobs have you applied for ?
(note job titles and industries)

Job title	Industry	Interview	Offer
1.			
2.			
3.			
4.			

4. Did you get any interviews ?
(note above which jobs)

5. Were you offered any jobs at all ?

6. (If yes) Which jobs were you offered ?
(code above)

Section 2:2

Job Sheets.

(The following questions to be asked of everyone who has had a job)
(If they have had more than one job, fill in an additional job sheet
for first job and the longest held job)

7. What is the name of the job you do/did ?

8. What exactly do/did you do ?

9. What does the firm make or do ?

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10.Are you an :- (read out)

Employee
Self emp,no employees
Self emp,with employee

11.Is this full or part time ?

12.How many hours a week do you work ?

13.How much money do you take home ?

14.Are you satisfied with your pay ?

15.Does your money last you the whole week ?

16.How did you find out about this job ?

17.Did you find this job before or after you left school ?

18.Did anyone help you to find this job.

19.(If yes) Who ?

20.Why was it that you accepted this job ?

21.Before you went for the job,did you talk about it with anyone
in your family ?

22.(If yes) Who ?

23.What do/did your parents think about this job ?

20.Does anyone you know have the same job as you ?

21.(If yes) Who ?

22.Was that a help to you ?

23. (If yes) How ?

24.Did that person work in the same firm ?

25.What do you like about this job ?

26.What do you dislike about it ?

27.Would you say that you fitted in to this kind of work easily
or did you find it fairly hard to slot into ?

28.(If hard) How was that ?

29.Do you think your qualifications were important in getting you the
job ?

30.(If yes) In what way ?

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31. Do you think there is any chance of promotion in your present job ?
32. Is that important to you ?
33. (If yes) What position do you think you could be promoted to ?
34. How long do you think you will stay in this job ?
35. How long did it take you to learn this job ?
36. Is there a training scheme ?
37. What form does the training take ?
38. (Ask for jobs other than first job) Are there any skills that you use in this job which you learnt in a previous job ?
39. What sort of skills are these ? (probe)
40. Are you a member of a trade union ?
41. Are there any members of the opposite sex at work who do the same work as yourself ?
42. (If has left this job) Why did you leave this job ?
43. Have you ever thought of leaving or changing your job ?
44. (If yes) Why ?
45. Have you done anything about it ?
46. (If yes) What ?
47. Are you considering moving to a similar job in another firm or to a different job altogether ?
48. Do you ever hear about other jobs ?
49. (If yes) From who ?
50. Do you think you'd fit in better to another sort of job ?
51. What sort of job is this ?
52. What do you think your chances are of moving into this type of work ?
53. Why is that.
54. If you were offered another job, is there anyone you would talk to about it first ?
55. (If yes) Who ?

Section 2:3

(To be answered by all who have had a job)

56.Did you accept the first job you were offered when you left school ?

57.(If no) Why did you refuse the previous offer ?

58.(If yes) Why did you accept this job

59.(If accepted a job other than that originally wanted) what made you change your mind ?

60.Did you think that work would be different to what you have experienced ?

61.(If yes) How is that ?

62.If you won enough money to keep you in luxury for the rest of your life, would you still go to work ?

63.Why is that ?

64.Do you think trade unions are useful ?

65.Why is that ?

66.Are there any jobs you would like, but have been unable to apply for because you are too young ?

67.Which job was that ? (note job and industry)

68.Since you left school,have your ideas about the sort of job you would like changed at all ?

69.(If yes)In what way ?

70.Here is a list of items which some people see as important things to look for in a job.i'd like you to read through the card,and then tell me which three you see as being most important.

friendly workmates
a secure job
work which is not too difficult
not being told what to do
good pay
work near home
being able to take a pride in your work
good training
promotion prospects
interesting work
hours of work which suit you
being able to help others

71.While you were at school,did you have any work experience placements ?

72.(If yes) Looking back, do you think that the work experience you did at school helped you at all ?

73.How often do you and your friends talk about work ?

UNEMPLOYMENT

Section 3:1

{To be answered by those who have been unemployed}

1. Have you ever been out of work at all ?

(IF YES...)

2. Since you have been unemployed, have you been in contact with the careers office ?

3. (If no) Why not ?

4. Do you call into the Jobcentre at all ?

5. (If yes) How often ?

6. Did you register as unemployed ?

7. (If no) Why not ?

8. Have they told you about any jobs that have been going ?

9. (If yes) Did you apply for any of the jobs they told you about ?

10. (If not) Why not ?

11. (If currently unemployed) Do you ever hear of any jobs ?

12. (If yes) From whom ?

13. (If currently unemployed) What type of work are you looking for ?

Occupation.

Industry.

14. Is this what you'd like ideally, or is it a second best ?

15. (If original aspiration not mentioned) At one time you wanted to work as a _____. would you still like to do this ?

16. (If yes) What do you think your chances are of finding this type of work ?

17. (If no) What made you change your mind ?

18. Do you think that unemployment has made you more willing to accept any job ?

19. (If yes) Why do you think that is ?

20. How do you feel about this ?

21. Have you had any job interviews since last year/ you last became unemployed ?

22. (If yes) How many ?

23. Do you expect to be unemployed for very long ?

13. Why is that ?

14. What do your parents think about you being out of work ?

15. Do they ever blame you for it ?

16. Has anyone in your family ever been out of work ?

17. (If yes) Who ?

18. Have any of your friends been out of work ?

19. Are any of your friends out of work at the moment ?

20. Why do you think it is/was that you are/were unemployed ?

21. Do you think that there was anything that you could have done to avoid it ?

22. If yes) What ?

23. (If unemployed for a second or subsequent time) Is/was being unemployed any different the second time around ?

24. (If yes) How ?

25. What are the main problems you've come across since you've been out of work ?

26. How do you usually spend the day ?

27. Could you describe for me a "normal" day ? For example, tell me what time you get up, and the sort of things you usually do through the day.

(note all activities /inactivities mentioned and probe to find how long is spend on each activity)

28. Has your experience of unemployment changed your attitude towards the unemployed

29. (If yes) In what way ?

30. Since you've been out of work, have you been expected to do any jobs around the house ?

31. (If yes) What sort of jobs ?

32. Are there any advantages in being unemployed ?

33. (If yes) What are they ?

SCHEMES.

Section 4:1

{Those who have started on the Youth Training Scheme}

1. Have you ever considered going on a Youth Training Scheme ?
2. (If not been on a scheme) Why is it that you didn't join a scheme ?
3. What type of scheme were you on ?
4. Were you given a choice of what type of scheme you went on, given a few options to choose between, or did you just take the first scheme they offered you ?
5. How many Y.T.S. places were you offered ?
6. Was there any thing you would like to do through Y.T.S which you were not given the opportunity to do. ?
7. (If yes) What was that ?
8. Do you think that had anything to do with you being a boy/girl ?
9. What exactly made you join the scheme in the first place ?
(probe)
10. Did you ever think about going back to school or going to college instead of going on a scheme ?
11. (If yes) Why is it that you chose to go on a scheme ?
12. Do you get any training on the scheme ?
13. (If yes) What sort of training is that ?
(probe)
14. What type of job do you expect to get after leaving the scheme ?
15. Is this the same sort of job that you wanted when you left school ?
16. (If not) Why did you change your mind ?
17. How do you feel about that ?
18. Do you think that being on the scheme has affected the type of job you want to do ?
19. Did you get to learn of any jobs which you'd not thought of doing before ?
20. (If yes) What sort of job is that ?
21. While you've been on the scheme have you been looking for work at all, or will you wait until its finished ?
22. What do/did you think of the scheme ?

23. Have you found it useful ?

24. (If yes) In what way ?

25. What do you think you've gained from the scheme ?

26. How good do you think the training you get is ?

27. Is there anything you dislike about the scheme ?

Section 4:2

{To be answered by those who have left a scheme}

28. Why did you leave the scheme ?

29. Do you think that being on the scheme helped you get a job ?

30. (If yes) How was that ?

31. What do you think you gained from being on the scheme ?

32. Knowing what you know now, do you think joining the scheme was worthwhile ?

33. (If yes) Why is that ?

General Questions

Section 5:1

1. Some people say that if a person is clever enough and works hard at school, they can get any job they like. Do you think this is true?

2. (If not) Why do you think that is ?

3. Are you treated any differently by your parents since you left school/went to college ?

4. Do you have to be in by a certain time, or can you come in when you like ?

5. (If restrictions) What time must you be in by ?

6. (If left school) How much board, if any, do you have to give your parents?

7. Are you a member of any clubs or societies ?

8. (If yes) What sort of clubs are these ?

9. Has your social life changed much since you left school/college/went into sixth form ?

10. (If yes) In what way ?

11. How many friends do you see regularly ?

12. Are they mainly males or females ?

13. Can you tell me what your closest friends are doing now ?
(Limit to three)

14. (If friends are working) What sort of jobs do they have ?

Part Three.

(The third questionnaire consists of the relevant modules from questionnaire two, repeated where necessary. In addition a new Education and General section was used as listed below. The attitude scales as displayed in Appendix A were also administered with the third questionnaire).

EDUCATION.

Section 1:1

{To be answered by all who were in full time education when last interviewed}

1. Did you sit any exams last year ?

2. (If yes) Which ones ?

3. Which ones did you pass ?

4. Do you think qualifications are important for finding work ?

5. Why is that ?

6. Do you think qualifications are important in any other way ?

7. (If yes) In what way is that ?

8. Do you think the extra year at school/college helped (or will help) you to get a job ?

9. Why is that ?

Section 1:2

{If left full time education}

10. Why did you leave school/college ?

11. Is there anything which would have made you decide to stay at school/college ?

12. (If yes) What is that ?

XXIV

Section 1:3

{To be answered by everyone who is still in full time education}

13. What courses are you doing at the moment ?

14. Will you do any other courses after this one ?

15. (If yes) Which ones ?

16. Have you always intended to stay on ?

17. How long do you think you'll stay in education ?

18. Is there anything which would have made you leave ?

19. (If yes) What is that ?

20. Would you have stayed if there were more jobs available ?

21. Why is that ?

22. Have you been looking for a job at all ?

23. (If yes) how hard would you say you've been looking ?

24. What job would you like to do when you finish ?

25. What do you think your chances are of doing that ?

Section 2:1

GENERAL SECTION.

{To be answered by everyone}

26. Given the choice, what sort of job would you like to do ?

27. Do you think you'll get a job like that ?

28. Why is that ?

29. (If no) What sort of job do you think you'll end up in ?

30. (If not working in aspired job) When we first met, you said you would like to work as a _____, do you still want to do that ?

31. (If yes) What do you think your chances are ?

32. Why is that ?

33. (If no) What made you change your mind ?

34. Is there anything you regret doing or not doing over the last two years ?

35. What is that ?

36. Were there any opportunities you feel you were not given ?

37. What was that ?

38. Have you ever felt sorry that you left school/college when you did ?

39. Why is that ?

40. Have you had any contact with a Careers Officer since we last talked ?

41. (If yes) Did you contact them or did they contact you ?

42. (If has talked to a careers officer at all) Looking back now, how good do you think the careers advice you got was ?

43. (If left education). How well do you think that the school prepared you for the outside world ?

44. Are you married yet, or have you any plans to get married ?

45. (Girls only) If you get married will you continue working ?

46. Why is that ?

47. If you have children will you :- (read out)

stop working altogether
stop until they go to school
continue working, but go part time
continue working full time

48. Why is that ?

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