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The moral economy of unemployment: working on & participating in the youth training scheme (CO. Durham 1983-1986)

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THE MORAL ECONOMY OF UNEMPLOYMENT: WORKING ON & PARTICIPATING IN THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME

(CO. DURHAM 1983-1986)

Submitted for the degree of Ph.D,
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<u>ABSTRACT</u>

This thesis is concerned with the initiation, development and operation of the Youth Training Scheme (Y.T.S.) in Co. Durham, 1983-86.

Employing a multiple strategy of methodology, comprising participant comprehension, questionnaires and interviews with key informants, the changing nature of the school-work transition and local labour markets, is identified in the attitudes and actions of those working on and participating in the Y.T.S. A major focus of the project was the evaluation of the role of the supervisor working on the Y.T.S. The work of the local Accredited Centre (A.C.) charged with training the trainers was examined as was the work of nine supervisors working on eight selected schemes. As a consequence of this the progression of trainees incorporated in the study from the Y.T.S. was analysed.

By identifying and analysing the manner in which a number of individuals managed the rapid change brought about by the Y.T.S. the research concluded that the Y.T.S. both perpetuated and created divisions in local labour markets reinforcing the significance of educational qualifications as a predictor of success both on and off the Y.T.S. A hierarchy of schemes evolved with high status schemes being those with prior involvement in recognised and regarded forms of training. It became apparent that the differing market and work situation (Lockwood, 1966, p. 15) of supervisors represented an image to trainees of their future.

Ultimately the Y.T.S. must be regarded as the first shift in training policy, introduced by the post 1979 Conservative Governments, marking the beginning of a broader strategy linked to the management of the economy and unemployment. The state took on a major role in stipulating and directing training policy which was organised on a contractual basis locally. Within that strategy it was the individual who was deemed to be culpable for their lack of skills or unemployment.

Please note that the names of the Schemes and individuals that participated in the study have been changed.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many individuals gave freely of their time to participate in this project and I wish to extend my thanks to them, too numerous to mention by name.

Particular thanks go to Dr. Bill Williamson for his advice and support.

Whilst writing this thesis a number of people took on more than their fair share of domestic duties and I would like to thank Jim McClen and my daughter Laura for their hard work.

Karen Alexander has borne the main brunt of the typing and she has performed this task with great patience and fortitude. Thanks also to Rose Bailey who assisted with the typing in the earlier stages of the thesis.

This research project seems to have gone on for a long time. I didn't notice the time pass as I became absorbed in the topic. However my daughter has been heard to comment that she will not do a Ph.D as it seems to "go on and on and on". I hope sight of the finished article will give her hope and generate new ambitions.

Linda McKie
March 1989

CONTENTS

ABBREVIATIONS

AC   : Accredited Training Centre

BA   : Binding Allowance

CBI   : Confederation of British Industry

DES   : Department of Education and Science

ET   : Employment Training

ITB   : Industrial Training Board

ITEC   : Information Technology Centre

MSC   : Manpower Services Commission

NATFHE : National Association of Teachers in Further Education

NTI   : New Training Initiative

NUPE   : National Union of Public Employees

OTF   : Occupational Training Family

STC   : Staff Training Co-ordinator

TUC   : Trades Union Congress

TUSIU   : Trade Unions Studies Information Unit

TVEI   : Technical Vocational Education Initiative

UCATT   : Union of Construction and Allied Trades Union

USDAW   : Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers

YOP   : Youth Opportunities Programme

YTS   : Youth Training Scheme

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF MAPS

LIST OF TABLES

INTRODUCTION

1. THE PARAMETERS OF THE THESIS

2. THE APPROACH AND METHODOLOGY

3. THE LOCALITY: CO. DURHAM

4. EDUCATION TRAINING AND EMPLOYMENT

5. YOUNG PEOPLE IN CHANGING LABOUR MARKETS

6. GOVERNMENT POLICY AND TRAINING

7. CONCLUDING COMMENTS AND THE STRUCTURE OF THE THESIS

Introduction

1. The Parameters of the Thesis

The research contained in this thesis is concerned with the introduction of the first national training scheme for school leavers, the Youth Training Scheme (Y.T.S.). The thesis examines the launch of the scheme and its first years, 1983-86, in Co. Durham, the North East of England. Particular emphasis has been placed on an examination of the providers of training.

The Y.T.S. was introduced in a period of history characterised by:

1. a peaking in the number of 16 year olds in 1982;
2. a continuing economic recession;
3. and as a consequence of the above unprecedented levels of youth unemployment.

The political impetus for the Y.T.S. derived from youth unemployment and the Government's need to be seen as doing something that was recognisably different from the poorly regarded "special measures" of the 1970's. Youth unemployment threatened to weaken the traditional bonds between education and employment by undermining the dominant rationale for schooling, namely the orientation towards the world of employment and the allocation of individuals to adult roles (Watts, 1983, p.p. 6-15). Unemployed young people were perceived by the political community and represented by the media as a potential threat

to society (Hansard, Vol. 999, Col. 731; 27.2.81). Idle young hands, it was suggested, were liable to become prey to extreme forms of political activity; to drug abuse and crime (ibid).

The underlining cause for these concerns lay in the dramatic and intense economic recession of the 1970's. Debate raged as to whether this recession was cyclical, and therefore youth unemployment would lessen as an upturn in the economy occurred (Makeham, 1980) or it was structural in nature resulting in a major transformation in the demand for labour (Jordan, 1982). The youth education and training lobby were able to exploit this debate by redefining the dominant problem as, not one of youth unemployment, but one of the quality and quantity of youth training and hence the economic future of the country (Raffe, 1984a).

The Y.T.S not only removed many young people from the unemployment register, one in four of 16 year olds in 1986 were on Y.T.S.(1), but it also created employment for adults as scheme supervisors. Figures on job creation are not available at a national level but in 1984-5 almost 140,000 people attended courses in the Y.T.S. "Training the Trainers" programme (2).

(1) See Cockburn, C. (1987) p.1.
(2) Figure obtained in response to a request to the Senior Training Advisor, Manpower Services Commission, Sheffield. Letter dated 10th June 1985.

This is an important facet of the scheme for it is via employment that, income, status and identity are sustained (Jahoda, 1979, p. 310). In an area such as County Durham which has consistently suffered from above average rates of unemployment the Y.T.S offers the only viable option for the majority of unemployed young people and many adults.

Training Policy has occupied a central role in the economic and social concerns of the post 1979 Conservative Governments. Policies which focused upon the management of youth unemployment subsequently formed the basis of a broad training strategy for both young and old. It is the contention of this thesis that the major constituents of that strategy were initiated and developed in the early programme of the Y.T.S.

In the fifteen years from the setting up of the Industrial Training Boards in 1964 to the election of the Conservative Government in 1979 the word training was commonly associated with "rites of passage". As such it was a restricted activity concerned mainly with the transmission and acquisition of applied skills. Post 1979 economic and social policies placed a renewed focus on the individual and the necessity for the individual to equip themselves with the skills and expectations relevant to the changing economic structure (MacInnes, 1979, p.165). Whilst there is no necessary connection between individual effort and reward the policies of the 1980's in social security, employment, education and training, have expanded the necessity and possiblities of reward via paid employment. Those policies have been didactic in nature, reinforcing the centrality of paid employment as a source of

income and suggesting that the expectations of the 1970's are unrealistic in the labour markets of the 1980's. Training strategies have become a key to gaining entry to labour markets and, as such, are readily participated in especially in areas such as Co. Durham.

The Y.T.S. promotes notions of the adaptability, flexibility of the worker and the concept of the tranferability of skills. The scheme established a new framework for training. It was contended that training be more freely and readily available. Training was to be linked to employer's needs and not controlled by trade unions and major employers. The word training has become associated with planned processes to modify attitudes and knowledge with reference to current and future manpower needs of organisations. The development of individual abilities appear to be less of a priority than was previously the case when training was linked to widely recognised qualifications.

This has been a decade characterised by the growth of the unemployment industry. That industry, by aiming to manage unemployment, invariably via training policies has created employment for adults. It has also lead to the substitution of workers by the "trainees". But the industry has dominated employment policies creating an atmosphere in which a moral economy of employment has become evident. This policy reinforces the correctness of paid employment and the virtuous nature of those who are realistic in attempting to secure employment in a period of economic recession, that is, restrict their expectations to available avenues of employment. The framework and structure of the Y.T.S. suggest a fable for those seeking work on leaving school in the 1980's. Whilst central

directives provide the framework it is in local activity that schemes are organised and run. The school leaver is presented with a pattern of a national scheme but participation in the Y.T.S. and future labour markets is dictated by the educational qualifications of the trainees, and the economic situation of the locality and the sector within which specific schemes are conducted. In short the individual responds to a local situation which, as indicated in this thesis, is markedly different to the national picture of the scheme publically presented.

By 1986 the Y.T.S had developed into a two year scheme and became an accepted path in the school-employment-unemployment transition. The Y.T.S. reflects the socio-economic context within which it has developed. It is therefore, not surprising, that Y.T.S. perpetuates inequalities in the labour market and within the institution of the Y.T.S. a complex process of differentiation reinforcing labour market stratification had evolved. But the Y.T.S. has also created a series of new expectations for both employers and young people:- of insecure, low paid, increasingly part-time and intermittent periods of employment.

This introductory section of the thesis sets out the context within which the Y.T.S. became a political reality and economic necessity. The economic history of the locality is presented. The relationship between education and work is then considered and the dynamic nature of that relationship in the context of economic recession is, finally, examined.

2. The Approach and Methodology

The research presented in this thesis was undertaken in a period of global economic recession. A large number of workers were removed from paid employment. Many school leavers failed to find work. Those remaining in employment found their positions subject to pressure for redefinition of the effort, reward contract in a changing economic environment (Purcell and Wood, 1986, p.2). Economic change caused political change. The dominant characteristics of Government in the 1960's - corporatism and the provision of welfare - shifted to an increasingly centralised form of Government operating policies both didactic and anti-collectivist in nature. This has not been a linear progression but a product of the actions of different groups jostling for position and a share in the rewards of industrial production and political power (Bauman, 1982, p.176). Those actions are effected by the distribution of power throughout society and the market position and life chances of workers and employers. They are modified by the global economic and political changes. The recession circumscribed both the limits and possibilities of social change. This thesis is concerned with the changes directly effecting the young unemployed school leavers and the providers of training.

The term school-work transition used to be a self-explanatory one. In the post-war years jobs were generally freely available to school leavers (Casson, 1979, p.21). However in a fifteen year period, from 1973 to 1988, the fortunes of working class school leavers have fluctuated dramatically. In the mid 1970's access to employment became

limited and youth unemployment rose. A series of "special measures" were introduced under the auspices of the Manpower Services Commission (M.S.C.) a Government sponsored and funded organisation. The solutions to youth unemployment were firmly located in a supply side argument:- the young had to change their behaviour, expect less and be more realistic concerning the (dead end) nature of the few available jobs. On the demand side is the provision of employment, little in the way of economic policy measures were undertaken. In fact employers were heavily subsidised by Government, through the M.S.C., to participate by providing places for young people participating in the special measure programme.

In the 1980's the Y.T.S. was initiated. It became an accepted part of a more complex process of school-scheme-employment or unemployment transition defined almost exclusively in terms of employer's needs. As the decade draws to a close demographic trends now indicate a decline in the numbers of available young employees relative to vacancies. This trend is already evident in regions of economic growth such as the South East and East Anglia where vacancies are increasing. Soon the young will become highly sought after by employers throughout the county.

It might appear that the problem of youth unemployment is receding into the background and a return to the status quo of the early post-war labour market situation of the young will follow. But much has changed and this thesis presents an analysis of the main period of change, the early 1980's. The aim of this thesis is to chart and analyse the events surrounding the inception and early years of the Y.T.S. in Co. Durham.

The research task was to identify and evaluate the effects of such change on local school leavers, trainers, M.S.C. officials and the others involved in setting up a network of schemes.

This research is located in a tradition of sociology which recognises the operation of the capitalist economy as the major cause of divisions of labour but also attributes relevance to the actions of people which are subjectively meaningful. Workers are not solely objects of capital (see Anderson, 1980) but individuals possessed of all sentiments and feelings, hopes and fears struggling to fashion their life (Thompson, 1968). Change may originate in and be accelerated by the workings of the capitalist economy but it is in the daily activities and events of life that the effects of and reactions to social change are evident. Personalising the effects of social change within the sphere of the sociology of education and youth culture has been the aim of a series of studies employing ethnographic techniques eg. Cockburn's study of gender inequalities on the Y.T.S.; Coffield, Borrill and Marshall's study of young people entering adult life in the North East, and Pollard, Purvis and Walford's compilation of studies concerning the changing educational and training experiences of young people(3). Ethnography has been the major research method employed in such studies.

(3) Cockburn, C., (1987), Two Track Training: Sex Inequalities and the Y.T.S. MacMillan, London.
Coffield, F., Borrell, C., & Marshall, S., (1986), Growing up at the Margins. Open University Press.
Pollard, A., Purvis, J., & Walford, G., (eds), (1988), Education, Training and the New Vocationalism. Open University Press

Ethnography is a field of study concerned with the description and analysis of culture. The main research technique employed by ethnographers is participant observation in which the researcher, by a process of observation collects data on the wide range of topics they witness. Debate has raged over the actual process of observation. Marion Pearsall (1970, p. 340) divides her treatment of the topic into four possible approaches labelled "complete observer, observer as participant, participant as observer and complete participation". It was suggested that the researcher adopt one approach and stick to it. The pervading notion was that the researcher avoided "going native". This was considered a hindrance to note taking and likely to result in aspects of the group culture becoming accepted by the researcher and so possibly not fully examined.

Collins (1984, pp.54-69) points out the inherent contradiction in the term participant observation namely that to observe negates participation and vice versa. He suggests two approaches namely, unobtrusive participation and participant comprehension. Unobtrusive participation is defined as a process in which researchers wish to observe the actions of others while disturbing those actions as little as possible. In participant comprehension, the participant does not seek to minimise interaction with the group under investigation, but to maximise it. Collins suggests these models as ideal types. Each approach has draw backs; in the case of unobtrusive particpation the problem of not achieving a true meaning for events whilst in participant comprehension the problem of missing the significance of events for the outsider. It is for the researcher to achieve compromise. There will

be constraints of time, money, social skills and linguistic resources. As such the selection of research techniques will be the outcome of choices made by the researcher at a given point in time. Such choices are evident in this study. The process of observation has tended towards the model of participation comprehension. Native competence in the whole sphere of the the world of Y.T.S. was sought resulting in my actions and reactions becoming indistinguishable from other members of the group. This lessened the effect of the researcher on the many trainers and trainees in Y.T.S. who felt particularly threatened by the dramatic change in their social and economic situation brought about by the Y.T.S. Lessening the impact of the researcher was an extremely important consideration. However it must be noted that aiming for participation comprehension may result in aspects of the groups culture becoming accepted and hence not analysed. Nevertheless the problems of access and acceptance were paramount in a period of such dramatic change. The shift towards participant comprehension allowed for and encouraged competence in the language of the Y.T.S. and the various activities incorporated in the scheme.

One aspect of common knowledge in any groups and societies is the use of language and speech. Groups and societies have patterns of their own, "comparable to, and intersecting with, patterns in social organisation and other cultural domains" (Saville-Troike, 1982, p.1). Language creates and reinforces boundaries unifying speakers and excluding outsiders. Membership of the group or society is only fully achieved by a knowledge and understanding of the language. As Saville-Troike (1987, p. 249) points out "language serve(s) many ends, from the gratification

of individual desires to the organisation of massive co-operative efforts". Via the spoken and written word idealised patterns of behaviour, attitudes and values may be conveyed. What is being communicated is information from a social system such as the role relationship, values and beliefs and other shared patterns of knowledge and behaviour. An awareness of these variables reinforces the necessity to move towards participant comprehension so as to gain access to such material.

If the task is to present and analyse an event such as the introduction of the Y.T.S. a series of strategies must be employed to gain access to and knowledge of the world of the Y.T.S. As noted the interlocking effects of a number of changes in the economic and social spheres of life transformed the school-work transition into a previously inconceivable form. The development of the Y.T.S. began with the rise in unemployment in the early 1970's culminating in the Parliamentary debates and the policy in the 1980's. The composition of the policy was also affected by measures in previous periods of dramatic social change, for example the dole colleges of the 1930's (Horne, 1983, pp.309-330). An awareness of the historical contingencies informing the inception of the Y.T.S. is a necessary pre-requisite to the main body of ethnographic work.

The social and economic change of the 1970's and 1980's have dramatically effected perceptions of employment and career progression. Charting the previous experiences of employment of the Y.T.S. supervisors may be undertaken by questionnaires and interview methods.

Questionnaires allow the collection of selective forms of information such as previous employment and training undertaken. Obviously the framing of questions can effect the response (Taylor-Gooby, 1985a, p.80) particularly if opinions are sought. However questionnaires are a quick and relatively easy method by which factual information may be obtained.

The sentiments, relationships and behaviour surrounding the progression through job/career paths are virtually impossible to elicit via questionnaire methods. Personal interviews are a method by which the individuals can explore such aspects. Interviews, however, are problematic because of the validity of questions posed. Are questions formulated in a culturally appropriate manner? Is the researcher sensitive to signs of acceptance, discomfort resentment or sarcasm? Ultimately the interview provides the one to one framework within which exploration of beliefs and actions can take place with a degree of common knowledge.

With the preceding points in mind a multiple strategy (Burgess, 1984a, p.146) was employed, that is a range of methods selected for their efficiency and adequacy for particular research problems (Zelditch, 1962, p. 576)

Research Task:	Research Method
To identify and analyse:	
daily events and incidents	participant observation leading to participant comprehension
idealised patterns of behaviour and values	analysis of Y.T.S. documents and key informant interviews
institutionalised patterns of behaviour	interviews with key informants and observation
patterns of scheme provision	questionnaires and interviews
career histories and career paths	questionnaires and interviews

The research process was ordered as follows:-

November 1983 - March 1984	observed training courses available for Y.T.S. supervisors at local Accredited Centre (A.C)
May 1984 - December 1985	part-time tutor at the A.C. so continued to participate in courses and new curricula development
Summer 1984 - September 1985	eight Y.T.S. schemes selected for detailed study. Visits made once a fortnight to observe work of supervisors and progress of trainees.

The aim has been to present a holistic picture of life on the Y.T.S. utilising multiple strategies in preference to "the assertion of the general and inherent superiority of one method over another on the basis of some intrinsic qualities it presumably possessed" (Trow, 1957, p.35). In the analysis of data use has ben made of the concept of ideal types (Bendix and Roth, 1971, p.257). The employment of ideal types allows for the designation of static points as a fruitful means of analysing social reality. In Chapters 6 and 7 typologies, based upon a series of

ideal types, are presented in concluding sections. These typologies seek, respectively, to present the reference groups and current training identity of supervisors and the labour market destinations of trainees. The ideal types presented are derived through comparison of individual states, their organisation and functions (ibid).

3. The Locality: Co. Durham

Co. Durham, in the north east of England, is located between the urban conurbations of Tyne and Wear to the north and east and Teesside to the south (see Map 1 overleaf). Sandwiched between areas of traditional heavy industries - shipbuilding to the north east, chemicals and steel to the south - the county produces a raw material crucial to such industries namely coal.

This is largely a semi-rural county containing both the industrial debris of earlier periods of industry and mining and areas of great beauty bordering on the Pennines. However socio-economic deprivation is evident throughout the county. Settlements are predominantly small and dispersed based upon the workings of lead and coal mines and the needs of agriculture. The largest town in the county, Darlington, with a population of approximately 100,000 owes its size to a succession of industrial changes from a textile centre in the 18th Century to a major centre in railway stock manufacture in the 19th Century. However the town's fortunes like those of much of the County's are closely linked to national and increasingly international trends (Massey, 1986, p.31).

Legend:
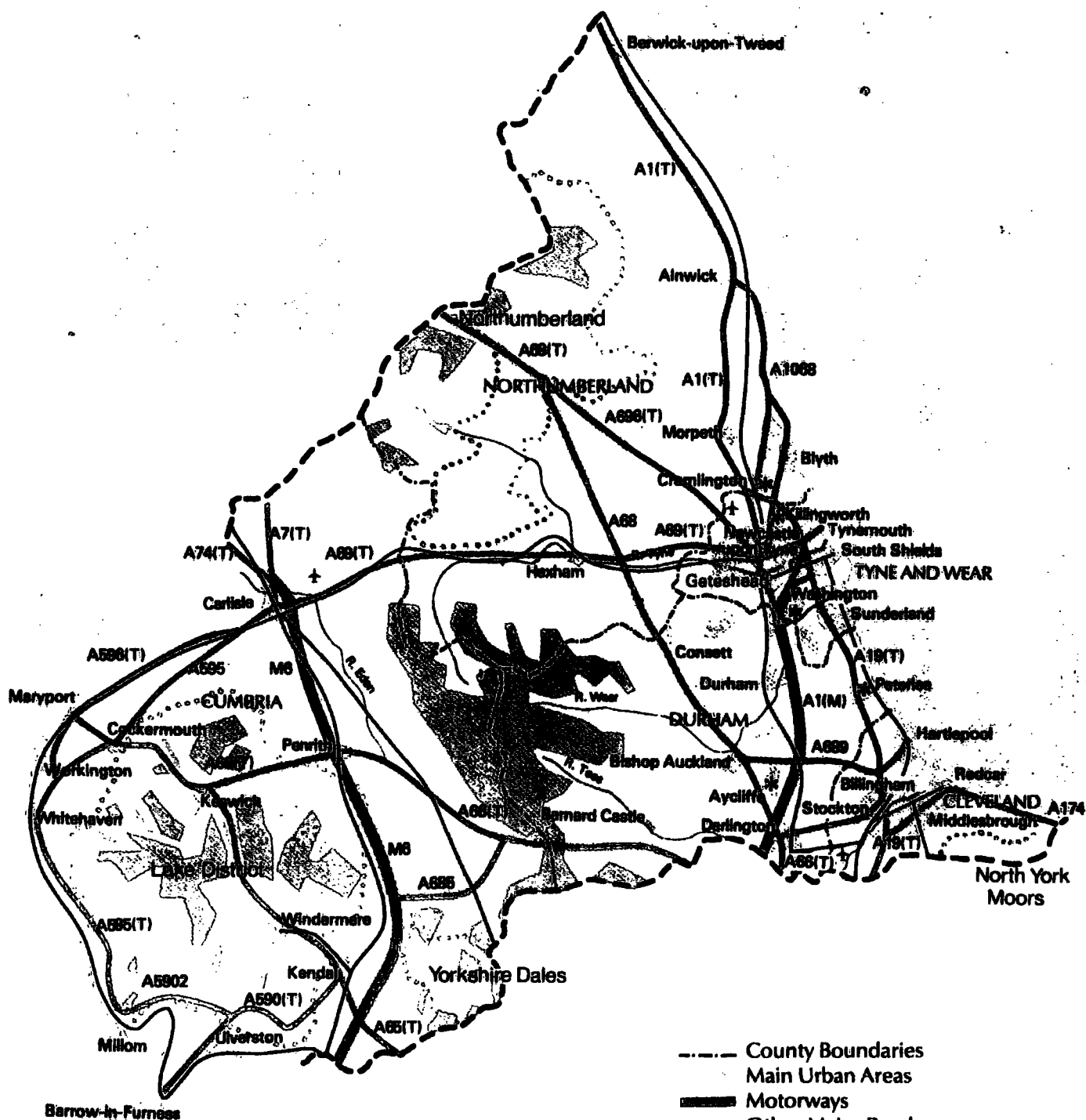
- — - — County Boundaries
- Main Urban Areas
- Motorways
- Other Major Roads
- Main Railways
- ✝ Airports
- ✱ New Towns
- National Park Boundaries

1400 feet (427 metres)
600 feet (183 metres)

0	10	20	Miles
0	10	20	30	Kilometres

MAP 1:   The Northern Region

Source: NCCA (1986) The State of the Northern Region, 1986

There is, as Hudson points out, "no simple, mechanistic relationship between... long period movements in the capitalist world economy and accelerating de-industrialisation" (Hudson,1986,p.171). Whilst coal mining in Co. Durham reached a peak level of production in 1913 and of employment in 1923 (ibid) the contracting industry continued to dominate the economic history and industrial culture of the locality.

State policies have sought to mediate in such changes. In particular a series of regional policies (from the 1930's) and more recently planning initiatives were implemented in the 1960's and 1970's. The new towns of Peterlee and Newton Aycliffe evolved based upon the attraction of assembly branch plant industries. Local Government policies focused upon the attraction of mobile capital with localities competing with each other in a "place market" policy (Robinson and Sadler, 1985, p. 110). Other policies were concerned with the payment of grants to existing firms to cover capital developments.

The Labour Party has dominated local government for over 60 years. That tradition of government is based upon a view that "...in the final analysis, the interests of capital and labour are complementary and that the capital-labour relationship is a justifiable one" (Hudson, op. cit, p. 207). A political consensus around the policies of modernisation and the necessity of a local response to accommodate economic change was and is very evident. These policies appeared to work, for between 1965 and 1975 the 70,000 workers shed by the then National Coal Board in the northern region secured employment elsewhere particularly in a growing service sector (Pimlott, 1985, p. 350)

This apparent equilibrium was disturbed in the 1970's. Regional incentives encouraged the replacement of labour by capital. Employment in new as well as traditional industries contracted and continues to do so. The economy of County Durham is now heavily dependent on public sector employment. Despite numerous local and central government initiatives newer industries continue to cluster in the south and east of the county (Duncan & Goodwin,1988 and Massey, 1986).

A report on unemployment in Co. Durham 1981 - 1983 produced from a survey by the County Council Planning Department concluded that job losses were continuing particularly in mining and manufacturing. The situation across industrial sectors is illustrated in the table below:-

Table 1 - Employment in Co. Durham 1982-1983

SECTOR	1981	1982	1983	CHANGE 1982-3
Agriculture, Forestry & Fishing	5,900	5,900	5,900	0
Mining & Quarrying	16,300	15,500	14,200	-1,300
Manufacturing	63,500	60,500	57,300	-3,200
Services	134,900	132,500	133,500	+1,000
TOTAL	220,600	214,400	210,900	-3,500

Source: Durham County Council, 1984c p.1

Manufacturing jobs were hard hit with 3,200 jobs lost between 1981 and 1983. Since 1977 a total of 35,700 jobs had been lost throughout the county. This has been partially offset by the creation of approximately 10,000 new jobs. The report concluded that it was anticipated that a

further contraction of mining would take place (as it did) and that manufacturing would continue to be a sector of continued but uneven development, that is, both job losses and job creation. The growth in services was the only positive trend. The local labour market was now dominated by a low paid public sector and a vulnerable, non-innovative assembly-based manufacturing sector. Companies locally based appear to have utilised rationalisation and intensification as forms of reorganisation of production in a period of economic recession (Massey and Megan, 1982, p.18). Research and development was not an option undertaken. The majority of companies are externally controlled and little in the process of skill transfer and product substitution have taken place.

Yet during 1983 three of the top four local companies increased their profit margins (Northern Echo, 27th February 1985) and the local Trade Union Studies Information Unit (T.U.S.I.U.) charted the growth of skill shortages in specific sectors such as construction, electronics and engineering (T.U.S.I.U., 1988, p.10). There is an obvious paradox between the high level of unemployment and the existence of skill shortages. However the skills available and training on offer did not match the requirements of employers with vacancies. If an aim of the Y.T.S. is to provide quality training in sectors likely to lead to employment it would be plausible to suggest that it be linked to areas of skill shortage in the locality. This is explored throughout the thesis.

The Y.T.S. was born in a period of high unemployment for the young.
Unemployment is a term commonly found in studies in the history and
culture of the region. It is no coincidence that the two most
celebrated events in labour history in the area - the Jarrow Crusade and
Durham Miners Gala - celebrate, in the case of the former, the struggle
against unemployment in the 1930's and, in the latter, the triumph of
organised labour and of the centrality of skilled labour, to the
economic processes.

The 1930's was a period of extreme deprivation. The county's population
experienced rates of unemployment distinctly higher than those in the
country as a whole (Daysh, Symonds,1953). In particular, the mining
communities of West Durham were hard hit experiencing unemployment at
higher rates than much of the county (ibid). The public policy
responses were premised upon a model of individual pathology, the
unemployed were directed to dole colleges to receive instruction while
they awaited the return of employment (Horne, 1983, p.330). This
experience of unemployment has loomed large in the area's history and
caused Ben Pimlott, in comparing rising unemployment in the 1930's and
1970's to comment "there is a battering down of hatches with a weary
sense of the return of a familiar adversary" (Pimlott, 1981, p.51). Now,
as then, migration levels increased and underemployment followed in a
downward spiral (ibid).

In the intervening years between the 1930's and 1970's unemployment,
whilst remaining above the national average (See, Moore Evening Gazette,
10th March 1960), was contained by migration; regional and social

security policies which, respectively, gave a public focus to an attempt at industrial management and eased the severity of the experience of unemployment. However dependence upon large firms eg. British Steel in Consett and British Rail in Shildon was to have catastrophic knock on effects upon closures of such plants in the 1970's. The sheer intensity of unemployment in the 1970's and 1980's made the management of unemployment problematic.

Unemployment levels in the north east remain consistently high with all four counties in the region in the top eight counties with the highest unemployment rates within Britain (Table 2):-

Table 2: Unemployment Rates; Highest Rates By County. April 1988

Merseyside	- 18.6%
Cleveland	- 18.2%
South Yorkshire	- 15.9%
Tyne & Wear	- 15.8%
Cornwall	- 15.3%
Durham	- 15%
Humberside	- 13.4%
Northumberland	- 13.2%

Source: Employment Gazette, May 1988

Life for those in employment in the region is a relatively comfortable one with low housing and food costs resulting in an average disposable income only slightly lower than the national average.

However deprivation is evident. A County Council analysis of 1981 census data examining deprivation in the county in comparison with all other districts in England and Wales (4) concluded that two districts Wear Valley and Derwentside suffer from a level of multiple deprivation comparable with inner city authorities (Durham County Council, 1984c, p.10). The historical settlement pattern which produced a dense network of smaller towns and villages surrounding mines in pleasant countryside has served to cloak the true magnitude of socio-economic problems.

Young people continue to leave school at the first opportunity with few or no qualifications (Northern Region Councils Association, 1986, p.31). The prospects awaiting them are bleak. Between 1983-6 the demand for labour was very low in relation to the numbers leaving school (ibid).

4. Education, Training and Employment

The relationship between education, training and employment has long been a controversial one (Williams, 1961, p.163). There have been periods in history when policies in the sphere of education and training would promote the notion that education and training should be more accessible and available simply for their own sake, e.g. the instigation

(4) The analysis utilised 14 indicators of deprivation ranging from % of single pensionable households, to the % of economically active people who are unemployed to the infant mortality rate averaged 1974-1980. Durham County Council (1984c).

of the Industrial Training Boards as a result of the 1964 Industrial
Training Act and the establishment of educational priority areas in 1968
(Finch, 1984, p.85 and Stringer and Richardson, 1982, p.25).

During the last twenty years the balance has swung to a predominantly
instrumental one. Education is perceived by dominant groups as
preparation for employment (Finch, 1984, p.44). Training is viewed as
fundamentally linked to employers' needs rather than enhancing an
individual's level of qualification. The effects of such shifts and the
resultant narrowing of the definition of such concepts as education and
training, are largely felt by young working class school leavers (Finn,
1987, p.190).

One noticeable assumption during this period has been that the "correct"
relationship between education, training and employment has to be
achieved via changes in education and training (Brown, 1984, p.97, Finn,
1987, p.118). The organisation of employment and structure of
occupations are regarded as immutable despite the intense documentation
of the dramatic changes and regional differentiation in labour markets
(MacArthur & McGregor, 1986; MacInnes,1987; Purcell, Wood, Waton &
Allen, 1986). It appears ironic to note that the debate concerning
education and employment, which reached a new found intensity during the
1970's, paid relatively little attention to the future of employment and
the organisation of private capital. Rather the debate focused upon so
called failures in the education system to relate adequately to societal
and, in particular, the economy's needs (Watts, 1983, p.27). The
dramatic changes in the economy were considered to be outside the

boundaries of Governmental control. This reflects the inability of Governments to manage periods of economic restructuring. Sinfield (1981, p. 118) contended that the individual was held in some way culpable for finding themselves unemployed.

The present Government's unwillingness to challenge national and international shifts in the private sector has resulted in the promotion of policies which necessitate behavioural responses from the school leaver and the unemployed eg. lowering expectations and pay levels (Robinson & Saddler, 1975, p.110 and MacInnes, 1987, p. 135). The high participation rates in programmes such as the Y.T.S., which offer neither recognised qualifications, secure conditions nor established rates of pay are an indication of the individual response in the face of few alternatives.

Training has long played a critical role in gaining access to the better rewarded, higher status points in the occupational order (Penn, 1984, p.129). It is the entry to training which proves to be a critical process in securing the more stable situations in the labour market (Hawkins, 1984, p.50). The skilled are less likely to experience lengthy periods of unemployment, Although the state of the local labour market is a further, and often critical variable (Hawkins, op cit, p.59). It is important to highlight the manner in which training plays a central role in the creation of inequalities, along the occupational order. The formalisation of, and state intervention in, training results in a greater specialisation of tasks into the hands of a few whilst subordinating, - "the knowledge, judgement and will of the worker"

(Thompson, P., 1983, p.45). The concept of skill is often linked to a concept of craft mastery (Braverman, 1974, p.443; Thompson, P., 1983, p.92). A linkage with what Braverman terms "class mastery" is evident in many definitions of the concept of skill. It is also apparent, as Beechey contends, that a concept of socially defined occupational status operates. Sectors of work have undergone dramatic technological change. They cannot be classified in any classic or contemporary sense as skilled. Yet they maintain that exclusiveness. For example, the print workers (see Cockburn's study, 1983). So the term skill is a socially contructed concept and one which is reinforced by economic considerations (Beechey, 1982, p.63).

5. Young People in Changing Labour Markets

Educational qualifications also play a crucial role. The possession of a certain level of qualifications is (increasingly) a further criterion employed in entry to training and employment. As Finn indicates, the job aspirations of school leavers are related to their sex, socio-economic origins, and academic grouping with the majority of sixteen year olds anticipating a transition to working class gender differentiated jobs (Finn, 1987, p.87, also see Pollert, 1981, and Willis, 1977). The aspirations of school leavers are often modest (ibid). This process of transition to a differentiated labour market has changed little as has the situation facing those without qualifications or skills. However the Y.T.S. now forms a further stage in such a transition adding to the process of selection and

differentiation. This is a notable addition to the previously assumed transition from school to work.

The post war labour market was a buoyant one for school leavers. But it was also a divisive one. In 1950 only 33% of boys and 8% of girls entered apprenticeship training (Roberts,1984,p.26). Not only was access severely restricted but also demarcated by gender, race and educational qualifications. The girls entered hairdressing, the boys predominantly building, construction and engineering trades. Whilst young worker participation in day release courses did rise from 40,000 in 1938 to 435,000 in 1959 there was little coherence to provision and a high drop out rate (ibid).

In 1959 Michael Carter examined the school-work progression and unearthed an acute awareness on the part of young people of the situation concerning access and restrictions to certain areas of work. This, the young people indicated, was resultant from their limitations rather than restrictive employment practices. Whilst securing employment was relatively easy it was only addressed shortly before leaving school and something with which the available public services, in particular the Youth Employment Service, were presumed to have little to offer. The conferring of social standing from occupations was defined as an apprenticeship for boys and for girls in declining order; office work, shop work and factory work. Entry to an apprenticeship and office work necessitated the possession of 'O' level or equivalent academic qualifications. There was a correlation between educational attainment and entry to a high status job or apprenticeship (Carter, 1963).

Such levels of awareness are a reaction both to perceptions of the structure of employment, gender and class relations and the closed nature of areas of education and work to many school leavers.

Willis, (1977) and Corrigan, (1979) demonstrate the manner in which working class children opt out of the academic forms of education in preference to their own initiation into working class jobs i.e. unskilled jobs. As Parkin points out, such "shaping" is not a linear process but one in which many deny themselves opportunities because they perceive certain avenues not to be accessible to them, i.e. social closure. Situations in the labour market are translated into equivalent social boundaries (Parkin, 1971, p.62).

The links between poor educational attainment, family circumstance, locality and restricted access to training were factors evident in post-war transitions to labour markets (Casson, 1979, p.10). In fact the development of more formal and bureaucratic recruitment and staffing policies by public sector and many private sector employers was to add a further formal tier to the divisions created by the "new" tripartite education system introduced with the 1944 Education Act. It was the ultimate irony that a welfare state borne out of concern for the problem of idleness and ignorance and in a spirit of concern for all should further and formally restrict the access of working class school leavers to training and employment (LeGrand, 1982, p.76).

A 1987 report by Ashton, Maguire and Garland indicated that different groups rarely compete in the same labour markets:- males and females,

white and ethnic minorities, young and old. The importance of studies as that undertaken by Ashton, Maguire and Garland is to emphasise both the structuration of labour markets and the specific but narrow points of entry for the young. Any structural change in occupational sectors will result in consequential changes in points of entry for the young. Jobs for the young may disappear altogether. Technical change can result in an upgrading of jobs and a need for more highly qualified staff hence the exclusion of the young.

Attitudes of recruitment staff may also shift favouring adult workers, particularly married women who are perceived as stable, responsible and relatively less costly than other groups. But structural change is only one half of the equation. A review of available research up to 1976 concluded that "changes in youth unemployment are closely associated with changes in overall unemployment" (Makeham, 1980, p.235) and the general condition of the local economy. So to improve the situation of unemployed school leavers necessitates an improvement in the economy as a whole, an examination and promotion of changing entry points for the school leaver and an evaluation of education and training policies available for the young with reference to future employment opportunities.

6. Government Policy and Training

Until 1962 Government actions and policy did not foresee a role for the state in addressing skill needs and access to training. In 1958 a report commissioned to examine existing training arrangements "Training for Skill - Recruitment and Training of Young Workers in Industry" concluded that:

> "...the existing division of responsibility between Government
> and industry for the education and training of apprentices should
> be maintained...the responsibility of the industrial training
> should rest firmly with industry" (National Joint Advisory Council,
> Carr Report, HMSO, 1958)

The Committee found much to criticise in the arrangements for training but did not suggest any radical changes (Williams, 1959, p.24). Rather state intervention lay in the arena of economic management and provision of welfare services. Nevertheless debate continued fuelled by economic considerations. By 1962 a series of policy proposals were produced by civil servants. These proposals enacted in the 1964 Industrial Training Act led to the establishment of Industrial Training Boards (I.T.B.'s) based on specific industries with the power to raise levies from, and award grants to, firms for training within the industry. By 1971 there were 27 boards covering employers of 15 million workers. Whilst this might appear a radical policy shift to state intervention in training, it was in fact one which left much of the responsibility for actual policy delivery to the training boards. Boards were comprised of equal

numbers of employer and employee representatives from industry, plus educational interests (Stringer and Richardson, 1982, p.25).

The 1964 Act marked a recognition that industrial training policy could be one instrument of economic regeneration (Stringer and Richardson, op. cit, p.23). This was further evidence in the belief that increasing average skill levels would result in a more efficient economy and workforce. Clearly leaving training and the supply of skilled manpower to the play of market forces was not meeting this objective nor was it taking advantage of the increased number of school leavers - the post war baby boom - seeking employment. Government intervention was a reaction to market failures (Bauman, 1982, p.180). It constituted an attempt to maintain a conducive environment for economic growth and profit increase (Offe, 1975, p.125) whilst appearing to generate the potential of equal rights (Bauman, op. cit).

The 1962 White Paper and subsequent Act were welcomed by industry and trade unions both of which actively participated in discussions, formation and implementation of the Act. It was difficult to deny the failure of available training opportunities to expand and improve industrial training: - legislation appeared inevitable. To be in a position to influence legislation was therefore considered paramount. A policy community evolved i.e. a network of interested parties which can effectively process issues and problems to the satisfaction of the participants (Stringer and Richardson, op. cit, p.22).

In the early 1960's the youth unemployment rate was not dissimilar to that of adults. This relationship changed and during the early 1970's youth unemployment rose drastically. Between January 1972 and January 1977 unemployment increased by 45% but for those under 20 it had risen by 120%. The effects on women and ethnic minorities were severe (Sinfield & Showler, 1981, pp.13-17). The 1973 Employment and Training Act introduced by a Labour Government set up the Manpower Services Commission giving it power to make arrangements for "assisting people to select, train for, obtain and retain employment, and for assisting employers to obtain suitable employees" (HMSO, 1973, p.2). It became responsible for a wide range of services and institutions ranging from the industrial training boards and skill centres to job centres. The commission was formed of an executive composed of equal numbers of trade union and employer representatives. This act resulted in greater centralised control weakening previously autonomous groups. In particular the levies raised by the ITB's were now restricted by a levy-grant exemption system which relieved small firms from commitment whilst making the ITB's more dependent on direct support from the exchequer. It marked a withdrawal from the position of 1964 which aimed to provide counter cyclical training. The ITB's were now constrained in their ability to intervene when individual employers were experiencing financial constraints (Goldstein, 1984, p.97). Through the Commission, the Government could now implicitly but effectively control training provisions and introduce measures to control unemployment.

Initial policy measures promoted by the MSC sought to maintain existing jobs via a service of subsidies and inducements to employers, e.g. the

1975 Job Creation Programme. Such policy measures were based upon a cyclical definition of unemployment despite the continuing effects of technical change and international economic restructuring. Youth unemployment was specifically tackled by a recruitment subsidy to employers of five pounds per week for six months as an inducement to recruit unemployed school leavers. As unemployment continued to rise so criticism of the subsidy programme grew. The policies simply did not alleviate the problems faced by the groups most at risk - the unqualified, unskilled and long term unemployed - and intensified divisions between the unemployed. Action of a different type was needed.

The Job Creation Programme came to an end in 1977. Reporting in May 1977 a M.S.C. working party proposed the Youth Opportunities Programme (Y.O.P.) to "prepare young people for work and different kinds of work experience" (Finn, 1987, p.11). This programme aimed to provide initially 130,000 places, to accommodate up to 234,000 youngsters a year by 1978. Y.O.P. comprised:-

- Work preparation courses ranging from employment induction of two weeks duration to short training courses of three months;
- Work experience ranging from six months on employers' premises, to one year in training workshops or community service.

This programme was restricted to 16-18 year olds who would receive an allowance of £18 per week. With a continuing belief in the cyclical nature of unemployment the emphasis in the programme was, upon short

periods of work experience with employers. As such Y.O.P. was
originally designed as a temporary programme with a five year life span.

A dramatic growth in the M.S.C. was taking place. Staffing levels in
the M.S.C. reached a peak in 1979 at 26,162 employees. The unemployment
industry was in full bloom with continued growth in sight (Coffield,
1984, pp. 128-130). The accession of the Conservative Government in
1979 whilst leading to expenditure cuts for the M.S.C. reinforced the
notion of placing young people in the workplace. Special programmes
accounted for 29% of the M.S.C.'s budget in 1979. By 1981 special
programmes amounted to 44%. But as an avenue into full-time work,
Y.O.P.'s credibility was continually stretched. In 1978 the proportion
of Y.O.P. participants getting jobs or returning to education was 70%.
By mid 1981 only 44% of participants left for employment or education.
In Cleveland, south of Co. Durham, only 16% of Y.O.P. participants found
employment in 1980-81 (Roberts, 1984, p.85). The situation was similar
for Co. Durham leavers.

A series of other problems with placement on employer's premises were
also evident:-

1. Rapid expansion made monitoring difficult.

   In 1979 Y.O.P. affected one in eight school leavers; by 1982 it was
   covering one in two (Metcalf, op cit, p.32). There were 150,000
   sponsors predominantly small employers who provided places for
   several trainees (Metcalf, op cit, p.20). In 1982 a backlog of
   40,000 monitoring visits had to be written off.

2. A displacement of full-time jobs was increasingly evident. In fact
    the M.S.C. even admitted itself that "only" 30% of placements showed
    evidence of job substitution (Finn, 1987, p.144). The House of
    Commons Public Accounts Select Committee estimated that between
    40,000 and 70,000 jobs enjoying normal pay and conditions "may have
    been lost" (H.M.S.O., 1983, p.29). Increasingly local voluntary
    groups and workshops became dependent on Y.O.P. for their existence.

3. A concentration of schemes in certain sectors, in particular 30% of
    places in distributive trades, a sector which in 1981 employed only
    13% of the labour force, gave rise to concern of a mismatch between
    training and available jobs. Further, participants were entitled to
    off-the-job training for one day a week but less than a quarter
    attended such courses (Greaves, Costyn and Bonsall, 1982, p.8).
    Equal opportunities were not in general evidence. Gender and race
    bias in placements also caused mounting criticism (Brelsford and
    Rix, 1983, p.4). The development of a training curricula was not
    occurring despite the perceived link with training and economic
    regeneration promoted by the Government.

4. Between April 1980 and March 1983, seventeen trainees died and over
    300 were severely injured on Y.O.P. Y.O.P. trainees were excluded
    from important sections of the Health and Safety at Work Act and
    this was leading to mounting criticisms (Carter and Stewart, 1983).

In short a scheme intended as a cure was "aggravating the problem under
treatment" (Roberts, 1984, p.9). Young people wanted work; the

Government wanted a reduced register of unemployed. The M.S.C.'s established structure of Area Boards to approve and monitor its special employment measures was strained by the massive level of applications and continual criticism of schemes in operation. Made up of nominees from the T.U.C., employers and to some extent, the voluntary sector it presented a consensual framework on the policy of Y.O.P. By 1981 that consensus showed signs of breaking down. Young school leavers were being excluded from the labour market and redefined as trainees. For the T.U.C., in particular, this posed a challenge to strongly held perceptions of their role of representing employees rather than trainees. With the introduction of the Y.T.S. the T.U.C. redefined its role and became involved in setting up and monitoring the scheme. Along with the C.B.I. and voluntary sector groups the T.U.C. decided to particpate in centrally lead shifts in training policy.

7. Concluding Comments and Structure of the Thesis

The relationship between education, training and employment is a problematic one made all the more complex by economic recession. Young people enter specific but narrow points in the labour market such is the pattern of stratification and differentiation (Ashton, Maguire and Garland, 1982). The necessity of securing employment for economic survival and access to adulthood has resulted in keen participation on schemes. By 1979, it was clear that "special measures" could no longer contain the growing problem of youth unemployment.

Unemployment is not a new phenomenon in the locality of Co. Durham. Memories of the deprivation of the 1930's remain, as do perceptions of an industrial order based upon traditional sectors of industry and unionisation. The realities of the 1980's illustrate the effects of the dramatic change in the local economy, Co. Durham school leavers in the 1980's faced bleak prospects in a contracting labour market with little more than special measures available. Special measures were unlikely to bring the incomes or status linked with the progression from adolescence to adulthood.

This research project focussed upon the development and operation of the Y.T.S. It is located in a tradition of sociology which recognises the operation of the capitalist economy but attributes relevance to the actions of people. It is in the daily activities and events of life that the effects of and reactions to social change are evident. Utilising ethnographic techniques the project was able to identify and address the changes brought about by the Y.T.S.

The thesis is structured in three main parts viz:-

1. In Chapters 1 and 2 the events surrounding the introduction of the Y.T.S; the constituents of the Y.T.S. scheme design and content are examined. The notion of state led training policies was one accepted by 1981. The inception of the M.S.C. in 1973, a reaction to increasing levels of unemployment, brought with it a steady stream of "special measures" each one perceived as temporary. Against the background of continued levels of unemployment and the

election of a Conservative Government in 1979 a massive shift in policy took place resulting in the state financing and setting up a national scheme for young people. This shift may have been anticipated. However the new Conservative Government had been promoting the rhetoric of anti-statism (Hall, 1985, p.115) and the role of the individual in securing employment (MacInnes, 1987, p.162). The arrival of the Y.T.S. represented a compromise on the part of Government and bodies involved in training in the face of mounting economic crises and consequent effects on the labour markets.

Chapter One examines the process resulting in that compromise and the introduction of the Y.T.S. The focus shifts from national events and debates, explored in Chapter One, to the local situation in Co. Durham as Y.T.S. was set up (Chapter Two). The data presented was derived from a number of sources. Parliamentary debates and documentary evidence concerning youth training are analysed. Local papers were examined and relevant information introduced. Data from interviews conducted with key informants in the County Careers Service and M.S.C. Area Office is presented.

2. Chapters Three, Four and Five present and analyse various aspects of data collected during a period of research, 1983-85, at the local Accredited Centre. Contact was made with this Centre (referred to in this thesis as Eastern Centre) in the Autumn of 1983. At this time staff were launching the first full year of a programme of training for the Y.T.S. supervisors. The following six months

constituted the main period of ethnographic research during which time I observed training courses in development, teaching and evaluation. In the Spring of 1984 I undertook a teaching role with the Centre maintaining contact in this manner until December 1985. Thus access to all aspects of the work of the Centre from curriculum development, teaching and course participant was secured.

Training trainers is not a new concept but one that became, in a particular form, institutionalised as part of the Y.T.S. network. The M.S.C. funded 55 centres throughout Britain to provide a diet of short courses relevant to the Y.T.S. for those employed on Y.T.S. So the centres were presented with a specific remit. Centres were located in a number of contexts ranging from Polytechnics to private firms. The Accredited Centre examined in this thesis is located in a college of further education. The Y.T.S signalled a major shift in the control of vocational education (Stoney, Lines, 1987, p.122). Colleges had to become outward looking and more responsive to clients needs in order to survive the new era of market led provision of training. There were benefits; a boost to curriculum and staff development activities, and an impetus for the development of student-centred teaching and assessment methods and resources.

Each Chapter concentrates on a particular aspect of the role and work of Eastern Centre:

Chapter Three   is concerned with the launch and the development of
                Eastern Centre within the local network of Y.T.S.;

Chapter Four   examines the manner in which courses taught by centre

staff were initiated and organised;

Chapter Five   explores the participation of the Y.T.S. supervisors

in courses run by Eastern Centre.

3. The final Chapters of the thesis, Chapters Six and Seven, present an
analysis of the training and progression from the Y.T.S. The world
of the Y.T.S. in 1984 was one set against a background of continuing
levels of high unemployment. The confusion surrounding the actual
content of the scheme was intensified by the imperative for adults
and school leavers of finding secure employment or training in a
locality suffering deeply from economic recession and restructuring.
The following analysis of the world of the Y.T.S. presents a bleak
picture of inequalities in access to schemes which has a direct
bearing upon the future of supervisors and trainees.

During the year 1984-85 eight schemes were visited once a fortnight
and data obtained utilizing largely ethnographic techniques. In
total nine supervisors employed on schemes agreed to participate in
the project. A group of trainees on these schemes in the Spring of
1985 were also interviewed.

Two chapters are contained in this part of the thesis:

Chapter Six   examines the work of the Y.T.S. supervisors;

Chapter Seven assesses the training programmes available and the destination of Y.T.S. leavers.

The concluding Chapter presents both an update on the developments in training policy post 1986 as well as a discussion of the findings and boundaries of this research project. Two appendices are contained on the thesis. Appendix I presents a guide to the Y.T.S. in 1983. In Appendix II relevant documentary evidence is reproduced.

CHAPTER 1

1981-1983 From the New Training Initiative to the Launch of the Youth Training Scheme

1. WHY THE NEW TRAINING INITIATIVE (N.T.I.)?

A. Parliamentary Activity

B. The Brixton Disorder and the Political Agenda

C. International Comparisons

D. The Way Forward? The Three Objectives

2. THE INITIAL RESPONSE TO THE N.T.I.

A. Criticisms of Y.O.P.

B. The Government White Paper: A Programme for Action

C. Examining the Proposals: The Select Committee 1981/2

3. THE TASK GROUP REPORT

A. The Pilot Schemes

B. The Minimum Criteria: YTS Design

4. CONCLUSION

EVENTS LEADING TO THE INTRODUCTION OF YTS: APRIL 1981 TO APRIL 1983

1980-81	Think Tank reports: A) Education, Training, Employment B) Youth Unemployment.
1981 April	House of Commons Debate 7th April; fear of extremism, drug abuse, crime, suicide expressed.
	Brixton Riots 10-12th April
May	MSC Consultative Document 'The New Training Initiative' Task Group set up to report on framework for youth training programme.
July	Riots throughout Britain in inner city areas House of Commons Debate 27th July Unemployment and riots linked. Royal Wedding.
October	Tory Party Conference 'Get on your bike' speech. House of Commons Debate, 21st October; abuses in Y.O.P. giving grave cause for concern.
November	Select Committee on Employment 81/82 session gives consideration to young people. Scarman Inquiry into Brixton riots published. Sixteen Industrial Training Boards to be axed.
December	A Programme for Action introduced in House of Commons 15th December; allowance set at £15 p.w. as young people felt to be 'pricing themselves out of employment'.
1982 April	Task Group Report formulates basis of YTS and is accepted by Government. Allowance to be £25 p.w.
May	Falklands War.
June	Birth of Royal Baby.
September	Pilot Schemes set up.
1983 February	House of Commons Debate prior to launch of YTS, 2nd February; preference for schemes on employers' premises.

Chapter 1:

1981-1983 From The New Training Initiative To The Launch Of The Y.T.S.

The period between 1981-1983 was one of great activity for all those concerned with youth unemployment and training. It began with the publication of the New Training Initiative and ended with the inception of the Y.T.S. This chapter examines this period of activity exploring the factors underlying the introduction of the Y.T.S.

1. Why The New Training Initiative?

In May 1981 the M.S.C. (1981a) published a consultative document entitled 'The New Training Initiative'. This document was to have a profound effect on training policy paving the way for massive state intervention in an area of economic activity evidently under resourced and under valued by the private sector. The document set out a series of objectives (discussed below) which have formed the basis for subsequent policy changes. The report argued that changes in the labour market and the introduction of new technology were challenges not being met by employers or what was described as an inflexible apprenticeship system. Training, the report claimed, was perceived by many employers as a disposable overhead dropped at the first sign of lowering profit margins. The international basis of trade and competition necessitated an investment in training which was evidently not taking place. Training was crucially linked to economic regeneration. The report opened up a debate which could not have come sooner for a Government

beleaguered by political and social controversy the origins of which were directly linked to levels of youth unemployment.

In 1979 the Conservative Party was elected to Government under the leadership of Margaret Thatcher. This victory was to mark a shift in Conservative Part policy and explicitly denote the breakdown of any post-war consensus concerning the role of the state in addressing social and economic problems (Johnson, 1986, p.144). The election was fought by the Conservatives under the slogan "Labour isn't working" a direct assertion to increasing unemployment and continued economic problems as epitomised by the "Winter of Discontent" (MacInnes, 1987, p.XI).

The economic problems facing earlier Governments had their origins in a long term decline caused by the inability of the private sector to invest in industry or take anything other than a short-term perspective in financial and structural planning (Gamble, 1981, p.52; Massey & Megan, 1982, p.222; MacInnes, 1987, p.166). The severe recession of the 1970's, triggered off by the oil crisis in 1973, gave rise to the restructuring of employment and a process of change in the divisions of labour in society (Purcell and Wood, 1986, p.3). Brown (1984, p.320) suggested that the pace of change was a rapid one resulting in the adaptation of patterns of work with which we had been familiar for nearly two centuries. One notable feature of this period was the decline of regional policy (Massey and Megan, op cit, p.198).

Change may not be threatening or degrading. Change in the work place may lead to liberation of workers from the repetitive, boring and even

dangerous tasks associated with certain sectors of employment. But change occurring in tandem with sharp increases of unemployment can and does increase the vulnerability of the worker and the school leaver. The Thatcherite Government had worked with the slogan "pricing people into jobs" making it clear that higher unemployment levels were a necessary evil both to lower wage levels and expectations (MacInnes, op cit, p.163). Yet a substantial (employed) minority continue to make rapid progress in income levels and life style.

The Government had to manage a complex series of problems which demonstrate the contradictory functions of the capitalist state, namely accumulation and legitimation (O'Connor, 1973, p.6). Maintaining profitable accumulation conditions necessitates social investment, that is, projects and services which lower the reproduction costs of labour power (ibid). Yet social cohesion must be maintained and social expenses are incurred in the fulfilment of the states legitimisation function (Gough, 1979, p.51). To manage this contradictory function the state must pay regard to powerful and vocal groups limiting costs on the unproductive social expenses (ibid).

The impact of economic restructuring upon workers differs according to the strength of their position prior to any change. Those "in control", the skilled, organised male sectors of work have been able to maintain differentials in pay and conditions, even enhancing employment rewards in certain cases (Webster, 1986, p.129). The state of the local labour market is crucial in determining reactions to restructuring. Fevre demonstrated in a study of major restructuring in a British Steel

Corporation plant how the redundant workers often returned to work at the plant on contract work. The employer had the control of the worker but incurred fewer costs without the responsibility of employing individuals (Fevre, 1986, p.32). For groups on the periphery of the workforce - married women, youth and ethnic groups - the pattern of adaptation to change can be a complex one. Married women are increasingly courted by tertiary sector employers. The so called demographic timebomb, the 23% decline in 16-19 year olds by 1993, will reinforce this process. But the jobs available are low paid, dead end and often boring in nature. Nevertheless women may readily continue to accept such employment as part of a household plan of economic survival (Bradley, 1986, p.112). So too, young people and ethnic groups will accept what is available as part of their programme for economic survival.

Thatcherism identified collectivism and public enterprise as its main object of attack while applauding individual initiative, market forces and enterprise. Such forces are not new in British society. The concept of laissez-faire was born in this country and has been a central doctrine from which criticisms of state provision of welfare have been consistently mounted (Johnson, 1986, p.145). These views received a new found prominence in an era of economic recession (Bosanquet, 1983, pp.84-88). The individual has become the focus of analysis:- in particular their actions, expectations and demands. Unemployment, it has been suggested by the Government, is caused by people choosing not to work or equip themselves with sufficient skills. Inequality of income is desirable because it arises from differing levels of

individual effort. Unfortunately there is no ready correlation between hard work and reward. The relative worth attributed to areas of work appear arbitrary and in effect degrading, for example the apparently high regard for the work of nurses which is poorly rewarded in financial terms.

Putting into practice a doctrine that requires radical shifts in attitudes and actions can be a haphazard affair for Government. The increasing power of administration and the centralization of power within the administration (Taylor-Gooby and Dale, 1981, p.201) has grown with the multiplying functions of Government (Johnson, 1982, p.217). Hence the growth in Quangos - a series of quasi-governmental bodies - which the M.S.C. (now Training Agency) is the largest. The Conservative Government found a key role for the M.S.C. in legitimating the role of the state and paid employment in society by managing the Y.T.S. The solution was novel: a quango cannot directly be attributed to growth in Government hence the ability of Government to continue the rhetoric of anti-statism and yet implicitly direct policy. Initiating radical change in training policy with massive state intervention was planned to take place in a manner which circumvented the conservatism of much of the administration and private sector. The novelty did not end there for the state was now entering into partnership with the business, industrial and voluntary agencies willing to organise projects on its behalf to alleviate the social and economic threats posed by youth unemployment.

But why such a dramatic shift to state intervention as epitomised by the Y.T.S? The first half of this chapter addresses this question. It is argued that an analysis of the Parliamentary debates indicates the fear with which unemployed youth were observed. In addition economic policy and doctrinal considerations were being examined by two think tanks which reported on employment and unemployment and the question of school leaver unemployment. Whilst not made public until the mid 1980's the compilation and circulation of these documents clearly affected the policy agenda.

A. Parliamentary Activity

The period from October 1980 to April 1981 was one in which the think tanks were actively formulating a broad strategy to change expectations of employment and introduce the concept of low level training and training allowances. These activities went on in Government circles. All that had been made public by 1981 was the think tanks' concept of competence as determined by employers in relation to narrow requirements for jobs. Such a concept was strongly criticised by trade unions. April 1981 proved to be a particularly difficult month for the Government. An opposition motion (7th April 1981) had provoked an intense debate in the House of Commons on youth unemployment. This was the first major Parliamentary discussion of the problem from the announcement in the Queen's speech the preceding November (Hansard, Vol. 994, Col. 5, 20.11.80) of preparations for an expanded programme of employment and training, particularly focussed on the young.

The debate in the Commons on the oppositions' motion was passionate and illustrated the fear with which youth unemployment was perceived. Introducing the opposition motion, John Grant, Labour M.P. for Islington spoke of the long-term effects of unemployment on the young:-

"The effect on them is immeasurable, but it is no exaggeration to say that many will carry the scars of that bitter experience throughout their lives, and we shall have to bear our share of the social strain" (Hansard, Vol. 2, Col. 819, 7.4.81)

The alienation of unemployment; the restricted opportunities to fulfil work aspirations; the financial hardship and possible psychological effects were all known costs of unemployment (Ridley, 1981, p.27). How would any administration or policy be adept enough or adequately resourced to tackle such a bleak problem?

The atmosphere was tense both in and out of the House. John Grant quoted a report by the charity organisation Youth Aid which spoke of disaster areas in Merseyside and the North East in which most youngsters leaving school expected to go on to the dole. David Alton, Liberal M.P., stated that such was the continuing nature of unemployment that one person every thirty seconds became unemployed. He expressed fear from his constituency in Liverpool that crime would rise and that young people would be prey to ultra left and right wing political organisations. As evidence of this he cited the involvement of the Workers Revolutionary Party in one Youth Opportunities scheme in Liverpool (Hansard, Vol. 2, Col. 838). David Alton's fears were not

dismissed but readily taken up by many others in the debate who expressed fears of the vulnerability of young people to the attraction of extreme behaviour. Conservative back benches generally acquiesced in the face of what Eric Varley, Labour, described as concern for the demoralisation taking place in a society which had failed the young (Hansard op cit, Col. 855). Employers' behaviour was also described as potentially criminal. Clear cases of the substitution of workers by trainees continued to be identified by the media (Hansard, op cit, Col. 846). Replying David Waddington - Under Secretary of State for Employment - spoke in favour of "work experience, work preparation and basic training (which) help young people to develop confidence maturity and basic skills" yet he was at the same time "sickened by some people, who are even now making unrealistic pay claims" (Hansard; op cit, Col. 826). Waddington indicated a preference for a training based strategy to alleviate the situation and one that necessitated lowering the expectations of the young. At the same time 600 young people from the Tyneside area were holding a rally in Westminster Central Hall lobbying M.P.'s. Three days later the worst fears of many M.P.'s were realised as riots broke out in the Brixton area of London.

B. The Brixton Disorder and the Political Agenda

Between three to four hundred young people, many of them black, attacked the police during the weekend of the 10-12th April 1981. Stones, bricks, bottles and petrol bombs were used as weapons against the police. Buildings were set alight, cars destroyed and shops looted. Young people reacted to intense policing of previous months (Clare, 1984,

p.46). Press and T.V. presented a near instant picture of violence.
For a time it seemed that the Police could do little more than contain
the violence to the Brixton area. As a result of the disturbance 279
policemen and 45 members of the public were injured. Some 28 buildings
were damaged, many destroyed (ibid). This was the beginning of a summer
of disturbance. During the first nine days of July rioting, looting and
arson took place in over 30 towns and cities. 4,000 arrests were made
and £45 million worth of damage resulted. Explanation for the
disturbance focussed upon the social and economic deprivation evident in
the areas in which violence took place. Certainly one opinion poll
conducted amongst Asian and black people placed unemployment (49%) as
the major cause of riots. White respondents also placed unemployment as
the main cause (The Standard, 11th May 1981).

It now appeared that John Grant's fears were proven and the scars of
unemployment would be evident for some time to come. However to view
the disturbance as purely resultant from young people, unemployed with
nothing better to do than to riot is to deny the underlying factor of
racial tension. Black and Asian people in opinion polls placed police
behaviour as the second causal factor whilst white respondents placed
the behaviour of black people second (ibid). There was an unwillingness
to address the factor of racial tension not just evident in disturbance
but also epitomised in responses to surveys on the causes (Beynon, 1984,
pp. 6-7). Many in Parliament and the press sought to stress the
youthful nature of black and white people attacking police (ibid). The
issue of youth unemployment was now considered to be in need of urgent
attention and action by Government; it had reached the top of the

political agenda. What was to happen now? Roberts comments that when a social problem is identified a frequent response has been to create a new social service to deal with it" (Roberts, 1981, p.9). There is however the "danger that once a social service has been established the wider community will subsequently feel that the original problem is being resolved" (ibid). In the summer of 1981 as the euphoria of the Royal Wedding took over the problem of youth unemployment was one which many wanted to perceive of as "solved". The New Training Initiative (M.S.C., 1981) published in May pointed to that solution. The publication of the New Training Initiative, Parliamentary debates and nationwide disturbances were events laying open the political agenda for a dramatic shift in Government policy from anti-statism to active intervention as epitomised by the Y.T.S. But what was this "service" to be? Increasingly practitioners, interested groups and politicians looked to the provision of training in the major competitors with the U.K. Comparison with others might give an indication to possible policy content.

C. International Comparisons

Any comparison with major industrial competitors - West Germany, Japan and the U.S.A. - reveals a stark contrast in terms of training available for 16-19 year olds and participation rates in continuing and higher education. The contrast was all the more stark in the early 1980's when a declining apprenticeship form of training places falling from 236,000 in 1968 to less than 150,000 in 1980 (Finn, op. cit, p.145) and a series of short-term special measures were all that was available to British

school leavers. At the same time the New Training Initiative was able to comment on the attitudes and actions of British Industry thus:-

"Overall not enough priority is given to training, too little is done, too much of it is misdirected and inflexible, and not enough use is made of the nation's available skills" (M.S.C., 1981, p.1)

The situation was one in which training in Britain compared "very unfavourably with the practice of our major foreign competitors" (ibid). Policy responses varied from Government to Government dependent upon the social and economic circumstances facing policy makers in particular countries. Nevertheless comparisons were made and ideas taken from other countries. In West Germany nearly 70% of school leavers enter Vocational Education and Training (V.E.T.) with a further 20% absorbed into forms of "tertiary education". However, during a visit to the Frankfurt area, as part of a Workers Education Association delegation on youth training, I was made aware of ethnic, gender and spatial disparities in access to higher status training. Evidence also existed of unemployment occurring on the completion of training (McKie, 1984, p.p. 12-14). Yet the apparent success of German schemes were often cited. In the U.S.A. 73% of those aged 16-24 are at school, college or university. In Japan 94% of school leavers continue education to the age of 18 with 40% of that number going on to higher education. Young people in Japan usually enter the labour market at 20.

In total contrast approximately two-thirds of the 16-18 age group in Britain left education in the early 1980's to enter the labour market.

In 1981 it was clearly evident that the young people in West Germany, Japan and the U.S.A. were more highly qualified in general terms, for example, four-fifths of the U.S.A. work force have at least a high school diploma. Contrasting attitude to funding resulted in very different forms of training. In Germany employers bear 80% of the cost of apprenticeships and expenditure as adult training accelerated during the recession. In a similar manner Japanese employers accept they are responsible for financing skill training and provide the equivalent of technician and professional level training.

In the Spring of 1981 the Government of the Republic of Ireland announced the setting up of a Youth Employment Agency charged with initiating employment schemes. The word training was not explicitly evident in debates (Seanad Eireann, 1981, Cols. 1292-1351) although a stated concern of agency staff (data from interviews with staff, December 1984). Funding of the agency, by a 1% levy on all incomes, was viewed with some envy by the British Government. For the Irish it was accepted as a collective response to the dreadful problem of youth unemployment. With the youngest population in Europe the problem for the Irish Government was not likely to subside for some time.

Certainly the British Government wished to defray the cost of special measures by encouraging the private sector to take on some responsibility for training. But the option of a levy was something considered electorally disastrous. Perhaps the starkest contrast with Irish policy was the Irish emphasis upon creating employment via the work of development agencies. The British notion of "pricing into jobs"

was not considered. In Britain it appeared as if a supply-side strategy would constitute the focus of policy development whilst in Ireland the question of job creation was actively considered. In contrast the U.S.A., Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany all possessed systems of training firmly located in and funded by the private sector. It was this approach that appealed to the British Government. Such an approach linked training to potential employment and also appeared to alleviate Government from the burden of costs. How could this be achieved?

D. The Way Forward? The Three Objectives

The New Training Initiative published a month after the Brixton riots not only presented the M.S.C.'s interpretation of training but set out three objectives for future policy:-

1. to employers they offer a much more assured supply of key skills; a more versatile, more readily adaptable, more highly motivated and therefore more productive workforce; better utilisation of skills and more cost effective expenditure on training. At the same time they require a new attitude to investment in training, a willingness to do more for people in readiness to make the resources of the workplace available for learning and work experience, especially for young people;

2. to employees and their unions they offer a better start in working life for all young people, greatly increased opportunities for

career progression in later life and full involvement in decisions about content and standards. At the same time they require the removal of out-dated barriers, particularly in key areas of skill training, and access to jobs for all who can demonstrate agreed standards of competence. They also involve a continued acceptance by those involved in collective bargaining that those undertaking training may not be able to command the full wages paid to more experienced workers;

3. to the education service they offer a realisation of many hopes and aspirations for young people and a key role, in partnership with employers and unions, in positive action. At the same time they require that some traditional approaches and values be modified or abandoned, that new techniques be adopted, that there be a fuller use of resources and that the need for in-service training and re-training be met as the requirements make new demands of many teachers and staff (Manpower Services Commission, 1981, p.5).

Dan Finn (op cit, p.137) noted that the "level of abstraction and of good intention.... designed to invoke consensus - who after all could disagree?". In fact these objectives have been repeated in numerous documents since. (See the White Paper, A New Training Initiative: A Programme for Action, 1981; T.U.C. - Labour Party Liaison Committee, A Plan for Training, 1984, and National Economic Development Council, Competence and Competition, 1984). Whilst a response to the report was awaited the future of the Industrial Training Boards was under scrutiny (Finn, 1987, p.135).

2. The Initial Response to the N.T.I.

The period from July to November 1981 - from the inner city disturbances to the introduction in the House of Commons of the Government's proposals "A Programme for Action" (H.M.S.O., 1981) - was one dominated in Parliament by consideration of the effects of the riots and youth unemployment.

The opposition used another of their allocated days, the 27th July to move a motion on the Government's economic and social policies which were said to be "spreading more unemployment, undermining British industry and demoralising the country" (Hansard, Vol. 9, Col. 80, 27.7.81). Concern was expressed by a number of M.P.'s of all parties, over links with youth unemployment and riots (ibid). Mrs Thatcher announced additional policy measures whilst awaiting consultation over the New Training Initiative. A further £60 million (1982-83) was made available to help those who wished to stay on at school or college. An additional 110,000 places on Y.O.P. were envisaged bringing the total to 444,000 places for 1981 school leavers at a cost of £350 million (Hansard, Vol. 9, Col. 834). However the implicit aims of policy (and a firm suggestion as to where future policy might be orientated) were made by the Prime Minister:

> "Our aim is to reach the position where all young people, on
> leaving school, move into further education, find a job or are
> given the chance of vocational training or community service"
> (ibid).

Training was to play a key role in delaying entry to the labour market. The introduction of the Young Workers Scheme, was further evidence of the ideological base to policy. Employers were offered £15 a week subsidy for any young worker they employed who earned less than £40 per week. This scheme was introduced despite criticisms from many interested groups. Subsequent research by the Institute of Manpower Studies concluded that "criticisms of the subsidy were well founded" (Finn, 1987, p.210) and substitution of adults by young workers was evident. Nevertheless the shift was obvious - delayed entry to the labour market, a lowering of wages and expectations, constituted the preferred solution by Government.

Such shifts were further reinforced early in October, Norman Tebbit, newly appointed Secretary of State for Employment, made his now infamous speech at the Tory Party Conference suggesting that the unemployed "get on their bikes and look for work in other areas where it is available". Whilst this speech was heavily criticised outside the Conservative Party, within the party it marked the explicit and public ascendancy of monetarist doctrine.

The wish to lower wage expectations was again expressed forcibly by Norman Tebbit (then Under Secretary of State for Employment), as he gave evidence to the Select Employment Committee proceedings on training (House of Commons, 1981, Para. 15). This aspiration was finally evident in policies such as the Youth Workers Scheme.

A. Criticisms of Y.O.P.

On the 21st October, during the first week of the return to the House of Commons, Labour initiated an Adjournment debate on the topic of the Youth Opportunities Programme. Jim Craigen, Labour, opened the debate pointing to a series of problems with the scheme:-

1. the programme was designed for 25,000 places in April 1978 and had grown tenfold as the number of available jobs declined;

2. as a consequence only 30% of leavers were now entering employment and hence a major change in the school-work transition was taking place;

3. the low rate of allowance paid to trainees (then £23.50 p.w.) was seriously affecting family incomes particularly those in areas already suffering the effects of continuing unemployment;

4. careers officers were becoming demoralised, perceiving themselves as nothing more than placement officers for special programmes;

5. abuses in Y.O.P., particularly job substitution, were increasingly evident. Accidents on Y.O.P. were increasing.

Mr. Craigen concluded that "Britain's future will be at risk if we persist in this fashion" (Hansard, Vol. 10, Cols. 376-379). Jim Craigen was not only scoring political points as a member of the opposition but

also stating fears held by many interested groups and individuals. In fact the M.S.C. were noting cases of abuse by employers (Finn, 1987, p.146). Comments made by M.P.'s across all benches emphasised what James Hamilton of Bothwell described as "the most dismal recess that I have encountered during my 17 years in Parliament" (Hansard, Vol. 10, Col. 380, 21.10.81). Fears were strongly expressed that suicides and drug abuse were increasing. It was also suggested that riots might again occur (Hansard, op cit, Cols. 379-393). Appearances in Courts of 16-19 year olds were said to have doubled since the election (Hansard, op cit, Col. 390). Government response from the back benches was to suggest an introduction of national service and to argue that any scheme which had grown as quickly as Y.O.P. was bound "to have anomalies" (ibid).

Peter Morrison, the Under Secretary of State for Employment, replying to the motion acknowledged many of the criticisms pointing to the on-going deliberation in the M.S.C. concerned with developing a national training programme as the way forward (Hansard, Vol. 10, Col. 399).

The following month the Government announced its intention to abolish sixteen Industrial Training Boards. The scope of two more was to be reduced and the remaining Industrial Training Boards' operating costs would not be met by the Government from March 1982. Ironically whilst pressure for the state to act to direct training in the Private Sector intensified, so the Government dismantled much of the Industrial Training Board system. Criticism had mounted of the levy system of employers which funded the boards. The boards were also accused of

operating tight systems of control over access to training. Whether this was the case or not the ethos of the I.T.B.'s was perceived to be at odds with the flexible policy of training and labour supply clearly envisaged by the Government.

The publication of the Scarman report of the inquiry into the disturbance in Brixton neared. The report concluded that unemployment was a factor which over a period of time contributed to a situation in which a high potential for collective violence existed (Taylor, 1984, p. 27). But the solution, particularly for inner-city youth, appeared as far away as ever. What was now eagerly awaited were Government proposals for a training programme.

B. The Government White Paper: A Programme for Action

In December 1981 both the M.S.C. and the Government published plans of action. The former plan proposed setting up of the Youth Task Group comprised of representatives from the T.U.C., C.B.I. and other interests to report in April 1982 on how to frame a scheme. Geoffrey Holland, then chief executive of the M.S.C., described the situation as not one of political crisis but one of opportunity. The outcome of the task group's deliberations were awaited.

The Government's proposals were announced in the House of Commons on 15th December 1981 and documented in the White Paper "A New Training Initiative: A Programme for Action" (Dept. of Employment, 1981). The three fundamental objectives for training, as stated in the New Training

Initiative, were accepted as a premise for the Governments' proposals. It was acknowledged that there was overwhelming support for these objectives from employers, unions, education and training bodies. A consensus was also said to exist on the "need for urgent action" (Dept. of Employment, op cit, Para. 2). It was made clear that the Government viewed the state of training in Britain as a sorry one in contrast to the apparently successful schemes in France and West Germany. The White Paper stated that £1b would be utilised to provide a year's training for school leavers. This would be predominantly provided on employers' premises but funded by the Government. It was envisaged that national criteria would be established but locally administered and monitored by a series of regional Area Manpower Boards (A.M.B.'s). Five elements were proposed viz:-

Introduction and assessment
Basic skills (numeracy, literacy, practical and communication skills)
Occupationally relevant training
Guidance and counselling
Record and review.
(Dept. of Employment, op cit, Para. 26)

Norman Tebbit announced that trainees would receive an allowance of £15 per week £7.50 less than available to Y.O.P. participants. Outrage was expressed at the intentions of the Government to end the eligibility of young school leavers for supplementary benefit and to set the allowance at £15 per week because "the youngsters will not be at work in the

conventional sense.... their position is perhaps more comparable to their brothers and sisters who are at school or in a college of further education" (Hansard, Vol. 15, Col. 157). The potential policy was described as slave labour; as an attempt to lower unemployment figures as having the potential to cause civil strife (ibid). Tebbit did not relent.

The White Paper set out the fundamental values upon which any programme would be based. It was almost two years later that the think tank study on a response to youth unemployment was made public. This report, as now can be seen, formed the basis for policy changes providing a strategy for restructuring the relationship between the young working class and the labour market. The White Paper constituted a public pronouncement of such a strategy. The values underlying this strategy were indicated in the main text as follows:-

1. "People as producers create wealth by providing goods and services that people as consumers want to buy"..... (Para. 5)
   This premise of wealth creation via the provision of and demand for services is a clear indication of a free market approach to economics and training. Obviously this stands in contrast to the reality of the policy with the introduction of the Y.T.S. marking a new era in state intervention in training (Stringer & Richardson, 1982).

2. "[what is required]...is a better educated, better trained and more adaptable workforce...." (Para. 5)

   "Better vocational preparation in school and in the first year of working life will lay the foundation for a more flexible workforce" (Para. 42)

   The behavioural response from young people was pronounced to be a necessary pre-requisite to economic regeneration.

3. "Our efforts must therefore be directed not only to creating jobs for young people but also to ensuring that they are properly trained" (Para. 18)

   "[allowance will be paid that]... reflect their (trainees) learning role". (Para. 34)

   Managing unemployment was to be undertaken via training rather than job creation and that training was to be structured in such a manner that young people are perceived as trainees rather than young workers.

4. "large numbers of sponsors will be needed.... if it is to be fully effective.... the full co-operation of employers is vital" (Para. 28)

   "In the longer term the responsibility for training must lie mainly with employers, as is done in most major industrial countries" (Para. 60)

It was envisaged that the scheme would be largely based on employer's premises, financed by the Government, with the ultimate responsibility

for the scheme on a daily basis resting with designated managing agents. The hoped for shift in financial responsibility for training has proved to be unrealistic as the Government via the M.S.C. (now Training Agency) continues to be the major financer and director of training for school leavers.

Finn considered the situation at that time for the Government:-

"The economic and wagecutting arguments deployed by the think tank gave the N.T.I. an explicitly monetarist rationale; and the inner-city riots had emphasised the necessity for exercising "political imagination". And significantly, Y.O.P. was itself now encountering political difficulties". (Finn, 1987, p.142)

Despite mounting criticism the Government was determined to introduce the policy intact and Norman Tebbit's evidence to the House of Commons Select Committee on Employment 1981/82 session demonstrated a strong commitment to these proposals.

C. Examining the Proposals: The Select Committee 1982

During the sitting of the Select Committee on the 31st March 1982
representatives of the Institute of Careers Officers gave evidence which
presented a clear picture of the stark situation facing the school
leaver:

1. unemployment amongst school leavers had increased by 2,334% since
    1974;

2. long-term unemployment amongst young people aged 18/19 had increased
    by 75% in the six months from July 1981 to January 1982 and by 189%
    during the year of 1981/82;

3. the Young Workers Scheme was discriminating against those employers
    who had entered into local or national wage agreements;

4. the regions with the higher wage levels for young people were the
    regions which experienced the lowest levels of youth unemployment
    e.g. South East and East Anglia. This paradox illustrated regional
    disparities in job vacancy and unemployment levels;

5. many 18 and 19 year olds had exhausted their entitlement to Y.O.P.
    but were still unemployed.

Turning to the subject of the proposed allowance and benefit restrictions it was suggested that "...there is a great danger of increasing cynicism amongst these young people who have exhausted entitlement to Y.O.P...... [the low rate of allowance] intensifies dependence upon local labour markets"(House of Commons, 1982, Paras. 86 & 92). Such financial constraints would hardly encourage trainees to "get on their bikes" and seek work elsewhere.

Later that same day David Young, (then Chief Executive of the M.S.C.) outlined to the committee the M.S.C.'s commitment to aiming for the West German figure of 69% of school leavers in vocational education. Education was to be of "a national standard.....at the end of the year, each trainee will walk away with a piece of paper...[that] will have real meaning for employers" (House of Commons, op cit, Paras. 123 and 179). But would the potential stumbling block of low allowance levels and restrictions to benefit claims be overcome?

3. The Task Group Report

In April 1982 the M.S.C.'S Youth Task Group reported. On the 21st June Norman Tebbit announced the general acceptance of these proposals by the Government. The allowance was to be set at £23 per week. School leavers were not to lose entitlement to supplementary benefit. They were, however, to be given trainee status. This report set out the basic framework of the Y.T.S. a scheme designed to fulfil the second objective of the New Training Initiative concerning training and young people. Although this has undergone a number of changes the fundamental

framework remains intact. The table overleaf is reproduced from the
Task Group Report and illustrates the major characteristics of the
Y.T.S. The schemes were to be defined via context viz:

Mode A: schemes on private or local authority premises;

Mode B1:   schemes based in workshop, community project, and information
           technology centres;

Mode B2:   schemes located in a college of further education.

The scheme it was stated "must....contribute to the objectives of the
New Training Initiative.....we must move towards a position where all
young people under the age of 18 have the opportunity either of
continuing in full-time education or of entering training or a period of
planned work experience combining work related training and education"
(M.S.C., 1982 D, P.11). The Government via the M.S.C. were to fund the
scheme (see table 1.1) with Mode A schemes awarded the lower rates of
£1,850 per trainee, whilst mode B1 schemes received on average £3,900
and Mode B2 £2,200 per occupied place. Funding was to reflect context
and hence available back-up resources and the costs of training.
Participation in the scheme was to be voluntary but it was envisaged
that a guarantee of a place on the scheme would be made to all minimum
age school leavers. The five elements suggested in the White Paper "A
Programme for Action" were now expanded into 9 "opportunities". The
additions were innovative. A three month off-the-job training period was
to provide a link between ongoing education and training. Basic skills
were now termed core skills, and as illustrated in following chapters,
this element received much attention in the first two years of the

Table 1.1: The Characteristics of the Proposed Training Scheme (Task Group Report, April 1982)

Basic description	Funding	Example	Funding
Mode A			
Employer, local authority etc. acts as managing agency. Two variants:			
(1) agency provides complete programme for individual	(1) block MSC grant of £1,850 per head, to include allowance costs	A major company assumes responsibility for (say) 200 trainees and arranges on its own premises a complete programme of education, training and work experience	company receives block grant of 200 x £1,850 ie. £370,000
(2) agency sub-contracts out all or some of the elements	(2) block MSC grant of £1,850 per head: sub-contractors get agreed payments for education/training, no payment is made for work experience provision but the agent pays the allowance.	a local education authority assumes responsibility for (say) 500 trainees. It provides them with education and training and arranges for them to be placed, within the authority or with other employers, for periods of work experience	authority receives block grant of 500 x £1,850 ie £925,000. The authority pays the allowance even when trainees are on other employers' premises
Mode B			
MSC acts as managing agency. Two variants:			
(1) MSC arranges with sponsor to provide complete programme for individual -through training workshop or community project	(1) MSC finances the workshop or project on the same basis as under YOP.	MSC arranges with a voluntary organisation or a consortium to assume responsibility for (say) 50 trainees and provide education, training and work experience for them in a training workshop.	Total 50 x £3,500 ie £175,000
(2) MSC sub-contracts out all or some of the elements	(2) sub-contractors get nationally agreed payments for education/training; no payment is made for work experience provision but the MSC pays the allowance.	MSC arranges courses of FE or training with local contractors and also arranges linked work experience with employers	all payments are from the MSC, including the payments to young people of the allowance.

Source: MSC (1982D) Youth Task Group Report, p.15.

scheme. The concept of the transfer of acquired skills was introduced to the debate, that is the notion that acquired skills, knowledge and experience could be transferred to one employment context to another. An ongoing process of assessment, was therefore necessary, to establish these skills, as was a broad perspective on employment. The focus was to be the creation of an adaptable flexible workforce ready and able to transfer employment as necessary. This was a training policy not an employment one. As such issues such as job creation and recruitment policies were not considered.

The scheme proposed was based upon the combination of a perceived need for a nationally recognised scheme and a programme content focussed upon individual responses in the face of apparent inadequacies in the education system. There was an emphasis "upon discrete "competences"; on basic skills....(upon) "making it" in the face of unemployment" (Greene, 1977, p.31).

The report recommended a start date of September 1983 with 460,000 places available. Speedy action was called for to make employers, schools, colleges, parents and potential school leavers aware of the new scheme. The organisation of the scheme via the merged Training and Special Programmes departments of the M.S.C. was to be largely based with local boards in place by April 1983. It was stated that new relationships between "immediate providers and those concerned with planning and co-ordination; and new systems of resource allocation and control will raise issues of management and accountability" (Task Group Report, op cit, p.19). However these issues were not directly addressed

but left for consideration by an implementation team yet to be appointed.

Debate on the report was short for the Falklands War began. Young people, particularly those involved in the war, were now described as strong, as heroes and heroines. Youth were necessary to win the war and no longer perceived the danger stated in Parliamentary debates. It was not until the 21st June that Norman Tebbit formally announced the training scheme in the House of Commons. The Government still felt that 16 year olds should lose entitlement to supplementary benefit but acquiesced to the Task Group Report that they should not. The allowance was set at £25 per week. Sir David Price, Conservative M.P., welcoming the scheme viewed it as the much awaited introduction of the part of the 1944 Education Act concerning the continued link with the educational process for school leavers (Hansard, Vol. 26, Col. 75, 21.6.82). Criticisms were evident. The £1b earmarked for the scheme was as Alex Lyons, Labour M.P. for York pointed out "substantially less than we have spent on the Falklands adventure" (Hansard, Vol. 26, Col. 28). Dennis Skinner went further in pointing out that the awaited Royal baby of the Prince and Princess of Wales "will not have to suffer a Y.O.P. scheme" (ibid). However the policy process had now reached the stage of content design. The Task Group Report indicated the speed with which the policy would have to be introduced meant that relationships between Government, the M.S.C., scheme providers, schools and the careers service were not developed and many issues of management and accountability had not been addressed (Task Group Report, 1982, p.19). The establishment of a series of pilot schemes now appeared the most relevant step and

accordingly in the Autumn of 1982 a number were set up. In November 1982 the Prime Minister announced the setting up of a series of pilot schemes in schools, the Technical Vocational Education Initiative (T.V.E.I.) for 14 to 18 year olds. The M.S.C. spearheaded the initiative as the D.E.S. was perceived as bureaucratic and slow moving. So the 14 to 19 age group were to be pushed and cajoled towards a vocationally lead concept in the curriculum of education and training by the M.S.C.

A. The Pilot Schemes

In November 1982 the Youth Training Board met and gave the go ahead for a number of projects:-

- I.C.I. Wilton for 192 young people;

- Stewart Wrightson Holdings (Insurance Brokers) for 50 young people;

- Nottinghamshire County Council and Gywnedd County Council both of whom acted as Managing Agents for the agricultural industry for 135 young people;

- National Foundry and Engineering Training Association for 250 young people (in Grangemouth and Basildon);

- G.E.C. Information Systems Limited, Aycliffe, for 100 young people;

- Babcock Power (Renfrew) Limited for 35 young people;

- Dewhurst Butchers for 40 young people in the Bedford area.

One pilot scheme G.E.C. Information Systems at Aycliffe was located in Co. Durham. I.C.I. at Wilton in Cleveland was nearby. So the North East was well represented in pilot scheme plans. It was interesting to note that the pilot projects were:-

1. largely located in the private sector (except the agricultural scheme);
2. situated largely in areas of high unemployment.

An analysis of the M.S.C. Advisory Group on Content and Standards paper entitled "Lessons Learned from Y.T.S. Pilot Schemes" (M.S.C., 1983a) illustrated the high priority placed on publicising the scheme. In conclusion the report stated that significant progress had been made with pilot studies attracting the attention of the media. A section of the report was devoted to the benefits of the Y.T.S. for managing agents as identified by pilot schemes. In particular it was stated that the scheme would reduce training costs due to Government financing of the scheme. Organisations would have a year to assess a young person's potential and abilities. Involving staff in the scheme was said to enhance the job of employees. In short, the Y.T.S would save time and money for staff recruitment and training whilst benefiting employees and the image of the organisation. Trainees received little attention in the report in terms of benefits for them. Y.T.S. would provide a valuable base for future employment, training and for education. However that process of progression necessitated a general recognition of the scheme from industry and education.

In summary, lessons learnt from the pilot schemes included:-

1. Recruitment;

    A. It proved difficult to fill all available places particularly those located in the south of the country (Annex 1, Para. 2).

    B. It proved difficult to recruit young women to non-traditional places (Annex 1, Para. 3).

    C. It was found that utilising the careers service could save time for managing agents (Annex 1, Para. 1).

2. Selection;

    A. There was a tendency for craft or technician based industries to seek higher qualification levels from school leavers (Annex 1, Para. 4).

    B. The drop out rate was generally higher on schemes with more open recruitment criteria.

    C. Behavioural and motivation problems were identified with lower "levels" of ability and an open recruitment system. Streaming according to ability, had proved useful as a means of maintaining interest of trainees (ibid).

3. Financing

This was difficult to assess as procedures and forms to be used on the Y.T.S. were not available until January 1983. Managing agents were paid £1,950 per trainee based on the 2:3 additionality rule, that is, for every two employees they could recruit three trainees and receive funding for all. It was felt that this level of financing was generally sufficient. However the concept of the Y.T.S. employees and trainees as envisaged by the additionality rule, did not develop either in the pilot projects or in the subsequent schemes.

4. Content

A. The need for training and education of supervisors and instructors in the concept of Y.T.S. was stated (Annex 1, Para. 7).

B. There were problems with the broad based nature of training which many young people viewed with scepticism (Annex 1, Para. 8.).

C. Ongoing assessment and completion of logbooks was time consuming (Annex 1, Para 9).

D. Guidance and material on minimum criteria were necessary especially for managing agents and trainers with little experience of training (Annex 1, Para. 11).

E. It was difficult for all schemes to provide training/experience in the core area of computer literacy due to the availability of equipment (Annex 1, Para. 12).

F. Learning difficulties and problems with basic abilities in literacy and numeracy were evident. Y.T.S. guidelines had not allowed for this. Better initial assessment of abilities and time for additional work were called for (Annex 1, Para. 13).

G. A Course team, meeting prior to scheme start was thought to be helpful. Flexibility in colleges of further education in providing and timetabling off-the-job provision was also called for (Annex 1, Para 14).

These lessons illustrated a changing role was perceived for the careers officer from that of guidance (Roberts, 1984) to allocation of school leavers on to schemes. A hierarchy of schemes was being created as selection criteria for craft schemes utilised educational qualifications as opposed to the aim of opening training to those motivated. There was a lack of awareness of and provision for those with special needs. Selling a broad based training relevant to future employment was difficult and the late availability of materials and guidance on content and administration was a real problem for those without direct training experience. Despite identification of a series of potential problems in the pilot study many of these problems were evident in the schemes incorporated in this study. The adverse conclusions of this report were put aside with the true focus being the one of identifying and marketing the benefits to employers. The explicit aim of the Y.T.S. to link training to economic regeneration had given way to the implicit aims of

occupying the unemployed school leaver in a manner relevant to employers and at little cost to employers. As a by-product the Y.T.S. was already providing evidence of its potential to change recruitment and training policies in employers, linking many more to a so called training programme, than those previously involved with the work of the I.T.B.'s.

B. The Minimum Criteria: Y.T.S. Design

By the summer of 1983 some 200,000 Mode A places were set up. This was in keeping with Government preference that up to 300,000 of the envisaged 460,000 trainees would receive training on employers premises (Hansard, Vol. 36, Col. 309, 2.2.83).

> "Direct experience of the workplace and an understanding of its disciplines combined with a range of basic skills may not necessarily enable them to go off and earn their living straight away, although many of them will, but it will give them a foundation that their predecessors have mostly had to do without"
> (Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Employment).

Tebbit's argument was that the scheme would reflect the structure and social relations of the workplace. The hierarchical organisation, the motivation of extrinsic rewards (gaining employment) and the fragmentation of tasks reflects the structure of employment (see Bowles and Gintis, 1976). The new reality of the Conservative Government was to emphasise the need to work with the structure of the labour market,

individuals reacting to the needs of the market (MacInnes, op cit, p.165).

Norman Tebbit went on in the debate of 2nd February 1983 to further emphasise that the "great majority of schemes will be run, not by the M.S.C., but by managing agents, who will co-ordinate contributions" (ibid). So the deal was struck. Government would finance a scheme with emphasis upon workplace discipline and related low level training in return for the acceptance of the day to day management of the Y.T.S. by employers. This system of management also allowed schemes to adapt the Y.T.S to suit the requirements of managing agents. The Y.T.S. envisaged as a national scheme with stated criteria followed by all was a concept drifting away in the face of economic considerations. Nevertheless the appearance of a national scheme was maintained. The major mechanism for this was the introduction of minimum criteria distributed via a M.S.C. memo, Christmas 1982 (See Appendix II).

It was admitted in this document that this first year of Y.T.S. would be to some extent experimental. Yet the necessity for criteria for office staff and managing agents was recognised (M.S.C., 1982 D, Paras. 2-3). The design elements and learning opportunities are listed overleaf. The diagrammatic representation of the programme (reproduced on the subsequent page) indicates the manner in which it was anticipated that the design elements formed the inputs, and the learning opportunities would form the hoped for outcomes for trainees both during and after the Y.T.S.

Figure 1.1:   Minimum Criteria - Y.T.S. Programme Design

Design Elements

All YTS schemes starting in 1983 must contain the following eight design elements -:

a. induction;

b. occupationally-based training;

c. a minimum of 13 weeks off-the-job training;

d. planned work experience;

e. core areas; which are

    i   number and its application

    ii   communication

    iii   problem solving and planning

    iv   manual dexterity

    v   introduction to computer literacy/information technology;

f. guidance and counselling;

g. assessment;

h. reviewing and recording of progress/achievement and certification.

Learning Opportunities

All YTS schemes starting in 1983 must provide for trainees to learn in six broad areas. These learning opportunities are -:

a. basic skills and additional skills such as computer literacy/ information technology;

b. the world of work;

c. the world outside employment, including trainees' interaction with the community;

d. job-specific and broadly related skills;

e. personal effectiveness, planning and problem solving, inter-personal skills;

f. ability to transfer skills, skill ownership and learning to learn.

INPUTS
(DESIGN ELEMENTS)

[10]   OUTCOMES
(LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES)

[2] INDUCTION	MANAGING AGENCY YTS SCHEME DESIGNED USING ALL EIGHT PROGRAMME ELEMENTS	BASIC SKILLS
[3] OCCUPATIONALLY BASED TRAINING		WORLD OF WORK
[4] OFF-THE-JOB		WORLD OUTSIDE EMPLOYMENT
[5] WORK EXPERIENCE		JOB SPECIFIC AND BROADLY RELATED SKILLS
[6] CORE AREAS		PERSONAL EFFECTIVENESS
[7] GUIDANCE		SKILL TRANSFER/ LEARNING TO LEARN
[8] ASSESSMENT		
[9] RECORD/REVIEW		
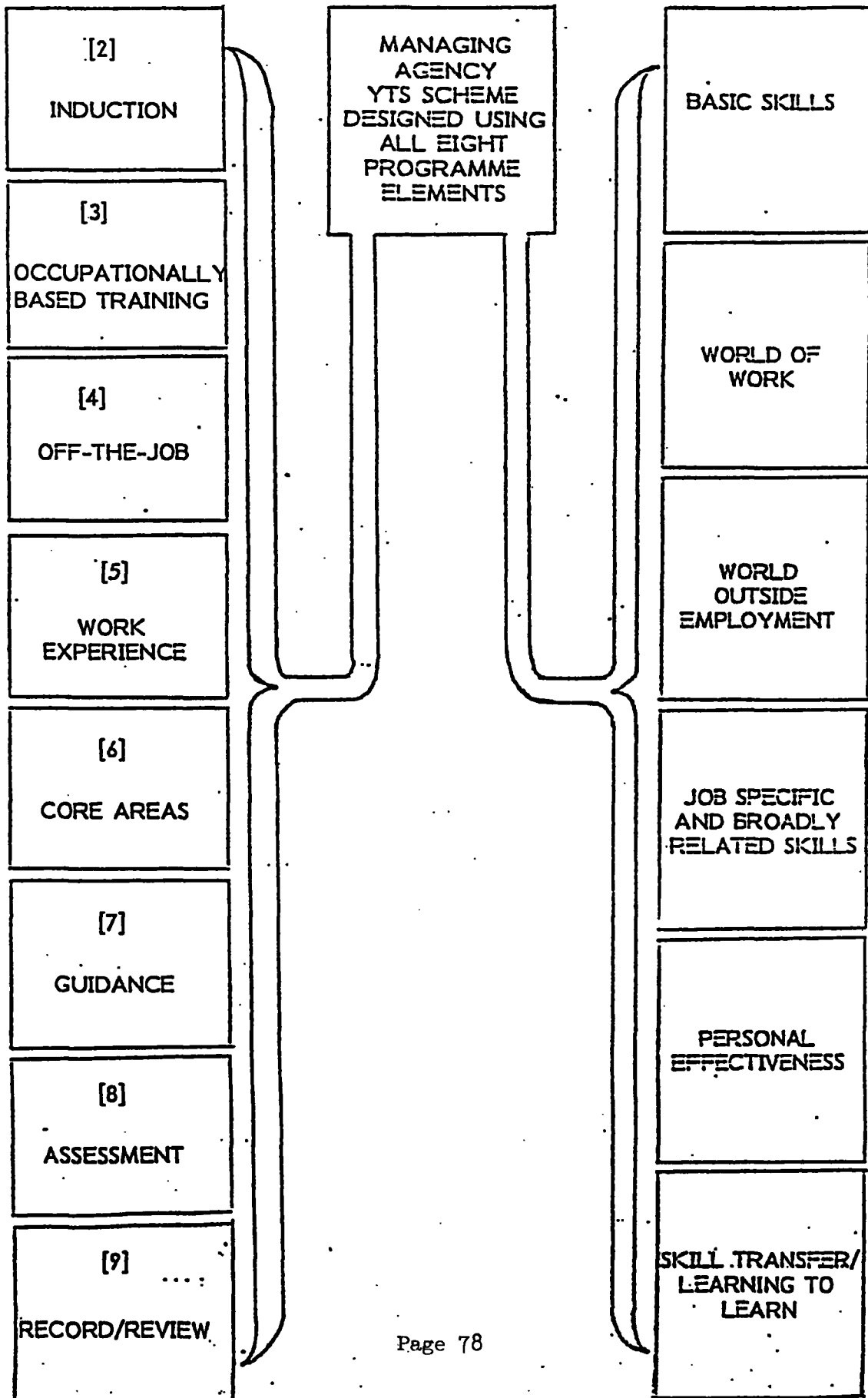
The occupationally based training was organised into eleven occupational training families - O.T.F.'s. With a focus upon broad based training the Institute of Manpower Studies (1983, p.13) reported to the M.S.C. on O.T.F.'s; "a system for organising and grouping the job experience likely to be available to young people.....The intention is to open up the possibilities of acquiring and using competences in a number of different yet associated settings" (ibid). Each O.T.F. has a key purpose that encapsulates the overall aim of the area e.g. the key purpose of O.T.F. No. 1 Administrative, Clerical and Office services is information processing. A series of work learning guides (reproduced in Appendix II) were produced providing a step by step analyses of essential activities to the range of jobs within each O.T.F. The concept of O.T.F.'s was to emphasise the broad based and over lapping nature of many jobs, particularly in terms of core skills e.g. number and its applications; communication; problem-solving and planning; manual dexterity and introduction to computer literacy and information technology (A fuller guide to Y.T.S format is contained in Appendix I). Again emphasis was upon discrete, basic competences (Greene, 1977, p.32). The word training was beginning to be transformed in terms of the meaning commonly attributed to it. The focus was upon basic skills relevant to associated areas of employment.

Despite this apparent wealth of information available prior to the main launch of the schemes in September 1983 little of it found its way to supervisors in Co. Durham. The situation was one depressingly prophecised in the Youth Task Group Report of a network of relationships, of forms of management and accountability ill defined and

Training Without Jobs

WE'RE GOING TO TRAIN YOU TO LIVE ON TWENTY FIVE POUNDS A WEEK

YTS

Austin

PARDON ME SONNY, BUT HAVE YOU EVER CONSIDERED TRAINING AS A NORMAN TEBBIT?

JOIN THE TEBFORCE

£15 A WEEK OR YOUR HEAD KICKED IN

TEBFORCE NEEDS

YOUTH

BECAUSE WE KNOW YOU DON'T HAVE ANY CHOICE
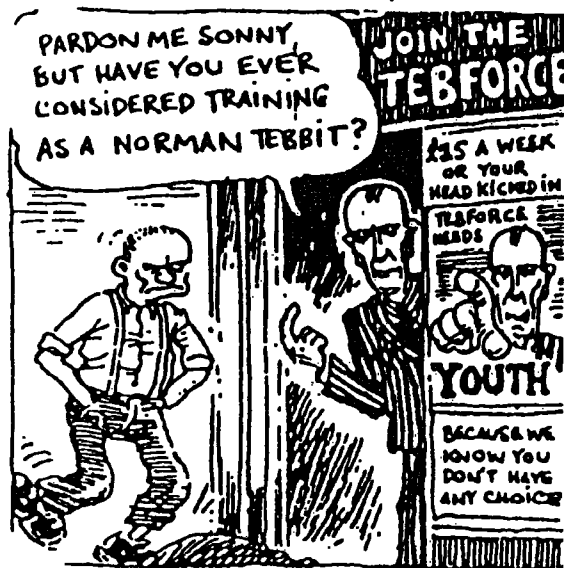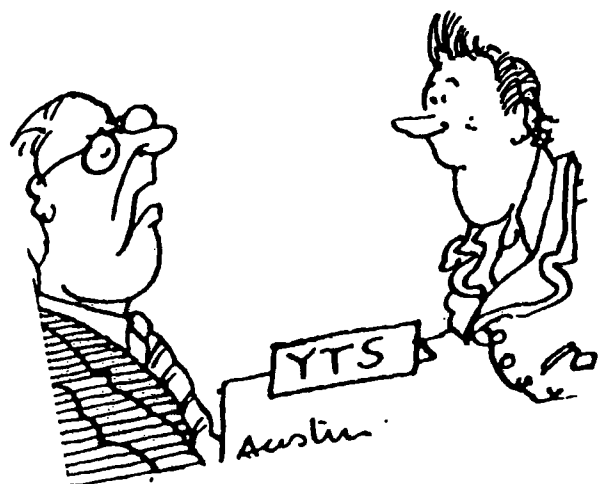
Cartoon: Steve Bell (The Guardian

And what did you do after YTS Dad?

A pre-retirement course.

Spot the Difference

£25 "Training on YTS"

£41.99 "Lowering Expectations on YWS"

£61.70 "Working"
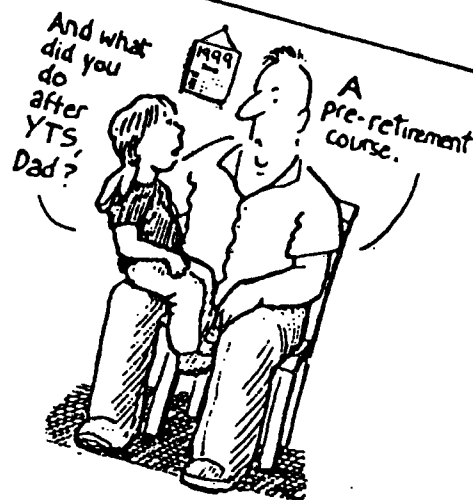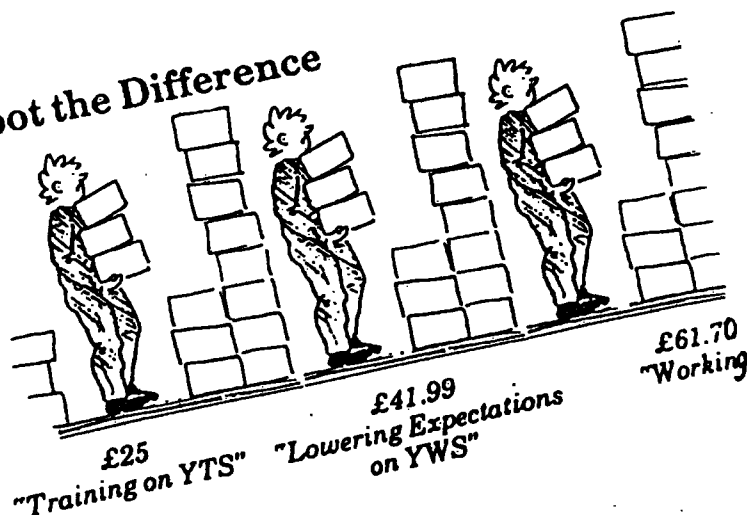
A series of cartoons reproduced from the bulletin of the Labour Movement National Inquiry into Youth Unemployment and Training, 1984. The Movement had an active group in the Newcastle upon Tyne area in 1983-5. Their criticisms of YTS continue but are less widely supported as YTS becomes an institutionalised part of the school - work transition.

yet having to act to produce a scheme. This coupled with the many new concepts contained in the Y.T.S heralded a period of confusion for both experienced and new trainers.

4. Conclusion

The period between 1981-1983 was one characterised by a tremendous flurry of activity both inside Government and the Houses of Parliament and within the many groups concerned with the management of youth unemployment and training.

The evolution of the Y.T.S. was a process much affected by the fear of youth unemployment. The Y.T.S. marked a dramatic shift in Government policy from the monitoring of Industrial Training Boards to direct management of the new structure in training.

The fact that the Government financed this process is indicative of the private sectors unwillingness to undertake the main investment in labour or labour reproduction. It was the Government that incurred the costs of social investment and consumption to allay the manifest social problems resultant from the workings of a capitalist economy in the process of restructuring (O'Connor, 1973, p.6).

The Y.T.S. is complex in design and content. It was perceived as particularly so in 1983. Little information was available and much remained to be explained. It is the inception of the Y.T.S. in one setting - Co. Durham - that the thesis now considers.

CHAPTER 2

Introducing the Youth Training Scheme in Co. Durham

1. **INTRODUCTION**

2. **CO. DURHAM 1983: LOCAL SCHOOL LEAVERS AND THE CAREERS SERVICE**

3. **THE M.S.C. IN CO. DURHAM**

   A. The Organisation
   B. Area Office Staff

4. **THE PROFILE OF THE YTS IN CO. DURHAM**

5. **NEGOTIATING YTS SCHEMES**

6. **EQUAL ACCESS**

7. **CONCLUSION**

Chapter 2:

Introducing the Y.T.S. in Co. Durham

1. Introduction

The introduction of the Y.T.S in Durham was concentrated into a period
of nine months. Between Autumn 1983 and the launch of the majority of
schemes in the summer of 1984 a totally new scheme comprising a number
of concepts in training previously unknown to many trainers and the
M.S.C was put together. The fact that this took place was all the more
incredible due to the lack of available information, especially the
scarcity of such documents as the minimum criteria (See Appendix II)
which constituted the basis of the scheme. From this period of
confusion there emerged a scheme which was, for the most part, readily
participated in by the 1984 school leavers. By 1985 the intensity of
feeling, especially of frustration at a lack of information on the Y.T.S
format, was a distant memory. This chapter concentrates on the period
between the Autumn 1982 and Christmas 1983 that is, the main period of
introduction. To chart this period and the complexity of relationships
between groups and individuals the chapter is comprised of two parts:-

1. a short introductory section on the labour market and training
   situation in Co. Durham for school leavers prior to the Y.T.S. i.e.
   1982-83;

2. an examination of the negotiation, introduction and the organisation
    of the Y.T.S:

    A. by local M.S.C officials

    B. by managing agents, trainers and within the training network

Prior to considering the economic situation in Co. Durham during 1982-3
it is worth referring again to the concluding section of the M.S.C's
Task Group Report published in April 1982:

    "The operation of the scheme involves new relationships... and new

    systems of resource allocation and control, which raise issues of

    management and accountability. Much detailed work will be

    necessary..." (M.S.C., 1982, p.19).

By Christmas 1982 local M.S.C officials were commencing negotiation of
the Y.T.S schemes. The work called for by the Task Group Report had
hardly begun.

2. Co. Durham 1983: the Local School Leavers and the Careers Service

A Department of Education and Science report on the educational and
economic activity of young people aged 16 to 18 years in Great Britain
from 1974 to 1984 (D.E.S., 1985) identified distinct patterns of
activity:-

1. The number of 16 to 18 year olds rose from 2.3 million in 1974 to
    2.7 million in 1984 (D.E.S., 1985, table 1):

2. In 1974 over 70% of young people were in employment but by 1984
    this had declined to just over 40% (D.E.S., 1985, chart 1):

3. As a consequence of changes in employment corresponding increases
    in unemployment and youth training schemes occurred. By 1984
    25% of 16 year olds were on the Y.T.S (ibid):

4. The gender differences in the area of part-time participation in
    education continued with many more young men participating in part-
    time education on a day release basis than women (D.E.S., 1985,
    table 4).

The D.E.S. report concluded that the changes cited above had occurred
since 1979 and the annual report of the Careers Service (England) 1982-3
illustrated the effects of such changes on the service (Department of
Employment, Careers Service, 1984). In particular the report
demonstrated the shift from the guidance and counselling role to the
development of a network of relations with the M.S.C., employers and
schools for the purposes of allocating young people to schemes
(Department of Employment, Careers Service, 1984, p.ii). Work
associated with the Y.T.S. affected all aspects of careers service work
throughout England (ibid). In Co. Durham, the onset of 1983 brought
with it fear of the anticipated but unknown process of allocation on to
schemes for 16-17 year old leavers (interview, County Senior Careers
Officer, 25th January 1984).

During 1983 in Co. Durham 9,500 left school at the first available opportunity. This is, in percentage terms one of the highest rates of first opportunity leaving in the country (Northern Region County Councils' Association, 1986, p.31). In 1983 2,150 young people stayed on in full time education. 1,200 entered further education colleges. The balance of approximately 6,000 sought employment or youth training. There was, as the local careers staff stated, an overwhelming wish by young people to be active in either education, training or ultimately employment.

But the onset of the Y.T.S. was not greeted with euphoria. The declining reputation of Y.O.P. had permeated through schools, families and the workplace. Poor schemes and the low employment rates on leaving - 20% in 1982 - encouraged an increase in the number staying on at school as a positive option. Publicity was needed, to create a positive profile of the Y.T.S. After all this was now the major focus of careers officers work and as the senior officer commented "we must not only accept the scheme but be there, actively monitoring." (Principal Careers Officer, Durham County Council, interview January 1984).

From 1975 a series of posts directly funded by the Department of Employment known as specialist careers officers were created. Under their job definition they were to concentrate upon post-school special measures. It was, therefore, difficult if not impossible for such officers to follow a cohort of leavers from their final year in school into the labour market. By April 1982 of 6,170 careers officers in England, 1,060 were employed in what were termed "strengthening scheme

posts" (Department of Employment, Careers Service, table 3). In Co. Durham 25% of all careers staff were employed on such contracts. The effect at the local level, was to result in a conscious split in work between those able to enter schools and those whose major task was one of allocating school leavers to schemes and monitoring those schemes.

Co. Durham is a Labour controlled local education authority. As such the pressure to push young people into places (reinforced by the directive of a withdrawal of supplementary benefit for unreasonably refusing a suitable offer) was less than that of other areas. It was a politically motivated decision not to enforce such a guideline unless absolutely necessary. In fact the County service worked with the Planning Department and Chief Executive in the development of a series of local policies aimed at alleviating the problem of youth unemployment viz:

1. The youth employment premium. In 1984 this was a £23.50 p.w. wage subsidy supporting permanent jobs for unemployed young people. Three hundred young people were supported in employment by this premium between 1982-4 (Durham County Council's Education Department, 1984, p.18)

2. The Co. Durham Jobseeker bus pass at the cost of £1 for four weeks entitling the unemployed to travel in Tyne and Wear, Cleveland and Northumberland. This was introduced in 1984. Young people could travel within the counties at the cost of 30p a journey in 1984.

3. A campaign for real jobs:- an application was made to the Government for the estimated cost of each unemployed person of £5,000 p.a. to be spent on creating employment. This application was subsequently turned down by the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher.

The Co. Durham Careers Service was now involved in constructing and planning policies. So the work of the careers service had not only increased dramatically but changed in nature. Gone were the days of what the senior careers officer termed "a competitive situation with a number of agencies seeking to assert their central role in the school-work transition" (Principal Careers Officer, op cit). Cost cutting exercises in the Department of Employment following the Rayner Review resulted in the careers service gaining the main role in the guidance work and allocation. However the ability of the service to withstand such demands was severely limited. In tandem with other agencies the careers service had built up a relationship of co-operation with the M.S.C. It was quite simply the magnitude of the problem facing all those involved in working with school leavers which resulted in a new found wish to establish supportive and open networks and established the central role of the Careers Service.

3. The M.S.C in Co. Durham

A. The Organisation

"Perhaps the most significant implication of bureaucratic organisation is the tendency to convert all political problems into administrative problems" (Boguslaw, 1965, p.191).

If the major political problem was the containment and management of youth unemployment the resultant service set up to alleviate this the M.S.C. managed to translate a political problem into an administrative nightmare. The M.S.C had been in existence for nine years by 1982, the year of the publication of the Task Group Report. Prior to the Y.T.S the organisation had grown and developed in an atmosphere of innovation; of frequent change; of unpredictable reaction to everchanging problems; to deploying teams of "experts" in ad-hoc projects (Coffield, 1984, p.128). The organisation had a youthful profile and both staff numbers and expenditure grew with great speed. In terms of expenditure the M.S.C budget rose from £125.4 million in 1974-5 to £1.8 billion in 1983-4. Staffing rose from 19,000 in the mid 1970's to 24,184 in 1983 (ibid). There was much criticism of the M.S.C. for what was perceived to be its poor record of research and monitoring of special measures. In 1982-3, 0.148% of the budget was spent on research. It was suggested that the M.S.C. was best able to create employment within its own organisation. There was no comprehensive plan rather a series of reactive policies initiated in response to external changes in demography and the economy.

Boguslaw's study of system design identified a series of approaches to organisational structures, namely:-

Table 2.1: Boguslaw's Typology of Systems Design

Formalist	the employment of models or replicas for action; assumptions are made that human characteristics are stable.
Heuristic	principles provide guidelines for action.
Operating Unit	people selected or tooled to posses certain performance characteristics.
Ad-hoc	no commitment to models, principles, or operating units; proceeds with view of present reality.

Source: Boguslaw, 1965, pp. 17-21

The final approach an "Ad-hoc" system would surely be a valid description of the reactive policies and administration employed by the Government and the M.S.C. with reference to youth unemployment.

However within the M.S.C. the scheme content was designed by what might be termed an "heuristic system". A series of educationalists, psychologists and professional trainers were brought together in M.S.C headquarters to write the minimum criteria and guidelines documents. This group of people selected to possess certain performance characteristics and experience produced a series of guidelines based upon a set of principles which a sizeable number of local

educationalists enthused over. For example, concepts of a broad based training with thematic forms of teaching within a context of guidance and counselling were applauded as long over due moves. Yet few outside the further education network grasped these concepts, particularly in 1983.

The Y.T.S. guidelines were fed into the area office via the regional office to the local office manager. The chain of contact and responsibility is charted overleaf in Figure 2.1. Within the local office a series of programme areas were designated for the development and monitoring of Y.T.S. Map 2.1 illustrates the designated programme areas (overleaf). Each programme area team was staffed by of a group of several officers all of whom visited potential scheme managers, negotiated with managing agents and formed the first line for enquiries. Their activities were co-ordinated by a technical officer. Each team toured their area backed up by a county wide programme team whose main focus was working with the national and multi-national firms whose Y.T.S. agreements were negotiated and organised by M.S.C. headquarters, Large Companies Unit. A Programme Development Officer, as the officer responsible for disseminating Y.T.S design and content to M.S.C. staff, was regarded as the county wide expert and on call to every team. Planning and statistical information was provided by a further technical officer. (See Figure 2.2). Contact between schemes and the M.S.C. was not solely restricted to negotiation and monitoring visits. A Users Group allowed the local Programme Officer and scheme management to meet in an open forum to discuss problems and examples of what were termed good practice with scheme management.

Figure 2.1.

Y.T.S. - The Relationship Between M.S.C. at National Level and Local Area Offices

Secretary of State for Employment

M.S.C. Training Division ◄———— Director of M.S.C.

Regional Office

55 Area Offices ◄————————— 54 Area Manpower Boards
(Employer, Trades Union, Educational
Representatives monitoring Y.T.S.)
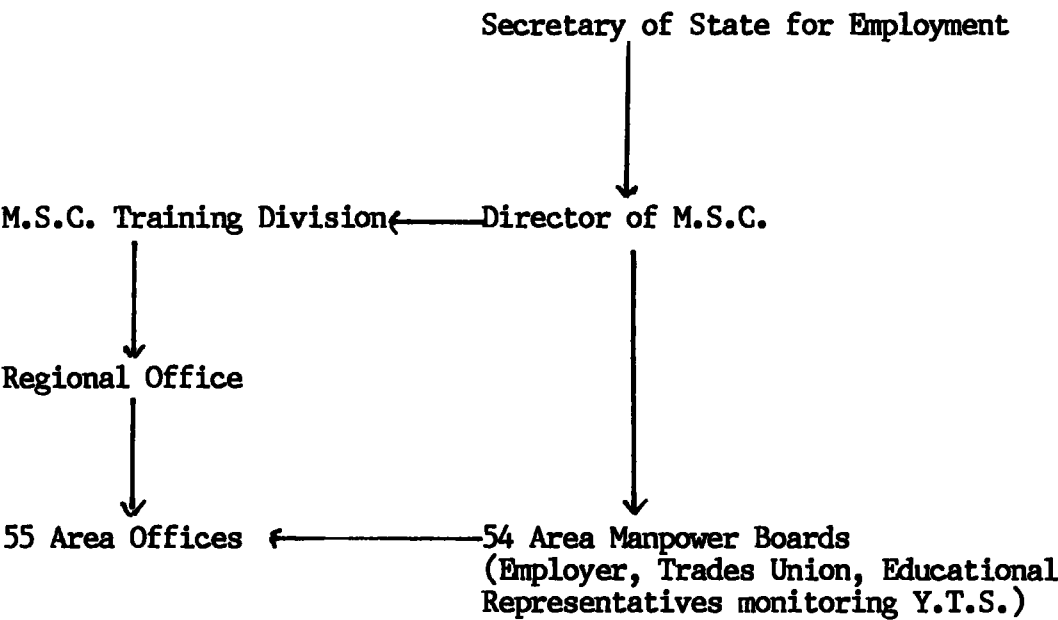
Source: M.S.C. Corporate Plan, 1984-1988 p.38.

Figure 2.2

The Area Office Organisation

Support Services ————————————— Manager

Programme Development Officer

Planning and Statistical Officer   Y.T.S. Programme Manager

North Durham   East Durham   South Durham   Countrywide = Programme Teams
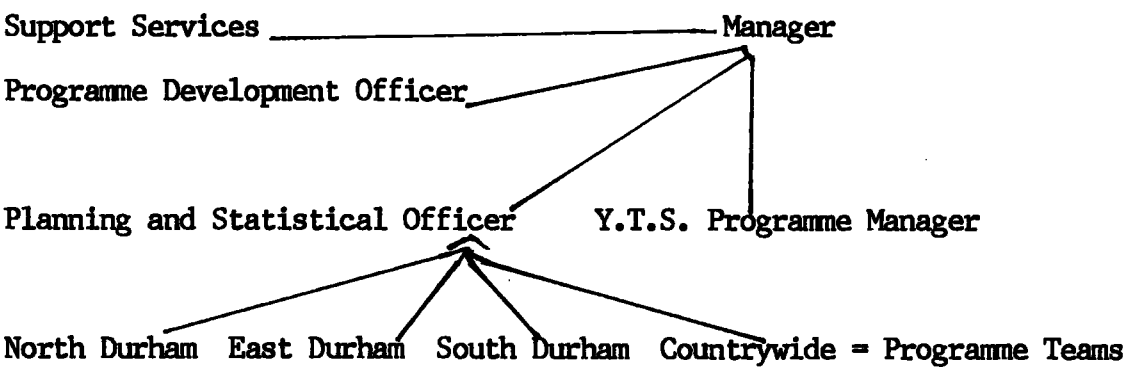
Source - Interviews with Local Office Staff
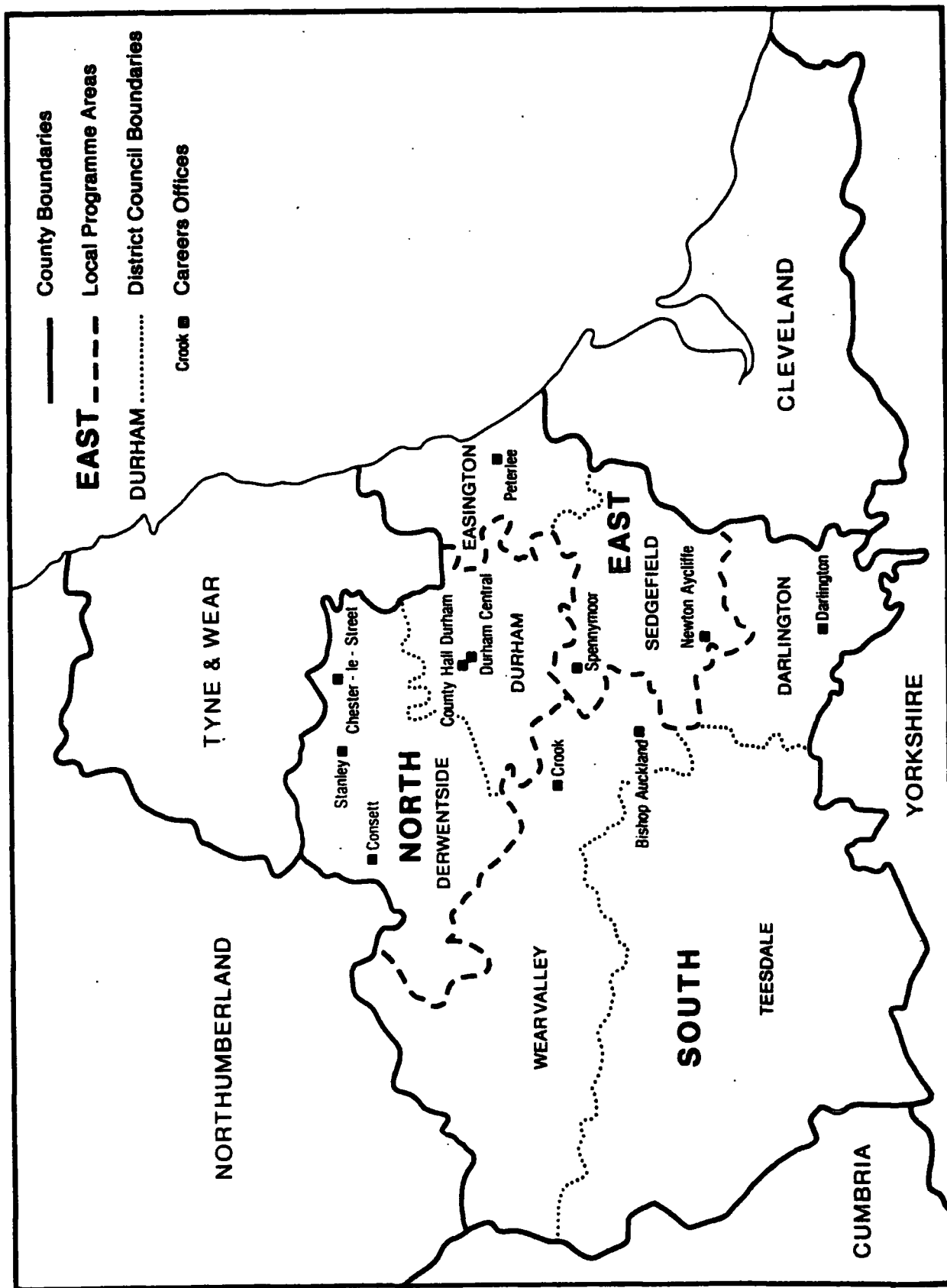
Map 2.1: Co. Durham Programme M.S.C. Area 1984

Legend:

County Boundaries
Local Programme Areas
District Council Boundaries
Crook ■ Careers Offices

EAST
DURHAM

NORTHUMBERLAND

TYNE & WEAR

CUMBRIA

CLEVELAND

YORKSHIRE

NORTH
DERWENTSIDE
Consett ■
Stanley ■ Chester - le - Street ■

County Hall Durham
Durham Central ■
DURHAM

EASINGTON
Peterlee ■

EAST
SEDGEFIELD
Spennymoor ■
Newton Aycliffe ■

Crook ■
Bishop Auckland ■

WEARVALLEY

SOUTH
TEESDALE

DARLINGTON
Darlington ■

Initially these meetings were well attended but declined in popularity as information became more freely available.

The Area Office was also concerned with the setting up of the "Training the Trainers" programme. An advisory group was appointed with representatives from schemes, careers offices, colleges and the M.S.C. to advise on this process. This met on a bi-monthly basis to discuss the provision of training courses for supervisors at the designated accredited training centre.

In reality the day to day operation of the local office was not that as designated by organisational management. As the Programme Development Officer stated "teams vary in size according to the jobs that need doing such as the back log of scheme designs or monitoring visits. Really we operate as the manager sees fit" (Programme Development Officer, interview 20th November 1984). The speed with which staff had to act and the confusion caused by the new concepts in the scheme content made crisis management the priority of the area office management in 1983-4.

B. Area Office Staff

With an organisational structure virtually in place by January 1983 it was up to programme teams to begin negotiation with potential providers of Y.T.S. With such a task ahead of them it might be assumed that to accomplish the launch of Y.T.S. a comprehensive knowledge of the scheme would be a necessary prerequisite. However knowledge of the Y.T.S. by M.S.C. staff was patchy and often confused.

Discussions held with M.S.C. staff at various times served to illustrate the insecurity of M.S.C. staff and their obvious lack of knowledge. It was not uncommon in 1983 for an M.S.C. official to ask me if I understood the guidelines for they found many of the concepts difficult to explain to potential providers and managing agents. Anyone who required a brief resume of Y.T.S. e.g. school leavers, parents, did not pose a particular problem or threat but taking providers through the scheme design and completing a programme outline was difficult. M.S.C. staff were remarkably honest in discussions voicing concerns that would not be admitted to within the confines of the area office. Programme team staff had to get on with the job; time was short so any possible assistance was welcome. Senior area office staff were aware of the gap between the theory, the guidelines, and the practice as evident in the application of Y.T.S. design at local level. However senior staff too expressed concern over the complicated nature of guidelines. One dismissed the guidelines as nothing more than "headquarter experts gone mad". These comments, made informally, led me to interview four senior members of staff to establish their career biographies, views and knowledge of the Y.T.S. The staff interviewed were:-

The Programme Development Officer - Dave
The Programme Development Manager - Fred
Senior Technical Officer Offering Support to Programme Teams - Ted
Senior Technical Officer, Link Officer with Accredited Centre - Ian

All four officers had career histories located in the public sector. The latter two had worked as training instructors. All had progressed upwards in the M.S.C. at a speed much faster than they experienced in other areas of the public sector. Their career paths had become as dynamic as the policy changes in youth training. However their attitude to the Y.T.S. and knowledge of the guidelines varied greatly.

As stated previously the Programme Development Officer, Dave was regarded as the office expert on the Y.T.S. and he certainly talked of the Y.T.S in a confident manner. Ironically the Y.T.S. marked his first involvement in training. Already he foresaw a series of potential problems of misunderstanding and abuses of the scheme. Ted's previous career was closely linked with instruction and health and safety training at work. He sympathised with the theory of the Y.T.S. but the reality he commented "did not bear any resemblance to the guidelines". That situation arose, he continued "from poor dissemination from M.S.C. headquarters who seem to know what's going on and believe they know what is needed but we don't know, not really. Things are launched in great style and are dying a death because no one knows how to pursue them. The training of M.S.C. staff must be planned. Most here will have had only a few days a year on M.S.C. policy and yet we are all supposed to be instructing the public!".

In total contrast Fred argued that training M.S.C. staff would be largely a waste of time. His approach was pragmatic: "lets face it the M.S.C. reacts to situations and those situations are changing. The policy is always changing. By the time you would get everyone up to

date with the Y.T.S. it would probably be all changed. The M.S.C. is satisfying political demands from above". Such an approach was borne of a broader philosophy. Fred believed the M.S.C. should ultimately act merely as a facilitator for training. The responsibility lay with employers and schools. The M.S.C. was there to get Y.T.S. started but after that the M.S.C. should withdraw. As for the guidelines, Fred agreed they were too complex and incomprehensible: "you can't throw away the past. All those years of training with industrial training boards should be built on instead of creating these new things put into the guidelines".

Ian's fears were similar to those of Dave's; a concern with the lack of knowledge and information and a genuine fear that abuses would result as consequence. Ian's involvement in the Ministry of Labour (now Department of Employment) had made him aware of the tendency for a hierarchy to develop in the labour market. Y.T.S. he felt would reflect that as certain schemes became obviously linked to employment and recognised qualifications. His involvement with the setting up of the Accredited Training Centre (A.C.), providing training for Y.T.S. supervisors, had demonstrated to him the sheer confusion caused by the speed with which the new scheme had to be in place. Yet like all the others he was delighted by the comradeship displayed between those involved in the Y.T.S. This was particularly pleasing as old time rivalries e.g. M.S.C. and the Careers Service, were put aside.

In order to survive the confusion M.S.C. staff displayed a strong preference for documentation which consisted of directives and, or "can

do" lists for training requirements. This need became explicit in day to day events in the area office as a means of creating some sort of order. In short a formalist mode of operation (Boguslaw, 1965, pp.9-13) i.e. the availability of replicas and models for action, was sought. Documents listing the potential contents of a scheme created a sense of security in a dynamic period of change characterised by ad hoc and ever changing responses to the initiation of the Y.T.S..

4. The Profile of the Y.T.S. in Co. Durham

The first available and complete profile of the Y.T.S. providers was not available until early 1984, that is, almost a year after the scheme commenced. This first profile comprised a list of approved places by occupational training family for 1984-5. In that year 6,140 young people entered the Y.T.S. in Co. Durham (Durham County Council Education Department, 1984, p.14). The distribution of places by mode, programme area and occupational training family is illustrated in tables 2.2 to 2.5 overleaf. In analysing the distribution of approved placed a number of issues are raised.

1. Mode A places (Table 2.2)
   A. The low number of places available, 90, in craft and design. These are places closely linked with apprenticeship forms of training and recognised qualifications. Technical and scientific places were also few, 106. So entry to recognised areas of training linked to employment were restricted.

Table 2.2: YTS Mode A Places Available 1984/5

	1 Administration	2 Agriculture Horticulture	3 Craft & Design	4 Installation	5 Technical & Scientific	6 Manufacturing Assembly	7 Processing	8 Food Preparation	9 Retail	10 Community Care	11 Transport Distribution	TOTAL
EAST	140	6	20	74	25	195	40	24	46	90	20	680
NORTH	180	12	29	120	76	110	0	41	108	30	4	710
SOUTH	196	20	41	212	5	115	14	0	203	0	143	949
COUNTRYWIDE	230	180	0	0	0	0	0	137	350	0	0	897
MODE A	746	218	90	406	106	430	54	202	707	120	167	3236

Table 2.3: YTS Mode A Large Companies Unit Places Available 1984/5

	1 Administration	2 Agriculture Horticulture	3 Craft & Design	4 Installation	5 Technical & Scientific	6 Manufacturing Assembly	7 Processing	8 Food Preparation	9 Retail	10 Community Care	11 Transport Distribution	TOTAL
EAST	24.5	0	18	79	2	1	15	0	6.5	0	0	146
NORTH	12	0	25	23	0	0	0	0	41	0	4	105
SOUTH	32	0	0	0	0	28	1	11	48	0	10	130
COUNTRYWIDE	0	0	170	0	0	0	0	0	89	0	24	283
MODE A	68.5	0	213	102	2	29	16	11	184.5	0	38	664

B. The largest number of places was provided in retail, O.T.F. No.
    9, and administration, O.T.F. No. 1. These two O.T.F.'s
    provided 1,453 i.e. 48% of Mode A places. They are largely
    areas of female employment and in a region with marked gender
    divisions such patterns were reinforced by agencies involved in
    the allocation of school leavers to Y.T.S. places. Further
    employment opportunities in these sectors are often linked to
    low paid public sector and insecure private sector jobs.

C. Considering demographic trends, in particular, ageing, and the
    buoyancy of community and health service employment, there is
    relatively low provision of Y.T.S. places available, at 120
    places. Many more places were available in community care Mode
    B settings. However those places are not directly linked to
    employment opportunities.

D. The provision of places is dispersed along population lines with
    more places available in the south predominantly in the area of
    Darlington the largest town in the county. Opportunities for
    those living in rural areas are restricted.

2. Large Companies Unit (Table 2.3)
    Places were restricted to retail O.T.F. No. 9, transport,
    distribution, O.T.F. No. 11; and craft and design O.T.F. No. 3.
    The craft and design places were provided by the remaining
    industrial training boards and training trusts organised by the
    New Towns Commission.

3. Mode B1 (Table 2.4)

    A. Much of the provision was available in installation O.T.F. No.
        4, 452 places and assembly, O.T.F. No. 6, 412 places. However in
        reality the majority of those places were located in training
        workshops doing low level decoration and joinery work.

    B. A large number of community care places, 189, were available
        again linked to the work of training workshops and the voluntary
        sector. The gender divisions on such schemes were marked by
        young women concentrated in O.T.F. 1,8 and 9 and young men in 4
        and 6. This was particularly evident in schemes providing
        places across several O.T.F.'s.

4. Mode B2 (Table 2.5)

    A relatively low number of places were available across all
    O.T.F.'s. The furniture construction industrial training board
    managed a scheme at a local technical college boosting numbers in
    O.T.F., No. 6, manufacturing and assembly.

In 1984-5 5,853 places were available. In 1983-4 6,036 places were
approved. Unfortunately I was unable to secure a breakdown of places
except by Mode:-

Table 2.4: YTS Mode B1 Places Available 1984/85

	1 Administration	2 Agriculture Horticulture	3 Craft & Design	4 Installation	5 Technical & Scientific	6 Manufacturing Assembly	7 Processing	8 Food Preparation	9 Retail	10 Community Care	11 Transport Distribution	TOTAL
EAST	48	34	39	47	24	183	7	26	27	0	0	435
NORTH	91	35	38	102	37	77	0	44	2	0	19	445
SOUTH	13	16	0	60	0	112	0	21	5	5	8	240
COUNTRYWIDE	8	8	22	243	44	40	0	36	0	139	0	540
MODE B1	160	93	99	452	105	412	7	127	34	144	27	1660

Table 2.5: YTS Mode B2 Places Available 1984/85

	1 Administration	2 Agriculture Horticulture	3 Craft & Design	4 Installation	5 Technical & Scientific	6 Manufacturing Assembly	7 Processing	8 Food Preparation	9 Retail	10 Community Care	11 Transport Distribution	TOTAL
EAST	5	0	7	0	10	68	0	10	10	0	0	110
NORTH	3	0	0	25	19	10	7	4	4	0	0	72
SOUTH	0	0	0	0	12	15	0	0	0	64	0	91
COUNTRYWIDE	0	20	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	20
MODE B2	8	20	7	25	41	93	7	14	14	64	0	293*

* A further 51 places for school leavers with special needs (largely defined as physical disabilities) were available under Mode B2 provision. This training was not related to any specific OTF but focused upon basic skills work hence the figure in the total column.

Table 2.6 Provision of Y.T.S. places by Mode. C.Durham 1983-4

Mode A	-	Approved places - 3,977 In training - 3,477
		Occupancy rate - 87.4%
Mode B	-	Approved places - 1,698 In training - 1,429
		Occupancy rate - 84.1%
Mode B2	-	Approved places - 361 *In training - 374
		Occupancy rate - 103.6%

* This figure includes additional provision for disabled school leavers provided at short notice and not approved prior to occupancy.

The pattern of provision changed from 1983-4 to 1984-5 thus:-

Table 2.7 Changes in Mode of Provision. Y.T.S. Places. Co. Durham

1983-4 to 1984-5

	MODE A	MODE B1	MODE B2	TOTAL (number)
1983-4	60%	28%	12%	6036
1984-5	67%	28%	5%	5853
Change	+7%	0	-7%	-183

One hundred and eighty three places less were approved in 1984-5. This reflected the change in school leaver numbers and reflected the demand for places based on the experience of 1983-4. However the ratio of places changed as Mode B2 - provision in colleges of further education - was restricted. Mode B2 places were more costly to provide and divorced from the preferred location of employer's premises. In 1985-6 a further shift took place with Mode B1 provision contracting slightly and Mode A increasing. Nevertheless national statistics revealed the low percentage of Mode A places in the region when compared to the South East where almost 80% of places were on employer's premises. This state of affairs whilst bemoaned by M.S.C. staff was a reflection of the weak state of the local economy with employers unable or unwilling to participate in training. The state of the local economy and resultant distribution of training places begged the question of training for what jobs? Data presented in Chapter 7 presents evidence from local schemes on the un(employment) destinations of Y.T.S. leavers.

5. Negotiating Y.T.S. Schemes

During 1983-4 negotiations were undertaken by the local office with over 100 potential managing agents. A sizeable number of the potential managing agents had experience of the provision of training. Others did not. Excluding the large companies, who liaised with M.S.C. via headquarters, the area office successfully negotiated provision within 86 different managing agents. From this number I undertook a detailed examination of the work of supervisors and trainees working on eight local schemes between 1983-85.

This data is presented and analysed in subsequent chapters. But in this chapter the characteristics of the start up period of these schemes is presented.

Table 2.8, overleaf, presents the major characteristics of the schemes which constituted the main focus of research. Dairy Products P.L.C. Durham's office is part of a nationwide company and negotiations for the scheme were largely conducted by the company head office in Surrey and M.S.C. headquarters at Sheffield. The local M.S.C. office did offer support but the scheme was directed at a local level by the health and safety officer who made it clear to all concerned that he had the training experience and did not require help. He added that his experience of training over 20 years of working life was more than the M.S.C. had! This was certainly true and many M.S.C. officials were sensitive to such challenges acquiescing to those apparently more experienced. However Percy missed the point of the Y.T.S. that it was to constitute a revolution in training provision ensuring a broad based training. Percy's attitude was dogmatic - he worked for a nationally renowned company which had a commitment to help young people. "His" trainees would benefit greatly form their association with "his" company. He dismissed the Y.T.S. as his "wall chart which clearly indicates where the trainees are", and as a supervisor of places in a national scheme located within employer's premises he was, during the confusion of 1983-4, allowed to continue presenting his version of the Y.T.S. in what was perceived as a relatively high status context.

Table 2.8: Characteristics of Schemes, Supervisors in Study

Scheme	Mode	Places	Training in:	Supervisor and Age at 1.1.86	Completed training in:	Trade Union Professional Association	Duration in Present Post at 1.1.86
Dairy Products PLC (Large Companies Unit)	A	4	food processing	Percy 55	health & safety	-	10 years
Direct Training	B1	30	catering clerical mechanics needlework welding	George 23	-	-	20 months
Engineering Training Ltd	A	150	engineering mechanics fabrication	Jon 47	electrical engineering and instructional techniques	Institute of Mining Engineers	14 years
Retail Training Ltd	A	100	clerical retail	Wendy 43	counselling & staff training	-	20 months
South Local Authority	A	80	clerical construction electrical work recreation	John 53 / Morris 48	brickwork / brickwork & instructional techniques	U.C.A.T.T. / N.A.L.G.O.	2 years / 2 years
Technology Training	B1	30	electronics office practice production	Ken 53	electronics & instructional techniques	Institute of Supervisory Management	2 years
Workshop Training	B1	100	clerical construction decoration electronics mechanics	Fred 32	audio visual technician	Institute of Diagnostic Engineers	15 months
Special Needs	B2	20	broad based basic skills	Liz 32	teaching PGCE special needs sports instruction	N.A.T.F.H.E.	4 years

Source: Data obtained from questionnaires, interviews conducted during research period, 1983-1986

At Direct Training, Retail Training Ltd, and Technology Training,
launching Y.T.S. involved setting up a new training scheme and
recruiting staff. Retail Training Ltd was formed from a consortium of
firms in the retail trade. The aim was a novel and exciting one to
local M.S.C. officials. A central co-ordinating team would direct the
scheme, providing off-the-job training while the consortium provided
work experience setting right across the retail trade. So trainees
could gain experience in fashion, furnishing, fish shops and florists.
The reality bore little resemblance to the theory. One firm rose to
dominate the launch of the scheme offering to locate the co-ordinating
team on their premises. This was perceived as a generous offer by both
the M.S.C. and the consortium. However as the staff were recruited by
the dominant firm it became evident that altruism was not the major
motive. Publicity was actively sought by this firm. The image of
involvement at the forefront in a training revolution prompted the offer
from the company. Scheme staff were employed (as in the majority of the
new schemes) on temporary contracts. But the person charged with the
actual monitoring of this multi-site scheme worked on a monthly
renewable contract. The firm begrudged all but the most basic equipment
and furniture despite the fact that the scheme was located in the
offices of a furniture store. The M.S.C. liaison officer admitted that
the M.S.C. had accepted with undue haste this concept of a consortium
scheme. Yet despite the obvious problems of insecurity of staff; of
inadequate provision of resources; and lack of commitment by the
managing agents the scheme continued as it was a large provider of
places in Mode A, within a sector with a steady level of employment for
school leavers. In short the negotiation process was one cluttered by

mis-conceptions on both sides and rationalisations of positions established after the launch.

Technology Training is an information technology centre (I.T.E.C.). The centres were set up as a direct Government initiative in new technology announced in December 1981 by the then Minister for Industry and Information, Kenneth Baker (Hansard, Vol. 15, col. 628). Thirty I.T.E.C.'s were envisaged jointly financed by the Department of Trade and Industry and the M.S.C. They were to offer broad based services to local industry and training. The I.T.E.C. included in this study whilst set up in 1982 doubled its staffing from 4 to 8 with the introduction of the Y.T.S. The I.T.E.C. management faced the same dilemma as all scheme managers i.e. how to recruit people qualified to a suitable level in a particular skill area who also possess experience in youth training. Scheme management invariably went for the former criterion ie. a person trained in a particular trade in preference to the latter. The actual skills of training were often rated as secondary, as something which the manager of Direct Training described as "just something some people have - the one's who can communicate with the young". The Training the Trainers programme set up nationally via 55 Accredited Training Centres was also a back-up facility for instruction in training skills.

The actual drafting of a scheme programme without any previous experience of training presented many problems. As stated earlier M.S.C. staff were unsure of programme design. The Programme Development Officer was often called in to assist. Setting up a scheme involved going through a series of checklists related to the programme design.

In the Spring of 1983 the leaflet entitled "Guidance for Employers Providing Work Experience" was the only documentation freely available. A series of booklets entitled "Practitioners Guides and a Handbook for Managing Agents" were not available until Autumn 1983. The final certificate and log book were not widely available until Christmas 1983. Minimum criteria documentation was treated as confidential. In fact tutors from the local Accredited Centre had to surreptitiously lift a copy from the area office. They copied it and distributed it widely. Initially M.S.C. staff were annoyed and concerned as they were unsure of the guidelines. They correctly calculated that others too would misinterpret the guidelines and seek advice from them. The secrecy appeared bizarre but in the confused situation it had increased the power of the M.S.C. officials and restricted difficult enquiries concerning scheme content and design.

Direct Training had difficulty meeting the stated criteria. Not because scheme management were unsure of the Y.T.S. design - they were no more nor no less so than others - but because they did not have a business or other form of enterprise on which to base training. Starting with a building, in poor decorative order, an idea to provide training in clerical, food preparation, car maintenance and painting and decorating the scheme had a difficult time ahead. It was both more obviously supported and monitored by the M.S.C. As a consequence problems were readily spotted but sometimes the criticisms outweighed the much needed support. By the end of the first year of the Y.T.S. the programme had to be rewritten not because it was markedly weaker in comparison to

other providers rather because it was so keenly monitored and not linked to a business concern.

Workshop Training had been involved with Y.O.P. and merely transferred and expanded its provision for the Y.T.S. This again caused problems both for the M.S.C. and scheme staff who initially perceived the Y.T.S as a bigger version of Y.O.P. Again this scheme received a lot of attention. It had difficulty keeping staff due to constant change and confusion within the scheme of programme and trainees. It could not lose the reputation of being involved in the poorly regarded measure of Y.O.P.

Engineering Training Ltd and South Local Authority are both highly regarded providers of training. The former has close links with the engineering industrial training board and a long history of providing training for local engineering firms who financially supported its work. Y.T.S. was there and helped the finances of the firm. It was viewed as a poor version of their usual courses but something they had to keep up with. In contrast South Local Authority based a new Authority wide training programme upon the Y.T.S. investing £30,000 in the first year for equipment and a series of portacabins in which to locate the scheme. A Labour controlled Authority it was one in which a decision was made to participate in the provision of quality training for all employees. The scheme manager, committed to the ethos of the Y.T.S., worked almost totally upon the scheme design for several months prior to its start date. This was viewed as a model scheme spoken of widely by M.S.C. officials and visited by trainers from many other schemes at home and

abroad. The M.S.C. felt confident in letting the management of both those schemes conduct the Y.T.S. training with little more than basic statutory monitoring. A similar attitude was demonstrated towards the special needs scheme at a college of further education. Located in an educational setting there was a perception that the Y.T.S. guidelines would pose few problems for lecturers. The training area of special needs, was one tagged on to mainstream Y.T.S. and not one in which local M.S.C. officials were knowledgeable or interested.

6. Equal Access?

The publicity accompanying the Y.T.S. spoke of a scheme with open access to all school leavers, offering them the opportunity to train in sectors they were interested in. Interest rather than qualifications was to be the main criterion of recruitment. An ethos of equal opportunities prevailed. Yet the apparently equal right of access to Y.T.S. belied the factual differences in opportunities for qualifications, employment and personal development. The origins of these divisions lie in the operation of a capitalist economic system. The divisions of labour illustrated in the work of Wedderburn and Craig (1974) and Penn (1984) have evolved as economic production has been reconstructed. The Y.T.S. could not be divorced from such divisions without a positive attempt to engineer an egalitarian system which does not mirror socio-economic and gender inequalities. Other such attempts e.g. comprehensive education (Finch, 1984, p.119) have failed reflecting the deeply held belief in division and the manner in which such policies can reinforce and perpetuate inequalities. It was purely rhetorical to suggest that

Y.T.S. could radically change unequal access to recognised forms of training without supportive mechanisms aimed at promoting equality of opportunity. The hierarchical patterns between and within schemes were established during the process of negotiation.

Local M.S.C. officials spoke in 1983 of an emerging hierarchy between schemes. That hierarchy was topped by schemes located in settings in which training had a long and recognised history e.g. industrial training boards. At the bottom were the schemes built upon Y.O.P. workshops, now Mode B schemes. This inter-scheme hierarchy possessed a further dimension of intra-scheme divisions. As Penn concludes in his study of skilled workers in the working class the classic capital-labour divide is insufficient to describe inequalities within the working class. The economic and trade union history of a locality such as Co. Durham has left a strong sense of labourist traditions and memories of a structure of employment akin to the era of trade union organisation dominance in skilled sectors of work. Certainly the region still has the highest level of unionisation in Great Britain (Employment Gazette, May 1988) but trades union organisation has been "structured around the axis of skill" (Penn, 1984, p.185) which has undergone dramatic change. Memories of the past remain but present a partial picture of the reality of divisions within labour today (Bauman, 1982, p.114).

The attitude of M.S.C. staff and managing agents reflected and reinforced socio-economic inequalities. A complex picture of differentiation within the Y.T.S. was set in motion. Information technology, electronic and engineering acquired a higher status and

additional resources. These are male dominated areas of training and
supervisory employment. The status of such sections of training also
reflected the broader political thrust towards technology as a basis for
economic regeneration. However much of the Y.T.S was concerned more
with the allocation of 1983-4 leavers to schemes and therefore the
approval of schemes rather than the opening up of access to training.
In fact the whole notion of training as epitomised by the work of the
industrial training boards and apprenticeship forms of training was
changing to reflect a short term, broad based low level skill "training"
across all industrial sectors.

7. Conclusion

This part of the thesis has examined the events surrounding the
introduction of the Y.T.S. at both the national and local level.

The data presented suggests that the factors surrounding the
introduction of the Y.T.S. are manifold and cannot be viewed in
isolation. The factors suggested are:-

1   the perceived breakdown in the school-work transition and the
    challenge this presented to secondary education and the work ethic;

2. the fear of the potential for violence, crime and drug abuse amongst
    large numbers of unemployed school leavers;

3. the failure of the pre-1983 training system to present anything but
   limited opportunities open to the better qualified male school
   leavers;

4. the economic restructuring and recession which necessitated a
   control on the supply of labour but the continued dominance of the
   work ethic amongst all potential employees.

The shift in Government statements to an ever increasing emphasis upon
laissez-faire economic doctrines with individualism as the model for
social action became explicit in policy.

On the demand side little was being done to create employment even in
depressed regions such as the North East. The policy put the onus back
on to the individual:- the opportunity was there and it was up to the
unemployed school leavers and adults to equip themselves according to
the needs of industry (ibid). The new found emphasis upon flexibility
and adaptability made it clear that behavioural responses were required
from the unemployed (MacInnes, 1987, p.162).

Young people want to work. That was the conclusion of the careers
service staff in Co. Durham. Just as school leavers faced a changing
situation so did the careers officers moving from attempts to guide and
counsel to the allocation of young people on to the Y.T.S. Attempting
to monitor the new scheme was problematic not just for careers staff but
also for the M.S.C. local officers. Information was limited and that
available often misunderstood. National concerns such as the emphasis

upon the provision of places on employers' premises were difficult to achieve in a county undergoing a dramatic process of recession and restructuring.

The policy was one drawn up in haste by professional industrial trainers and educationalists. Whilst many of the concepts incorporated in the Y.T.S. were welcomed by professional groups much confusion surrounded the day to day application of the scheme in local M.S.C. offices. Many of the officials were new to training. Nevertheless they foresaw potential problems with the development of the scheme. Differences of opinion existed within the local office and were to surface in relations with other groups during 1984. However in 1983 a sense of comradeship in the face of the massive challenge posed by the scheme was evident throughout the county.

The very meaning of the word training was being transformed. Commonly perceived patterns of training, largely as apprenticeships leading to recognised qualifications, were being pushed aside. Some sectors were experiencing a dilution of previously necessary time serving and course content. In other areas of work such as retail and hairdressing trades the Y.T.S. did introduce a regulated form of training to generally exploitative sectors of employment. But ultimately Y.T.S. did not lead to recognised qualifications.

And all the time, the media, the teachers, the parents and trainers were suggesting that Y.T.S. training was the answer. But what mattered was the scheme the trainee entered or supervisor worked on. The final

section of the chapter outlined the conception of a hierarchy of schemes based upon the involvement (or otherwise) of managing agents in previously recognised terms of training. It appeared that the Y.T.S. would do little to create equal access to training for school leavers.

Why the Y.T.S? In short, it was a policy reaction to a massive political and social problem. Local individuals and groups worked through the changes ready to assist youth as best they could. Their responses represent the everyday reactions to and experiences of a period of economic and social change.

CHAPTER 3

Training the Trainers
The Launch and Development of Eastern Centre

1. **INTRODUCTION**

    A. Aims of Chapter
    B. What is an Accredited Centre?
    C. Institutional Change and the Introduction of the
        Training the Trainers Programme

2. **SETTING UP THE NETWORK**

    A. Locating Accredited Centres
    B. The Origins of the Accredited Centre Network

3. **EASTERN CENTRE: A CASE STUDY**

    A. Accreditation for Eastern Centre
    B. Resourcing Eastern Centre
    C. The Relationship between A.C. Staff and the M.S.C.

        i.   Typificatory Schemes
        ii. Seeking the Curriculum
        iii. Political Views

4. **CONCLUSION**

115a

Chapter 3:

The Launch and Development of Eastern Centre

1. Introduction

A. Aims of the Chapter

The aims of this Chapter are:

1. to explore the origins of the concept of Accredited Centres;

2. to examine the setting up of one such centre known here as
   Eastern Centre;

3. to examine the developing and changing relations in the Y.T.S.
   network as epitomised in the work of the Eastern Centre and the
   relationship between the centre and local M.S.C. officials.

B. What is an Accredited Centre?

The Youth Task Group Report, which established the framework for the
Y.T.S., presented the M.S.C. with a mandate to establish a network of
centres to provide training for Y.T.S supervisors. In its concluding
comments the report compiled by industrialists, educationalists and
trade unionists, stated that such provision for supervisors was "an
essential part of delivery in the new scheme" (M.S.C., 1982d, p.18).
The provision of such training was strongly endorsed by all groups
involved in the structuring of the new scheme.

This component of the scheme was to provide in-service training and refresher courses for the myriad groups involved in the Y.T.S.: supervisors, line managers and instructors, further education staff, and other education and youth service tutors (ibid). A series of Accredited Centres (A.C.'s) were established. Fifty five A.C.'s were set up throughout the country with a remit to provide:

1. a range of modular courses covering the necessary elements of the Y.T.S. programme;

2. a range of advisory services;

3. information on training and schemes in practice;

4. peripatetic coaching to local programmes. (Source: M.S.C., 1984a)

An area staff training plan was to be compiled but participation in courses was to be voluntary. Courses were to be offered in a range of settings; at central locations and in outreach centres. A process of accreditation was pursued by the M.S.C. i.e. the contracting out of staff training to agencies in various settings obligated to provide training relevant to the Y.T.S. design and content. For the colleges, training agencies and employer's associations already providing courses in instructional skills the possibilities of receiving accreditation held opportunities of funding, resourcing, and the involvement in the first national training scheme for 16-19 year olds. It is therefore not surprising that competition for accreditation was intense. An A.C.

was located in each of the 55 "areas" which were largely aligned in spatial terms to Local Education Authorities.

Accredited Centres received 100% funding during the first two years of the programme 1983-85. A Staff Training Co-ordinator (S.T.C.) was appointed in each area to manage local provision. Additional staff were appointed as necessary and as the budget allowed. But provision was to reflect "existing organisations and institutions" (M.S.C., 1982d, p.18). A large number of colleges and training agencies were involved in presenting, the first award for "special measure" instructors, the City and Guilds 926 Youth Trainers Award. Many trainers working on Y.O.P. had taken this course and it was upon this network that further provision in Co. Durham was based. In 1983-4 the local A.C. received £100,000 and in 1984-5 £135,000. During both academic years the S.T.C., Terry, worked with two senior lecturers Ray and John plus part-time staff to run a programme of courses ranging from a youth training award; computing courses to guidance and counselling sessions. Training provided for such staff was limited to a three week course for S.T.C.'s. Guidance from the M.S.C. was therefore, the dominant mode of direction and source of information available to A.C. staff.

C. Institutional Change and the Introduction of the Training the Trainers Programme

Legitimation, that is maintaining or creating the conditions for social harmony (O'Connor, 1973, p.6), was an obvious consideration in the origins of the Y.T.S. as demonstrated in Parliamentary debates (Hansard, Vol 2, Col. 819, 7.4.81, Vol. 10, Col. 376, 21.10.81) and policy statements (A Programme for Action, Department of Employment, 1981). The fear and anguish created by youth unemployment was to a large extent quelled by the introduction of the first national training scheme for young people with finance amounting to £1b. The scheme also served the interests of business and industry well. It removed the major burden of financing and monitoring a training scheme whilst ensuring a supply of young workers aware of their likely futures in the world of work. However a sizeable number of employers were concerned that a year on Y.T.S. could not be equated with forms of training such as apprenticeships. Nevertheless the Government was bearing the costs and the problems of instituting a new system to fulfil policy functions. It would work to the benefit of many employers of young workers.

Setting up the Y.T.S. was a difficult task to lay at the door of any organisation. Certainly the M.S.C. had demonstrated a flexibility of approach and willingness to challenge traditional perspectives on training and the management of unemployment. However the new section of the M.S.C. charged with introducing the Y.T.S. would only be as successful in instituting the scheme as the daily inputs made by those working directly with trainees, namely, the supervisors. The

supervisors were charged with a complex role of being the one to maintain a social harmony, at a local level, by holding up the possibility of training leading to a job. At the same time they had to institute a new process of "training" which did pay some attention to traditional perspectives but also introduced many new concepts. It was therefore important that supervisors receive information and support via a support structure (M.S.C., 1982d, p.18). The setting up of an Accredited Centre (A.C.) network was also a means of explicitly demonstrating a concern for quality; a concern borne of the criticisms of Y.O.P. (ibid).

The process of institutional change is one, argues Parsons characterised by a differentiation, that is, the division of "one previous structure into two". The training community was witnessing change and institutionalisation of a system very obviously differing from policies in place prior to 1983. Parsons contended (1969, p.348) that a smooth transition necessitates the incorporation of units previously involved into a new level of collective organisation. The management of the Y.T.S. at a local level via Area Manpower Boards and nationally through the Youth Training Board made places available for the groups involved in training. At this time it was made clear that the Y.T.S. could not and would not continue without this support. The actions of any unit will be ordered by a series of norms (functions primarily to integrate social systems which are specific to a particular social function and types of social situation) which:-

"must be generalised to the point where they can regulate action both in types of unit and the relations between them" (Parsons, 1969, p.349)

Such is the shift in policy, from a largely market orientated and reactive one to a state organised system of training that, previously institutionalised norms conflicting with this system must be challenged:-

"to legitimate a change of norms, it is necessary both to alter the constellation of interests and to invoke the value-system itself at requisite levels of specificity on behalf of the new norms" (ibid)

At a national level debates via the New Training Initiative, the Government's White Paper "A Programme for Action" and The Task Group Report demonstrated the new found dominance of words such as flexibility, adaptability and transferability. The economic crisis and potential social crisis epitomised in youth unemployment opened the way for change; for differentiation and the institutionalisation of a new system of training.

But were these shifts in norms - the paradoxical shift to state systems strongly proporting the individualistic skills of laissez-faire doctrines - accepted at the local level? The questions of understanding the changes was less dominant than the wish to have supervisors who would operate the system in an essentially unobtrusive manner. A similar situation faced those instituting the system of education in the

1830's. It was Kay-Shuttleworth, The First Secretary of the Committee of the Privy Council charged with developing a school system, who argued that the teachers culture and skills were of supreme importance. Managing to institute a pupil apprenticeship form of training he hoped to open up opportunities for the poor and offer an incentive to poor pupils for this was, as he stated, a vocation which "it cannot be expected that members of the middles class of society will to any great extent choose..." (Sturt, 1967, p.181). Whilst that system of training, like the Y.T.S. focussed upon groups destined to "working class" jobs, it explicitly proposed a view that a particular social character necessary for teaching could be promoted in the training of teachers.

Time spent in the A.C. cannot be equated with teacher training then and now. Neither can the depth of study be said to be similar. Nevertheless it is via courses originating from the centre of the system that the "social character" of the supervisor may be set. That "social character" places due emphasis upon the individuals' role in achieving employment as a consequence of the Y.T.S. The structure of A.C.'s and course content illustrate a particular set of attitudes and values which if accepted suggest that the education or training that follows "is the best that can be offered to anyone" (Williams, 1961, p.127).

The A.C. network was charged with a tremendous task. The manifest function was to provide Y.T.S. supervisors with the necessary information and instructional skills. Its latent function was to demonstrate, and as possible inculcate, the "social character" of the

Y.T.S. supervisor and future employees. The notion of professionalism was not one on offer for Y.T.S. supervisors:- many lacked any notion of an ideology of professionalism; any knowledge or dependence upon scientific or regarded theories and an association or trade union. Certainly career opportunities were evolving as the Y.T.S. network developed but the security of professionalism (Parry and Parry, 1979, pp.21-47) would elude the Y.T.S. supervisors. Nevertheless the A.C. network was instituted, set up and accepted in a short period of time. Quite simply it appeared to provide a much needed source of information and support to many supervisors new to training.

2. Setting up the Network

A. Locating Accredited Centres

In keeping with the laissez-faire ideology in the policy making process of the Y.T.S. (Jonathan, 1983, p.3) the location of A.C.'S was to be open to tender. Private training agencies, employers' associations and local authorities were encouraged to tender for designation as an A.C. Like much of the Y.T.S structure the process of accreditation was a hastily conducted one with applications welcomed from Autumn 1982 with a view to A.C.'s operating by Summer 1983. Information concerning the contents of courses and their relationship to the Y.T.S. was unavailable. And little was known of the selection criteria for A.C.'s. The journal of the M.S.C. Youth Training Division "Youth Training News" in its second issue (March 1983) discussed the process of selection criteria for centres as being:

1. the commitment to the training of staff generally;

2. the previous work undertaken with young people;

3. and the available resources for the provision of staff training.
   (Youth Training News, 1983, No. 2, p.5)

Decisions as to the location of A.C.'S was to take place only after full consultation "between M.S.C. head office, its local management, and other bodies, which are likely to include the regional representatives of the T.U.C., C.B.I. and the local education authority" (ibid). The result of these consultations was to lead to the location of over half the A.C.'s in the then "unfashionable" educational settings (see Table 3.1 overleaf). This was a consequence of the shortage of time and the concentration of experience in training trainers in educational institutions. It may also be understood as a means of incorporating those involved in training into a "new level of collective organisation" (Parsons, op cit, p.348).

Table 3.1   The Settings of Accredited Centres on 1.2.84.

Educational Institutions:	Schools	2
	Colleges of Further Education	11
	Polytechnics	15
	Educational Trusts & related settings	7
	Total	**35**
Others:	Private Firms	8
	Training Centres	6
	Local Government	1
	Employer's Association	1
	M.S.C. Skill Centres	4
	Total	**20**
	Overall Total	**55**

Eastern Centre is located in a college of further education with a long history of involvement in in-service teaching qualifications and youth trainer awards. The application for accreditation was readily accepted with little local competition. In fact Eastern Centre was the first A.C. to begin training opening in May 1983. The other A.C.'s within the region were located in a Polytechnic, a training agency involved in Y.O.P. and in a private firm's training centre. There was only one contentious application in the region:- the latter. The private firm stood in direct competition with a local college of further education already involved in the training of Y.O.P. supervisors. The college's application was turned down in favour of the setting up of a limited company form of A.C. backed by a multi-national firm operating a branch

plant in the area. This decision was said to be "politically motivated", as the "token" A.C. in a private firm (quotes from interview with college lecturer, April 1985).

Whether this was the case it was impossible to state for M.S.C. staff were unwilling to discuss the decision. However the decision shocked educational and trade union groups in the region reinforcing the "market criterion" so fashionable in assessing the allocation and provision of services. A local managing agent commented that the incident kept the A.C.'s "on their toes" making them more receptive to M.S.C. policy. Yet within Eastern Centre this decision, made known in the Summer of 1983, irritated staff and caused lecturing staff to defend other members of their profession in the face of a perceived attack by the M.S.C. on an educational institution.

B. The Origins of the Accredited Centre Network

Why was a network of A.C.'s established?
The factors surrounding the introduction are complex but involve:-

1. the transmission of Y.T.S. content design and ethos;

2. the creation of a recognised form of qualification for supervisors;

3. a reaction to the sudden rise in adverse publicity surrounding Y.O.P.;

4. the necessity of publicising the Y.T.S. as something new and
    different.

The A.C. network presents an opportunity to further achieve a well
established, prestigious, new training scheme.

Training trainers is not a new phenomenon. The origins of a network of
training courses lie in the development of the teacher training system.
This system, Kay-Shuttleworth, contended was a necessity not only to
ensure that teachers were skilled in their subject but were also able to
transmit the correct culture (Rich, 1933, p.2). During the 19th Century
the re-articulation of labour relations necessitated the transmission of
the ethos of personal success through the weakening of communical
activity and production processes (Bauman, 1982, p.116). The education
system was crucial to this process (ibid) and teachers the critical
actors in the process of that transmission.

Y.T.S. supervisors are critical in the process of transmitting a
training programme in a new and fashionable atmosphere of vocationalism
(Dale, 1985, p.33). They are the adults with whom trainees will spend
much of their time. Some trainers have progressed through skill
training and instructional technique courses. However, professional
trainers and those entering youth training without any experience of
training need instruction in a new scheme. To formalise that
instruction via a series of specific courses brings with it status for
the trainer undertaking such courses as it did for teachers. It also
ensures that a training role can be "assembled, maintained or

dissembled" by providing a role which can be both supplied and claimed from the settings within which participants find themselves (Manning, 1971, p.247). The content of the training the trainers programme can provide such a role. In 1976 the M.S.C. set up a Training the Trainers Committee to consider the development of staff training (M.S.C., 1980). This group, comprised of M.S.C. officials and nominees from industrial training boards, private companies and educational institutions, worked in an advisory capacity to the M.S.C. until the Autumn of 1984. Commencing with the growth of special measures a two pronged policy was envisaged:

1. the appointment of regional training co-ordinators to develop the provision of in-house staff training and;

2. the provision of residential and day release courses at established training colleges and skill centres.

The dominant concern of much provision was in the sphere of health and safety. This was a practical necessity but also a politically motivated stance. Accidental injuries and deaths occurring on youth opportunities programmes rose to levels which attracted massive public attention. Between 1980-82 there was an 89% rise in notifiable accidents, with eleven deaths occurring. Concern and recrimination was expressed in the media (Daily Mirror, 26th February 1983, Guardian, 2nd June 1983b) and in the House of Commons (Hansard, 7th March 1983). A Sheffield City Coroner sitting at an inquest for a trainee who had died concluded that

the M.S.C. were "naive...Derek should have been under supervision all the time" (Daily Mirror, 26th February 1983).

Added to this intense growth in adverse publicity was the continued evidence of job substitution (New Statesman, 15th May 1981) and problems in monitoring training places (Allum and Quigley, 1983, p.p.5-17). Participants in Area Boards particularly from trade unions, became increasingly frustrated at the tidal wave of growing and obvious criticisms of the training programme for 16-18 year olds.

In 1980 the advisory committee on Training the Trainers worked in conjunction with the City and Guilds of London Institute to develop a 926 Instructors Award. The City and Guilds Institute, located strongly in a tradition of practical, vocational, day release courses for those in employment, provided in a pragmatic and political sense a relevant form of provision. The Instructors Award was aimed at Y.O.P. supervisors and taught at a series of designated institutions. As a day release course of 13 days duration it could only hope to provide a superficial treatment of institutional skills and training content. Yet assessment, via project work and observation visits by tutors, was said by the local City and Guilds external examiner and lecturers employed on it to fulfil a genuine need for direction and support.

In short, by 1982 a narrow training programme for trainers was in place. It appeared to fill an evident need and to a small extent challenge criticisms of training programmes which were mounting. Quality assurance of any new scheme was a crucial consideration.

The Youth Task Group Report may well have provided the mandate for the A.C. concept but it was the Government which had to make the decision to expand the current policy based upon the 926 Instructors Award into a diet of courses taught at centres funded by the M.S.C. Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Employment introducing Government proposals for youth training stated:-

"As to the logic of the whole scheme, I again feel that what is being offered in the Youth Training Scheme is so different from that available under the Y.O.P. that the youngsters concerned should put more value on it" (Hansard, Vol. 15, Col. 159, 15th December 1981).

The need to make the scheme originating from the New Training Initiative markedly different from the poorly regarded Y.O.P. scheme was paramount. The provision of a network of A.C.'s whilst not originating in these proposals was readily accepted once suggested in the Task Group Report in 1982. Being introduced in that report within the section entitled "Quality Assurance" the development of an A.C. network provided further evidence of a commitment to the Government's contention that:-

"Y.T.S. is different. It is an integral part of our policies for improving our levels of industrial training and performance" (Norman Tebbit, Secretary of State for Employment, Hansard, Vol. 36, Col. 308, 2nd February 1983).

That statement made it clear - Y.T.S. had to be perceived as a high quality scheme if it was to manage smoothly youth unemployment, maintaining social harmony and appear to assist industry in economic regeneration.

3. Eastern Centre: A Case Study

M.F.D. Young (1971, pp.32-33) in analysing the distribution of resources in education argues that patterns of resource distribution will reflect demands and influences from the social and occupational structure. Also the curricula taught reflects the "definitions of relevant knowledge" (ibid). Williams argues in a similar fashion that what is thought of as simple distribution of resources is in fact "an active shaping to particular social ends" (Williams, 1961, p.125).

The evolution of the A.C. network was undertaken in haste and propelled by a necessity to launch the scheme in September 1983. But the ultimate aim was to transmit information on Y.T.S. and shape the manner in which trainers worked. There were a series of memos to be adhered to by A.C. staff and a national pattern of resourcing in force. So there was a perception of an organisational structure and diet of courses that would be in place throughout the country. Yet A.C. staff brought with them their differing experiences and perceptions of their role in Y.T.S. Likewise M.S.C. staff brought their experience and perceptions to bear on the formation of the new scheme. Whilst a policy of active shaping was the intent - the A.C. network was to be a major prong in quality assurance and the institutionalisation of Y.T.S. - the implementation of

that policy revealed a dichotomy between theory and reality. There were marked variations in college responses to the Y.T.S. (Stoney and Lines, 1987, p.122). Those variations were not only an indication of differing staff backgrounds and personalities but also the context within which the differing A.C.'s grew; the developing relations with employers and the state of the local economy. In an examination of the conception and development of Eastern Centre the complexity of the situation facing one A.C. is highlighted.

A. Accreditation for Eastern Centre

The procedure for accreditation was outlined in the section entitled "Locating Accredited Centres". The application for Eastern Centre was co-ordinated by the Vice-Principal of the college. The college is formed of an amalgamation of a technical college and a college of education. It was decided that the colleges's experience in education, training and in particular in-service courses in teaching skills, could form the basis of a strong application. However the Vice-Principal in consultation with staff already working on the 926 Instructors Award was aware of a major weakness in their application, namely how to convince local M.S.C. officials and employers that the needs of industrial trainers and scheme management would be met. They were aware of the scepticism with which educational institutions were regarded. Yet accreditation would bring with it:-

1. the provision of resources not only to initiate an A.C. but which would form the basis of staff training throughout the college;

2. the potential of curriculum development work in an era of marked
    changes in emphasis for teaching and training 18-19 year olds;

3. the development of relations with many groups involved in the
    Y.T.S.;

4. the resultant publicity and obvious orientation towards client needs
    which would enhance the image of the college.

    (Points compiled from interviews with staff and the Vice Principal
    who wrote the application for accreditation, January 1984)

The Y.T.S. signalled a major shift in the control of vocational
education and the training of supervisors towards an employer led
orientation. The staff of the college generally agreed that it was
better to work with and colour M.S.C. proposals rather than allow a
dilution of their dominant role in teaching instructional skills in the
county.

A useful theoretical idea to employ in analysing this apparent guarded
enthusiasm for accreditation (when fear and loathing might have been
assumed) is the notion of a "consortium of interests" (Hogwood and
Peters, 1983, p.109). This term is employed by Hogwood and Peters in
examining the introduction of a new policy or reform to a policy in
situ. The consortium is defined as a forum comprised of
"producers.....politicians and bureaucrats who gain votes and, or

employment from the consortium or transformation of the programme" (ibid).

Via such a consortium prompt consideration is given to the policy in question not only to serve the needs and wishes of members of the consortium but also to ensure swift consideration "on the part of providers who want the issue resolved so that they can make plans about service delivery" (ibid). Hence the ready involvement of college staff in various activities supported by the M.S.C.

It came as no surprise that the college received accreditation. After all the college had a history of training in instructional skills. The M.S.C. Regional Training Co-ordinator added another variable "it couldn't have come quick enough for me as with the Y.T.S. I suddenly had a potential client group of 800 supervisors twice that of Y.O.P., and no extra resources!". As there were no other applications, a positive response was quickly received. Work began in earnest with the M.S.C. The Regional Training Co-ordinator and Programme manager met with staff in March of 1983. A series of regular meetings followed during which the membership of an advisory group was constituted. This was to be the forum in which employers, M.S.C. and interested bodies meet on a bi-monthly basis to feed in their needs and comments to the A.C. The membership of the programme area user group - the forum for managing agents - was also able to comment on A.C. outputs. The profile of A.C. staff as willing to move outside the college to meet and listen to providers was speedily established. Relations with all the groups were good at this stage. Such relations were a product of day-to-day

survival:- of needing to know what to provide for managing agents and
the M.S.C. This period of uncertainty and yet of challenge was described
by the S.T.C. as one of "coming over the top together". Mutual support
was clearly evident. This was the high point in relations between the
A.C. and other groups. By late 1983 suspicions and cynicism began to
creep into relations particularly between the A.C. lecturers and local
M.S.C. officials.

B. Resourcing Eastern Centre

The M.S.C. were privately pleased to have the local A.C. in the college
even if publicly they voiced doubts about the ability of educationalists
to fulfil the needs of the Y.T.S. Eastern Centre was able to tap into
the resources of the college and utilize the experience of instructing
Y.O.P. supervisors. These were factors not to be dismissed in the
hectic days of 1983 and the M.S.C. positively entered into the
development of Eastern Centre.

The M.S.C. funded the centre to a maximum of £100,000 1983-84 and
£135,000 1984-85. Much of the monies went to fund the employment of the
S.T.C. and two senior lecturers (£45,000) and the buying in of part-time
staff to work on computing and guidance and counselling (£25,000). The
remaining funds had to cover the marketing of courses, travel expenses
of lecturers to teach in outreach centres and teaching materials.
Computing equipment was also purchased. The funding was not generous
but it adequately covered the costs of the centre.

The centre was provided with a series of rooms on the third floor of a red brick building. This building housed the degree course in education, then in its final year of teaching. By the standards of many Y.T.S. schemes it was good accommodation. However finding these rooms had proved to be difficult. Resentment was felt by staff teaching the degree in education. Education lecturers had presided over the building from the 1930's and now they were being asked to disperse as the course was ceasing. But before they could go they had to suffer the entry of the A.C. The A.C. represented to them the favoured way forward. One of the staff teaching the degree in education voiced their worst fears:

"If this sort of thing gets off the ground there will be no need for degrees in education anywhere. They think you can just train them in a few weeks like this centre is trying to do"

That source of friction apart, the A.C was positively perceived by other college staff.

Staffing the centre appeared an easier problem to solve. The post of S.T.C. was advertised within the college at a principal lecturer grade. It was filled in February 1983 by a lecturer who had taught both in vocational and on youth and community work courses. On this appointment the transfer of the two lecturers already teaching the 926 Instructors Award took place. The Centre was ready to commence work. A series of planning meetings took place and a number of short courses, particularly in awareness raising on the Y.T.S. were planned. But the announcement by one of the lecturers that he was leaving that Summer threw plans into

disarray. Coupled with this came the illness of the S.T.C. who went off ill in May 1983 not to return until Autumn 1984. A temporary appointment of S.T.C. was made and Terry, a lecturer in education, presided over the launch of the centre with a minimum of training from the M.S.C. The appointment of John, an industrial trainer, in May, completed the main staffing complement. The background of staff revealed a distinct set of motivations and support needs:-

1. Terry S.T.C.; an experienced F.E. practitioner, who had worked in vocational preparation was delighted in the challenge posed and opportunities available in curriculum developments. She perceived possible career advancement but probable difficulties in liaising with many different groups and managing competing needs;

2. Ray; lecturer working on the 926 Instructors Award had been re-deployed from a nearby teacher training college which had recently closed. He was highly motivated to work in his specialist area, of teaching in special needs, but his fears arose from the dominant industrial paradigm evident in the Y.T.S. and the necessity of working with the M.S.C. as the main proponents of this doctrine;

3. John; lecturer new to F.E., but skilled in meeting the specific needs of an employer. He was delighted in the opportunity of moving to a relatively more secure area of work. However, he was new to college life and teaching adults. He showed an obvious lack of confidence and a need for support.

Part-time staff came largely from an educational background despite unsuccessful attempts by the S.T.C. to recruit staff from industry.

The S.T.C. was in the unenviable position of having to deploy staff, finances and materials with a distinct lack of information and little direction. There was an underestimation by the M.S.C. and S.T.C. of the information required by tutors to actually teach courses. A review of the minutes of staff meetings in the early Summer of 1983 reveals a pattern of regular meetings at which major points of discussion were continually deferred to future meetings in the hope that information would be forthcoming e.g the curriculum of the new course for supervisors, the 924 Youth Trainers Award and the required content of first aid teaching as a component of health and safety courses.

A series of awareness raising sessions on the Y.T.S. were planned to run throughout the Spring of 1983. By July 20th supervisors had participated in these sessions and the final course of the 926 Instructors Award had been completed. But September was to bring a diet of courses in all aspects of the Y.T.S. Planning was now crucial and that required direction from the M.S.C. as to what to plan for and what to plan with. It was under this pressure that relations with the M.S.C. began to change.

C. The Relationship Between A.C. Staff and M.S.C.

The Y.T.S made for what one M.S.C. official described as "strange bedfellows" (M.S.C. Programme Development Officer, interviewed January

1984). Relations between the staff of Eastern Centre in its educational setting and the local M.S.C. officials actively promoting the employer basis of Y.T.S was a case in point. Neither group had any coherent history of work in the training of young people or training trainers. The relationship in 1983 was a positive one, the necessity for survival being paramount. But in simplest terms the relationship was one formed of educationalists and bureaucrats.

i. Typificatory Schemes

Two events epitomise the existence of what Berger and Luckman term typificatory schemes i.e. the manner in which people are comprehended, for example, a clerical worker or a teacher, and the process of shaping which ensues in terms of the manner in which an encounter will be dealt with (Berger and Luckman, 1966, p.45).

Firstly Ray, from the A.C. accompanied a local M.S.C. officer of executive grade to an awareness raising session on Y.T.S. in April 1983. On his way to the session the M.S.C. officer asked Ray for his opinion on one element of Y.T.S. programme design:-

"you're experienced in these matters. So how long should someone spend on one aspect of Y.T.S., personal effectiveness?"

Ray responded by stating that personal effectiveness was not a part of the Y.T.S. that could be treated as a specific component but something that was developed through a number of experiences in the training and

off-the-job situation. Somewhat bemused the M.S.C. officer asked again how you would introduce the notion of personal effectiveness. Ray responded that a brief definition could be followed by suggesting to trainees that in a years time they might be managing a bank account, responsible for some area of work or living alone and Y.T.S. would develop their confidence to do such things. He added "but I wouldn't dwell on this sort of thing too much at the introduction of the Y.T.S. A 10 minute run through of the main ideas would do for a start. Particularly as it will be developed throughout the scheme." However in response to a question at the session from a supervisor "How do we provide instruction in this thing, personal effectiveness?" A swift response from the M.S.C official stated:-

> "I've just being talking about this particular topic to an educationalist and he said that 10 minutes instruction on opening bank accounts and that sort of thing should do. Isn't that what you said Ray?"

Suddenly the educationalist was an expert worthy of note. Ray decided that it was best not to correct the officer in public. He concluded the official did not understand what he had been saying. In a philosophical mood he finished this story with the comment:

> "They were talking in what Vygotsky described as empty verbalism covering up a conceptual vacuum".

His cynicism was evident not only in the content of his comments but the tone in which they were expressed.

Yet the M.S.C. had a grave fear of such situations - of facing a public audience. The second incident took place in the Autumn of 1983. The manager of the local office was invited to address a teachers' conference. He was new to the Y.T.S. as much of his staff were but he agreed to go through the Y.T.S. design and content. When the manager arrived he realised that the audience consisted of directors of education, college principals and head teachers. Their questions were searching and concerned with the forms of agreement, core skills and the final certificate. The programme development officer described the outcome as :-

"public slaughter. We just didn't have those sort of details in that September and he couldn't answer. It was awful for the office. The manager said he would never do that sort of thing again. And he hasn't."

This event passed into the folklore of the office. The mention of teachers' conferences and forms of assessment was enough to send M.S.C. officials into cries of derision for educationalists and their perceived attempts to show up M.S.C. officials.

ii. Seeking the Curriculum

In September a leaflet was distributed (reproduced overleaf) which
represented the first comprehensive statement on the work of Eastern
Centre. The S.T.C. was avidly marketing courses. Meanwhile staff were
avidly seeking curriculum for these courses. In particular the 924
Youth Trainers Award, (specifically related to the Y.T.S. in a manner in
which the 926 Instructors Award was not as only those working on Y.T.S.
could undertake the 924 Award) was causing severe problems. As
illustrated in the section on the evolution of this award in the
subsequent chapter, the form of assessment remained unknown until half
way through the teaching of the first course. Local M.S.C. staff were
unable or unwilling to inform Eastern Centre staff. Unable, as they
often did not have the information requested e.g. the guide to core
skills, or unsure as to what it meant e.g. guidance and counselling.
They were unwilling in a number of cases because the status of memos
from head office were unknown.

This complex and intricate situation was illustrated by the confusion
surrounding the "Guidelines on Content and Standards in Y.T.S." written
in December 1982 and distributed to M.S.C. Area offices in early 1983.
This detailed series of guidelines presented an expanded version of the
minimum criteria. It was written by the Advisory Group on Content and
Standards a body of "professionals with expertise in young peoples'
training and appointed by the M.S.C. to advise the Youth Training Board
on matters relating to the content and standards in Y.T.S." (M.S.C.,
1982a,p.1). Eastern Centre staff asked persistently for a copy of this

AREA ACCREDITED TRAINING CENTRE

WHAT IS THE ACCREDITED TRAINING CENTRE?

1. **What is an Accredited Centre?**

   An Accredited Centre has been set up (funded by the MSC), in each of 55 different areas. These Centres are intended to provide staff training development for all those concerned with the delivery of the Youth Training Scheme. This training is FREE for the first two years of the Scheme.

2. **Are all the Accredited Centres based upon F.E. Colleges?**

   No. [ ]   was invited in 1982 to apply as a Centre in competition with private applicants.

   The decision to apply was unanimously approved by Academic Board.

3. **Where is the Centre based?**

   The Accredited Centre at _ _ _ _ _ _ is based at the _ _ _ _
   of the J   TELEPHONE: |

4. **What is the role of the Staff Training Co-ordinator?**

   The S.T.C. is an established member of staff of the Accredited Centre, with full-time responsibility for all aspects of staff training for the Y.T.S. in the area, and he is the immediate link with the MSC Area Office on staff training matters. The Accredited Centre and the MSC Area Office are seen here as a partnership. There are two other full-time members of staff but the Centre calls in expertise from a wide variety of sources in order to deliver the best training possible.

5. **Whom does the Centre train?**

   The Centre trains the staff of agency providers for the Y.T.S.: Management, Training Officers and Supervisors. It also offers training to M.S.C. staff, Careers personnel and F.E. lecturers concerned with the delivery of elements of the Y.T.S.

6. **What Courses are available at the moment?**

   At the moment the Centre is actually running:

   (A)   Courses for City & Guilds 924 Award. These are run both at the Accredited Training Centre (Mon/Tue/Wed/Thur/Fri) and at Arts Centre (Wed). This is a 13 week course (one 6 hour-day OR per week) and provides the tuition needed for a City & Guilds 924 Award. (Work-based assignments must be completed before the full award is granted.) The City & Guilds 924 Award replaces the former City & Guilds 926.

Cont. over ...

(B)   Modules of the City & Guilds 924 Award. (These may be studied separately and accredited separately.)

They are:

(a)   Introduction to YTS - 1 Day
(b)   YTS : An Integrated Scheme - 2 Days
(c)   Trainee Centred Learning (Wednesdays 9.00 - 4.00) - 5 Days
(d)   Working with Young People - 3 Days
(e)   Assessment and Reviewing - 2 Days

(C)   Microcomputer Technology (Fridays - 5 Days)

(D)   Education and Training Applications of Computer Technology (Thursdays - 4 Days)

Other Courses in the process of being developed:

(A)   "Coming off a Scheme - Post YTS Alternatives"

(B)   "Motivation and Discipline of YTS Trainees"

7.   **Is this the sole purpose of the Centre?**

No. The Centre will also be engaged in marketing the YTS to potential providers, analysis and planning for the area, assistance to scheme providers, dissemination of information and development training. We are in the process of setting up a resource centre for those delivering YTS, in collaboration with the College Library and the FEU Curriculum Base already established here.

8.   **What does "development training" imply?**

Development training implies a process of ongoing training for skill acquisitions and for individual needs, and an integration with other FE courses such as NEBSS, DMS, the ITD Diploma and Secretarial Courses.

9.   **How do I apply for free training for myself and my staff?**

· Contact:

We will be happy to help you.

September, 1983

document. They knew it was available for they had been told by staff of M.S.C. head-quarters. They had discussed in some detail the contents of the guidelines with those who wrote the guidelines. Ray and John described members of the advisory group "as being on our own wavelength; with an understanding of the needs of young people". They doubted that local officials had the same level of understanding and were disturbed to find it so difficult to obtain this document from them. Local M.S.C. officials stated that the document had not been cleared for general distribution. Ray and John presumed that this was due to a lack of understanding on their part. Secrecy proved a powerful tool (Boguslaw, 1965,p.191) in controlling the situation and converting a lack of knowledge on the part of M.S.C. officials into one of power. The situation was resolved when A.C. staff actually took a copy of the guidelines from the local M.S.C. office. Local officials only found this out when copies of the document were being freely distributed via the centre. In the intervening period M.S.C. headquarters confirmed by telephone that the guidelines were for distribution adding that "they were only guidelines and local offices may have to adapt guidelines in the light of local circumstances." This allowed both groups to withdraw gracefully with their particular stance in this situation excusable.

A strong relationship developed between the Advisory Group members at M.S.C. headquarters and the staff of Eastern Centre. In particular members of advisory groups were regarded with respect. "They have a pedagogic model similar to mine", argued Ray. The advisory group could be further described utilising Boguslaw's models of system design. This operating unit worked in a heuristic manner via principles which

provided guides for action (Boguslaw, 1965. p.17). The centre staff also wished to be viewed as adhering to a guiding model, that of student centred learning. In contrast the chaos and secrecy of the local office was more akin to one of adhocracy.

By January 1984 667 supervisors had participated in courses run by Eastern Centre. Of this number 50% of the supervisors were employed on Mode B1 schemes and 28% on Mode A. The remaining supervisors were working on Mode B2 schemes and within the M.S.C. The Mode B1 schemes formed the major client group for Eastern Centre. This was due, in part, to the high incidence of supervisors on such schemes who were new to training and the Y.T.S.

iii. Political Views

Eastern Centre staff knew that the M.S.C. were concerned to ensure that what they termed "political matters" did not enter into training. Ray and John agreed that this meant not discussing the views of the political parties on youth training. Politics were discussed as issues were raised by supervisors on courses. Centre staff would allow discussion on points if the group obviously wished to do so. The overwhelming majority of students on the 924 course worked on Mode B1 schemes. Their contracts were temporary; their salary (on average £7,000 p.a.) lower than many skilled workers could secure in other employment and their schemes precarious as the M.S.C made it clear that the preference was for Mode A provision. Supervisors' livelihoods were insecure. It was not surprising that this caused concern.

Early in 1984 local M.S.C. officials complained about such discussions taking place. In particular Ray's discussion of Y.T.S provision across the country clearly indicating the dominance of Mode A provision in the South of England resulted in a complaint from a scheme manager. The suggestion was that a more secure future lay in Mode A schemes. These discussions, the M.S.C. argued, upset staff. M.S.C. officials were keen to promote Y.T.S. as an integral part of provision for 16-19 year olds and not a temporary scheme as the special measures had been. The debate concerning the validity of these discussions during A.C. courses continued until the arrival of a formal letter of complaint to the college Vice-Principal. This letter (reproduced overleaf) from the area office Programme Manager stated that political views were being expressed. However the letter describes those "views" largely in terms of comments concerning the situation of Mode B1 supervisors. Eastern Centre staff were outraged. They were discussing the reality facing supervisors. However the college management were concerned not to lose the centre and apologised to the M.S.C. Lecturers were reprimanded and told not to discuss anything other than course content.

At this point M.S.C officials asked to sit in on a course to monitor provision. It was known that this could occur but a "gentlemen's" agreement had been in place. The M.S.C. would not enter the educationalists world. Professional associations and teaching unions had expressed concern on this issue arguing that M.S.C. officials did not possess relevant qualifications or experience with which they could assess teaching quality. Now the M.S.C. pushed, undoubtedly moved by the "incidents" cited in the letter of complaint. College trade unions

A copy of this letter is available directly
from the author for consultation by students.

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took up the issue. A strange pattern of allegiances developed. The previously resentful lecturers in education now rallied to support centre staff against this encroachment on professional standards. College management ensured the M.S.C. they could control the situation. Local M.S.C. officials privately expressed concern at the potential damage by possible industrial action. Publicly they decried the educationalists for not responding to the real needs of industrial training and wasting time on political issues. In November the situation was resolved with the trade union reluctantly agreeing to allow M.S.C. officials to monitor the content of courses but not the quality of teaching.

By Christmas 1984 relations between Eastern Centre and local M.S.C. officials reached a low point. On an individual basis discussions continued. At an official level meetings were few and those that did take place strained. Relations did improve. As the scheme became an accepted part of provision for 16-19 year olds so a necessary respect grew. But the euphoria of 1983 was never again evident.

4. Conclusion

The network of A.C.'s was established for a number of reasons:

1. as a vehicle to transmit Y.T.S. content and design;

2. a means of providing a series of recognised qualifications and thereby status to the role of Y.T.S. supervisor;

3. a method of ensuring the Y.T.S. would be perceived as markedly
    different from it's forerunner Y.O.P.

Originating with a mandate from the Task Group Report the concept of a
network of A.C.'s was to provide a national guide for training trainers.
Curricula was derived from M.S.C. guidelines and national bodies such as
the City and Guilds which worked with the M.S.C. In theory, the main
body of work in any A.C. would be similar.

The reality was somewhat different. In 1983-4 Eastern Centre did not
work to a written area plan. Initially the necessity of the situation
and the development of a consortium of interests (Hogwood and Peters,
1983, p.109) allowed the centre to flourish. But shifting emphasis and
competing demands caused conflict in relations, stress for centre staff
and ad-hoc approaches (Mintzberg, 1979). Centre staff did work to a
series of principles, a heuristic system (Boguslaw, 1965, p.117).

A complex and often contradictory pattern of relations between A.C.
staff and other groups evolved. Centre staff came from specific
educational and employment backgrounds. They agreed on a series of
principles concerning trainee centre learning and the maximum of
"knowledge on the Y.T.S is power" in the training of Y.T.S supervisors.
From this they developed a respect for those in the M.S.C. who
constituted the advisory groups and wrote the guidelines which promoted
such principles as found in the guidelines. Local M.S.C. officials
perceived the centre as a vehicle for promoting a pragmatic approach to
the supervisory role. In turn centre staff sought to develop a broader

understanding of the Y.T.S. for all. The conflict surrounding allegations of "political activity" illustrated the diverging perceptions as to the role of the lecturers and the centre. The college was dependent upon the M.S.C. for continuing funding of the A.C. and, therefore, unwilling to challenge such allegations.

The A.C. network gave a legitimacy to the scheme. The network represented institutional change in itself by promoting a national programme of training trainers. The value-system now attributed to economic and social problems - the rhetoric of anti-statism (Hall, 1985, p.117) and the dominance of individualism (MacInnes, 1987, p.162) - was evident in the evolution of Eastern Centre as it constituted a further public subsidy to schemes the majority of which were located in the private schemes. Such schemes benefited from the participation of individual supervisors in the training the trainers programme.

CHAPTER 4

The Programme of Courses

1. **INTRODUCTION**

   A. The Data Presented
   B. Demands and Influences
   C. Planning the Work of Eastern Centre

2. **THE 924 CITY AND GUILDS YOUTH TRAINERS AWARD**

   A. What is the 924 Award?
   B. A Comparison with its Predecessor
   C. Developing the Course
   D. A Shift in Emphasis: M.S.C. and Scheme Responses
      to the Course

3. **CORE SKILLS**

   A. Core Skills Defined
   B. Core Skills: "Are They Important?"
   C. Flavour of the Month
   D. The Use and Abuse of the Core Skills Course

4. **WORK EXPERIENCE PLACEMENT SUPERVISORS**

   A. The Role of Placement Supervisors
   B. Developing the Quality of YTS in the North East
   C. "Do a Run Through of YTS Design"
   D. A Welcome Break

5. **CONCLUSION**

152a.

Chapter 4:

The Programme of Courses

1. Introduction

A. The Data Presented

The data presented in this chapter was collected from November 1983 to Autumn 1985. The focus of the chapter is the development of a number of courses taught at Eastern Centre. Staff meetings, classroom conversations and debates with the M.S.C. were the major forums for data collection. The diet of courses changed markedly over the two year period of research. The initial euphoria for the 924 Youth Trainers Award gave way to short courses in core skills and awareness raising sessions for work experience placement supervisors. Acting as a tutor I observed and participated in all aspects of course development and organisation.

This chapter presents an analysis of data collected whilst Eastern Centre tutors were developing and teaching courses as part of the training the trainers programme.

The aims of this chapter are to:-
1. examine the origins of the curricula which comprised three major courses taught by Eastern Centre staff;
2. assess the demands and influences affecting the planning, organisation and teaching of courses;

3. review the resulting course content of three courses taught at
    Eastern Centre and outreach centres, 1983-85.

The data is presented in three sections. Each section considers one of
the courses taught at Eastern Centre:- the 924 Youth Trainers Award;
core skills course, and the awareness raising session for work
experience placement supervisors. The local M.S.C. office dictated the
nature and numbers of courses taught. The curricula was designed by the
M.S.C. head office and in the case of the 924 Award with the City and
Guilds of London Institute. However the majority of detailed
information on the curricula did not reach Eastern Centre until courses
had actually commenced teaching. The conclusion argues that this period
in the A.C. was one of chaotic and speedy reactions to competing
demands. Yet the classroom remained the domain of A.C. tutors. Tutors
pursued their concerns in teaching techniques and guidance and
counselling. Conflicts did occur as groups, in particular the M.S.C.,
competed with tutors in attempts to dominate the discourse with
supervisors.

B. Demands and Influences

In examining the origins of the curricula and the development of
specific courses a number of questions are posed concerning the
selection of "desirable" knowledge and its presentation to the A.C.
network. The selection of desirable knowledge is influenced by dominant
political, economic and educational communities (Young, 1971, pp. 32-
33). The status awarded to specific areas of knowledge reflects demands

and influences originating from the social or occupational structure. For example certain areas of knowledge may be awarded a "restricted" label as was the exploration of the employment situation of supervisors. Thus the organisation of curricula and distribution of resources for the teaching of that curricula illustrate aspects of the social, political and occupational structure.

Any analysis of how the courses taught at the centre were organised will reflect the demands and influences of the period 1982-85. Maxine Greene writing in 1977 characterised that period as one of an "anti-intellectualism" with a focus upon "discrete competences on basic skills" (Greene, 1987, pp.31.2). She noted the lack of any correlation between schooling and economic success. Yet a mystification surrounding education succeeded in promoting an air of democracy and possible success (ibid). The desired forms of knowledge were bound to be presented with an air of potential success if adopted by pupils. In the Y.T.S. components such as the world of work and personal effectiveness suggested potential opportunities. Yet much of the scheme content promoted broad based training in basic skills - occupational training families and core skills. The training of supervisors had to promote these ideals to them: the human face of supposed opportunity cloaking the darker side of economic survival in a contracting job market stratified by gender, race and skill. As Jones (1984, p.105) concluded "educational systems not only reflect ideologies but in turn help to create ideologies".

Foucault's work concerning knowledge and power relations provides a useful mode of analysis in evaluating not only the source and ordering of the curriculum taught at Eastern Centre but also the relations between the M.S.C. and centre staff. Foucault contends that discourse and institutions are both "fixed" by the power relation inherent in them. Knowledge, Foucault suggests, constitutes a power over others, the power to define others. A discourse embodies knowledge (or what is defined as knowledge) and therefore embodies power. Rather than knowledge being the gate to liberation and power Foucault argues that knowledge is a form of enslavement. As an example of this theory he sites the growth of disciplines such as medicine and psychiatry which far from liberating the oppressed nature of much discussion on sexuality in fact developed a series of classifications and treatments bringing investigations and discussions under the control of a limited number of groups. In short, those who have knowledge have the power to fix the flow of meanings and define others (Foucault, 1980, p.119).

Three case studies are presented each of which illustrate the origins of the curricula taught; its organisation, and the evaluation of course content. The aim is to explore not only the ideologies evident in the curricula but also the creation and shaping of ideals concerning the role of supervision within Y.T.S. that is, to explore Foucaults' theory of knowledge as enslavement. The three courses selected for further examination were the mainstays of the work of Eastern Centre between 1983-85 viz:-

1. the 924 City and Guilds Youth Trainers Award;

2. the core skills course;

3. the awareness raising sessions for work experience placement
    supervisors.

Prior to examining each of these courses is it important to assess the
process of planning, in particular the membership of groups involved in
discussions and decisions on the range of courses taught. The actual
origins of curricula is explored in the sections on specific courses.

C. Planning the Work of Eastern Centre

Staff of Eastern Centre were under a number of pressures originating
from several groups. They had to respond to what Blau and Scott term a
"flow of demands" (Blau and Scott, 1963, p.83).

Prior to April 1983 potential needs for courses were assessed with local
M.S.C. officials and managing agents. In March 1983 three meetings were
held with M.S.C. officers and Eastern Centre staff. The initial
priorities were identified as:-

1. health and safety courses;

2. a youth instructors award;

3. computing for supervisors.

Minutes of these meetings demonstrate a unanimity of view. The S.T.C.
undertook a blanket mailing of the 70 schemes, then approved. There was

a response from half of that number. Responses ranged from "we're doing that sort of thing already" to "great, any help please". The schemes that responded were either visited or telephoned by the S.T.C. She spent the first three months, April to July 1983, eliciting views and publicising the centre.

Courses were demand led i.e. a minimum of 8 supervisors had to commence a course or it was deemed uneconomical by the M.S.C. Centre staff found the biggest change to be coming to terms with the prospect of teaching, on a full day basis, several different courses within any one week. In June 1983 the full diet of courses was still undecided. Centre staff added a number of courses as did the advisory group of employers, M.S.C. and educationalists. The list of potential courses now comprised:-

1. social and life skills;
2. working with young people;
3. assessment and reviewing;
4. guidance and support;
5. literacy and numeracy.

The former range of courses was aimed at promoting a suitable image for Y.T.S. The origins of this list were defined by a reaction to public opinion - of fear for quality assurance (health and safety) to shifting trainers into basic and computing skills (Greene, 1983, op. cit). In fact these courses promoted by M.S.C. and others established the dominant areas of concern and knowledge which would ensure "enslavement" into the world of the Y.T.S.

Participation in courses was free but it was also voluntary. This presented a new challenge to centre staff; to both attract and keep students in a manner likely to please the financier, the M.S.C. The question of competition between centres also reached the agenda adding to the intense atmosphere of activity. Yet training Y.T.S. supervisors was not without its challenges namely:-

1. the introduction of new training methods;

2. the necessity to devise teaching materials;

3. the problems posed by teaching supervisors of differing skills and educational attributes;

4. the necessity of assessing needs from supervisors and schemes and integrate them into a diet of courses;

5. the marketing of the validity of courses to scheme managers.

This list cited by A.C. staff presented their concerns. Educational considerations received priority. Marketing and finance work were at the bottom of their lists. This was the reflection of the social and occupational world of staff. They were aware that M.S.C. concerns would place centre priorities in the reverse order. It was June 1983 and the actual teaching in the classroom appeared remote. Certainly some was taking place in the Spring of 1983 but Eastern Centre staff readily admitted that they returned to college in September 1983 fearful of the major challenges that lay ahead. They drew comfort from the steady support of the M.S.C. Long hours and weekend work were to characterise the Autumn as courses were being both taught and prepared for.

In conclusion the M.S.C. declared the major parameters of the Centre's work namely resources, the course participation rates and the courses to be taught. Centre staff were able to concern themselves with basic curricula and teaching instructional skills. An uneasy truce overlay the groups adherence to their dominant and often divergent areas of concern.

2. The 924 City and Guilds Youth Trainers Award

A. What is the 924 Award?

The 924 Youth Trainers Award, closely linked to the format of Y.T.S., consisted in 1983 of the following components:-

1. introduction to Y.T.S. - one day;
2. Y.T.S. - an integrated scheme - two days;
3. trainee centred learning - five days;
4. working with young people - three days;
5. assessment and reviewing - two days.

In total the course was 13 days in duration. Some A.C.'s taught the course on a modular basis. The majority, like Eastern Centre taught the course on a day release basis over 13 weeks. This was the most popular method of organisation with scheme management and supervisors as it minimised the effect of time away from work. The main content of the course presented at Eastern Centre consisted of a detailed examination of the guidelines on Y.T.S. viz:-

1. the design of Y.T.S. training schemes;

2. introduction;

3. occupationally based training

4. off-the-job training/education;

5. planned work experience;

6. core areas;

7. guidance on Y.T.S.

8. assessment and standards;

9. reviewing and recording;

10. learning opportunities.

This proved to be both a comprehensive and popular approach to the
content of the 924 Award. It did, however, undergo a number of shifts
in emphasis due to local office wishes and the demands of schemes in the
locality.

B. A Comparison with its Predecessor

The 924 Award is sponsored by the City and Guilds of London Institute.
This body has a history of involvement with industry providing courses
related to specific occupations and available on a modular and day
release basis. In 1979 this organisation launched the 926 Instructors
Award. This award, whilst suited to Y.O.P. supervisors, was aimed at a
broader market of youth trainers and community workers. The external
examiner for City and Guilds who monitored the work of Eastern Centre
described the initiative of the 926 Awards and its transfer to the 924
qualification thus:-

"The 926 Award was jointly funded by M.S.C. and City and Guilds so the organisation paid due attention to City and Guilds Interests. The transfer to 924 was a muddle. Friction between the ad-hoc working parties for 926 and 924 didn't help. 924 is totally orientated towards Y.T.S. M.S.C. said that they were funding the A.C. network and they wanted credible courses for Y.T.S. alone. City and Guilds were unhappy but with the money and publicity on offer they relented. Anyway the M.S.C. could go off and design another course for instructors if they wanted" (External Examiner, City and Guilds, April 1984)

So the 924 Award was only available to those working on the Y.T.S. The other major difference with the 926 course was in assessment. The 926 Award covered management of Y.O.P; guidance and support; planned work experience; literacy and numeracy and health and safety. The course was of the same length as the new award but it also required the satisfactory completion of 12 hours of observation visits by tutors. To complete the course supervisors had to demonstrate knowledge of and work in various components, commonly known as completing the objective checklist and also receive adequate reports from observation visits.

The removal of the observational visit component of the 926 Award caused deep concern. Ray expressed the view that the M.S.C. did not like lecturers visiting schemes for they offered support and advice to supervisors often promoting a view of youth training which challenged the reality of poorly resourced schemes. John regarded the change as a cost cutting exercise undertaken in the face of an enormous increase in

their workload. Ray expressed some sympathy with John's view. However the point expressed by Ray was a view held in certain circles of the City and Guilds Institute and amongst educationalists.

New to the 924 course was project work now a compulsory component. The project had to describe a training assignment. This had to be completed or intended for use, with trainees. It had to illustrate an understanding of the Y.T.S. design. Every project had to be examined by the external examiner. The external examiner was to work in conjunction with the local M.S.C./A.C. Liaison Officer. So there was a marked shift from observation to written work in assessment. Monitoring of assessment work was by the City and Guilds and the M.S.C.

The number of courses and student participation numbers were controlled by the M.S.C. Five courses ran concurrently each term. It was estimated in September 1983 that approximately 120 supervisors would take the course by June 1984. This was from a potential client group of 100 schemes and estimated population of 1,000 supervisors many of whom were new to the Y.T.S. But whilst the numbers undertaking the course were small the impact of the course was substantial in so far as it appeared to provide a method of achieving a qualified status in supervisory skills in a new national training schemes.

C. Developing the Course

In the Spring of 1983 the staff of Eastern Centre were still teaching the 926 course as a basis for the 924 Award. This new award had been designed but detailed information was not available. At that time a list of syllabus objectives were available. It was necessary for supervisors to demonstrate practical knowledge of these objectives. But concise information on the Y.T.S. and, therefore, the syllabus objectives were not available. The problems this caused were outlined in the teaching journal of Ray. During the Autumn of that year he made the following entries:

"3rd October Mainly as a result of my experience with 926 I know the
Week 3   why - to produce a flexible workforce taught by
             supervisors with the correct attributes - the who - the
             plumbers, welders, cooks with little experience of
             or "academic" situations. But the what? The 924 course
             is different but nobody will tell us in what way it is
             different. All I have is the objective list and the
             guidelines. And as for the how? Well I don't know what
             the project is all about.

10th October I'm going ahead and formulating new teaching materials.
Week 4   It looks as if we might wait for ever for the M.S.C. to
             come up with something.

12th October   Still no guidelines on the form of assessment of this
               course. Supervisors getting restless.

19th October   I now know that the project is to follow the six Week 5
               learning opportunities in the form of training
               assignments. Instead of waiting I've written a handout on
               writing the project for supervisors. This has been
               greeted by all.

10th November Everyone is working on the project yet so few have got to
Week 7   grips with the notion of trainee centred learning. They
               don't realise there is a difference between telling and
               questioning. But there hasn't been time to do much this
               term. Everyone is so busy and we know only what we
               struggle to find out. (Excerpts from Ray's teaching
               journal, Autumn 1983) (Materials utilised for the course
               are reproduced in Appendix II)"

Ray stated that he was under no illusions about the objective of the
award when he wrote of inculcating the supervisors with the "correct
attributes" to school trainees in flexibility. But he was ill equipped
to do this and as a result he fell back on his previous work as a
lecturer in education. Ray relied upon his knowledge of education to
fix the flow of meanings attributed at this point to the project work
(Foucault, op cit). He did work with the available documentation but
the inadequate nature of this - in his opinion - allowed him to pursue
his course of action. This was not challenged by M.S.C. or supervisors

but rather welcomed as urgently needed guidelines to project work. Ray developed a series of teaching materials which were heavily relied upon by other staff, especially John. These materials emphasised a student centred approach. For example the "Study Guide to The Six Learning Opportunities" (Reproduced in Appendix II). The "preliminary thoughts" were intended to provoke supervisors into perceiving their role as something much more than a skill trainer.

In provoking such thoughts Ray was opening up a "restricted" area of work on many schemes namely guidance and counselling. This was a point of clash between the educational and industrial paradigms. But the marriage of these paradigms was called for in the guidelines. The reaction of supervisors in these situations were diverse and often limited by the actions of their managers.

The trainee centred paradigm was further promoted by Ray's production of a series of programmed texts in the area of guidance and counselling. These texts allowed supervisors to explore a series of possible solutions to a given problem. They were popular with supervisors who took these experiences back with them to their schemes and discussed the ideas contained in the texts. They returned to the centre a week later and expressed divergent responses from colleagues which ranged from envy at not being able to undertake the course themselves to scepticism as to its relevance to them.

D. A Shift in Emphasis: M.S.C. and Scheme Responses to Courses

The centre staff had to meet a flow of demands, a series of pressures
from a number of sources (Blau and Scott, op cit). The main pressure in
the Summer of 1983 was to produce a diet of courses. As the data
presented indicates the M.S.C. and the City and Guilds Institute were
slow to respond to calls for detailed curricula and teaching materials.
In fact John who joined the centre from an industrial setting received
one day of instruction prior to commencing teaching for there was little
time to discuss anything with him. The content of the course was given
only a perfunctory examination. Yet as supervisors commenced courses
and began to freely discuss the course content the attention of the
dominant groups involved in A.C. work turned to the curricula.

Eastern Centre was presented with a series of objectives for the 924
course. It was not presented with adequate information on assessment
nor materials in areas new to Y.T.S. such as, occupational training
families, core skills and personal effectiveness. The "integrated"
nature of the scheme escaped the understanding of many of those working
on the Y.T.S. The situation in the Autumn of 1983 was, as extracts from
Ray's diary indicates, a difficult one. Centre staff had little option
but to develop teaching materials. They were keen to explore new
teaching methods. The materials developed were heavily orientated
towards a multi-faceted role of the supervisor emphasising trainee
centred learning as the instructional paradigm. The feedback from
supervisors to centre staff was indicated in examining extracts from
Ray's teaching journal:-

"12th October   There is a lot of evidence of the insecure situation
Week 4 924   supervisors find themselves in. If I am to work with
                confidence I must let them talk. There is evidence of
                many trainees with special needs and supervisors are ill
                equipped to meet this.

26th October   There's a problem with the language of Y.T.S. and its
Week 6 924   necessary to spend so much time just translating the
                jargon into plain English. And then, one supervisor told
                me, when we were discussing the world of work, that his
                scheme banned trade unions from schemes under the guise
                of potential political activity. What made this worse
                was that others present spoke of similar attitudes in
                other schemes."

Supervisors expressed concern as to the abilities of trainees, the
language of the Y.T.S. and the restriction of certain areas of training.
These were undoubtedly the major concerns of supervisors also expressed
to John and Terry. The 924 course at the Eastern Centre was orientated
towards addressing the first two problems. The latter one, trade union
involvement, was extremely sensitive and whilst the restrictive attitude
was discussed and condemned it could not be explicitly addressed for
fear of criticism from the M.S.C.

Supervisors appeared to appreciate the flexibility demonstrated by
centre staff in stopping to discuss their problems and suggest
solutions. Scheme managers were less happy. Discussions indicated the

lack of resources on many schemes. For example, if a trainee required special assistance with basic skills then it was agreed that the assessment and training of that young person was outside the remit and skills of many supervisors. Neither scheme managers nor local M.S.C. officials were keen to pursue this line of reasoning for to address this problem would necessitate additional resources be made available.

The centre staff treated the jargon of Y.T.S. as a new language and keenly promoted the learning of it as a key to knowledge and confidence with Y.T.S. Often supervisors returned to schemes with a greater understanding and knowledge of Y.T.S. content than managers or M.S.C. officials. The potential of "enslavement" (Foucault, 1980, p. 119) was diluted by the scepticism of centre staff. This also resulted in friction. (The language of the Y.T.S. is more fully explored in the subsequent chapter).

A clash of views concerning the content of Y.T.S. came in the November of 1983 as the first group of 924 students were completing their course. Initially the M.S.C. expressed concern over the nature of class discussions. It was mooted that some of these discussions were potentially political. The S.T.C. was approached informally and it was suggested that a greater emphasis be based upon a occupationally based training to balance a perceived focus on guidance and counselling.

The external examiner for the City and Guilds Institute visiting Eastern Centre in December commented on the variations in 924 courses within the Northern Region. Each A.C. appeared to present a different problem for

the M.S.C. In the case of Eastern Centre the central problem was that the tutors knew too much about the reality of the Y.T.S. The tutors had been involved in 926 and were experienced teachers. She commended the output of the centre suggesting it comprised the most stable and professional team in the region. "Perhaps", she concluded "they just pose too much of a challenge to the M.S.C.'s narrow interpretation of a supervisor's role".

An evaluation of the course by 50 students, via questionnaire, in December 1983 indicated that 90% felt the content of the course was of value to them in their work. The only criticism was the use of jargon. One written comment by a student epitomised the unwelcome outcome of the centre's work:

"The course helped me realise the difference between the situation wanted in the guidelines issued by M.S.C. and the actual situation".
(924 course evaluation, reproduced in Appendix II)

The majority wished for additional training.

The local M.S.C. office hoped to present a view of the Y.T.S. and the supervisory role via the A.C. Controlling the curricula and monitoring activities in the classroom proved necessary to ensure the guidelines, and hence their interpretation of the model of the Y.T.S. presented by Government and M.S.C., was adhered to. But the lack of information on the 924 Award allowed the flow of knowledge to be determined by Centre staff who fixed a flow of meanings relevant to their paradigm and, in

particular, trainee centred learning (c.f. Foucault, op. cit). A clash
was perhaps bound to occur and the conflict surrounding classroom
discussions on the situation of Mode B1 supervisors epitomised the
battle to define knowledge and control such events.

However events within the classroom continued to be dominated by the
centre tutors.

For the M.S.C. the fear was that the work of the centre was creating
unrealistic expectations rather than shaping the role to one focussed
upon a pragmatic and industrial paradigm. The M.S.C. argued courses had
to be monitored but that posed problems with the college trade unions.
Instead the M.S.C. shifted the emphasis between courses asking for a
series of short three day courses on core skills in Y.T.S. to be
designed and run in the Autumn of 1984. The textual work of the centre
was influenced by the dictates of this new focus. Core skills became as
the local programme officer commented "the flavour of the month".

3. Core Skills

A. Core Skills Defined

Core skills are defined by the M.S.C. as those skills which are common
to a wide range of tasks and are essential for competence in those
tasks. In the guidelines core skills were grouped into five areas:-

1. number and its application;

2. communication;

3. problem solving and planning;

4. manual dexterity;

5. computer literacy.

   (M.S.C., 1982a, p.53)

Within each area exists a series of sub-groups. For example the second area communications is divided into sub-sections "6. Finding out information and interpreting instructions; 7. providing information and 8. working with people". Each of these sub-sections is further broken down: 7. providing information:-

7.1 provide information by speaking to other people in the workplace;

7.2 provide information by speaking to customers and clients;

7.3 provide information by writing and by means of tables and diagrams;

7.4 provide information by demonstrating to other people;

7.5 provide information by answering questions in the course of the job;

7.6 provide information by explaining to others about problems that have occurred in the job.
   (M.S.C, 1984d, p.37)

In total 103 core skills were cited in the "Quick Reference List" (ibid) made available in the Autumn of 1984. (This list is reproduced in Appendix II).

The Y.T.S. is a performance based scheme all to often assessed by subjective evaluation of the performance of tasks. This emphasis is an expression of a new found dominance of a "practical, relevant and vocational knowledge" (Gleeson, 1984,p.103) and basic skills (Greene, 1977, pp.31-32). Evidence suggesting a contradiction between the demands of employers and the characteristics of young workers in the mid 1970's indicated concern that schools were not equipping young people for work (Finn, 1987, pp.105-108). Launched in July 1976 the M.S.C. funded "Unified Vocational Training Programme" sought to address these concerns. It provided training for young people who previously had no access to vocational training and it was to emphasise basic skills relevant to employment. This "desirable" content of the programme was carried on into the Y.T.S in the form of core skills.

As with many areas of the Y.T.S. there was a lapse of time between the announcement of this component of the scheme and the availability of detailed information. In the case of core skills there was a lapse of 20 months from January 1983 i.e. the circulation of guidelines to the area offices and September 1984, the distribution of a core skills manual for use by supervisors. For much of that period M.S.C. officials from the local office stated that core skills should be identified and related to trainees via practical training assignments. As few were aware of what was meant by core skills the subject was in practice, largely ignored. Yet during this period core skills rose in status from one of the lesser known input elements to the major focus for supervisor training promoted by M.S.C. headquarters.

B. Core Skills: Are they important?

As indicated in excerpts from Ray's diary supervisors were aware that a
sizeable minority of trainees had special needs or displayed problems
with literacy and numeracy. They felt unable to meet such challenges
without training and support. A course in core skills might provide
some assistance. Centre staff contacted the local M.S.C. programme
development manager to ask if a course could be developed. The response
from the M.S.C. was dismissive. "Are core skills important? If you
think they are, O.K. but I can only allow a one day course in this.
I'll have to discuss it with head office if you want anything longer".
This response indicated the power of local M.S.C. officials to restrict
activities and refer to administrative considerations as a means of
controlling the work of Eastern Centre (c.f. Boguslaw, 1965, p.191).

Centre staff had envisaged a 3 day course over a three week period with
practical exercises to be conducted in the workplace each week. It was
considered necessary to examine:-

1. what core skills are;
2. how to identify them in a training programme;
3. how to record and assess progress in core skills.

Centre staff decided to run a one day course not only to fulfil an
apparent demand from supervisors but in order to assess the possible
format of a course. Lacking information from M.S.C. staff they utilised
their previous work on basic skills and adult literacy to design a

course. This was presented for the first time in December 1983 to the staff of a Mode B1 training workshop. Terry the S.T.C. related the manner in which core skills and training were viewed:-

"When we got there the manager kept going on about how the scheme really was a Mode A scheme as it was so good and involved with so many local firms. Even though it was a Mode B scheme we just agreed with him! He said he was glad to have us there so his staff could be brought up to date. Unlike other schemes core skills were not the issue but training was. Not all the supervisors were happy about this course. Some had obviously been told to do this, never mind what it was. Others were eager as it might help them with assessment. But doing it in a day was a disaster. There was too much to get through and many were lost. Other supervisors just fell asleep. Without the time for supervisors to apply the ideas to their job it wasn't making sense. We agreed that it would never be taught in one day again. But the M.S.C. wouldn't hear of a longer course so we went back to concentrating on core skills in the 924 award in January 1984." (Terry, S.T.C., September 1984).

Core skills, as a component of the Training the Trainers programme, was perceived by this scheme manager as an expression of interest in training per se for reasons of image. The local M.S.C. office viewed core skills as peripheral to the main training programme whilst centre staff wished to promote the value of core skills to the work of the supervisors. The M.S.C.'s views dominated and Eastern Centre staff put the idea of a core skills course to one side.

This view was to change in early 1984. As the Y.T.S. moved into its second year an official from M.S.C. headquarters was invited to speak to a local user group. Part of the officials talk concerned core skills. Observers remarked on the bemused faces of local M.S.C. officers until this officer stated that core skills allowed M.S.C. officials a method of assessing what was going on in schemes. As one scheme manager commented "you could see it dawning on the local M.S.C. officers that they could go round schemes with the list of core areas ticking off tasks with reference to this list". Core skills now had a relevance for M.S.C officers but they were still not sure exactly how they could be utilised for monitoring purposes. But potential lay in the list of 103 core skills and this was readily explored.

C. Flavour of the Month

During the Summer of 1984 a series of leaflets and memos on core skills reached the local M.S.C office. The profile of core skills was increasing. Yet Eastern Centre was not approached to develop a course for supervisors. Supervisors began to report a shift in emphasis during M.S.C. monitoring visits. They talked, in the classrooms of the centre, of the new found popularity of core skills as occupational training families began to fall down the monitoring agenda of local officers. M.S.C. officers were asking schemes to develop training programmes around the concept of core skills and concentrate on work-based projects. There was a rush to develop projects and re-work training programmes. Lecturers at the A.C. were appalled by this as the skills termed core were clearly evident in every task. There was no need to

develop specific projects or re-write training programmes to work in core skills. A sense of anxiety pervaded the Y.T.S. network, particularly amongst staff of the heavily monitored Mode B schemes. No one was sure who was correct - local M.S.C. officers or centre staff - but the question was largely academic for it was M.S.C. who provided finances and their perspective was the one followed on schemes.

In anticipation of demand for a course Ray began to develop a three day course on core skills. Due to the high workload of a new term in September 1984 the staff of the centre were unable to discuss the subject. But the course was available when the programme development officer rang in early October to ask for a series of short courses on core skills to commence as soon as possible. A part-time member of staff was asked, with a days notice, to run the first core skills course. Speed was of the essence. The lecturer received a briefing from Ray on the course he had developed.

The reaction of the programme development officer was finally prompted by the arrival of a two part manual on the topic of core skills. Dr. George Tolley, Head of the Quality Branch, M.S.C. wrote in the foreward of the first part of this manual:

> "I commend....a careful reading of this document which represents an
> important contribution to the use of work-based learning"
> (M.S.C, 1984d, p.i)

Core skills were now awarded the term "flavour of the month" by supervisors and Eastern Centre staff. The term was their verbal description of the continually shifting emphasis in Y.T.S. It was voiced in tones of a frustrated sigh as an expression of the inevitability of change in an already chaotic situation.

The course programme and materials were passed from one member of staff to the next and refinements suggested by word of mouth. The curricula of the course utilised the M.S.C. manual on core skills but also sought a broader approach encompassing the programme of the Y.T.S as a whole. In the first session the design of Y.T.S. was examined and the list of skills cited in the occupational training families (O.T.F.'s) discussed. The idea was to illustrate the existence of core skills in all O.T.F.'s and the manner in which skills overlapped from one O.T.F to another. Subsequent days explored task analysis as a means of identifying core skills; the identification of core skills in specific training projects and methods by which work in core skills could be made explicit for trainees. The aim of centre staff was to ensure supervisors had a command of the concept and confidence to utilise it. So whilst the main source of the curricula was the M.S.C. it was presented in a manner which sought to ensure a competent and valuable use of the concept as defined by centre staff. Their focus was upon the trainees as opposed to local officials concerns with monitoring public image and finances.

Local M.S.C. officials accepted the course presented. They were unable and unwilling to challenge the broader perspective on core skills presented by centre tutors. M.S.C. staff could now derive a monitoring

role from utilising core skills. Conflict did not arise at this time as the need to produce a course outweighed such considerations of competing paradigms. During October four courses were taught. By April 1985 176 supervisors had completed the course. Eighty per cent of those supervisors were employed on Mode B1 schemes.

D. The Use and Abuse of the Core Skills Course

An analysis of attendance records at Eastern Centre form 1.9.84 to 1.4.85 illustrated the shift in emphasis:- 88 supervisors had completed the 924 award whilst double that number had finished the core skills course. The demand appeared endless. Schemes were volunteering to close workshops for a day a week so as to facilitate an early date for the teaching of the course. The renewal of scheme programmes in the Spring of 1985 intensified the pressure originating from the M.S.C. for supervisors to undertake the course.

The course had many benefits for Y.T.S. staff. Knowledge of the Y.T.S design and commonly used terms gave supervisors a confidence in relating to local M.S.C. officers for all became enslaved in a discourse (if not the meanings) controlled by the M.S.C. The concept of core skills and task analysis aided supervisors to assess the progress and needs of trainees with special needs. It also assisted greatly with the assessment process for all students. As one supervisor commented "this 103 list of core skills gives you the basis for writing a lot in the final certificate".

The evident lack of consistency between the needs of the organisation, the M.S.C., and the individual trainee or supervisor resulted in friction manifest in certain abuses of core skills (c.f. Boguslaw, op cit, p.164). Many trainees found this obsession with core skills demeaning to them. Supervisors also considered it a burden for the "more able" trainees to have core skills pushed at them. The assumption was promoted by the M.S.C. that young people were not capable of, for example, undertaking the points listed under the section entitled "providing information". Core skills were also perceived to be distracting to training in job specific skills. By placing an emphasis on basic and common skills attention was moved away from occupationally based training. This was placing a limitation on supervisors ability to provide training from which young people could progress to higher, further education and skilled occupations (Edwards, 1984, p.158). For the local M.S.C. officers core skills provided a new and relatively easy method of assessing the activities of schemes. Stories were told by supervisors of officers walking around schemes with the list of 103 core skills placing ticks beside the relevant number as they examined a training programme. The management of the local office fought hard to change such attitudes and succeeded in relieving resultant anxiety amongst some supervisors. The development of the core skills element may be analysed as a form of symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1971, p.204) whereby the dominant group - the M.S.C. - control the symbols, the status, language and customs which become the substantive means of viewing the world. Such a view is not always passively accepted (Willis, 1977) but it helps to form expectations of and future experiences in the labour market.

Just as the course was being consolidated a further shift in emphasis brought about by a local study of scheme quality took place. This study identified a new problem namely the lack of knowledge and interest in the Y.T.S. by work experience placement supervisors. Short courses for such supervisors were the "flavour of the month" in March 1985. But such responses often necessitated leaving one job unfinished so as to move on to the next. The discourse between the M.S.C. and Eastern Centre was characterised by conflict and compromise. The M.S.C. were able to state the course and point to documentation for curricula. They controlled this form of discourse and their power to do so generated some resistance and a lot of resentment.

4. Work Experience Placement Supervisors

A. Training Placement Supervisors

The course taught to work experience placement supervisors commonly known by the term W.E.P. course, comprised of instruction in Y.T.S design and content. Based upon the diagram of Y.T.S. inputs and outcomes the course reviewed:-

i. Y.T.S. design:

1. Induction;

2. Occupationally based training;

3. Off-the-job training/education;

4. Planned work experience;

5. Core areas;

6. Guidance and support;

7. Assessment;

8. Review and recording.

ii. The work experience placement:

1. Induction;

2. Training;

3. Recording and reviewing;

4. The training plan.

With only half a day available for each course it was not possible to cover any area in depth. The demand upon available time was intensified as supervisors from various schemes had to arrive at a central point. The supervisors who participated in these sessions largely worked with Mode A schemes providing work experience placement for trainees. Organisation of the courses was difficult. Hairdressing firms preferred courses on Mondays and retail outlets preferred courses on Wednesdays ie. early closing days.

These supervisors were <u>not</u> totally dependent upon the Y.T.S. for employment and their involvement with trainees was often additional to other areas of work. The Y.T.S. was peripheral to their employment. Training on the Y.T.S., involving time off work, appeared to many both unnecessary and irrelevant. Nevertheless in 1985 the M.S.C. enthusiastically promoted the session to Mode A providers and slowly the numbers undertaking the course rose.

B. Developing the Quality of the Y.T.S. in the North East.

The heading of this section is that of a report produced from the Northern regional office of the M.S.C. in November 1984. This report presented the results of an ongoing appraisal of schemes in the North East. Compiled by M.S.C. staff and an advisor on secondment from industry the report stood as evidence of the high priority placed on quality assurance.

The report was sent to all managing agents. Whilst praising the efforts made in 1983-4 it identified some "common areas of weakness". These areas of weakness are defined as:-

1. the relevance and structure of work placements to training programmes and the training of placement supervisors;

2. the development of off-the-job training in terms of work-based projects;

3. the integration of provision from placements, colleges and training into a comprehensive scheme;

4. recording and reviewing procedures on work experience placements;

5. preparing for progression from the Y.T.S;

6. consultation with A.C.'s with reference to training provision for supervisors.

(M.S.C., 1984f, Objectives 1-6)

The main Y.T.S. network incorporating managing agents, supervisors, the A.C., careers service and M.S.C. appeared to be working well. However problems with work experience placement appeared in points 1, 3 and 4 cited above. The local programme development officer noted that this report merely highlighted the manner in which the placement was treated as peripheral to the main training programme. The placement supervisors needed to be brought into that network and speaking in December 1984 the local programme development officer suggested that the A.C. would be involved in raising the awareness of this group on the Y.T.S. and their role within the scheme.

C. "Do a Run through of Y.T.S. Design"

Late in 1984 the A.C. was asked to develop a half day session which would raise the awareness of placement supervisors on the Y.T.S and their role which is defined as providing:-

"...training in a planned series of jobs rather than mere exposure

to a random series of jobs by planning the trainees time with you:

induction of the trainee;

training during work experience;

guiding and supporting the trainee;

reviewing and recording their progress."

(M.S.C., 1984k, p.1)

On receipt of this request it was clear that two problems faced Eastern

Centre staff:

1. time:- only half a day was available for the course;

2. priorities:- core skills courses were dominating the workload of the

    centre.

With reference to the first point lecturers at the centre were unable to

conceive of a course which could adequately cover the Y.T.S. and the

role of placement supervisors in half a day. But they did not have the

time to consider this problem in any depth. Teaching the 924 course

coupled with the dramatic increase in the demand for the core skills

course left little time for anything.

Ultimately staff had little option but to run a series of courses. The

M.S.C. office suggested a course be provided for a consortium based

scheme which, by its very nature, depended heavily upon placement

supervisors. Unfortunately the full-time member of staff asked to do so went off ill the day prior to the first course. The S.T.C. called in a part-time member of staff insisting that the course be taught at all costs. It had taken the schemes' managing agents some time to organise a course which had to be held on a Wednesday to suit the employment commitments of these supervisors. No one had any idea what the course programme was. It was suggested that the part-time member of staff "do a run through of Y.T.S. design which would take half a day with some of these people who don't know much about Y.T.S." (S.T.C., Eastern Centre, December 1984). This is what took place. The lecturer left armed with copies of the Y.T.S design diagram and M.S.C. leaflets of the role of work placement supervisors. Her memo reporting on the course was distributed with a handwritten note at the bottom which read:-

"In view of our heavy workload could this be the basis of a course S.T.C.?"

The materials utilised in this course are reproduced in Appendix II.

Nobody questioned this as the Christmas holidays arrived. Vague suggestions were made that a course would be properly designed in 1985. However the months of January and February 1985 were dominated by core skills courses and the placement supervisor session was dropped.

But during March 1985 the M.S.C. asked for a definite shift to training provision for placement supervisors. The stated reason for this shift was an internal review of action taken on the areas of weakness

identified in the report on developing the quality of Y.T.S. in the North East. The regional office suggested that local offices and A.C.'s had not paid due attention to the report and in particular the problems identified with work experience placements. A response via the A.C. network necessitated a sudden shift in activities to this course.

D. A Welcome Break

The change in activity was actually a welcome break for staff of Eastern Centre. There was now time to discuss the course and re-work it. The course considered the placement as a component of the Y.T.S. and the role of the placement supervisor in the overall provision of a training programme. However the reaction of many course participants was not that hoped for by centre staff.

During May 1985 all of the centre staff worked on this course alongside contracting commitments for the 924 Award and core skills. Whilst a welcome change the participants were either not committed to the Y.T.S. or prepared to consider the course content. Ray told of one group of hairdressers who spent the morning examining his hair and suggesting various styles. Towards the end of the course one asked Ray how many people he met a week. On hearing Ray's response of approximately 50 he offered to restyle Ray's hair for free if he would make it clear to those he met that he had styled it. There was an air of fiasco. The course was hurried, compressed into half a day with a facade of respectability surrounding it. But these supervisors were in a secure situation able not to treat Y.T.S. as seriously as others. The

discourse surrounding the Y.T.S. was irrelevant to this group's daily survival. Their employers controlled the knowledge relevant to them not the M.S.C.

5. Conclusion

Between April 1984 and March 1985 140,000 people attended training events run through the national A.C. network. Fifty five per cent of this figure were first time supervisors and 38% worked on Mode B schemes (Figures derived from Senior Training Advisor, M.S.C., Sheffield, June 1985). During the same period 600 supervisors attended courses at Eastern Centre. Figures are not available on first time supervisors but 65% of those participating in Eastern Centre courses were employed on Mode B1 schemes. Supervisors on Mode B1 schemes were totally dependent upon Y.T.S. and employed as a consequence of the scheme. It is, therefore, safe to assume that many of these supervisors were either new to the Y.T.S. or participating in training during the second year of employment on the scheme having begun work on Y.T.S. in 1983.

The difference between the national figure and regional figure for the origins of supervisors reflects:-

1. the greater predominance of Mode B1 schemes in this region as a consequence of economic structure;
2. and the local emphasis on the 924 Youth Trainers Award favoured for new supervisors.

These factors imposed particular demands on the local A.C. As data presented in the case study of the 924 Award and core skills course demonstrates many supervisors felt insecure lacking basic information on the Y.T.S. and invariably employed on temporary contracts. Centre staff faired little better. Courses were taught prior to detailed information being available. The demand placed upon Eastern Centre staff changed at short notice. Whilst courses were being taught the emphasis on aspects of the course shifted defining certain areas as more "desirable" than others (Young, 1971, pp. 32-33).

The guidelines constituted the main document which local M.S.C. officials and A.C. staff work with in designing a local training programme for supervisors. A true understanding of the many concepts contained within this document was evident in staff at M.S.C. headquarters and many of the tutors in the A.C. network. But the document whilst not clearly understood was utilised by local M.S.C. officials to define the knowledge they considered relevant. This knowledge they employed to constitute a power over others (c.f. the shifting emphasis on aspects of Y.T.S. design and speedy responses required to this from Eastern Centre staff and schemes). Little was given to A.C. tutor considerations such as time to develop courses; detailed guides to curricula, and the provision of adequate teaching materials.

Foucault (1980, p.119) contends that knowledge constitutes a power over others, resulting in the enslavement of others. Certainly it proved difficult to obtain knowledge relevant to many aspects of the Y.T.S.

The local office of the M.S.C. depended upon the content of courses designed, to a large extent, from the experience and interests of Eastern Centre staff. So whilst the M.S.C. dictated broad shifts in course work centre staff continued to promote their form of knowledge of training. Conflicts followed as epitomised by the manipulation of the 103 core skills list by local M.S.C. officials to the dismay of centre staff.

Throughout this period M.S.C. concerns over the quality of the Y.T.S. and its public image were paramount. The mystification of potential opportunity (Greene, 1983, p. 81) had to be maintained. In short, the appearance of job opportunities for trainees and a career path for supervisors was the goal. The reality of poor opportunities and of dead end jobs just apparent in the promotion of core skills, necessitated a behavioural response from supervisors and trainees. Just as the courses taught at Eastern Centre shifted to M.S.C. demands so did the work of supervisors.

CHAPTER 5

Working Through the Courses at Eastern Centre

1. **INTRODUCTION**

   A. Data Presented
   B. Training Organisations and Identity Management

2. **ENTERING EASTERN CENTRE**

   A. 1984 and Scheme Renewal
   B. The Expectations of Supervisors Joining the Courses
   C. Establishing a Rapport with Incoming Supervisors
   D. The Language of YTS

3. **THE REPRESENTATION OF THE WORLD OF THE YTS IN EASTERN CENTRE CLASSROOMS**

   A. The Presentation of the World of YTS
   B. The 924 Award Checklist: A Realistic Guide to Work on YTS ?
   C. Working with Course Materials
   D. The Presence of "Outsiders" in Eastern Centre

4. **CONCLUSION**

Chapter 5:

Working Through the Courses at Eastern Centre

1. Introduction

This chapter presents an analysis of data collected whilst supervisors participated in courses at Eastern Centre. The aims of this chapter are to:-

1. examine the manner in which supervisors joined courses at Eastern Centre;

2. evaluate the activities of the tutors as they sought to work with supervisors and through courses;

3. examine the world of Y.T.S. supervisors as presented during course participation, 1983-5.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first section identifies the sources of data presented and provides a theoretical framework for subsequent sections of the chapter. Section Two "Entering Eastern Centre in 1984" discusses the wider context of change within Y.T.S. and how tutors and supervisors worked against this background to overcome fears and ill founded expectations and develop a rapport. In the third section the "Representation of the World of Y.T.S. in Eastern Centre" is discussed. The 924 Award guidelines presented one picture of Y.T.S. This was often at odds with the realities of everyday life on schemes. Centre tutors presented their perspective on Y.T.S. and training. Supervisors responded with their experiences. A rapport was

established; tutors were able and willing to listen, supervisors eager to talk. However a series of "outsiders" seeking entry to the classroom jeopardized the relationship between tutors and supervisors. The conclusion argues that the tutors views, often at odds with the M.S.C. was accepted by many supervisors and conflict resulted for supervisors on their return to schemes from the haven of Eastern Centre.

A. The Data Presented

The data presented in this chapter was collected between January 1984 and September 1985. During that period the data collection took place in two stages:-

1. a period of ethnographic work in which I observed the teaching of a number of courses and the reactions of course participants:- January to June 1984;

2. a period of work as a part-time tutor at the centre, June 1984 to December 1985.

Much of the data collected during the period of ethnographic work concerned the 924 Youth Trainers Award. As pointed out in the preceding chapter the 924 Award formed the focus of the Training the Trainers programme in 1983-4.

The majority of supervisors participating in the course in Eastern Centre in early 1984, 75%, were employed on Mode B1 schemes. This resulted from the profile of Y.T.S. in a county with a high proportion

of Mode B1 schemes. The majority of these schemes were set up for the Y.T.S. and hence employed many staff new to the Y.T.S. By January 1984 there were five 924 courses running each week. The courses taught on Monday, Tuesday, Thursday and Friday were located in Eastern Centre. On Wednesday a course was taught at an outreach location; an arts centre in a market town twenty miles to the south of the centre. I observed teaching during twelve weeks of the thirteen weeks course held on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, January to March 1984 (1).

During April-June 1984 I concentrated on the short course programme e.g. working with young people and guidance and counselling. By June 1984 I was assisting in the teaching of the 924 Award. This period of work encompassing a shift from researcher to tutor ensured access to both the perspective of students and tutors: to the world of the supervisors as students and that of Eastern Centre staff as teachers.(2) Whilst drawing on all aspects of data it is the presentation and analysis of data derived from the teaching of the 924 Award which dominates this chapter.

(1) During the first week of the course tutors told students of my research and wish to sit in on courses. Their agreement was sought and this was always forthcoming.

(2) The methodology employed is discussed, in detail, in the introduction.

B. Training Organisations and Identity Management

Williams (1961, p.125) argues that there exists an identifiable relationship between the structure of education and major institutional forms of society. One feature of this relationship is the presentation of a "social world" (Kanter, 1972, p. 164) which has a phenomenological impact, adjusting and atuning orientations to a series of predetermined precepts or formulations (ibid). Identity is rooted in social interaction and can be manipulated by a process of interaction directed by a course presented in a particular setting. This management of identity by promoting the internalisation of orientations and values presented is termed secondary socialisation (Jones, 1984, p. 15). Foucault (1980, p.119) argues that the discourse which takes place is ruled by those who have the knowledge and the power to fix the flow of meaning and define others and thus, any process of secondary socialisation.

Participation in courses provided by the A.C. network is voluntary and partial in nature. In contrast a residential educational setting can provide a more coercive and total form of identity promotion and management. Nevertheless the A.C. network does present a model of Y.T.S. supervision and content. Courses are short and undertaken in a day release format. Content emphasises the utilization of set objectives such as the 924 checklist for supervisors. Validation has been secured from the City and Guilds of London Institute giving a wide recognition and high status to the main course, the 924 Award. In total, the course can provide a mirror of the Y.T.S; of short term,

basic training for supervisors correcting perceived deficiencies
inherent in their education, socialisation and training techniques.

Individuals enter into a serial process, that is, there is a precedent
to follow a course, working to satisfy formal criteria. There exists
specific criteria, presented by the M.S.C. and City and Guilds, which
constitutes input into the organisation. This is manipulated by local
M.S.C. officials to address what they perceive as local needs voiced by
officers and participants in programme area user groups. Yet, as noted
in the preceding chapter, the throughput procedures and materials were
to a large extent controlled and designed by centre staff and so the
teaching was not always congruent with local M.S.C. goals. This
dichotomy has an impact upon the output of the centre if it is assumed
that educational organisations can be processing agencies through which
it is hoped the individual adopts the organisational views, i.e. local
M.S.C. perspectives. This is something which commences "whenever an
individual associates with others "under" a common symbolic label
referring to that association" (Manning, 1971, p. 239). Roles
consequently, derive their meanings from the settings in which they
occur (ibid).

So organisations are not static entities but "territories of interaction
that are focused around complex spoken and unspoken languages" (Denzin,
1971, pp. 259-284). Y.T.S. has evolved its own language evident in the
use of terms such as the world outside employment, personal
effectiveness and occupationally based training all with meanings
peculiar to the training scheme.

The unspoken inputs are not explicit but evident in the classroom activities. These were often demonstrated in the fears and expectations of students who differed according to their socio-economic, sex and age positions in the life cycle. They were employed on a new training scheme and in an area of work new to many.

The occupational title - a Y.T.S. supervisor - was in 1984 ill defined unlike many other areas of work (Becker, 1970, p.178). An important part of a person's identity is derived from their employment title. Becker and Carper, in their essay "The Development of Identification with an Occupation" argue that vagueness with reference to the reality of a job results if a stereotype is not available. They identify four major elements of occupational identity: title and ideology; commitment to task; commitment to a particular organisation, and the significance of one's position in society (Becker and Carper, 1970, pp. 177-188). An ill defined title and unformed occupational ideology results in little status being attributed to a job. It follows that the inputting of specific ideas and orientations from a body such as the M.S.C. will be easier in such a situation particularly if a form of institutionalised training as epitomised by the A.C. network is available. In fact in such a situation supervisors may actively seek to claim a role (Manning, 1971, p. 251). In 1984 it was difficult to attribute any symbolic meaning in terms of occupational status to the supervisors job.

Many Supervisors were approaching the A.C. network for the first time. By its very nature this is a problematic situation (Schutz, 1971, p. 37). Supervisors expectations of courses and their future were as

diverse as their backgrounds. Nevertheless by entering Eastern Centre located in a college they did possess a set of expectations that they might expect to fulfil (Goffman, 1972, p. 105). Expectations often originated from earlier experiences of education and fear and embarrassment were hidden by a cover of expected behaviour (Goffman, op cit, p. 102). Aware of these reactions centre staff acted to achieve the confidence of students. The methods employed to do so were not always congruent with the goals of the M.S.C. or perceived outputs of the centre. The events that took place within Eastern Centre were often spurred by the external system but coloured by the reaction of staff and students to that.

2. Entering Eastern Centre in 1984

A. 1984 and Scheme Renewal

In early 1984 it was announced that nationally a thirty per cent cut in Mode B provision was to take place. Approximately 28,000 places were not to be renewed. As Mode B1 schemes employed supervisors on a ratio of 8 trainees to one member of staff even a small cut in provision would result in redundancies or the non-renewal of contracts of employment. This shift in provision was not unexpected but the callousness with which it was introduced surprised many. Tom King, the Secretary of State for Employment, quoted in the Guardian on the 20th January 1984 made it clear that Mode A provision was felt to be of more use to young people making the transition from school to work. Added to that was as Nicholas Hinton pointed out the parallel existence of Mode B provision

which "created first and second class citizens" (Guardian, 20th January 1984). So supervisors employed on Mode B schemes were not only concerned at the threat to their job but also the image being created of their scheme as second best to Mode A provision.

The cuts were not undertaken without some regard to the overall profile and cost of provision in the Y.T.S. In 1983 it was envisaged that 460,000 places would be required. By January 1984 it was evident that only 350,000 places would be filled (Youth Training News, No. 14, 1984). However the Government wished to maintain 400,000 approved places. The cut of 28,000 places in Mode B provision coupled with Mode A voluntary withdrawals would achieve the desired number of places. In addition the relatively higher cost of Mode B places (M.S.C., 1984b, p. 17) also made them a target for cuts. In addition there was the factor of the responsibility for training (Goldstein, 1984, p.p. 92-100). A move to Mode A provision would push industry to provide places and in the light of the financial arrangements, leave little excuse for not providing actual places and supervision. Once providing training on the Y.T.S. it was anticipated by local officials that industry would become more responsible for training in general.

Within this complex situation of financial and political considerations the supervisors were unable to elicit information from the local office as to when and where cuts would take place. Certainly the profile of local places demonstrated the dependence upon Mode B provision in the County. However the process of cuts was to take place as the schemes applied for renewal, that is, from March to September 1984.

Within this context a course at Eastern Centre appeared somewhat unnecessary to many supervisors. During January a number of comments were made as students began courses:-

"Is there any point in doing this - after all I might get the push soon" (Barry, joinery supervisor, Mode B1, January 1984)

"I'm sure they wouldn't send you on this course if they were going to sack you, would they?"
(Peggy, housecraft supervisor, Mode B1, January 1984)

"I think management have sent me on this course to ease their conscience as they think it would be easier for me to get another job with this qualification. I'm sure I'm for the push".
(Colin, computing supervisor, Mode B1, January 1984)

The evident insecurity concerning their situation and the search for security led to anguished discussions on future job prospects. Tutors felt it best to approach this situation openly. As the course continued the subject came to dominate the first session of the day. On a number of occasions supervisors did not return to courses as they had been made redundant during the preceding week. It is not surprising that at points supervisors found the course irrelevant to their main concerns. But the centre did provided a haven in which these topics could be aired.

B. The Expectations of Supervisors Joining Courses

Participation on courses is stated to be voluntary and free. Many schemes run a rota hoping that eventually all supervisors will complete at least, the 924 Award. Some supervisors are pushed and cajoled onto courses. Supervisors differed according to sex; age; un/employment experiences; position in a scheme and the Mode of a scheme. Nevertheless entering a course in an educational setting gave rise to a series of views and expectations (Goffman, 1972, p. 105):-

"When I left school I didn't want to do any more exams and written work. I didn't get on that well. The teachers were glad when my lot left. I'm not sure about doing this sort of course after such a long time".

(Peggy, housecraft supervisor, January 1984)

Peggy voiced her fears during the first session of the 924 course. She made her comments in a nervous tone but they were readily accepted by other members of the group. However in other groups the nerves were implicit but remained unvoiced, at least, to Eastern Centre tutors. Memories of a poor experience of education and resultant concerns over personal capabilities to undertake course work were often laughed off and dismissed over coffee. But fears of failing the course were expressed. Against the background of cuts in Mode B scheme provision there was also a concern that not completing the 924 course might be a factor in decisions on redundancy. Many supervisors rejected a formal process of education but where their jobs depended on completing a

course contradictory views were expressed. Fear was often hidden, covered by humour and scepticism.

"I suppose we have to do this course but I'm not too keen on the project work. But what gets me is that the M.S.C. have had to set up units like this to tell us how to make up for what the schools couldn't achieve".
(Colin, computing supervisor, Mode B1, January 1984)

Colin's views were mild in the expression of scepticism unlike John's:-

"To me this is just another bloody course which I can't think will do much good".
(John, car mechanic supervisor, Mode B1, January 1984)

Some supervisors spoke of pulling out of the course as they were fearful or sceptical of its content. But all persisted with only those actually leaving the Y.T.S. failing to complete the course. There was always the final means of explaining continued attendance on the course - "Well it's a skive isn't it - a day away from demanding trainees" (Peter, painting and decorating supervisor, Mode A, February 1984)

Whilst the latter views were often expressed amongst male members of courses during break times the former views of a willingness to continue tinged with fear were voiced in classrooms. A certain sincerity existed in classroom discussions which were pushed aside in the masculine tone of conversations between male supervisors outside the classroom.

C. Establishing a Rapport with Incoming Supervisors

Supervisors entered the A.C. with fear and expectations. Some were reminded of poor experiences in education, others of fears of written work; and a sizable number expressed the view that they had been told to come on the course. Lecturers at Eastern Centre, aware of the short duration of courses, recognised the necessity of establishing rapport as early in the course as possible. Ray and Terry were aware of the problem caused by the insecure, ill defined nature of the supervisory role. Their involvement with the training of Y.O.P. supervisors led then to believe that success in course work was based upon gaining the confidence of supervisors.

Between January and March 1984 centre staff developed a series of strategies with the aim of encouraging supervisors readily to participate in courses:-

1. Centre staff continually expressed the fact that anything said within the classroom would not be repeated outside. This assurance of <u>confidentiality</u>, likened by one lecturer to supervisors as being as "airtight as the doctor, patient relationship" allowed supervisors to express their concerns. Sessions often began with an unburdening process as the problems of the preceding week were discussed. Other problems revolved around the relationship between M.S.C. officers, scheme management and supervisors. It was felt that M.S.C. officials were trying to catch supervisors out by posing questions on the Y.T.S. design and content:-

"Titch: the M.S.C. expect too much. They're always around asking these questions. It's just putting labels on what we do anyway". (Titch, joinery supervisors, Mode B1, 924 course, February 1984).

Scheme managers were often said to usurp the role of supervisors;

"Colin: in our scheme the training officer insists on doing all guidance if a trainee has a personal problem and this makes it difficult to develop a total relationship with a trainee" (Colin, computing supervisor, 924 course, Mode B1 February 1984).

or to attempt to meet M.S.C. demands with little reference to trainee needs:-

"John: I said I'd bring in some plant cuttings that the trainees could grow for the reception area but I was told that the M.S.C. were visiting next week so I could take the trainees down to Woolworths to buy plants. You wonder what place training has in all this." (Joe, horticultural supervisor, 924 course, March 1984)

Supervisors spoke of the support they felt from the centre staff just by being able to voice these problems. However the involvement of M.S.C. officers in courses whilst small in number, did effect the group dynamic. In such situations the issues cited above were not touched upon.

The general acceptance of this concept of confidentiality by group members was a consequence of an "insider" view, that is, through the experience of attending the centre a group perspective on acceptable behaviour held sway (Becker, 1966, p. 78). Dominant in creating the nature of accepted behaviour was the lecturer. They developed a role akin to what Schutz terms "the stranger" "as a newcomer....a man (sic) without a history" (Schutz, 1971, p.34). Possessing the status of a college lecturer, at once both independent of the Y.T.S. in terms of the actual nature of their career path and yet dependent, in 1984, upon the Training the Trainers programme for employment, they presented an image of relative security. That proved an attractive focus for supervisors allowing them to speak freely.

2. Supervisors were assured that there was <u>no pass or fail situation for the 924 Award</u>. An agreement was established with each group that the project would not be submitted to the external examiner unless the tutor felt sure it would pass. Students were, of course, free to submit a project no matter what the view of the tutors were but very few chose to do so. Tutors were extremely tactful in approaching this aspect of the course (Goffman, 1972, p.102). Students were easily embarrassed in discussions concerning written work:

"Marion: I feel silly saying this but I haven't written anything like this project for 25 years" (Marion, sewing supervisor, Mode B1, January 1984) Such expressions of concern were managed by tutors who ensured a high level of support for supervisors.

3. A number of teaching strategies were employed all aimed at making the atmosphere both conducive and relevant to supervisors:

   a. working in small groups - maximum of 10 students - tutors established a conducive atmosphere by seating students in a circular pattern, near to each other. It was argued by tutors that the ability to establish eye contact with all course members was an important means of non-verbal communication strengthening the group participation;

   b. making the course relevant to supervisors by asking them to submit case studies of problems from their scheme for general discussion in the group. Tutors sought a case study for each component of the course ensuring that every supervisor had the opportunity to discuss an issue relevant to their job;

   c. care was taken that every supervisor had an opportunity to speak and tutors spent a lot of time in meetings discussing methods of controlling the vocal so as to ensure that reticent supervisors had an opportunity and encouragement to speak. Particular attention was paid to the position of women in the group. Many of the female supervisors felt doubly threatened by the course work and expectation of gendered behaviour. Male supervisors were often skilled in a trade, such as engineering, joinery work and construction industries. Schooled in and working in areas of work upon which masculinity is both created and perpetuated (Willis, 1977) the men dominated conversations. Gender

differences posed both inside and outside the workplace were
evident in the classroom (Cockburn, 1987, p. 4). Tutors
attempted to redress this with a positive policy to include
women supervisors in all aspects of the course.

d. from the Spring of 1984 students from all five 924 courses began
the course together. So a group of thirty to forty students met
for the introductory day. This was administratively beneficial
allowing the tour of the college facilities to take place on one
morning and not, as previously, every morning for a week. But
for the supervisors it allowed them a <u>certain amount of</u>
<u>anonymity</u> with which entrance to the college might be easier.
Inter-scheme communication was also enhanced. This was
important to tutors who wished to illustrate to supervisors that
others were in a similar situation and communication with them
was possible.

Tutors differed in the intensity with which they employed the various
strategies. These disparities were evident in the Autumn of 1983 but
less so by the Spring of 1984 as lecturers developed a coherent approach
to teaching. Tutors came to perceive themselves as championing the
cause of the supervisor. The local M.S.C. office became the focus for
expression of feelings of suspicion and mistrust by supervisors and
tutors alike.

D. The Language of Y.T.S.

"The limit of my language means the limits of my world"

(Wiggenstein, 1971, para 5.6)

To those not familiar with Y.T.S. many of the conversations which took place in the classrooms of Eastern Centre would be incomprehensible:-

"Jill: At our P.R.T. meeting last week we examined how basic skills, core skills and job specific training fit into O.T.F.'s" (Jill, clerical supervisor, Mode A scheme, February 1984)

Translated in to terms that might be comprehensible to those not familiar with the Y.T.S. Jill was discussing the progress review team meeting held at her scheme with the aim of assessing how the main components of the Y.T.S. are incorporated into occupational training families. The mixture of idioms and technical terms ensures a form of language which remains restricted to specific social groups (Schutz, 1971, p. 35) namely those employed on the Y.T.S. The members of the course understood Jill's speech nodding in confirmation. This was week four of the 924 course and the group had reached a level of understanding and common usage of terms; evidence of a group solidarity (Pieris, 1951, p. 499). Yet the very nature of this discourse controlled by the language of Y.T.S. reflects the ideology of the M.S.C. That ideology is based upon individualism and laissez-faire (MacInnes, 1987, p.162) evident in concepts such as flexibility, adaptability and the suggested transferability of skills.

"Once you've learnt the terms you're O.K., but it is difficult to get into the scheme and thinking about those terms just adds to the confusion" (Marion, sewing supervisor, Mode B1 scheme, March 1984)

There was no doubt that full entry to the world of Y.T.S. meant overcoming this barrier. The language of the Y.T.S. was a subject identified and explicitly addressed by course tutors. It was required for entry to the world of Y.T.S. but controlled by those with the knowledge and hence power to delineate any discourse (Foucault, 1980, p.119).

However it was not just the terms peculiar to Y.T.S. which proved confusing:-

Tutor: Any other problems with the 924 checklist?

Barry: I couldn't understand this term audio-visual aids in objective number 24. I'm sure I couldn't see me using anything like this in my woodwork section.

Joe: I couldn't understand that one either.

Colin: Well doesn't it mean working with wall charts, videos and overhead projectors.

Joe: Is that all it is cause I've got loads of wall charts up. But I

       thought something like this must mean using computers and

       videos.

Barry: Silly isn't it. You land up thinking these sort of words mean

       all sorts of things. Why don't they just say charts and the

       like? (Barry, joinery supervisor, Mode B1; Colin, computing

       supervisor, Mode B1; Joe, horticultural supervisor, Mode B1)

In this group the supervisors, trained in various skilled trades ranging

from joinery to bricklaying, worked with terms peculiar to their areas

of work. However the language employed by those writing 924 objectives

and the Y.T.S. guidelines consisted of what Bernstein terms an

elaborated and universalistic code associated with the middle class

(Bernstein, 1971, p. 172) forming a context within which the technical

terms of Y.T.S. were couched. Marion described the written form of the

language of Y.T.S. as "like a solicitors letter"; "I assume that the

people who write it know what they are talking about and supervisors can

learn it but trainees find it very difficult. It's so different to what

they've used". Marion worked hard to come to terms with the language

but she found it necessary to translate documents into a common form of

English familiar to trainees. This resulted in additional work for the

supervisor. But it was also felt to be valuable. Nevertheless trainees

were largely excluded from conversations on the content and design of

Y.T.S.

So there existed for many supervisors two barriers to overcome:

1. the elaborate forms of language employed;

2. the concepts utilized in Y.T.S. and the technical terms given to
   them.

One supervisor suggested that the terms employed in Y.T.S. were nothing
more than "labels" attached to what she "already knew" (Marion, sewing
supervisor, Mode B1 scheme, March 1984). It was inconvenient to have to
learn the language but once learnt Marion voiced the feelings of many
supervisors:-

> "once you know the terms and use them it does mean that you can talk
> to others working in the Y.T.S. in a way familiar to all".

It was an economical method of communication (Douglas, 1973, p.3)
promoting a solidarity within Y.T.S. circles (Pieris, 1951, p.499) based
upon terms and jargon presented to those in Y.T.S. by the M.S.C.

But it created barriers to those outside the Y.T.S. and a trap for those
within the phenomenological sphere of the language of the Y.T.S. Ray
expressed concern that in gaining entry to the language of the Y.T.S.
the terms were often utilized by students who did not fully comprehend
the meaning of the term but employed it to suit their own requirements.
The classification of approved places by O.T.F. is a prime example of

the mis-application of a concept. One example was provided in the use
of O.T.F.'s by the M.S.C.:-

"Ray: So what O.T.F would you put your sections into?

Mark: Well the M.S.C. say we're in number 4.

Ray: But what do you say?

Mark: Well from what I've learnt of O.T.F.'s, that so many of the the
            skills overlap, well my section could be in several O.T.F.'s.
            The only way you could use the M.S.C. method of describing
            schemes is to look at the job specific skills. It's as if the
            M.S.C. spends a lot of time telling us about the transferability
            of skills, about the overlap in skills needed for all jobs and
            then forgets all that to put things into pigeon holes to present
            a profile of places".

            (Ray, tutor, Eastern Centre, Mark, bricklaying supervisor, Mode
            A scheme, 924 course, March 1984).

The different manner in which the concept of O.T.F.'s was publicised and
employed demonstrated both the adaptation of the concept to produce a
profile of approved places by the areas of training and the incorrect
use of this term by many including the M.S.C:

"John: We had this M.S.C. official round last week. He kept going on about core skills. Well nobody on our scheme has done a course or seen a leaflet so we weren't to keen to get involved in a conversation. This bloke kept going on about defining the skills central to your section, so like in car mechanics the core skills would be changing oil and things like that. But now I know he was way off beam"

(John, car mechanic supervisor, Mode B1, March 1984)

This new found awareness was the aim of tutors of Eastern Centre who sought to promote the confidence of supervisors to challenge such views as those cited above. The key to gaining that confidence was knowledge of the technical terms, jargon and the elaborate code within which they were couched both in written material and the spoken word. Gaining verbal confidence was the final hurdle to acquiring total entry to the world of Y.T.S. Such entry was not without conflict for the M.S.C. officials considered themselves the "experts" and were often unwilling to receive a challenge from a supervisor. Aware of the consequences of conflict supervisors rarely challenged officials.

3. The Representation of the World of the Y.T.S in Eastern Centre Classrooms

A. The Presentation of the World of the Y.T.S.

In this section of the chapter the events in the classroom of Eastern Centre are analysed. Discussions that took place in the classroom illustrated many aspects of teaching methods and course work. Life on Y.T.S. schemes was also highlighted and the subsequent section presents an analysis of data on the world of the Y.T.S. One feature of any organisation providing education and training courses is the presentation of a "social world" (Kanter, 1972, p.164) which can adjust and atune the orientation of the student towards a series of predetermined objectives. Edwards (1984, p.71) states that the curriculum of Y.T.S. formalises and documents the "other (informal) secondary school curriculum for the less bright" (Edwards, 1984, p.3).

The format of the 924 Award is presented to A.C. staff in the checklist of 924 objectives. These objectives cover all aspects of the Y.T.S. design. They illustrate the foundations of Y.T.S. namely:

"(to).....develop and maintain a workforce which is flexible and adaptable and had the capacity to transfer it's skills with minimum re-training to new and changing areas of employment brought about by increasingly rapid technological advances" (M.S.C., 1982a, p. 1).

The key terms used to describe the basis of Y.T.S. are flexibility, adaptability and transferability. These terms are evident throughout the checklist items of the 924 course. For example in considering the development of work based projects supervisors must demonstrate an understanding and an example of:-

"how the skills utilised in a learning opportunity/work-based project can be transferred to other contexts".
(City and Guilds, 924 Checklist, item 2.3).

The terms "work-based" and "learning opportunity" coupled with "skills" and "transferred" presented sentence constructions based upon a belief that the individual could equip themselves via training (MacInnes, 1987, p.165). It is around this checklist that the components of the 924 Award are developed. There exists an ambiguous relationship between the checklist items and the every day work of schemes. As Marion a sewing supervisor on a Mode B1 scheme commented "there are only the guidelines and you go from there. Each scheme evolves its own law. You don't teach directly from a rule book". There exists an area of freedom to act in. Nevertheless the M.S.C. monitor both life on and activities within schemes. In teaching a course, tutors present both the course content, their views on the Y.T.S., and of teaching. At Eastern Centre the 924 Award materials were designed and taught by tutors with reference to their experiences, views and the checklist objectives. Every 924 Award taught in the network of A.C.'s is, therefore, likely to differ in content and environment.

The assumption was made by the local M.S.C. officials that A.C. tutors would either be in sympathy with the aims of the 924 Award or via monitoring will adopt an approach acceptable to local M.S.C. officials. That assumption cloaks the dichotomy between the 924 checklist i.e. the policy on paper and the actual teaching of the course at Eastern Centre i.e. the policy implementation. It has long been a focus of public policy research that the original policy cannot be regarded as a final entity (Pressman and Wildavsky, 1984). Stringer and Williamson, in a case study of the development of the Y.T.S., argue that the dichotomy between theory and action was particularly pronounced in the Y.T.S. as:-

1. the environment in which Y.T.S. evolved was dynamic and extremely complex;

2. the minimal involvement of the implementators - the managing agents, supervisors, accredited centre tutors - would result in a lack of congruency in choices and actions.

    (Stringer and Williamson, 1987, p.35)

In short the constraints to problem solving only became fully evident when the policy was actually put into practice. The issue of authority and power distribution resulted in those who face the major constraints - the implementators - being placed outside the policy process (ibid). Added to these factors was the problematic concept of a national training scheme apparently uniformly imposed. This was problematic, not only for the variables cited by Stringer and Williamson, but also because of regional economic disparities. In a locality with high

unemployment a fundamental challenge is posed to the very nature of a work orientated training scheme.

So the input of the problems facing the supervisors plus the perspectives promoted by A.C. tutors to manage the introduction of Y.T.S. represented the development of a "social world" of Y.T.S. peculiar to Eastern Centre.

B. The 924 Award Checklists: A Realistic Guide to Work on Y.T.S.?

The M.S.C. present a format for the Y.T.S. written for a national scheme. Reviewing the format in the classrooms of Eastern Centre the supervisors recognised that the reality facing them often posed dilemmas for them. Quite simply the guidelines for Y.T.S. did not address the problems they were facing:-

Colin: Checklist item 9 asks you to "describe the effects of long
           term and intermittent periods of unemployment on young
           people". How can you suddenly introduce that to trainees on
           schemes?

Pat: How can you avoid it in this area? Many of the trainees
Part-Time   will face unemployment.
Tutor

Colin: But this whole scheme is orientated towards work. I mean on

           the pain of death we daren't be heard discussing

           unemployment in front of the M.S.C.

Pat: So you avoid it? But the kids in this area have a realistic

           chance of facing unemployment.

Colin: True, but the scheme wasn't written with us in mind. Like

           they're all getting jobs down South and the M.S.C. try to say

           that it is the same up here. This thing about unemployment

           is just tagged on.

           (Colin, computing supervisor, Mode B1 scheme, Pat part-time

           lecturer, February 1984).

There existed an obvious conflict between the commonly used form of

assessing the scheme namely the number of trainees leaving Y.T.S. for

employment, and the situation facing local trainees. The regional

disparities in unemployment existed but were not openly alluded to by

the M.S.C.

Everyday activities on schemes, discussed in Eastern Centre, illustrated

other areas of conflict:-

Ray: How do you teach health and safety?

Tutor

Colin: It would best be to do hazard spotting but we can't do that.

Barry: Neither can we. I think it would be good for trainees to

            spot hazards themselves but the M.S.C. say we have to have a

            list up at all times.

Ray contended that learning by discovery would encourage the trainee to
remember hazards whereas a list might only gain a cursory reading.
Barry suggested that trainees could also value from a "discovery"
exercise as many had literacy problems. He wryly told of the use of
notices in his scheme:

   "Rather than say anything management prefer notices. So you get

   things like, "for those with literacy problems we are running

   courses to help". Many have reading problems. One or two can't

   read. What use is a notice? And most wouldn't know what was meant

   by the word literacy".

   (Barry, joinery supervisor, Mode B1, January 1984).

Barry worked on a Mode B1 scheme in an area where no specific provision
was made for trainees with literacy and numeracy problems:

Barry: There was one trainee and if I'd known he was slow I wouldn't

         have taken him on but I didn't realise he was bad at reading

         and writing.

Ray: It is all about expectations. If you knew you wouldn't have

         taken him on. Now it's O.K., is it?

Barry: Yes it is working well 'cause he is helping himself by going to
        evening classes. Most who can't read and write cause all sorts
        of problems because we don't have any time to help".

        (Barry, joinery supervisor, Mode B1, February 194).

It was not unusual for trainees to present such a problem well into
their training programme:

Bill: Some trainees get through the initial assessment because that's
        based on the training officer asking questions and then in week
        6 or 7 I discover that they've got reading problems. Then you
        have to rework their training programme, slow things down. I'm
        not trained to give extra help so I just have to take out
        things I think are too difficult.

Ray: Well lets face it the reality we have is that the brighter
tutor   kids go to Mode A schemes and with very little provision for
        special needs anywhere, kids with problems get dumped into
        Mode B schemes".

        (Bill, joinery supervisor, Mode B1, March 1984)

Bill could not provide additional assistance despite the knowledge that
trainees with a need for extra help are more likely to find themselves
on Mode B schemes and therefore, he is more likely to work with such
trainees.

John: We were sent a kid from the probation service. No other scheme
        would touch him. But he came on well and started talking to me.
        Turns out he got an 'O' level in art. So I said to him that he
        should transfer to the graphics section instead of doing car
        mechanics. It took a lot to get him to think of moving. He
        thought of graphics as girl's work. So when he agreed I felt
        really good, like I'd done something for this trainee. But when
        I went to the training officer he just said I couldn't move the
        trainee. I hadn't asked and it was too far on in the scheme. I
        haven't managed to tell the trainee yet. Every time I see him I
        know that he is waiting for me to say something. What do I do?

Pat: You've done everything a good supervisor would do. You've
part-   opened up that trainee's horizons and looked at what suits him.
time
tutor

John: Yes all that's happened isn't what Y.T.S is about but that's
        what goes on.
        (John, car mechanic supervisor, Mode B1 scheme, February 1984)

John was constrained by the training officer who argued that it was his
decision as to whether the trainee moved or not. Roles were ill defined
and the hierarchy in operation left the supervisor unable to fulfil his
commitment to the trainee. Other members of the group expressed
surprise and concern that the trainee would be denied an opportunity

because of conflict over authority within the scheme. As one supervisor commented:-

"the M.S.C. could make all the rules they want. But if you get someone like that training officer it all goes out the window".
(Colin, computing supervisor, Mode B1 scheme, February 1984)

As Boguslaw contends in a study of the dynamics of organisations points out the differences in organisation may "in the last analysis involve little more than different allocations of power and authority throughout the system" (Boguslaw, 1965, p.188).

Marion cited another manner in which the perceived role of the supervisor differed from the reality of work on schemes. In analysis of what she actually did for an hour a day over a week a surprising amount of time, 25%, was spent on the telephone replying to queries from the M.S.C., the careers service and scheme management. Administration took up 20% of the time with the actual time spent with trainees in a training capacity amounting to 55%. As Marion pointed out she lacked clerical support, in this the first year of a new scheme, and the many forms of assessment and monitoring questionnaires had to be completed at specific points each week as that was the documentation required by the M.S.C. as part of monitoring visits.

Visits by the M.S.C., careers officers and other interested groups were also time consuming. The majority of schemes received at least one visit per month from the M.S.C. with some Mode B schemes being visited

every two weeks (data obtained from questionnaires sent to schemes as part of this study, 1984). These visits were often anticipated by scheme management. Training programmes were manipulated to present to the M.S.C. what was thought to be the "correct" image for a training scheme. As noted earlier a M.S.C. visit meant that John's trainees had to buy plants for the reception area rather than grow their own as part of a training programme (see section 2. C of this chapter). Fred, an electronics supervisor setting up a new section had to prepare this section in six weeks rather than the promised three months because of a review visit by the M.S.C. This meant that trainees had to wire the section with a minimum of training. The supervisor suffered severe stress having to complete much of the work himself after the standard working day.

Supervisors also demonstrated their own view on many issues from violence on T.V. to marriage. They developed a rapport and spoke freely on their views of young people, the M.S.C. and trainees of the opposite sex. These views not always in sympathy with those of the tutors:-

Bill: "Kids these days just expect a training scheme. I didn't have
       that. We had to work our way up. We were prepared to sacrifice
       things for work".
       (Bill, craft supervisor, Mode B1 scheme, February 1984)

The sense of "these kids" having an easier time than he did as a school leaver was not an isolated view. However many with teenage children were very concerned to provide opportunities for school leavers. The

frustrations of working on the Y.T.S. encouraged bitterness and resentment, creating an atmosphere in which stories of care-free youngsters thrive (see Sinfield, 1981, p.114).

A unanimity of views existed in the area of perceptions of gender differences with the majority of male supervisors expressing the view that unemployment was easier for young women:-

Barry: "Women retire at 18 when they get married. They're not worried about a job."

(Barry, joinery supervisor, Mode B1 scheme, February 1984)

On being challenged by a women supervisor the four male supervisors in this group told her she "was different" the inference being that women trainees would behave in a stereotyped manner and "retire at 18". They did not perceive it to be part of their role to promote equal opportunities. Gender divisions were seen as natural, accepted and even beneficial for women (see Pollert, 1981, p.93) by apparently placing less pressure on women to gain employment.

Across the gender divide the unanimous view of the M.S.C. was one of suspicion. "Don't say anything in front of them", "they're always checking up" or "don't trust 'em" were commonly expressed views. So the context of Eastern Centre provided a secure setting in which to make these comments.

Supervisors had to develop coping strategies to overcome the resourcing problems. Time constraints, the lack of back-up support and the diverse ability levels of trainees were the main problems. Those employed on Mode B schemes were the poor relations in Y.T.S., lacking a basis within a business, local authority or college. Supervisors muddled through the first year. They welcomed the opportunity to discuss the situation they faced. It was becoming evident that the Mode B schemes were providing a training in a series of low status areas. These schemes were training those who had failed to gain access to Mode A schemes either due to selection criteria, ability, motivation or circumstances. The schemes masked those processes. But the supervisor's conversations uncovered the true process of the Y.T.S. in action.

C. Working with Course Materials

This section examines the perspective of the tutors to the world of Y.T.S. as illustrated by teaching materials and methods employed. The 924 award may attempt to control the identity of Y.T.S. supervisors by presenting a format and objectives for the supervisory role but as Denzin states "organisations are territories of interaction" (1971, p.259). That interaction takes place between tutors and supervisors. Just as the the local economies differ throughout the country so do the experiences and views of participants.

A major teaching resource at Eastern Centre for the section of guidance and counselling (checklist item No.11) is the exercise known as "The Gordon Bell Situation". Gordon has a poor attendance record being

absent for three of the previous four Mondays. Supervisors are presented with a number of options in response to this situation. On selecting an option supervisors are directed to another page and further information, and so on. As the situation unfolds supervisors work through a series of events revealing a number of personal problems. The aim is to explore counselling skills and techniques.

The exercise is designed to be a group one allowing supervisors to debate the approach and methods to employ in such a situation. Not surprisingly debates arose:-

Peter: If you are not careful you could end up with 40 Gordons on a scheme. If the other trainees see Gordon get away with it.... they'll all be at it. I think it's better to work in a place where you know what the rules are.

Ron: But here we've found out that Gordon has a special problem and disciplinary procedure isn't appropriate.

Jan: Yes he could get the push. Gordon isn't breaking the rules because of wilfulness but because of a problem.

Andrea: Yes.....but it does worry me what the other trainees might think and say.

Peter: They'll see it as the green light to be off on Mondays. The M.S.C. would love that.

Jan: The object of Y.T.S. is to get the kids to stand on their own
        two feet. You don't do that by just applying the system.

Peter: So you're saying that we have no responsibility to introduce
        the kids to the world of work.

Ron: Despite what the M.S.C. say even the real world of industry
        can be flexible.

(Jan, manager, Mode B1 scheme; Ron, training officer, Mode B1 scheme;
Peter, joinery supervisor, Mode A scheme; Andrea, catering supervisor,
Mode B1 scheme, 924 course, November 1984).

Peter remained unconvinced. His view that the world of work provided by
the M.S.C. was an authoritarian one run by inflexible rules created
conflict within the group. The solution to the exercise favoured the
approach of Jan and Ron. By selecting options to listen to Gordon and
demonstrating a flexibility of approach supervisors reached the final
page of the exercise. The tutors defined the parameters of the
situation and then provided the options. Their obvious sympathies posed
a dilemma for supervisors such as Peter and Andrea, challenging the
local M.S.C. views of a cold, hard world of work into which trainees had
to be initiated.

The majority of course materials originated from the tutors working at
Eastern Centre. Tutors had predominantly worked in the sphere of
education. Ray had worked as a lecturer in special education needs

promoting discovery as a learning approach i.e. encouraging questions and thereby solutions to problems from students. John did not disagree with this but his experience in industry led him to question the time and resources such an approach required. Terry, the S.T.C., with a background in teacher training favoured Ray's perspective, as long as the M.S.C. were not complaining. So Ray's views dominated and his energy to co-ordinate course materials at a time when they were scare re-inforced his status.

Teaching materials designed by tutors at Eastern Centre promoted a view of the world differing from that of local M.S.C. officials. This was evident throughout the 13 weeks of the course and provided a persuasive indication of teaching methods and attitudes divorced from those of local M.S.C. officials. One example of the resultant conflict arose in the 924 course namely, the question of why do we assess? Assessment is crucial to the progress of the trainee throughout Y.T.S. The initial assessment, the responsibility of the careers service before the trainee joins the scheme, and the assessment at the beginning of the scheme, aim to match trainees to relevant training. Continuous assessment throughout the training programme provides feedback for trainees and ensures the review of the position of the trainee. However the final assessment, forming the basis of the Y.T.S. certificate, is critical if the certificate is to secure a status and wider recognition. Y.T.S. guidelines promote a weekly completion of assessment profiles and the daily writing of log books by trainees. This time consuming formality became a burden for both supervisors and trainees. Supervisors eagerly

participated in classroom discussions on what was described as a
"confusing and burdensome" aspect of the scheme:

Ray: Why do we assess?

Barry: to let the trainees see how they are progressing;

Colin: 'cause we've been told to !

Ray: The initial assessment is for diagnosis. Why do anything
         after that?

Colin: If a trainee wants to change sections or go for a job;

Ray: O.K. but it must not be an end in itself. Only something you
         do to base a decision on;

Peggy: How can you say that when we are told to assess every week
         and to assess things like punctuality, attendance and attitude?

Ray: Well, what's the difference between punctuality, attendance
         and attitude?

Colin: Punctuality is a physical thing, attitude is hard to measure.

Ray: If I said your punctuality was OK but your attitude to work was not what would you do?

Peggy: Isn't the problem that one is measurable but the other is based on a supervisor's opinions?

Ray: And so many assessment sheets give an appearance of objective criteria. The answer to some questions are not worth the paper they are written on unless you know the person writing it. So why have them?

Colin: It's all to do with the M.S.C.'s notion of work that you conform to the rules.

Peggy: But it is also a threat saying to that trainee to conform to that supervisor or else.

Ray: Well be sure yourself that what you are writing is not based on opinions. Don't play this game.

Prior to the analysis of the criteria of assessment supervisors accepted the validity of M.S.C. procedures as objective and valid. This system of assessment is, if Ray's views are accepted, subjective in part and this view was keenly promoted by Eastern Centre tutors. However a subtle difference in emphasis between tutors was evident. Ray was vehement in his opposition to certain aspects of the assessment procedure. In contrast John expressed opposition but stepped back from

suggesting an outright challenge. He expressed his concern that supervisors could jeopardize their position arguing that Ray was not fully aware of the situation employees in the private sector might face in mounting such a challenge to assessment procedure.

A friction between educational and industrial paradigms was apparent. The position of a training scheme located in both the private, public and quasi-public sectors served to create and reinforce a complex series of conflicts and compromises

D. The Presence of "Outsiders" in Eastern Centre

In the first year of the Y.T.S. a number of individuals and groups called in to discuss the work of Eastern Centre. The centre was on the agenda for a visit by those new to the Y.T.S. Careers officers, youth and community workers, local managing agents and staff from other A.C.'S popped in. The majority of these visits were informal in nature beginning and ending in the staff room. Very few ventured into the classroom and when they did it was to ask how supervisors were enjoying courses. These intrusions were brief and largely incidental to the work of the centre.

However there were a number of intrusions into the classroom which effected the tutor, supervisor relationship. As discussed in section 2.C of this chapter a positive and trusting relationship was keenly nurtured by tutors. That relationship was based upon the confidentiality of events that took place in the classroom. Visits by

the M.S.C., the external examiner for the 924 Award and my presence posed a possible threat to that relationship.

In the Autumn of 1983 the announcement that M.S.C. officials wished to sit in on the 924 courses from January 1984 provoked anger amongst tutors and concern in supervisors. For the supervisors the overwhelming concern was that they would be assessed and "spied" upon by M.S.C. officials. To some extent this fear was expressed by all the supervisors regardless of their background and the status of their scheme. However they were unwilling to enter into an explicit battle with M.S.C.

That battle was fought by A.C. tutors. Tutors, particularly those with a background in teacher training, were indignant that untrained M.S.C. officials would be assessing the content of courses and teaching methods. It was agreed that M.S.C. officials were welcome to undertake courses as students.

> "They can join in and maybe tell us what core skills, O.T.F.'s are all about. After all we haven't got the curricula yet and maybe they would be made more aware of our problems".
> (John, tutor, Eastern Centre, September 1984)

John's approach was one of let them come in here not just for one visit but for a course and they will learn of the problems facing staff. Ray was not so sure. Both agreed that the relationship between tutors and supervisors was in jeopardy no matter what way the M.S.C. entered the

classroom. For Ray there were also a number of considerations culminating in his writing the memo reproduced overleaf. Why were the M.S.C. monitoring courses? If so, had officials been presented with a guide of what to look for? However his overriding concern was the possible motive of "measuring my effectiveness" (see point 4 of memo reproduced overleaf). This was a threat to the profession of teaching from an organisation whose local officials had neither the experience of teaching or training felt necessary by tutors to evaluate classroom activities.

The tutors' trade union, the National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education (N.A.T.F.H.E.) intervened. They agreed with centre tutors that the M.S.C. whilst funding the centre did not have the expertise or the remit to evaluate the work of lecturers. Tutors received support from college staff working in the education department. This was perceived as a further attack on the profession of teaching by an industrially orientated M.S.C. The belief that the education system was failing to equip students for the necessary skills for employment was widely held but remained unproven (Finn, 1987, p.118) yet this formed the basis of much of the criticisms directed towards education. It took a full year to reconcile the conflict concerning the monitoring of courses.

MEMORANDUM

TO: To All A.A.T.C. Staff   DATE: 18th November, 1983

FROM: REF:

I would like to explain why I am reluctant to allow MSC Personnel to come in to "monitor" any 924 course, under the present arrangements.

1.   There is no clear explanation given as to why they are visiting.

2.   If they are seeking the content matter of the course them I can give them a list.

3.   If they are attempting to measure the suitability of the content then I suggest they can tell that from the list.

4.   If the measuring is measuring my effectiveness to put over the content matter, then, without any disrespect, I suggest that the MSC Officials named are not equipped to make that measurement, nor is one visit sufficient to make such judgements and I insist of knowing the criteria of those judgements.

5.   If they are seeking to learn then I would welcome them to come on the course as full-time members, in fact, I would urge them to do so.

6.   I find the idea of instrusion into the group by someone whose function is not clearly defined to be against the interests of the group, creating suspicion and mistrust.

7.   If, as I suspect, there is some "guideline"/"memo" issued to these officials - a sort of "what to look for", then I want sight of that.

8.   I presume permission from the Principal has been sought.

9.   I presume the Union (NATFHE) has been informed.

In the light of 1-7 above I request any MSC Official intending to come into any of my groups not to do so until the above points have been considered.

Page 233

During that year the M.S.C. took up the challenge from Eastern Centre to place officials on courses. Few, however, accepted the challenge to participate. In the Spring of 1984 one local programme area officer joined a course in core skills. After a positive start the official began telling course members what the M.S.C. apparently defined as core skills:-

"Georgette: He told us and the tutor that telephoning was not a core skill and to forget all the business about it as a communication skill. The tutor was really embarrassed and didn't say anything. I didn't know where to put myself as that morning I'd received a M.S.C. tape and booklet on using the telephone. This said that telephoning was a crucial skill in office work and core skills were contained within it. But I didn't say anything. I didn't think it was my part to".

(Georgette, clerical supervisor, Mode A scheme, May 1984)

Some M.S.C. officials perceived a role for themselves as the ultimate source of knowledge on the Y.T.S. It was evident to a number of supervisors and the tutor that the approach to core skills quoted above was at best a misunderstanding of the concept and at worst the dispensation of incorrect information. The M.S.C. official remained unaware of the controversy he caused commenting that "he'd enjoyed getting to meet supervisors first hand".

The receipt of a letter in September 1984 from the local M.S.C. programme manager alleging a political bias in courses brought matters to the fore. These allegations were based upon reported discussions between tutors and supervisors. These discussions were brought to the attention of the programme manager by the local officers who reported comments from managing agents and by an official participating in a 924 course. (A letter outlining these allegations is reproduced and discussed more fully in Chapter 3, section, 3. C. iii). Tutors agreed that it was best to regulate M.S.C. intrusions into the classroom by accepting a monitoring process of course content rather than encourage officials to participate fully in courses and evaluate teaching techniques. By Christmas 1984 a series of one off monitoring visits by local M.S.C. officials were agreed. Centre staff accepted this as a necessary compromise, allowing M.S.C. access to the classroom for predetermined and short periods of time.

By contrast the involvement of the external examiner for the 924 Award was regarded as an expected and anticipated intrusion. Tutors warmly welcomed the visits as they secured further guidance on course materials and assessment. But for supervisors the visit was a worry. It coincided both with the submission of their final project (and hence the outcome of the course) but also the end of the course. Fears were tinged with regrets.

My presence as a social researcher was discussed more fully in the introduction. It is worthwhile noting that in 1983/4 such were the fears of supervisors and the confusion over Y.T.S. that I was generally

perceived as a non-threatening and welcome stranger ready to listen and possibly further enlighten course participants on the Y.T.S. Acceptance as a group member and hence greater comprehension of the world of the Y.T.S. ensued.

4. Conclusion

The 55 A.C.'s are presented with a series of predetermined guidelines upon which courses are moulded. In the period of 1983-5 the major document utilised was the 924 Checklist. This guide together with the national network of A.C.'s and funding arrangements provided a certain commonality of provision across the country. The 924 Award aimed to present a particular picture of the world of the Y.T.S. adjusting and atuning the experiences of supervisors to that world. Miliband (1969, p.241) argues that socialisation is often performed by institutions which are apparently "apolitical" or neutral in character. Jones (1984, p.15) contends that within any organisation providing instruction that an internalisation of orientations and values presented can take place.

The 924 Award by its nature a short term part-time course in basic supervisor skills provided a mirror image to the environment in which supervisors were working. The supervisors were to correct perceived deficiencies in education and socialisation by promoting the flexibility and adaptability of trainees and the transferability of the training experience. Whilst what were termed "political discussions" were to

remain outside the world of Y.T.S. such concerns as scheme renewal in 1984 were constant worries for supervisors.

Certainly the guidelines presented to A.C.'s and the monitoring of courses by the M.S.C. sought to present an orientation to a particular view of the economy namely that young people must expect less and be prepared to adapt and to change. However it is questionable as to whether this programme of courses achieved any process of secondary socialisation.

The A.C acted as a haven from the M.S.C. and the tutors placed heavy emphasis on the liberating function of the course, i.e. promoting an understanding of the language of Y.T.S. The majority of supervisors left the centre having enjoyed the experience and feeling they had gained from it. (See the centre evaluation questionnaire results reproduced in Appendix II). As a consequence of this process much of the daily world of the Y.T.S. was discussed and evaluated in the centre. Eastern Centre provided the ideal focal point for examining the world of the Y.T.S. and in particular Mode B1 schemes in the north east of England.

The role of the supervisor was so ill defined and the tutors so committed to their perspective that the guidelines for courses were manipulated by materials and teaching methods to result in the orientation of the majority of supervisors to the tutors' paradigm of training. So any possibility of achieving the process socialisation

Page 237

favoured by the M.S.C. was severely limited as the M.S.C. was not directly involved in instruction.

Conflicts did arise. Supervisors returned to under-resourced schemes attempting to implement the newly discovered skill of trainee centred learning, whilst tutors perceived a threat to their perspectives on education and training by the M.S.C.

CHAPTER 6

The Supervisors: Working on the Youth Training Scheme

1. THE FOCUS OF THE CHAPTER

A. Introduction
B. Examining the Work of YTS Supervisors

2. THE DATA

A. Data Sources
B. The Supervisors
C. Tasks Undertaken

3. AT WORK: AN ANALYSIS OF THE ETHNOGRAPHIC DATA

A. The Market Situation

    I. Employment and Training Experience
    II. Employment Situations, Conditions and
        Security
    III. The Opportunity for Upward Mobility

B. The Work Situation

    I. Working with Trainees
    II. Working with Colleagues & Management
    III. Relations with the M.S.C. & Other Groups

4. CONCLUSION

238 a.

Chapter 6:

The Supervisors: Working on The Youth Training Scheme

1. The Focus of the Chapter

A. Introduction

This chapter presents data collected whilst observing the work of nine supervisors on their respective Y.T.S. schemes. The chapter seeks to focus upon the structure of employment created by the operation of the Y.T.S. It explores the manner in which past experiences of supervisors are a relevant factor, or otherwise, in their current and possible future situations within the labour market.

The aims of this chapter are to:

1. identify the main characteristics of the role of the Y.T.S. supervisor in a number of different settings;

2. examine the previous employment and training experiences of the supervisors to establish whether they have a bearing on the current situation of supervisors in the Y.T.S;

3. identify the contrasts among supervisors, in terms of meanings and priorities attached to work, by examining the reference groups they hold;

4. establish the identity supervisors adhere to or tend towards in terms of their role as a trainer, ie. the training identity.

The work of Davies and Burgoyne (1983) on the identity of trainers is employed. It provides an analytical framework within which the role of the supervisors is evaluated.

The chapter is divided into three main sections:

1. the introductory section presents a theoretical framework for the examination of the work of the Y.T.S. supervisors;

2. the subsequent section sets out the main characteristics of the schemes, the supervisors and their analysis of the job content;

3. finally an analysis of the ethnographic data is presented. This is further divided into two sections which examine the market situation and the work situation of the supervisors.

B. Examining the Work of Y.T.S. Supervisors

"What do they do? remains the most illuminating question to ask about someone met for the first time". (Brown, 1984, p.129)

The response to such a question is likely to indicate the identity, status and income (Jahoda, 1983, p.310) of the respondent. Employment in the formal economy is influential in defining the life chances of

both the paid worker and their dependents as the occupational order is a focus for social and economic divisions in capitalist societies (Parkin, 1971, p.18). The "ranking" allocated to a given occupation in that order depends upon a number of variables including the status attributed to a job; the criteria of entry; the historical evolution of the occupation; the relevance of that occupation to the economic and social well being of the society and the income and benefits secured by that employment. Perhaps the three most pervasive variables in any ranking are those of gender, age and skill qualifications. Women and men, young and old, the qualified and unqualified rarely compete in the same job market (Ashton and Maguire, 1983, p.3) Higher status (and pay) is attributed to jobs defined as "male". Similar attributions are awarded to areas of work defined as skilled.

Penn in his study "Skilled Workers in the Class Structure" contends that it was around the axis of skill that trades unions organised (Penn, 1984, p.140). Trade Unions were instrumental in the maintenance of earning differentials and creating a structure for advancement via the acquisition of recognised qualifications (ibid). The trainers role was crucial in these processes. The trainers acted to delineate the identity of a job. For example Cockburn (1983) in her study of compositors in the newspaper industry demonstrates that the industry was inculcated by a strong commitment to a patriarchal organisation of work and society. Women were excluded and this exclusion was considered just by the compositors. It remained largely unchallenged by women themselves existing in a society dominated by patriarchical views. The training process was and continues to be critical in maintaining those

views emphasising the physical and hence apparently male nature of the work. As Jones (1984, p.15) argues within the context of training aspects of "a social order or specific value orientations" will be presented to and possibly internalised by the students who are themselves the future generation of trainers.

If the role of the trainer is crucial in developing the identity of the trainee what of the identity of Y.T.S. supervisors? In 1984 the response to an enquiry on the nature of a person's work "I am a Y.T.S. supervisor" might well have provoked an ambivalent or sceptical reaction. Ambivalence, as it was a new area of work and scepticism, as it was linked to training policy which was viewed by many as low-status, quasi-remedial scheme based upon unemployment led policies (Raffe, 1984, p.2).

Becker and Carper (1970, p.203) contend that a person's work identity grows out of the relationship (if any) to the occupational title. In order to assess the work identity of the Y.T.S. supervisor it is, therefore, necessary to address the question "what is meant by occupational title?"

It must be noted that the concept of the industrial supervisor or trainer, is not a new one, or one without status. Child in his study of the industrial supervisor recalls the 19th century as a period when becoming a foreman, an industrial supervisor, was "a mark of considerable advancement". This was a significant role in the maintenance and reproduction of workplace relations and divisions.

Child argues that the role has lost much of the distinctive qualities as a consequence of organisational and technical change. The role of the industrial supervisor particularly in unionized workplaces is predominantly one of the interface between management demands and an organised workforce (Child, 1975, p.74). However the significant role of the trainer, the gatekeeper for recognised entry to specific areas of qualification, continues to dominate skilled areas of work. The nature of that work may change; it may not, by any technical analysis of the content, be skilled. But such are the benefits and continued dominance of areas of work defined as skilled, and the continued exclusion of those defined as unskilled, that the role of the trainer in areas perceived as skilled is crucial. However the Y.T.S. supervisor is termed a supervisor rather than a trainer. The ambivalent situation in which the Y.T.S. supervisor is situated is highlighted by their role. They are not supervisors in the widely regarded sense of managing and organising the work of others for they must train young people in certain skills both basic and job specific. Nor are they trainers, in any widely recognised sense for they do not guide young people towards a qualification in a specific skill. So what identity can Y.T.S. supervisors' work with?

The lack of a widely recognised identity was certainly evident during this study. However in seeking an identity for those new to Y.T.S. (but not to training) a number of potential identities appeared possible. Davies and Burgoyne (1983, pp. 6-7) in a study of direct trainers in commercial, industrial and service organisations in both public and private sectors offered a typology of possible trainer identities:

1. The specialist professional: the career of this trainer is associated with setting up and developing a training function, including delivering training. However after this process had been completed they move on to another organisation. The main incentive is the challenge linked to what Davies and Burgoyne term "a green field site" rather than progression in structure and salary. Linked to this category is the identity of the trainer as an expert. They define themselves as specialist but with a systematic view of training.

2. The trainer as an actor: the actor identity can be recognised by her/his interest and enthusiasm in the up-front class room activities. Job satisfaction is measured in terms of the immediate response of a group of trainees. In the study of Davies and Burgoyne (1983, p.6) some actor trainers were actually experienced in acting viewing the job as trainer as giving them the satisfaction of acting without the insecurity. For this group the performance can be all, and they have little wish to move to other roles within or outside training.

3. The trainer as a developer: this category can be differentiated according to who is being developed, the trainer or trainee;

   A. Personal development of self: trainers stress the use of particular approaches and skills being their preference for training and the reason why they remain in training. The aim is to further their own personal development.

B. Developer of others; concerned with helping and enabling others to develop their full potential in ways which can be unrelated to particular organisational needs.

C. Missionary; aiming to develop individuals in order to fulfil a certain task or to achieve a certain cause. This identity is more time bound than most and missionaries may become drained if their mission is frustrated.

Davies and Burgoyne (1983, p.6) anchor this typology within the concept of a career. They employ a definition of a career being "a sequence of a persons work related activities and associated values and aspirations over the span of their life". Whilst this definition gives weight to both intrinsic and extrinsic perspectives on a career the concept of a career is one linked to skilled areas of work and the aspirations of the middles classes (Sinfield, 1981, p.125). So this typology ignores those who enter training as the only (viable) option in the face of redundancy or unemployment. The "training" role on the Y.T.S is one not considered as a goal but a job that provides the means of living. Certainly the classic role of trainer as identified by Child (1975, p.71) is perceived as a significant and high status one. These perceptions stand in contrast to early views of the role of the Y.T.S. supervisor in a training scheme so lowly regarded in 1983-4. Nevertheless the classic image of the trainer provided an aura for some. The Y.T.S. might offer an opportunity to develop a new area of work and possibly a career. It certainly offers the possibility of gaining continued access to a significant area of routine action (Robinson and Sadler, 1985, p.118) namely, the workplace. The Davies and Burgoyne typology is therefore an

inadequate one to employ in considering the entry of many new to
"training" whose identity is confused (possibly related to their last
employment or skill qualification) and remains to be established. The
addition to the typology of the category of a seeker (those attempting
to identify and establish a role) would encompass those new to training
for the purposes of a typology. The supervisor may employ any of the
categories provided by Davies and Burgoyne and refer to identities
attained in previous areas of employment eg.a painter, a plumber or
teacher. Table 6.1 (below) presents a possible typology of supervisor
identities.

Table 6.1   A Typology of Supervisor Identities

Category	Definition
Specialist professional	Setting up and developing a training function. Tendency to move on once this is achieved. May view his/her experiences as superior to others (sub-group of category - expert)
Actor	Interest and enthusiasm in up-front classroom activities. Little wish to move within or outside training
Developer	Personal development of self (sub-group A) Developer of others (sub-group B) Developing individuals in order to fulfil a certain task or to achieve a certain course (sub-group C)
Seeker	New to training role. Attempting to establish identity. May employ any or all of the above categories at different points in time and refer to previous employment

The identity of the supervisor training young people on Y.T.S. might be categorised by use of this typology but the origins of that identity certainly lie in the career/job history of each supervisor. The Specialist would be likely to have undergone both specific skill training and training in instructional skills. The Actor might be a frustrated achiever in other areas of work. The Developer might have a time served training but brings to the training identity a wish to develop her/himself and, or the trainees. The Seeker is undoubtedly the cadet (Child, 1975, p.82-83) drawing on previous experiences. Identities are not static. They can and do change over time and in response to wider organisational and environmental factors. These categories can only provide a static point from which analysis may take place. With these qualifications in mind the following chapter presents an ethnographic analysis of the supervisory role and identity. The divisions of labour evidenced by the identities assumed by supervisors may also be examined.

2. The Data

A. Data Sources

The focus of this chapter is the presentation of the work of supervisors on the Y.T.S. schemes. Eight schemes were selected, reflecting the distribution of schemes by Mode in the County: four Mode A, three Mode B1, and one Mode B2. In December 1983, prior to the selection of schemes for research, the distribution of trainees in training by Mode in the county was 65% Mode A, 29% Mode B1, 6% Mode B2.

The comparable regional figures were respectively 55%, 30% and 15%. Great Britain figures were, 71%, 21% and 7%, respectively. So the regional pattern of training was markedly different to the national trend reflecting the poor state of the local economy and the lower number of private firms willing or able to provide training places. The pattern of training in the county differed slightly from the regional picture with the main variation being the lower provision of Mode B2 places particularly for the trainees with special needs. Occupancy rates for schemes by Mode in the region were in October 1984, 87% of Mode A places, 84% Of Mode B1 places and 100.36% of Mode B2 places. (1) (M.S.C., Area Office Data, related in interview with local programme manager, October 1984).

Adjustments were continually made to the distribution of schemes and approved places in 1984. In December 1983 only 67% of approved places were occupied. So the occupancy rates of October 1984 represented a marked improvement in matching overall provision to demand.

The schemes selected as the location for an examination of the work of supervisors differed not only by Mode but also provision across O.T.F.'s (see table 6.2 overleaf). The training courses ranged from clerical, retail training, food processing, to bricklaying and electronics. The number of trainees, the available resources and organisational structure also differed.

(1) Additional places were provided at short notice (without approval) for trainees with special needs hence the occupancy rate of 10.36%.

Table 6.2:   The Schemes

Scheme	Mode	Approved Places	Training Provided in	Occupational Training Families
Dairy Products PLC	A	4	Food Processing	8. Food Preparation & Service
Direct Training	B1	30	Catering Clerical Work Mechanics Welding Needlework	8. Food Preparation & Service 1. Administrative Clerical & Office Services 3. Craft & Design 4. Installations Maintenance and Repair 9. Personal Services & Sales
Engineering Training Ltd	A B1	150 62	Engineering Mechanics Fabrication	4. Installation, Maintenance and Repair 6. Manufacturing and Assembly
Retail Training Ltd	A	100	Clerical Retail	1. Administrative Clerical and Office Services 9. Personal Services and Sales
South Local Authority	A	80	Clerical Construction Electrical Work Recreation	1. Administrative Clerical and Office Services 3. Craft & Design 5. Technical & Scientific 8. Food Preparation and Service
Special Needs	B2	30	Basic Skills (Clerical, Catering)	1. Administrative Clerical and Office Services 8. Food Preparation and Service
Technology Training (Itec)	B1	30	Electronics Office Practice Production	1. Administrative Clerical and Office Service 4. Installation Maintenance & Repair 5. Technical & Scientific 6. Manufacturing and Assembly 7. Processing 9. Personal Services and Sales
Workshop Training	B1	100	Clerical Construction Decoration Electronics Mechanics Catering	1. Administrative Clerical and Office Services 3. Craft and Design 4. Installations, Maintenance & Repair 6. Manufacturing & Assembly 8. Food Preparation & Service 9. Personal Services and Sales

In seeking to describe and explain the work of supervisors a number of research techniques were employed. A questionnaire was distributed to scheme managers. This sought information on the scheme's history, training programme, staffing and relations with other groups. (A copy of this questionnaire is reproduced in Appendix II). All the schemes approached agreed to participate in the research project. I met each scheme manager to discuss the questionnaire and the selection of a supervisor who would be prepared to participate in the research programme. Managers invariably suggested what they perceived to be their "best" supervisor to participate in the project. The definition of the term "best" differed. Generally it was suggested that the best supervisors are those who established a good working relationship with young people. However on certain schemes, providing training in areas of established skill training, "best" meant the most qualified.

Agreement was easily reached with schemes as to who would participate in the project. In aiming to achieve a broad spread of supervisors by age, gender and training, requests were made for supervisors of specific age, gender or area of training. Even if my request contradicted the managers' choice it was always accepted. After an initial meeting with supervisors they were asked to complete a questionnaire (reproduced in Appendix II) providing details of their career/job history, qualifications, trade union/professional association membership, training undertaken for Y.T.S. and perceived training needs. The main section of the questionnaire asked supervisors to analyse their job. A series of 30 possible tasks were listed and supervisors were asked to tick the tasks that, in their view, constituted their job. An option

was available for supervisors to add tasks not incorporated in the list available. The response to this questionnaire are discussed in section 2. C. below.

The research conducted on schemes involved the observation of supervisors as they worked with trainees and colleagues. This methodology was employed as it is inferred "by the notion of "understanding" that can deal with large sets of social interactions" (Collins, 1984, p.2). Visiting schemes for half a day every fortnight for a year (Summer 1984 to September 1985) I could not remain unobtrusive nor did I wish to. As discussed in previous chapters supervisors were often fearful of outsiders. It was therefore necessary to gain the confidence of supervisors and become competent in the Y.T.S. design and content and hence the remit of their world. Being open and honest about my sociological identity I was perceived as an independent source of knowledge and potential support. However it took time to become accepted and that acceptance was based upon my ability to form a relationship with a supervisor on the basis of exploring their career, job histories and hopes for the future. By exploring the supervisors past it is possible to establish the reference groups adhered to in both the past and present that it, the wider occupational identity. As with training identities reference groups were not static, changing in response to organisational and environmental factors. In fact the very nature of the supervisors' work differed between and within schemes and the methodology of participant comprehension allowed the sensitive identification of such contrasts.

B. The Supervisors: Personal Characteristics. Experience of Training

Table 6.3 (overleaf) details the personal characteristics, employment and training experiences of the supervisors involved in this stage of the research project.

Whilst John and Morris (South Local Authority) had, by 1985 spent two years on Y.T.S. joining the scheme in late 1983 they had spent much of their career in training in construction work. The Y.T.S. diverted them into new posts but this "new" job was not dissimilar to training on year 1 of the apprenticeship scheme. John also continued to work on the authority's ongoing apprenticeship training. His membership of the Union of Construction and Allied Trades Unions (U.C.A.T.T.) was crucial in gaining access to public sector employment. Morris left U.C.A.T.T. shortly after joining the Y.T.S. scheme as the co-ordinator for construction trades section. He joined the local government officer union N.A.L.G.O. in keeping with his changing role and rise in status to a management job. Both were keen proponents of training actively participating in A.C. courses and seeking any additional information relevant to the Y.T.S.

Ken, Technology Training, had pursued a career path not dissimilar to that of John and Morris. In his fifties he had spent 20 years as a trainer in electrical skills. His work identity was keenly linked to supervision; he was a member of the Institute of Supervisory Management. Working at an information technology centre (ITEC) providing training in

Table 6.3: The Supervisors in 1984

Supervisor (Scheme)	Age	Job Title	Employment History	Completed Training in	Trade Union Prof. Assoc.	Duration in Present Post
Percy (Dairy Products)	55	Health & Safety Officer; Scheme Co-ordinator	Food Production	Health & Safety Management Skills	None	10 years
George (Direct Training)	23	Welding Supervisor	Building Labouring Production Work	Health & Safety 924 Youth Trainers Award	None	1 year
Jon (Engineering Training Ltd)	47	Instructor in Electrical Engineering	Mining Engineering, Electrical Engineering	Mining, Electrics Instructional Skills; Training Officer Health & Safety	Institution of Mining Electrical & Mechanical Engineers Institution of Training & Dev.	14 years
Wendy (Retail Training Ltd)	43	Supervisor Retail Trade	Shop Work Bar Work Club Steward	Training Certificate 924 Youth Trainers Award	None	1 year
John (South Local Authority)	53	Apprentice Master Brick-laying	Bricklaying Construction Work	Bricklaying Instructional Skills	UCATT	18 months
Morris (South Local Authority)	48	Co-ordinator Craft Skills	Bricklaying Construction Work	Bricklaying Instructional Skills 924 Youth Trainers Award	NALGO	18 months
Liz (Special Needs)	35	Lecturer I Special Needs	Teaching English & Basic Skills	Teaching (Degree level)	NATFHE	2 year
Ken (Technology Training)	53	Training Officer for Scheme	Electronics Training	Electronics Instructional Skills 924 Youth Trainers Award	Institute of Supervisory Management	1 year
Fred (Workshop Training)	32	Supervisor Electronics	Engineering TV Repair Audio Visual Technician	Radio and Television (City & Guilds)	Institute of Diagnostic Engineers	6 months

electronics he was employed on a high status scheme. Ken was keen to participate in additional training for supervisors in the Y.T.S. content and design.

Jon at Engineering Training Ltd had worked in this job for 14 years. Again his career was strongly linked to training, working at a training association closely associated with the Engineering Industrial Training Board. The Y.T.S. was merely added to his duties and viewed by him as peripheral to his main job. Jon did not wish to pursue any of the courses offered by the A.C. Percy, Dairy Products, likewise was not interested in A.C. courses. The company's health and safety officer he had little interest in any training role having had the Y.T.S. added to his duties.

In contrast George of Direct Training was emersed in the Y.T.S. on his arrival. Keen to undertake further training after the 924 Award his job was entirely dependant upon the continued funding of the Y.T.S. He could not ignore the Y.T.S. To succeed he had to become fully involved and aware of the dynamics of the scheme. George had moved through several jobs experiencing unemployment. The Y.T.S. was a welcome and new opportunity.

Wendy, Retail Training, and Liz, Special Needs, worked in sectors traditionally defined as "female" (Cockburn, 1987, p.4). Wendy's employment pattern had been intermittent. She moved through a series of low paid service sector jobs while trying to bring up a son on her own. The Y.T.S. provided a welcome return to full-time work as her son left

school for a place on an engineering Y.T.S. scheme. Wendy was keen to receive any training on her role. She enjoyed meeting other supervisors and liked the support the A.C. courses could provide. She was not a trade union member and did not view membership as relevant to her job or well being. In comparison to the other supervisors she was well trained in the Y.T.S. content and design. Liz was employed as a lecturer in a college of further education. A qualified teacher in special needs she did not feel a need for Y.T.S. specific training courses. Employed on nationally agreed terms and conditions the Y.T.S. was almost incidental to her career affording her an additional opportunity to develop her skills.

Fred, Workshop Training, a qualified audio-visual technician joined the Y.T.S. to set up a new section in electronics. One of the younger supervisors he was also the most isolated working on a scheme in which everyone had taken the 924 Award bar himself. He could not begin employment on the Y.T.S. with a training course. Instead he had to set up the section within eight weeks of joining the scheme. He was employed because of his job specific skills rather than training experience and was fully unprepared for the day to day strains of training and working with young people. With no experience of writing a training programme or undertaking a training role he desperately wished to join in A.C. courses. This opportunity was denied him due to pressure of work in this scheme.

The details obtained on the past and current situations of supervisors illustrate classic divisions of the labour market. As the production

process and divisions which occur within the family act to create divisions, those divisions in time act back to confirm the fragmentation of the labour market (Bradley, 1986, p.96).

The continuance of apprenticeship training (albeit contracted in numbers) and skill qualifications as dominant variables in the creation of labour market divisions can be viewed as resultant from a truce between strong trade unions and progressive or concerned employers (Wood, 1985, p.89). Workers defined as skilled and apparently free of the direct influence of employers' interests, often act to weaken the position of others (Kreckel, 1980, p.541). Kreckel concludes that:-

> "the more restricted the access to certain types of occupations is, the more likely it is they occupy a privileged place within the unequal opportunity structure, provided, of course, that the services they have to offer are in demand and cannot be substituted easily"
> (Kreckel, op cit, p.530)

Certainly those possessing skill qualifications appear to exist in the secure and opportune sectors of the Y.T.S.

C. Tasks Undertaken: Self Analysis of the Job Content

The self analysis of the work of supervisors began with the completion of a questionnaire by them. As stated the questionnaire sought to elicit data on supervisors employment experiences and training.

Supervisors were asked to analyse the tasks they undertook as part of their everyday work by placing a tick beside any of the thirty items presented. The series of items (listed overleaf) derived from the work of Andrew Rix, University of Wales on Y.O.P. supervisors was amended to encompass all possible aspects of the job on the Y.T.S.. However supervisors were encouraged to specify tasks not listed. There was no response to this so it may be assumed that the tasks cited provided a comprehensive analysis of the job content.

Table 6.4 lists the responses to the job analysis question. All the supervisors undertook:

 personal advice and support to trainees

 careers advice

 trainee task supervision

 trainee work planning

 assessment/profiles of trainees

So all were closely involved in various aspects of working with young people. That involvement appeared to incorporate a close relationship in so far as personal and career advice were cited.

No one undertook the:
 planning of scheme budgets
 financial planning
 distribution of trainee allowances

TABLE 6:4 Self Analysis of Job Content

	MODE A — South Local Authority					MODE R1			MODE B2	
	Wendy Retail Training Ltd	Percy Dairy Products	Morris Training Officer	John Supervisor Training Ltd	Jon Engineering Training Ltd	Fred Training Workshop	Ken Technology Training	George Direct Training	Special Needs	Task common to job on each Scheme
1. Recruiting/Interviewing Staff			✓		✓				✓	
2. Accounting work of Staff										
3. Skills Teaching			✓	✓		✓		✓	✓	
4. Life & Social Skills Teaching			✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	
5. Direct Provision of Further Education										
6. Induction Training	✓	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
7. Personal Advice and Support to Trainees	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
8. Selection of Trainees	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓		✓		✓	
9. Careers Advice	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
10. Trainee Task Supervision	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
11. Trainee Placement	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	
12. Trainee Work Planning	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
13. Assessment/Profiling of Trainees	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	x
14. Visiting Projects			✓	✓	✓					
15. Visiting Placements			✓	✓	✓				✓	
16. Planning Scheme Budgets										
17. Financial Planning										
18. Sponsor Liaison	✓				✓				✓	
19. Arranging F.E. Component	✓	✓			✓					
20. Keeping Trainee Records	✓	✓			✓		✓		✓	
21. Developing Projects	✓			✓	✓		✓	✓		
22. Developing Placements				✓	✓	✓	✓			
23. Liaising M.S.C. – Scheme	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			
24. Attending Staff Meetings	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
25. Team Meetings	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
26. Project Planning	✓		✓	✓	✓		✓	✓		
27. Arranging Supplies of Materials	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓			✓	
28. Trainee Allowance Distribution										
29. Careers Office Liaison	✓	✓		✓	✓	✓	✓		✓	
30. Cover for Absent Staff	✓			✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	
TOTAL NO OF TASKS IDENTIFIED	18	11	16	17	22	16	19	14	21	

In short supervisors did not have direct access to finance or the planning of financial resources. Their involvement in the Y.T.S. was focussed upon the trainee and trainee supervisor interactions rather than aspects of planning the resourcing of the schemes. Many simply reacted to the resources they were provided with. Such results would indicate the existence of hierarchical forms of management as opposed to a collective involvement in the totality of running the scheme.

The number of tasks cited by the supervisors varied from eleven to twenty two. Percy, Dairy Products PLC listed the least number of items. His job did not encompass items such as skills or life and social skills teaching. He never left the workplace as part of his role of a Y.T.S. supervisor. Nor did he develop training projects, plan projects or hold team meetings. Percy narrowly defined his job by the common items cited above and liaison with further education, M.S.C. and careers staff. By contrast, Jon of Engineering Training Ltd cited twenty two items covering all aspects listed except the planning of resources and materials, and accounting the work of scheme staff. Jon's assessment of his job suggested involvement in the majority of aspects of the running of a training scheme whilst Percy's analysis suggested a highly developed form of hierarchical organisation in which jobs were narrowly and quite specifically defined. Between these points ranged the other supervisors' assessments of their job.

In subsequent sections data obtained via ethnographic techniques is presented and assessed.

3. At Work: An Analysis of the Ethnographic Data

Whilst researching the work of the Y.T.S. supervisors an economic recession was having profound impact on labour markets. Large numbers of workers were removed from paid employment by redundancy, early retirement or the unavailability of work as in the case of school leavers. Women, particularly married women were, by contrast entering the labour market in increasing numbers. However the jobs they were entering were generally part-time, low paid and insecure. The content of employment is continuously re-evaluated by employers and employees with reference, implicitly if not explicitly, to the changing economic environment (Purcell, Wood, Waton and Allen, 1986, p.2) and changes in un/employment patterns intensify pressures within the workplace to conform and adapt as required.

Lockwood (1966, p.15) suggests that each employee is located in a market situation and work situation. The market situation is defined as the:-

> "economic position narrowly conceived, consisting of source and size of income, degree of job security, and opportunity for upward occupational mobility".

An examination of the current market situation of the supervisors can suggest not only their employment security, or otherwise, but that of the scheme as a whole. However, as the Y.T.S. is a new scheme the market situation of the supervisors is closely linked to their employment and training histories and the effect of the Y.T.S. on those

histories and labour market divisions within the training sector. Bringing experiences with them the supervisors had expectations of their market situation. Similarly past experiences also gave rise to expectations amongst individuals and groups within the network of the Y.T.S. Lockwood identified the importance of such relationships within the workplace:-

"the set up of social relationships in which the individual is involved at work by virtue of his (SIC) position in the division of labour". (ibid).

It is within the workplace that various dimensions of income and economic inequality are evident. Less tangible inequalities relating to the content of work, the kind of social relationships which people are involved in at work, and to the exercise of power can also be identified (Wedderburn and Craig, 1974, p.141). Such is the importance of work in our society that "these inequalities permeate many other aspects of an individuals life" (ibid).

In this interpretation of the work of Y.T.S. supervisors Lockwood's concepts of the work and market situations forms the basis for ordering data analysis. The first part of this section is concerned with the former and current market situations of supervisors. This section is further divided accordingly:-

I. Employment and Training Experiences;

II. Employment Conditions, Situations and Security;

III. The Opportunity for Upward Mobility.

In the second part of this section the work situation is examined:

I. Working with Trainees;

II. Working with Colleagues and Management;

III. Relations with the M.S.C. and Other Groups.

The section concludes with a discussion of the occupational identities of supervisors they attempted to adhere to and the identities evident from observation.

A. The Market Situation

I. Employment and Training Experiences

In Chapter One of the thesis it was argued that the Y.T.S. arose largely from political impetus to control and manage the sharp rise in unemployment. The chapter sought to demonstrate the dynamic and confusing situation within which the Y.T.S. was conceived and developed. A major problem with many discussions of social history is that it can leave no room for and assign no weight to, individual, or group, experience, meaning and action (Brown, 1984, p. 317). Not all school leavers experienced unemployment in the early eighties. Others made use of periods of unemployment to develop hobbies and skills. Likewise

adults living in a region of above average rates of unemployment suffered but many acted to maximise their situation in and out of employment. Nevertheless higher unemployment rates restricts opportunities (Sinfield, 1981, p.114) and individual responses must be placed in that context.

The dramatic economic changes of the eighties clearly had a profound effect on the job career paths of the younger supervisors:- George and Fred. George had left school at 16. When I met him he had worked for a year at Direct Training as a welding supervisor. Despite the fact that he had no formal training in welding or fabrication skills he was responsible for training seven school leavers. He also covered for the woodwork and car mechanic supervisors when they were off. He argued that he knew as much as anyone with qualifications. Immediately prior to the Y.T.S. George had been unemployed. Joining the Y.T.S. at the age of 22 he had been through a series of building site and plant machinery maintenance jobs. George had passed through a series of low paid labouring jobs. He was not a member of a trade union stating that he never had to be and didn't see any point in it. Now working on a Mode B1 scheme George looked upon employment in the Y.T.S. as the most secure to date. By comparison Fred had found it comparatively easy to move through seven jobs in sixteen years of employment. If he experienced unemployment it was largely through choice. Fred left school at 16 with nine C.S.E.'s. He held parts I and II of the City and Guilds Radio and Television Repair Award. For fourteen years he moved through a series of television and audio visual technical job. On average he spent just over two years on each job moving on as he got "fed up". Two years

prior to joining the Y.T.S. he attempted to change his career path by joining the police force. This he found "too restricting" and he left eighteen months after completing his training. At this point the constant changes in employment caught up with him. Now he could not move easily back into his path of audio-visual work. After several months of unemployment he was desperate for a job. The sole worker in a household of another adult and two young children he decided to look outside his normal area of work and applied for the post as the Y.T.S. supervisor. He was genuinely surprised to get the job as he had not worked in a training capacity with young people. However his skill training was the deciding factor. He didn't mind the nature of the scheme, as Mode B1 provision, or the drop in pay. It was a job and Fred felt sure that once the recession ended he would find employment elsewhere. Fred was a member of the National Institute of Radio and T.V. Engineers. Whilst both George and Fred found themselves working on the Y.T.S. in 1984 Fred's employment pattern demonstrated the relatively stronger labour market situation of the qualified with highly regarded qualifications as opposed to the unqualified (Kreckel, 1980, p.530). Fred's age was also a factor. He had left school when unemployment was not comparable with the situation facing George as a school leaver in 1979. For Fred the Y.T.S. was a stop gap while for George it was a major step up the employment ladder.

Jon at Engineering Training Ltd had developed a career in training. On leaving school he completed training with the then National Coal Board in mining engineering. After ten years as a mining engineer he progressed to the role of trainer. However the coal industry was

continually undergoing contraction and restructuring. The first area to experience contraction was the training section. In 1970 Jon found himself unemployed. He found employment with Engineering Training Ltd as an instructor. Having spent fourteen years with the training association he enjoyed the respect with which employers viewed Engineering Training. The training association is closely linked to the Engineering Industrial Training Board and financially supported by local employers who send apprentice trainees to undertake the main part of their training at the associations workshop. Jon did remark that the possibilities for further career development were limited in comparison to his expectations of a career with the National Coal Board. He was still in contact with his coal board colleagues through his membership of the Institution of Mining Electrical and Mechanical Engineers. Over the previous decade he had gained membership of the Institution of Training and Development. Ken of Technology Training had followed a similar career path to Jon moving into training a decade prior to the Y.T.S. He gained membership of the Institute of Supervisory Management in the late seventies. Ken joined an information technology training centre (ITEC) the high status centres funded by the Department of Trade and Industry and the M.S.C. He remarked that he brought the supervisory skills of the private sector into the Y.T.S. because he thought the scheme could work.

John and Morris working at South Local Authority were both time served bricklayers and apprentice masters. Their employment histories were closely linked to the Authority. Morris had served his apprenticeship with the Authority and had progressed through the craft section to the

role of apprentice master. The Y.T.S. brought with it the opportunity for a further move and promotion. Morris had set out from school wanting a skilled high status job and progression into training was a step in that direction. John's prospects also rose with the introduction of the Y.T.S. for he was promoted to apprentice master and Morris moved into the position of scheme co-ordinator. Both were strong supporters of trades unions .

Liz, working on the special needs scheme, had obtained a series of teaching qualifications relevant to the work of the scheme. In fact she had initiated the scheme at her college of further education as a method of "making full use of my qualifications". Active in her union she had developed her career of teaching and she liked to talk of "teaching" as opposed to "training". Liz pursued a career in a job normally associated with a female area of work. Similarly Wendy of Retail Training Ltd had spent her working life in serving and caring jobs; in female ghettoes of employment:- shop work, bar work, clerical work. Wendy moved as she could and as was necessary in order to support herself and her son. A move into full-time work in a supervisory role (whatever that might mean) was a positive step up the occupational order. Wendy did not perceive herself as trained or pursuing a career in any specific area of work. She enjoyed working with people and Y.T.S. encouraged that. Energetic and bright she enjoyed a challenge and looked forward to Y.T.S. as a greater challenge than most of her previous jobs. Liz was a single woman and her choices demonstrated an independence which Wendy (Retail Training) could not. For Wendy her labour market position was resultant from her family situation. Wendy's

work was crucial to her family:- her son and herself. Whilst it was not marginal to her family her labour market situation reflected a marginality. Working on the Y.T.S., despite all the insecurities of working at Retail Training, was a positive step up the occupational order.

Percy of Dairy Products PLC was waiting for early retirement in 1984. At the age of 55 he had achieved the post of health and safety officer in the local office of a national food processing industry. Percy had worked his way up from the factory floor during a career in the food processing industry. His ten years with a national firm had been productive with the Y.T.S. being an additional, and in his eyes, burdensome duty. Percy had no wish to belong to a trade union arguing that such groups set out to cause trouble in the workplace.

Gender, age and qualifications possessed, were variables affecting previous employment histories and progression on to the Y.T.S. Expectations of work on the Y.T.S. differed accordingly. For Fred the Y.T.S. was stop gap. He knew that his youth and qualifications would ensure another job once the depressed labour market eased slightly. In contrast the Y.T.S. was for Wendy and George the step up the occupational ladder from low paid, gender defined jobs with little prospects. The qualified trainers, eg. Jon, moved into Y.T.S. as a natural addition to their career path. Their strong market situations were illustrated in their relatively secure and straightforward employment histories.

II. Employment Situation, Conditions

Pay and Contracts

As illustrated by Table 6.5 (overleaf) the salary levels and contractual basis of employment differed greatly between schemes. Wendy (Retail Training Ltd) was working in extremely insecure conditions. On a monthly renewable contract, earning £126 per week she began each month in the knowledge that a drop in trainee numbers could result in the end of her job. Relative to Wendy's situation George (Direct Training) and Fred (Workshop Training) faired much better. They earned £6,135 per annum respectively and were contracted on an annual basis. This was a cut in salary for Fred whose last post as a Police Constable attracted an annual salary of £10,000 p.a. plus housing and welfare benefits. As noted earlier Fred was not deterred by this believing that his qualifications would be highly valued once the labour market in the locality began to expand again. All three of these supervisors had watched colleagues being made redundant as changes to the provision of the Y.T.S. took place in the Spring of 1984. They were not paid a lot nor hopeful of continuing in the Y.T.S. for more than a few years. Nevertheless the Y.T.S. presented the best job available for them. The physical conditions of their schemes reflected the market situation of themselves and the scheme in general. Direct Training (George) was a particularly poor scheme. Housed in the former depot of the local water authority the building was derelict and decaying when taken over in the Spring of 1983.

Table 6.5:   Employment Conditions of Supervisors 1984-85

	Scheme	Pay p.a.	Contract	Benefits	Self-Assessment of Workplace Conditions(1)	Researcher's Assessment of Workplace Conditions(2)
Percy	Dairy Products PLC	N/S(3)	Permanent	Canteen holiday/ sick pay pension	Excellent	Good
George	Direct Training	£6,135	Annual	Canteen	Average	Very bad
Jon	Engineering Training	8,320	Permanent	Canteen holiday/ sick pay pensions	Average	Good
Wendy	Retail Training	6,552	Monthly renewable	-	Poor	Poor
John	South Local Authority	6,864	Permanent	Canteen holiday/ sick pay protective clothing, tools, pensions	Good	Good
Morris		7,800	Permanent			
Liz	Special Needs	10,000	Permanent	Canteen holiday/ sick pay pension	Good	Good
Ken	Technology Training	6,800	Annual	Canteen holiday/ sick pay	Average	Average
Fred	Workshop Training	6,135	Annual	Canteen	Poor	Very bad

(1) Supervisors were asked in the questionnaire to rank their physical working conditions as a scale of five points ranging from excellent to very bad. Excellent was defined as well resourced, furnished and adequately heated conditions whilst very bad was defined as damp, cold, poorly resourced and inadequate conditions.

(2) Utilising the criteria cited above I assessed the physical working conditions experienced by supervisors during the period of research.

(3) Percy did not wish to state his salary. It would be fair to assume that he was paid more than the lower points received by others as he was employed by a national firm in a key role as health and safety officer.

It was an ironic fact that the contraction of employment in the water authority had released a building which now housed a Mode B1 scheme. Trainees and supervisors undertook much of the renovation work as part of their training. Even so a year later the building was draughty, damp and cold. Similarly Wendy and Fred worked in inadequate accommodation. Workshop Training (Fred) was housed in a disused factory building. Retail Training (Wendy) had two makeshift rooms partitioned off on the second floor of a furniture store which sold what the manager termed as "decent furniture at decent prices". The deprivations of pay and conditions experienced by Wendy, George and Fred cut across the boundary of the classification of scheme by Mode and O.T.F. Wendy worked on a Mode A scheme, George and Fred on Mode B1 schemes. In theory Mode B1 schemes received additional resources from the M.S.C. However in practice these schemes lacked the back-up of an ongoing business concern and existed on the periphery of local labour markets. Mode A schemes were much better resourced and accommodated. Yet Retail Training stood as a very evident exception to the general rule. (See Chapter Seven for a further discussion of scheme accommodation and training).

Jon of Engineering Training Ltd was by far the best paid in craft sectors earning £8,320 in 1984-85. His salary reflected the sort of sums somebody like Jon could command in industry. The movement of staff into industry was a real threat to the manager of the training association for the scheme was located in an industrial estate housing several branch plants of major engineering firms. A series of benefits for staff was a further prong of management policy designed to keep turnover low and staff/management relations positive. These policies

appear to work and few staff have left in the last five years. The scheme's financial situation was by contrast insecure and economic recession made firms less willing to support the work of Engineering Training Ltd but its substantial red brick building did present a strong physical representation of the scheme's standing in the Y.T.S. network.

John and Morris (South Local Authority) earned less than Jon although they were equally as well qualified in their trade. Their salaries, they argued, reflected the security of public sector employment and were, therefore, lower than those available in the private sector. However the benefits of employment with the authority were many:- protective clothing, tools, subsidised meals and general pension rights.

In contrast Ken (Technology Training) while extremely well trained was employed in what appears at first sight as relatively poor conditions. Yet the status of his scheme was high and additional funding from the Department of Trade and Industry ensured the scheme had up to date technical equipment. That fact plus Ken's wish to move back to the North East made the salary and conditions acceptable to him.

Both Percy (Dairy Products PLC) and Liz (Special Needs) were in the securest contexts of employment. Percy's firm was in extremely healthy condition hoping to expand in the locality. Liz worked for the Local Education Authority and had pay and conditions which are nationally set in agreement between management and trade unions. Both Liz and Percy enjoyed the benefits of their employment in nationally recognised settings.

Titmuss (1974, p.139) cited the growth in occupational welfare, of benefits in cash and in kind provided by employers, as indicative of the desire for "good human relations" in industry. As he noted the benefits of a work performance, occupational achievement and productivity model often go to those least in need of welfare. For the purpose of this study it is important that Titmuss as with Wedderburn and Craig (1974) identified the increasingly diminished value and relevance of salary, wage and income statistics. So Lockwood's definition of the market situation requires the inclusion of benefits in cash and kind so as to present a realistic assessment of the relative benefits of the job of the Y.T.S. supervisors on a number of differing schemes. By doing so, as illustrated in this study, the relevance of occupational welfare as a further indication of inequalities in the workplace is highlighted.

III. The Opportunities for Upward Mobility

The implementation of Y.T.S. created a new area of employment for adults and extended the labour market for trainers. The extent to which workers can "choose" is, of course, restricted by their own attributes or lack of them and by their lack of information about jobs (Brown, 1984, p.185). Y.T.S. also set up a series of internal labour markets. Jenkins et al (1983, p.265) argue that the benefits for employers of operating internal labour markets - the promotion of known and stable employees - does not constitute a control strategy. That control strategy is operated by demonstrating the possibilities of upward mobility in a period of economic recession. It often aids management in the control of industrial relations, whilst obviously, cutting the cost

of recruitment. So entry to the Y.T.S. might offer the potential for upward mobility. This creates a degree of employment dependence limiting employees to continuing within the organisation. In the case of the Y.T.S. it is possible to view the very network of schemes as an internal labour market.

Many Mode A schemes located in businesses, firms and local authorities were initially staffed by employees who moved into the Y.T.S. on a full-time or part-time basis. This movement of staff released posts encouraging the movement of other staff or the recruitment of new employees. Within Mode B1 schemes an internal labour market grew as a series of new points on the occupational order were created.

Recruitment to posts on the Y.T.S. presented a dilemma for managing agents. It was unlikely that a pool of professional trainers in sectors such as retail and food processing industries would be available. Even in sectors with a history of training, such as engineering, it was unlikely that a pool of trainers would be available to move on to Y.T.S. existed. Managing agents often decided to advertise for a potential trainer, skilled in the area of relevant job specific skills and not in training. For example, Direct Training advertised for a craft co-ordinator who should possess "comprehensive practical/craft background i.e. woodcraft, mechanics, etc. with supervisory/managerial experience". Experience in training and working with young people was identified as "an advantage, although formal qualifications are not a necessity". In fact advertisements for jobs on the Y.T.S. invariably sought the plumber, the painter, the engineer with the statement that

training and assistance in working with young people would be forthcoming. This method of recruitment may have limited interest from job seekers and in particular those from a predominantly training background. However it is a means of recruiting those with widely recognised skills so as to bring status and a form of permanence to the scheme. But many joined the scheme anticipating a further qualification would be added to their curriculum vitae. That was their personal benefit derived from a new and hopefully permanent training scheme. In short the Y.T.S. opened up a series of opportunities both for professional trainers and those willing to enter a new training scheme for young people.

The organisation of Y.T.S. schemes was generally structured as follows:-
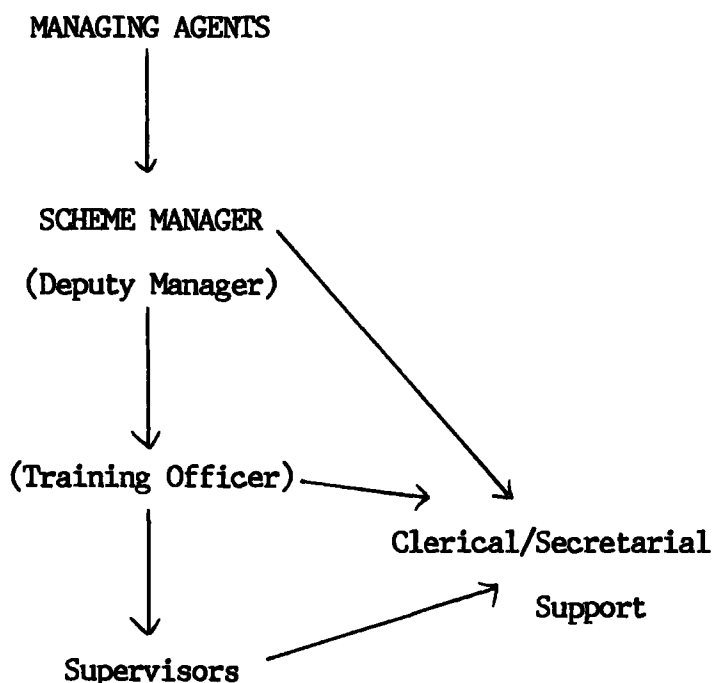
Figure 6.1 The Organisational Structure of a Y.T.S. Scheme

The posts of deputy manager and training officer were only present in larger schemes. In fact the M.S.C. would not fund a training officer post on schemes of less than 50 approved places. So the chances of upward mobility were severely limited in smaller schemes. However the possibilities of movement between schemes presented further existence of opportunities.

The job description of supervisors indicated the breadth of tasks they performed:- from a day a trainee started until the completion of the leaving certificate the supervisor was the main (or only) source of training and support. The role of the training officer was normally defined as co-ordinating and developing training provision. This overlapped with the supervisors' role and difficulties did arise (see section 3, B, II, of this chapter). Scheme management negotiated and liaised with M.S.C., careers officers, employers and parents. Whilst their role was not explicitly envied by the supervisors participating in this project it was identified as something they could and would do if given the chance. Obviously salary scales rose with points in the organisation. Scheme managers in 1984-85 earned between £8,500-£12,00 per annum depending on the location and size of the scheme and training officers between £7,500-£10,500 per annum. Supervisors viewed these posts as viable goals for the future.

Self assessment of their current labour market situations ranged from highly positive (eg. Jon of Engineering Training) to insecure (Wendy, Retail Training Ltd). Potential market situations were perceived in a number of ways.

A number of schemes did not appear to present any career structure. The organisational structure was two tier:- manager and supervisor eg. Direct Training and Retail Training Ltd. Wendy did carve out a future in the Y.T.S. but only by leaving Retail Training in 1985 to work in the more secure setting of a health authority scheme.

In complete contrast John, Morris, Jon and Ken viewed the coming years as offering a series of new opportunities for their profession - craft training - as it obtained a new found prominence. Within South Local Authority John perceived a potential opportunity for himself if Morris moved on to another scheme. Ken, Technology Training actively pursued the scheme manager post when it became vacant in 1986. Jon was more subdued than the others, he worked with a number of highly trained instructors and upward mobility within his scheme would be highly competitive although opportunities to work on other schemes were now more obvious.

Liz worked within a national labour market as a qualified teacher, she left the Special Needs scheme in 1985 for a higher grade post in a nearby college. In 1983-84 she actively pursued the concept of the Y.T.S. as providing a series of new opportunities in special needs work. She was in no doubt that she would work her way up the lecturers' scale. However the Y.T.S. would allow her to do that more speedily whilst developing teaching skills in her preferred area of work.

Percy was not interested in a career in the Y.T.S. Certainly he enjoyed the status of co-ordinating a small scheme but his first commitment was to his work as health and safety officer. He limited his world of employment to health and safety work. Others excluded themselves by not applying from a Mode B background to work on a Mode A scheme or to move from a supervisor to a manager. Opportunities for upward mobility were limited, within schemes, by the size, location and sector of the training schemes. An internal labour market was identifiable in the larger schemes. The Y.T.S. did open up a wider job market with the creation of a national network of training schemes backed up by the A.C. training programme. However many supervisors were restricted to employment in schemes with lower wage rates and relatively insecure conditions. The hierarchy of schemes was bringing with it a complex pattern of opportunities for some and restrictions for others.

B. Relations in the Workplace

I. Working with Trainees

> "This is the best job I've ever had. It's the trainees that
> make it good. The staff here are loyal to the job, to helping
> the trainees". (George, Direct Training)

George expressed a commitment to his job in vehement tones. His view was not unusual but one held by many supervisors. Against the backdrop of economic recession and rising levels of youth unemployment supervisors spoke of "doing something to help these kids". Yet there

was a school of thought, evident in the group of supervisors who participated in this project, that school leavers were receiving assistance in the form of Y.T.S. which they abused:

"I never had anything like this in my day. And these kids just expect this sort of thing now so they don't bother to try".
(Jon, Engineering Training Ltd)

This approach to the Y.T.S. and trainees presented a "common sense" perspective that assumed school leavers could find a job or a good Y.T.S. place if they really tried (Sinfield, 1981, p.114). Of course such perspectives are not uncommon in periods of unemployment. Nor is the linking of relief to work as epitomised by the Y.T.S. (Titmuss, 1974, p.35) but such were the levels of unemployment and its effects across all groups that these views were particularly unrealistic in the Northern Region during 1984.

Jon of Engineering Training Ltd went further and described the Y.T.S. as a "half baked scheme" which demeaned the apprenticeship form of training that he continued to work on alongside Y.T.S. He spent a disproportionate amount of time on Y.T.S., in comparison to other forms of training, in completing forms and dealing with trainee problems. It was these "problems" often concerned with a wish to change placement or difficulties in travelling to a placement which led Jon to comment:-

"This tendency to talk and listen to trainee complaints is a bad
one. With so many non-trainers involved in Y.T.S. they don't know
what these kids' can be like. These "carers" are liable just to
listen to the kids' side and believe me there are a lot of villains
about"

Jon argued that those new to a training role were "soft" both in terms
of the skill training they could provide and their own attitudes. He
had visited only a few of the schemes. However this did not deter him
from expressing his views. Jon argued that he was highly involved in
the local training network and aware of the reputations new schemes were
acquiring. He was also aware of the origins of many supervisors and
trainees. It was ironic to note that whilst Jon dismissed much of the
Y.T.S. his job was made all the more secure by Y.T.S. The association
had received apprentices from a nearby British Rail Engineering Works on
an annual basis. The closure of these works in the early 1980's had
resulted in a shortfall of apprentices. The arrival of the Y.T.S.
secured the financial future of the association. Despite this Jon
dismissed the Y.T.S. and said that he found the trainees conflicting
with his model of what "a committed, hard working, time serving crafts-
man (sic) is.

Jon created these conflicts for himself by adhering to a particular
model of training and trainee. His workplace was one of the few
remaining examples of the apprenticeship system within the locality.
Ken, Technology Training, had a lot of sympathy for this view but little
time to concern himself with it. Ken's scheme presented an illustration

of a new conflict between training and securing funds to maintain a training programme existing without the back-up of a wider organisation. Ken had to leave his trainees for at least one day a week to market the consultancy services of the centre. Between September 1984 and April 1985 he worked under increasing pressure to secure assembly work for the scheme. The closure of an engineering firm beside the scheme provided a solution. The scheme merely took over the firm's unfinished contracts and trainees now completed the production work:-

> "Problem with this place is that we are always having to make money. This isn't a training programme now. We are just fulfilling the contracts we can get in. The kids are often left with text books to get on with it. One said to me "Who's making money out of this then?". (Ken, Technology Training, April 1985)

To Ken this approach to training had been unthinkable but something he had to live with now. Ken was not alone in facing such a conflict. George, Direct Training, had to develop an ornamental iron work business to maintain the cash flow of the scheme. Initially George rationalised this as a means of acquainting young people with the notion of looking for work and being able to gain something extra if in paid employment. He was more concerned with the notion of an informal economy rather then setting up in business. Unlike Technology Training which secured contract work George and his trainees set out in the van twice a week to tour the area for work delivering goods as they went. Trainees were encouraged to make use of family and friends. George wryly commented

that these families "must be the best provided for metal plant pots and garden seats".

George expressed a tremendous empathy for his trainees. He had first hand experience of the bleak employment situation facing leavers. His expressed aim was to equip trainees to manage:-

"If it is a job they get - great. But few will get much more than a temporary job or seasonal work. They are good kids. They deserve better. I try to get them to realise what they can do. And that might involve doing a bit here and a bit there. So we get on with selling and making things with this in mind".

Former trainees returned to talk to George. He was, they said, "one of us; he knows what it is all about". George delighted in this relationship. He had status as a member of the trainees' group. Some called him by his nickname Geordie.

Local knowledge is important to the work of supervisors. This knowledge helped to secure placements and jobs for trainees via local contacts. However their local knowledge, their perceptions of local schools, housing estates and the labour market were brought into scheme life. Supervisors worked with a concept of "their sort of trainee".

Jon had firm opinions. Others were less explicit. Morris and John would never discourage a school leaver from applying to South Local Authority. Yet the scheme worked to a criterion of selection which gave

preference to local school leavers and those with 'O' levels or the equivalent. They argued that this was necessary as the Authority would be inundated with applications. It was the largest and securest employer in the locality. Underneath this overt concern for a fair selection process was as Morris put it the need to be sure "we attract the sort of school leaver who will want to take pride in their work". In short the right trainee was one with educational qualifications and what was defined as the "correct attitude". While Morris and John were swamped with applications (in 1984 there were 4 applications for every place). Workshop Training always had spare places Fred, Workshop Training, spoke in desperate tones of his trainees as "potential crooks, in fact I'm sure some of them are". Fred described the scheme as a "dumping ground":

> "I feel sorry for a lot of these kids. They are sent here or come
> with their pals and its the end. I can't get placements for them
> you know. When you ring up a firm and tell them its this scheme
> they just laugh. So what do you do?"

Fred felt his problems were compounded by the learning difficulties many trainees demonstrated. He had "not been employed to do this sort of work". Nor did the resources exist to support supervisors and trainees in such work.

Resourcing problems did directly affect supervisors ability to work with trainees as Wendy demonstrated in recounting one incident:-

"This trainee told me she thought she was pregnant. To get some
privacy I had to sit with her on the stairs which ran from the
living room suites to bedding showroom. We had to whisper, at times
she was sobbing. It's disgusting that we have to put up with such a
situation. Then this women came up the stairs and passed us. She
went over to the display of pillows and began rustling through them.
We went back to discussing how the trainee could tell her Mum. Well
this woman just came up behind us and bellowed "Do you know the
price of these, luv?" I got a pillow shoved in my face. I told the
woman that I didn't: that I was employed on the Y.T.S. scheme and
didn't work in the shop. Next thing she was making this incredible
noise shaking the pillows. The trainee began crying again.
Suddenly the whole display of pillows crashed around the feet of
this woman who began swearing. We were laughing and crying at once.
It's a disgrace. When you've got 80 trainees around, trying to cope
with change, possibly facing unemployment, there is a need for
counselling and accommodation that's adequate for it".
(Wendy, Retail Training, Mode B1, October, 1984)

That trainee was desperate. She appeared to have a future which Wendy
described as "all sown up - a baby, life on the social unless she gets
support now". That trainee had fallen into what Sharpe terms the "self-
fulfilling prophecy, the various labels that children fall under, like
female, working class and black, the particular school they attend, and
the streams to which they are allocated" (Sharpe, 1986, p.141). Whilst
Wendy sought to fight what she viewed as the inevitable process of

labelling other supervisors were not immune to utilising such labels themselves.

Supervisors demonstrated many prejudices favouring the qualified school leaver over the unqualified (if possible); the able in preference to those experiencing difficulties, and the recognised sectors of skill training as opposed to new areas of training. Gender divisions were adhered to by all the supervisors in the study. Some demonstrated an open adherence to such divisions despite assurances to the contrary by the local M.S.C. office. Liz, Special Needs, organised training based on separate programmes for "the boys and girls". The boys went with Mr Richard to do basic practical skills while the girls went with Miss Wilkinson to study needlework and food preparation. When asked if "girls and boys" do anything together the reply was:-

"Unfortunately no. Well you know they are very sexist up here. What can we do? There is no point in allowing the kids to operate within a framework which is at odds with reality. So no, we don't mix".

While Liz wished to integrate those with learning difficulties into the community she did not see any point in challenging gender divisions! Many supervisors said they would not stop a woman joining a non-traditional area of work but positive steps to encourage women to do so were not envisaged. These views were obviously at odds with the publicity of the M.S.C. concerning equal opportunities (see leaflet reproduced overleaf). Neither was the possibility of a young man

Youth Training Scheme

GIRLS!

Do you want to try something different but are you afraid to show your interest in case your friends laugh at you? Would you like the chance to try your hand at a 'boy's' job?
* electrician
* plumber
* engineer
* mechanic

AND BOYS!

Are you afraid to be different? Have you always wanted to try-
* working with children
* looking after old people
* personal secretary
* typing

Remember – It's up to you to decide what you want to do and the Youth Training Scheme can help you.

But perhaps you don't really know what you want to do and would like to "sample" a few opportunities first? The Youth Training Scheme can help you make the right choice.

What is the Youth Training Scheme?

It's a new scheme for employed or unemployed 16 year olds and some unemployed 17 year olds.

You can spend 12 months on the scheme. During that time you will get some general training and work experience, aimed at improving and developing your skills to help you get a good start in your working and adult life. It offers training and work experience in a wide range of job types and it could be your introduction to types of work which you may not even have considered up to now.

Find out more about what the Youth Training Scheme has to offer by asking your careers teacher, careers officer or your local jobcentre. Then make up your own mind.

"The Opportunities are There For You"

M.S.C. Leaflet on Equal Opportunities, August, 1983

Page 285

wishing to take up a female area of work, such as community care. In fact, George defined college courses as "something the girls did; dressmaking and the like". He was apparently unaware of the availability of day release courses relevant to numerous areas of skill training. His views pervaded those of his trainees and they took a dim view of formal education as being something "feminine" and therefore not to be undertaken. (c.f. Willis, 1977)

It was not unusual for supervisors to refer to their teenage children, the problems they faced and how they would wish their children to be treated. Wendy referred to her son who was leaving school. Morris talked of his daughter entering her last year of school. John too talked of his children in their twenties and how they had managed the transition from school to work.

Those supervisors who described the Y.T.S. as a "good job", "the best I've ever had" demonstrated a positive view of their trainees linked to their personal experiences (eg. George, Direct Training) or concerns felt for their children (eg. John and Morris, South Local Authority). Jon, of Engineering Training Ltd had a negative view of the Y.T.S. describing 4 trainees who dropped out of the scheme as "preferring their beds". Relations between supervisors and trainees were instilled by the supervisors perspective of the Y.T.S. and individual experiences of child care.

Jon's trainees were never observed talking to him in anything other than a directly related work situation while trainees at Durham Direct jostled with each other to gain the attention of George.

II. Working with Colleagues

"Through the medium of policies for education and training, for recognition of professional privileges, and for industrial relations, government play a substantial role in the development of the institutional framework which ..... impinge significantly on the organisation and manning of the labour process".
(Child, 1985, p.135)

The structure of schemes denoted, by this training policy, presented an occupational classification with a hierarchical structure. That institutional framework imposed a series of social and economic inequalities via hierarchy and rules. Yet as Wedderburn and Craig (1974, p.143) note ..."there is considerable scope for variation in the interpretation of formal rules". The scope for variation, or otherwise, may be evident in work place relations with peer group and management in assessing the "scope for variation" it is possible to identify management styles and supervisory reactions to that; to establish organisational factors such as the company traditions, and enable a clearer understanding of task dimensions.

A starting point for an analysis of work place relations can be "the distribution of authority and power" (Boguslaw, 1965, p.188) which may

also allow an understanding of differences between schemes. Boguslaw defined authority as "institutionalised power" and power as the "ability to apply force, rather than ...its actual application" (ibid). Within schemes the manager held power. Varying with the context of a scheme power might be limited by the M.S.C. For example Liz at Special Needs running the scheme for trainees with learning needs and disabilities acted as a free agent as her subject area was outside the framework of reference for local M.S.C. officials, and to a large extent, the college administration. By contrast, Workshop Training totally dependent on M.S.C. funds with little history of training or expertise in skilled areas of work received numerous visits from the M.S.C. The scheme manager felt their role and independence was severely constrained.

Within schemes managers worked with differing degrees of autonomy to direct the Y.T.S.training. The level and nature of management's intervention on a scheme varied greatly. Percy of Dairy Products PLC stated that he was "in charge". The workplace relations with other staff working on the scheme were described thus:-

> "it's the men here who look after trainees on a day to day basis. But of course I am in charge. This is an extra duty to my job. As the men are very busy you should always contact me and I will inform you as to what is happening".

A strict hierarchy was in place. The men reported to Percy who in turn presented a weekly report to the firms' manager. The M.S.C. spoke to

Percy despite the fact that he did not spend much time with the trainees. His authority was not challenged.

It is difficult for any employee in a hierarchical organisation to challenge institutionalised power for it may affect their job security and future prospects. Yet disputes do occur and the Y.T.S. was not immune to such events. At Retail Training Ltd the scheme staff found themselves in dispute with the sponsoring agents over the staffing and accommodation of the scheme. Wendy was employed on a monthly contract; the training officer and manager on annual contracts. They were accommodated in several small rooms sectioned off from a showroom floor of a furniture store by thin partition panels. The staff met regularly to discuss the training programme and the progress of trainees. It became evident to both the scheme staff and the M.S.C. that the nature of the scheme involving numerous placement locations necessitated additional staff and accommodation. The managing agents, the directors of a small family run furniture store, refused to discuss these issues. Despite continual complaints from placement supervisors, trainees and supervisors, the status quo remained. The M.S.C. refused to intervene allowing the working of the scheme to be restricted by the authority of the managing agents. To rectify the situation might involve the M.S.C. in arguing with a private firm to spend more on training:- a delicate situation and politically sensitive one in a locality already restricted in the provision of Mode A places. Yet in the face of adversity the scheme staff worked closely and in an integrated fashion. They were highly regarded for their abilities in keeping the scheme running.

At Technology Training the scheme manager encouraged staff to meet and
voice complaints concerning the introduction of contractual work to the
training programme. Whilst regular staff meetings were not encouraged
the manager did not allow discontentment to rumble. When scheme staff
presented their concerns the manager told staff they could leave. He
stated he would get the "correct" staff even if it meant a lot of
changes. Staff morale was low and discontentment openly voiced. Once
the M.S.C. made it clear they were unwilling to support the supervisors
morale remained low. The conflict between training and production work
was not adequately addressed and individuals just got on with their job
as best they could.

If staff at Retail Training and Technology Training found mutual support
in the face of problems affecting the nature and delivery of training,
supervisors at Direct Training were divided as they strove to secure
their jobs. The scheme manager did not make a veiled threat when she
stated that she would "have to go through a number of supervisors to get
people who can communicate with young people". In 1984 four of the
eight staff left. By 1985 all but two of the original staff had left.
The local M.S.C. programme officer described the atmosphere of the
scheme as pervaded by "an air of fear". George liked his job. He did
not wish to risk anything by supporting supervisors who were asked to
leave. He kept to himself and did not socialise with colleagues outside
the workplace. This behaviour stood at odds with his friendly and
gregarious nature expressed towards trainees.

The organisation and management of many schemes suggested attempts to involve members of staff in the running of the scheme. Weekly team meetings were held at South Local Authority. The scheme co-ordinators and management met to discuss problems and plan training programmes. Morris enjoyed his new found status and working as part of a team. But the placement supervisors were not included. They worked under the constraints of the various sections in the Authority:-

"They don't get any extra time or paid supervisory rates. And if they have problems with trainees they have to get us. You do get resentment. Some feel they are being used" (Morris, South Local Authority)

John expressed a view that the scheme co-ordinator responsible for training in each skill area did not wish to involve placement supervisors in anything but a superficial manner. He considered that unacceptable particularly for those placement supervisors trained in craft skills often supervising the apprenticeship scheme as well. In South Local Authority a long tradition of involvement of skill training lent status to those involved in training and co-ordinators had to recognise that.

Certain areas of training may be regarded more highly by supervisors because of their beliefs in the value and relevance of training. Those beliefs may converge or conflict with an image presented by the M.S.C., industry and the media. The M.S.C. keenly promoted electronics, computing and information technology. However such sectors of training

often had to exist alongside less fashionable areas such as painting and decorating, bricklaying and catering:

> "I didn't know what I was letting myself in for. The post was
> advertised as electronics supervisor. I get here and I am told to
> set up a new section with an additional grant. Great you'd think
> but the other staff are really resentful. They see this sort of
> work getting more attention". (Fred, Workshop Training)

Fred, new to the the Y.T.S., was isolated by this division. As he experienced a number of problems (a shortage of time to set up the section and the lack of possible placements) he became accepted as one of the staff.

The Y.T.S. guidelines suggested a particular institutional framework for the organisation of the scheme. That framework was adapted by companies and authorities already established in labour management and training. The nature of the scheme at Dairy Products PLC reflected the organisation of the firm as a whole and that suggested a hierarchical and authoritarian structure. South Local Authority management practised a more open form of liaison. Scheme staff were encouraged to discuss issues and involve other members of the authority. The work relations between supervisors provided great support to others in response to a series of problems. But ultimately supervisors were isolated unable to obtain support from the M.S.C. in the face of evident and serious problems. Insecurity was a divisive factor particularly for supervisors working on schemes totally dependent upon the M.S.C. for funds.

II. Relations with the M.S.C. and Other Groups

"Y.T.S. is my wall chart. That one there. If the M.S.C. come in I
point to that. They know that things are organised according to
that chart so they don't bother me".
(Percy, Dairy Products PLC, September 1984)

Percy's authoritative manner and situation in a Mode A national scheme
made him immune to the visits of M.S.C. officials. If he saw them more
than once a month it was exceptional. George at Direct Training
anticipated at least six visits per month from the M.S.C. Careers
staff, local employers and the community development officer also
visited the scheme on a regular basis. But it was the intensity of
M.S.C. visits which were noticed at Direct Training:-

"They come and just stand and look. You get to wonder what they are
thinking. You know if you have done something wrong they won't tell
you but the manager". (George, Direct Training)

The development of constructive one to one relations between supervisors
at Direct Training and local M.S.C. officials appeared impossible.
George remarked that the scheme staff felt "heavily policed" as they
were a Mode B1 scheme and a possible target for a cut in provision. The
suggestion that the M.S.C. might be concerned about the training as all
the supervisors were new to a training role was dismissed. "They don't
care about what we say or think". (George, Direct Training).

The Special Needs scheme was rarely visited by the M.S.C. Visitors to this scheme tended to be from medical services or other educational institutions.

> "The M.S.C. wouldn't know what to do if they came here. They are happy that somebody is providing this sort of scheme. To tell you the truth I think they are frightened to meet the trainees with disabilities. They tell me I'm the expert and they're quite happy for me to get on with things."
> (Liz, Special Needs)

Liz received support from the sources she valued. She argued that the M.S.C. had little to offer her in support but she had a lot to offer them by providing this scheme. Liz rarely met anyone else working in the Y.T.S. network. She briefly made contact with Eastern Centre but she found the scheme so demanding that she rarely left it for any reason.

Relations with the M.S.C. varied between and within schemes. Some supervisors rarely spoke to the M.S.C., the scheme manager directly liaising with the manager eg. George, Direct Training. A different situation was experienced by John and Morris of South Local Authority. Supervisors experienced a differing number of visits from the M.S.C. The nature of visits also varied ranging from encouragement, identified by John and Morris of South Local Authority, to disinterest, Liz Special Needs, and active policing, George, Direct Training. Monitoring is a key process in identifying abuses and establishing a <u>national</u> scheme.

However the local M.S.C. officials operated with certain assumptions concerning schemes. Certain schemes were patently manipulating the Y.T.S. guidelines to suit the needs of management e.g. Technology Training, whilst others worked closely with documentation as the only available format, eg. Direct Training. The differing manner in which schemes were monitored resulted from officials' awarding status to certain sectors and schemes with a history in previously widely recognised areas of training. This process further reinforced divisions between schemes both reflecting and acting to reinforce a hierarchy of schemes.

Supervisors had little opportunity to meet each other and compare their situation and jobs. Attending courses at the A.C. and meetings of the programme area user groups afforded supervisors with the main opportunity to meet each other. These meetings were viewed in a positive fashion by the majority of supervisors but dismissed strongly by Jon, Engineering Training Ltd. Eastern Centre was identified by him as full of "carers" with little notion of the real problem of training young people. The user group was said by Jon to be "biased towards education and local authority interests" and yet George of Direct Training found the meetings frustrating as the M.S.C. would not be drawn into discussion. Jon dismissed M.S.C. involvement; George found it confusing and unhelpful. However these forums presented situations in which disparities between schemes became apparent.

The actual variations between schemes were discussed but rarely experienced. As this research project continued I was asked if

supervisors perceptions of other schemes were realistic. There was a wish for knowledge of the Y.T.S. network. Fred, Workshop Training arranged to visit Ken of Technology Training. He wished to view the equipment of the ITEC which he believed to be abundant and sophisticated. A conversation between Fred and Ken demonstrated the disparities between schemes:-

Fred   You have great facilities here. Your trainees seem different too - more interested. I know I've been told I'll get the best trainees but even so I doubt they'll be as keen as this lot.

Ken   Well you're at the top end of training - information technology. I wouldn't worry. Your trainees stand a better chance of getting a job.

Fred   Yes. The boss and other supervisors know that. Even so this place is great, much better. I'd love a job here. It's like the whole scheme is purpose built.

Training in technology was awarded a high status in both settings. Yet the inadequate resources in Workshop Training meant that Fred did not have the same equipment as Ken nor did he feel he would work with able trainees. Their meeting confirmed many of Fred's fears. It also gave him hope that he might find a job on a scheme such as Technology Training.

Meeting careers officers and prospective employers were not unusual events. Direct Training maintained close links with the local coal mine. Whilst there were not any jobs available for trainees, as the pit was due to close in 1984, there was the potential for gaining equipment at no or low cost. George often popped down to the mine to keep up the contact and on closure of the pit the scheme did benefit by receiving various pieces of equipment. It was ironic that the scheme should benefit from the closure and resultant redundancies of the largest local employer. The scheme positively benefited from a further example of economic recession.

Morris visited local firms to organise visits for trainees for example a visit to a brick factory, furniture factory and local craft centre. A pride in craft was encouraged. This was for Morris and the trainees an enjoyable series of visits. A more problematic relationship was that between the scheme staff and the construction union U.C.A.T.T. as the scheme applied to the union to have the year on the Y.T.S. count towards the apprenticeship training. The dilemma for Morris was to convince the union that by allowing a dispensation for this scheme they would not devalue the apprenticeship training in which Morris and the union placed so much of their identity as skilled workers. The union turned down the application but only after a series of visits to the scheme and long negotiations. Scheme staff accepted this although unhappy that their scheme was not regarded highly enough by the union negotiators.

Wendy, Retail Training, was also involved in negotiations with the retail trade union U.S.D.A.W. Fearful of job substitution apparently

taking place in a national retail firm the union asked for all Y.T.S.
trainees on placement at that shop to be withdrawn. Wendy described
this as an "unenviable task". Trainees enjoyed the glamour of working
in the national retail outlets. Nevertheless she welcomed the unions'
decision for this provided her with a mandate to remove trainees from a
firm which she herself felt was substituting adult workers with
trainees. Often she felt unable to challenge substitution such was the
dependence upon such outlets for placements.

The involvement of the media presented schemes with unforeseen problems.
South Local Authority was regarded as a highly prestigious scheme by the
M.S.C. and it formed part of tours designed by the M.S.C. for
politicians, employers and foreign delegations. Morris and John met
delegations from Germany, Malaysia, and Mauritius. They found
themselves propelled into the world of politics with little experience
of such events. Independent television regularly visited the scheme for
items for local news broadcasts. Newspapers, local and national, also
dropped in. The local M.S.C. programme officer spoke of John and
Morris' "new career as diplomats". John and Morris did not have to seek
publicity. It found them and it often had to be controlled. George,
Direct Training remarked with envy on the number of stories concerning
the scheme in the local media. He had to cajole journalists in the
local free papers to visit his scheme. He worked under the maxim that
publicity would help secure the scheme. It would be less liable to cuts
if a high profile was maintained. Certainly the local M.S.C. staff were
aware of this strategy but remarked that it would not stop them from

curtailing scheme provision. But any cut in provision "would be well thought out" (local programme officer, M.S.C., January 1985).

The nature of supervisors' relations with various groups demonstrated the level of confidence they experienced from their own employment and the situation of their scheme in the evident hierarchy of schemes. The position of supervisors in the division of labour ranging from the struggle of George, Direct Training in a low status scheme with poor conditions, to the confidence of John and Morris, South Local Authority, was clearly evident in the set of social relationships in which they found themselves. By 1985 the divisions between schemes evident in a hierarchy were a self fulfilling prophecy:- schemes such as South Local Authority moved from strength to strength and the supervisors accordingly. The fact that this Authority and Engineering Training Ltd were now being subsidised for training they had always undertaken went largely unnoticed

4. Conclusion

This chapter opened with a discussion of the importance of paid employment to the individual (and their family) as the purveyor of income, status and identity (Jahoda, 1983, p.310). Employment on Y.T.S. offered the potential for supervisors to remain in a significant arena of routine action, that is, employment in known sectors and localities (Robinson and Sadler, 1985, p.118). It was noted that occupations are ranked according to a number of variables including status, criteria of entry, the historical evolution of an occupation, the relevance of that

occupation to the economic and social well being of a society. But the most pervasive forms of division in the occupational order are related to gender, age and skill.

John Child noted the changing role of the supervisor from that of the person crucial to the maintenance and reproduction of workplace relations and divisions, to the role of interface between management demands and an organised workforce (Child, 1975, p.74). However the role of trainer remains distinctive acting as a gatekeeper to sectors of work defined as skilled. The dictonomy between the role of supervisor and trainer, as described above, provides a framework for the analysis of the role of the Y.T.S. supervisors:- is the supervisor performing a supervisory role inducting trainees with workplace discipline, relations and low level skill training or is the supervisor acting as trainer ensuring the entry of trainees into skilled sections of work?

In the self analysis of their job content supervisors were heavily involved in the counselling and task supervision of trainees. Whilst they could not operate any control on the finances of the scheme and little on the resourcing of their sections all suggested they were able to control much of their work with trainees. There were constraints upon their ability to do so and these varied with the locality of the scheme. But the ability of supervisors to control their work might suggest that supervisors had a clear definition of that work and their role. This was not the case. Analysis of the ethnographic data illustrated the complexity of both market and work situations.

In terms of reference groups (Child, 1975, p.82) Wendy, Retail Training Ltd and George, Direct Training were the "cadets" (see Table 6.6). They had not achieved a recognised qualification in their sector of work and yet they were placed in a role which was said to involve training. The specialist craftsmen, Jon, Engineering Training, Morris and John, South Local Authority and Ken, Technology Training, had undertaken qualifications in training and instructional skills prior to the inception of Y.T.S.

Ken had moved into the Y.T.S. with the aim of "making the scheme work". John and Morris perceived a longer term role for themselves. Their paternalistic attitudes towards trainees and pride in skills and craft would locate them more firmly in the category of trainer as a developer of the trainees. Jon's response to Y.T.S. was to dismiss it as incidental to his main work of training apprentices. He was the expert. However Davies and Burgoyne (1983, pp.6-7) define this as a trainer with a systematic view of training. Jon certainly held a systematic view of training but his concept of training did not incorporate Y.T.S. Percy too did not find much in the Y.T.S. to interest him bar his "wall chart". George and Wendy admitted concern and confusion but their knowledge of their locality and empathy for young people, directed them towards an identity based upon a trainee centred working. Their occupation reference groups were vague having passed through a series of jobs. A role as a supervisor presented increased security and status. By contrast, Fred, Workshop Training, was totally confused and extremely concerned as to what Y.T.S. would bring. The Y.T.S. was a side step

from his preferred career path and one he did not wish to pursue. George, Wendy and Fred were the seekers.

Liz, Special Needs, actively worked within a sector of the Y.T.S. in which she was an expert. She operated within a national labour market as a qualified teacher. The Y.T.S. presented a new opportunity in her area of expertise. She was not committed to Y.T.S. and openly disregarded the ethos of the scheme e.g. the gender division inherent throughout the programme.

The supervisors included in this study demonstrated a variety of training identities and worked to a series of reference groups. The typology presented in Table 6.6 draws both categories together to present a profile of supervisors market and work situations.

An examination of the training identities and reference groups of supervisors illustrates their varied experiences of employment and training. Their past experiences are invariably indicative of their circumstances within the Y.T.S. and the potential of occupational mobility. An occupational order not only existed within schemes but was evident in any comparison of employment between schemes.

Table 6.6 The Reference Group & Training Identity of Supervisors

Supervisor	Scheme	Reference Group(1)	Training Identity(2)
Percy	Dairy Products PLC	Time Server	Seeker (dismissal)
George	Direct Training	Cadet	Seeker (trainees)
Jon	Engineering Training	Craftsman	Expert
Wendy	Retail Training Ltd	Cadet	Seeker (trainees)
Morris	South Local Authority	Craftsman	Developer (trainees)
John	South Local Authority	Craftsman	Developer (trainees)
Liz	Special Needs	Professional	Developer (self)
Ken	Technology Training	Craftsman	Specialist Professional
Fred	Workshop Training	Frustrated Achiever	Seeker (confused)

(1) Categories drawn from Child (1975, p.82) discussed in section 1B of this Chapter.

(2) Categories largely drawn from Davies and Burgoyne (1983, p.p. 6-7) bar the category - seeker. See discussion in section 1B of this Chapter for further explanation.

The ranking of jobs within the broad category of the Y.T.S. supervisor were based upon definitions of relevant and recognised skills. The craftsmen were working in male dominated skilled areas of work. They were the classic trainers. The concept of a career in training remained firmly located in the skilled and lower middle class occupations. This is one of the more persistent inequalities between the classes and occupational groups which remains largely unrecognised (Sinfield, 1981, p.125).

The term Y.T.S. supervisor appears not to identify a coherent occupational group. In fact it is a term which cloaks the inequalities evidenced in a hierarchy of schemes based upon the status and location awarded to training programme. But were they "supervisors" or "trainers"? This is an important distinction for the supervisor is generally defined as the interface between management while the trainer acts as a gate keeper to recognised and regarded qualifications. This question can only be answered by an examination of what is understood by the term "training" within the schemes included in this research for what may be defined as a trainer's role by some is no more than a supervisory role to others. Chapter Seven explores the concept of training epitomised in the day to day work of schemes incorporated in this study. The experiences of trainees undertaking Y.T.S. courses are the focus for Chapter 7.

CHAPTER 7

The Trainees: Participating in the Youth Training Scheme

1. **SETTING THE SCHEME**

    A. Introduction
    B. The Data
    C. Training for What?

2. **SETTLING FOR YTS**

    A. Introduction
    B. Dreams and Reality

3. **THE TRAINING PROGRAMME**

    A. Induction
    B. The Content of the Training Programme
    C. What about the Union?
    D. Friend or Foe? Relations with Supervisors
    E. Time Spent off the Scheme

4. **LEAVING YTS**

    A. The Destinations
    B. Case Studies
    C. An Overview

5. **CONCLUSION**

304·a

Chapter 7:

The Trainees: Participating in the Youth Training Scheme

1. Setting the Scene

A. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with the experiences of the Y.T.S. trainees participating in the schemes incorporated in this study. The aims of the chapter are:-

1. to examine the processes by which trainees arrive on particular schemes;

2. to identify and examine the content of the training programme experienced by trainees;

3. to establish and analyse the destination of these Y.T.S. leavers.

The young people on the Y.T.S. schemes were aged 16-17 and had predominantly joined the scheme within four months of leaving school. This was a critical period after schooling in which their expectations were both challenged and reinforced. Through a period of schooling and after, social and cultural reproduction inculcates the next generation of workers with values and attitudes appropriate to their position in the occupational hierarchy (Wallace, 1986, p.93). Gender, class and race

divisions in the labour market, the family and the education system have
all been reproduced in parallel in the course of the transition to
adulthood. The introduction of the Y.T.S. poses a particular
implication for a transition to adulthood which has been strongly based
upon entry into the labour market (see Willis, 1977 and Pollert, 1981).
The chapter addresses these issues in three main sections which present
and analyse the data viz:-

Settling for Y.T.S.

The Training Programme

Leaving Y.T.S.

B. The Data

Whilst visiting the schemes to observe the work of supervisors, trainees
began to voice their concerns and tell their stories. Over the Y.T.S.
year 1984-5 I drew together a group of trainees from each scheme, on
several occasions, to discuss various aspects of their training. There
was no format to the discussions. However the discussions were related
to the particular point they had reached in the training programme.
Additional data, in particular statistical evidence on the destination of
leavers, was obtained from scheme managers via the questionnaire
(reproduced in Appendix II) and further interviews conducted in the
Autumn of 1985.

C. Training for What?

"training: to bring to a desired standard of efficiency or condition
or behaviour...by instruction and practice; to undergo such a
process: to teach and accustom (a person) to do something."

This dictionary definition of the word training demonstrates the manner
in which the content and process of training are ultimately subjective in
nature. A statement of intent, a series of guidelines and stated
programme of monitoring may profess to be the activities and outcomes of
a training course but it is within the actual process of training that
the dichotomy between the stated and the reality of a training programme
becomes evident. Each Y.T.S. scheme is in nature and content the product
of a number of variables ranging from the organisational setting, to the
history in training (if any) in that organisation and the background of
trainees and trainers. It is in the inter-relationship between trainer
and trainee that much of the dichotomy can be identified.

The fundamental premise of the Y.T.S. is stated as being:

"the need to develop and maintain a workforce which is flexible and
adaptable and has the capacity to transfer the skills with minimum
retraining to new and changing areas of employment brought about by
increasingly rapid technological advance." (M.S.C., 1982a, p.1)

The meanings attributed to such terms flexible, adaptable, skill and
retraining remain unstated in any clear sense. The guidelines and the

Y.T.S. programme design present a series of parameters but the M.S.C. appears to baulk at any suggestion of clear definitions emphasising instead what it sees as the "advantage in constructing schemes to include groupings of skills that span occupational boundaries." (ibid)

By emphasising a broad based scheme the M.S.C. are encouraging (actively or otherwise) diverging interpretations of the guidelines for the Y.T.S. Certainly a national training programme cannot be too rigid. It must allow for the differing contexts of training:- the state of local labour markets and the nature and interests of trainees. As indicated in this thesis there exist marked differences in the interpretations of guidelines. This led to confusion. It also led to the manipulation of guidelines to suit the interests of organisations and the trainers therein. And such was the speed with which places were approved that the applicability of training places to the current or potential needs of local labour markets was not directly considered.

Stringer and Williamson (1987, p.36) describe the manner in which training management has shifted from statutory arrangements as epitomised by the inception of industrial training boards in 1964 to the voluntary but certainly controlled arrangements of schemes such as the Y.T.S. This was a major shift in policy which must be characterised as radical rather than incremental. Stringer and Williamson (ibid) identify a series of events which gave rise to such a radical shift in policy. Certainly the recession and a sharp rise in unemployment presented the Government with a politically sensitive problem. But the disarray of business and union groups, in the face of recession, left a gap perceived by Government.

This was filled by a central body regulating voluntary arrangements namely the M.S.C. So not only are the guidelines for the Y.T.S. open to numerous forms of interpretation but the management of the scheme demonstrates a belief that statutory arrangements would be replaced by satisfactory voluntary arrangements simply monitored by a central body. The data presented in this chapter seeks to question the feasibility of such arrangements as illustrated by the monitoring of schemes as a consequence of this study.

In their respective studies Cockburn (1987, p.46) and Coffield, Borrill and Marshall (1986, p.p. 80-85) identify an urgent need by the young people they met, for employment. The young people in the studies living at either end of the country - London and Newcastle - identified the common equation of a wage equalling independence and hence adulthood as one they wished to work towards. It was not the nature of the employment that concerned them but rather the financial incentive and reward of work. Y.T.S. trainees, often leaving school with fewer qualifications than their peers who remained at school and placed in a suspension between the "degradation and boredom of being unemployed and the exploitation and boredom of the dead end jobs that have traditionally been allotted to the young working-class." (Cockburn, 1987, p.48) viewed the allowance as a positive incentive to enter the Y.T.S.

Wallace (1986, pp.97-111) in a longitudinal study of 153 young people living on the Isle of Sheppy demonstrated the changes occurring in social and cultural reproduction in the period from adolescence to adulthood. The process of entering adulthood is closely associated with entry to

employment. This was taking longer for both males and females, and, as a consequence, social expectations and symbolic codes that define expected behaviour were challenged. Social Security changes added to the problem resulting in lengthy periods of financial dependence upon families (ibid).

Coffield, Marshall and Borrill (1986, p.199) in their study of young people growing up in the North East chartered the alternatives to paid employment being explored:- part-time work, the informal economy and for young women the status of motherhood. Gaining some form of independent income was the goal.

Income is not just secured through employment or in the case of the Y.T.S. trainees, via the allowance. There are unofficial forms of work "something on the side" and benefit "the dole", provide sources of income outside and alongside the allowance on the Y.T.S. Some trainees were paid a "top-up" a small payment additional to the allowance. They were invariably participating in Mode A schemes with large, secure firms (in this study trainees at South Local Authority were paid £4 per week top-up). For other trainees the possibilities of "something on the side" was the only available perk. (See preceding chapter and George's (Direct Training) work with trainees and the possibilities of "something on the side" arising from the welding work on scheme.) There are obvious divisions in the occupational order (Parkin, 1971, p.310) and within the workplace (Wedderburn and Craig, 1974, 141). Trainees were no less immune than others to the workings of the inequalities within the Y.T.S. (Coffield, Borrill and Marshall, op cit, p.115). However it is debatable

as to whether the Y.T.S. merely perpetuates inequalities evident in the educational system (Burgess, 1984, p.118) or creates a series of divisions more complex resultant from recruitment on to schemes, the context of those schemes and the state of the local labour market which trainees, ultimately, enter. To evaluate the nature and causes of the divisions on the Y.T.S. data is presented which illustrates the pay, conditions, experiences and future prospects of trainees. This presentation must be set within the context of a local labour market.

The North East is as diverse as any region in the United Kingdom. Areas of relative prosperity exist alongside the multiple deprivations experienced by many communities (North Region Councils' Association 1986). School leavers complete education with fewer qualifications than those in other regions (Northern Region Councils' Association, 1986, p. 31). Despite M.S.C. measures the number of young unemployed (16-18) in the region remained at just under 30,000 between 1982-6, i.e. the main period of this research. As noted in Chapter One the economy of County Durham was shifting from a relatively buoyant mining and manufacturing economy to one dominated by services (Durham County Council, 1983, p.1). The service sector is often characterised by low paid, insecure and often seasonal employment (Cockburn, 1987, p.5). This may be the main constituent of the job market in which trainees might compete for employment. Yet areas of skill shortages exist (Trade Union Studies Information Unit, 1988, p.10-12); for example in computing, machinist work, technical and management services. These are jobs that necessitate training in a particular process and often require documentary evidence

of training undertaken. Does the Y.T.S. in Co. Durham aim to match training to such areas of evident skill shortages and hence direct trainees towards their ultimate goal, a job?

One indication is in the number of school leavers gaining positions as Y.T.S. employees. The number of Y.T.S. employees in the region was and remains at one third of the level in the South East at approximately 6% of all trainees (T.U.S.I.U., 1988, p.2).

The insecure situation of the unemployed on the Y.T.S. ie. the trainees, was compounded by their deprivation from most of the benefits and safeguards that protect employees. For example, trainees were not covered by Industrial Injury Benefit, and race and sex discrimination legislation once recruited on to a scheme (Coffield, Borrill and Marshall, 1986, p.115).(1) This begs the examination of the safety and quality of the trainee experience on the Y.T.S. as well as the possible destination of scheme leavers. In fact there remains two illuminating questions to be addressed viz:-

1. What is meant by the term training as illuminated by the activities of the schemes incorporated in the study? and

2. in the light of the preceding question what is the relevance of the training on Y.T.S. to the destination of Y.T.S. leavers?

(1) See Appendix I for a detailed guide to the rights of trainees, 1983.

2. Settling for Y.T.S.

A. Introduction

The trainees I met in 1984 left school at a time when the level of youth unemployment remained persistently high showing no indication of lowering (Northern Region Council' Association, 1986, p.27). Yet amongst all the trainees I spoke to there was a loudly expressed and urgent wish for a job:- a "proper job, not just one of those schemes". As they waited they expressed ambivalent attitudes to unemployment. They expected to experience unemployment prior to or after the Y.T.S. Unemployment is no stranger to the North East (Pimlott, 1985, p. 350). Memories of earlier periods of high unemployment persist. The trainees spoke of unemployment in familiar tones. Many had a member or members of their household unemployed. Would it happen to them? The majority hoped it would not but assumed that it would. What they expressed concern over was the possible length of unemployment. Long term unemployment, a phenomenon new to the experiences of school leavers, was most feared. In short they accepted what seemed inevitable - a period of unemployment - but feared the unknown - long-term unemployment.

The Y.T.S. was talked of as something second best to a job. It was "something to do" and "something that would help in getting a job". Dawn on the Retail Training Ltd scheme commented "rather a year on the Y.T.S. than one on the dole". Many termed their training allowance "their wage" and spoke of "going to work". They did want to work and

not appear to be "skiving" a term commonly associated by trainees with the unemployed:-

> "My parents are sympathetic but they think if you try hard enough there must be a job - something, somewhere". (Peter, trainee, Direct Training)

Even in a period of high unemployment in a region where the experience of unemployment remains vivid in local history it was still suggested that a job could be found if a young person tried hard enough.

B. Dreams and Realities

Whilst still at school all had some idea what they wanted to do. For example, Dawn wanted to be a hairdresser; Howard, a bricklayer; Peter a bus driver and Joanna a nursery nurse. The gender divide in local labour market expectations was clearly evident (Cockburn, 1987, p.4). The young women did not talk of marriage as a priority but certainly as a goal. The private sphere of home life was a concern for these women in a more obvious and central manner than that of the potential "breadwinners", the males (Wallace, op cit). When I met these young people they were already on Y.T.S. schemes. Dawn was on Retail Training placed in a shop; Howard at South Local Authority was receiving training in construction work; Peter was doing welding at Direct Training, and Joanna was undertaking clerical work at Workshop Training. Howard was the only one in this group, to find himself on a scheme relevant to his "dream" of work. In total I spoke to 25 trainees on the eight schemes

incorporated in the study. Of those there were only five who like Howard had progressed into an area of training which would hold some relevance to their "dream" job. These young people did not have wild dreams of becoming an air hostess, an estate agent or a teacher. But even their modest hopes were dashed as they made a series of compromises to arrive on the Y.T.S. in 1984. How had this scaling down of aspirations taken place? And how did Howard manage to move towards his hopes for a job whilst the others did not?

Early studies of the employment destination of school leavers were termed the study of occupational choice. Such studies were based upon the theories of Ginzberg et al (1951, p.3), that choice did exist and this resulted from the "right of the individual to choose". The role of the careers office began to evolve into one based upon "guiding young people into adulthood" (Roberts, 1972, p.8); of advising and counselling. However this theory proved to be at odds with the reality of the situation facing school leavers. Roberts (ibid) argued that choice could hardly be said to be central to outcomes if individuals rarely got what they wanted. A series of causal factors resulting in occupational segregation were identified:- the structure of local labour markets; the effects of the family situation; systems of qualification and certification, and knowledge of socialisation in the workplace. As Cockburn (1987, p.49) concludes there is little "choice" and pupils while at school are cajoled by a number of forces into accepting a route which largely differs from their hopes and aspirations.

The structure of the local labour market was not an unknown quantity to all school leavers. Many had a part-time or holiday job (16 of the 25 trainees I interviewed) and whilst enjoying the income were aware of the precarious and insecure nature of many areas of work. (For similar findings see Finn, 1987, Chapter 4) The poor reputation of Y.O.P. was voiced as were fears that the Y.T.S. would be similar. Constituting the second cohort of Y.T.S. entrants they admitted to basing their decision on scant information; paying particular attention to the experiences of the year above them and the opinions of teachers.

The general profile of school leavers in the region is one of a high percentage of young people leaving school at the first opportunity (North East 23% of 16 year olds stay on as compared to a national figure of 27%) with relatively fewer qualifications than the national average (Northern Region Councils' Association, 1986, p.31). This has been changing slightly and the number staying on at 16 has begun to rise slowly but steadily. Within Co. Durham the number staying on rose by 4% between 1982-3 and 1983-4 (Interview with Principal Careers Officer, Co. Durham, 1984) as 6,000 school leavers chased the 1,818 vacancies notified to county careers offices. The labour market was perceived as a bleak one with the Y.T.S. offering a valid alternative to entry to employment.

The trainees of 1984 experienced little continuity in "careers" advice. All were interviewed by a careers officer and participated in discussions and presentations organised by a careers teacher. The careers teacher was known and evident throughout the year. However,

careers officers were invariably spoken to once and not seen again. The introduction of a cohort of careers officers funded by the Department of Employment to work solely upon training schemes and other post education measures tended to divide work between those who could enter schools and those who worked outside. A similar situation was experienced in other areas of the country (Cockburn, 1987, p.55).

The role of the careers teacher was an important one inside the school. Trainees talked freely of the advice they were given. Some were resigned to the reality presented them; others resentful of the picture presented to them:-

> "My teacher said it will have to be the Y.T.S. But it was also important to choose a good scheme. I was told to apply for this scheme (South Local Authority) as they take on twenty odd school leavers each year for apprenticeship training. But my teacher said I would need to get my exams to get in here. I think everyone here has their exams" (Howard, trainee, South Local Authority)

Howard was right. Everyone did "have their exams":- 'O' levels or their equivalent, C.S.E. grade ones. Howard's teacher assumed that recruitment procedures for the Y.T.S. would be similar to those for employment. This assumption not only belied the publicity surrounding the Y.T.S., that access to the scheme was to be premised upon motivation and interest, but demonstrated a perception that there would be a close link between the Y.T.S. and employment opportunities in certain sectors.

Howard's progression was dependent on his exam results. David at Workshop Training received similar advice from his teacher:-

"He said I wouldn't get my exams so I'd better apply here. He said I'd get in and it was better to be here than unemployed. I didn't think about doing joinery work. I wanted to do some sort of apprenticeship. But this isn't too bad."

David was blissfully unaware of other Y.T.S. schemes in the locality. His teacher professed a view that certain schemes would be easier to gain access to than others for those without qualifications. But what of the training and job opportunities? David progressed through several three month periods on different sections of the scheme. His training was certainly broad but not focussed towards any qualifications. By contrast Howard had an opportunity to gain entry to the authority's apprenticeship scheme which is closely linked to the Y.T.S. scheme.

Teachers had a major impact on trainees point of entry to the Y.T.S. Qualifications were linked to entry to the schemes located on employers premises. They were perceived, even at this early point, as the "good" schemes. Those defined as "bad" were schemes previously involved in Y.O.P. or providing workshop based training. Clearly Y.T.S. publicity and its emphasis upon equal opportunity of access was treated with scepticism or simply ignored. South Local Authority with a proven track record of employing school leavers was "bound to be a good bet for school leavers". Whilst Workshop Training located in a derelict factory

building and previously involved in Y.O.P. was viewed as a second rate scheme.

The experiences of friends and family members also played a role in the decision to join a particular scheme. The wider network of local knowledge and expectations of family, teachers and friends lead trainees to restrict their dreams:

> "I wanted to get on a care scheme at the hospital so I could go into nursing. My Mum told me to come on this scheme (Retail Training) cause I could work with people. I'd like to nurse but what chance here and now" (Dawn, trainee, Retail Training Ltd)

There were distinct gender differences in perceptions of work. Those perceptions were created and perpetuated by family, friends, teachers and careers officers. The young women were acutely aware of where they were expected to go in the job market. As Cockburn (1987, p.53) points out if young people are conscious of the reality of job markets and tailor their choices to them it must be assumed that they are aware "not only whether they will be permitted access to certain kinds of work, but whether they could survive and thrive within jobs if they were". I did not meet any trainees who wished to cross the gender divide in occupational segregation.

As noted in Chapter Two a hierarchy of schemes was already in existence during the negotiation process of 1983. The action of teachers, careers officers, school leavers and parents must be set within that context.

These groups were both reacting to and perpetuating the inequalities between schemes. However a series of newspaper articles highlighted the few cases of young women crossing the gender divide in training (see "Girls have the Right Spark to Join Scheme", Northern Echo, 14.11.84 and "Girls Outlaw Jobs for the Boys", Northern Echo 11.1.85). Much was made of these few examples of girls "breaking into" male dominated areas of training but the effects of such shifts remained incidental to the ongoing reproduction of the gender divide in social and economic terms. Similar findings were made in a study commissioned by the Fawcett Society (1985, pp.30-33) of 175 young people drawn from all nine M.S.C. regions in Great Britain.

There was a marked tendency by school leavers to join or follow friends on to schemes. At Direct Training, South Local Authority and Workshop Training the majority of trainees had been at the same school and carried on their school friendships into Y.T.S. This provided security particularly to the trainees unsure of, or unhappy about, their future.

In fact there was ultimately little "choice" in entry to the Y.T.S. despite the publicity (see leaflet reproduced overleaf). Changes to supplementary benefit legislation in 1982 stated that leavers in April, May and June ie. the Summer Term could not claim benefit until the second week of September. School leavers did not relish the thought of a Summer without the advantage of at least the Y.T.S. allowance and many had attempted to organise a scheme before leaving school or shortly after doing so.

"They're as different as chalk and cheese." Heard that before? And isn't it true of young people today?

No two young people are the same. They have different needs, aspirations and abilities and you will see evidence of this in the young people you recruit to your scheme.

Some young people may not know what they want to do when they come to your scheme. Others may have quite definite ideas. But please make sure you offer all young people the chance to participate in the full range of opportunities provided by your scheme.

And don't assume that girls are not interested in manual jobs and don't want to get their hands dirty. Or that boys are not interested in community type activities and looking after those in need. Many girls have ambitions to be engineers, mechanics or plumbers but are afraid to show their interest for fear their friends may laugh at them. And boys too, often want to do work which is traditionally considered to be a "girls" job. The Youth Training Scheme offers a wide range of opportunities which can help young people achieve their ambitions and break down the barriers which exist between "girls and boys jobs".

Will you therefore consider ALL young people – regardless of their sex – for all the opportunities in your scheme? And please don't forget to ensure that you do establish and take account of their individual needs and aspirations before you refer them to an opportunity. They will reward you by undertaking their training with real enthusiasm.

Remember, the Youth Training Scheme is your training scheme. If it is to succeed, in providing young people with a sound start to their working and adult life, youngsters must be offered the type of opportunity they really need and will benefit from. THAT IS UP TO YOU. PLEASE HELP.

Careers officers played the final role in allocation of trainees to places. Within the county officers tended to work from the list of available places rather than school leavers wishes. For example I met a trainee at a local youth club one evening who held out for several months for a place on a scheme which would provide training on jewellery making. She had called upon her local MP to support her claim. Whilst she succeeded others gave in. They gave in as officers made them aware that their ability to claim benefit could be restricted if they "unreasonably refused three suitable offers" of placement. But what was unreasonable and how was the term suitable defined? Fearful of any sanctions school leavers were guided, cajoled and in some cases plainly pushed onto schemes the content of which was at odds with their dreams.

Table 7.1 (overleaf) draws upon interviews with trainees to demonstrate the variations in recruitment procedures. The schemes with the highest ratio of applications to places such as Engineering Training Ltd and South Local Authority operate covertly a series of selection criteria. For example both schemes required 'O' level or equivalent qualifications and a selection process via two interviews was employed. For entry to South Local Authority an applicant had to live within the area of the Authority. Many applicants also had relatives employed by the Authority. Criteria similar to that for permanent employment was were utilised. By contrast entry to Direct Training and Workshop Training was extremely easy.

Table 7.1: Recruitment onto Schemes

Scheme	Mode	Approved Places	Applications Received 83-4	Qualifications Required	Residency Qualifications	Number and Nature of Interviews	Recruited 83-4
Dairy Products plc	A	4	12	O levels/CSEs	None	One with Scheme co-ordinator	4
Direct Training	R1	40	46	None	None	One with Scheme Manager	43
Engineering Training Ltd	A	150	225	3/4 O levels/Grade 1 CSEs	None	Two, Scheme Staff & Scheme Management	125
Retail Training Ltd	A	100	140	None	None	One with Scheme staff & Careers Officer	129
Special Needs	B2	30	26	None	None	None	26
South Local Authority	A	80	250	4/5 O levels or	Within locality	Two, group one with Scheme staff, second with scheme management	129
Technology Training	B1	35	72	O levels/CSEs	None	One with Scheme staff	36
Workshop Training	B1	100	132	None	None	One with Scheme staff	124

Source: questionnaire completed by scheme management (reproduced in Appendix II) and from observations during period of research.

* Note that trainees did transfer and, or leave schemes during the year. As a consequence the number recruited may exceed approved places. Applications received can only indicate the demand for places on the scheme; e.g. South Local Authority received applications in relationship to approved places at a ratio of approximately 4:1. The comparable statistic for Direct Training was 1:1.

Selection for the Y.T.S. appeared strongly linked with educational qualifications. It would appear that settling for Y.T.S. was a compromise, the nature of which, was firmly based upon educational qualifications as a key variable in the transition process (Burgess, 1984, p.118).

3. The Training Programme

This section explores the experiences of trainees. The daily experiences of trainees are often dismissed as anecdotes. Yet such experiences provide an illustration of the variations in training styles and contexts (Rosie, 1988, p.149).

In the first half of this section daily life on the schemes is examined. The subsequent section examines the world outside the schemes namely college courses undertaken; visits, residentials and work experience placements.

Life on schemes should commence with induction and the first section begins with an exploration of that period. The section then examines training content and experiences:- of working alongside employees; the discipline procedures in force and guidance and counselling (if any) available.

A. Induction

Induction was identified by the M.S.C. as key to entry to any scheme. The notion of a defined and organised period of induction was warmly welcomed from such diverse quarters as the staff tutors at Eastern Centre to local employers. Induction was said to have the potential to provide a "a coherence to the scheme from day one" (Terry, Staff Training Co-ordinator, Eastern Centre, January 1984).

Induction was defined by the M.S.C. as incorporating not just an understanding of the Y.T.S. but also concerned with familiarisation with the context of training; the off-the-job element and health and safety (M.S.C., 1982a, No.2). Induction was to incorporate four phases namely:-

    (1)   pre-entry

    (II)   on entry

   (III)   during a scheme (or transfer to another part)

   (IV)   before progressing to further training or a job
          (ibid)

The framework of the four phases is utilised in this section as a structure within which trainees experiences of induction on the Y.T.S. may be explored.

The majority of trainees arrived on a scheme with poor or no knowledge of what was likely to happen to them on a daily basis. The scheme

induction was either not done at all or conducted via the distribution of leaflets prior to joining the scheme. In the case of South Local Authority those leaflets comprised a comprehensive guide to the scheme but this was exceptional. The only other scheme to provide any information under the heading pre-induction, Retail Training Ltd, appeared to have failed miserably as one trainee Davina pointed out:-

"No one made it clear before I arrived that I might end up in a supermarket or a pet shop. I thought this would be clothes shops and the like. I don't fancy all this so I'm asking for a move." (Davina, trainee, Retail Training Ltd)

Davina made those comments at the end of the "on entry" induction period. She left shortly afterwards feeling that she had not been directed on to the sort of scheme she wanted.

On entry induction proved to be a focal point in highlighting the lack of information trainees received. Comments such as "I didn't think it would be like this" and "you think you know what it's all about but you don't" emphasised the manner in which on entry induction was a period of discovery. The actual content of on entry induction varied little between schemes encompassing:-

the working environment

introduction to supervisor and colleagues

health and safety

rules and regulations

However the pace and style of presentation differed markedly. For example Retail Training Ltd hired the local arts centre for a three day induction period. Trainees met scheme co-ordinators and a selection of placement supervisors in these surroundings. A local bank manager gave a talk on banking (gaining a number of new accounts as a consequence) and trade union officials gave a talk on union membership and health and safety. One trainee, Dawn enjoyed this three day period. She enthused over the talks revelling in the new found knowledge.

John joined Workshop Training. He found little in the induction period to enthuse about:

> "It was dead boring. It went on for a whole week. Half the time we just sat there and someone came in and introduced themselves, said a bit about their section and left. I was really glad to get on to a section".

Between the poles of excitement and boredom lay the views of many trainees:- it was an adequate introduction with certain parts proving more interesting and relevant than others. An evaluative questionnaire undertaken at South Local Authority on the 1983-4 scheme provided some interesting data on trainee perceptions of induction. Whilst it was rated the least interesting element of the scheme it was valued very highly by trainees when compared with other elements of the training programme.

Induction for trainees entering the Y.T.S. after the Autumn commencement of schemes was a particularly stressful experience with little or no information given to trainees. They invariably had to join in on training picking up information as they went.

Induction during the Y.T.S. year into different sections presented a similar range of problems. For example Direct Training worked with a training format which necessitated the movement of trainees from one section to another at the end of a twelve week period. Trainees working with George on the welding section found it extremely frustrating to adjust when they thought they were beginning to achieve a level of competence. This also hampered the attempts to create a business in welding work. On movement trainees were assumed to have a knowledge of the format of the scheme and a formal induction into a section did not take place.

Perhaps the greatest problem facing supervisors working with work experience placement supervisors was to encourage placement providers to conduct induction for trainees. This was particularly evident in the daily work of supervisors and trainees at Retail Training Ltd. Trainees spoke of arriving at a placement with no one available to show them around and being asked to "get on with the job". Supervisors talked of a constant battle to make sure supervision at a placement actually took place.

Leaving Y.T.S. was perceived differently across the schemes. South Local Authority had the potential to offer up to 75% of trainees a job.

The appointments took place in the tenth month of the scheme. An organised course prior to the end of the Y.T.S. devoted time to considering the structure of local government and the Authority. For those not going into employment with the Authority this course became a job or course "search week". Supervisors viewed their role as ensuring that all left the scheme for a job or a course. At Direct Training and Workshop Training the study skills component of the scheme was utilised in final weeks to discuss claiming benefit and using the job centre. Whilst supervisors denied "training for unemployment" trainees spoke of an emphasis upon both job search and coping with unemployment. Neither scheme could offer employment. Yet they did not provide any structured programme of induction from the Y.T.S. The M.S.C. did not press the point suggesting that it could easily make a case that the final phase of induction might be identified in the final weeks of the life and social skills component of the training programme. Clearly this final phase of induction demonstrated potential destinations and these ranged from preparation for unemployment to movement into employment.

B. The Content of the Training Programme

The M.S.C. stipulated that trainees should be provided with a guide to the training they would undertake. The schemes must have presented the M.S.C. with a programme of training. But an illuminating question posed to trainees was "who has a training programme?".

Trainees at Dairy Products PLC and Technology Training did not receive any sort of programme. On these schemes a conversation held on a Friday

afternoon often brought news of a change in location; of a college course; even of a placement outside the scheme. This was a haphazard mode of communication resulting in confusion for trainees and a disjointed progression through the scheme.

Other schemes provided some sort of guide for trainees. But the range and focus of that guide varied. For example trainees at Special Needs were given a guide to initial assessment. This sought to identify physical and medical capabilities as well as interests and vocational preferences. The majority of the trainees were aware that they could not follow a stipulated guide to training as individual programmes were necessary. These individual programmes were designed by the supervisor but not made available to trainees. Liz, the scheme supervisor, argued that it was best that she held individual programmes as she didn't wish "to confuse or concern trainees". Some were more able than others to undertake placements, others tired easily and found even the college environment difficult to manage. This proved particularly frustrating for those only physically disabled who expressed feelings of being trapped in the college on a second rate scheme with little guidance.

In contrast to the information made available at Special Needs trainees at Engineering Training received a week by week guide to the training they would undertake. A ten page guide presented detailed information on the first thirteen weeks of the programme. (Thereafter trainees specialised in one of several options). This guide indicated a programme of practical work, lectures, life and social skills work and a series of other requirements such as maintaining a log book and

undertaking practical tests. The trainees found this sort of detailed information helpful and providing a security likened to a school timetable. Some, however viewed training as a trap; as a delay to entering the "real world of work". Yet training is a necessity for entry to engineering work. A number of trainees rebelled and dropped out arguing, prior to leaving, that if they had wanted to stay on at school "they would have gone to college" and not joined such a highly regulated training programme.

The training programme at South Local Authority was organised around specific projects. For example trainees joining leisure and recreation schemes planned and organised a series of promotional events at local leisure centres while trainees joining the crafts section worked on the only building project ongoing at the authority, the building of eight bungalows for senior citizens. This latter project was one the trainees particularly enjoyed:-

> "you can see what you are doing. Like that house over there, well I put those walls up and helped with the timber work." (trainee, Craft section, South Local Authority)

Trainees worked alongside apprentices and could see a career path that they might pursue. They were involved in all aspects of building and construction work and encouraged to develop "pride in their work" (Morris, bricklaying supervisor). The 1984-5 intake of construction trainees worked on four of the bungalows during their year and those who had progressed on to the apprenticeship scheme returned to point out

"their work". This form of training necessitated a certain level of risk taking by the supervisors. They had deadlines to meet but the presence of both apprentices and skilled workers with trainees lessened the friction between the competing aims of training and completing the building project.

The training programme at South Local Authority was both highly detailed and project based. In contrast to Engineering Training Ltd trainees could identify the outcomes of the year on the Y.T.S. - the bungalows, the sports promotional events at leisure centres, etc.

Even the best laid plans went astray in the face of resourcing and publicity constraints. Fred at Workshop Training drew up a comprehensive week by week plan for the new audio-visual section. Unlike other sections which provided only a three month programme, the trainees joining the audio-visual section were to spend a full year on that area of training. The trainees welcomed the plan. The section was to be the show piece of the scheme with the latest equipment and up to date techniques in electrical engineering employed. The eight trainees selected, from those already on the scheme, felt privileged to be joining a section obviously better resourced and planned when compared with others. A feeling of resentment was voiced by the trainees not selected:-

"That lot think they're better than us 'cause they've got all that equipment". (Trainee, Workshop Training).

But the resentment voiced was short lived. The trainees selected for
the section were told that they would have to decorate and equip the
section for a monitoring visit by the M.S.C. due to take place within
several weeks. Overnight they had to learn to connect plugs, to wire up
power points and set up equipment. The supervisor and trainees alike
were stressed and upset by this. One trainee reacted angrily:-

"I couldn't take it. They put us on there and expected us to set
the place up like electricians would. Nobody showed us what to do
and I just got fed up trying to connect up the computer"
(Tom, trainee, Workshop Training)

Tom had in fact thrown the computer to the ground resulting in a lot of
damage. He could not get anyone to respond to his calls for assistance
and felt pressurised to succeed with this task. He reacted angrily and
subsequently left the scheme. Fred, the supervisor, left shortly after
him. For Fred, too this incident was the final point in a situation he
had not envisaged as part of his role as a trainer. Due to the
preparations for the visit neither the trainees nor supervisors were
able to undertake the training programme. After Fred left the section
floundered supervised on a short-term basis by others. It was a full
nine months after Fred left before a semblance of order returned with
the appointment of an audio-visual supervisor. The training programme
designed by Fred was never undertaken.

In short the provision of a training programme for trainees presented
some indication as to the content of the training e.g. Engineering

Training Ltd and South Local Authority. Others could not present a clear statement of likely events as illustrated at Workshop Training. Where there was no programme the trainees followed a haphazard route linked to weekly demands (such as contract work) placed upon the scheme. In conclusion the answer to the question "who has a training programme?" served to indicate the emphasis or otherwise placed upon formal training and the opportunities afforded trainees. Formal training is a term which assumes a programme based upon a career-orientated, high commitment and fulfilling employment. As stated the jobs awaiting many young people (if available) were organised on the basis of law commitment, high turnover and dependency. Clearly a contradiction ensues between training required and the publicity surrounding the training on offer on the Y.T.S. (Buswell, 1988, p.181).

C. What About the Union?

   "What about it - no good for me. What can they do?"

   "load of trouble makers"

   "I joined straight away. Everyone did. They told us about all kinds
   of benefits"

These statements from trainees indicate disparate views on union membership. At Dairy Products, Special Needs and Technology Training the subject of trade unions was not introduced by scheme management. The trainees stated that they were unconcerned. Unions, they argued at

Technology Training were "no use" and "just cause trouble". Their views were based upon popular press stories. Unions, Terry argued, "were causing job losses". Unions were thought to be adversely affecting their chances of securing a job. Coffield, Borrill and Marshall (1986, p.111) in their study of young people in the North East of England also chartered views on unions which demonstrated both a scepticism and a fear of union membership. The unions were thought to represent a challenge to the status quo namely the transition from school to work.

At Retail Training Ltd, South Local Authority and Workshop Training trade union officials gave presentations during the induction period. The response by trainees on these schemes was very positive. Some remarked that they had been unsure about trade unions but as a result of presentations they now felt they would benefit from membership. They were encouraged to join not only the trade union representatives but though the promotion of trade union membership by scheme staff. Positive images of the union were evident throughout the training programme of South Local Authority. Particularly strong allegiances to union membership was expressed by supervisors and apprentices in the craft section. As Penn (1984, p.185) notes union membership by craft workers is both a means of creating and perpetuating demarcation lines between the skilled and unskilled. All the trainees on craft sections joined the relevant union.

Many of the trainees at Retail Training joined the union (for example eight trainees from one group of twenty undergoing induction) and yet they were placed in contexts in which union membership was frowned upon.

In particular the small retail outlets viewed membership with suspicion and Dawn was told on her placement at the pet shop "not to mention the union here or you'll be out that door". The trainees placed in branches of national retail outlets found more positive responses to union membership. The scheme was recognised by the Union of Shop, Distributive and Allied Workers (U.S.D.A.W.). But contradictions between individual needs and union membership became evident. In response to a national directive to withdraw trainees from one firm accused of job substitution the local branch of U.S.D.A.W. asked Retail Training to comply and remove trainees accordingly. Wendy was asked to go round to this firm and tell the trainees they had to finish that day. Trainees reacted angrily. "I'm doing a good job. There's no substitution here". "Why don't they just take trainees out of those shops where it is happening". (Jane and Mary, trainees, Retail Training Ltd). Margaret placed this incident in a wider context:-

> "Look there may be substitution here. I don't think so. But this
> is a good firm, known all over. This is much better than being
> stuck in an old corner shop" (Margaret, trainee, Retail Training
> Ltd)

The anger turned to tears as Wendy persisted. The trainees had to leave or they placed the whole scheme in jeopardy of having trade union recognition withdrawn and therefore M.S.C. support of the scheme questioned.

"It's the glamour of being in a place like this. The trainees don't want to see the substitution going on. You saw it. There were whole departments there with only one adult - probably a part-timer - and two trainees". (Wendy, supervisor, Retail Training Ltd)

These trainees' attitudes towards the trade union changed as a consequence of this event. Several left the union while those considering joining now firmly refused to do so.

At Workshop Training a union branch was initiated by trainees. This was a Mode B1 workshop with no history of union membership prior to its transformation from Y.O.P. to Y.T.S. Two young women Sheila and Kaye, joined the National Union for Public Employees (N.U.P.E.) on an individual basis and persuaded scheme management to allow union officials in to the scheme to talk to trainees. As a consequence many trainees and several supervisors joined. Both Sheila and Kaye became shop stewards and co-ordinated a local campaign, spearheaded by N.U.P.E., to raise the level of training allowance and improve working conditions. They appeared in the regional daily papers publicising a petition to be sent to the Prime Minister and a rally to be held in the town. An article entitled "Youngsters are now on the Warpath" (Northern Echo, 25th November 1983) highlighting the role of Sheila and Kaye in the campaign, caused a furore at Workshop Training. This was a sensitive time for Mode B schemes as the M.S.C. made it clear they were considering a cut in this form of provision. This was unwelcome publicity. When I met Sheila in 1984 she described the furore surrounding this incident as nothing in comparison to the row following

the rally. Approximately 150 trainees attended alongside union officials and several sympathetic supervisors. The rally called for a minimum wage of £40 and a minimum of 4 weeks holiday as compared with the allowance of £25 and 18 days holiday. The publicity surrounding the rally stated that the young people there viewed the Y.T.S. as a "cheap labour" scheme. On her return to the scheme Sheila was told that disciplinary action would be taken against her and Kaye for apparently spending too much time on union work. A strike ensued. The M.S.C. were concerned that this would lead to adverse publicity and negotiated a settlement with scheme management and trainees. It was agreed that Sheila and Kaye be allowed to complete their year on the Y.T.S. without action being taken against them. On completing the scheme in June 1984 Sheila reflected on her experiences of trade union activities:-

"If you told me a year ago that I'd have talked to the papers, gone on T.V., organised a campaign I wouldn't have believed it. I've got much more out of my union work than being on this scheme".

The publicity surrounding the union involvement in Workshop Training did affect the views of other managers. At Direct Training union officials were not invited into the scheme after the Easter of 1984. Relevant leaflets were made available but none of the trainees joined.

At Engineering Training Ltd trainees were told to aim for membership of a professional association rather than a union and the trainees reacted to supervisors suggesting to me that such associations were "better" than trade unions. It was their concrete link with their trade and a

public statement of the training they had undertaken. Union membership levels ranged from 100% at South Local Authority to no members at Dairy Products, Special Needs and Technology Training. Membership patterns were strongly correlated with the nature of management - union relations (if any) within each scheme. Where there was no history of union membership - particularly evident in the Mode B1 training workshops - union involvement was viewed with fear, by trainees and staff alike, particularly after the incidents at Workshop Training.

Within the region union membership is high. In 1984 in the Northern Region 72% of the workforce surveyed were in unions; the highest proportion in the country. The labour history of the region suggests a strong commitment to union membership particularly by manual workers. However, this commitment may well become concentrated in ageing adult workers as young people largely dismiss union involvement. It should be noted that the M.S.C. did not discourage union activities but neither did it encourage them. These shifts in membership may have profound consequences for the organisation of labour placing emphasis upon individual strategies to the detriment of collective action.

D. Friend or Foe? Relations with Supervisors

"I couldn't tell anyone about the attack. I went all weekend sick with worry. When I came in here on Monday it just seemed right to tell Wendy".

This trainee working on the Retail Training Ltd scheme had been raped one Friday evening. It was not until the Monday morning that she told Wendy (her supervisor) and went to report the incident to the Police with her. Why tell Wendy and not her friends or family? Because the trainee argued, "she listens and doesn't tell you off". This trainee received a tremendous amount of support from Wendy. Wendy had identified with the plight of the trainee stating that "it could have been a kid of mine", and the trainee responded to this. The trainee had felt isolated, "at fault" and dirty. It was to her Y.T.S. supervisor she turned to for help fearing the intolerant attitudes of parents and adults. Coffield, Borrill and Marshall (1986, p.183) noted in their study the hostility and lack of understanding of adults. In this situation it was fear of hostility and intolerance which lead the trainee to seek an adult "friend" outside her family and neighbourhood. This, plus the nature of the incident, led her to a sympathetic female adult, namely Wendy.

Yet to challenge openly a supervisor required a strong commitment to a particular issue or fool hardiness. "You're on interview here for the year. If you want to get a job at the end you've got to keep you're head down" (Mark, trainee, South Local Authority). The pressure on Mode A scheme trainees "to keep quiet" was readily voiced. Some trainees spoke of those getting the available jobs as "the licks; the ones that did whatever they were told". However certain supervisors were perceived as "wanting to help" and of offering assistance even after trainees left schemes when unsuccessful with their applications for employment.

The trainees who got extra assistance in job hunting were generally the amiable ones - the trainees with the right attitudes and dress. Alan had wanted to undertake electrician's training at Engineering Training Ltd. However an eye test revealed he was colour blind. He could not continue in electronics because of the need to distinguish the colour of wires. Jon, the supervisor, arranged a transfer to computing. Alan was extremely grateful but drew a lot of resentment from the trainees refused a place for their first preference in a specialisation, namely computing. David spoke for several trainees when he contended that this "wouldn't have happened except he's a lick always playing up to the supervisor".

But apparently unfair acts were not peculiar to supervisors. The Y.T.S was a game for some. Jack started the Retail Training induction course and on day one he spent his lunch hour with three others shoplifting. As he awaited his disciplinary hearing he said that he was "just trying to get something better than £25. So I got caught and the bastard manager just wants to make an example of me. Tough luck for me".

A series of discipline problems at both Retail Training and Workshop Training did effect trainees' views of supervisors and vice versa as battlegrounds were marked and barriers drawn up. The resultant friction often denied the concern felt by certain supervisors for trainees. For example Wendy avidly defended a trainee accused of stealing on placement and almost lost her job. The trainee subsequently admitted theft.

To summarise, views on supervisors were related to the role, if any, the supervisor played in supporting or disciplining a trainee. Trainees were aware of a "pay off" between good behaviour and possible job opportunities. But they also spoke of the support and friendship a supervisor could provide. Daren told me of the time, his supervisor, George spent with him teaching him to use a metric ruler. "No teacher would have done that". Yet for every positive view there was a negative one expressed. The prejudices of supervisors, their perspective on discipline and their attitudes towards the power dynamic of the supervisory role affected relations. After all, as one trainee commented "going through school teaches you one thing - to sus out the teacher as a friend or foe."

E. Time Spent "Off the Scheme"

The Y.T.S. design incorporated a series of elements such as the off the job and occupationally based training which required periods of time to be spent away from the base of the scheme. In particular trainees on Mode B schemes and those on consortium based schemes (e.g. Retail Training Ltd) faced the possibility of a series of work experience placements in related factories and businesses. Visits to outward bound courses, museums, hospitals and police stations were also organised by many schemes in fulfilment of basic skills components.

Trainees reacted very differently to the prospect of leaving the world of the scheme. Obviously the nature of the placement and, or visit plus the support provided by supervisors were crucial factors in forming

views on the time spent away from the scheme. In section 7.3 B it was established that few schemes provided an adequate guide to the training programme. So it was not unusual for news of a trip or placement to come as a surprise. Nor was the relevance of the time spent off the scheme made clear to many trainees.

Attendance at local colleges of further education was an accepted part of the "off-the-job" component. The off-the-job component was comprised of at least 13 weeks training and education expected to contribute to other elements of training. It was commonly described as the "academic and college back-up to daily training". But the nature of these courses varied considerably and not just in terms of subject area or organisation.

Dave at Dairy Products consistently left his college before the end of the day:-

> "They told me when I started that I'd have to go to college one day
> a week to do some sort of course on food production. It's awful.
> It's no use for here anyway. I go along. But by dinner time I'm
> fed up. So I leave. Every week I get wrong in here. But they must
> be daft to think we'll sit on that sort of stuff".

The trainees expressed boredom and frustration at being put on a course. None of the trainees at Dairy Products PLC undertook the end of course exams despite threats of disciplinary action from Percy.

A very different set of experiences were related by the craft trainees
at South Local Authority. The course they undertook was closely related
to their daily work. In fact their supervisors set course assignments
with college lecturers. The college component was organised throughout
the year in two blocks - the week during the second week of the scheme;
the third month of the scheme and a day a week from month five to
eleven. Trainees enthused over the course registering for evening
classes (an option) and taking additional 'O' levels and even A levels.
"Much better than school" (Howard, craft trainee) "You can relate it to
the job" (Janice, clerical trainee).

There existed a very evident variance in the experiences of trainees.
The Mode B1 schemes - Direct Training, Workshop Training and Technology
Training - made use of available college courses but unlike Dairy
Products PLC the trainees felt there had been some attempt to relate the
course to training. South Local Authority and Engineering Training Ltd
organised courses with the college. Retail Training Ltd opened in 1983-
4 with similar arrangements. But the cost of college courses at
approximately £13 per hour per student proved prohibitive. One of the
scheme supervisors took over the role of producing and assessing project
work and the already small office also became a training centre.

During the year 1985-6 there was a marked trend by all schemes to
curtail college involvement and appoint supervisors to undertake the
work. This was prompted by the cost of college provision. The reaction
of trainees was largely negative to this, particularly those trainees
aiming to (re) take 'O' levels, C.S.E.'s or vocational qualifications.

The supervisors did not possess teaching qualifications and yet were taking on that role. This trend also restricted the ability of trainees from diverse schemes to meet - the college provided a focal point to meet.

Much of time spent away from the scheme was spent in work experience placements. The Y.T.S. aimed to provide trainees with an experience of the world of work. At South Local Authority and Dairy Products trainees circulated around a number of sections within the workplace. However such opportunities for work experience were not available at other schemes and a series of differing arrangement were made.

Again much confusion was voiced over arrangements and the relevance of placement. Severe criticisms were made by trainees at Retail Training Ltd. The training programme was dependent upon the availability of four placements for each trainee throughout the Y.T.S. year. Whilst trainees were asked to make a choice some contended that this was ignored others said they were told there was not any suitable placements available. Some had to settle for placements in locations they had no interest in or rejected. Several trainees left the scheme as a consequence of being placed in locations they did not wish to work in. But the major problem for trainees on placement was one of communication with the scheme supervisors and the placement supervisors:-

"you're just left here. I've been on fruit and veg for three weeks
and before that we were in store rooms just lifting and stacking. I
told Wendy. She says she'll sort it out. But the minute she goes
they just forget it". (Daren, trainee, Retail Training Ltd)

Daren was placed in a branch of a national chain of supermarkets and
found it impossible to gain the attention of staff. Wendy left a list
of the work opportunities trainees should have but this was patently
ignored not only in Daren's case but also at a series of other outlets,
many of which were branches of national firms. A trainees experience on
placement was heavily dependent on the individual supervisors commitment
and their employers views on the Y.T.S. Stories were told of trainees
being left with difficult customers "this woman was asking for a refund
and getting nasty and I was there on my own" and sometimes in dangerous
situations "the whole stack of tins just fell on this kid and I had to
get him out". Retail Training staff were often met at the main office
in the morning by trainees relating stories of abuse and substitution.
Many remained silent and it must be assumed that they found the
placement passable. But as a consequence of the numerous complaints
scheme management drew up a placement agreement stating the areas of
work and information trainees should have access to e.g. induction and
health and safety. This helped to raise the awareness of employers as
to their role in the provision of training but there remained a series
of persistent abusers of the trainees' work experience. The difficulty
for the scheme was to keep the number of placements comparable with
trainee numbers. They could not afford to be too choosy.

At least Retail Training could provide placements for trainees. At
Workshop Training and Special Needs trainees had little access to work
experience placements. Placements were virtually impossible to secure.
Fred (Workshop Training) told of employers laughing as soon as he named
the scheme. Liz of Special Needs could get favourable responses by
saying that the scheme was located in the college of further education.
But when she outlined the difficulties trainees had she would often get
a swift refusal. "You don't even get to say what they can do!".
Generally trainees seemed not to notice until they began to think of
leaving the scheme and seeking work. It was a problem for supervisors
who had to placate the M.S.C. and their emphasis upon work experience
placements.

The trainees on certain Mode B schemes had little opportunity to
experience the world of work. The time they spent away from the scheme
was in the form of residential courses such as outward bound courses,
visits to factories or firms or day trips to the seaside, parks and
museums. One trainee at Technology Training who participated in an
outward bound course remarked it was the "first time I'd been out of the
town". The Mode A schemes also provided such opportunities but an
emphasis was placed upon visiting places of interest to the "trade" or
"skill". For example trainees at Engineering Training Ltd visited a
series of factories introducing computerised production lines and
robots. At South Local Authority craft trainees went to a brick factory
and a furniture workshop.

Time spent off the scheme constituted indispensable aspects of the Y.T.S. provision but as with other aspects of the Y.T.S. design and content the nature of and experiences provided by these components was related to scheme resources and commitment to youth training. Try as it might Retail Training could not provide the quality placements and college courses that Engineering Training and South Local Authority could. Trainees at Direct Training and Workshop Training could not even gain access to placements.

4. Leaving Y.T.S.

A. The Destinations

Leaving the Y.T.S. was a stressful time for all trainees no matter what their destination. They could be leaving to start a job or face unemployment. It was a time of great emotion for all concerned. Potential destinations were:-

1. employment;
2. return to full-time education;
3. unemployment;
4. a further scheme before entitlement to Y.T.S. ceases.

Many trainees were apparently aware of restrictions in potential destinations prior to joining the scheme:

"I went for two interviews. But I chose this scheme. Here you get chance to go out on placement. There's always a chance you'll get kept on while there" (Angela, trainee, Retail Training Ltd)

Only South Local Authority could directly offer employment to the Y.T.S. leavers. However few trainees had such choices although many aspired to joining the "good schemes". The term good scheme was commonly defined as a scheme most likely to lead to a job and those opportunities were perceived as most closely linked to Mode A schemes.

Tables 7.2 to 7.5 chart the destinations of leavers at the national, local and project level. Table 7.6 presents an analysis of the jobs found by trainees from selected schemes.

The national pattern of destinations of the Y.T.S. leavers illustrates the bleak picture facing leavers in the Northern Region in 1983-4 and 1984-5. Whilst 71% of leavers in the South East, 1984-5, went into employment or further training only 40% did so in the Northern Region (Table 7.2 overleaf). Within the county (Table 7.3 overleaf) only 42% of Y.T.S. leavers went into employment or education in 1983/4. Thirty six percent left for unemployment. So there existed (and continues to exist) a regional disparity in numbers entering employment and registering as unemployed on leaving the Y.T.S. The schemes within the study illustrated a complex pattern of destinations. Table 7.4 (overleaf) indicates the high percentage of trainees that left Dairy Products (100%, ie. 4), Engineering Training Ltd (71%, ie. 69) and South Local Authority (91%, ie. 68) for employment. At Retail Training and

Table 7.2: YTS Destinations[1] by Region   Percentages

Region	Leavers Between	In full-time work with the same employer	In full-time work with a different employer	In a part-time job[2]	On a full-time course	On Another YTS Scheme	Doing Something else[3]	Unemployed
South East	Jun 84 - Mar 85	30	38	-	3	4	3	21
	Apr 85 - Sep 85	41	28	3	4	3	6	15
London	Jun 84 - Mar 85	27	37	-	3	4	3	25
	Apr 85 - Sep 86	36	27	2	5	4	7	19
South West	Jun 84 - Mar 85	27	35	-	3	6	4	25
	Apr 85 - Sep 85	39	25	4	4	4	7	18
Midlands	Jun 84 - Mar 85	24	32	-	3	6	3	31
	Apr 85 - Sep 85	31	24	4	4	6	7	24
York & Humberside	Jun 84 - Mar 85	23	29	-	2	7	4	34
	Apr 85 - Sep 85	30	22	4	3	5	6	30
North West	Jun 84 - Mar 85	23	31	-	3	7	3	33
	Apr 85 - Sep 85	28	23	4	4	7	7	27
North	Jun 84 - Mar 85	17	26	-	3	7	4	44
	Apr 85 - Sep 85	22	20	4	3	5	4	39
Wales	Jun 84 - Mar 85	19	26	-	3	6	4	42
	Apr 85 - Sep 85	25	21	4	3	5	7	33
Scotland	Jun 84 - Mar 85	21	29	-	2	5	3	39
	Apr 85 - Sep 85	28	21	3	4	6	4	33

Notes: 1. Analysis is based on answers to the question "What are you doing now?"
    2. Part-time job was identified as a separate option from April 1985 leavers.
    3. Figures for April 1985 are not directly comparable with earlier years because of changes
      in the questions asked and in coding practice.

Source: Y.T.S. Follow-up Surveys, M.S.C. in Gray, D., King, S. (1986) The Youth Training Scheme

	1983/4		1984/5	
	Nos	%	Nos	%
Entered Employment	2480	40	2339	44
Returned to full-time Education	98	2	62	1
Registered Unemployed	2235	36	2212	41.5
Transferred to other schemes/ Still on scheme	645	11	(1)	-
Position unknown and left District	669	11	736	13.5
TOTALS	6127	100	5349	100

(1) Figures not calculated for 1984/5.

Source: Durham County Council (1984 and 1985) Report to County Council Careers Service Sub-committee 1983/4 and 1984/5; Durham County Council.

Table 7.4: Destination of YTS Leavers from Schemes in Study 1983/4

	Dairy Products Plc		Direct Training		Engineering Training Ltd		Retail Training Ltd		Special Needs		South Local Authority		Technology Training		Workshop Training	
Entered Employment	4	100%	32	76%	69	71%	30	40%	1D	7%	68	91%	17	47%	29	54%
Returned to Full-time education	-	-	-	-	4	4%	2	2.5%	3	20%	1	1%	8	22%	-	-
Registered Unemployed	-	-	7	17%	5	5%	23	30%	4	27%	-	-	6	17%	12	22%
Transferred to other Schemes	-	-	-	-	15	15%	15	20%	1	7%	4	5%	-	-	-	-
Left for Disciplinary Reasons	-	-	2	5%	3	3%	4	5%	2	12%	2	3%	5	14%	13	24%
Other reasons	-	-	1A	2%	2B	2%	2C	2.5%	4D	27%	-	-	-	-	-	-

Table 7.5: Destination of YTS Leavers from Schemes in Study 1984/5

	Dairy Products Plc		Direct Training		Engineering Training Ltd		Retail Training Ltd		Special Needs		South Local Authority		Technology Training		Workshop Training	
Entered Employment	3	75%	30	74%	72	74%	33	44%	2	22%	65	89%	20	51%	25	47%
Returned to Full-time education	1	25%	-	-	3	3%	3	4%	3	33.5%	2	3%	6	15%	4	8%
Registered Unemployed	-	-	10	24%	8	8%	20	27%	-	-	-	-	10	26%	15	28%
Transferred to another Scheme	-	-	-	-	12	12%	13	17%	1	11%	6	8%	-	-	-	-
Left for Disciplinary reasons	-	-	1	2%	3	3%	5	7%	3	33.5%	-	-	3	8%	8	15%
Other reasons	-	-	-	-	-	-	1C	1%	-	-	-	-	-	-	1E	2%

Source: Questionnaires administered to Scheme Managers, Autumn, 1984 and 1985.
Notes: Occupancy rates vary by Scheme and year. As a result figures do not equate with number of approved places
A. Direct Training 1983/4: 1 left due to pregnancy. B. Engineering Training 1983/4: 1 left as a young offender. C. Retail Training 1983/4: 2 left area; 1984/5 1 left due to pregnancy. D. Special Needs 1983/4: the 1 trainee who left for employment went to a part-time job, 4 others left because scheme was "too like school". E. Workshop Training 1984/5: 1 trainee left area.

Workshop Training a high proportion left for unemployment 30% (23) and 22% (12) respectively. The former are Mode A schemes the latter respectively a Mode A consortium based scheme and a Mode B1 training workshop. Two other statistics of note are:-

1. The proportionally high number that transferred to other schemes from Engineering Training Ltd (15, ie.15%) and Retail Training Ltd (15, ie. 20%);

2. The recurring nature of disciplinary factors in accounting for a small proportion of leavers on virtually all schemes.

In the former case Engineering Training Ltd made it clear to trainees that they were "on approval" and those not considered suitable would be assisted to transfer elsewhere. As indicated in Section 3. A. (Induction) a steady number of trainees left Retail Training as on joining the scheme they discovered it was not what they wanted. In particular the heavy emphasis on four different work experience placements, as a focus for the programme, concerned a number of trainees. As a result they transferred to other schemes. The disciplinary factor was a recurring theme, particularly evident at Workshop Training. The main reasons for disciplinary action concerned abusive behaviour and stealing. However the definition of disciplinary problems varied greatly. At South Local Authority poor time keeping and failure to attend college were considered serious problems. At Direct Training and Workshop Training such problems were considered minor in nature. Trainees at these schemes recounted tales of violence between

trainees and supervisors and the wilful destruction of equipment as behaviour likely to elicit disciplinary action. These trainees demonstrated a low self esteem. Many rebelled quite vocally; others became violent. No matter how many changes were made in the composition of trainees the atmosphere of desperation and dejection continued on these schemes.

B. Case Studies

To illustrate the progression of trainees to un/employment from the Y.T.S. four case studies are presented (see table 7.6 overleaf):-

1. John, trainee, Direct Training, Mode B1 Workshop
2. Carol, trainee. Retail Training Ltd, Mode A consortium scheme
3. Howard, craft trainee, South Local Authority, Mode A
4. Marion, trainee, Technology Training, Mode B1 ITEC

John at Direct Training was one of the trainees who left for a labouring job secured through his brother:

"When it got near to the end of this I asked my brother to keep his ears open for anything coming up. He's working with the firm that has the contract to demolish the pit site"

The local pit had closed a year earlier and John found employment helping to demolish any sign of the once focal point of the local economy. John expressed the view that he was "not trained for much".

7.6: The Analysis of the Employment Destinations of YTS Leavers 1984/5

* EMPLOYMENT		DIRECT TRAINING		RETAIL TRAINING		SOUTH LOCAL AUTHORITY		TECHNOLOGY TRAINING	
Job with Prospects	Apprenticeship	–	–	–	–	30	46%	–	–
	* Word Processing Secretarial and Clerical Work	–	–	3	9%	28	43%	4	20%
	Information Technology Computing	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	10%
Job with few Prospects	Bar/restaurant work	4	13%	10	30%	–	–	2	10%
	Labouring	13	43%	–	–	3	5%	1	5%
	Production Work	6	20%	2	6%	3	5%	8	40%
	* Shop Assistant	7	24%	18	55%	1	1%	3	15%
	TOTAL	30	100%	33	100%	65	100%	20	100%

Source: Data obtained from schemes Autumn 1985

* I considered the introduction of gender as a variable in this analysis. However gender-orientated patterns of employment were strongly adhered to. Secretarial and shop work were totally female areas of employment. Only in bar/restaurant work was there an indication of a more ambiguous idnetifcation of work with gender.

He had spent three months on the welding, car mechanics and painting and
decorating schemes respectively.

"I'm just glad to get a job. It might end soon but at least I've got
something".

The job did not last long. In fact John returned to the scheme three
months later for the 1985 Christmas Party and told George, the welding
supervisor, that the anticipated six months work lasted just two months.
John's story was not an unusual one. An examination of the statistics in
tables 7.4 and 7.5 would suggest a good record of employment for Y.T.S.
leavers. Yet an analysis of the jobs trainees obtained illustrates the
dead end nature of many. The trainees predominantly left for employment
in services or labouring. Some went to part-time jobs others temporary,
seasonal work. But all these destinations were recorded under the
heading of employment. The assumption was all too readily made that
over 70% of Direct Training trainees left for a full-time and therefore
relatively secure job. There was an obvious conflict between the
concept of training promoted by the M.S.C. and the actual requirements
of the local labour market (Buswell, 1988, p.180).

Carol from Retail Training Ltd left the Y.T.S. asking Wendy the
supervisor:

"What will I do?"

She did not have a job to go to and joined the third of trainees who left the scheme to register as unemployed. Wendy found it difficult to respond to Carol's question "what do you say to a young kid facing unemployment. I don't know how I would feel if it was my son". Carol did get a job. During the Christmas period she was taken on as a temporary shop assistant. That job, whilst low paid and temporary, did much for Carol's self esteem. She enthused about her job but became depressed when reflecting on the temporary nature of it. A year later Carol got a job as a receptionist in a dental surgery. Overjoyed at obtaining a permanent post the low pay was regarded as incidental to the goal - the "real" job. Carol's expectations were low - "a job, any job" and gender orientated - "something working with people or children". There was nothing to set Carol apart from her peer group. Towards the end of their year on the Y.T.S. Wendy asked a group of trainees to list their preferred area of employment. A selection of the responses are reproduced overleaf. Whilst it was easy to pick out the young man in the group (Response: 1. advertising firm, 2. journalism and 3. butchers) the young women sought retail, clerical and caring work. One young woman suggested a motor mechanics job, slipped in between looking after children and being a hairdresser. There was, however, little support for such a trainee and job wishes were often hidden behind gender stereotypes.

Despite the continued growth in service sector employment trainees from Retail Training faced a precarious future. The insecurity experienced by these trainees stood in sharp contrast to the smooth path into employment of the overwhelming majority of trainees at South Local

nanny, beauty therapist,
hairdresser

I would like to cook,
cook children, or old people

Hairdressers—Hairdresser

Boutique — shop assistant

Record shop—manageress

look after children
be a motor mechanic
be a hairdresser.

Working with children
Catering
Shop assistant

Shop assistant
hairdresser
NANNY.

Hairdressing.
Shop Assistant in fashion shop.
Airport Hotel.

Working for an advertising firm-
designing.
2. Journalism
3. butchers

Office work
any shop.
Shop work
HIAR Dressing

Typing & Filling
Assistant
TRIANING & Styling

Buticik Salds AStPNAC
cake (Barker
fruit (cash

shop assistant
Hairdresser
Office work.

Authority . Of the 90% who gained employment 75% were employed by the
Authority. Howard, a craft trainee was interviewed in the tenth month of
the scheme and secured a place on the Authority's craft scheme:-

"I was delighted. It was great. I was worried by the interview
though. Well, you're on interview for nine months really and it
does cause pressure".

What Howard did not know was the political controversy surrounding the
appointments. Morris, a supervisor, told of the close monitoring they
had to undertake of the councillors on the interview panel after one
councillor consistently favoured his constituents ignoring
recommendations from scheme staff. Those who did not secure a place
with the Authority received support from supervisors who utilised local
contacts to secure jobs for trainees. Supervisors viewed this as a
crucial measure of their success and assisted trainees accordingly.

Despite the apparently high career currency of those trained in
information technology trainees at Technology Training fared badly in
terms of employment. About half of the trainees left for employment and
the analysis of jobs secured indicated that few obtained anything
relevant to their training. One trainee left to pack egg boxes, one
went to a dairy, stacking crates and delivering milk another went to a
components factory. Marion got a job as a word processor operator at a
local solicitors firm. Like many of the women on the scheme
(approximately one third of trainees) she spent much of the year on the
office practice section. Whilst they were filling the acceptable role

for women working with new technology they all benefited as they gained employment in areas relevant to their training. Marion was pleased with her year on Y.T.S. and her job. She remarked that the "boys didn't do so well but then there aren't the jobs here for them". The analysis of destinations of Technology Training leavers begged the question how far are local situations considered in the national policy-making process? (MacArthur and MacGregor, 1986, p.255).

C. An Overview

A series of other studies including Cockburn (1987), Casson (1979) and Gollan (1937) chart the exploitation and boredom of the dead end jobs that have been classically allotted to the working class young. Yet the trainees wanted to enter employment. Despite the fact that many of the jobs open to them had few or no prospects they preferred receiving a wage to the continuation of "training" schemes.

The selection process was critical in setting the scene for future job prospects. As Huw Beynon wrote in his study of employment in a multinational company - the Ford Car Company - "everybody wanted to go to Ford's but not everybody was allowed in. Ford had the pick of the labour market". (Beynon, 1984, p.101). So it was within the Y.T.S. and South Local Authority had the pick of trainees.

One question posed by the analysis of the destination of the Y.T.S. leavers is the relevance of the training offered to the labour market facing young people. McArthur and McGregor (1986, p.254) question the

validity of national training programmes lacking a regional dimension. The creation of ITECs as part of a national policy located in areas without prior analysis of labour markets led to false hopes and expectations amongst trainees. Ultimately much of the Y.T.S. training was "training" in isolation of job prospects.

5. Conclusion

The trainees participating in the Y.T.S. schemes wanted nothing more than a job. With that job it was hoped would come an identity, an entry to adulthood and some form of economic independence. This was the dream. The reality was that the "proper job" alluded some, that many were destined for dead end, low paid jobs and few progressed smoothly from school and via Y.T.S. to a job with prospects.

The shifting process, which led to these dimensions, began at school. Careers teachers and careers officers presented particular schemes to certain pupils. Pupils likely to gain 'O' levels or C.S.E.'s grade one were directed to Mode A schemes. Those unlikely to gain qualifications were directed to Mode B schemes. So the premier factor in the shifting process is educational qualifications.

Pupils were not passive in this process. Some actively pursued schemes they wanted to do or wished to enter Y.T.S. with friends or relatives in close proximity. Nevertheless the schemes located on employers' premises developed a selection criterion which was, in part, a necessary process to gain some order from the high number of applicants. But

these criteria belied the publicly stated goal of the Y.T.S. namely to open up training to those motivated to pursue particular training programmes.

Once on the Y.T.S. a series of variables, all intertwining to channel trainees in particular directions for employment became evident:-

1. the <u>resourcing</u> levels varying according to M.S.C. payments and backup resources available;

2. the <u>organisation</u> of the programme both dependent upon resources but also directly related to commitment (or otherwise) of scheme management and supervisors on the Y.T.S;

3. the <u>relations</u> between supervisors and trainees were critical in defining the trainees experiences of the Y.T.S. and further indicated to them what their future in the labour market was likely to be.

4. the <u>sector</u> in which training was conducted.

In short the divisions between schemes were more complex than a simple Mode A, Mode B distinction. From the data presented it was evident that trainees at South Local Authority (A) and Engineering Training Ltd (A) had the best opportunities to achieve a recognised qualification and a job with prospects. They also had access to forms of occupational welfare such as subsidised meals, equipment and access to other benefits

(Titmuss, 1974, p.139). Standing in direct contrast was the situation of trainees on Retail Training (A) and Workshop Training (B1). On these schemes trainees faced a strong possibility of leaving the Y.T.S. for unemployment. Trainees at Retail Training Ltd did have an opportunity to gain some form of employment via work experience placements. Even these opportunities were denied trainees at Workshop Training.

Titmuss argued that the use of a typology provided a means of creating "some order in all the disorder and confusion of facts, systems and choices" (1974, p.30). In order to achieve some order a typology of Y.T.S. schemes based ultimately on the destination of Y.T.S. leavers, is presented:-

1. "Jobs with prospects": the aristocracy of schemes directly offering employment and recognised training to school leavers. Entry to schemes linked to educational qualifications. (South Local Authority, Engineering Training Ltd)

2. "What Job?": schemes linked to marginal areas of labour markets Schemes from which trainees have difficulty in securing recognised training, qualifications and hence a job. Trainees are stigmatised by their very involvement in these schemes. Placements (if available), family and friends are major sources for temporary employment. (Direct Training, Special Needs, Workshop Training)

3. "Job with little prospects": schemes linked to increasingly
    segmented labour markets. Schemes in which trainees rely
    heavily on work experience placements as a means of gaining
    entry to low paid, insecure, often temporary and part-time work.
    The year on the Y.T.S. delays their entry to the jobs always
    allocated to the young working class school leavers in a
    peripheral, fragmented labour market. (Dairy Products PLC,
    Retail Training Ltd, Technology Training)

Progression from the Y.T.S. to un/employment is a complex process and
the categories presented must be treated with care. However they do
present a static point from which the situation of 1984 Y.T.S. leavers,
in these schemes, can be evaluated. Raffe's (1984, p.14) examination of
the data derived from a sample of 1421 Scottish school leavers who left
in the Summer of 1983 concluded:-

> "Except for highly specified training, employers recruiting in the
> youth labour market have usually judged education and training
> courses not on their content or quality rather than the types of
> young people believed to enter them".

These findings tally with the results of this study. Both studies
identify a complex pattern of hierarchy evolving with employers
reluctant to recruit from those schemes deemed lower status. Raffe
concludes that in 1984 Y.T.S. was an unemployment lead option which
would only become a preferred option if other opportunities were
restricted (ibid). By 1988 the Y.T.S. was the only option for school

leavers dependent upon state assistance during unemployment and, or job searching.

To return to the question posed at the end of Chapter 6 concerning the definition of the supervisors job it can be concluded that the "trainers" were employed on the aristocracy of schemes while the "supervisors" worked on other schemes. So the use of the word training in defining Y.T.S., as a whole, is at best an incorrect usage. At worst it is a term employed as a cover presenting a respectability to a scheme in the North East predominantly concerned with managing unemployment whilst inculcating a work ethic necessary for acceptance of the dead end jobs on offer to the majority of trainees. By incorporating diverse schemes in the Y.T.S. a transition occurred incorporating units previously involved in training into a new level of collective organisation (Parsons, 1969, p.349). The existence of guidelines for the Y.T.S. presented a series of norms which the outsider might assume to present an ordering of the schemes. This was clearly not the case. Nevertheless the Y.T.S. became an integral part of the school-work transition institutionalising a complex series of inequalities linked to the process selection onto Y.T.S.

Conclusion

1. Introduction

The concluding chapter presents an overview of training policy paying particular attention to recent changes. A review of the main points derived from the data is then presented. The chapter ends with a statement on the boundaries of this research and suggestions for future work in this area of sociology. The concluding comments draw together the theoretical and empirical strands of the thesis, evaluating the effects of the Y.T.S. upon both the school-work transition and the labour markets of County Durham.

2. Postscript: Training Policy

With the inception of the 1964 Industrial Training Act employers and trade unions jointly administered training policy. Funding was secured via levies and grants. The introduction of the M.S.C. special measures in the mid 1970's marked the continued evolution of a tripartism with Government, employers and trade unions developing and managing policy. However the funding for policy largely originated from the Government. Training policy constitutes both a form of social investment and social consumption (O'Connor, 1973, p.6) that is, expenditure on projects and services that increase the productivity of labour and lowers the reproduction costs of labour power. Furthermore, the introduction of the Y.T.S. demonstrated the Government's increased role in maintaining and creating the conditions for social harmony (ibid). In short a

Page 366

dramatic shift has taken place in the organisation and funding of training underlain by the wish to fulfil both the "two basic and often contradictory functions" of the capitalist state namely accumulation and legitimisation (ibid).

The Government now both controls and finances policy in a manner unforeseen prior to the economic and political crisis of the 1970's and 1980's. However the basis of that state direction and control differs vastly from the post war conception of government responsibility for economic and social well-being (Johnson, 1987, p.144). The notion that the role of Government is to steer the economy, guaranteeing full employment and a steady rise in individual and collective prosperity (ibid) has been replaced by the reaffirmation of theories of individual responsibility, thrift and self-help. After all this is the home of laissez-faire ideology and questions concerning the cost and effectiveness of welfare policies are of longstanding. The current ideology concentrates on ends, for example, efficiency, effectiveness, rather than means suggesting a change in the values and criteria by which the objectives of the welfare state are judged (Johnson, 1986, p.143).

The introduction of the Y.T.S. marked the beginnings of a shift in training policy with the aim of achieving particular goals based on laissez-faire ideology. Those goals involve a shift in policy to meet employers' needs whilst lowering the expectations of individuals in an attempt to "open up" labour markets. The words flexibility, adaptability and transferability now inculcate policy documents in all

sectors of training, both youth and adult schemes. The Y.T.S. constituted a testing ground for the broad training strategy based upon central control and local activity. Policy dictates are operated on a contractual basis with local agents. Public subsidy finances the private actions of the many small and other companies attempting to deliver training programmes.

Today the Y.T.S. is a scheme which affects virtually all school leavers in the Northern region (M.S.C., 1986, p.33). The Y.T.S. both perpetuates and creates divisions in the labour market and yet it offers hope of access to an arena of routine action (Giddens, 1981, p.154) namely the workplace. The behavioural responses of individuals to training policies per se, that is, active participation is not surprising. Reviewing training policy in 1989 the shift to the behavioural response basis of all policies is evident, i.e. supply side concerns. The postscript explores policy changes from 1986 in training policy drawing out the parallels in policy changes with the introduction of Y.T.S.

A. Two Year Y.T.S.

In April 1986 a two year Y.T.S. scheme was introduced. This marked both a change in the duration and content of Y.T.S. and the end of the main period of research for this thesis.

The extended Y.T.S. scheme is similar to the one year programme but differs in areas of content, funding and administration. The major

change was the abolition of the concept of modes, that is, Modes A, B1 and B2 utilised to identify schemes according to their context. Organisations operating schemes must acquire approved status. In 1987-8 there were 3,300 approved agents operating over 5,000 individual two year Y.T.S. schemes. Whilst Modes were abolished the trend continues to be towards schemes provided by private sector organisations. Fifty per cent of schemes and 65% of approved places are delivered by private sector agencies (M.S.C., 1988). The reputations established in the one year programme, both good and bad, remain largely intact in 1989.

Greater care is, theoretically, taken in establishing programme content. Managing agents are required to set out competence objectives and their arrangements for carrying out assessments, regular reviews, offering guidance and recording the achievements of trainees. A series of illustrative schemes covering the major occupational areas have been produced and are freely available. A formal contractual arrangement is drawn up with managing agents.

A new concept of occupational competence has taken a key role in terms of establishing the outcome and assessment of schemes:-

Occupational competence; competence in a range of occupational
skills

Plus

Competence in a range of transferable core skills; ability to

transfer skills and knowledge of new situations, personal
effectiveness.

These four components are constituents of the overall outcome namely
"the ability to perform the activities within an occupational area to
the level of performance expected in employment" (Youth Training News,
No. 47, June 1988, p.21). Whilst a number of projects are being
developed in the area of occupational competence little in the way of
guidance was available in 1986-7. Rather, it was envisaged that
providers of one year Y.T.S. would continue to operate schemes and bring
into the new programme the constituent elements of occupational
competence, namely core skills, personal effectiveness and transferable
skills. So the change in programme design maybe, for a number of
schemes, nothing more than a reordering of one year design. This would
not be surprising as the goals of the scheme remain closely linked to
meeting employers' needs.

The most significant change has taken place in the funding of the
scheme. Managing agents are paid a management fee per contracted place
of £110 p.a. A basic grant of £36.92 per week per filled place was paid
in 1986-7. A premium grant of £25.39, per week per filled place was
payed for places requiring additional resources and support, for
example, places for trainees with special learning needs. These grants
are invariably paid to what were Mode B1 schemes or ITECs for additional
equipment. Certainly the premium grant is a reaction to the obvious
needs of some trainees but it continues to be a divisive addition
allowing easy identification of what were Mode B1 schemes. Of the

schemes participating in this research project all the Mode B1 schemes receive premium grants. However whilst the majority of places at Technology Training receive the grant only 30% of places at Direct Training and Workshop Training attract the grant. Supervisors doubt that this in any way meets additional needs and increases pressure to generate funds by way of small business enterprises. Such developments whilst viewed as retrograde to training work, by many supervisors, are in keeping with the new enterprise in Y.T.S. initiative (see Youth Training News, No. 36, February 1987, p.13). A sliding scale of transitional funding is available for Mode B and ITEC schemes as both their forms of training have undergone a dramatic cut in funding (see Youth Training News, No. 47, op cit). The sliding scale and premium payments have softened the blow of the ultimate shift to one scale of finance but reinforced the conflict between training and the production of goods and services so as to generate income. Permanent additional funding is available for places occupied by disabled trainees at £17.31 per week.

Trainees receive a minimum allowance for the first and second year which in 1986-7 was £27.30 and £35.00 respectively. The threshold for reimbursement of travel expenses was set at £3.00 per week. Deacon and Pratten, (1987, p.496) concluded in a study of the economic effects of Y.T.S. that only a small minority of trainees had their allowances "topped up". (In this study only South Local Authority paid a top-up). Nor has the concept of Y.T.S. employees been taken up by managing agents. In 1987 only 11% of trainees in Great Britain had employee status. Whilst in London 23.1% of trainees had employee status in the

Northern region only 10% of trainees acquired such status. Gender divisions are particularly marked. Of the 5,000 Y.T.S. employees in London less than 1,000 are women. In the Northern region the ratio of female to male of the 3,000 Y.T.S. employees is 1 to 3 (Youth Training News, July 1988, No. 48, p.3). Approximately 20% of all male trainees and under 10% of female trainees have employee status. These trends have not changed but rather become reinforced by the institutionalisation of the Y.T.S. Similarly those staying on with the same employer on finishing Y.T.S. is 35% of trainees in the South East and 17% of trainees in the Northern Region (TUSIU, 1988, p.1). As these trends indicate employers in the South East are more receptive to the notion of employee status and more likely to recruit from Y.T.S. Deacon and Pratten's study concluded that trainees do produce an output ranging in value from £21 per week in construction to £33 in retail distribution (Deacon and Pratten, 1987, pp. 497). So South Local Authority, Engineering Training Ltd, Technology Training and Retail Training are organisations adding to their output via the Y.T.S. South Local Authority is the only organisation to input a large amount of funding, £30,000 1983-4, to the Y.T.S. However it is also the only scheme from this study able to do so.

Such patterns of provision and participation are being reinforced by demographic trends. Between 1987 and 1995 the number of 16 to 19 year olds is projected to fall by 25%. Already the number of employed Y.T.S. participants has risen from 11% in 1987 to 16% in 1988. Much of this increase is concentrated in the South and is an obvious reaction to the declining number of school leavers.

The average stay on the Y.T.S. in 1984-5 was 39 weeks. The drop out rate continues to be high. Between April 1986 and October 1987 67% of those who left finished with the Y.T.S. more than four weeks before the end of their course (Unemployment Unit, 1988, p.5).

The Y.T.S. appears to be a scheme marked both by a hierarchy between schemes but also growing regional disparities with the schemes in the South becoming closely linked to employment and hence a more direct school-work transition.

B. The Accredited Centre Network

Dramatic changes in the organisation and funding of A.C.'s have been on-going since 1985. As a consequence the Training the Trainers programme is now provided on a contractual basis. In March 1985 the first move to this sort of provision was made with the M.S.C. stating the maximum level of funding made to each A.C. In the case of Eastern Centre £90,000 was available 1985-6. That money had to be earned via hours of teaching. A fee of £35 per hour was payable for courses of 6 or more participants and £19 per hour of teaching for classes of less than 6 participants. So the staff had to earn their salaries and costs. The easiest method of raising funds was to identify popular courses which would attract 6 or more participants. The available level of funding was set by local offices with reference to 1984-5 provision and anticipated use of the Training the Trainers programme 1985-6.

One early casualty of this change was a new course, the 725 City and Guilds Trainers Award which requires observation of the trainers in their workplace with trainees. The local office, in line with national policy, deemed this unnecessary in the light of the 924 Award and suggested that Eastern Centre seek payment for the new course if they wished to run it. As the majority of Centre participants originated from Mode B1 schemes, which by their nature were unlikely to have the available funds, the idea of the course was dropped.

Studies in Wales and the North East of England conducted by the M.S.C. in 1985 suggested that provision for trainees with special needs was not entirely satisfactory. One of the main issues to emerge from the study was the inexperience of staff in both identifying and assessing trainees with special needs. It was suggested that the work of A.C.'S be directed towards this problem (Youth Training News, No 38, October 1986, p.4). However the A.C.'s had little time to respond prior to changes in funding and without requests from schemes such courses were not run. In short, the changes in funding were restricting the ability of A.C.'s to react to training needs particularly needs for those working with trainees who required additional assistance.

In the Spring of 1987 a further change in provision was introduced. Staffing at Eastern Centre was reduced to the S.T.C. and one lecturer. Additional teaching provision was secured on a contractual basis. A number of people contracted their services to the Centre and were brought in to teach as required. They were, however, self-employed for taxation purposes and at the mercy of changing fortunes of the A.C.

network. As a consequence of such changes the M.S.C. was able to control training provision, without the responsibility of the employment of the majority of teaching staff. The main provision at Eastern Centre continues to be the City and Guilds 924 Youth Trainers Award and Core Skills Courses. Participation continues to be dominated by supervisors from the voluntary and public sectors, that is, the former Mode B1 schemes. However noticeable improvements have been made in involving those from the private sector in short one-off sessions such as progression from the Y.T.S. and awareness raising sessions for work experience placement supervisors.

Nevertheless the changes in organisation and funding of the A.C. network reflect the low status and priority attributed to training trainers. Just as the poor education and training culture of Britain is reflected in the low number of Y.T.S. employees so the A.C. provision also reflects a lack of commitment by the private and public sector to providing quality training.

C. Benefit and Legislation Changes

The 1988 Employment and 1986 Social Security Acts have radically changed the benefit position of 16 and 17 year olds. Young people have been guaranteed a place on Y.T.S. from the schemes inception. If a young person is unable and does not wish to take up a place then they now have only limited rights to a restricted range of state benefits (Unemployment Unit, 1988, p.9).

The 1986 Social Security Act replaced the age of 16 with that of 18 as the normal minimum age for claiming income support. Benefit may be claimed in "prescribed circumstances" for example lone parents and the severely disabled or at the discretion of the Secretary of State for Social Security those defined as "estranged" from parents. So the Y.T.S. is now the only option for working class young people who wish to secure some form of independent income and cannot secure employment.

A bridging allowance is payable to school leavers for eight weeks in a year on registration at the Careers Office or Job Centre. The allowance is £15 per week, calculated at £3 per day from Monday to Friday and paid fortnightly in arrears after the young person registers at the Unemployment Benefit Office. The bridging allowance is intended to provide minimal assistance to those young people who move from one Y.T.S. scheme to another, or who experience a gap between leaving school and starting Y.T.S. When a young person applies for a bridging allowance (B.A.) they have to sign a declaration that they will "accept any offer of a suitable place on the Y.T.S., and that payments of Y.T.S. B.A. may be stopped if I refuse an offer" (Unemployment Unit, op cit, p.11). They "only circumstances in which a young person's entitlement to B.A. will be questioned is if they refuse a Y.T.S. place while they are receiving Y.T.S. B.A" (ibid). The suitability of a Y.T.S. place is left to the discretion of the Careers Office or Job Centre. Within Co. Durham the definition attributed to a suitable offer is said by careers officers to continue to be a broad one. However trainees suggest that subtle pressure is exerted to accept a place as soon as possible after leaving school.

The Queen's speech of the 22nd November 1988 signalled the Government's
intention to remove the regulation governing the hours 16 to 18 year
olds may work. Further, the new employment bill will exempt companies
with more than 20 employees from the present requirement to give
employees details of disciplinary and complaints procedures. In
addition employees will now have to work for two years instead of the
present six months before being entitled to written reasons for their
dismissal. The Social Security Bill published on the 16th December 1988
enshrines the provision to demand proof of efforts to find a job in new
legislation. The Social Security Secretary, John Moore described this
change as "pragmatic, practical and sensible" (Guardian, 17 December
1988b). The position and rights of young workers are further weakened.
The aim is to release employers from so called "red tape", that is
legislation requiring documentation. For the young this increases
pressure to take a job in an increasingly insecure labour market
(MacInnes, 1987, p.135). Changes in social security legislation firmly
place the onus on the individual to prove entitlement to benefit.

D. Training Policy: An Overview

Training policy for adults has undergone a series of changes in the last
three years. The failure of the short term job training scheme which
emphasised placements with employers' has been overtaken by Employment
Training (E.T.). Incorporating the Community Programme and other
schemes in the adult training programme the new unified training scheme
contains the following elements:-

1. Initial assessment and drawing up an action plan for each individual

2. Acceptance and fulfilment of the plan by a training manager

3. Inputs and processes of training to result in occupational competence.

This scheme contains many of the elements of the Y.T.S. and encompasses many Y.T.S. providers. The scheme for unemployed adults offers an average of six months training. The most controversial element of E.T. is the payment of a top-up of £10 per week on benefit rather than payment of the rate for the job. This element of the scheme has been highly criticised by many groups (Unemployment Unit, op cit, pp. 13-17) in particular the T.U.C. and a number of claimants groups. However the Government has continued with the scheme despite trade union and local government resistance.

The Training Commission (formerly known as the M.S.C.) has been abolished (Financial Times, 17 September 1988). With the abolition of the Training Commission has gone any direct influence over Government which trade unions and the CBI built up in the 1970's. Nationally the Training Agency, operating within the Department of Employment, will develop and implement policies for promoting training. This is established with the aim to further lift "barriers to employment" and meet the demands of changing labour markets (Guardian, 6 December 1988a). The agency will operate with a total budget of £3.1 bn. Two thirds of the 12 members of the agency will be leading figures in industry and commerce. So the development of policies will

be predominantly controlled by private sector interests advising Government through the Department of Employment.

The agency is charged with establishing a network of 100 local training and enterprise councils each with a budget of between £15 m - £50 m. These councils will be responsible for the Y.T.S. and E.T. The management of training is centrally controlled; the delivery of training locally arranged. The origins of this shift in policy are evident both in the Y.T.S. and the A.C. network developments. The ideology that lay behind these developments can be traced to the Think Tank Reports of 1980 and 1981. These reports suggested that training policy offered a means for being seen to be doing something about unemployment, but also facilitate important changes in the expectations and attitudes of workers (Finn, 1987, p.137).

So the framework and organisation of training has changed over the last three years. Yet the Y.T.S. has remained as the one stable element of policy in this period. But just as the Y.T.S. was in a part a reaction to the high rates of unemployment it may be that the scheme becomes redundant, especially in the South East, as demographic trends result in falling numbers of school leavers. However Government policies will continue to operate on the basis of market forces and the lowering of wage levels. So young people are unlikely ever again to command the wage levels of the 1970's.

The implications of such policy shifts and developments for the
theoretical approach of this research are twofold:

1. in identifying and examining the manner in which the
    individual manages change due attention must be paid to the
    social, political and economic context within which change
    occurs.

2. an ethnographic methodology is best placed to chart individual
    responses to the likely future changes in youth training
    policy. Such changes will reflect the demographic and
    economic shifts of the late 1980's and early 1990's.

3. Conclusions

The research contained in this thesis is concerned with an analysis of
the introduction of the Y.T.S. in Co. Durham, 1983-86. Particular
attention was paid to the development and organisation of the Training
the Trainers programme as the first national training scheme for young
people, the Y.T.S., was introduced. However it was impossible to
ignore the restructuring of the school-work transition experienced by
school leavers and the effects of employment on and participation in
the Y.T.S. for adult supervisors. Thus, whilst Chapters Three, Four
and Five of the thesis are concerned with the Training the Trainers
programme, Chapters Six and Seven examine respectively the work of
supervisors, and experiences of trainees on and progression from the
scheme.

The broad term that may be applied to the methodology employed is ethnography. The thesis is located in a tradition of sociology which recognises the operation of the capitalist economy as the instigator of divisions of labour (Bradley, 1986, p.11) but also attributes relevance to the actions of people which are subjectively meaningful (Williamson, 1982, p.4). Labour market divisions occur within the family and workplace and then these act back to confirm divisions (Bradley, op cit, p.391). The subjective world of the worker, the school leaver is a "shared one patterned by culture" (Williamson, ibid) and it is the identification and analysis of the culture, in a period of dramatic social and economic change, with which the research process was concerned. Participant comprehension (Collins, 1984, p.67) that is, seeking a native competence and involvement of the action of the group, became the goal. A series of strategies in addition to participation and observation were employed. Questionnaires were administered to scheme managers and supervisors. Interviews with key informants - M.S.C. officials, trade union officials and careers officers - were also conducted.

In analysing the data Webers' (Bendix and Roth, 1971, p.258) concept of ideal types was employed; that it is "fruitful to reduce social reality to intelligible typological proportions".

A. Why the Y.T.S?

The Y.T.S. was introduced in a period of economic restructuring characterised by the peaking of the number of 16 year old school

leavers. The scheme was set up by Government largely as a solution to the potentially explosive social problem of youth employment. However the nature of that training was markedly different in content and outcome when compared with the apprenticeship programmes of earlier decades. Job specific skills and opportunities to undertake widely recognised qualifications are available to few Y.T.S. trainees. This project has demonstrated the existence and operation of a hierarchy of schemes. So increasing participation in training via Y.T.S. has not led to a rise in the skill levels of the majority of young people. Rather, there continues to be a relatively small number of young people who progress through training to sectors of skilled employment. From the 30% of male school leavers who entered training in 1950 (Roberts, 1984, p.26) have originated many trainers working in engineering and construction sectors of the Y.T.S. In turn those trainers are working with the Y.T.S. trainees who will occupy primary situations in the labour market. So it would appear that little has changed since 1950 in terms of the labour market divisions resultant from skill training.

In the twenty five years from the introduction of the Industrial Training Boards the public policy making process has changed dramatically. The 1964 Industrial Training Act heralded the existence of a _policy community_ (Stringer and Williamson, 1987, p.23) incorporating business, trade unions and Government interests. The avoidance of conflict and movement to reactive policies and hence a slow push to regulate and expand training policy were the hallmarks of

this era. With the 1980s has come a pro-active form of policy making
in which Government Ministers promote policies based upon the ideology
of laissez-faire. The policy community no longer exists with the
cessation of the tripartism of unions, business and Government. It is
the _political_ _community_ which defines and regulates policy. However,
the implementation of policy is subcontracted to business interests.
This is an era of public policy in which Government controls and
finances policy but does not have the responsibility for its
implementation. The Y.T.S. is a prime example of this process.

James O'Connor (1973) wrote of the contradictory situation Governments
find themselves in with a need to ensure the continued accumulation of
capital whilst seeking legitimation from labour by promoting social
cohesion. Certainly Y.T.S. constitutes a massive public subsidy to
the private sector to provide the scheme. The workings of the scheme
assists many businesses. The Y.T.S. also promotes social harmony by
ensuring that it is available to all young school leavers with
apparently equal opportunity of access to all. But in its wake the
Y.T.S. has created a major contradiction for the Government. Whilst
the policy process may demonstrate the operation of a centralised
laissez-faire form of Government the Y.T.S. has saddled a Government
so concerned with controlling public expenditure with a large bill for
training both in terms of subsidies to the public and private sectors
and payments to staff operating the policy. British industry and
business are still loathe to develop training in isolation from
Governmental support. It is unlikely that proposed changes in the
management of training (the designation of local business lead

consortia) will moderate such attitudes which perceive training as an expendable form of investment. The Government is left financing and managing a scheme which has served its purpose of alleviating the social and political problems of youth employment. This is the operation of the "rhetoric of anti-statism" (Hall, 1985, p.117) and it is unlikely that the Government will be able to return training to market forces in all regions of the U.K. for the health of training in the private sector is linked to the state of the local economy.

The Y.T.S. did constitute a recognition that a major structural transformation in the economy was resulting in a reduced demand for labour (Jordan, 1982). The scheme was established with the manifest aim of addressing the country's training and skill problems but it allowed the institutionalisation of a scheme which changed expectations and attitudes of young workers. These aims were evident in the Think Tank reports of 1980 and 1981 considering, respectively, the relationship between education, training and industrial performance, and a response to mass youth unemployment (Finn, 1987, p.138). The White Paper "A Programme for Action" (Department of Employment, 1981) established both the ideological framework for Y.T.S. - the creation of an adaptable and flexible workforce creating wealth - and the organisational structure by establishing national criteria which is locally administered and monitored.

Despite the lessons of pilot projects (M.S.C., 1983A) the Y.T.S. was introduced without adequate documentation and the ready availability

of training for trainers. The political impetus proved to be the
major force in the introduction of the scheme.

B. Quality Control? The Accredited Centre Network

Chapters Three, Four and Five of the thesis examined the development
and work of the local Accredited Centre - Eastern Centre. The A.C.
network proved crucial to the M.S.C. as a tangible example of a
concern for the quality of training. The network was in the forefront
of the institutionalisation (Parsons, 1969, p.348) of the Y.T.S.
building upon and expanding available courses for training trainers.
The initially harmonious relationship between Eastern Centre staff and
local M.S.C. officials gave way to conflict. That conflict was
resultant from the failure of the Training the Trainers programme to
"regulate action in both types of unit and the relations between them"
(ibid). The complaint made by local M.S.C. officials accusing centre
staff of discussing "political matters" in the classroom brought
relations to a low point. Whilst the groups continued to work with
each other suspicion and cynicism coloured relations. The local
office was identified as working with an "ad hoc" framework (Boguslaw,
1965, pp. 17-21) and for the educationalists this proved a difficult
system to work with. Centre staff preferred to discuss and liaise
over programme content with the group that wrote the guidelines at
M.S.C. headquarters. That "heuristic system" was respected by Centre
staff whilst dismissed by local M.S.C. officials as comprised of
academics and educationalists, i.e. members of two highly
unfashionable groups (Greene, 1977, p.31).

The perceptions of the M.S.C. officials by Eastern Centre staff are represented in Figure 1 (on subsequent page). This is a diagrammatic representation of staff perceptions of M.S.C. staff who wrote the guidelines as a heuristic system whilst local officials were viewed as an ad hoc system. Figure 2 (overleaf) illustrates the dichotomy between the central direction, that is, the policy directives publicised by the M.S.C., and the local activity. The manner in which a hierarchy of schemes was created and perpetuated by local official perceptions and the operation of the labour market are presented in diagrammatic form.

In developing a programme of courses the problem of confusion over new concepts contained in the Y.T.S. were compounded by a lack of information. This was epitomised in the case studies of the courses provided by Eastern Centre (see Chapter Four). Sudden shifts in emphasis directed by the local M.S.C. officials and based upon "discrete competences" concerned with "making it in the face of unemployment, inflation, oil crisis" (Greene, op cit) added to the problems of Centre staff. The shifts in emphasis are detailed in Table 1 on the subsequent page.

The obvious ability of centre staff ensured that they commanded a key role in establishing the parameters of the world of supervisors. In the face of the chaos and confusion of the early years of the Y.T.S. the Centre provided a haven for supervisors. The classroom became a safe place for both supervisors and lecturers. This haven was challenged by "outsiders", in particular the M.S.C. Despite this the

Figure 1: **Diagrammatic Representation of Eastern Centre Staff's Perceptions of M.S.C. Officials.**

M.S.C. headquarters ———→heuristic systems(1)
e.g. guidelines based
upon principle of
trainee centred learning

Eastern
Centre
Staff

M.S.C. local officials —→ad hoc systems (2)
e.g. continual shifts in
focus of courses to be
provided at Centre
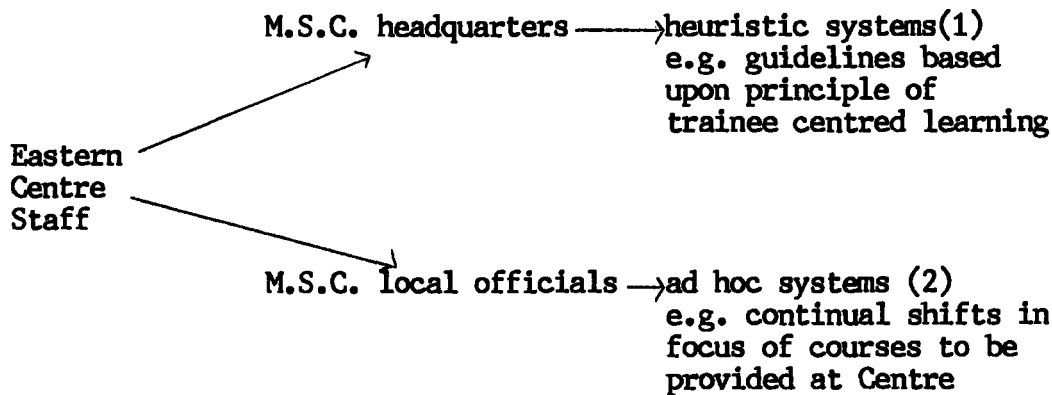
(1) Boguslaw (1965, p.17-21)

(2) ibid.

Source: Drawn from data in Chapter Three

Figure 2: **Appearance and Reality in YTS Design and Provision**

Economic, Social and Political necessity

heuristic system(1)

presentations of national scheme

Central Direction ————→ dichotomy ←———— local activity

ad hoc system(2)

local knowledge, activities and events
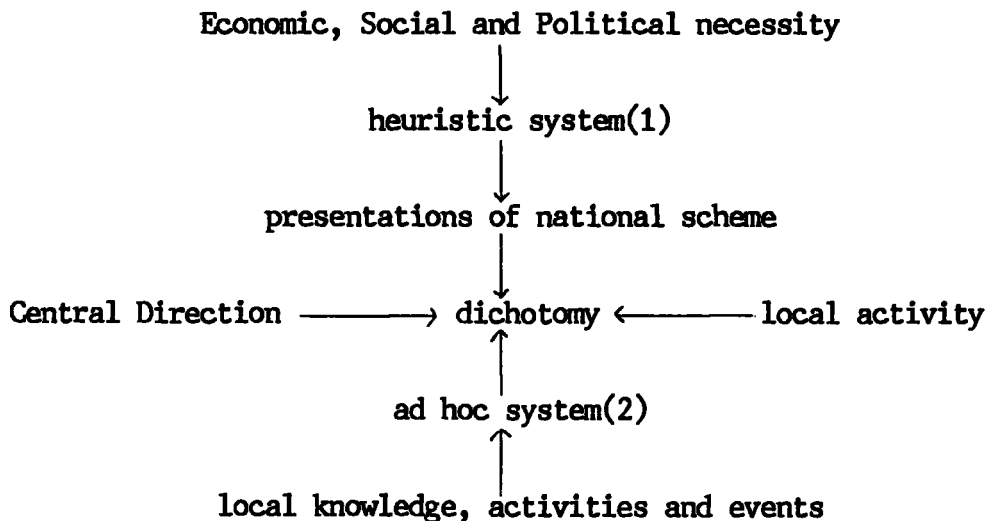
(1) see Boguslaw (1965, pp. 17-21) and Chapter Three, Section 3 (111)

(2) ibid.

Source: Drawn from data presented in Chapters One, Two and
Three.

Table 1: Representations of Shifts in Eastern Centre Provision

Time	Autumn 1983	Autumn 1984	Spring 1985
Course →	924 Youth → Trainers Award	Core Skills →	Work Experience Supervisors
Curriculum Source	Recognised by City & Guilds of London Institute	Short 3 day course compiled by Centre Staff	½ day course compiled by Centre Staff
Underlying Thesis	Basic 13 day course on YTS content and supervisory skills; aim to introduce uniform provision	Focus on discrete competences; individual and schools said to failed in basic skills	Focus upon YTS content as a means of addressing the quality of provision

Source: Data presented in Chapters Four and Five

classrooms of Eastern Centre became the context for a positive dialogue between lecturers and supervisors. The supervisors expressed their fears and resentments. The lecturers promoted their principles for education and training. The fears of the language of Y.T.S. were overcome as lecturers promoted the confidence and knowledge of supervisors on the scheme. Many of the supervisors returned to their schemes more confident in their dealings with the M.S.C. and scheme management but ultimately more aware of the inequalities within and between schemes.

C. Occupational Identity and Labour Market Destinations

The search for an occupational identity (Becker, 1970, p.178) by supervisors was often solved but their adherence to previous employment identities, that is, a reference group linked to employment and training history. The ideology and guiding principles of the lecturers at Eastern Centre presented a coping strategy for those new to training and returning to employment:- the "cadets" (Child, 1975, pp. 82-3). Table 2 (overleaf) presents the reference groups attributed to supervisors in Chapter Six of this thesis. The reference group of each supervisor is juxtaposed to the labour market destination of trainees derived from the typology presented in Chapter Seven. There exists a correlation between the reference group (the employment history of supervisors) and the labour market entry points of trainees. The strongest relationship appears to exist between the craftsman reference group and easy entry to employment in the primary labour market for trainees. The previous and current employment and

Table 2: <u>Supervisor Reference Groups(1) and the Labour Market</u>
<u>Destinations(2) of trainees</u>

Scheme	Supervisor	Reference Group	Labour Market Destination of Trainees
Dairy Products	Percy	Time Server	Segmented
Direct Training	George	Cadet	Marginal
Engineering Training	Jon	Craftsman	Aristocracy
Retail Training	Wendy	Cadet	Segmented
Special Needs	Liz	Professional	Marginal
South Local Authority	John Morris	Craftsman	Aristocracy
Technology Training	Ken	Craftsman	Segmented
Workshop Training	Fred	Frustrated achiever	Marginal

(1) Reference groups are drawn from Child (1975, pp. 82-3) and data presented in Chapter Six.

(2) Labour market destinations drawn from data presented in Chapter Seven.

Source: Analysis of data presented in chapters Six and Seven.

training situation of those supervisors provides a mirror image, reflecting for their trainees potential entry to a primary labour market (see data analysed in Chapter Seven).

The mirror image of supervisory reference groups reflecting potential labour market destinations of trainees is a relationship evident in the daily relations on schemes. At this micro-level the analysis of the relationship between supervisors and trainees communicates a sense of the effects of a changing labour market mediated in the experience of individuals. The evidence of potential destinations in the labour market are placed before trainees. For example, George, Direct Training, freely spoke to trainees of his own experience of employment and unemployment. His concern to promote any economic activity in the formal or informal economy, was based upon his experience of intermittent periods of unemployment. The trainees on that scheme suggested that whilst keen to obtain a job they were aware of the potential experience of unemployment. In complete contrast the trainees at South Local Authority were guided towards a career with a series of visits to craft concerns suggesting to them that they were participating in a high status area of training.

Supervisors who were able to enact some choice in their employment pattern both possessed qualifications in training and actually sought the high status schemes linked to employment opportunities and new technology eg. Ken of Technology Training. Many were committed to training as a career and as a fulfilling manner in which to promote and develop their own area of skill training. Other supervisors, new

to training, sought an identity as a trainer. Often the tutors at
Eastern Centre provided valuable information and guidance. The
identities supervisors demonstrated are listed in Table 3. Those
identities were not just borne from the past experience of training
and current relationships with trainees but effected by the monitoring
of the M.S.C. and scheme management reactions to scheme guidelines.
The reactions of scheme management ranged from manipulation of the
guidelines to meet organisational goals, to dismissal of the
guidelines and adherence to scheme content as a consequence of M.S.C.
monitoring (see Table 3). The ability of scheme management to
manipulate or dismiss guidelines was strongly correlated to the
context of the scheme. In short those schemes located in Mode A
environments were given greater freedom by the M.S.C. to develop
training programmes which were divorced from the Y.T.S. guidelines.
In 1983 the M.S.C. officials were concerned to attract employers and
local authorities to the scheme. This was a difficult goal as British
employers were internationally renowned for their haphazard approach
to training. While Mode A schemes, the B1, ITEC and the B2 schemes
for special needs were able to develop their own programmes, the Mode
B1 training workshops were heavily policed and monitored. This heavy
emphasis upon monitoring Mode B1 schemes resulted from the poor
reputation of Y.O.P. the forerunner of the Y.T.S. which many training
workshops were involved in. Lecturers at Eastern Centre applauded the
Mode B1 schemes that strongly adhered to the guidelines which they
expressed empathy with. However the trainees on those schemes were
less likely to secure employment (see Table 2) and hence less likely

Table 3: **Supervisors identity(1) and Management reaction to the Y.T.S. guidelines.(2)**

Scheme	Supervisor	Identity	Management Reactions	Mode
Dairy Products	Percy	Seeker (dismissal)	dismissal	A
Direct Training	George	Seeker (trainees)	adherence	B1
Engineering Training	Jon	Expert	dismissal	A
Retail Training	Wendy	Seeker (trainees)	dismissal	A
Special Needs	Liz	Developer (self)	manipulation	B2
South Local Authority	John Morris	Developer (trainees)	manipulation	A
Technology Training	Ken	Specialist	manipulation	B2
Workshop Training	Fred	Seeker (confused)	adherence	B1

(1) Supervisor identities drawn from Davies and Burgoyne (1984, p.6) and data presented in Chapter Six.

(2) Management reaction to Y.T.S. guidelines drawn from the analysis of data presented in Chapters Six and Seven:

manipulation = the ability of management to utilize guidelines to construct other programmes of training and work beneficial to the organisation's own goals.

dismissal = ability to ignore guidelines. Possibiliites of constructing own programme linked to the output value of trainees' work.

adherence = strict following of Y.T.S. guidelines due largely to policing by M.S.C. and, also, lack of previous involvement in training.

to succeed in the selection process for entry to labour markets promoted by the Y.T.S.

Ultimately the Y.T.S. was evaluated by the number of trainees securing employment or entering training on leaving a scheme. That school leavers wanted to work was in no doubt (Coffield, Borrill and Marshall, 1986, p.87) but what became clearly evident as a consequence of this research was the effects of recruitment onto Y.T.S. on labour market entry. Figure 3 presents a diagrammatic representation of that process. It was not a process, as the publicity of the Y.T.S. suggested, placing those most motivated onto schemes of their choice. In reality a very different relationship existed with those schemes operating easy access to trainees being lowly regarded. Figure 4 adds the supervisory reference group to the best and worse scenarios for the labour market destinations of scheme leavers. The "craftsmen" are working on the schemes evidently linked to employment opportunities. The "cadets" are to be found employed on schemes linked to segmented and marginal labour markets.

The perceptions of families, school leavers and employers were based upon impressions of the types of young people believed to enter schemes and perceptions of their destinations on leaving. The content and quality of training (with reference to the Y.T.S. guidelines) appears to matter little not only for the school leavers, the families and employers but also for the M.S.C. local officials.

Figure 3: <u>Diagrammatic Representations of the Relationship between Recruitment onto the Y.T.S. Scheme and the Labour Market Destination of Trainees.</u>

Best
Scenario
    strict criteria
eg. educational ———→
qualifications
    difficult to get
    onto   ———→ linked to employment
e.g. South Local
Authority,
Engineering
Training Ltd.

Worst
Scenario
    no criteria ———→ easy access to; ———→ linked to
high turnover of   peripheral
trainees and staff   positions in
e.g. Direct Training, labour market
Workshop Training
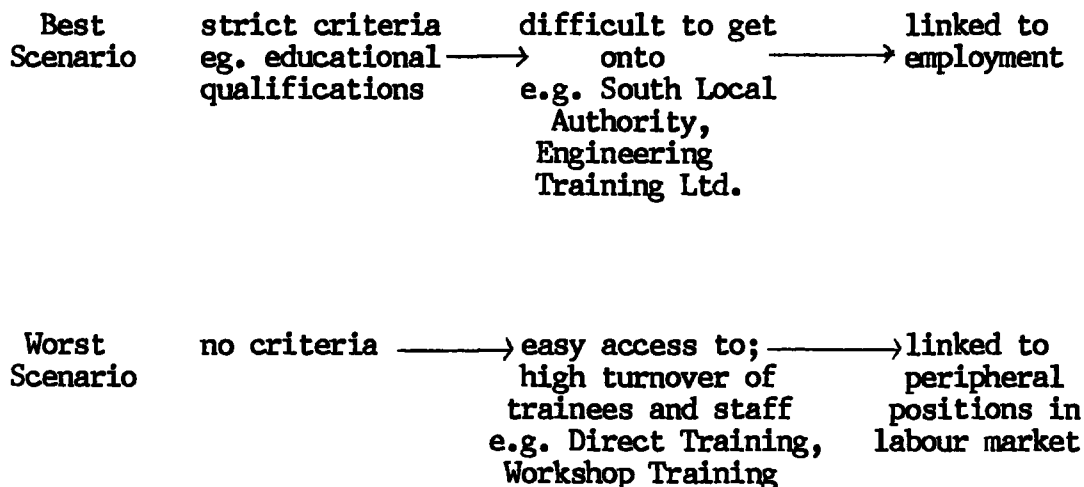
Figure 4: <u>Trainee Applications and Perceptions of Schemes (supervisors' employment, training history and trainee destinations).</u>

Best
Scenario
    trainee access ———→ supervisors ———→ link to
    restricted   "craftsmen"   "aristocracy"
labour market

    trainee   knowledge of
applications ←— in school/families
high in volume

Worst
Scenario
    trainee access ———→ supervisors ———→ linked to
    open   "cadets"   segmented,
                                  marginal
                                  labour market

    only option/
follow peer group

    Trainee   knowledge of in
applications ←——— schools/families
low in number   employers

4. The Boundaries of the Research Project

In this section of the concluding chapter the parameters of the
research presented in this thesis are re-stipulated. The gaps and
failings of the project are noted and suggestions for future work
made.

A. The Theoretical Approach

This project is based within a tradition of sociology which recognises
the operation of the capitalist economy as the major cause of
divisions of labour but also attributes relevance to the actions of
people which are subjectively meaningful. The theoretical aim has
been to achieve the exercise of the sociological imagination (Mills,
1959, p.14). That involves a "capacity to shift from one perspective
to another, and in the process to build up an adequate view of a total
society and of its components" (Mills, op. cit., p.232). The
identification of the social and historical meaning of the individual
in the society, set within the context of the specific period of
being, enhances an understanding of the mechanisms by which
individuals comprehend and react to change.

The interlocking trajectories of social change included the rise of
unemployment, in particular youth unemployment; changes in the school
- work transition and economic restructuring. In the County of Durham
there was a dramatic transformation in the experience of unemployment
with the growth of M.S.C. special measures and subsequently the Y.T.S.

This was an era in history, from the late 1970s to mid 1980s, characterised by a shift from corporatism and the accepted role of Government in the provision of welfare to an increasingly centralised form of Government operating policies both didactic and anti-collectivist in nature (Johnson, 1987, p.156). The supervisors and trainees who participated in this project experienced the effects of these changes directly. A major task of the project was to identify and demonstrate how those experiencing change developed their perceptions of and reactions to a changing world.

The actions of the post 1979 Conservative Government in setting up the Y.T.S. was to build upon existing training programmes bringing them into a new "constellation of interests" (Parsons, 1969, p.349). The structure of the training network was organised by the M.S.C. and schemes funded by Government to provide a 50 week scheme in basic and occupation skills across a range of sectors. However the institutionalisation of the Y.T.S. changed the policy community (Stringer and Williamson, 1987, p.38) giving a new found prominence to industrial interests and marking the end of the direct involvement of trade unions. In fact the meaning normally attributed to the term training was undergoing dramatic change.

Throughout the thesis the biographies and everyday experience of supervisors and trainees constituted the main form of data. From this data the theoretical approach was further explored to provide new conceptualisations which illuminate features of the Y.T.S. previously hidden from the policy debate (Finch, 1988, p.196).

B. The Method: Weaknesses and Strengths

The project focussed upon the work and training of Y.T.S. supervisors in County Durham during the early years of the scheme, 1983-5. As it became apparent that the relationship between trainees and supervisors illuminated many of the everyday consequences of the scheme this was examined.

The main methodological approach was an ethnographic one. Ethnography is a field of study concerned with the description and analysis of culture. So as to enhance data collection and analysis participant comprehension was the ideal type of participant observation aimed for (Collins, 1984, p.67). Questionnaires and interviews were also utilised in a multiple strategy (Burgess, 1984a, p.146) with a number of methods selected for their efficiency and adequacy for particular research problems (Zelditch, 1962, p.576).

However the multiple strategy was employed in one locality - Co. Durham - at one A.C. and eight Y.T.S. schemes directed by one local M.S.C. office. The project was, therefore, limited in sample. Questions such as 'How many?' or 'How often?' cannot be answered by a

limited ethnographic study especially if they are questions about the whole age group, or everyone on Y.T.S. schemes (Finch, op. cit., p.195). Other limitations were the practical constraints of the process of study in terms of time, resources and money. As a consequence the numbers of participants in the project are limited and Y.T.S. schemes in such sectors as community care, transport, and agriculture and horticulture could not be incorporated in the study. A comparative element was not included. Whilst regard was paid to other studies such as Coefield, Borrill and Marshall (1986) and Boswell (1988) study of the A.C. network and schemes outside the county was not undertaken. This is a major limitation to the study if the findings are to feed into the policy debate. A valid question is, should change be based upon one specific study when there is no indication that the experiences described there are replicated elsewhere?

However a negative answer to that question is one invariably based upon a particular model of the relationship between research and the policy process. The classic model is one in which it is presumed that research findings are fed into the policy-making process and used to make and change policies. Quantitative work is seen as more useful in such a process. But this model, as with many models, is as recent research suggests far from the reality of the often fragmented, incremental and diffuse process (Elmore, 1979, p.602) of policy-making. Much research has been conducted into the implementation of policies as the processes of policy making and writing are recognised as deficient if conducted without regard to the implementors and

groups affected by the policy. Ethnography is well placed to inform the debate concerning implementation for it addresses such questions as:

1. how much has actually changed in practice?
2. what are the unintended consequences of policy change?
3. Are there contradictions obvious in the effects of policies?
   (Finch, op. cit., p.189)

With reference to this study the research findings identified certain changes, such as the initiation of the A.C. network and the development of new schemes. The project also found the involvement of many programmes of training operating prior to the Y.T.S. The involvement of both these new and old to training resulted in a hierarchy of schemes with those linked to recognised forms of training being placed in a high status position. The Y.T.S. publicly aimed to open up access to training but in reality the operation of schemes in Co. Durham contradicted such an aim. The study made visible the tensions, contradictions and incompatible aims of the Y.T.S. Was it unintended or intended to restructure the labour market? The self interests of the craft supervisors; the dominance of the aristocracy of schemes, and prevalence of selection criteria for such schemes were variables which reinforced the high status of them. Their continued operation, often with little regard to the true ethos of the Y.T.S., ensured that selection of school leavers would follow. Setting a policy on paper and placing it in operation without adequate resourcing and monitoring was bound to lead to such an outcome. The

existence of the Think Tank reports of 1980 and 1981 suggests a broad strategy aimed at restructuring the labour market and changing the expectations of employment.

The value of ethnography is its ability to take the perspective of the implementors of the policy, namely the M.S.C. officials, the supervisors, the tutors at Eastern Centre and other interested groups. The links may be made between the micro and the macro, between personal experience and social structure, between biography and history. The resultant perspectives on the social world can offer reconceptualisations of the purposes and the effects of policies to inform the policy debate and hence the policy-making process.

C. Areas for Future Work

At the end of any research project it becomes apparent that gaps exist and areas for future work became evident.

1. Trainers are not a discrete and known group but a shifting and transient one whose employment is often dependent upon changes in policy. Certainly a longitudinal study of the employment paths of supervisors on the Y.T.S. and the destinations of their trainees would present a clear conception of the reality of this role.

2. Likewise a historical study of training schemes would provide a test of one of the main conclusion of the thesis concerning the

status attributed to schemes with reference to the history (if any) of the scheme in training.

3. Certain areas of study such as the evolution of the M.S.C. to the Training Agency; the changing nature of the Careers Service in and out of schools and the role of employers in demarcating training programmes would all be suggested areas for future work.

4. Also the broader context of the household - of both trainee and supervisor - was largely ignored in this project. Perhaps a means of incorporating many of these variables in a project would be a cohort and longitudinal study of a group of supervisors (or trainees) as a means of gaining insight into the detail of processes and influences acting within a given environment. A comparative element, in terms of economic sector and locality, should be added.

In conclusion if I was to conduct a similar project again, with the knowledge of the results of this one, I would still favour an ethnographic perspective but focus upon the study of a cohort of supervisors so as to build up a wider perspective on the complex environment within which the work of supervisors was conducted.

Nevertheless this project has pushed forward my understanding of the complex inter-relationship between education, training and employment as epitomised by the experience of the people involved in the Y.T.S. in Co. Durham. No one was immune to the effects of economic recession

and restructuring in this period of a marked shift by Government to laissez-faire ideology as the basis for policy change.

5. Final Comments

In the final paragraphs of the thesis the general relevance of the research findings to education, un/employment and training are drawn out.

Education

The optimism of the 1960s with the move to comprehensive education was disturbed by the oil and inflation crises of the 1970s. Accompanying high levels of unemployment and growing criticisms of education brought renewed attempts by pressure groups to strengthen the links between education and the economy (Brown, 1984, p.98). These criticisms are not new but a recurring theme running from the industrial revolution, namely that the education system has a lack of concern for industry's requirements in terms of a well-skilled, motivated and disciplined workforce (MacInnes, 1987, p.165). Reeder (1979, p.147-8) demonstrated that criticisms from industrialists about education have intensified at times of economic under-performance and decline. Education becomes a scapegoat as industry and business seek to explain their failures.

Whilst the debate is not a new one, the policies of the 1980s represent a dramatic change. The Conservative Governments of post

1979 developed a broad ideology often known as the new vocationalism (Watford, Purvis and Pollard, 1988, p.5), Dale (1985, p.1-7) identifies four main characteristics of the new vocationalism viz:-

1. Its boundaries are specific being intended for the 14 to 18 age group and the lower two thirds of the ability range;

2. Personal adjustment of attitudes and expectations are a major aim of the new ideology;

3. It legitimates inequalities in terms of gender and ethnic groups, reinforcing the role of education in generating such divisions;

4. It does not go uncontested by those who hold wider views on the purposes of education and the debate is an ongoing one demonstrating competing perspectives.

Within schools the rise of the Technical Vocational Education Initiative (TVEI) represents a change in the content of educational practice but leaves largely untouched and undebated the context in which this takes place. Evans and Davies (1988, p.48) argue that the context of educational practice is to "a large extent constituted by the structure of selection and differentiation within the educational system and by its relation to differentiation within the labour market and within society as a whole." Young people's educational decisions and subsequent decisions on the Y.T.S. are, therefore, influenced by immediate considerations but also reflect their judgement about routes through education and training to specific goals. In Chapter Seven the trainees' explanations of entry to the Y.T.S. demonstrated their

awareness of "rites of passage"(1) Changes in social security

legislation, limiting available options for the young school leaver,

must make the routes through education and training more evident and

acceptable, further legitimating inequalities.

Un/employment

Unemployment has been a familiar occurrence in Co. Durham. Despite

post war decades of national prosperity County levels of unemployment

remained above the national average (Moore, Evening Gazette, 10.3.60).

The increase in unemployment during the 1970s affected many more

groups than previously. In particular the young and the semi-skilled

experienced unemployment as a phenomenon new to post school job

planning.(2)

But economic recession also affected those in work, intensifying

pressure for restructuring and internal redefinition (Purcell and

Wood, 1986, p.1) and increasing the pace of change. Many feel

vulnerable and expectations of employment adjust to suit available

jobs and conditions on offer. The trainees' experiences examined in

(1) Their expectations were not great but often further restricted in
    the transitions from school to Y.T.S. Educational qualifications
    were a major criteria of selection in access to higher status
    schemes.

(2) The bonds between education and employment tightened with
    vocational education increasingly seen as an instrument to respond
    to youth unemployment.

Chapter Seven demonstrate a new found acceptance of temporary, part-time and low paid work.

The restructuring of work is a process of change in the divisions of labour in society. The discussion above, would suggest a series of changes negative in effect for labour. Yet certain Y.T.S. supervisors gained from restructuring, in so far as they perceived a job on Y.T.S. as a positive move in the occupational order. However the workings of the Y.T.S. illustrated the personal responses to a broad and ideologically based training strategy, by individuals. In the low status schemes survival skills related to the social rather than the technical or formal organisational system of the workplace. Such strategies foster individualism which prevents the recognition of common interests and vulnerabilities. Unemployment was "other people's problems". A new era of individualism was fostered as the Y.T.S. sought to create the flexible, adaptable workforce with transferrable skills.

Training

Set within the broader framework of economic and social policies the importance of the role of the M.S.C in generating new forms of education and training can be seen. Early policies based upon cyclical explanations of unemployment (Makeham, 1980) became less credible as recession continued. The introduction of a national training scheme for young people marked an acceptance of an individual deficit model in which unemployment was seen as the 'fault' of the

individual young people who lacked the necessary skills and attitudes for the work that was available. But the funding of policies represented massive public subsidies of the private actions of employers often manipulating policies to suit their needs.

From 1979 the M.S.C. became more evidently linked with Government working, for example, with the Department of Education and Science to develop the TVEI programme for the 14 to 18 year olds. The M.S.C. was perceived as a dynamic organisation able to redirect the school and training curriculum to greater industrial relevance. Undoubtedly the Y.T.S. was, consciously or unconsciously, a testing ground for subsequent developments such as Employment Training. Underlying such shifts was the change in the meaning of the word 'training' reflected in the divergent role of supervisors on a series of schemes. Courses provided in the A.C. reflected the new meaning of training - the provision of short term, largely unrecognised, forms of activity. Further the physical situation of schemes demonstrated the place in the Y.T.S. hierarchy.

The tripartism of the 1970s and early 1980s involving business, union and Government representatives in developing and monitoring policy ceased in 1988. The Training Agency, controlled directly by Government Ministers, will preside over the strategic direction of policy with a devolution of powers to local bodies, that is, a central direction of local activity.

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APPENDIX I

A Guide to the Y.T.S. - December 1983

1. WHAT IS THE Y.T.S.?

2. WHO PAYS WHOM?

3. RECRUITMENT AND RIGHTS OF TRAINEES

4. MONITORING THE Y.T.S.

5. TRAINING THE TRAINERS

6. CONCLUSION

This guide was written in December 1983. It has been reproduced in the thesis without amendment as it represented the general state of knowledge on Y.T.S. at that time.

This guide was written in 1983. It is presented in Appendix I as a statement of the information available within the first months of the Y.T.S.

1. What is the Y.T.S.?

The Y.T.S. is a training policy and not an employment policy. It is a policy measure which in operation will lower the unemployment statistics. Geoffrey Holland, director of the M.S.C. described the Y.T.S. thus:-

> "We have established a new training concept in the Youth Training Scheme which will offer 460,000 high quality training places for school leavers - arguably the most significant development in youth training since the Education Act of 1944 or even earlier."
> (G. Holland, Youth Training News, No. 7: 12)

The Y.T.S. is designed to last for one year combining on-the-job experience/training with a minimum 13 weeks off-the-job theoretical, social and life skills training. The M.S.C.'s principal objective has been to provide 300,000 Mode A places. Mode A schemes are those provided by private employers who will act under supervision of a designated managing agent. Only approved sponsors will be able to take part in the Y.T.S. To be approved a firm must satisfy central guidelines and be able to provide evidence of ability to provide training. Smaller firms can be linked together with one organisation acting as managing agent to co-ordinate training. Employers taking part in the scheme may recruit trainees or take on at least three additional trainees for every two school leavers already employed. This is the additionality rule. While further trainees may be accepted funding is calculated on the 2:3 ratio. So some young people covered by the scheme will be Y.T.S. employees paid a wage while others will be recruited as Y.T.S. trainees and paid the £25 per week allowance. All first year apprentice and training schemes may now apply to be recognised as Mode A providers of training.

160,000 Mode B places will be provided. A major division exists in Mode B schemes. Mode B1 includes training workshops, information technology centres (ITECs) and community projects while Mode B2 covers college based schemes.

The long term aim is that all Y.T.S. schemes should fit into one of 11 occupational training families - O.T.F.'s. Developed by the Institute of Manpower Studies, University of Sussex, O.T.F.'s are groupings of skills relevant to specific key purposes and both job and transferable skills (see overleaf).

With the closure of the schools council, many of the wages councils and all but 7 of the Industrial Training Boards national standards in training will be difficult to establish and monitor (see E. Fennell, Times Educational Supplement, 5.11.82, p.21)

Occupational Training Families

O.T.F. No:	Occupations	Key Purpose
1	Administrative, Clerical and Office Services	Information processing
2	Agriculture, Horticulture Forestry and Fisheries	Nurturing and gathering living resources
3	Craft and Design	Making single or small numbers of objects with hand or power tools
4	Installation, Maintenance and Repair	Fitting and making equipment work
5	Technical and Scientific	Making things work or usable
6	Manufacturing or Assembly	Making products by shaping, constructing and assembling materials
7	Processing	Intervening in the working of machines when necessary
8	Food Preparation and Service	Preparing and handling food
9	Personal Service and Sales	Meeting individual customer's needs
10	Community and Health Services	Meeting community and social needs
11	Transport Services	Moving goods and people

Source: The handbook on the M.S.C.'s Youth Training Scheme (1983)

However the longer term aims of the O.T.F.'s have already given way to the designation of priority areas. At present engineering, construction and road transport plus computer and office skills have been designated areas of priority.

The client groups of the Y.T.S. comprise three categories:-

a. Sixteen year old leavers;

b. Certain 17 year old leavers ie. those who leave at 17 and those that have been grouped in final year with 16 year olds;

c. Disabled 18 year old leavers. From February 1984 the age limit was raised to 21 years.

The scheme was intended to be optional (despite Government wishes that it be compulsory) but a recent directive to careers offices from the M.S.C. has asked that leavers registered with the careers department who successively turn down "suitable" schemes should be notified to the local D.H.S.S. office with a view to cutting or curtailing entitlement to supplementary benefit. This move has met with resistance from careers officers. Such measures, careers officers argue, will jeopardize their position of trust with the young school leaver.

2. Who Pays Whom?

The Y.T.S. is orientated towards provision of training by private firms of a publicly financed training programme. Payments to trainees of £25 per week reflect the widely held view in Government that the young must price themselves into jobs. The allowance (plus the young workers scheme of subsidies payable to those 16-18 year olds paid less than £45 per week) will pull down youth wage rates. The present national insurance deductions and taxation policies affecting low income groups will also ensure a limit to the allowance. A trainee need only receive a "top up" from a willing employer of £7.49 per week, ie. £32.49 total, before attracting deductions from the allowance. While the T.U.C. urges unions to press for this top up the Confederation of British Industry have advised their members not to pay any additional sums. Trainees are paid by the sponsor. However the allowance is paid via a block grant to the sponsor from the M.S.C. The benefits of this system were stated as:-

"You now have the opportunity to take on young men or women, train them and let them work for you almost at our expense and than decide whether to employ them". (David Young, Chairman M.S.C. cited in SEA Journal, Vol. 10, No 1)

£1 billion has been made available to fund the scheme. Most of this money will be paid to the managing agent/sponsor of various courses. So the Government was to pay a massive subsidy to the private and public sectors in order to provide training.

Funding for Mode A courses can only be described as generous. The M.S.C. pays the block grant of £1,850 a year for each participant on a course. It is payable on a monthly basis. Funds are available for all young people taken on in a ratio of 2 employees to 3 trainees.

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2 existing apprentices/young workers        £1,850  =  £3,700
3 additional Y.T.S. trainees             @ £1,850  =  £5,550
                                                       £9,250
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The block grant is deemed to be outside the scope of VAT, so the full amount will be received by the sponsor. An additional payment of £100 per approved place is payable to the managing agent to cover administrative costs. VAT is liable but is reimbursed (some sponsors may not be liable to VAT and therefore avoid any payment of tax). So an employer managing his/her own scheme will receive a total of £9,750 for 5 workers, £3,250 for each of the 3 trainees. The T.U.C. recently calculated that an employer could yield £8,025 in surplus value after paying the national allowance and training (see T.U.C. Handbook on the Y.T.S., 1983, p.21).

Mode B1 schemes (ie. ITEC's, Workshops, Community Programmes) receive:-

a. Staff salaries, subject to maximum agreed with the Treasury.
    (Currently this is £6,500 per annum)

b. £1,300 per trainee ie £25 per week x 52 weeks.

c. A grant towards operating costs of up to £440 for community
    programmes, £600 per trainee in training workshops and ITECs.

d. A once and for all payment to training workshops and ITECs of £545
    per approved place.

e. ITECs received a capital grant of £55,000 pa. for 2 years. In the
    third year £20,000 is payable. The grant, from the Department of
    Industry, is to cover capital costs of equipment.

The 13 weeks off-the-job training must be financed from available monies. This means that finance is tight for Mode B1 schemes as the average cost per 13 weeks in a technical college is over £500 per student. While schemes are not obliged to use colleges often it is the only available method of obtaining such training at a credible level and a reasonable price.

Mode B2 linked schemes receive:-

a. £1,300 per trainee. Again £25 per week x 52 weeks.

b. Fees for the 13 weeks off-the-job training.

c. A management fee of £100 that must be negotiated as follows:-

    Preparation of programme   £20
    Selection, recruitment and allocation   £20
    Administration of a programme   £50
    Calculating and paying trainee allowances   £10

VAT is reimbursable.

d. All managing agents are entitled to training for staff at one of the
    accredited training centres.

e. Capital grants of up to £100,000 (payable by local education
    authorities) can be claimed for the provision of teaching
    accommodation.

The concept of the additionality is certainly bait to employers.
However the method of funding and the possibility of utilising private
educational establishments or employing teaching staff direct for the 13
weeks off-the-job period could result in competition between further
education colleges and a new private sector of service teaching on
employer's premises. (See Maclure, Times Educational Supplement, 12
November 1982, p.4).

3. Recruitment and Rights of Trainees

"Chairman David Young has called on the careers service to place
Y.T.S. firmly on their list of options and to make sure that parents
are as much in the picture as school leavers".
(Youth Training News, No. 7, p.1)

Unlike the Y.O.P. scheme the Y.T.S. aims to cover both employed and
unemployed school leavers. Those who take up places as Y.T.S. employees
are recruited in much the same way as school leavers were in proceeding
years. Trainees are generally allocated to a prospective scheme on
leaving school and registering both with the careers office and (if they
can) with the D.H.S.S. Such trainees are recruited to schemes via the
careers department. Job centres can display available Y.T.S. vacancies
but do not deal with actual placements. Y.T.S., it is hoped, will bring
the careers service into a direct placement role. Interviews conducted
by careers staff in the final year combined with their knowledge of
local schemes should enhance a speedy transition from school to scheme.
Available evidence from Co. Durham appears to reinforce the theory. By
November 1983 606 trainees in Durham City, had been placed, all but a
few of those registered. In total 6,000 young people left school to
seek employment or youth training in the County.

Distribution of Y.T.S. Trainees by Scheme at 10 November 1983

Durham City:	MODE A	MODE B1 Community	MODE B1 Workshop	MODE B1 ITEC	MODE B2	
NUMBER	319	117	115	28	26	= 606
% TOTAL	53%	19%	18%	5%	5%	= 100%

Source: Alan Lockyear, Durham City Specialist Careers Advisor

Nationally by the 19 October 1983 only 200,000 of the available 460,000 places had been taken up ie. 43%. This figure has disappointed both the M.S.C. and careers officers as both groups have produced various brochures, videos and displays aimed at publicising the virtues of the scheme.

While training schemes "overlap" in skill provision the level and quality of training varies greatly. Careers officers freely admit that employers will want the most qualified school leavers (in terms of aptitude and interest) and competition will result. Inevitably a hierarchy of schemes has developed.

An employer ultimately decides who may join his/her scheme. Such measures result from two parallel trends:- the reintroduction of an emphasis upon selective school based education with the concurrent provision of a narrow based vocational training for the large number who leave at 16.

The rights of trainees are limited and often vague. Often they are employed and/or training in sectors with little unionisation and unable to believe that union membership will bring benefits. The young are isolated and awarded little protection. It is easy to conclude that a new cheap reserve of labour has been created.

Briefly the rights of trainees are as follows:-

a. Payment of the allowance: currently £25 per week allowance plus any top up an employer/union may negotiate.

b. Hours: 40 hours to be worked per week. No overtime allowed. Some shift working applicable but within the legislation limiting night and weekend shifts for under 18's.

c. Holidays: 1½ days per month.

d. Travel Costs:: More than £4 per week reimbursed (£3 from 1.2.84).

e. Protective Clothing: Such articles must be provided free in keeping with the provision for permanent staff.

f. Health and Safety: At present a regulation is being introduced in Parliament to bring Y.T.S. trainees under the scope of the 1974 Act. Regional Safety Managers are being appointed.

g. Equal Opportunities: The M.S.C. has initiated a drive to assure all relevant parties that the Y.T.S. has a commitment to equality of opportunity. Orders have been issued by the Secretary of State for Employment to ensure trainees receive protection under the 1976 Race Relations Act and 1975 Sex Discrimination Acts. Equal opportunity of access has been stipulated by the M.S.C.

It remains to be seen how trainees will utilise such rights as exist. It is difficult to imagine any trainee being able to battle through health and safety and equality legislation without assistance (it's

already difficult enough for those proficient in such areas to bring forward complaints). However legislative coverage does ensure a minimum standard - which is, however, all too easily abused.

h. Benefits: <u>Sickness</u>: less than one week, employers pay allowance. More than one week employer will still pay allowance but only on receipt of a valid certificate. i.e. Statutory Sick Pay Scheme applies until three weeks. After three weeks a trainee must claim supplementary benefit. Those receiving a "top up" or actual salary are covered by the Statutory Sick Pay scheme for up to eight weeks. All accidents must be reported with sick notes resulting from work place accidents being sent direct to the M.S.C. Industrial injury benefit is payable for fifteen weeks by the M.S.C. After that a trainee must present him/herself before a medical board for assessment of the injury and benefit payable.

<u>Child Benefit</u>: Can be claimed for trainees with children as can one parent benefit.

<u>Supplementary Benefit</u>: Can be claimed but £25 allowance is deducted from any claim. However any trainee with a child(ren), special needs or living away from home may receive supplementary benefit or housing benefit.

i. Grievances: Y.T.S. employees in unionised sectors are covered by existing workplace agreements. The M.S.C. states that complaints by all others should be first made at the workplace. Further reference can be made to the M.S.C. or careers officers. A trainee who terminates his/her scheme after 12 weeks - for what ever reason - is not entitled to the provision of further training. It is important for trainees to be placed in suitable schemes via careers officers in the first instance as the period during which a transfer may be made is limited.

j. Discipline: The managing agent has an obligation to ensure that all trainees are treated "fairly and reasonably". The M.S.C. guidelines ask for proper warnings after a full investigation during which a trainee may be accompanied by someone of their choice. The trainees have the right of appeal. However a record of all disciplinary cases and action is kept.

k. The Y.T.S. Certificate: The requirement for a Y.T.S. certificate was given in paragraph 4.10(i) of the Youth Task Group Report 1982:-

> "the trainee's progress should be systematically reviewed and recorded as he or she goes through the programme and each trainee should be given, on leaving, a record of achievement which is recognised by both employers and young people."

The managing agent must issue the certificate on the trainee's completion of the scheme. The certificate, signed by the organisation which sponsored the course also provides a summary of achievement, experience and training on the scheme. The certificate is not recognised as a qualification for entry to further education or even

apprenticeships. The status accorded to it relies heavily upon the opinion of the prospective employers. As the percentage of school leavers with no G.C.E. or C.S.E. passes has declined from 44.5% in 1969-70 to 12.8% in 1978-79 (D.E.S. 1979, Educational Statistics; School Leavers, Table E, p.8) it is difficult to imagine the Y.T.S. certificate enjoying a similar status to the possession of such qualifications. Perhaps the most important and unexplored factor is the trend for employers to take on trainees direct from school to train in "their ways":- in this situation the Y.T.S. may hinder the trainees search for future employment rendering them tied to that employer and company processes.

4. Monitoring the Y.T.S.

Approval of proposed schemes is conducted by the 54 area manpower boards. The boards were established in April 1983 to:-

- advise on the planning and delivery of M.S.C. policies;
- assist the M.S.C. in delivering and promoting the use of those services and encourage sponsors into the area;
- promote links between M.S.C. and local interested bodies;
- advise on the allocation of resources;
- approve training places within M.S.C. guidelines;
- assist in monitoring and assessing schemes;
- respond to requests for advice from the M.S.C.;
- generally to assist the development and success of the M.S.C's programme.
  (N.U.T. Guide to Y.T.S., 1983;9)

Each area board is aligned to local education authority boundaries. (But more than one L.E.A. may be subsumed under certain areas eg. Greater London)

The Co. Durham area board meets in Darlington. Each board comprises:-

a. An independent Chairman (Durham, Mr D Hand, head of Engineering Employers' Association).

b. 5 employer representatives selected in consultation with the C.B.I. to reflect the structure of employment in the labour market concerned.

c. 5 employee representatives selected in conjunction with the regional T.U.C. under the same criteria as above.

d. One education service representative (D. Dick, Careers Dept).

e. One representative of professional education interests (normally a college principal).

f. One representative of a voluntary organisation.

g. One chairman of a committee for the employment of disabled people.

h. 2/3 (depending on geographical area/population density) local authority representative.

An area manager has responsibility for establishing effective service arrangements and acts as secretary to the A.M.B. Sub-groups may be set up to cover certain areas or aspects of the region/Y.T.S. Each A.M.B. must assist in appointing a monitoring team.

Proposed schemes must fall within one of the ten occupational training families. Written proposals must be submitted detailing:-

- What trainees will be able to do at the end of the scheme.

- Who will be responsible for training.

- Where the training will take place and when, ie. periods of on and off-the-job training.

Three major elements of any Y.T.S. programme must be:-

a. Off-the-job training/education. A minimum period of 13 weeks must be set aside during which time the trainee can gain both social and life skills and a theoretical background to the scheme.

b. On-the-job training:

    - what skill is it intended to provide?
    - this must be integrated with the off-the-job training and vice versa;
    - regular assessment trainees (at least 8 times per year) and completion of trainee records.

c. A 12 week induction programme. This programme must consist of the following stages:-

    - pre-entry: the trainee must know what, where and to whom they are going to report;
    - on-entry: health and safety, plus acquaintance with the workplace;
    - during the   ensuring trainees under Y.T.S., it's aims and
       12 weeks: history
    - progression: providing trainees with the knowledge and skills required for the main part of the skill training and how off-the-job training will be integrated.

The A.M.B. must ask itself if a proposed course will provide opportunities to acquire:-

a. Basic and additional skills;
b. Skills common to the O.T.F.'s;
c. Understanding of the world of work;
d. Understanding of the world outside employment;
e. Will off and on-the-job training provided by this scheme enhance the acquisition of the skills proposed?

Progress in five core areas is proposed viz:-

1. Numbers and their applications;
2. Communications;
3. Problem solving;
4. Manual dexterity;
5. Introduction to computer literacy and information technology.

If courses in these five areas can be translated into training opportunities the A.M.B. will approve the scheme.

Monitoring courses in progress is also intended. Unlike the Y.O.P. a far higher percentage of trainees will work for large firms. On approval many employers will become external managing agents for the Y.T.S. Alternatively a managing agent may supervise several smaller schemes.

The M.S.C. area office must publish a directory of approved agents. The first edition is due to be published this month, that is December 1983.

The M.S.C. has been designing a monitoring system in conjunction with the Youth Training Board and the M.S.C.'s Advisory Group on Content and Standards. This system is to be utilised by managing agents, plus the M.S.C.'s programme manager/advisors. However much of the information available on monitoring paints a picture of assessors completing check lists with reference to statements on course content. Each scheme must be visited at least 4 times during the year commencing in the first few weeks. To oversee the monitoring system the M.S.C.'s training division have appointed local programme teams in each area. A team comprises 4/5 programme assessors, a technical officer and are led by a local programme manager. The manager is ultimately responsible for the co-ordination of the teams activities and ensuring the regular visiting of programmes.

Eighty Y.T.S. pilot schemes were run in 1982-3 (Youth Training News, No. 6:4). The M.S.C. cite these programmes as indication of the Y.T.S. design. Stricter designation of the content of programmes reduces the level of monitoring required. Not surprisingly these courses were run by firms already well established in training staff. The M.S.C's emphasis on the value of establishing a national Y.T.S. curricula is difficult to challenge. Previously the 24 industrial training boards set national curricula for each trade. Now only seven remain and all seven admit that it is difficult to monitor and maintain national standards within each sector. What hope has the M.S.C.'s local programme teams with the 10 occupational training families to consider? Experience of the Y.O.P. emphasised:

a. The enormity of the task involved in both approving and monitoring schemes. In mid 1981 staff freely admitted to being flooded with places to approve on Y.O.P. Growth in the number of trainees and places required will enhance the difficulty of the task.

b. The ease with which sponsors can abuse legislation. In 1981 the M.S.C. stated that 302 sponsors were breaking guidelines on the Y.O.P.

Trade union involvement in monitoring Y.O.P. was scant. Unions are not geared to handle the problems of Y.T.S. trainees. Pressure on members' jobs and the growth in youth unemployment has led to a contradiction in trade unions - to oppose Y.T.S. is to disregard the problems of the young, to actively support it will probably result in a loss of adult jobs as a consequence of substitution. Financial resources are also scarce. In conclusion, monitoring will again be largely left to overworked M.S.C. staff who must rely on employers interpreting the spirit of the legislation. The recent example of Datasolve (New Society, 17.11.83, p.291) which is charging employers £10 per week to take a trainee for on-the-job training is a prime example of what can happen within the law, that is, a company turning training into a business proposition:- legal but hardly within the spirit of the law.

5. Training the Trainers

"On content, most pilot scheme Managing Agents did see a need for training and education of first time supervisors and instructors in the concepts of Y.T.S. and how to apply them. They felt that the Y.T.S. approach calls for considerable staff/supervisor/instructor involvement, particularly with mixed ability groups and controlling the activities of trainees".
(Youth Training News, No. 6:4)

As a result of the pilot schemes and the experience of the Y.O.P. the M.S.C. has initiated a training of trainers unit:- a positive response to an aspect of training that has caused concern for some time. With the need to provide some 50,000 trainers, as a one to ten ratio is envisaged, the problem of recruiting and monitoring training is enormous. Recruitment problems will be alleviated by the Mode A schemes many of which will already possess training staff. However the Y.T.S. asks for an increased involvement of the trainer with the trainee. Day to day work experience must be related to off-the-job courses. The emphasis on computing literacy and information technology has proved a difficult area to offer comprehensive training in (see Youth Training News, Pilot Schemes Review, No. 6). and skilled trainers are in short supply.

The task of the trainer has been summarised by the M.S.C. as follows:-

a. Assessing trainee needs, designing programmes for the individual.
b. Knowledge of learning methods.
c. Ability to tailor the content of training to the needs of trainees.
d. An understanding of the concepts of the Y.T.S. areas and O.T.F.'s.
e. Assessment skills.
f. Supervision and counselling of young people.
g. Induction to schemes.

Managing agents are also expected to fulfil certain criteria viz:-

a. Programme design.
b. Knowledge of the further education and industrial training system.
c. Knowledge of the recruitment procedure for courses.
d. Analysis of the training needs of trainees.
e. Analysis of the training needs of trainers.
f. Ensure quality assurance.
g. Knowledge of assessment and testing methods of trainees.
h. Design of schemes which effectively integrate both on and off-the-job training and education.
i. Managing skills - integration of various providers of training.
j. Integration of recent developments into training programmes.

The training the trainers unit has the responsibility for monitoring the trainers via the standards outlined. A large part of the units work will be centred in co-ordinating and monitoring the programme of <u>accredited centre</u> training provision for trainers.

The Youth Task Group Report (1982) provided the M.S.C. with the mandate to establish 55 accredited training centres throughout the country. Each centre should act as a focal point in training. In order to reflect the diverse nature of agencies involved in training a mix of bodies/institutions have been designated as centres eg. Chamber of Commerce, teacher training colleges. Funds from the M.S.C. are made available to establish the office of <u>staff training co-ordinator</u> as well as meeting the capital costs of establishing the centre. Direct training costs of courses provided are also met. The staff training co-ordinator is expected to draw up a training plan, in conjunction with the A.M.B. manager, that reflects the needs of trainers in the area. Outreach and annex facilities are also expected to be provided allowing easy access to each centre's modular system of training. All staff training co-ordinators must attend a training course in the counselling and career development unit at Leeds University. Participation at accredited centre courses is voluntary. Individual sponsors continue to be responsible for planning and promoting training for the Y.T.S. instructors yet little is known of the actual content of courses. The aim is to provide trainers with the chance to identify their own needs for further training. Recognition has come with the City and Guilds award, the 924 Youth Trainers Award and the Royal Society of Arts pilot vocational preparation tutors certificate for tutors. Suggestions by monitoring teams to sponsors on the improvement of the quality of training could include attendance at accredited centres.

6. Conclusion: The Ethos of the Y.T.S. and its Future

"Yesterday - We taught people.
    Today - We help people to learn how to learn.
  Tomorrow - We provide the resources for people to plan and carry out their own learning."
        (Youth Training News, No 3:13)

The preceding sections have outlined the actual organisation and administration of the Y.T.S. The assumptions upon which the scheme are

based have been cited and challenged at certain points. By citing the quote from Youth Training News the M.S.C.'s words illustrate the future of the Y.T.S. namely a continual push to privatise youth training while providing a cheap and plentiful source of labour for the "social-market" economy. The closure of 17 industrial training boards, the school and wages councils' demise, have taken place with little opposition. Such bodies did aim to designate and maintain national criteria for the employment and training of young people. Today an additional year of education/training is being created and added to the schooling career. This year (Y.T.S.) will alleviate unemployment statistics without the burden of costs falling upon either the Department of Education and Science or the private sector. Instead the M.S.C., as a quango (quasi-public body) will ensure the creation, channelling of public sector funds to the scheme.

Claire Short of Youthaid outlined the circular nature of the problem thus:-

1. Economic recession/restructuring = contraction in jobs.
2. No real jobs available but the aims of the education system remain, fuelling the middle classes.
3. Youth unemployment becomes an emotive issue.
4. Release of resources to create jobs = M.S.C. - Y.O.P. - Y.T.S.
5. Cheap labour supplies provided lead to job substitution (return to point 2) and industry's need for such a source of labour (return to point 1).
   (Guardian, 1.2.83)

The Employment Minister Peter Morrison can launch Y.T.S. by stating that:-

> "...it is up to the youngsters themselves. They have in front of them a challenge. Either they can prove to themselves, first, and to others that disciplined hard work and training is fun, worthwhile and the way the real world works. Or they can muck about, ensuring that they have no sense of achievement at the end of the year."

The hopes of the young are raised to new heights. The M.S.C. and Government are at present free to say "we are doing our best". However the reality of increasing youth unemployment will become apparent again when Y.T.S. leavers seek employment, i.e. 1985.

APPENDIX II: RELEVANT DOCUMENTATION

A. Methodology

A(i)   Questionnaire Distributed to Supervisors 1984

A(ii)   Questionnaire Distributed to Scheme Managers 1984

B. Materials Utilised at Eastern Centre

B(i)   YTS Scheme Content - Minimum Criteria 1982

B(ii)   Occupational Training Families - Work Learning
         Guide

B(iii) Materials from 924 Youth Trainers Award:-

      1.   924 Projects Guide
      2.   Study Guide to "The Six Learning Opportunities"
      3.   924 Course Evaluation

B(iv)   Materials from Core Skills Course

      1.   Core Skills: Quick Reference List
      2.   Task Analysis Matrix

B(v)   Materials from Work Experience Placement Supervisors
         Awareness Raising Sessions

      1.   Scheme Design Framework
      2.   Guidance for Employers Providing Work Experience

University of Durham

Department of Sociology and
Social Policy

Elvet Riverside, New Elvet, Durham DH1 3JT
Telephone: Durham 64466 (STD code 0385)

Y584

LM/MB   May 1984

Dear

        Thank you for agreeing to take part in my research project
examining the role of the Supervisor working on YTS.

        In order to further my understanding of your job I would
be grateful if you could complete the enclosed questionnaire.
The answers which you give will be entirely confidential and
no information on individuals will be passed on. Analysis of
data will be conducted by myself at the above address.

        I hope that this will not take up too much of your time.
(If you have any queries do not hesitate to contact me). Thank
you, in anticipation, for your cooperation.

                            Yours sincerely,

                            Linda McKie
                            Researcher

A (1)

? | 1 2 3 4 | 5 | 6 7 | 8 9 10 11 | 12 13 | 14

15 16 17 18

19 20 21

22 23 24 25

26 27 28 29

Name: _____

Date of Birth: _____

Sex:

Male ☐   Female ☐

Marital status:

Married ☐ Single ☐ Divorced ☐ Separated ☐

30 ☐

31 ☐

Number of dependent children: ☐

32 ☐

When did you start this job?   MONTH   YEAR

33 34 35 36

Please tick those items in the table below which you carry out in your job:

				37	52
...iting/interviewing staff.	37	Planning scheme budget.	52	38	53
...nting work of staff.	38	Financial planning.	53	39	54
...ls teaching.	39	Sponsor liaison.	54	40	55
...& Social Skills teaching.	40	Arranging FE component.	55	41	56
...t provision of Further ...ducation	41	Keeping trainee records.	56	42	57
...tion training.	42	Developing projects.	57	43	58
...nal advice & support to ...ees.	43	Developing placements.	58	44	59
...tion of trainees.	44	Liaising MSC - scheme.	59	45	60
...rs Advice.	45	Attending staff meetings.	60	46	61
...ee task supervision.	46	Team meetings.	61	47	62
...ee placement.	47	Project planning.	62	48	63
...ee work planning.	48	Arranging supplies of materials.	63	49	64
...ssment/Profiling of trainees	49	Trainee wage distribution.	64	50	65
...ting projects.	50	Careers Office liaison.	65	51	66
...ting placements.	51	Cover for absent staff.	66		

r - please specify

at is your present job title:

ow many young people are you directly responsible for: ☐☐☐

hat is your gross weekly pay (without deductions) £........

ow did you first hear about this job.

hat were you doing immediately before you took this job:
lease tick the appropriate column and answer the question alongside.

egistered unemployed		Please indicate duration of unemployment ....weeks
In full-time employment		Please give:- (1) Title of job (2) Length of time in job ....weeks (3) Your gross weekly pay (without deductions) £.......
In part-time employment		Please give:- (1) Title of job (2) Length of time in job ....weeks (3) Your gross weekly pay (without deductions) £....... (4) Average weekly hours worked ....hours
Another MSC scheme/ project		Please indicate job title
In the same MSC scheme/ project at another grade		Please indicate job title
In full-time education	.	Please indicate course of study
In part-time education		Please indicate course of study

67 68
☐☐

69 70 71
☐☐☐

1 2 3 4 5
2☐☐☐☐

6 7 8
☐☐☐

9 10
☐☐

11
☐

12 13 14
☐☐☐

15 16
Ø☐

17 18 19
☐☐☐

20 21 22
☐☐☐

23
☐

24 25 26
☐☐☐

27 28 29
☐☐☐

30 31
☐☐

32
☐

33
☐

34 35
☐☐

36 37
☐☐

38
☐

3

If you were not in work before taking this job have you ever
been in full-time employment:

                        YES   NO
                      ┌──────┬──────┐
                      │   │   │
                      └──────┴──────┘

39
☐

If Yes, please give the title of your last full-time job:

40
☐

Have you had any previous experience of working with young
people:
                        YES   NO
                      ┌──────┬──────┐
                      │   │   │
                      └──────┴──────┘

41
☐

Have you received any training since commencing work within the
Youth Training Schem
                        YES   NO
                      ┌──────┬──────┐
                      │   │   │
                      └──────┴──────┘

42
☐

If Yes, please tick which type of training you have received:

City & Guilds 924		Management Training	
Stage I		Catering for Special Groups	
RSA Vocational Preparation		Skill refresher course	
Health & Safety		Financial Control	
		Working with young people	

Other - please specify:

43   44
☐   ☐
45   46
☐   ☐
47   48
☐   ☐
49   50
☐   ☐

50a
☐

4

The following table lists elements of training currently available within YTS. Please tick those in which you have received training whilst employed within the Youth Training Scheme   in Column 1 and give that element a score from 1-5 in Column 2 based on the following scale:

```
   1              2              3              4              5
   |              |              |              |              |
  No use     Very limited    Of some       Quite          Very
             use             use           useful         useful
```

If you have received none of these elements of training since joining the YTS please tick this box ☐

51
☐

Element	Col. 1 Received Training	Col. 2 Score 1 - 5
Interviewing		
Teaching Techniques/demonstration		
Life and Social Skills		
Counselling		
Working with young people		
Teaching aids/use of resources		
Profiling /Assessment		
MSC/ YTS Policy		
Induction Training		
Supervising Skills		

52   62
☐   ☐
53   63
☐   ☐
54   64
☐   ☐
55   65
☐   ☐
56   66
☐   ☐
57   67
☐   ☐
58   68
☐   ☐
59   69
☐   ☐
60   70
☐   ☐
61   71
☐   ☐

How many days/part days training have you received?
..........days

72 73
☐☐

. Where was the course held. Please tick below:

(1) In your place of work. ☐

(2) Somewhere else within daily travelling distance.☐

(3) Somewhere else which involved you staying away
     from home overnight or longer. ☐

74
☐

9. What would be the longest period you would be prepared to be away
    from home in order to engage in training.
    Please tick:

One week
Two weeks
Longer than 2 weeks

75
☐

Is there any further training you feel you require in your present
job? If so, please say what:

If you have any formal qualifications please indicate below:

    Number of CSEs   ......
        "   " 'O' levels (or equivalent including
                           CSE Grade 1)   ......

        "   " 'A' levels   ......

    Type of recognised trade or apprenticeship/City & Guilds

    Type of professional qualification

    Other - please specify

Do you belong to a trade union/professional association?

              YES   NO

If Yes, which one:

Are your physical working conditions:

    Excellent
    Good
    Average
    Poor
    Very bad

Have you any comments to make about your employment in the
Youth Training Scheme?   Please specify.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION.

1	2	3	4	5
3				

6

7

8

9

10

11
Ø

12

13 14

15

University of Durham

Department of Sociology and
Social Policy

Elvet Riverside, New Elvet, Durham DH1 3JT
Telephone: Durham 64466 (STD code 0385)

LM/MB   13th April, 1984

Dear

     At present I am conducting a research project (funded by the
Department of Education) which aims to examine the role of the supervisor
working in the Youth Training Scheme.

     Throughout the next year (commencing with the next intake of trainees
in May) I intend to follow twelve supervisors employed on various schemes
throughout the county. My aim is to monitor the development of the super-
visor's role/relationship both within the concept of YTS and with the
trainees.

     I am interested in continuing my research within the context of your
scheme. This would involve observation, participation (where acceptable)
and discussion with a supervisor. At most I would be at the scheme for
one period of several hours, once a fortnight. (Please note that the MSC
have been kept informed at every stage of the project and are aware that
I am contacting your scheme).

     I do hope that your scheme will be able to assist the project.
Obviously many supervisors are being asked to fulfil a demanding role as
both a trainer and counsellor of trainees. All too often they are the
invisible component in the YTS network. This project aims to redress
this situation by voicing the supervisor's opinion and their perceptions
of YTS and their role within the scheme.

     I would be grateful if you could reply in writing, to my request
as soon as possible. If possible I would like to make initial visits to
schemes in the week commencing 30th April.

                             Yours sincerely,

                             Linda McKie

A (11)

SECTION A

1. Name of company/workshop   .

2. If the company markets a product please state the nature of this.

3. Date company/workshop opened

Month	Year

4. Number of staff

5. Please state your present job title _____

6. Name: _____

7. 'Age: _____

8. Sex: _____

9. In what capacity are you involved in YTS? _____

10. State date on which YTS scheme opened

Month	Year

11. Was the company/workshop involved in other programmes managed by the
    Manpower Services Commission (M.S.C.)?

    Yes [ ] No [ ]

    If yes, please specify.

12. Please state the number of supervisors employed:

      Full time on YTS:

      Spending over 75% of job time on YTS:

      Spending less than 75% of their job on YTS:

13. Is the scheme fully staffed?   Yes ☐ No ☐

    If no, please state shortfall: ☐

    N.B.   All further questions in this section refer to any supervisor included in your answer to question 12.

14. Please state job titles of supervisors on YTS e.g. social and life skills supervisor, joinery supervisor.

15. Sex of supervisors: Male ☐   Female ☐

16. Age of supervisors: 45 and over ☐   35-45 ☐   Under 35 ☐

17. Please state average yearly earnings of supervisors   _____

18. Have any supervisors left the YTS scheme?   Yes ☐   No ☐

    If yes please state reasons e.g. to take up another job, dismissed.

SECTION C

Trainees

19. How many people are working on the scheme?

    YTS Trainees [ ]

    YTS Employees [ ]

20. Please state number of approved YTS places: [ ]

    Number of places filled [ ]

21. Please state turnover rate of trainees [ ].

22. Sex of trainees   Male [ ]   Female [ ]

    Sex of employees on YTS   Male [ ]   Female [ ]

23. Are any trainees/YTS employees disabled?   Yes [ ]   No [ ]

24. Weekly allowance paid to trainees: [ ]

25. Weekly salary paid to YTS employees: [ ]

26. How many trainees have left your scheme from its inception [ ]

    State (or estimate) number which have left for

         Another scheme   [ ]

         A job   [ ]

         Unemployment   [ ]

         Disciplinary reasons [ ]

         Other   [ ]
         (Please specify)

SECTION D

Content of the Scheme

27. Describe any involvement in youth training (other than M.S.C. funded schemes) prior to YTS e.g. apprenticeship scheme.

28. Does the scheme design an annual YTS training programme? (Please enclose a copy if available)

    Yes [   ]   No [   ]

29. Who is involved in drawing up the training, programme?

30. Specify skill training offered:

31. In which occupational training family (OTF) would you place the scheme?

32. Are you aware of the M.S.C. classification of your scheme by OTF? (If so please state it)

33. Off the job training: Is this provided by

    a) A further education college   Yes [   ]   No [   ]
       (please name)

    b) A series of lectures brought into the scheme   Yes [   ]   No [   ]

    c) A private training agency   Yes [   ]   No [   ]
       (please name)

d) By supervisors employed on the scheme   Yes ☐   No ☐

e) Other - please specify

34. Work experience placements:

a) Please state average duration of a placement   ☐

b) Do supervisors visit trainees while on placement? Yes ☐   No ☐

c) If yes, how often:

35. Monitoring the scheme:

a) Does the scheme have a review team? .   Yes ☐   No ☐
     If yes please state who is involved
     in this

b) Has the scheme been involved in the M.S.C.   Yes ☐   No ☐
    monitoring programme?

    If yes, how often has the scheme been
    visited for this reason?

c) Do you, or any other member of staff   Yes ☐   No ☐
    attend the M.S.C. user group meetings?

    If yes, comment on value or otherwise
    of such contact with other schemes.

SECTION E

Relationships with others involved in YTS

36.   Please name the M.S.C. local programme manager responsible for your scheme.

      _____

37.   Name any other member of the M.S.C. and careers service with whom the
      scheme is involved in any way.

38.   How often do any of the groups listed below visit the scheme per month:
      (If never please state)

               M.S.C.   [   ]

               Careers Service   [   ]

               Local Employers   [   ]

               School Teachers   [   ]

               Parents of Trainees   [   ]

               Please identify other groups/individuals who visit the scheme
               on a regular basis e.g. youth & community worker.

39.   Has the scheme been involved in schools careers conventions?

                                         Yes [   ]   No [   ]

40.   Does the scheme organise parents evenings and/or   Yes [   ]   No [   ]
      open days?

      If so please explain further.

41.   a) Please identify your area accredited training centre _____

      b) Have any supervisors attended courses at the   Yes [   ]   No [   ]
          Centre

          If yes please specify which course and date when taken.

SECTION F

Conclusion

44. Please expand on:

a) The reasons for the company/workshop becoming involved in YTS.

b) The future of YTS within the context of the company/workshop.

c) The major problems in implementing the first year of the youth training scheme.

THANK YOU FOR YOUR COOPERATION

Standard list

IPD 1c

artment of Economic Planning NI

TH TRAINING SCHEME

HEME CONTENT - MINIMUM CRITERIA

HEMES STARTING IN 1983

RODUCTION

The aim of the Youth Training Scheme (YTS) is to provide young people entering the labour market with a broad-based and integrated training programme which will -

a   serve as a foundation for subsequent employment, training and education;

b   equip them with work skills and practical experience in a range of related jobs;

c   create a more versatile, adaptable and well motivated work force.

YTS is intended to build upon the experiences of good vocational preparation and training which have taken place under YOP, UVP and other programmes in the past. However, this new programme is a developing one and to some extent the first year will be experimental. Lessons will be learnt from experience about what should be included in the scheme content and how best training can be carried out.

3   It is important that Area Offices (AOs) negotiating and agreeing scheme proposals with Sponsors and Managing Agents should have a set of criteria against which they can assess the proposed scheme. This memo sets out what those criteria should be for schemes starting in 1983.

CRITERIA

Broad-Based Training

4   YTS aims to provide a broad-based foundation training. Therefore, all YTS schemes starting in 1983 should offer something more than job specific/employer specific training.

5   However, Managing Agents are not expected to design schemes which train everybody for everything. They will find it helpful to have their attention drawn to ways in which they can provide for broad-based training across one or more groups of related jobs.

One tool for doing this is the Occupational Training Family
(OTF) approach. An explanation of OTF is set out in appendix 1.

MSC is considering ways in which OTFs might be used in YTS in the
future. In the meantime AOs should encourage Managing Agents to
design their schemes around groups of related occupations so that
they have a framework on which to build both the design elements
(see para 7) and the learning opportunities (see para 8).

Where possible, AO staff should note the OTF most appropriate
to the scheme for future reference (see appendix 1 para 6).

Design Elements

All YTS schemes starting in 1983 must contain the following eight
design elements (see appendix 2 for further details) -

a   induction;

b   occupationally-based training;

c   a minimum of 13 weeks off-the-job training/education in a
        scheme lasting about 12 months;

d   planned work experience;

e   core areas; which are -

        i   number and its applications

        ii   communication

        iii   problem solving and planning

        iv   manual dexterity

        v   introduction to computer literacy/information technology;

f   guidance and counselling;

g   assessment;

h   reviewing and recording of progress/achievement and certification.

Learning Opportunities

8   All YTS schemes starting in 1983 must provide for trainees to learn
        in six broad areas (see appendix 3 for further details). These
        learning opportunity areas are -

        a   basic skills and additional skills such as computer literacy/
                information technology;

        b   the world of work;

        c   the world outside employment, including trainees' interaction
                with the community;

d   job-specific and broadly related skills;

e   personal effectiveness, planning and problem solving, inter-
     personal skills;

f   ability to transfer skills, skill ownership and learning to
     learn.

REFERRAL TO AREA MANPOWER BOARDS

9   Scheme proposals which do not meet all the minimum design elements and
     learning opportunities listed in paras 7 and 8 must not be agreed with-
     out specific reference to the Area Manpower Board (AMB) for approval.

          The AMB may approve such schemes, but subject to the Managing
          Agent agreeing to introduce the missing elements within a
          specified period of time.

DESIGNING YTS SCHEMES

10   The criteria set out in paras 4-8 describe a framework within which
     Managing Agents will design their own schemes. Whilst MSC has
     important responsibilities for the funding of YTS and for quality
     within the programme, it does not 'own' YTS in the same way that it
     'owned' YOP. This is a significant difference between the old and the
     new programmes.

11   MSC intends to be prescriptive about the content framework of YTS but
     not about the detail of schemes.

12   At the same time AO staff will be called upon to help Managing Agents
     with some of the detail. The contents of appendices 2 and 3 may help
     AOs in advising Managing Agents how the learning opportunities and
     design elements might be implemented in schemes.

          Further guidances on the design elements is provided in the
          YTS Guidelines Nos 1 to 9.

D1

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FAMILIES

1   A key feature of YTS is that all schemes will provide learning
opportunities for young people set in an occupational or vocational
context. Since the aim is also to provide a broad-based foundation
training across a group of related jobs it is sensible to think in
terms of some form of occupational grouping as a framework for training.

2   There are numerous ways in which occupational groupings might be
determined. MSC is looking in particular at how a grouping based on
the key training purpose might be used in YTS. This grouping is known
as Occupational Training Families (OTF).

3   Occupational Training Families and their key purpose are as follows -

    1   Administrative, clerical and office services occupations
         - information processing

    2   Agriculture, horticulture, forestry and fisheries occupations
         - nurturing and gathering living resources

    3   Craft and design occupations
         - creating single or small numbers of objects using hand tools

    4   Installation, maintenance and repair occupations
         - applying known procedures for making equipment work

    5   Technical and scientific occupations
         - applying known principles to making things work/usable

    6   Manufacturing and assembly occupations
         - transforming metallic and non-metallic materials through
           shaping, construction and assembling into products

    7   Processing occupations
         - intervening into the working of machines when necessary

    8   Food preparation and service occupations
         - handling and transforming edible matter

    9   Personal services and sales occupations
         - satisfying the needs of individual customers

    10   Community and health services occupations
         - meeting socially defined needs of the community

    11   Transport services occupations
         - moving goods or people.

4   Three points need to be made about the OTFs described in para 3.
They are -

    a   They do not provide a neat pigeon hole for all occupations.
         However, they are a tool for organising training rather than
         a comprehensive occupational classification and as such they
         will cover the majority of occupations and trainees.

b   Some occupations could fall within more than one OTF and the
    choice of which one will depend on the intentions and interests
    of the trainee. For example a trainee could join a scheme for
    either 'personal services and sales occupations' - OTF
    number 9, or for 'administrative clerical and office services
    occupations' - OTF number 1, and get work experience as a
    receptionist.

c   In the content of YTS, OTFs would be used for 'first entry'
    jobs for young people. This restricts the range of learning
    objectives to competence in work which does not depend on
    substantial experience or promotion.

Over the next few months MSC HO YTS Development Branch will be
working with the Institute of Manpower Studies (IMS) to produce a
series of learning objectives which relate to these Occupational
Training Families. When ready, these packages of learning objectives
will be offered to some Managing Agents to test out their schemes.
Further guidance on this development will be issued in due course.

For schemes starting in 1983 it would be helpful if AOs determined,
where possible and in agreement with the Managing Agent concerned,
the OTFs most appropriate to the scheme. Some schemes may span two
or more OTFs. Some schemes may not necessarily fit clearly into any
OTF at this stage.

The effect of this classification of all YTS schemes into OTFs will
be to -

a   determine the potential number of Managing Agents/Sponsors
    who might be willing to pilot the learning packages being
    developed by MSC/IMS which are mentioned in para 3;

b   aid Area Managers to build up a picture of the total YTS
    provision by OTF groupings which may assist them in planning
    provision to meet local labour market requirements.

DESIGN ELEMENTS

INDUCTION

1   Managing Agents should provide a planned induction programme covering -

    a   Pre-entry:

        What the trainees need to know before they start the scheme

    b   On-entry:

        What the trainees need to know when they first start the scheme

    c   During the scheme:

        What the trainees need to know about each new element of the scheme.

2   In particular the induction programme should ensure that trainees -

    a   understand the purpose of YTS and their role in it;

    b   are familiar with the working environment of the scheme;

    c   understand what off-the-job training they will receive;

    d   understand the health and safety rules which apply;

    e   know about scheme administration eg allowances, attendance, discipline etc.

3   The period of time allocated to induction and/or initial assessment will vary from scheme to scheme depending on the nature of the scheme and on the needs of the trainees. Managing Agents should ensure that the planned induction programme contained in their proposals meets the needs of the type of trainees they are likely to recruit.

4   More detailed information is contained in YTS Guideline No 2.

OCCUPATIONALLY-BASED TRAINING

5   Managing Agents should provide a programme of introductory training and skills related to a broad group or family of occupations.

6   Managing Agents should have a written training plan which should be as clear as possible about -

    a   what trainees will be able to do at the end of the scheme;

    b   who will be responsible for the training;

    c   where the training will take place ie on or off-the-job.

7   More detailed information is contained in YTS Guideline No 3.

OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING/EDUCATION

8   All schemes must provide a minimum of 13 weeks off-the-job training
        and/or education within a programme lasting one year.

9   Managing Agents should be able to demonstrate that -

        a   the off-the-job element has been planned as a integral part of
                the whole scheme;

        b   that there are arrangements for liaison between the on and
                off-the-job training providers to ensure that the trainees
                receive an integrated programme.

10   Managing Agents should indicate -

        a   where the off-the-job training will take place eg on employers
                premises, CFE etc;

        b   the pattern of attendance eg day release, block release;

        c   the content of the off-the-job element.

11   More detailed information is contained in YTS Guideline No 4.

PLANNED WORK EXPERIENCE

12   Managing Agents should -

        a   state what skill learning opportunities they intend to provide
                through planned experience;

        b   state how the planned work experience will be integrated with
                the off-the-job training/education;

        c   give trainees an opportunity to review their progress with
                supervisors at regular intervals.

13   More detailed information is available in YTS Guideline No 5.

CORE AREAS

14   Through the medium of both planned work experience and off-the-job
        training all schemes should provide for trainees to make progress
        in the five core areas which are -

        a   number and its application;

        b   communication;

        c   problem solving;

        d   manual dexterity;

        e   introduction to computer literacy and information technology.

The trainees' learning in the five core areas should take place as far as possible in work related situations and not in the abstract.

More detailed information is available in YTS Guideline No 6.

GUIDANCE AND SUPPORT

7 Managing Agents should recognise that they are the key agents responsible for co-ordinating guidance and counselling whilst trainees are on their schemes.

8 Each trainee should be informed by the key agent of the various agencies, both inside and outside the scheme, who are available to provide trainees with guidance in respect of work, educational and personal issues.

9 Managing Agents should ensure that each trainee has a named person within the scheme who is responsible for -

a   reviewing the trainees' progress on a regular basis;

b   liaising with other members of staff in the scheme;

c   maintaining contact with other agencies, eg MSC, about the trainee;

d   ensuring that the trainees' needs for guidance and counselling are met either by the named person or some other appropriate agency.

10 More detailed information is available in YTS Guideline No 7.

ASSESSMENT

21 All schemes should provide for trainees to be assessed at various stages.

a   Initial Assessment should be carried out within the first four weeks (see para 3 of this appendix);

b   Continuous Assessment should be conducted as appropriate within the scheme.

22 In particular, assessment should -

a   fully involve the trainee;

b   be competently conducted;

c   indicate to trainees what they have achieved;

d   be reflected in the review and recording process (see paras 24-27 of this appendix)

23 More detailed information is available in YTS Guideline No 8.

IEW AND RECORDING OF PROGRESS/ACHIEVEMENT AND CERTIFICATION

The Managing Agent should ensure that the scheme provides for the systematic review and recording of the trainees' progress and that the trainees receive a certificate on leaving the scheme which records what they have achieved.

In particular the Managing Agent's scheme proposals should be clear about -

a   how the review and recording process they intend to adopt links with the training content of the scheme;

b   who will be responsible for review and recording;

c   when review and recording will take place.

It is also important and the key to the success of the process that trainees should be fully involved in review and recording and that they should be able to influence the adjustment to their own training programme as a result.

7   The record of progress should indicate experience gained as well as achievement (to standards where appropriate).

8   The Managing Agent should provide every trainee leaving a YTS scheme with an authenticated record/certificate.

29   This record/certificate should show -

a   what occupational skills, knowledge and experience the trainees have gained on the scheme;

b   what the trainee can do in the five core areas (see para 14 of this appendix)

c   other activities in which the trainee has been involved and which are worthy of note.

30   More detailed information on review and recording is available in YTS Guideline No 9.

A YTS Guideline on certification will be issued in due course.

LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES

Schemes should contain opportunities for young people to learn about the following -

ITEM	CRITERIA
Basic skills and additional skills	Opportunities to obtain skills in the 5 core areas at levels appropriate to the scheme/placement with opportunities for progression in the occupational training family. Each opportunity to be in the job/work context.
World of work	Opportunity to become aware of -

- their role and responsibilities as a worker in the organisation

- their relationship with fellow workers

- the position of the firm in the wider industrial setting

- the role of trade unions

World outside employment	Opportunity to learn -

- contribution of individual and companies to industry

- how their work can contribute to the community

- how the trainee's skills can be reinforced by using them in the community

- how to become involved in using and contributing to community facilities

- social support systems

Job-specific and broadly related skills	Opportunity to acquire -

- job-specific skills relevant to the trainee's placement

- a broad range of skills that relate to the occupational training family

Personal effectiveness	Opportunity to develop as a worker and as an adult in terms of -

- problem solving

- planning

inter personal skills

self organisation

Skill transfer   Opportunities to develop -

flexibility adaptability and transfer-
ability of skills in social and work
settings

the idea of 'owning' skills

ways of learning from situations

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FAMILY

WORK LEARNING GUIDE

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	KEY PURPOSE
1	Administrative, Clerical and Office Services	Information processing

ABLE TO:

- Contribute to the supply of information needed by others in their work
  - Perform own role to standards of accuracy, timeliness, completeness, clarity, presentation and confidentiality
    - 1 Supply information requested by users
    - 2 Supply information required by organisational procedures
    - Identify and collect relevant data
    - Provide information not available through formal sources
  - Improve the quality of information supplied
    - Supply useful information which has not been requested
    - Develop new ways of presenting information which makes situations easier for user to understand
      - Follow procedures to collect data together
      - Record data
      - Transform data from one format to another
      - Produce and send response
      - Produce copies of data or information
      - Identify information needs
      - Identify and collect relevant data
      - Supply information not available through formal sources
        - 3 Have available appropriate tools and materials
        - 4 Use appropriate tools, materials and technology correctly and safely

- Contribute to the efficient running of the organisation
  - Minimise waste of resources: materials, equipment, time, money, space
  - 5 Create and maintain satisfactory work relationship with other staff regardless of age, sex, ethnic or cultural background
    - Work co-operatively with colleagues
    - 6 Share relevant work information with others
      - Stand in when required
      - Share workload
      - Learn to perform others' jobs
      - Find out whether colleagues require help

C1

B(II)

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FAMILY

WORK LEARNING GUIDE

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	KEY PURPOSE
2	Agriculture, Horticulture, Forestry and Fisheries	Nurturing and gathering living resources

ABLE TO:

Top group (1–3)

1 — Adapt working hours to needs of animals/plants

— Work without direct supervision

T — Respond appropriately to unexpected developments of the animal/plant, & the environment, on the animal/plant

— Drive, use, clean appropriate farm machinery/equipment correctly

2 — Move/transport animals/plants products correctly

3 — Sustain physical effort over extended periods

Core items (4–12)

4A — Assist animals to breed and gestate correctly

4B — Sow and propagate selected plants in appropriate location at correct time

5A — Assist correct birth delivery/hatching — N/A

6A — Nurture for appropriate development

6B — Nurture for appropriate development

7A — Control pest/disease

7B — Control and treat pests, disease and weeds

8A — Treat minor ailments — N/A

9A — Feed and water appropriately

9B — Feed and water appropriately

10A — Perform operations such as washing, grooming, exercising as appropriate

10B — Perform ops. such as pruning, mowing, rolling, ditching as appropriate

11A — Carry out operations without impairing future animal health or growth — plant

11B —

12A — Gather/collect together (and pack) animals/products without damage

12B — Gather/collect and pack plants/products without damage

Organisation items (13–16)

13A — Minimise waste of materials, misuse of machinery and equipment and mishandling of animals/plants and their products

14 — Perform own role in controlling the movement of animals — N/A

T — Perform own role in the maintenance of records and test results

T — Schedule future work

16 — Create and maintain satisfactory work relationships with others/staff, regardless of age, sex, ethnic or cultural background

Sharing group (15)

15 — Share relevant work information with others

— Work co-operatively with colleagues

— Stand in for others when required

"Perform own role" boxes

- Perform own role in the growing/raising of animals/plants to standards of safety and hygiene, timeliness and accuracy
- Perform own role in the maintenance of appropriate standards of health and fitness of animals/plants, to standards of hygiene, safety, timeliness and accuracy
- Perform own role in the harvesting/gathering/collecting of animals/plants and of their products to standards of timeliness, quality, hygiene and safety
- Maintain hedges, fences, ditches, etc.
- Mark/brand etc.

Summary boxes

- Contribute to the availability of living resources fit for human use
- Contribute to the efficient running of the organisation

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FAMILY

WORK LEARNING GUIDE

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	KEY PURPOSE
3	Craft and Design	Creating single or small numbers of objects using hand/power tools

ABLE TO:

1. Have tools and equipment available in good working condition
   - Use knowledge of tools and materials to choose appropriate tools and equipment
   - Use tests correctly

2. Use appropriate tools and equipment precisely and accurately
   - Use knowledge of characteristics to choose materials appropriate for purpose
   - Use knowledge of behaviour to deal with materials appropriately

3. Match colours, patterns and shapes correctly
   - Plan and execute operations in appropriate sequence

Make safely products/objects to standards of quality, finish and timeliness without direct supervision

Contribute to the design/making of products/objects within specification and which are fit for use by clients or in subsequent operations

Devise and make safely products/objects to standards of quality, finish, cost and timeliness without direct supervision

4. Obtain advice and help when appropriate
   - Use diagrams and drawings

5. Share relevant knowledge and information with clients

6. Find and agree workable compromises

7. Estimate production costs
   - Make appropriate diagrams and drawings

Gain client trust and respect

Translate client requirements into product characteristics

Share relevant work information and skills with others when asked

Work co-operatively with staff in own and other specialist functions

Offer and accept constructive criticism relevant to the task

8. Minimise waste of materials and misuse of tools and equipment
   - Create and maintain satisfactory work relationships with other staff regardless of age, sex, ethnic or cultural background

9. Maintain appropriate records relating to use of materials, jobs undertaken and work methods

Contribute to the efficient running of the organisation

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FAMILY

WORK LEARNING GUIDE

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	KEY PURPOSE
4	Installation, Maintenance and Repair	Applying known procedures for making equipment work

ABLE TO:

Contribute to optimum performance of machines and appliances (M+A)

Make M+A function correctly

- 2 Carry out all necessary operations safely and in appropriate sequence
- T Identify fault(s) and potential faults accurately and safely and decide on method for correction
  - Follow instructions in procedures and manuals
  - Use drawings and diagrams
  - 1 Have available and use appropriate tools, equipment and materials safely
- 3 Test M+A appropriately, accurately and safely
- 4 Help users to operate M+A correctly

Create and maintain user/customer good-will

- T Create and maintain user/customer trust and respect
  - 5 Work correctly and honestly without supervision
  - 6 Work to schedule without waste of time
  - Share relevant information about M+A
- 7 Adjust M+A to user requirements
- Create an appropriate environment
  - 8 Dress correctly
  - Leave workplace clean and tidy
  - 9 Avoid safety hazards
  - 10 Use appropriate language & behaviour
- 11 Minimise disruption to user's normal operation of M+A

Contribute to the efficient running of the organisation

12 Operate internal control systems

- 12 Operate customer payment systems
- 12 Operate jobs records systems
- 12 Maintain stock and materials records

14 Create and maintain good working relationships with other staff regardless of age, sex, ethnic or cultural background

- 13 Share relevant work information with other staff
- T Work co-operatively with other specialists
- Minimise waste of resources, materials, equipment, time
- Drive safely and in accordance with the law

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FAMILY

WORK LEARNING GUIDE

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	KEY PURPOSE
8	Food Preparation and Service	Transform and handle edible matter

ABLE TO:

- Create and maintain customer good-will
- Contribute to the efficient running of the organisation

1. Create relationships satisfying to customers
2. Use systems to achieve customer satisfaction
- Create appropriate environment
- Perform own role to standard of timeliness and hygiene
- Schedule future work
18. Create and maintain satisfactory work relationships with other staff regardless of age, sex, ethnic or cultural background
19. Operate order taking and payment systems

- Prepare edible matter
- Serve edible matter

- Open relationship (T)
- Maintain relationship (T)
- Control relationship (T)
- Identify customer wishes (T)
- Use new ways of using existing provisions/facilities to meet customer wishes (T)
- Offer non-standard services (T)
3. Dress correctly
4. Maintain clean and tidy work station
5. Avoid safety hazards
- Use appropriate language and behaviour
6. Create attractive environment
9. Assemble and/or cook food to required quality standard and schedule
10. Serve with portion control
11. Present to acceptable appearance
14. Deliver to schedule
15. Serve with portion control
16. Present to acceptable appearance
17. Share relevant information with other staff
- Work co-operatively with staff in own and other functions (T)

- Defuse customer anger and maintain 'cool' (T)
- Work under pressure (T)
7. Have available and use appropriate materials, utensils and equipment safely
- Use recipes to assemble ingredients
8. Schedule sequence of preparation and cooking
12. Test whether quality acceptable and rectify if necessary
13. Assemble and have available necessary food/drink
- Schedule sequence of delivery (T)
- Adapt working hours to customer needs (T)
- Stand in for others (T)
- Perform others' jobs (T)
- Carry out allocated group tasks on time (T)
- Keep shared utensils clean (T)

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FAMILY

WORK LEARNING GUIDE

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	KEY PURPOSE
9	Personal Services and Sales	Satisfying the needs of individual customers

ABLE TO:

- Deal with customers and potential customers
  - Make a sale
    - 1 Relate customer needs to products
      - 1 Identify customer needs
      - Answer customer questions on product performance
        - Know characteristics of products
        - Demonstrate uses
        - Compare with other products
    - 2 Influence customers to buy
      - Handle objections
      - Close sale
      - Create repeat sale
      - Negotiate
  - Create and maintain customer goodwill
    - 3 Create relationships satisfying to customers
      - Open relationship
      - Maintain relationship
      - Control relationship
        - Defuse customer anger and maintain "cool"
        - Work under pressure
    - 4 Use system to achieve customer satisfaction
      - Identify customer wishes
      - Use existing facilities to meet customer wishes
    - Create appropriate environment
      - 5 Dress correctly
      - 6 Maintain attractive work station
      - 7 Avoid safety hazards
      - 8 Use appropriate language and behaviour
  - Perform a service
    - 9 Relate personal service skills and knowledge to customer needs
      - 11 Identify customer needs
      - Carry out service correctly and to time
        - 10 Have available and use appropriate background/material/safety
        - Tidy against project and restock if necessary
    - Create and maintain customer trust and respect
      - Work correctly and comply without organisation
      - 12 Share relevant information about service performed

- Contribute to the efficient running of the organisation
  - Operate internal control systems
    - Perform own role to standard of accuracy and timeliness
      - Follow instructions and use manuals
      - Execute own role in procedure accordingly
        - 13 Use procedures for the control of stock, cash and security
        - 14 Execute reporting procedure correctly
        - 15 Use knowledge of premises' layout
    - Handle irregularities and variances in control system
      - Identify variances
      - Take appropriate action
  - Create and maintain satisfactory work relationships with staff in own and other functions regardless of age, sex, ethnic or cultural background
    - 16 Share relevant work information and ideas with others
    - Work co-operatively with staff in own and other functions
      - Stand in for others
      - Perform others' jobs
      - Carry out allocated group tasks on time

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FAMILY

WORK LEARNING GUIDE

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	KEY PURPOSE
10	Community and Health Services	Meeting socially defined needs of the community

ABLE TO:

- Contribute to the welfare of members of the community
  - Create and maintain trust and respect of client and of the community
    - Establish and maintain appropriate clients
      1. Behave ethically
      2. Promote harmony within client and staff groups
      3. Handle physical and other needs of the clients with sensitivity for their self-respect
         - Create relationships with others which enable clients' needs to be met, regardless of age, sex, ethnic or cultural background
      4. Dress appropriately
      - Open relationships (T)
      - Maintain relationships (T)
      - Withdraw from, close or suspend relationship as appropriate (T)
    - Optimise service in relation to needs of individuals and of the community
      - Perform a service in ways that benefit all clients equitably (T)
      - Perform a service in ways that benefit clients and the community (T)
      5. Contribute to clients' self-reliance within community context
      6. Minimise health & safety risks
      - Perform a service when required
        7. Maintain service under pressure
        8. Work outside normal hours when required
      - Use appropriate resources correctly
        11. Perform own role in a team
        12. Minimise personal hazards in risk situations
  - Perform a service to standards
    - Meet clients' behavioural/emotional/physical/material needs to standards
      13. Follow organisational procedures for performing the service
      14. Perform service to acceptable quality standards

Continued at 'A' below

9. Have appropriate materials and equipment available when needed
10. Maintain materials and equipment in working order

- Use material and equipment resources
- Seek help from team colleagues and other professional staff when unable to meet clients' needs to standards

'A'

- Contribute to the efficient running of the organisation
  16. Minimise waste of resources: financial, time, materials, etc.
  - Create and maintain satisfactory work relationships with colleagues
    15. Share relevant work information with others
    - Work co-operatively with colleagues (T)
    - Share workload with others (T)
    - Stand in at short notice for colleagues
  - Operate internal control procedures
    17. Perform own role to standard
    - Handle variances in procedures
    - Produce clear, complete, accurate records
    - File and retrieve records accurately

OCCUPATIONAL TRAINING FAMILY

WORK LEARNING GUIDE

NO.	OCCUPATIONS	KEY PURPOSE
11	Transport Services	Moving goods and people

ABLE TO:

Contribute to the delivery of goods and people to schedule

- Execute movement safely and to schedule
  - Drive safely and in accordance with law — 1
  - Reach destination within time-limits — 1
- Load and unload to schedule and to standards of safety, speed, utilisation of space and delivery sequence
  - Lift and handle loads — 2
  - Distribute load — 3
  - Make load and vehicle secure — 4
- Create and maintain customer good-will
  - Create relationships satisfying to customers — 6
    - Respond accurately to customer queries about schedules — 5
    - Control relationship with customer — 1
  - Create and maintain appropriate environment
    - Handle perishable goods correctly — 7
    - Dress correctly — 8
    - Keep vehicles clean — 9
    - Create attractive environment — 10

Contribute to the efficient running of the organisation

- Operate internal control systems
  - Perform own role to standard — 11
    - Operate customer payment systems — 11
    - Operate goods handling systems — 11
    - Operate passenger handling systems — 11
  - Deal with irregularities and variances — 1
    - Identify variations from laid down procedures — 1
    - Perform appropriate remedial action within safety rules — 1
- Create and maintain good working relationships with other staff regardless of age, sex, ethnic or cultural background — 13
  - Share relevant work information with other staff — 12
    - Stand in for others — 1
    - Perform others' jobs — 1
    - Ask for help and advice when necessary — 1
  - Work co-operatively with staff in own and other functions — 1

<u>924 PROJECTS</u>

You are required to produce a project for the City & Guilds 924 Award. The project should describe a training assignment which you have used or which you intend to use with your trainees. There are various ways you can present this project. This paper gives guidance to those who choose to do one project only.

A

Broadly speaking the structure should be:

1. Project definition.
2. Description of training assignment.
3. How the training assignment fits into the 8 Design Elements of YTS.
4. How the 6 Learning Opportunities are offered by the training assignment.
5. What happened when it was implemented.
6. The ways in which the training assignment could be improved.

B

We suggest that it should explicitly cover the following (but this is not in any order of importance) :

The logical sequence and structure of the training assignment (Task Analysis).

What skills learned or practiced in the assignment can be transferred.

To what extent it can be changed to meet the perceived needs of the trainees (show how you would find out these needs.)

What relationship it has to its appropriate Occupational Training Family.

A list of objectives, i.e., what you hope the trainees will be able to do after completing the assignment.

The standards you are using to measure trainee attainment.

How you would measure and record trainee performance.

A clear indication of what methods of instruction you will use with the group and/or individual trainee.

C

The project can be presented in a written, oral and/or taped format.

D

As a start you should write a project definition stating the purpose and aims of the assignment, how you intend to set about achieving it and how you will judge its degree of success. You should also list which of the '924' objectives you think are covered by your project. (This would be about one side of A4.)

A STUDY GUIDE TO "THE SIX LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES"

A. **PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS**

Jot down your own thoughts about the following statements:

1. "It's not my job to do anything more than teach the kids a job skill."

2. "As long as the kids keep quiet, learn a bit and make no trouble, then I've done my job."

3. "It's the schools and the parents who should teach the kids all the 'frills', I'm concerned fundamentally with the job."

4. "My role in YTS is to help the trainee to ..."

B. **SOME POINTS TO BE DEFINED BY YOU**

Read the appropriate Guidelines and then, in small groups, discuss and decide what you think about:

1. Precisely what are the basic skills necessary for a person to progress and transfer within employment, training and further education?
   (Guideline No. 10, para 4, page 77)

2. Precisely what are the skills needed in the future by many workers?
   (Guideline No. 10, para 5, page 78)

3. What does a person need to know about the world of work?
   (Guideline No. 10, para 7, page 78)

4. What do you think a young person needs to know about setting up his own business and do you think you should encourage trainees to do so?
   (Guideline No. 10, para 7, page 78)

5. What things do you think the youngsters should be taught about the community and its facilities and how they relate to industry in general and to the trainee as an individual?
   (Guideline No. 10, para 9, page 78)

6. What "coping skills and knowledge" should a youngster acquire by the time he leaves the scheme?
   (Guideline No. 10, para 10, page 78)

7. To what extent should we be trying to train the young people in job specific skills?
   (Guideline No. 10, para 12, page 79)

8. List the specific job skill areas you think we should be teaching them.

9. What is a trainee's "placement"?
   (Guideline No. 10, para 12, page 79)

10. What do you think about Occupational Training Families?
    (Guideline No. 10, para 13, page 79)

B(III)2.

11. Seriously, of what use is the idea of Occupation Training Families? (Guideline No. 10, para 12-15, page 79-80)

12. What are "recognised levels of achievement" that are appropriate to your trainees? (Guideline No. 10, para 15, page 80)

13. How would you define "personal effectiveness? Can it be "taught"? Can we help people to become personally effective? If so how? (Guideline No. 10, para 16-17, page 80)

14. What is skill transfer and how do you help the youngsters to be able to transfer skills? (Guideline No. 10, para 18-21, page 80-81)

C. DETAILED OVERVIEW

State where the six learning opportunities are provided under the following headings:

	Basic Skills	World of Work	World Outside Employment	Job Specific & Broadly Related Skills	Personal Effectiveness	Skill Transfer
Induction						
Occupationally Based Training						
Off-the-Job Training/ Education						
Planned Work Experience						
Core Areas						
Guidance & Support						
Assessment & Standards						
Reviewing & Recording						

The above diagram is a starter for discussion, not something you have to "fill in"!!!

D.   HOW DOES YOUR SCHEME PLAN FOR THE SIX LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES

Read paras. 22-31, pages 81-84 and draw up a description of how you think your scheme, especially your part of the scheme, should offer the six learning opportunities:

    basic skills
    world of work
    world outside employment
    job specific and broadly related skills
    personal effectiveness
    skill transfer

E.   Go back to Section A and reconsider.
     Be prepared to present to the group how your scheme provides the six learning opportunities.

1983

924 COURSE EVALUATION

QUESTION		YES	NO	ABOUT RIGHT
Did you have sufficient time to become involved?	M	–	100.0	–
	T	62.5	37.5	–
	W	25.0	–	75.0
	T			
	F			
	TOTAL	39.9	39.9	19.9
Did the course hold your interest?	M	100.0	–	–
	T	100.0	–	–
	W	100.0	–	–
	T			
	F			
	TOTAL	100.0		
Did you think the course is long enough?	M	33.0	66.0	–
	T	12.5	87.5	–
	W	–	100.0	–
	T			
	F			
	TOTAL	13.3	86.7	–
Is the content matter of value to a YTS Supervisor?	M	100.0	–	–
	T	87.5	–	12.5
	W	100.0	–	–
	T			
	F			
	TOTAL	93.3	–	6.6
Did the course relate well to the "924" objectives?	M	100.0	–	–
	T	87.5	–	12.5
	W	100.0	–	–
	T			
	F			
	TOTAL	93.3	–	6.6
Were the facilities adequate?	M	66.6	–	33.3
	T	62.5	25.0	12.5
	W	50.0	25.0	25.0
	T			
	F			
	TOTAL	59.9	19.9	19.9
Was the course too political?	M	–	100.0	–
	T	–	87.5	25.0
	W	–	100.0	–
	T			
	F			
	TOTAL	–	86.6	13.3
Was the pacing of the course adequate?	M	–	100.0	–
	T	62.5	–	37.5
	W	–	–	100.0
	T			
	F			
	TOTAL	33.2	19.9	46.6
Was there too much jargon?	M	100.0	–	–
	T	50.0	25.0	25.0
	W	–	50.0	50.0
	T			
	F			
	TOTAL	46.6	26.6	26.6

B(iii) 3.

ANALYSIS OF OPEN QUESTIONS:
IN WHAT WAYS WAS THE COURSE VALUABLE TO YOU?
(1)Made me aware of what I already know
(9)Crystallising of ideas and clarifying of points so far
unexplained
(5)Has removed blinkers and made me more aware of the
objectives of YTS
(11)Helped me realise the difference between the situation
wanted in the Guidelines issued by MSC and the actual
situation
(12)By explaining in plain language the jargon and text of
the guidelines
(13)Greater understanding of YTS terminology
(14)Helped me to understand what YTS is about
(1)Given me confidence to carry out what I set out to do
(2)Given me confidence in my abilities as an instructor
(4)Given me confidence in my own ability
(15)Made me more aware of the methods I already use
(13)Deeper understanding and self-awareness
(6)Highlighted my inadequacies
(9)Analysis of methods of to optimise training
(1)Given me ideas how to put things across to trainees
(14)How to help trainees through instruction methods
(15)Better training methods
(8)It gave me ideas and methods to determine the needs of
trainees
(2)Getting me to think right
(4)Enabled me to understand the purpose of my job
(5)I was encouraged to think more of my role as a
Supervisor
(6)Made a lot of things clearer e.g. my role, MSC role
(9)A more in depth understanding of supervisory
requirements
(4)Put me in touch with Supervisors on other schemes
(7)Meeting other Supervisors
(14)Listening to trainees problems
(9)All aspects covered were of value to me
(15)Gave me greater understanding of how to deal with
problems pertaining to young people
(2)Guidance
WHAT FURTHER TRAINING WOULD YOU LIKE
(1)None
(7)None, unless it helped my career prospects
(2)A repeat of this course in a year's time
(15)Further training in the same vein
(9)All aspects of 924 covered in greater depth
(3)Same content as 924 but in more depth
(14)Same course again but with more time and in more detail
(15)Further more involved Higher instructor course
(12)Teaching techniques
(3)Immdiacy, target setting, identifying themes, managing
silence. This needed at once.
(4)Health and Safety
(11)Guidance, support and counselling
(12)Dealing with young people

(5)Counselling
(6)Visits to other workshops
(5)Information Technology
(10)I finish the course realising I have just scratched the surface
(8)Life and Social Skills
WERE THERE ANY ASPECTS NOT DEALT WITH?
(1)None
(2)None
(6)None
(8)None
(3)None
(4)Health and Safety
(7)Not enough problem solving done by the group without the help of the lecturer
WERE SOME ASPECTS DEALT WITH SUPERFICIALLY?
(1)Due to lack of time
(5)Due to lack of time
(7)Due to lack of time
(9)Not enough time to cover the aspects to the depth I need
(10)Dont think so under the constraints of the course length
(11)Under the constraints of the time some were
(15)All aspects covered as best they could in the limited time available
(12)All aspects covered fully but discussion limited due to lack of time
(14)Not enough time able to be spent on all aspects
(13)All aspects covered pretty well in the short time available
(2)All done fully
(3)I felt happy with everything we've done so far

THE CORE SKILLS: QUICK REFERENCE LIST

NUMBER

1. OPERATING WITH NUMBERS
1.1 Count items singly or in batches.
1.2 Work out numerical information.
1.3 Check and correct numerical information.
1.4 Compare numerical information from different sources.
1.5 Work out the cost of goods and services.

2. INTERPRETING NUMERICAL AND RELATED INFORMATION
2.1 Interpret numerical data or symbols in written or printed form.
2.2 Interpret diagrams and pictorial representations.
2.3 Interpret scales, dials and digital readouts.
2.4 Identify items by interpreting number, colour, letter codes or symbols.
2.5 Locate places by interpreting number, colour or letter systems.

3. ESTIMATING
3.1 Estimate quantity of observed items or materials.
3.2 Estimate quantities required for a process.
3.3 Estimate portions or shares.
3.4 Estimate dimensions of an observed object or structure.
3.5 Estimate weight, volume or other properties.
3.6 Estimate the time needed for an activity.
3.7 Estimate the time an activity has been going on.
3.8 Estimate the rate of use of items or materials.
3.9 Estimate the cost of goods and services.
3.10 Estimate and compare shapes or angles.
3.11 Estimate the size of gaps or holes and the fit of items.
3.12 Estimate required sizes of containers or covering materials.
3.13 Estimate size or shape for the purpose of sorting.
3.14 Estimate settings for tools, equipment machinery.

4. MEASURING AND MARKING OUT
4.1 Measure the dimensions of an object or structure.
4.2 Mark out required dimensions and shape.
4.3 Measure weight, volume or other properties.
4.4 Measure out a required weight or volume.
4.5 Measure the time a process or activity takes.

5. RECOGNISING COST AND VALUE
5.1 Compare the cost of different goods and services.
5.2 Compare the relative costs and benefits of buying or using goods and services.
5.3 Recognise the value of items in order to take appropriate care of them.

COMMUNICATION

6. FINDING OUT INFORMATION AND INTERPRETING INSTRUCTIONS
6.1 Find out information by speaking to other people.
6.2 Find out information from written sources.
6.3 Find out information by observing.
6.4 Interpret spoken instructions.
6.5 Interpret written instructions.
6.6 Find out the needs of other people in the workplace.
6.7 Find out the facts about things that have gone wrong.
6.8 Find out the needs of customers and clients.

7. PROVIDING INFORMATION
7.1 Provide information by speaking to other people in the workplace.
7.2 Provide information by speaking to customers and clients.
7.3 Provide information in writing, and by means of tables and diagrams.
7.4 Provide information by demonstrating to other people.
7.5 Provide information by answering questions in the course of the job.
7.6 Provide information by explaining to others about problems that have occurred in the job.

8. WORKING WITH PEOPLE
8.1 Notice when to ask other people in the workplace for assistance.
8.2 Ask other people in the workplace for assistance.
8.3 Notice the needs of customers, clients, and other people in the workplace.
8.4 Offer assistance to other people in the workplace.
8.5 React appropriately to requests from other people in the workplace.
8.6 Discuss with other people in the workplace how things are to be done.
8.7 React appropriately to complaints from other people in the workplace.
8.8 Offer assistance to customers and clients.
8.9 React appropriately to requests from customers and clients.
8.10 Converse with customers and clients in order to establish or maintain an appropriate relationship.
8.11 React appropriately to complaints from customers and clients.
8.12 Notice where people behave exceptionally and whether action is required.

PROBLEM SOLVING

9. PLANNING: DETERMINING AND REVISING COURSES OF ACTION
9.1 Plan the order of activities.
9.2 Plan who does what and when.
9.3 Plan tools, equipment, machinery, and stock and materials needed for a task.
9.4 Plan the arrangement of items.
9.5 Plan how to communicate for a particular purpose.
9.6 Plan how to present information.
9.7 Plan how to find information.
9.8 Diagnose a fault.
9.9 Plan how to deal with hazards and difficulties that might arise.
9.10 Plan how to deal with things that have gone wrong.

10. DECISION MAKING: CHOOSING BETWEEN ALTERNATIVES
10.1 Decide when action is required.
10.2 Decide which category something belongs to.
10.3 Decide between alternative courses of action.
10.4 Decide how to make the best of an awkward situation.
10.5 Decide on a correct response when accidents or emergencies occur.

11. MONITORING: KEEPING TRACK OF PROGRESS AND CHECKING
11.1 Check that he/she is performing a task to standard.
11.2 Monitor a process or activity.
11.3 Monitor the availability of stocks or materials.
11.4 Check the quality and condition of equipment, materials or products.
11.5 Check written information.
11.6 Monitor the safety of the workplace.
11.7 Notice that things have gone wrong, and that action is required.

PRACTICAL

12. PREPARING FOR A PRACTICAL ACTIVITY
12.1 Locate the place where work is to be carried out if it is not the usual one.
12.2 Identify or locate:
12.3 Handle, lift or transport:
12.4 Check and adjust or clean:
12.5 Arrange for safe and easy working:
  TOOLS, EQUIPMENT, MACHINERY, MATERIALS, STOCK OR ITEMS, ANIMALS.
12.6 Carry out start-up procedures.
12.7 Adjust heating, lighting, ventilation.
12.8 Check for potential hazards in the work area.
12.9 Carry out health and safety procedures.

13. CARRYING OUT A PRACTICAL ACTIVITY
13.1 Adopt safe working practices.
13.2 Lift or transport objects or materials.
13.3 Manipulate objects or materials.
13.4 Operate and control or adjust tools, equipment, machinery or instruments.
13.5 Set up, assemble or dismantle equipment, machinery, instruments or products.
13.6 Adopt safe practices in the event of accidents or emergencies.

14. FINISHING OFF A PRACTICAL ACTIVITY
14.1 Carry out procedures to turn off or hand over: TOOLS, EQUIPMENT, MACHINERY.
14.2 Check products or results of activity for quality and accuracy.
14.3 Carry out procedures for cleaning or routine maintenance.
14.4 Carry out procedures to hand over products or results of activity.
14.5 Carry out procedures to store or return: TOOLS, EQUIPMENT, MACHINERY, MATERIALS, STOCK OR ITEMS, ANIMALS.
14.6 Restock for future requirements if necessary.
14.7 Check for potential hazards in the work area.
14.8 Carry out health and safety procedures.

B(iv)1.

CORE ACTIVITY GROUP

TASK STATEMENT

#	Core Activity Group
1	OPERATING WITH NUMBERS
2	INTERPRETING NUMERICALLY RELATED INFORMATION
3	ESTIMATING
4	MEASURING AND MARKING OUT
5	RECOGNISING COST AND VALUE
6	FINDING OUT AND INTERPRETING INFORMATION
7	PROVIDING INFORMATION
8	WORKING WITH PEOPLE
9	PLANNING
10	DECISION MAKING
11	MONITORING
12	PREPARING FOR A PRACTICAL ACTIVITY
13	CARRYING OUT A PRACTICAL ACTIVITY
14	FINISHING OFF A PRACTICAL ACTIVITY
	SUPERVISORS INITIALS

B(iv)2.

THE YOUTH TRAINING SCHEME DESIGN FRAMEWORK

ALL SCHEMES SHOULD BE DEVELOPED USING THE FOLLOWING DESIGN ELEMENTS:

INDUCTION

A PLANNED INDUCTION PROGRAMME DESIGNED TO MEET THE NEEDS OF
THE TRAINEES ON EACH PARTICULAR SCHEME. THE INDUCTION PROGRAMME
SHOULD COVER WHAT THE TRAINEES NEED TO KNOW ON ENTRY TO THE
SCHEME, AND, AT APPROPRIATE POINTS, ABOUT EACH NEW STAGE OF THE
SCHEME.

OCCUPATIONALLY-BASED TRAINING

INTRODUCTORY TRAINING AND SKILLS RELATED TO A BROAD GROUP OR
FAMILY OF OCCUPATIONS. SCHEME PROPOSALS SHOULD BE CLEAR ABOUT
WHAT THE TRAINEES WILL BE ABLE TO DO AT THE END OF THEIR TRAINING;
AND WHERE THE TRAINING WILL TAKE PLACE, I.E., ON- OR OFF-THE-JOB.

OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING/EDUCATION

AN INTEGRATED PART OF THE WHOLE SCHEME AND REQUIRING CLOSE
LIAISON BETWEEN THE OFF-THE-JOB AND ON-THE-JOB TRAINING PROVIDERS.
MANAGING AGENTS SHOULD BE ABLE TO SAY WHERE THE OFF-THE-JOB
TRAINING WILL TAKE PLACE (CFE, EMPLOYERS PREMISES, ETC); THE
PATTERN OF ATTENDANCE (DAY RELEASE, BLOCK RELEASE); AND WHAT
THE CONTENT OF THE OFF-THE-JOB ELEMENT WILL BE.

PLANNED WORK EXPERIENCE

THE EMPHASIS IS ON PLANNED WORK EXPERIENCE WHICH IS INTEGRATED
WITH OTHER ELEMENTS OF THE SCHEME. MOST OF THE LEARNING WHICH
WILL TAKE PLACE DURING A 12 MONTHS SCHEME WILL INEVITABLY TAKE
PLACE DURING THE WORK EXPERIENCE ELEMENT. IT MUST THEREFORE
BE PLANNED AND SYSTEMATIC. IT WILL BE LEARNING BY DOING IN A
WORK CONTEXT. MANAGING AGENTS SHOULD BE ABLE TO SAY WHAT
SKILL LEARNING OPPORTUNITIES THE SCHEME WILL OFFER IN THE PLANNED
WORK EXPERIENCE ELEMENT AND HOW IT WILL BE INTEGRATED WITH THE
OFF-THE-JOB ELEMENT.

CORE AREAS

NUMBER AND ITS APPLICATION, COMMUNICATION, PROBLEM SOLVING AND PLANNING, MANUAL/PRACTICAL SKILLS AND COMPUTER LITERACY, SKILLS THAT ARE NEEDED TO A GREATER OR LESSER EXTENT IN ALL JOBS. SCHEMES SHOULD AIM TO COVER THEM THROUGH WORK-RELATED ACTIVITIES DURING BOTH THE PLANNED WORK EXPERIENCE AND OFF-THE-JOB TRAINING. COMPUTER LITERACY HAS BEEN INCLUDED IN THE EXPECTATION THAT IT WILL BECOME INCREASINGLY NECESSARY.

GUIDANCE AND SUPPORT

EVERY TRAINEE MUST HAVE A NAMED PERSON(S) WITHIN THE SCHEME WHO WILL BE RESPONSIBLE FOR REVIEWING THE TRAINEE'S PROGRESS ON A PERSONAL AND REGULAR BASIS AND LIAISING WITH OTHER MEMBERS OF THE STAFF AND EXTERNAL AGENCIES. TRAINEES WILL NEED TO KNOW ABOUT THE GUIDANCE AND SUPPORT AGENCIES OUTSIDE THE SCHEME FROM WHOM THEY CAN SEEK ADDITIONAL HELP WITH WORK AND EDUCATIONAL AND PERSONAL ISSUES.

ASSESSMENT

INITIAL ASSESSMENT TO IDENTIFY THE TRAINEES STARTING POINT SHOULD BE CARRIED OUT WITHIN THE FIRST 4 WEEKS. FURTHER ASSESSMENT TO GAUGE PROGRESS SHOULD BE CONDUCTED WHEREVER APPROPRIATE IN THE SCHEME. THE ASSESSMENT SHOULD BE SYSTEMATIC, FULLY INVOLVING THE TRAINEES THEMSELVES, TO ENSURE THAT TRAINEES KNOW WHAT THEY ARE ACHIEVING.

REVIEW AND RECORDING OF PROGRESS ACHIEVEMENT AND CERTIFICATION

ARRANGEMENTS WILL VARY ACCORDING TO THE NEEDS OF PARTICULAR SCHEMES. SCHEMES SHOULD HAVE A SYSTEMATIC REVIEW AND RECORDING PROCESS. IT MUST BE CLEAR WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR REVIEWING; HOW, WHERE AND WHEN PROGRESS WILL BE RECORDED; AND ABOUT THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE TRAINEES. ALL YTS TRAINEES MUST RECEIVE A CERTIFICATE ON LEAVING THE SCHEME AND THE MSC IS DEVELOPING THE FORMAT FOR SUCH A CERTIFICATE.

GUIDANCE FOR EMPLOYERS PROVIDING WORK EXPERIENCE

If you have been asked to become a work experience provider, or if you have been thinking of offering your services, you will find this leaflet helpful; it outlines what you need to provide to help trainees gain maximum benefit from their time with you. The following questions and answers should help you participate fully.

What is the Youth Training Scheme?

The Youth Training Scheme is intended to:

- provide a combination of broad-based and job-specific training

- be for all 16 year old school leavers, some 17 year old school leavers and some disabled people aged up to 21

- be for employed and unemployed

- be a 12 month training programme

- offer a blend of off-the-job training and related work experience

- help young people to progress from school to work and adult life

- be centred upon the needs of trainees

- give employers a better trained and more highly motivated workforce.

Your Managing Agent will be primarily responsible for organising the programme and will ask you to provide part of that programme by training young people through planned work experience.

What am I being asked to provide?

Training through planned work experience; that is training in a planned series of jobs rather than mere exposure to a random series of jobs. The training should be designed to allow trainees to develop their potential by gaining a wide range of job skills, knowledge and attitudes to make them more employable. You should also provide the trainee with a proper induction into the workplace; give regular guidance and advice/support; review and record the trainees' progress; and assess their abilities and achievements. It is essential that trainees are properly supervised throughout the planned work experience.

Why is planned work experience so important?

Because much of what trainees learn will be learned at work and there is no substitute for real experience in a real job to help young people to become effective workers and adults.

What are the benefits to me of providing training and work experience for young people?

You will have the chance to decide whether the young person would be a suitable employee without having to go to the expense and inconvenience of recruiting and training a person who may subsequently prove to be unsuitable.

If you decide to employ the young person either during the scheme or at the end of the YTS year, much of the training that you would normally want a new employee to undergo will have been done, thus saving time.

By contributing towards YTS training you are helping to equip a generation of young people with flexible skills that they will be able to adapt to the needs of your organisation at some time in the future.

In training young people your own staff are also likely to learn a lot that will help to make them better and more understanding employees and supervisors.

What do I have to do?

There are four main areas to consider:

- planning the trainee's time with you
- induction of the trainee
- training during the work experience
- guiding and supporting the trainees and reviewing and recording their progress.

B(v)2

PLANNING

Where do I start?
The best way is to discuss with the Managing Agent:

what the trainee(s) need(s) to cover during the period of work experience and training with you

what the trainee(s) is doing/has done during their off-the-job training and how it can be made relevant to what they will do with you during their planned work experience

what the trainees interests, abilities and aptitudes are (you may also wish to assess for yourself the trainees abilities when they arrive)

what you can offer.

You can then draw up a list or training plan setting out the skills, jobs and duties which the trainee should be able to perform at the end of his/her time with you (see page 4 for examples of this). This list or plan can be changed during the trainee's time with you if there are new opportunities and depending on what the trainees need.

What do I do next?
You will need to decide what the trainee should do when he/she first arrives and which jobs he/she will do later. You will also need to decide who should look after the trainee at work: this does not have to be a first line supervisor, but it does need to be someone who gets on easily with young people.

INDUCTION

What is special about YTS induction?
Induction for trainees needs to be carefully planned to take account of the fact that trainees are unfamiliar with working environments and regulations. It should take place when a new trainee is introduced to the workplace for the first time and also whenever a trainee moves on to something new.

What kind of things does a new trainee need to know?
The trainee needs to know:-

what he/she is going to be doing during the period with you; you should give him/her the list or training plan (see page 4 for examples)

what will be expected of him/her

what the arrangements are for recording and reviewing achievements and progress

the people he/she will be working with and reporting to

who will be available to offer guidance and support

health and safety procedures within your organisation

how the company is organised and what it does.

What is the best way of doing this?
set aside some time and a place where you can talk to the trainee.

help the trainee to find out some things for him/herself by letting them do, for example, a project which involves investigating how the company is organised and what each department is responsible for.

TRAINING

What sort of training will be needed?
Training for the **specific jobs** in your business plus training for a **broader range of skills** which will be useful for different kinds of work both within and outside your company.

How can I make sure that good training takes place?
give careful instructions

make sure the trainees understand industrial terminology

encourage the trainees to ask questions and to find out the purpose of what he/she is doing

remember you are dealing with school leavers. Don't expect too much too soon, but give the trainees positive encouragement

make sure your supervisors and instructors know what training is required and how this can best be carried out.

ow do I provide broad based training?

et the trainee have training and work xperience in several departments/sections of our organisation.

et the trainee(s) to find out things that are onnected with his/her job such as:

what other people do in the company

what the other stages are in the company's operations

what the company's products and markets are.

sk your Managing Agents about Work Based rojects (which are available from MSC) that ainees can do at work. These projects aim to ive the trainees a variety of broad based skills.

ECORDING AND REVIEWING

Vhat is meant by recording and eviewing?

helping the trainees to reflect on and understand what they have learnt (this helps to motivate them)

keeping a record of what trainees learn and do during their YTS scheme and of the progress they make

reviewing regularly with the trainee the progress that he/she is making.

Vhy is it important?

It encourages the trainees to learn and rovides potential employers with evidence of chievement in the form of the YTS Certificate which the Managing Agent will complete at the nd of the YTS scheme) and the trainees' log ook or diary (which is provided by the Managing Agent).

low is it carried out?

The Managing Agent should tell you about he system that is being used for the YTS scheme that you are contributing to. The trainee should be allowed time each week to record in his/her log book or diary what he/she has done

and learnt during the week. You should set aside some time away from the normal work place (for example, a room aside from the shop floor) every four to five weeks to review progress with the trainee.

Who carries out the review?

Whoever is directly responsible for the training and work experience provided. This person may receive help from the Managing Agent who should be co-ordinating the reviewing of the trainees' progress.

What should I do during the review?

You should discuss progress with the trainee encouraging him/her to make comments and examine his/her own performance and give an agreed written record of the interview to the trainee. (This record should then be filed in the trainee's log book or diary.) You will probably find it useful to keep a copy yourself along with any notes on the trainee's progress to remind you about the trainee when the Managing Agent asks you for information that can be included on the YTS Certificate at the end of the year, or in case you wish to employ the trainee at some time in the future.

The review is a good opportunity to look at the list of jobs and skills that you gave to the trainee when he/she started and to discuss with the trainee what progress he/she feels has been made in these jobs and skills. It will also offer an

portunity for you to identify with the trainees
at they feel they can do as a result of their
ining and work experience.

RAINING PLAN

hat is a training plan?

A training plan should be a list of
pportunities available to trainees in any
rticular workplace to learn different skills and
ould say what a trainee should be able to do
the end of the period of planned work
xperience.

The plan should be given to the trainee at
e start of the work experience period.

hat does it look like?

Here are three examples of typical basic
ining plans:

lerical Work

hree month period by the end of which the
ainee will be able to:

maintain record of incoming/outgoing post;
file correspondence; make appointments
and maintain appointment diary; photocopy
documents; maintain stationery supplies;
deal with telephone enquiries; draft letters
and memos; make travel arrangements.

ngineering (Turning)

9 day period by the end of which trainee will be
apable of:

operating machine safely to produce simple
workpieces; selecting cutting tools
appropriate to shape of work or material
being cut; selecting correct feed and speed
appropriate to type of material being cut;
selecting correct cutting fluid for type of
material being cut; setting up work in
appropriate chuck correctly and understand
reasons for choice.

Retail Sales

Two month period during which the trainee will
receive training/work experience in:-

cash handling and use of till; operate till;
cashing up; till records; cheque/credit card/
acceptance; banking procedures; taking
money and giving change; security of till;
selling and serving; identifying customer
needs; giving advice; bagging and wrapping;
handling complaints; demonstrating benefits;
secondary sales; trade descriptions; pricing;
labelling; promotions.

Where can I obtain help and information about how to provide training and work experience?

Talk to your Managing Agent (address
below) about the training available to employers
(some of it free) from Accredited Training
Centres. There is also a range of Practitioners
Guides that your Managing Agent can obtain for
you from MSC which give some advice and
guidance.

Name and address of Managing Agent

Name of contact in the Managing Agent's organisation

Telephone number