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ABSTRACT OF THE JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE  
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THE JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

A Comparison of the Methods of Administration  
used by the Ministry of Labour and National  
Service and Local Education Authorities.

Local Education Authorities are in charge of the administration of the Service. The Ministry of Labour and National Service is responsible for the general supervision of the Service, including the provision of training, and the provision of work for the Service. The Ministry of Labour and National Service also provides the financial support for the Service. The Ministry of Labour and National Service is responsible for the general supervision of the Service, including the provision of training, and the provision of work for the Service. The Ministry of Labour and National Service also provides the financial support for the Service. The Ministry of Labour and National Service is responsible for the general supervision of the Service, including the provision of training, and the provision of work for the Service. The Ministry of Labour and National Service also provides the financial support for the Service.

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ABSTRACT OF THESIS ON THE JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

<sup>FOR</sup>  
~~IN~~ THE M.A. DEGREE IN SOCIOLOGY, APRIL 1948.

The subject of the thesis is the Juvenile Employment Service, which was established by statutory authority in the early years of this century to guide and place young people in search of employment. The Service raises some interesting administrative problems because it is open to the Local Education Authorities to administer it in their own areas, and if they decide not to take advantage of their permissive powers it falls to the Ministry of Labour and National Service to do so.

The main purpose of this thesis is, therefore, to compare the methods and results of the Ministry of Labour and National Service and of the Local Education Authorities and to consider which of the two authorities seems to be most suited to be in charge of the Service. In order to do this four areas have been chosen, in two of which the Local Education Authorities are in charge of the Service, and two which are left to the Ministry of Labour and National Service to administer. A detailed comparison is made between them, including <sup>their</sup> staff, premises, and the most important parts of the ~~work~~ - ~~that is~~, vocational information and guidance, placing and after care. The first part of the thesis provides the background for this comparison in a study of juvenile employment, and the conclusion, after making allowances for the unavoidable difficulties encountered by the Service, attempts an assessment of its work as a whole. The problems of the Service's future, including the question of whether its use should be made compulsory, are discussed and finally a decision reached <sup>about</sup> ~~on~~ whether the Ministry of Labour and National Service or the Local Education Authorities should administer the Service.





PART I.

THE JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

AND ITS CLIENTÈLE.

PART I.CHAPTER 1. THE JUVENILE POPULATION.

The customers of the Juvenile Employment Service are boys and girls of 15 and under 18. They fall into two groups - those in their last year at school, needing vocational information and guidance, and those who have left school, aged 15 and over since the raising of the school leaving age in April 1946, who will need placing in suitable work, following up, and perhaps fresh guidance. As the last census was taken in 1931, it is not possible to give the exact numbers in each category, but a rough estimate can be made. Assuming that the proportion of children of 14 and over remaining at school has ~~just~~<sup>not</sup> changed since 1931, and that all children born in that and the three succeeding years are alive now, there are about 476,000 children of 14 and over who are still at school, and 2,504,000 who are in employment.

The number of children for whom the service exists has been decreasing for some time. For instance, in 1931 it had 3,179,000 potential clients, compared with 2,<sup>9</sup>880,000 to-day. This decrease is largely due to the decline in the birthrate in the 1930s. This general trend can be confirmed by Ministry of Education figures giving particulars of

children leaving grant-aided schools to take up employment. In the school year 1937-1938 526,000 children left, whereas the corresponding numbers for 1945-46 were only 442,000. What of the future? It is fairly certain that the decrease in numbers will continue for a number of years, until the effect of the higher war-time birth rate is felt. This rise in the birth-rate from 14.9 in 1939 to 19.1 in 1946 will considerably increase the numbers of boys and girls in the 15-18 age groups in six years' time, so there will be more potential customers of the Juvenile Employment Service. What will happen after that is a matter for conjecture. If the present birth rate can be maintained there will be no decline in numbers, but if the 'bulge' should prove to be a temporary phenomenon the numbers of 15-18 year olds will again decrease. How will the Service be affected? Whatever happens after 1960, the present decrease in its clientèle is going to continue for some years and that means - provided full employment is maintained - that the juvenile labour shortage will be even worse than at present. Great care will have to be taken in giving vocational guidance, in order to ensure that boys and girls are in suitable jobs, and equally great care to ensure that essential industries get sufficient recruits.

Nothing has been said so far about the educational background of the young people who use the Juvenile Employment Service. The majority of them have been to secondary modern schools, and comparatively few are technical and grammar school leavers. The numbers of children leaving these different schools in 1946<sup>5</sup>-46 are shown in Table 1 expressed as percentages of the total numbers leaving. Percentages for 1937-38 have been included in order to show whether there have been any changes in the proportions of different types of leavers.

Table 1.

Sources:- Ministry of Education Annual Report for the year 1937-38 and information given by Statistics Department of the Ministry for the year 1945-46.

Proportion of Leavers from Different Types of Secondary Schools taking up Employment, comparing 1937-38 with 1945-46.

<u>Type of School Leaver.</u>	<u>Boys.</u>		<u>Girls.</u>		<u>Total.</u>	
	1937-8.	1945-6.	1937-8.	1945-6.	1937-8.	1945-6.
Secondary Modern.	83.6	80.8	88.	84.8	85.8	82.6
" Technical.	3.1	6.3	1.5	3.5	2.3	5.
" Grammar	13.3	12.9	10.5	11.7	11.9	12.4
All Leavers.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100.	100
Total Nos. (in 00's)	2683	2290	2572	2131	5255	4421.

N.B. (Table 1.)

1. The data given refer to children under 18 in England and Wales leaving grant-aided schools.
2. Children leaving school to continue their education elsewhere are not included in the table.
3. In 1937 the school leavers would have been called elementary, technical and secondary respectively, but as there is little real difference present day terms have been used.

Though there has been a slight overall increase in the proportion of secondary grammar school leavers (from 11.9 to 12.4) and more than 100% increase concerning technical school leavers since 1937-38, 82.6% of all leavers are still from secondary modern schools. A noticeably larger proportion of boys have the benefit of grammar and technical school education than girls. These proportions only refer to leavers in 1945-46, but as they have changed very little since 1937-38 it is reasonable to assume that they would be true for all children eligible to use the Service - that is, about 80% of them have had a secondary modern school education, leaving at 15, 5% a secondary technical school education, leaving at 16, and 12% a secondary grammar school education, leaving at 16 and over. Probably in the future there will be a further increase in the latter proportions as more children,

especially girls, have the chance of going to grammar and technical schools, but even so most leavers will be from secondary modern schools and will form the bulk of the customers of the Juvenile Employment Service.

References.

Board of Education: Annual Report (1937-38).

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Registrar General: Census of England and Wales (1931)



PART I.CHAPTER 2. OCCUPATIONS OF JUVENILES.

The great majority of the potential customers of the Juvenile Employment Service are at work. What occupations are they following? Do those leaving school at 14 and 15 enter different occupations from those who stay on at school till they are 16 and 17? Does the occupational distribution of juveniles change over a period of years? What sort of work are juveniles doing - how many, for instance, are apprenticed or training? Finally, how many are in 'blind alley' jobs?

The occupation tables of the census of England and Wales provide the answers to some of these questions. As the last census was taken in 1931, the information is not up to date, but at least it gives a broad picture of distribution between 32 occupation groups for juveniles of 14 and under 18. Data for the years 1921 and 1931 have been given in order to show changes in distribution. The number of boys in each occupation group has been shown as a percentage of the total number, similarly with girls, and boys and girls together, and the relative increase or decrease per cent has been tabulated in order to show in which occupation groups the greatest changes have occurred.

## Part I, Chapter 2, Table 1.

Juvenile Population (14 and under 18) according to Occupation Groups. 1921/1931.

1921. Censuses. 1931. Occupation Tables.

Occupation Groups.	B O Y S.		Relative Incr. or Decrease.	G I R L S			Total		Relative Incr. or Decrease.
	Boys in each O.G. shown as %age of Total Boys.			Nos. in each O.G. shown as %age of Total Girls			Total Nos. B & G in each O.G. as %age of Total.		
	1921	1931		1921	1931	%	1921	1931	%
1-6 Fishermen, agricultl. workers, miners, chem- ical workers, quarry & q. products workers.	18.7	13.5	- 28	1.8	.8	-56	10.3	7.2	- 30
7 Metal workers.	11.5	8.3	- 28	1.7	1.5	- 12	6.6	4.9	- 26
8-11 Precious metal workers, elec. app., watches, scientific instruments.	1.9	1.8	- 5	.9	1.0	11	1.4	1.4	---
12,13 Textiles & t. goods workers.	5.3	2.9	- 45	15.4	13.3	- 20	10.4	7.6	- 27
14 Foods, drinks and tobacco workers.	1.1	.9	- 18	1.7	1.1	- 35	1.4	.9	- 36
15 Wood & Furniture wkrs.	3.5	3.3	- 6	.4	.3	- 25	1.9	1.6	- 5
16,17 Paper workers, printers, photographers.	2.5	1.4	- 44	2.3	2	- 13	1.8	1.6	- 11
18-21 Builders, painters, wkrs. in other matls.	1.8	3	67	.9	1.1	22	2.	2.1	5
22 Railway, transport workers.	12.3	13.9	12.	1.5	1.4	- 7	7	7.6	9
23 Commerce, finance, insurance.	5.4	8.6	59	5.4	6.9	28	5.3	7.7	45
24 Public administration & defence workers.	1.3	.7	- 46	.3	--	-100	.8	.3	- 63
25 Professional occupations	.6	.5	- 17	.5	.4	- 20	.5	.4	- 20
26 Entertainment, sports goods workers.	.4	.4	---	.2	.1	- 50	.3	.2	-33
27 Personal service.	1.7	2.2	29	15.6	19.5	25	8.8	10.8	24
28 Clerks, draughtsmen, typists.	4.5	4.9	9	5.5	6.7	22	5.2	5.6	8
30 29 Warehousemen, storekeeprs	1.5	1.7	13	2.7	3.5	30	2.0	2.6	24
30,31 Stationary engine drivers Other & undefined occupations	4.2	9.1	116	.9	5.5	590	2.3	7.2	200
32 Not gainfully occupied.	21.8	22.9	5	42.3	35.9	- 15	32	29.4	- 8
	100	100		100	100		100	100	
Total Nos. in all groups (to nearest 1,000).	1,422	1,327		1,433	1,326		2,855	2,653	



The four occupation groups with the largest proportion of boys and girls in 1921 were the not gainfully employed category, textile and textile goods workers, a broad category including agricultural workers, fishermen, chemical workers, quarry and quarry products workers, and fourthly, personal service. By 1931, however, changes had taken place, and although those not gainfully occupied still headed the list, personal service then came second, and a new group including commerce, finance and insurance third, while railway and transport workers tied with textile and textile goods workers for the fourth place. If the latter are ignored, the four most important groups account for 56% of the total juvenile population, compared with 62% in 1921. This decrease was caused by a drop from 79 to 74% in the proportion of the total numbers of girls in the four largest occupation groups, which shows that the occupational distribution of girls was becoming less concentrated. In spite of this decrease, however, the fact still remained that boys were more evenly distributed between different occupations than girls.

The occupation groups in which the greatest increases in the proportion of boys occurred were first, stationary engine drivers, other and undefined occupa-

tions, second, builders, painters and workers in other materials, third, commerce, finance and insurance, and lastly warehousemen and storekeepers. Concerning girls, the first and third greatest changes took place in the same categories as for boys, the second being in warehousewomen and storekeepers, and the fourth in personal service. The huge increase in the stationary engine drivers' group is probably due to the inclusion of numbers of unemployed juveniles whose occupation was unspecified. The greatest decreases concerning boys occurred among (a) public administration and defence workers, (b) textile and textile goods workers, (c) paper workers, printers and photographers, and (d) in the large group including fishermen and agriculture. In girls' occupations as in boys' public administration and defence workers experienced the greatest decrease, followed by fisherwomen, agricultural workers, etc., next came entertainment and sports goods workers, and lastly food, drinks and tobacco workers. The trend was away from the basic industries and into lighter industries which were less affected by the depression.

Unfortunately no directly comparable figures exist for recent years. The best that can be done is to use

the Ministry of Labour and National Service's data of the number of children entering insurable employment according to certain industry groups in the years 1937-38 and 1945-46. While this only refers to part of the juvenile working population - that is, to new entrants in a few industries, it does at least indicate the changes in importance of different industries, and can be roughly compared with Table 1. The numbers of boys and girls are shown as percentages of the total number entering each industry group, and the relative increase or decrease per cent in the numbers is given as it shows more clearly where the greatest changes have taken place.

Part I, Chapter 2, Table 2a.

Ministry of Labour  
Gazette. 10.1946.Juveniles Entering Insurable Employment.

(The numbers in each industry group are shown as a percentage of the total.)

Industry Group.	BOYS.			GIRLS.			TOTAL.		
	1937-8	1945-6	Relative Increase %	1937-8	1945-6	Relative Increase per cent	1937-8	1945-6	Relative Increase per cent.
1.Agriculture.	5.4	6.8	26	1.2	1.3	15	3.3	4.	20
2.Mining, quarrying.	4.7	2.3	- 49	.2	.3	33	2.5	1.3	- 50
3.Building, elec.wiring	5.9	2.8	117	.6	.7	17	3.2	6.7	106
4.Manufacturing industries.	40.1	47.5	18	53.0	47.7	- 10	46.5	47.6	2
5.Transport.	3	4.	40	.6	1.2	83	1.8	2.7	29
6.Distributive trades	30.4	15.8	- 48	28.2	29.	2	29.3	22.3	- 24
7.National & local govt. utilities, professional service, commerce, finance, entertainments.	7.5	9.	20	6.3	14.1	118	6.9	11.6	68
8.Hotels, laundries, personal service.	3.	1.8	- 43	9.9	5.7	- 40	6.5	3.8	- 40
Total.	100	100		100	100		100	100	
Total Nos. in each I.G. (to nearest 100)	359	288		309	274		<u>668</u>	562	

N.B. 1) The relative increase per cent was calculated in order to show in which industry groups the greatest changes had taken place. A minus sign denotes a decrease.

The industry group which has experienced the greatest increase of boys is building and electrical wiring, and of girls a somewhat miscellaneous category - national and local government, utilities, professional service, commerce, finance and entertainments. The greatest decrease of boys occurs in coalmining and quarrying, and secondly, the distributive trades; of girls in hotels, laundries and personal service, followed by manufacturing industries. All these changes save one - hotels, laundries and personal service - were noticeable in 1931. As these categories are rather wide they have been split up into individual industries in order to show where the changes are most marked.

(See Table 2b, Page 13.)

Table 2b.

Ministry of Labour Gazette.  
10.1946.Industries showing a Percentage Increase  
in Juvenile Intake (1937-38 cf. 1945-46)

INDUSTRY.	BOYS 14-17.		GIRLS 14-17.		TOTAL (B. & G.)	
	1937-8	1945-6	1937-8	1945-6	1937-8	1945-6
	Rel. %	Rel. %	Rel. %	Rel. %	Rel. %	Rel. %
1. Engineering.	7.8	10.8	3.8	5.1	5.2	7.
2. Vehicles, aircraft.	4.	7.3	83	1.3	2.5	4.4
3. Shipbuilding.	.8	1.6	100	.1	.5	.9
4. Building, civil engineering.	5.1	10.9	110	.7	2.9	5.8
5. Electrical wir- ing, contract- ing.	.8	1.9	114	.1	.5	1.
6. Nat. Governmt. Service.	1.3	2.4	85	1.	1.2	3.
7. Local Governmt. Service.	1.1	1.5	36	.7	.9	2.2
Total Nos. (to (nearest 00)	750	1046		326	920	1372

N.B. Greatest increases have occurred in 5, 4, 3, (boys)  
7, 6 (girls)  
6, 7, 4 & 5 (boys and girls)

Electrical wiring and contracting, building and civil engineering, and shipbuilding are industries in which the greatest changes concerning the intake of boys have occurred, and in local and national government service concerning girls - the latter showing terrific increases of 300 and 280 per cent respectively. The needs of war probably accounted for these increases.

Industries suffering the greatest decreases per cent intake are given in Table 2c. (See page 15.)



Table 20.

Ministry of Labour Gazette,  
10/46.

Industries showing a Percentage Decrease  
in Juvenile Intake (1937-38 cf. 1945-46)

INDUSTRY.	BOYS 14-17		GIRLS 14-17		TOTAL (B. & G.)	
	1937-8	1945-6 Rel.%	1937-8	1945-6 Rel.%	1937-8	1945-6 Rel.%
1. Coalmining.	4.2	2.1	.2	.1	2.3	1.1
2. Cotton.	1.	.6	2.6	1.7	1.7	1.2
3. Wool.	.9	.6	1.8	1.2	1.3	.9
4. Bricks & tiles.	.9	.5	.1	.1	.5	.3
5. Laundries, cleaning.	1.1	.6	4.3	2.2	2.6	1.4
6. Distributive trades.	30.4	16.	28.2	28.9	29.4	22.2
Total No. (to nearest 00)	1377	579	1141	939	2518	1518



Coalmining, wool, cotton and the distributive trades were the greatest losers taking boys and girls together, all being trades which are unpopular with young people, largely as a result of their parents' determination that they shall not enter industries which experienced a high rate of unemployment in the 1930s and in which the working conditions were not good, for even though conditions have been greatly improved since, memories die slowly.

The figures quoted in the tables have been used to prove that it is impossible to think statically about young people and work, for the importance of different industries and occupations for boys and girls is continually changing. Changes, however, are not confined to the numbers entering industry - they take place also in the age distribution of entrants, as can be seen by analysing the numbers of juveniles entering insurable employment according to their ages over a number of years.

(See Table 3, Page 17.)

Table 3.

M.L. Gazette, 10.46.

The Proportion of Juveniles entering Different Industry Groups, showing Age Distribution of Entrants in 1937-38 and 1945-46.

Industry Group.	BOYS. 14 to 15			BOYS. 16 to 17			GIRLS. 14 to 15			GIRLS. 16 to 17		
	37-38	45-46	Rel.inc.	37-38	45-46	Rel.inc.	37-38	45-46	Rel.inc.	37-38	45-46	Rel.inc.
1.Agriculture.	5	7	40	6	8	+ 33 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	1	1	-	2	3	+ 50
2.Mining, quarrying.	5	2	-60	6	1	- 83	-	-	-	-	-	-
3.Building, elec. wiring.	6	13	+116	6	9	+ 50	1	1	-	1	1	-
4.M'furing industries.	41	49	+195	35	39	+ 11	59	51	- 14	30	28	- 7
5.Transport.	3	3	---	7	8	+ 14	-	1	+100	2	3	+ 50
6.Distributive trades.	32	17	- 47	19	9	- 53	27	31	+ 14	31	18	- 42
7.Nat., local govt, utilities, prof. services, commerce, finance, entertainments.	5	7	+40	21	24	+ 28	4	10	+150	18	40	+122
8.Hotels, laundries, personal services.	3	2	-33 <sup>1</sup> / <sub>3</sub>	4	2	- 50	8	5	- 38	16	7	- 56
Total	100	100		100	100		100	100		100	100	
Total No. Entrants (to nearest 1,000)	308	249		51	39		252	233		57	41	

N.B. The numbers in each industry group are shown as percentages of the total.

In agriculture, building and electrical wiring, and manufacturing industries the proportion of 14 and 15 year old boys has increased, while transport, the distributive trades, national and local government have increased their proportion of 14 and 15 year old girl entrants. Only one industry - transport, has increased its intake of older boys - and only one - agriculture, of older girls. So industries have expanded by increasing the proportion of 14 and 15 year olds they engage, and those which contracted during the period 1937-38 to 1945-46 did so because their intake of older boys and girls decreased. This applies to mining and quarrying (boys only) and to the distributive trades, hotels, laundries and personal services concerning boys and girls.

Another fact which emerges from a study of Table 3 is the difference in industrial distribution of 14 and 15 compared with 16 and 17 year olds. The heavy entry of 14 and 15 year old boys and girls in manufacturing industries and the distributive trades is most marked, and of the older boys and girls in agriculture, transport, national and local government, utilities, professional services, commerce, finance and entertainments.

So far nothing has been said about the quality of the employment available for young people. Very little

information exists about this on a national scale, so only general statements can be made. The numbers of boys and girls in professional occupations <sup>are</sup> is very small. The figures given in the censuses of 1921 and 1931 are the only ones available pending the publication of the Ministry of Labour's report on Professional Man Power. As shown in Table 1, only .5% of the total working juvenile population were in professions in 1921, and by 1931 only .4%. It is unlikely that there has been a great change since, and probably the percentage has returned to the 1921 figure, as the proportion of secondary grammar school children has increased and they are the ones likely to enter the professions.

Unfortunately there are no figures giving the numbers of young people in Great Britain who are apprenticed. It is likely they are few, for apprenticing to-day is the exception rather than the rule. Some indication of the trades in which apprenticeship existed in 1938 can be gleaned from the report of the Ministry of Labour London Regional Advisory Council. Table 4 (Page 20) shows the industries in which apprenticeship existed.

Table 4.

Industries.	Sections having Apprenticeship.	Is Apprenticeship Indentured?	B O Y S	G I R L S	App. for a few only?
Brush and broom.			✓		Yes.
Building.	In all branches.	Yes.	✓		App. usual in each branch.
Dressmaking.				✓	Yes.
Electro plating.	In high class work.		✓		"
Engineering.			✓		"
Furniture m'fature.		Yes.	✓		"
Games, sports goods.	In high class firms.		✓		"
Gold, silver smithing.	Smithing, bossing, chasing, engraving.		✓		"
Gas manufacture and fitting.			✓		"
Government.	R. Ordnance Factories.		✓		"
	H.M. Dockyards.		✓		"
	R. Navy.		✓		"
	Army (trades)		✓		"
	R.A.F. (aireraft and clerks)		✓		"
	Mercantile Marine (navigators)		✓		"

Table 4 (contd.)

Industries.	Sections having Apprenticeship.	Is Apprenticeship Indentured?	B	G	App. for a few only?
			O	I	
			Y	R	
			S	L	
			S	S	
Hairdressing.	High class firms		✓	✓	Yes.
Horticulture.	Large employers, e.g. Corporations.		✓		"
Jewellery.	Mounting, setting, gem cutting.	Yes.	✓		"
Leather goods.	High class firms		✓		"
Mathematical instruments.	Mathematical dividing.		✓		"
Musical instruments.			✓		"
Optical instruments.			✓		"
Photography.	High class firms.		✓	✓	"
Printing.		Yes.	✓		App.usual
Railway.	In trades for permanent way staff	Yes, according to the trade.	✓		Yes.
Retail distribution.	Food distribution.		✓	✓	"
Retail bespoke tailoring.			✓		"
Saddle, harness m'ture.			✓		App.very rare.

Table 4 (contd.)

Industries.	Sections having Apprenticeship.	Is Apprenticeship Indentured?	B O Y S	G I R L S	App. for a few only?
Thermometer manufacre.	Glass blowing.		✓		Yes.
Vehicle building.			✓		"
Woodwork.	Machine woodwk.		✓		"

N.B. Indentured apprenticeships are those in which there is a written agreement between the employer, the apprentice and a third part - usually the Trade Union concerned, or the parent - binding the employer to teach the boy his trade and the boy to learn it.

It is clear from Table 4 that there are comparatively few industries in which apprentices were employed - 26 in all. In only 5 of these is the apprenticeship indentured, and only in 2 is apprenticeship usual. Apprenticeships for girls occur in 5 industries, and in none of these is



apprenticeship usual or indentured.

This was the position in London in 1938. As, however, there are few large industries in London which demand skilled workers, the situation may have been better in other parts of the country. For example, there would be considerably more apprenticeships available in the Midlands where the engineering trades, which need a steady supply of skilled workers, are centred. The findings of the London report were given because no other information was available. Still, it can be stated with certainty that very few of the boys and girls entering industry in 1938 would be lucky enough to obtain apprenticeships. What is the position now? During the last few years many industries have drawn up training schemes for juveniles. All these schemes are on a national basis with uniform standards throughout the country in each trade, and they are intended to make general practices which have existed for some time, but in a piecemeal fashion, varying from district to district. The schemes are drawn up by three different organisations - government departments, industrial councils, and voluntary organisations. Usually they are the work of at least two - for instance, the training scheme for the Motor Vehicle and Repairing industry was the result of collaboration between the appropriate National Joint Industrial Council and the Ministries of Education and



Labour. There is a definite trend to consult representatives of the trade concerned, the employers, and the appropriate government department in drawing up these schemes. The initiative usually comes from the representatives of the trade, or industry, sometimes from the government department, but never, so far, has it come from the employer. It would seem, therefore, that the trade unions are taking advantage of full employment and shortage of juvenile labour to ensure proper training for young workers. Table 5 (page 25) gives details of the scope of the schemes.

Table 5. Ministry of Labour  
Gazette.

Training Schemes For Juveniles.

Industries.	Who Drew Up the Schemes?	Administration.	Scope.	Age on Entry.	Indentured Appr'ship?	Duration.	Proficiency Exams?	Selectn. & Recruitmt.
Agriculture.	Y.M.C.A. & the Ministry of Agriculture.	Y.M.C.A.	Boys.	14-16½	No.	8-10 wks		Thro' Juv. Em- ploymt Offices
Boot & Shoe.	Working party appointed by Board of Trade.		B. & Girls.	15 --	No.			Ditto & the firms.
Building.	Buildg. & Apprenticeship Training Council.	Local Apprenticeshp. Committees.	Boys.	14-15	Yes.	5 years.		Through J.E.O.s
Catering.	Catering Wages Commission under C.W. Act 1943.		B. & Girls.	14.	No.	3-6 mths	Yes.	
Coalmining. a. Surface.	Ministry of Fuel & Min. of Labour & Nat. Service.	Ministry of Labour & N. Service.	Boys.	15	No.	6 wks.		Through J.E.O.s
b. Coal-face	Departmental Committee appointed by Ministry of Fuel.	"		17½		2½ years.		
Engineering.	Engin. & Allied Employers' Federation & A.E.U.		Boys.	16		5 years.		Through J.E.O.s.
Ferriery & Blacksmith.	Nat. Fed. of Master Farriers & Blacksmiths, M. of Labour, Education & Agriculture.	Local Joint Apprenticeship Comtees.	Boys.	15	Yes.	5 years.	Yes.	Through local App. C/ee & J.E.O.s
Foundry (iron)	Education Committee of C'cil of Ironfoundry Associations.		Boys.		No.			
Mastic Asphalt	M. of Labour & N.S. & J.I.C. for Mastic Asphalt Industry, Bldg. Appr. & Training C'cil.	Local Joint App. Committees.	Boys.	15	Yes.	5 years.		Thro' Buildg. App. Training C'cils & J.E.O
Motor Vehicles	Nat. J.I.C. For Motor Vehicle Trade & M. of Educatn.	Area Joint App. Committees.	Boys.	14-16	Yes.	5 years.	Yes.	Thro' J.E.O.s & local App. C/ee.
Nursery Nursing.	M. of Health & Education.	Through recognised nursery nursing schools.	Girls.	15-16	No.	2 years.	Yes.	Thro' J.E.O.s
Printing.	J.I. Council for Printing Industry.	Local J. App. Committees.	Boys.	16.	Yes.	7 years.	Yes.	Thro' local appr. C/ees.

On the whole the schemes are limited to the training of future skilled workers and thereby to boys. In only 3 <sup>industries</sup> ~~instances~~ - boot and shoe, catering, and nursery nursing - are girls eligible for training for skilled work. In printing, girls are only trained for semi-skilled work. Three other restricting principles are at work in the schemes - firstly, adherence to the old custom that the number of apprentices must be fixed in proportion to the skilled craftsmen in the trade, so relatively few young people can be trained; secondly, most schemes are concerned only with boys of 14 and 15, so older boys find it practically impossible to get training; and thirdly, in all schemes save those for agriculture, coalmining and nursery nursing, training is to be through apprenticeship. Will these schemes greatly increase the numbers of young people who can get a training? A mere dozen schemes, even though national in scope, can scarcely have any big effect, and the vast majority of young people will still enter industry, as they do now, as learners. Making a guess, because no other method is possible, it is unlikely that more than a tenth of boys and girls in industry will be apprentices or trainees.

At the other end of the scale from the apprenticeship is the so-called 'blind alley' job. This term is used to denote work which is neither permanent nor pro-

gressive. Again, there is no way of discovering how many juveniles are in such jobs as they do not have to be registered. At present, with full employment and the accompanying shortage of juvenile labour, there are very few unprogressive jobs, for most employers are only too glad to offer permanent jobs to young people, and probably only newspaper office messenger boys' work could be called 'blind alley', as far more messengers are taken on than can be permanently employed. The real criterion of 'blind alley' work, however, is not that it only lasts a limited time, but that the conditions under which it is done are such that the boy deteriorates and no one wants to employ him when he leaves. Fortunately, this occurs very rarely nowadays, and as there is seldom difficulty in finding work for anyone, the boy who has been in a 'blind alley' job does not have to suffer unemployment afterwards. On the whole, then, the amount of 'blind alley' work is negligible.

What sort of work do the majority of school leavers get, if only small proportions enter the professions, or find apprenticeships? The bulk of them are taken on as 'learners', a vague term, which usually implies that they will learn on the job with the help of older workers. The work is largely semi-skilled and can be learnt in a

few months. Unskilled work, in which there is even less to learn, also accounts for a large number of juveniles, though not nearly as many as semi-skilled work.

References.

- Ministry of Labour (London Regional Advisory Council for Juvenile Employment) Annual Report: A Guide to the Employment for Boys and Girls in Greater London, 1938.
- Ministry of Labour and National Service: Ministry of Labour Gazettes, 1945, 46, 47.
- Registrar General: Census of England and Wales (Occupation Tables) 1921 and 1931.

PART I.CHAPTER 3. HOURS OF WORK AND WAGES.

Daily and weekly hours of work for young people are regulated under the Factory, Employment of Young Persons & Shops Acts, all passed in the 1930s. Juveniles cannot work more than a 44 hour week if they are under 16 and a 48 hour week if they are over 16. The total number of daily hours worked must not exceed 9, or 10 if a five day week is worked. No working day must begin before 7 a.m. or end after 8 p.m., or 6 p.m. for boys and girls under 16, or 1 p.m. on a Saturday. Not only this, but a limit of  $4\frac{1}{2}$  hours is set to the length of a continuous spell of work, unless a 10" break is introduced, when it may be extended to 5 hours. On the whole, young people are not allowed to work overtime, though permission can be given when the District Inspector thinks it necessary. Even then, there are limits - the total daily hours must not exceed 12 inclusive of intervals for meals and rest, or 10 exclusive of them; no factory or workshop can make its young employees work more than 100 hours overtime in the calendar year, and these hours must not occur in more than 25 weeks, nor 6 hours in each week. Finally, night work is not per-



mitted juveniles under 16, and only boys over 16.

During the war the Defence Regulations permitted an increase in the hours worked by young people where it was proved to be necessary in order to maintain high production. In such cases, a 44 became a 48 hour week, and a 48 a 52 hour week. Since the end of the war, however, there has been a gradual return to the statutory working week and in many industries a 40 hour week has been introduced. Comparing Ministry of Labour figures for April 1947 with 1938, it seems that there has been a reduction of weekly working hours in many industries. The investigation on which this conclusion is based did not apply to all industries, though, and weekly hours of work in agricultural work, coalmining, railway service, shipping, port transport, distribution, catering, entertainments, commerce, banking and domestic service were not included. The results of the enquiry are given in Table 1 (page 31).

Table 1.

Ministry of Labour Gazette,  
October 1947.


Weekly Hours of Work in April 1947 compared with October 1938.

Industry Group.	Youths & Boys under 21.		Girls under 18.	
	1938	1947	1938	1947
Iron & stone mining & quarrying.....	45.7	45.2	--	--
Treatment of non-metalliferous minerals and quarry products.....	47.3	45.4	--	--
Brick, pottery & glass.....	45.9	43.8	44.1	43.3
Chemical, paint and oil.....	46.7	42.7	44.6	42.3
Metall engineering and shipbuilding.....	45.9	42.9	44.7	41.7
Textiles.....	45.6	43.6	45.9	42.6
Leather and fur.....	46.8	44.1	46.5	43.1
Clothing.....	45.3	43.2	42.7	41.1
Food, drink and tobacco.....	47.3	44.	45.9	42.6
Wood working.....	46.2	43.7	45	42.2
Paper, printing and stationery.....	45.5	43.5	44.9	42.5
Building and contracting.....	46.5	44.8	--	--
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries.....	46.9	43.5	44.9	42.3
Transport and storage.....	48.1	41.2	--	--
Public utility services.....	47.6	45.2	43.7	42.4
Government industrial establishments.....	47.1	42.9	--	42.7
AVERAGE:	46.2	43.7	44.6	42.

N.B. The hours of work of boys and youths are not given separately, which may account for the higher weekly average.



In most industries to-day wages are paid according to fixed uniform rates for the whole country. These rates are drawn up as a result of negotiations between the Trade Unions and the Employers' Associations if the industries are organised, or if not, by Trade or Wages Boards appointed by the Minister of Labour and National Service and consisting of representatives of employers and employees and independent members. The basic rate for a young person is usually a proportion of the adults' rate. Apprentices' wages are fixed as proportions of the skilled workers' rates - for instance, in the first year of apprenticeship a boy might get a quarter of the full rate, the second year a third and so on. Usually rates are paid according to age for non-apprentices, rises being given each year. Wages may be paid on an hourly or weekly basis, according to piece rates, or a flat rate for all workers irrespective of the amount of work done. Often two methods are combined, for instance a basic flat rate is paid and on top of it a bonus according to the amount of work turned out. Account is taken of the district when fixing national wage rates, so the wages paid to a boy in London would be a few shillings (to allow for the higher cost of living) more than those paid to one in East Anglia.



In addition to this variation, wages vary with other local conditions - if labour is very scarce in one area, employers may offer more than the minimum in order to get workers. Wages at present are increasing and have been doing so for the last few years. An inquiry by the Ministry of Labour and National Service into the average hourly earnings of youths and boys and girls under 18 comparing 1938 and 1947 shows ~~that~~ increases of 92% and 131% respectively. The industries groups are the same ones as in Table 1.

Table 2.

Ministry of Labour Gazette, 10.47.

Average Hourly Earnings in 4/1947 cf. 10/1938.

<u>Industry Group.</u>	<u>Youths &amp; Boys - 21</u>	<u>Girls under 18.</u>	<u>%age Increase since Oct. 1938.</u>
Iron, stone mining and quarrying.....	1/3.3	--	94
Treatment of non-metalliferous mine and quarry products.....	1/3.6	--	97
Brick, pottery and glass.....	1/2.9	11.1d	106
Chemicals, paint and oil.....	1/2.1	11.2d	86
Metal engineering and shipbuilding.....	1/.7	1/.2	86
Textiles.....	1/1.4	1/.4	111
Leather, fur.....	1/1.1	11.1	102
Clothing.....	1/.2	11.1	86
Food, drink and tobacco.....	1/.5	10.8	75
Wood working.....	11.9	11.	96
Paper, printing and stationery.....	11.1	10.6	71
Building, contracting, etc.....	1/1.7	--	107
Miscellaneous manufacturing industries.....	1/1.1	11.7	93
Transport, storage.....	1/1	--	92
Public utility.....	1/.3	10.9	77
Government industrial establishments.....	1/2.5	11.	75
<b>AVERAGE:</b>	1/1	11.5d	92
			131

N.B. Separate figures were not given for youths and boys.

The greatest increases have occurred in textiles (boys and girls), building and contracting (boys), brick, pottery and glass (boys and girls), leather and fur (boys) and the miscellaneous manufacturing industries (boys).

It is not enough, however, to know that wages have increased over a given period unless it is also known whether they have increased more than the cost of living. The cost of living index for October 1938 was 55, and for April 1947 103 - a rise of 53%. The rise in wages over the same period was 92 and 131 for youths and boys, and girls respectively, therefore wages have increased more than the rise in the cost of living.

On the whole there has been an improvement in the conditions of work of young people as shown by the decrease in the number of weekly hours worked and an increase in the average hourly earnings.

#### References.

H.M.S.O. Factory Act (1937)

" Employment of Young Persons Act (1930)

" Shops Act (1934)

Ministry of Labour & Nat. Service: Ministry of Labour  
Gazettes (April and October 1947)

~~Chief Inspector of Factories: Annual Report (1943)~~

PART I.CHAPTER 4. HISTORY OF THE JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

The origins of the Juvenile Employment Service are to be found in the early years of this century in the work of voluntary and statutory authorities who tried to help young people to choose and find suitable work, so that their education would not be lost to themselves and the community. Most of these organisations only dealt with certain sections of the juvenile population in certain places, and there was no national service. For instance, there were the voluntary apprenticeship committees, which helped apprentices to find work; there was the Metropolitan Association for Befriending Young Servants, which helped orphans to find domestic work in London; there were labour registers at some boys' clubs to help members in finding work; there were the Post Office Labour Bureaux which tried to find other work for telegraph messenger boys when they became sixteen, and finally, there were bureaux at schools, which, with the help of voluntary committees, or paid officials, advised leavers on how to choose and find work.

Of all the arrangements mentioned, the school employment agencies were the most promising from the point of view of future development, for they dealt with all leavers, boys



and girls, from each school, and they were in possession of the relevant information about each child - his school report, for instance - and so had a fairly good idea about his abilities. The other organisations rarely both advised and placed, and knew little about their customers.

The first step towards creating a Juvenile Employment Service for the whole country was taken in 1910, when special rules were made under the 1909 Labour Exchanges Act. These rules provided that "advisory committees could be set up in such areas as was thought expedient" by the President of the Board of Trade. One of the duties of these committees would be "to give information, advice and assistance to juveniles and their parents concerning work." The committees were to be responsible to the Board of Trade.

This raised the question whether it was within the powers of local education authorities to organise employment bureaux. The Education (Choice of Employment) Act 1910 authorised local education authorities - that is, County and County Borough Councils - to exercise powers, subject to the approval of the Board of Education, to advise juveniles up to seventeen years old concerning their choice of employment. These powers were adoptive, so local education authorities need not use them if they

did not want to. So already two different types of authorities were providing the service - the Board of Education through some local education authorities, and the Board of Trade. This arrangement raised several difficulties. Since neither authority was alone responsible for the service, it was impossible to prevent disparities in its standard; also, as no machinery existed to co-ordinate the work of the Boards, duplication of work resulted. Representatives of both boards met and discussed these problems and issued a memorandum urging local authorities to use their choice of employment powers and emphasising that this should only be done in co-operation with the national exchange system. The Board of Education should insist that such arrangements were made before approving any local education authorities' scheme. Where such a scheme was run, the Board of Trade would recognize it and would not exercise its powers, and vice versa. In other areas, where no provision yet existed, the Board of Trade would wait until the end of 1911 before exercising its powers. While this first part of the memorandum did not attempt to solve the problem of the dual control of the service, it did at least tidy up the administration. The second part, however, merely caused greater confusion than before. It divided choice of employment work into two parts: firstly, advice concerning continued education



and choice of career, which should be given by the local education authority, helped by data furnished by the Labour Exchanges, and secondly, registering applications for employment, and placing work, which should be done by the Exchanges. This was possible theoretically but not in practice. It meant, for example, that the local education authority would advise a boy about choosing his occupation without any idea whether there were vacancies in that particular trade, what the conditions of work were like, and the prospects of promotion. The boy would then be sent along to the Exchange, where quite possibly there might be no vacancies for him, and he would have to return to the bureau for advice on what to do next. Even if there were vacancies, and he was fixed up right away, it would be a waste of time for him to go to two different places which would rarely be close together. Also, both authorities would have to keep records for the same children, thus wasting <sup>their</sup> time too. Besides, the officer placing a child wants to know what his school record is like, so he can more easily decide which of several vacancies is the most suitable. In practice, then, it proved impossible to separate choice of employment from placing work, and on the whole the 1911 Memo. only served to make matters worse.

The next act affecting the work of the service was

~~was~~ the 1918 Education Act. This made local authorities exercising their choice of employment powers responsible for advising young people up to eighteen years, instead of seventeen as before. It also stipulated that children must remain at school until the end of the term in which they became fourteen. This, though admirable from the school teacher's point of view, was not nearly so pleasing to those running the juvenile employment service, for it is far harder to find a large number of children work three times a year than it is to find work for a few intermittently throughout the year, as employers' needs, unfortunately, do not always coincide with the end of term.

Still no progress had been made in deciding whether the Ministry of Labour or the Board of Education <sup>was more</sup> ~~were most~~ suited for the responsibility of running the service, so legislation muddled along as best it could. The Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920, which made juveniles of sixteen and over working in certain trades insurable, caused another complication, for it was administered through the Labour Exchanges, whether the choice of employment work was done by them or by the local education authorities. It was small wonder that the Chelmsford Commission was appointed "to enquire into the difficulties that had arisen in giving effect to the 1911 Memo. of the Boards of Trade and Educa-

cation . . . . regard being had to the 1918 Education Act and the Unemployment Insurance Act of 1920." The Commission was hampered by the lack of agreement existing about the problem of who should provide the service, but it did make some useful recommendations. The 1911 Memo. was rejected as being unworkable, and local education authorities were urged to take up their adoptive powers in the next six months. Those doing so, and those at present exercising them, must also undertake the placing and unemployment insurance work, and the cost of the latter would be refunded by the Ministry of Labour. The relative permanence of the arrangements was secured by the provision that these decisions should be binding for five years at least, and a further five years, unless the authorities concerned had given six months' notice of their desire to end their responsibilities. It was also suggested that a Standing Departmental Committee should be set up by the Board of Education and the Ministry of Labour to discuss questions relating to juvenile employment, and to collect and distribute industrial information. These recommendations were embodied in the 1921 Education Act and the 1923 Unemployment Insurance Act, and the administration of the service was certainly simplified as a result.

A step was at last made towards solving the problem of dual control by the Malcolm Committee on Education and Industry. It proposed that the Ministry of Labour should be responsible ultimately for the service, and that it should in future make grants in aid of choice of employment work at the same rate as hitherto paid by the Board of Education. The Ministry of Labour (Transfer of Powers) Order gave effect to this proposal. Unfortunately, as there was a strong body of opinion against any exercise of control by the Ministry, it would not seize the opportunity of introducing inspection of choice of employment work and so ensuring a minimum standard in every area. Instead, local education authorities were assured that they would be left as free as possible to develop their choice of employment work along their own lines; they would not be asked, for instance, to follow codified circulars referring to the juvenile departments in Exchanges. They would, of course, have to submit their schemes for taking up their adoptive powers to the Ministry of Labour for approval, and their unemployment insurance work would be inspected by the Ministry, but that was all.

Apart from the fact that local education authorities now exercise their choice of employment powers under



the 1935 Unemployment Insurance Act, instead of the 1910 Education Act, there have been no administrative changes in the service since 1927. Its inadequacies - for instance, the differences of standard within it - have become more widely known, and though most people agree that it would be best if one authority alone ran the service, they still cannot agree on which one is best suited for the work. The Ince Committee, appointed in 1944 to enquire into the problems arising from the administration of the service, was therefore unable to recommend that the dual system be abolished. Instead, it proposed that a time limit should be fixed after which no local education authority should be able to take up its choice of employment powers. Those already exercising them should continue to do so, subject to inspection by the Ministry of Labour to ensure that they maintain a satisfactory standard. Should they fall below this standard and fail to raise it after being given time to do so, their powers will be taken over by the Ministry.

The Juvenile Employment Service, then, has had a short but complicated history, for it is in the unenviable position of a child whose father and mother are quarrelling for his custody. Protagonists of the Ministry of Labour and National Service and the Ministry of Education have claimed for them the right of administering the service, and no one has so far been able to decide which is the

<sup>more</sup>~~most~~ suited to exercise it. The dispute arises from two different ways of regarding young people - as learners primarily, or earners. While no one questions the Ministry of Labour's suitability to provide the employment service for adults, as obviously it alone possesses the necessary information about vacancies in different trades, its right to provide it for young people is challenged on the grounds that adults and juveniles have different needs. Adults, it is argued, only need to be given particulars of different vacancies in their trade, for they have already chosen their work, but juveniles also need advice about the choice of career and continuing their education, so since the Service began arguments about whether it should be administered by the Ministry of Labour and National Service or the local education authorities have been going on. Extra force has recently been given to the arguments for local education authorities by the requirements of the 1944 Education Act, which stipulates that all juveniles must continue their part-time education till they are eighteen. County Colleges will be established in the future, and as school leavers will have to attend there part time, they would seem to be excellent places in which to house Juvenile Employment Offices. The medical and youth services of the local

education authorities will also be available at the colleges, so it would be more efficient to have all in the same building under the same authority. Also, pre-vocational guidance will be increasingly given in schools in order to determine the type of secondary education children will receive, so schools will have a great deal of information about each child, as well as personal knowledge of him and his parents. It would thus only seem logical for them to give guidance when the child leaves school.

Another argument which supporters of the local education authorities have always used to support their case is that local authorities are freer to experiment than the Ministry of Labour, as they do not have to conform to a great number of regulations imposed on them by a central authority. Besides this, their estimates are less rigidly controlled than the Ministry's, so they can better cater for local needs. Finally, they specialize in dealing with young people, and so can do the work more effectively than an authority which regards juvenile work only as a side-line.

The supporters of the Ministry of Labour, on the other hand, point out that although young people are primarily learners, that is an inadequate reason for treating the first few years of their working life in isolation



from the rest. As workers they are subject to industrial influences which are national, not local in scope, thus demanding a national organisation to deal with them. Opportunities of employment, too, are not confined to the boundaries of local education authorities, and it would therefore be unsatisfactory to leave placing to them. Besides, there must be certain minimum standards of efficiency below which the service does not fall, and these would be more easily achieved if the Ministry of Labour ran the entire service, as it exercises more control over its local offices than the Ministry of Education does over its local authorities. Also, though choice of employment work is important, it is not enough to concentrate on it alone, as placing and after-care are equally important. The help of a wages and factory inspectorate and experience of industrial relations are needed as well to do each part of the work efficiently, and only the Ministry of Labour has each requisite. Another point in its favour is its relative immunity from the effect of changes in local councils' policies, which often determine the amount of money spent on the service.

These are the main arguments put forward by each side from time to time. So far honours have been even, and no agreement has yet been reached on the question of who should provide the service. Even the Ince committee,

reporting on the Juvenile Employment Service in 1945 was unable to come to any conclusion, so the administration was left as before, but with two provisos. Firstly, that local education authorities not exercising their choice of employment powers should be given a last chance to do so before a certain time limit expired, and secondly, that if any local authorities proved to be below a required minimum standard when inspected, and failed to raise it after being given time to do so, the Ministry of Labour and National Service would take over their powers. So, even though the Ministry's responsibility for the service is underlined as it can now be enforced, there will still be two different authorities administering it locally.

References.

- H.M.S.O. 1909: Labour Exchange Act.
- " 1910: Education (Choice of Employment) Act.
- " 1911: Memo. issued by the Boards of Trade & Education.
- " 1918: Education Act.
- " 1921: Chelmsford Report.
- " 1923: Unemployment Insurance Act.
- " 1926: Malcolm Report on Education and Industry.
- " 1927: Ministry of Labour (Transfer of Powers) Order.
- " 1935: Unemployment Insurance Act.
- Ince: Report on the Juvenile Employment Service (1945)
- Keeling, F.: The Labour Exchange in Relation to Boy and Girl Labour.
- Ministry of Labour & National Service: Ministry of Labour Gazettes, April 1946, April 1947.

PART I.CHAPTER 5. OUTLINE OF THE JUVENILE SERVICE TO-DAY.

The Ince Committee, lacking unanimity on the question whether the Ministry of Labour or Education was most suited to run the Juvenile Employment Service was unable to recommend either that all local education authorities should be made to set up juvenile employment bureaux, or that the Ministry of Labour should be given a free hand to take over existing bureaux and run the whole service. So the result was a compromise, and though central responsibility, enforced by an inspectorate, rests with the Ministry of Labour, local administration is carried on by the Ministry and some local education authorities. The latest available figures (for March 1945) show that the Ministry of Labour and National Service runs 286 local offices and local education authorities 104. Except for Lancashire, the majority of offices run by the latter are found in the south and the midlands. The Ministry's offices are in outlying areas - Devon and Cornwall, East Anglia (with the exception of Cambridgeshire and east Suffolk), the north midlands and the north (save for several large towns in Yorkshire). It is noticeable that the areas where local

education authorities are responsible for the service are on the whole those whose population increased between the wars and ~~those~~ which suffered less from unemployment. Working on the basis of the 1931 census the 104 offices run by local education authorities serve a juvenile population of about 757,000, while those run by the Ministry serve about 1,113,000. Since 1921 the number of offices administered by local education authorities have only increased by 4, whereas the Ministry's have increased from 130 to 286.

Each local office is run by a paid staff, helped by a Juvenile Employment Committee. If the local education authority runs the office, a Juvenile Employment Officer will be found in charge, responsible to the Chief Education Officer and through him to the local borough or county council, and ultimately the Ministry of Labour. The office may be found in the town or county hall, or in the Education Offices if they are separately housed, or in its own premises. The Juvenile Employment Committee is usually a sub-committee of the Education Committee of the council, so that some of its members are elected and only remain on the committee for a year or three years. Apart from this there is very little difference in the constitution of these committees and those appointed by the Ministry of Labour. If the latter runs



the office, a Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary will usually be found in charge, responsible to the Manager of the Exchange and through him to the Ministry of Labour. The office may be in part of the Employment Exchange, or in separate premises. The committee consists of a chairman, 6 employers and 6 employees, who together must not come to less than one third of the total membership of the committee, 2 secondary modern and 2 secondary grammar school teachers, 4 to 6 representatives of local education authorities, and 4 persons interested in the work and welfare of juveniles, one of whom must be a woman. The size of these committees is determined by the Minister, due regard being had to local needs. Nominations for the committee originate locally, but members are responsible to the Minister, and he may terminate their office if necessary. Normally, however, office is only ended by resignation or death.

The functions of all Juvenile Employment Committees are the same, but on the whole those appointed by the Ministry seem to take a more active part in the work of the office: for instance - helping to interview children at school leavers' conferences and at open evenings, whereas those under local education authorities

tend to leave that work to the paid officials. The committee play an important part in the work of the service, for their constitution is such that they are a means of enlisting the help of teachers, employers and employees, without which the service would be powerless to do its work. Committee meetings are held at least every quarter, when a report on the work of the office is presented and discussed. Sub-committees of the committee are sometimes appointed to deal with special questions.

So far only the arrangements for Secondary Modern School leavers have been described. Where local education authorities administer the service the same office usually deals with all types of leavers, but the Ministry of Labour's arrangements are slightly different. Secondary Grammar School leavers are dealt with by the Headmasters and Headmistresses Employment Committee through the Ministry's regional offices. In London, however, the committees have separate premises. These committees do not represent different interests as the Juvenile Employment Committees do, for all their members are teachers, but they work in exactly the same way. Secondary technical school leavers are not separately catered for, nor are secondary central school leavers, except in London, where the service is run



by the Central Schools Employment Committee, whose constitution resembles that of the Juvenile Employment Committee.

It was recognized in the Ince report that the Ministry of Labour needed the help of a central body in formulating and ensuring a minimum standard throughout the country. The recently appointed Central Juvenile Employment Executive was the result of this recommendation. It consists of officers of the Ministries of Labour and Education and the Scottish Education Department, and its chief duties are to examine and determine questions of policy, to issue instructions which are binding on the whole service, and to examine schemes for exercising choice of employment powers submitted by local education authorities.

Also as a result of the Ince report's recommendations the two existing national advisory councils have been replaced by three - for England, Scotland and Wales - called National Juvenile Employment Councils. <sup>On</sup> ~~Of~~ each council there is a chairman appointed by the Minister of Labour, representatives of teachers, employers and employees, Juvenile Employment Committees (Ministry of Labour) and local education authorities, making thirty-four members in all. The council makes recommendations on all matters concerning the efficient administration of the service. The remaining advisory council - for the London region - was appointed

in 1934, and still continues its work of considering all questions relating to the London area.

So far only the parentage, family circumstances and adolescence of the Juvenile Employment Service have been described. It remains to give an account of its work of giving advice to boys and girls about their choice of career, placing them in suitable work, discovering whether they are happily settled in it, and finally, administering the Unemployment Insurance Acts.

#### Reference.

Ince: Report of the Committee on the Juvenile Employment Service (1945).

Registrar General: Census of England and Wales (Occupation Tables) (1931).

PART I.CHAPTER 6. OCCUPATIONAL RECRUITMENT.

It is impossible to give a satisfactory account of the ways in which young people find work as precise information is lacking, so the only thing to do is to sketch an outline with the slight materials available - these are the results of Prof. Jewkes' Lancashire inquiry published in his book "The Juvenile Labour Market" together with observation of present day conditions.\* Jewkes chose several towns in Lancashire, some of which were relatively prosperous, some of which were depressed, for the purpose of the inquiry, so it can be used as a rough guide to the relative importance of the different methods of finding work throughout the country in the 1930s. Samples of the total number of school leavers in each town were taken and their industrial careers followed up for two years by periodical home visiting. On the basis of the information so obtained methods of finding work were classified as follows: through parents, relatives and friends' influence, through a child's own efforts by personal application at the factory or shop, through the Juvenile Employment Service, through answering

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\*A brief account of this inquiry is given because the classification of methods of work adopted therein will be used here.

advertisements, and through teacher's influence. Some of the categories overlapped to a certain extent - for instance, it was often hard for the investigator to discover whether work a child attributed to his own efforts was really due to them and not to information gained from advertisements or the Juvenile Employment Service.

The most obvious method of finding work is through parents, relatives and friends' influence. The use of this method is bound to vary with the district - children living in rural areas, for instance, are more likely to find work in this way than children living in urban areas for several reasons. First, the population is small enough for employers and employees to be known to each other as individuals, so an employee would be able to 'speak for' his son or his friends' son to his employer with the likelihood of it having some effect. Second, in small places certain occupations often run in families, and often the same family works for the same firm for generations, so it is likely that a boy's best way of finding work is through his father. Third, even if a boy does not want to follow his father's occupation, if he lives in a small place his father is pretty certain to know someone he can approach on his behalf. Fourth, most firms are so small that they have no set policy for engaging new workers,

and usually when they are needed the employer just asks his men whether they know of anyone. Its use also varies with the times - probably more boys and girls find work through parents and friends in bad times than they do in full employment, for when jobs are few and far between they tend to go to those who know someone working there who can give them a helping hand. Its use varies with individuals too. Boys and girls who have a timid nature, or who lack initiative, or who are lazy, or who have no definite ideas about what they want to do, would tend to sit back and let their parents find their jobs for them. Generally speaking, more girls have a tendency to come under these categories than boys, and more boys and girls just leaving school than older ones. Its use varies with parents, too - whether they are determined that their children shall work at the same place as they do, or whether they are prepared to let them choose where they shall work. Jewkes found that about a third of all jobs were found through parents, relatives and friends' influence. Would this be true to-day? As many fathers have been away in the forces it is unlikely that as many children will have found work through their influence in recent years. The raising of the school leaving age last year is bound to mean that more children will have definite ideas about



where they want to work, and as vocational guidance is given by the Juvenile Employment Service as a matter of course, probably more of them will find work through it. Added to this, the shortage of juvenile labour means that it is much easier for young people to find work without help from anyone, and the 16 and 17 year olds take advantage of this. Weighing these factors up, it seems probable that a smaller proportion of boys and girls - perhaps 25% - find work through parents and friends than in the 1930s.

The second way of finding work is that of personal application at the factory or shop. The more adventurous boys and girls, and especially the boys and the older juveniles, tend to adopt this method. Unlike the first method it does not vary much throughout the country - it applies to a relatively high proportion everywhere. Jewkes discovered that the longer children had been working the more apt they were to find their own jobs - and this is probably the same to-day. On leaving school, about 39% of all jobs found were found by children themselves, and two years afterwards the proportion had risen to 46, so probably four years afterwards the proportion would have been higher still. To-day it is likely that a slightly lower proportion of school leavers, but a much larger proportion of older juveniles find work themselves, because

jobs are so much easier to get now than they were in the thirties, and the high wages paid in some industries and by some firms lure boys and girls to keep on changing their jobs for more lucrative ones. Advertisement plays a great part in this process, and for that reason it seems more logical to include jobs found through advertisements with those found by boys and girls by personal application. Jewkes' inquiry showed that only 2% of all jobs were found through advertisements, but it is certain that that proportion has increased since then. Taking both methods of finding work together, the proportion of jobs so found, according to Jewkes, was about 35%, but to-day it is more likely to be 38%.

The Juvenile Employment Service is the third method through which work can be found. It is used more in urban than in rural areas, more by school leavers than by older children, and more by girls than boys. Jewkes discovered that about one third of all jobs were found through it over a two year period, but probably over a larger period the proportion would have gone down, as he had shown that the amount of placing done by the Service decreased as the time since school leaving increased. Gertrude Williams, writing in 1938 about a comparatively prosperous town in the Midlands, estimated



that only 30% of all children found work through the Service, so it does not seem as though Jewkes' figure underrates the Service's work, even though Lancashire was one of the depressed areas and placing therefore difficult. Since then, there has definitely been an increase in the proportion of school leavers placed by the Service, as any local office's records will confirm, but it is doubtful whether that has greatly altered the proportion of all jobs found through the Service, so probably only a slight overall increase has occurred and about 35% of all jobs are now found through the Service.

The remaining method of finding work - through teachers' influence - unlike other methods varies in importance with different types of school leavers. Technical school teachers, for instance, usually keep in close touch with employers and place a large proportion of their pupils; church schools of every denomination have a tendency to find work for their pupils, but on the whole a very small proportion of jobs are found through teachers, as such proceedings are discouraged. Some employers, certainly, try to get juveniles by dealing direct with the schools, but they usually make little headway. According to Jewkes only 2% of all jobs found by children in his inquiry had been found through teachers'

influence, and this proportion had not changed throughout the two years of the investigation. It is unlikely that this proportion has changed to-day.

In conclusion, about 65% of all jobs are found by boys and girls themselves either through their own, their parents, friends and teachers' efforts, and about 35% through the Juvenile Employment Service.

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PART II.

THE JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

AT WORK.

PART II.CHAPTER 1. THE FOUR AREAS.

The purpose of studying the Juvenile Employment Service in four areas was to discover with what problems it had to deal and how it was tackling them, and ~~how~~ to compare the methods used by the two administrations, the Ministry of Labour and National Service and the Local Education Authorities, with the object of deciding the question which has been left undecided so long - namely, who should run the Juvenile Employment Service? To do this, therefore, two areas where the Ministry was in charge of the Service - an industrial and residential area of London, and a small mining town with an agricultural hinterland in the Midlands - were chosen, and two roughly comparable areas where the Local Education Authorities exercised their permissive powers - an industrial and residential district of a city in the north-west, and an agricultural county centring on a small University town. For convenience, these areas will hereafter be referred to as A 1 and 2, B 1 and 2 respectively.

A 1 is a large, compact manufacturing and residential district in London with a wide choice of

employment. A stranger walking through it would notice the bomb damage and the overgrown, empty spaces, the odd shells of buildings left standing, the prevailing dirty grey of the narrow streets relieved only by street markets making an occasional splash of colour. He would notice the worn, old look on even the children's faces, and the district's lack of beauty, save perhaps for brief glimpses of chimney-framed sunsets, or the yellow gleam of lights on wet blue roads. The people living in this area belong to the lower income groups, † and are mostly the semi- and unskilled factory workers and clerical workers. The population is unusually mixed, for many foreigners live there - refugees and displaced persons - Germans, Czechs, Austrians, Italians, and Jews of all nations. Ex-convicts used to live there, too, perhaps explaining the district's reputation for toughness, a characteristic to which the wire-meshed windows of the Employment Exchange bear mute witness. Family and neighbourhood ties are strong in this area. So far as one can judge from general impressions and the opinions of the Exchange staff, the area seems to be poor in its traditions, its amenities and in the intelligence and standards of behaviour of its people.

In contrast to the first area, A2 consists of a small, straggly mining town and its agricultural hinterland.

The town itself seems to have no *raison d'être*, as it cannot be said to centre on the mines. The streets are unkempt and conspicuous for the numbers of men lounging about the corners and the number of women pushing prams. The characteristic smell of the place - fish, chips and vinegar - epitomises its drabness. The population is predominantly working and lower middle class. According to the Employment Exchange staff the children are well brought up on the whole, and of average intelligence though rather slow on the uptake. Although not so ugly as Al the town at least is more depressing, because it could have been quite attractive if only it had been properly built instead of just growing. The area has few amenities and its life seems colourless.

B1, like Al, is a poor, large manufacturing and residential district, but with a narrower choice of employment. Because of this, the depression of the 1930s hit the town badly, especially as cotton, its largest industry, declined greatly in importance. The district could be called a near-slum; parts of it are definitely slums scheduled for demolition as soon as possible. It shares several things in common with Al - the bomb damage, the small streets of ugly houses backing on to factories, and its working class population, but it differs from it in



some important ways. For instance, though it is as poor an area as A1, the children, according to the staff of the Juvenile Employment Office, are usually well-mannered and well looked-after. The area is homogeneous, with scarcely any foreigners living in it, and finally, most women continue paid work permanently after marriage, contrary to the usual practice in A1.

B2 is a predominantly agricultural county centring on a University town. The population, unlike the other three areas, consists of all classes and conditions of people. The town tends to be split into two factions - University and non-University. Until recently the former employed the latter, but during the war many industries and government departments were evacuated there widened the choice of employment and lessened the bad feeling between the two factions. The area is the only one with any claims to beauty - the surrounding country and the west end of the town round the colleges are beautiful, and though the east end of the town where the factories and working class houses are situated is ugly, even it is beautiful compared with A1 and B1. In two respects A2 and B2 are similar, for they both have agricultural and remote hinterlands and a fairly narrow choice of employment, but whereas A2 is largely a one-class area

B2 has all classes within it.

In A 1 and 2 the Juvenile Employment Service is run by the Ministry of Labour and National Service through the local Employment Exchanges. A Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary is in charge of the juvenile department in both cases, responsible to the manager of the Exchange. In B 1 and 2 the Local Education Authorities are responsible for administering the Service; Juvenile Employment Officers are in charge of the bureaux, responsible to the Directors of Education. B1 is one of four branch offices under the city's central bureau, so the officer in charge is responsible to the Organiser and through him to the Director of Education. The staff in both cases are helped by Juvenile Employment Sub-Committees of the Borough and County Councils respectively.

The Service for all types of school leavers is administered by the same office and committee in B2, and (except for secondary grammar school girls) in B 1. The position in A1 is different, as the secondary modern and technical school leavers come under one office and committee, while the Central Schools Employment Committee and the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committees provide the service for their leavers. In A2, as there is only one central school and one grammar school,

the same committee and office deals with all leavers.

The numbers of children of 14 and under 18 in the four areas, comparing the years 1936 and 1946 are shown in Table 1a. (Page 68)

Part II. Chapter 1.  
Table 1a.

Source: Office records of numbers of school leaving cards received.

Numbers of Children of 14 and under 18 in the 4 Areas 1936 cf. 1946.

(to nearest 00.)

AREAS	B O Y S.		G I R L S.		T O T A L.	
	1936.	1946.	1936.	1946.	1936.	1946.
A.1.	5,000	1,900	4,700	1,800	9,700	3,700
A.2.	2,200	1,600	2,000	1,400	4,200	3,000
B.1.	5,200	2,100	4,400	1,900	9,600	4,000
B.2.	1,500	1,700	1,500	1,500	3,000	3,200

N.B. 1.) Figures for B.2. refer only to the town, as those for the country were not available for 1936 and 1946.

It can be seen from the table that there has been a great decrease in the numbers of children leaving school over the 10 year period. This may not seem to be true in B2, but in that area the decrease is masked by the number of evacuees who left the schools as well as the other leavers. The decrease was due to the fall in the birth-rate in the 1930s.

Table 1.b. shows the numbers of schools in the four areas from which children left to take up work.

Table 1.b.

Source: Office records.

Numbers of Schools from which  
Children of 14 left in 1936 and 1946.

Areas.	Numbers of Schools.	
	1936	1946
A.1.	28	17
A.2.	37	18
B.1.	30	28
B.2.	138	131

There has also been a decrease in the number of schools. This is largely due to re-organisation taking place under

the 1944 Education Act, which re-classifies some all-purpose schools as primary schools, thus reducing the number of schools taking children of 11 and over. In addition, some schools were lost through bombing in A.I. and B.I.

In order to get some idea of the choice of employment in the four areas, an analysis was made of the live registers - that is, of unfilled vacancies registered at the offices by employers. It was obviously impossible to do this on the same day in each area, but the days were chosen so that the registers were as normal as possible. The particulars are recorded according to the industry of the employer and the occupation the boy or girl is wanted to do. The first table merely shows the numbers of separate industries and occupations for which vacancies were notified for boys and girls as percentages of the total numbers in each area. From this some idea of the range of employment for boys and girls can be obtained.



Part II. Chapter 1.  
Table 2.

Source: Live registers of  
vacancies at each office.

Numbers of Industries and Occupations  
notifying Vacancies for Boys and Girls, shown  
as %ages of the Total.

A R E A S	Industries.				Occupations.				No. Vacancies Notified	
	Boys.		Girls.		Boys.		Girls.		Boys.	Girls.
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%		
A.1.	67	86	66	85	83	74	76	67	699	858
A.2.	14	82	10	59	18	56	16	50	142	206
B.1.	29	69	33	79	30	63	28	58	11	14
B.2.	28	72	33	85	25	74	19	56	39	49

The greatest range of industries - 67 and 66 for boys and girls respectively - occurs in A.1. - and also the greatest number of vacancies - 699 and 858. B.2. comes next with 28 and 33 industries and 142 and 206 vacancies - a choice of employment less than half as wide as in A.1., followed closely by B.1. with practically the same number of industries but far fewer vacancies - only 71 and 74 for boys and girls. Last of all comes A.2. with only 14 and 10 separate industries and 39 and 49

vacancies, having the narrowest choice of employment of the four areas. The task facing the Service in its vocational guidance work in A.1. and A.2., indeed is quite different - in A.1. the problem is how to give boys and girls a balanced idea of the large choice of employment open to them, whereas in A.2. the problem is how to find scope for their abilities in the narrow choice before them.

Concerning industries, boys and girls have roughly an equally wide choice in A.1., but concerning occupations the boys' choice is wider than girls'. In A.2. boys have a wider choice according to industries and occupations, though the difference is less noticeable in the latter; the tables are turned in B.1. and B.2, however, for concerning industries girls\* have a greater range to choose from than boys, though boys have more occupations to choose from within the industries. On the whole, the choice of employment available regarding industries is pretty much the same for boys and girls, but regarding occupations boys have a wider choice.

Besides giving a comparison of the extent of the choice of employment for boys and girls, the data gained from the analysis of the live registers can be used to show which industry and occupation groups in the four

areas have the greatest demand for boys and girls. Individual industries and occupations have been grouped together and the numbers of vacancies in each group shown as percentages of the total vacancies notified. Only those industries and occupation groups whose vacancies account for more than 10% of the total have been shown. The vacancies were mainly for secondary modern school leavers, save in B.1 and B.2, where they included ones for ex-secondary grammar school pupils.

(See Table 3, page 74.)

Part II. Chapter 1.  
Table 3.

Source: Office records.

Industries and Occupations notifying more than 10%  
of Total Vacancies in each Area.

Industries.	A.1.		A.2.		B.1.		B.2.			Occupations.	A.1.		A.2.		B.1.		B.2.	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls			Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Building			15							Builders, &c.			15				13	
Clothing		14				22				Clerical workers	37	55			19	23	14	39
Distribution	15	18	20	14			24	29		Clothing "					11			
Engineering	17				23	15	11			Domestic "								28
Hotels, laundries, etc.								16										
Instrument M'facture	11									Metal workers	18			26			18	
Metals and metal goods					18		14											
Mining			21							Shop assistants			24	16			17	17
Paper manu- facture, ) printing. )	11	12								<del>Small metal goods workers.</del>								
Professional services.		12					11	15		Textile workers			59	20	31			
Textiles				61	20						17							
TOTAL:	54	56	56	75	61	37	60	60		TOTAL:	72	55	39	75	65	65	62	84

It is remarkable that the great part - the average is well over 50% - of the demand for boys' and girls' labour comes from a few industries in each area. It is extremely highly concentrated concerning industries for girls in A.2, where two industries account for 75% of the total vacancies; concerning occupations, in A.1, where the vacancies notified for clerical workers accounted to 55% of the total ~~vacancies~~, in A.2, where textile workers' and shop assistants' vacancies amounted to 75% of the total, and in B.2, where clerical and domestic workers and shop assistants' vacancies were 84% of the total. Industries' demand for boys is highly concentrated in B.1, where three industries account for 61% of the total vacancies; and three occupation's demands in A.1 contain 72% of all vacancies. On the whole, however, the demand for girls' labour, whether considered from the point of view of the industry or the occupation, is far more concentrated than boys', which tends to be spread over several. Looking at particular industry groups, distribution is important in three out of the four areas and for both sexes. Engineering, instrument manufacture, building, the manufacture of metals and metal goods and mining are all more important for boys than for girls, whereas the opposite is true concerning clothing, hotels and laundries, and profes-

sional services. A few industries - distribution and paper-making, printing, publishing - are important for both sexes. If occupation groups are considered, clerical workers are the most important. Important occupations for boys include builders, metal workers, warehousemen and packers - and for girls, clothing and domestic workers. Shop assistants, clerical workers and textile work are important occupations for boys and girls alike.

The bulk of the vacancies notified are for semi-skilled work - very few are for apprentices, for apprenticeship has largely become a thing of the past. In A.1, according to the staff of the juvenile department, the only apprenticeships for girls are in hairdressing, and for boys in printing and book binding, building, and some types of engineering; apprenticeships, especially for girls, are hard to get. The same is true of B.1 and <sup>A</sup>B.2. The apprenticeship system, however, seems to have survived to a greater extent in B.2, where hairdressing, confectionery, dressmaking, tailoring and retail distribution offer a few apprenticeships for girls, and the trades already mentioned for A.1 and retail distribution and tailoring offer apprenticeships for boys. Even so, only a small proportion of all vacancies - less than 5% - are for apprentices.



The conditions of employment in the four areas are largely regulated by statute, as described in Chapter 1. In addition to this, the local authorities in B.1 and B.2 have passed bye-laws further restricting the hours of work of young people, and prohibiting certain types of work for those under 16. Both areas, for instance, have made it illegal for boys and girls under 16 to work in cinemas or theatres, either as assistant projectionists or as usherettes. In addition to this, in B.1 no mentally defective child under 16 can work in the same room as machinery of any kind; and in B.2, no boy while still at school is allowed to work before 6 a.m. or after 8 p.m., or for more than 2 hours on any school day, or during school hours. On the whole, most boys and girls are probably working a shorter week than the maximum allowed for the 40 hour week is worked in many industries.

It is impossible to describe the wages paid to young people in the four areas investigated without distinguishing between the theoretical amounts fixed in many industries as the result of collective bargaining between employers and employees or by trade or wages boards and the wages paid as a result of individual bargaining made possible by the present severe shortage of juvenile labour. The discrepancy between the wages laid down and the wages

actually paid varies in the four areas - it is greatest in A.1, in B.2 the two coincide, and in A.2 and B.1 the difference is not great. In A.1 the work of the Juvenile Employment Service is severely hampered by the high wages paid by many employers, for boys and girls are not content to receive a moderate wage when they know they can get more at other firms. For example, as fixed by the Dressmaking and Women's Light Clothing Wages Council the wages for a learner during her first six months are £1.4.9. The actual wages paid range from 30/- to 35/-, one firm even paying 50/- to a beginner. The engineering rate for boys, to take another example, is 26/5 for 15 year old time workers, but the actual wages paid in the area range from 35/- to 40/-. Much the same story could be told of practically every industry in the area. The inevitable result of this is that the Service is having a tough job to get some boys and girls, especially the older ones, to even consider vacancies which do not pay much above the rate laid down. The usual procedure is that a boy comes to ask whether there are any jobs in such and such a trade paying over £3 (or whatever he has fixed as the minimum.) If there are, he picks the one paying the highest wage and sallies forth. If there are not, he usually does not even stop to say thank you, but departs

to sell his services to the highest bidder. As long as this goes on - and as the shortage of juvenile labour will continue for some years it looks like going on for some time - the Service will be unable to fulfil its chief function of giving advice to young people properly, and also the small firms will have a wretched deal, for they cannot afford to offer high wages and the other attractions - among them cheap canteen meals - that the larger employers can.

In B.2 and A.2, however, the same situation does not exist, as employers with few exceptions keep to the rates laid down. In B.1 a few industries needing labour more desperately than the others pay high wages. This occurs in the cotton industry, which has been battling to achieve a better reputation for its conditions of work, where the agreed rates are 31/6 for boys and girls alike, and about 45/- the actual rates paid. The clothing industry also pays higher rates than the ones laid down; apart from these exceptions, however, there is not much divergence between theoretical and actual wages.

A minor point which should be mentioned while considering wages is that the demand for labour, being more acute in the case of girls than of boys as has been seen from table 3, has meant that the traditional wage differ-

ence between the sexes is being broken down in some industries. The fixed rates are still to the advantage of boys, but the wages as paid in practice - in the clothing trades, for instance and for clerical workers - are actually to the advantage of girls.

PART II.CHAPTER 2. METHODS OF STUDY.

Three methods of study were used to discover how the work of the J.E.S. was carried out in each area, namely observation, the use of office records, and the collection of evidence from the staff. Each method has its own advantages and disadvantages, so wherever possible all three have been used in conjunction with each other in order to get a more reliable account.

Observation of the work in practice is the best way of realising the difficulties encountered by the Service and the way in which they are being tackled - only, for instance, when one sees the interviewers at a school conference giving vocational guidance to 20 or more school leavers in an hour and a half does one realise what they are up against. No office report can make one visualise the problems involved, and no member of the staff can give one an adequate impression of the procedure. The drawback of this method, however, is that the personal reactions of the observer may give too great a bias to observation. Perhaps a school talk is being attended, and the observer feels an instantaneous dislike to the

person giving it - unless constant reference to specific questions is made, for instance, the way the speaker puts his material over and whether he manages to hold the children's attention, the talk may be rated badly. To minimise the distortion of observation, therefore, the important facts to be noticed were listed and the visit graded by allocating marks to each question and converting the result into a letter rating of A, B, C, D or E. This was practicable when observing school leavers' talks, works visits and school conferences.

Besides being useful as a check against the observer's reactions to the people concerned, this device is valuable in that it prevents the observer from seeing the talk or conference solely with one pet theory in mind. If observation was not tied down in this way, it would tend to notice only the things which confirmed the theory and ignore the rest.

This method of direct observation, however, has other drawbacks. It is impossible for one observer to see everything, so there has to be some selection. The selection - whether of school talks, conferences or works visits - must be chosen so that the observer gets a balanced idea of the different conditions under which the work of the Juvenile Employment Service is done. It would be no



use, for instance, if all the school conferences observed were ones at the better schools in the neighbourhood, where the children were responsive and the conference went off smoothly. As the observer does not know the area well enough to make the selection the help of the Secretary of the Juvenile Employment Committee or the Juvenile Employment Officer has to be enlisted, the purpose explained and the choice of visits of observation left to him. Another snag now awaits the observer - for it is not always possible, due to unforeseen circumstances, to follow the same procedure in each area. This investigation was hampered by the raising of the school leaving age to 15 on April 1st 1947, for school leaving talks were postponed and conferences cancelled as a result. These had only been observed in one area when this happened, so similar visits in other areas had to be abandoned.

Apart from the change in legislation just mentioned, which resulted in gaps in the data collected, these also occur because occasionally the observer is refused permission to visit. This is usually because a principle is involved - perhaps that no more people than are strictly necessary for the conduct of the talk or conference are allowed to be present, or that personal affairs are being discussed and it is not fair to

the boy or girl concerned that someone else should be present. In this investigation these reasons only accounted for one refusal, which did not substantially affect the work. The success of all the visits ultimately depends on the goodwill of the people concerned - the teachers or employers or the Juvenile Employment Committees, and it is a tribute to them that the method of observation was possible.

The second method of studying the Service in the four areas - by the use of office records - also has its own advantages and disadvantages. Herein one can get some facts which can be proved - the figures giving the boys and girls leaving school who were placed by the Service over a certain period, for instance, can be used to discover whether it is being used more extensively. At least records give objective facts which cut out the necessity for subjective judgments which the observer has to make at a school conference or talk - the facts recorded there are what occurs as he sees it, whereas the records give the facts quantitatively. Nevertheless, the method is just as difficult to use as the first one. In the areas investigated some records were lost in the blitz, and some had been destroyed as a matter of course after a certain length of time, with the same result -

gaps in data. Another difficulty is that records are not kept in exactly the same way in each area - <sup>the</sup> periods covered by reports changes. Some areas do not keep records of certain aspects of the work - for instance, in B.2 there is no record of the number of children attending open evenings who were unsatisfied with their work - which means that it is impossible to compare the work done in the four areas and estimate its success.

The third and last method used in studying the work of the Service was the collection of evidence from the staff. This method was used primarily to supplement the other two, when information was lacking. The same drawbacks which occur in the first method also occur in this one - the investigator's prejudices and personal reactions may affect the value placed on the staff's opinions - the opinions may be underrated if the person giving them is disliked, or overrated if the person is liked - especially if the opinions happen to coincide with the investigator's! Similarly, the person giving the opinions may be prejudiced or ill-informed. This method, therefore, needs using with caution, and it is the least satisfactory of the three, but it is useful provided it is never used on its own but always in combination with the others.

All three methods have been used throughout this

investigation in the hope that, on the whole, their advantages would outweigh their disadvantages and they would give a fair idea of the Service's work.

PART II.CHAPTER 3. STAFF.

While the Ministry of Labour and National Service, as part of the Civil Service, has uniform standards of recruitment and training of staff, so that descriptions of A.1 and A.2 will be true of the staff of all juvenile departments of Employment Exchanges, local education authorities' standards vary, so those in B.1 and 2 will not necessarily apply to other authorities throughout the country.

The rank of officers running the Juvenile Employment Service in areas where the Ministry is responsible for it varies with the size and importance of the Employment Exchange. In A.1 the Exchange housing the juvenile department is a first-class one, and therefore has to have a first-class officer as manager and a third responsible to him as the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary. Under the Secretary are two employment officers who supervise the boys' and girls' sections, and under them three employment clerks. Similarly, the service for secondary central school children, being situated in a first-class Exchange, has a third class officer in charge of the juvenile department, with three

employment officers and six clerks under her. The secondary grammar school leavers' service, however, does not follow such a ruling. Both the Headmasters' and the Headmistresses' Employment Committees are separately housed in part of a block of other offices, and the person in charge in both cases is a second-class officer, helped by several third-class and employment officers and clerks. Thus the service provided by the Ministry in A.1 is staffed by officers of a higher grade when it has to deal with ex-secondary grammar school children than with secondary modern school children. In A.2, where the Exchange is a third-class one, the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary is an Employment Officer, with a staff of one employment clerk who acts as supervisor, and one part-time clerk. In the two local education authority areas, however, the rank of staff is not fixed in any such way. A Juvenile Employment Officer is in charge in both cases; as B.1 is a branch office he is responsible to the Organiser for its administration, and through him to the Director of Education, but in B.2 he is responsible directly to the Chief Education Officer. Both Juvenile Employment Officers have a staff of three clerks.

Recruitment in A.1 and 2 is by open competitive examinations according to normal Civil Service practice.



Boys and girls sit for these examinations when they are 16 or 17, successful entrants being interviewed and sent to whichever Ministry needs them. In A.1 only two of the staff had passed such an examination, and the rest were temporary staff recruited during the war on the basis of testimonials and interviews. The system is quite different in the two local education authority areas. Competitive examinations for local government service are held in B.1, open to secondary modern school pupils of 14 and up to  $15\frac{1}{2}$ , and secondary grammar school pupils of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  and up to 17. Successful entrants are interviewed and asked to state their preferences for particular departments. Those who want to work in juvenile employment bureaux will be seen by the Organiser when vacancies occur. Very few of the staff are recruited from juniors in this way, however, as the Organiser prefers to have older people who have had experience in other departments of local government service. Usually vacancies are circulated within the service and choice made from those who apply. In B.2 there are no competitive examinations. Vacancies are advertised locally and applicants interviewed by the Juvenile Employment Officer and the Clerk to the Chief Education Officer. The important distinction between areas where the Service is run by the Ministry of Labour and National Service and

local education authorities which results from their different methods of recruitment is that the latter only employ people who want to do the work, whereas in A.1 and A.2 if a body is needed a body is sent, irrespective of whether the said body wants to do the work or not. Table 1 (page 91) illustrates this point.

Part II. Chapter 3.  
Table 1. a)

Reasons given for doing Juvenile Employment  
Service Work.

<u>Areas.</u>	<u>Choice.</u>	<u>Sent because Staff Needed.</u>
A.1		✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓ ✓
A.2		✓ ✓ 1/2
B.1	✓ ✓ ✓ 1/2	
B.2	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓	

b) Staff's Reactions to Juvenile Employment Service Work.

<u>Areas.</u>	<u>Like It.</u>	<u>Indifferent.</u>	<u>Dislike It.</u>
A.1	✓ ✓ ✓	✓ ✓ ✓	
A.2	✓ 1/2		✓
B.1	✓ ✓ ✓ 1/2		
B.2	✓ ✓ ✓ ✓		

N.B. (1) Staff of the Central Schools Employment Committee, and Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committee are not included in the above tables, but it may be taken for granted that they come under column 2. in (a)

(2) Each tick represents a full-time worker.

It is clear from the tables that although staff in the Ministry are sent to their work it does not necessarily mean they dislike it. Only one person out of the nine staff did, but three were quite indifferent to it. In B.1 and 2 all the staff had wanted to do the work and all liked it.

Promotion reveals another interesting difference between A.1 and 2 and B.1 and 2. In the former, promotion is decided annually by special civil service promotion boards. It is largely decided on ability and knowledge of the work, as shown by reports sent in about the applicant's work by his immediate supervisors - also on age and length of service. In some categories, promotion may mean that the person has to go to another place, or to a different department of the Ministry which needs an officer of his rank, so that able people do not stay in juvenile work unless they choose to forfeit promotion. In contrast to this, the local education authorities had no particular system, and it was indeed hard to discover on what grounds people could get promotion, but it seemed to be ability and length of service. As vacancies in the work did not occur frequently, though, there was little scope for promotion. Apart from moving to the central bureau, or

moving to have charge of a branch bureau, the only other course was to try to get a better job with another local authority. The different systems adopted by the two authorities mean that there is a tendency for local education authorities' staffs to stay longer in the same job than the Ministry's, and also to stay in juvenile work. For instance, the average time spent by the staff in their present jobs, taking A.1 and 2 together, was 4 years, compared with  $6\frac{1}{4}$  years for B.1 and 2; and the staff's average experience of juvenile work in A.1 and 2 was  $5\frac{1}{2}$  years as against  $6\frac{1}{2}$  years for B.1 and 2. This probably means that though the staff of the juvenile departments run by the Ministry have not so much knowledge of local conditions and the local employers and teachers as the local education authorities' staff have, at least they do not run the risk of getting stale by staying too long in any one place.

The educational standard demanded of most Juvenile Employment staff is low. The Ministry of Labour follows the usual Civil Service requirements which vary with the grade of staff - for instance, Employment Clerks are recruited from ex-secondary grammar school children; Employment Officers may have had secondary grammar school education up to Higher School Certificate standard if they are direct entrants, but they usually will have been promoted

from employment clerks. Third class officers may have had university education up to pass degree or diploma standard if they are direct entrants, but usually they are upgraded Employment Officers with secondary grammar school education. In A.1 the J.E.C. Secretary was an exception to the general rule, being a temporary third class officer with an honours degree and a teaching diploma. One employment officer had been to a secondary grammar school - the others to secondary modern schools. The education of the staff of the Juvenile Employment Service for central school children follows the same pattern just described. The Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committee's staff, however, are better educated - all have been to secondary grammar schools, and one of the third class officers is a graduate. A.2, apart from having no special staff for central/<sup>and</sup>secondary grammar school children, has the same type of staff as A.1.

Local education authorities, in contrast to the Ministry of Labour, have few set educational requirements for their staff. In B.1, staff are recruited from all types of secondary school children by competitive examination. In B.2 staff may be recruited from any type of school, and there is no examination. No particular educational qualifications are asked for when selecting applicants for more responsible posts. Vacancies for



these are usually advertised, so they are not always filled from within, so occasionally outsiders with better education enter the service.

The number of staff employed in each area are given in Table 2, and they are also shown in proportion to the numbers of boys and girls of 14 and under 18.

Table 2.

Proportion of Staff to Children in each Area.

Source: Observation and Office Records

Areas.	Nos. of Staff.	Nos. of Children.	Proportion of Staff to Children.
A.1	6	3,500	1:580
A.2	2½	3,000	1:1200
B.1	3½	4,000	1:1140
B.2	4	5,500	1:1380

N.B. ½ = a part-time worker.

Taking A.1 and A.2, where the Ministry of Labour and National Service is responsible for the service, and B.1 and 2, where the local education authorities exercise their adoptive powers together, the proportion of staff employed to the numbers of potential customers is 1:890

for the former, compared with 1:1260 - that is, the Ministry employs more staff in proportion to the numbers of children than the local education authorities.

Table 3.

Approx Ages of Staff.

Av. Age of Staff.	Oldest Member.	Youngest Member.	Age Range.
A.1      41	59	28	31
A.2      35	45	24	21
B.1      42	50	40	10
B.2      26	30	22	8

This shows that the Ministry's staff have a higher average age than the staff in B.1 and 2, and they also have a greater age range.

Comparison of the salaries paid to the staff in both types of areas proved difficult because of lack of information. Any figures mentioned refer to 1946, when the investigation was done, and they are not necessarily the same to-day. Salaries in A.1 and 2 are paid according to Civil Service rates, which vary with the rank of the person employed, whereas the salaries of the staff employed by the local education authorities vary with the classification decided upon by the local town or county council

under the National Joint Council for Local Authorities Administrative, Professional, Technical and Clerical Services. As it is left to each local council to decide which divisions their juvenile employment bureau staff come under the rates quoted will not necessarily apply to all authorities throughout the country.

Table 4.                      Source: National Joint Council for  
Local Authorities' Administrative,  
Professional, Technical and  
Clerical Services.  
Civil Service Diary.

Salary of Staff in 1946.

Grade.	Areas.	S a l a r i e s.			
		Minimum.		Maximum.	
		Men.	Women.	Men.	Women.
Employment Clerk. General Division.	A1,2 B1,2	£75 £95	£75 £76	£280 £290	£240 £232
Employment Officer. Clerical Division.	A1,2 B1,2	£260 £315	£225 £252	£400 £360	£340 £288
3rd Class Officer. Higher Clerical Division.	A1,2 B1,2	£282 £380	£282 £304	£552 £425	£445 £340

On the whole, the figures show that though the staff employed by the Ministry start at a lower salary than those employed by the local education authorities, they earn higher salaries in the end. The figures given exclude war bonus, as no data was available for the local education authorities, but it is unlikely that it would invalidate the above statement.

N.B. Since the investigation was done (in 1946) the staff of the Ministry of Labour and National Service have been regraded. Employment clerks and employment officers would now be called Grade 6 staff, third class officers Grade 5 and second class officers Grade 4.

PART II.CHAPTER 4. PREMISES.

No account of the Juvenile Employment Service would be complete without a description of the premises in which it is housed in each district. Premises are important from two points of view - the young customer's attitude to the Service is bound to be affected by their appearance and situation, and the staff's efficiency by the internal arrangement and design.

None of the premises in the four areas studied was specially designed. In A.1 and 2, where the services for ex-secondary modern and central school leavers ~~were~~ housed in the Employment Exchanges, the buildings had been designed as ~~an~~ exchanges, but not particularly for juveniles, and the juvenile departments <sup>were</sup> ~~is a~~ replicas of the adults'. The premises of the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committees in A.1 consist of several rooms in large blocks of offices. The local education authority areas - B.1 and B.2 - house their bureaux in rooms in the town and county halls.

All premises were easy to find as they were situated on main roads, except one - the county hall in

B.2, which is tucked away and can only just be seen from the main road. The juvenile departments or bureaux were clearly marked in every case. Not all premises were centrally situated, however. In A.2 the exchange, though on the main road, was about 15 minutes' walk from the centre of the town, and in B.2 the premises were off the beaten track, but apart from these exceptions the offices were central.

Most of the rooms in the premises, with only two exceptions, are light and quiet, but the offices in which rooms occupied by the Headmasters' Employment Committee in A.1 are situated are directly over an underground railway, so every few minutes the windows rattle and it is hard to make out what people are saying, and the juvenile department in A.2, which unfortunately faces on to a high wall, is very dark and gloomy.

By far the most pleasing premises to look at is the county hall housing the bureau in B.2, which stands in its own grounds on rising land overlooking the town, tucked away between two main roads. It is a well proportioned building in light stone which somehow manages to avoid being too impressive. The most depressing building of the lot is the town hall in B.1 - a grimy example of what Mr. Osbert Lancaster would call Municipal



Gothic architecture, built alongside a main road. The employment exchanges in A.1 and 2 are somewhat dull in comparison with the premises in B.1 and 2, and they evoke little reaction in the observer. They are squareish in shape and utilitarian in their design and in materials - one exchange in A.1 rejoices in sickly yellow-coloured brick, but on the whole they are innocuous. The exchange in A.2 is built of warm-coloured brick, pleasant to look upon. There is little to choose between the two types of authorities as regards age of premises, but probably the Ministry's are slightly newer.

One way of comparing the adequacy of the premises provided by the Ministry and the local education authorities is by showing the number of rooms allotted to the juvenile departments or bureaux and the number of children with whom the service might deal in each area. In A.1 the figures only refer to the service for ex-secondary modern school leavers, as there was no way of determining the potential customers of the Central and Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committees.

The proportions are as follows:-

A.1	-	1:875.
A.2	-	1:1,500
B.1	-	1:4,000
B.2	-	1:2,750

Taking the two areas where the Service is the

responsibility of the Ministry of Labour and National Service - A.1 and 2 - together, the proportion is 1:1188, whereas the proportion for B.1 and 2, where the local education authorities administer the service, is 1:3325. Thus the Ministry provides more rooms in proportion to the number of children with whom the Service may have to deal, which means that there is a far better chance of there being private interviewing rooms than in B.1 and 2. In fact, neither B.1 nor B.2 had a room where interviews could take place in private. B.1 had only one room, a large one certainly, but as there were four people working in it there could be no illusion of privacy no matter how widely the tables were spaced. Both rooms in B.2 had two people working in them, so it was practically impossible to give private interviews as a general rule. All the premises provided by the Ministry had private interviewing rooms. The service for ex-secondary modern and technical school leavers had two - the Secretary's room and a room situated between the boys' and girls' department and used by both. The Central Schools Employment Committee had one room which could be used for interviews, but as it was the Secretary's it was rarely so used; the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committees for ex-Secondary Grammar school children had 8 and 6 rooms for interviewing,

being the most fortunate of all. In A.2 there was one room which could be used for interviewing, but as in the case of the Central Schools' Employment Committee it belonged to the Secretary so was only used in special cases.

On the whole, the premises provided by the local education authorities were more attractive inside than those of the Ministry, as more care was taken by the former to make the best of them. Decoration in all cases was practical - the walls of premises in A.1 were usually cream-washed for the top and brown or some other darker colour for the rest. In A.2 the walls were tiled green and grey, and in B.1 and 2 they were distempered. The furniture in the Ministry of Labour premises was depressing. The rooms were dominated by counters ranging fall along one side of the room facing entrants, with the staff's working tables behind them. Chairs lined the walls in formal rows, and the general effect was institutional. The Secretaries' rooms, however, were furnished with ordinary tables and chairs and were far less grim. The rooms used by the Central Schools' Employment Committee in A.1, though situated in an Exchange, did not have counters - nor did those used by the Service for Secondary Grammar School children. In B.1 and B.2 the furniture consisted of ordinary tables and chairs informally grouped, though B.2

was handicapped through lack of room, as far too many filing cabinets and cupboards had to be crammed into a confined space, with the result that the customer would feel very insignificant and unimportant. B.1 and B.2 were noteworthy for their use of flowers, which made the rooms attractive in spite of their drawbacks. This was specially true in B.1, where a drab barn of a room was transformed into a colourful place by well-arranged flowers and the judicious use of pictures and photographs illustrating different careers.

The local education authorities also had a better supply of magazines in their waiting rooms. In B.1 a neighbouring library supplied a wide selection of old periodicals, in B.2 a few new magazines were brought each week; in A.1, however, the magazines were few in numbers and range in the service for secondary modern and technical school leavers, and non-existent in the ~~Central and Secondary Grammar~~ School leavers' service; neither were there any in A.2.

From this account it appears that higher standards have been adopted in A.1 in the service for central and secondary grammar school children, whereas in B.1 and 2 one service and one building and one standard for all types of school leavers is the rule. On the whole, the Ministry

looks after essentials better than the local education authorities; for instance, their premises have more rooms in proportion to the number of children dealt with in the area, and more provision for private interviewing, but the local education authorities make the most of their rooms and make them more attractive places for children to enter.

## Part II. Chapter X.

PREMISES.

Areas.	Situation.		Appearance	No. of Rooms to Children.	Interviewing Room.	Decoration.	Magazines.	Flowers.	Furniture.
	Central	Easy to find.							
A1 (a) Juvenile Employment Committee.	✓	✓	Innocuous.	1:875	2	Cream & brown walls.	A few old, selection poor.	In Secre- tary's room.	Counters, chairs.
(b) Central Schools Committee.	✓	✓	"		1	Do.	Nil.	Do.	Tables, chairs.
(c) Headmasters' Employment Committee.	✓	✓	"		8	Do.	Nil.	Nil.	Do.
(d) Headmis- tresses' Employment Committee.	✓	✓	"		6	Do.	<del>Nil.</del> A few.	In Secre- tary's room.	Do.
A2 Juvenile Employment Committee.		✓	quite pleasant.	1:1500	1	Tiled walls, green and grey.	Nil.	Nil.	Counters.
B1	✓	✓	Awful.	1:4000	Nil.	Orig. cream- wash, now grubby.	Good selec- tion, most- ly old.	Lots, well arranged.	Tables, chairs.
B2			Attractive	1:2750	Nil.	Creamwash.	A few bought each week.	Do.	Do.

N.B. The data given here merely summarizes what has been already mentioned in the text.



PART II.CHAPTER 5. METHODS OF GIVING VOCATIONAL INFORMATION.

So far only the setting in which the Juvenile Employment Service works has been described. What of its actual work? The greatest part of it consists of giving vocational guidance, and the first stage in that is the giving of information about different occupations to children who are about to leave school. At the earliest, this begins in their last year, at the latest, in their last term at school.

By far the most important method used is the school talk. Usually the officer in charge of the juvenile department or the employment bureau, or his representative, visits each school in the area early in each term, and talks to all children who will be leaving at the end of term. The purpose of this talk is to help boys and girls to think of their capabilities in relation to the work available for them, and it aims at giving a general survey of the different types of work carried out in the district.

In the areas investigated the talks follow the lines indicated above, with a few variations. In B.1, for instance, most of the talks are given by the clerks, not by

the Juvenile Employment Officer. Although the talks in A.1 and B.2 are given early in term, those in B.1 and in the rural districts of A.2 take place on the same day as the school conference, immediately preceding it. With the exception of the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary in A.1, none of the speakers had had any training in the presentation of material, and had learnt their job by doing it. All talks are given at the schools, usually in the top forms' classroom, the hall, or the head teacher's room. Sometimes in rural schools there is not a whole room available, so the Juvenile Employment Officer or Secretary has to give <sup>his</sup> ~~her~~ talk in competition with a lesson going on in another part of the room. Sometimes the head teacher is present - this is the custom in B.1 - but usually he only introduces the speaker and then retires. Most class teachers stay to the talk in A.1, but in other areas it is rare for them to be present. A.2 is unusual in inviting parents to come to the talk. Thirty to forty minutes is the average time allotted to the talk in A.1, B.1 and B.2; in A.2 the talk is shorter, lasting about fifteen minutes. The duration of the talk sometimes depends on the circumstances under which it is given - for instance, when it takes place in the head teacher's study there are not usually chairs for children to sit on, nor

room for them all to sit on the floor, so obviously the talk has to be cut short.

The content of the talk is pretty much the same in each area, though some areas stress some points more than others. B.1, for example, emphasises the importance of continued education after children have left school. A.2, B.1 and 2 mention Unemployment and Health Insurance, but in A.1 this is dealt with at a later stage at the Exchange, so the talk is not overloaded. In A.2 the speaker is at a disadvantage in having to cover the choice of employment in adjoining districts, as many children will find work in towns outside the area.

The talks mentioned so far are those given to secondary modern and technical school leavers in the Ministry of Labour and National Service's areas and to all types of leavers in B.1 and B.2, except for the secondary grammar school ones in B.1 and the rural leavers in B.2. Similar talks are also given to central school leavers in A.1 by the Secretary of the Central Schools' Employment Committee. It should be noted that in this case as well as those talks given to boys and girls before they leave, talks are given to them when they are about 12 before they choose technical or commercial subjects in addition to their general subjects, so they have an idea what sort of work they will lead on to. The talks given to secondary

grammar school leavers in A.1 are given by officers of the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committees. The talks arranged are of two kinds - a general one, similar to those given to other school leavers, and also talks about particular careers, given by specialists. While the former are given at the individual schools, the latter are usually held in a big public hall and are open to leavers from several different grammar schools. As boys and girls only leave grammar schools at the end of the school year, these talks can be spaced out during the last year at school. The talks for secondary grammar school girls in B.1 usually follow the lines of those described above, but with variations. Instead of the specialist careers talks brains trusts are sometimes arranged about particular professions, the questions being sent in beforehand and being answered by a panel of speakers, including the Secretary of the Headmistresses' Committee.

It was only possible to observe school talks in A.1, as, due to the raising of the school leaving age to 15 in April 1947, school talks were postponed for a year until there would be some more children preparing to leave school, and the observer had not had time to visit the other areas. Four talks in A.1 were observed - two at girls' schools, one at a boys' and one at a mixed school. All were given



by the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary, a temporary third class officer.

The speaker had the advantage of being a trained teacher with several years' experience, so was well able to put the talk across to the children. The talks all followed much the same pattern, beginning by asking what boys' and girls' favourite lessons were, and encouraging them to think about what subject they were best at in relation to the sort of work they could do when they left school. Then the speaker tried to discover whether they knew anything about the work going on in the district, adding to their knowledge until they had a general picture of the choice of employment open to them. Time was always allowed for questions, then finally, the speaker briefly explained that the Juvenile Employment Service existed to help them, and if they wanted any information about work all they had to do was to go to the Exchange and ask for her. The question and answer method was successful in gaining children's interest and holding their attention. The talk, in fact, was really a lesson on "How to Choose your Job." It was not possible to hold every child's interest and attention - but it is doubtful whether anyone could do so. Judging from the vacant expressions on many faces, a good proportion of the children were masters of the art of the fixed gaze and the unfixed attention. Only a few children at

each school took an active part in the talk. Girls, especially, were shy about answering and asking questions, and on the whole boys asked more intelligent questions and answered more sensibly than the girls, who knew far less about what was being manufactured in the district. The Secretary suggested several reasons for these differences. The area is a <sup>poor</sup> working class one, where girls marry early and expect to give up their jobs fairly soon; they leave school at 15 with the idea that they will only work until they get married, and not really minding what they do as long as the cash return is good. Boys, on the other hand, know they have a long and continuous working life before them, so take more interest in work. Besides this, girls in many working-class families are not encouraged to be independent, and far less freedom and opportunities are given to them than to their brothers. It is understandable, then, that most girls do not show the same interest in work as their brothers.

The duration of the talk varied from 30 to 50 minutes, and was usually fixed by the head teacher, who sometimes allotted one, sometimes two periods for it. The speaker was told on arrival how long the talk was to last. It was obvious that a 30' talk followed by questions was ample, and after that attention began to flag and the audience to fidget.



Only one teacher seemed to appreciate the importance of the talk - a class teacher who introduced the speaker and then remained throughout the talk. At the other schools the speaker was either left to find her own way to the classroom, or she was conducted there and dumped without further ceremony.

It was noticeable that practically all the children had decided what they wanted to be before the school talk, most of the girls choosing dressmaking machining with monotonous regularity and the boys engineering and optical work.

Besides these talks given at the schools, other talks are held at the juvenile department a few days before the end of term. School leavers from each school are sent and each party is introduced to the staff and then seen by the Secretary, who then explains what they need to know about Unemployment and Health Insurance. As mentioned before, this saves the school talk from being overburdened with information, as in the other areas, and has the added advantage of familiarising boys and girls with the office so they will not be afraid to come on their own.

Works visits are another popular means of giving vocational information to school leavers. Visits for parties of school leavers are arranged every term to local factories and offices, so that the children can get some

idea of working conditions in different occupations. The visits occur during school hours. A teacher and a member of the staff of the juvenile department or bureau accompany the party, which is usually shown round by the manager or owner. These visits depend entirely on the goodwill of the employer, which, however, is not unaffected by the unsatisfied demand for juvenile labour. Many employers go to great trouble in organising the visit - even to the length of providing tea in the works canteen, and the latter especially does not go unappreciated. Some firms have a constant rota of visitors from different schools each term, and it is rare for a request to be met with a refusal. The firms to be visited are chosen in several different ways. Usually the Secretary or Juvenile Employment Officer lists the most important industries in the district, and chooses firms in each industry which will give children a clear idea of the work. Some employers, of course, may not be able to spare anyone to show parties of school children round the works; head teachers may specially ask for visits to certain firms; both factors influencing choice. The problem of choice is greatest in A.1, with its multitude of industries and employers, especially as most of the latter are eager to show school leavers round in the hope of getting some of them to work for them when

they have left school. In B.2 and A.2, in contrast, the problem is to find enough firms in different industries to visit. In all areas, about four to five visits are arranged for each school each term, but it is seldom that all leavers go on each visit, for teachers will rarely allow their pupils to go to each one. Usually each child has been to three or four, but some teachers only allow children who are already interested in the industry or the particular firm to go, and some choose the visit about which they think the child will be most interested. Probably now that children have to stay at school till they are 15 more visits will be arranged, spread out over the last year at school.

In A.2 and B.2 works visits play scarcely any part in giving vocational information to rural leavers. The numbers of children leaving school each term are not sufficient to justify the time and expense necessary to arrange visits for them, and in any case, a teacher could seldom be spared from a small school to accompany a handful of children on such a visit.

The works visits referred to so far have been those arranged for secondary modern and central school leavers. Only in A.1 are visits arranged for grammar school leavers, and then only for girls if they are specially asked for.

The Headmasters' Employment Committee in A.1 does not arrange visits for the boys, but for Careers Masters, who then pass on the information to their pupils.

It was hard to discover whether works visits were really treated as part of the syllabus, and not merely as an extra, unrelated to any other subject. It seems, however, from observation, from teachers' conversation and the opinions of the staff of the offices that works visits are not linked up with school work, though occasionally they are joyfully seized upon as essay subjects.

It was only possible to observe works visits in A.1, for after April 1947, when the school leaving age was raised to 15, visits were staggered for the time being while local offices modified their programmes to meet the changed conditions.

Although the majority of firms in A.1 were small, only one small firm was visited. On the whole, only large firms can spare someone to show a party round. In each case, either the employer himself or the personnel manager showed the children round, and usually explained the work of each department or got the foreman to do so. Usually the work done by young people was specially pointed out. Very few of the children asked questions - here again, boys were more interested than girls and asked far more questions.



In three out of the five cases the visits lasted far too long - i.e. two hours or more - and the party looked weary, and the number of questions asked as time wore on declined sharply. On the whole, the parties were not too large, and in any case, each party was usually split up into two to be shown round the works. Even so, it was often impossible for all the children to see and hear all that was going on, as usually there is little room in a factory for several people to gather round a machine. Most children seemed attentive when being shown a particular machine, but few knew what to look out for on their own, and just looked bored for the greater part of the time. When they were really interested - as, for example, in the machine which starched and ironed collars at a laundry, or the sewing machines at a clothing factory, or the screw cutting machines in a cigarette lighter factory - they had to be practically dragged away by force, and would have stayed quite happily just watching for a long time.

Besides school talks and works visits all areas use Ministry of Labour and National Service pamphlets about different careers in giving vocational information. These pamphlets are kept on reference at the juvenile departments and the juvenile employment bureaux, and they can be bought at H.M. Stationery Offices. In addition to these careers

bulletins are specially prepared in B.1 and circulated to all schools in the area. All this information only concerns careers in professional occupations; in the two Ministry of Labour and National Service areas, apart from pamphlets got up by local employers there are no leaflets available which outline opportunities in semi-skilled work. In B.1 and B.2 leaflets which give simple accounts of the openings for skilled and unskilled workers in local occupations are on sale at the offices. In all areas, of course, copies of the pamphlets issued by the various National Joint Apprenticeship Committees are <sup>displayed</sup> ~~on sale~~, but these refer only to skilled work. The Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committees in A.1 prepare their own careers bulletins and circulate them to the schools. Both Committees have a careers research section which investigates the recruitment, training and the opportunities in different occupations, and sets out their advantages and disadvantages. Careers notes are also sent to all the schools. These give particulars of changes in the requirements of different professions, or in deferment for national service.

Ministry of Information films are beginning to be used in all areas as a way of supplementing vocational information. So far films about nursery nursing, building and mining (in A.2 only) and the cotton trade (only in B.1)



have been shown to leavers in A.2, B.1 and B.2, and the staff say that children's response to the films is far better than to the school talks and works visits - they ask more questions and seem really interested.

B.1 has experimented with yet another way of giving vocational information - namely, an exhibition of different local industries and occupations, called a "Shop-Window of Occupations". Photographs of processes in the different trades are displayed in order to give an idea of the work done in the chief industries in the area; the exhibits loaned by firms manufacturing the goods show the raw material in different stages of its manufacture, and finally the finished article. The exhibition is housed in a small hall in the Central Juvenile Employment Bureau and is open every day for anyone who likes to look round it. Parties of children - not necessarily only school leavers - from all the schools visit the exhibition and are shown round by the officers.

Another medium of information is used each year in B.1 - the wireless. Usually the Organiser of the Bureaux (of which B.1 is one) talks about the work of the bureaux, and has a discussion with boys and girls who have been placed by it about the work they are doing and their reactions to it. The talk is usually recorded and broadcast

on the schools programme. A talk about the different types of office jobs for girls was similarly given by the Secretary of the Central Schools' Employment Committee in A.I.

Despite the existence of these means of giving vocational information, however, school talks and works visits are undoubtedly the most important methods used, and the others are regarded as extras.

PART II.CHAPTER 6. VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE.

After giving information to boys and girls about the different occupations open to them, the next stage in the work of the Juvenile Employment Service is to advise them for which available work they are most suited. Vocational guidance ~~was made~~ <sup>is not</sup> compulsory for school leavers following the ~~recommendations of the Ince report,~~ <sup>but most</sup> so <sup>^</sup> boys and girls automatically receive it at school conferences or interviews, which usually take place near the end of each term, or at the end of the school year in the case of secondary central and grammar school children. At present, however, since the raising of the school leaving age to 15 in April 1947, the conferences have been suspended until April 1948, when the first lot of 15 year olds will leave school.

The purpose of the school leaving conference or interview is to consider the child's abilities and inclinations, his parents' plans and his Head Teacher's occupational recommendation in relation to the opportunities of employment open to him in the district, and national and local industrial conditions in order to recommend what work

he should do. The conference is usually arranged and the invitations sent out by the Secretary of the appropriate Committee, if the area is one in which the Ministry of Labour and National Service is responsible for the Service; or the Juvenile Employment Officer, where the local education authority administers the Service. Two exceptions, however, occur: in A.1, where the After-Care Committees of the London County Council make the necessary arrangements for the conferences for secondary modern and technical school leavers, the Secretaries of the Central Schools and the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committees, however, arrange the conferences themselves: and in B.1, where some head teachers prefer to send out the invitations themselves.

The conferences are usually held in the schools, either in the head teacher's study, the hall or a classroom. In the rural districts of A.2 conferences have sometimes been driven into the kitchen or out on to the landing in search of privacy, as all the classrooms were occupied and the halls non-existent. The interviews for central and secondary grammar school leavers in A.1, however, do not always take place at the school, about 50% of them being arranged at the office of the appropriate committee; and the secondary grammar school girl leavers in B.1 usually

go to the central Juvenile Employment Office.

The number of people present at the school conference is not fixed except in A.1, where 4 people besides the parent and child have to be present: the chairman, usually a local clergyman, who is supposed to see that the contributions of all those interested in the child are properly balanced; the head teacher, who knows most about the child's abilities and is usually the only person present who knows him personally; the care committee worker, who represents the Care Committee of the London County Council and gives the conference relevant information about the child's health and home circumstances, and lastly, the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary, who has to give vocational guidance. In addition, a representative of the local Evening Institutes may be present to give boys and girls advice about classes which might help them in their work, and the voluntary worker attached to the Care Committee who is supposed to have visited the homes of all school leavers to find out what they want to be and their parents' wishes for them, sometimes attends. In contrast to this rather formidable array, the conferences for central and grammar school leavers in A.1 are decimated affairs with only the Secretary and perhaps the Head Teacher present. The conferences in A.2 follow the latter practice, and so do those organised by



the local education authorities in B.1 and 2.

The length of the interviews at the secondary modern and technical school leavers' conferences depends on the number that have to be seen in a given time, which in turn largely depends on the degree of importance with which head teachers regard vocational guidance - for, as the conferences are held in the schools and in school hours, the head teachers are the people who allot the time given to them. Sometimes the unfortunate interviewers have to rush through twenty children in two hours - sometimes they can give whatever time is needed. Sometimes a scamped conference is not the head teacher's fault at all, but the chairman's, who sits on far too many committees and has to rush from one to another. Generally, about five minutes was allowed in A.1 for each interview in the conferences observed; in the case of central and secondary grammar school leavers, the interviews can last as long as is necessary, according to the Secretaries of the appropriate committees, and the same applies to those in A.2: in B.1 about 10 to 15 minutes is given, and in B.2 five minutes or under so far as the Juvenile Employment Officers could generalise. Where interviews are not held at the schools it is far easier, of course, for the interviewer to take his own time.

The suspension of school conferences until April



1948 due to the raising of the school leaving age in the previous year meant that it was only possible to observe conferences in A.I. Seven conferences held in the district were attended, and in order to direct observation to specific things a list of questions concerning the function of the chairman, the head teacher, the Care Committee worker and the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary at the conference was compiled, but omitting those of the representatives of the Evening Institutes and the voluntary worker attached to the Care Committee, as they did not always attend the conference. Each question carried one mark, so by adding up the marks allotted and converting them into a percentage the observer could roughly assess the extent to which each person was fulfilling his function. To estimate the standard of the conference as a whole the marks for the four chief interviewers were totted up and expressed as a percentage of the total number obtainable.

The conferences were usually held in head teachers' studies, bare and utilitarian rooms which hardly provided an informal setting for the occasion, but at least their smallness gave a feeling of privacy. That cannot be said for one school where the conference took place at one end of a hall, curtained off from the rest, it is true, but that did not prevent the children and parents waiting in the other

part of the hall being heard only too audibly, nor did it prevent the children waiting from hearing the whole interview, as their remarks showed.

The five or six persons present at the conference would be ranged round a long table, the chairman in the middle or at one end, with the Care Committee worker on one side and the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary on the other, the rest in no particular places, but all were seated so that they faced each parent <sup>or</sup> child as they came in. Sometimes the head teacher ushered parent and child in, but usually their approach was heralded by the last child saying somewhat dismally "Next please" to those waiting outside. Parents were always asked to sit down, but children were sometimes left standing, not quite knowing what to do with their hands and feet. Usually interviews were carried on non-stop one after the other until all were done, no matter how many children had to be seen. In only one case had the invitations been sent so as to give the interviewers a break half way through for tea - needless to say, the difference between the conferences immediately before and after was enormous. At all the conferences, however, the interviews got progressively shorter as the number of children seen increased.

~~As seen in the table,~~ All the chairmen were familiar with the district - that is, with the sort of houses and

homes, the clubs and other facilities in it, but only one chairman was familiar with the choice of employment. Most chairmen greeted the parents and children, and also indicated when the interview was over; one chairman, however, nearly always managed to call the child by the last one's name, and another one always left the parent and child stranded by forgetting to dismiss them at the end of the interview. Five out of the seven chairmen did not expect the boys and girls to know what they wanted to be, and all took care to ascertain parents' wishes regarding their children's future occupations. A weakness of all the chairmen save one was their inability to put children at their ease, and their inability to hold the conference together and see that each person played his part properly. A weakness of two chairmen was a tendency to place boys and girls, while another two used the conference as a heaven-sent opportunity of recruiting for their clubs. One chairman distinguished himself by enquiring about a boy's reading, "You read sound stuff, eh, not thrillers?" With one exception, however, the chairmen did not see that each person present at the conference played his part properly. Some, for instance, ignored everyone save the Secretary and the child. Some did not control the conference, and allowed one forceful member to dominate it. Concerning the work of chairmen,

a list of eleven questions was made, each carrying one mark, so that an attempt could be made to estimate chairmen's efficiency. Taking this as a basis, the average percentage obtained by chairmen for their part in the conference was 60, comfortably over a pass mark of 50, individual percentages ranging from 91 to 27.

All head teachers were present throughout the school conferences, save for one who had to leave in order to show an inspector round the school. Few, however, gave further details about the children before they were interviewed - one teacher invariably gave details about the last child in front of the next one who was waiting patiently to be interviewed. Only one of the seven teachers showed any sign of resenting the Secretary's presence at the conference, and he was the only teacher who tried to place children in work himself. On the other hand, only three teachers were really cooperative and discussed each child before the interview with the other members of the conference. If, on the whole, teachers' attitude seemed negative, at least they did not seem biased in favour of particular children or trades, and with two exceptions, they had done their best to allow sufficient time for the interviews. Observation was made concerning nine questions, each carrying one mark, and the average percentage gained was high - 73, the range being from 100 to 11.



The Care Committee workers on the whole were inefficient - their average percentage, calculated from observation concerning eight questions with one mark each, was 41, the individual percentages ranging from 63 to 22. The workers are supposed to visit the homes of school leavers, finding out what they want to be, their parents' wishes and any necessary details about the home circumstances. Before the war a large number of voluntary workers helped with the visiting, but this system broke down during the war and the London County Council, who is responsible for the Care Committee, have<sup>s</sup> not yet been able to get it going properly again. Consequently, the paid staff cannot cope with all the work, and only have time to visit concerning exceptional cases - perhaps where the school leaver's medical examination has revealed the need for some treatment. All workers attend these medicals, however, so they should be able to tell the conference something of use about each child. On the whole, however, they played very little part in the conference. Only two had managed to do any visiting. Not one gave the conference any idea of the child's background or his parents' wishes for him, nor of his health. One worker did not even manage to give the other members of the conference the child's school leaving report before he came into the room. Three of the workers, not being able to do

their job properly, tried to encroach on the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary's. On the whole, therefore, the part played by the Care Committee worker at the school conference was limited to keeping the three copies of the leavers' school and medical report and passing them to the Chairman, Secretary and the Head Teacher.

According to the criteria adopted, the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary was a very capable person who had had training and experience, who knew how to catch and hold a child's interest and confidence, who knew the area, and who could secure the co-operation of other members of the conference. Her average percentage for the five conferences, on eleven questions, was 97. The conferences at schools 2 and 7 were taken by Employment Officers, whose percentages were 22 and 50 respectively. The contrast is exaggerated by the fact that both were "stand-ins" and had not had much practice nor any training in teaching method.

It was impossible to note particulars about every child and parent seen at the school conferences, as the observer would have had no time to see how the other members of the conference were playing their parts. A few general observations are included here in order to give the subjects' side of the conference. The great majority of



children did ~~not~~ know what they wanted to be, and could give a reason for their choice. Several children had chosen work of which they have had experience at school - that is, carpentry, machining, and needlework. Several children were attracted to particular trades or firms because they had a relation working there, or wanted to work with a friend. Practically all the children who had made up their minds what they wanted to do were confirmed in their choice by the conference - only one child was not allowed to follow the occupation of her choice and that because of medical reasons. Practically all the children were clean and tidy in appearance, and most were not unduly disturbed by having to face the conference. Only a few were really frightened by the proceedings, though the children's behaviour was somewhat subdued on the whole, which was hardly to be wondered at when one reflects that they would only know one of the people - the head teacher - present at the conference. Bearing this in mind, they were remarkably self-possessed and ready to co-operate with the conference.

The interviewers' work has its humorous side. Sometimes the interviewers have a job to understand what the children are saying. One rather backward girl was asked what she wanted to do when she left school.

"Atmyking", she replied. Seeing the chairman's puzzled look, the head teacher intervened. "Say hat-making, Doris, not 'atmyking'." Doris glowered obstinately and finally said "Millitary", after which the head teacher gives up and Doris is eventually told she will be found a job in the millinery trade.

Only 41% of the parents who were invited actually attended the conference. One or two fathers had gone to the trouble of getting time off work to come, but the rest were all mothers. Of those who came, 45% had plans for their children's future - even if it was only the vague mother who did not know what her child would be learning, but she would be "going in with her auntie". Most parents (about 76%) did not try to force their plans on their children against their wishes. Indeed, the phrase heard over and over again in response to the chairman's query about what they wanted their children to be was "It's for him to decide. He's the one wot's got to do the work." Only two parents had come spoiling for a fight, resenting interference in their own private affairs - that is, finding work for their children. The rest were only too willing to cooperate, many giving masses of mostly irrelevant detail when they found the conference was trying to help their offspring. One mother even confided to a somewhat startled assembly

that all her babies were University ones - a rather neat way of saying they had been born in University College Hospital.

The marks for each conference, given as percentages, are shown below. Parents and children have not been included in the overall rating, which refers only to the chairman, head teacher, after-care worker and secretary of the Juvenile Employment Committee.

Ratings for Conferences in A.1.	
<u>School.</u>	<u>%</u>
1.....	82
2.....	51
3.....	74
4.....	67
5.....	65
6.....	53
7.....	50
All Schools.....63	

Taking 50 as pass mark, the conferences are satisfactory. It must be pointed out, however, that the high average obtained by the Juvenile Secretary pulled up the conference ratings and if an ordinary third class officer had been in her place the conference rating would probably have been a great deal lower.

Although school conferences are held at every secondary modern school in each area relatively few for secondary grammar school leavers take place in the schools. In A.1, for instance, conferences were held at only 84 out of the 390 girls' schools served by the Headmistresses' Employment Committee in 1946, 90% of the interviewing being done at the committee's offices. No conferences at all are held in schools in the other area where the Ministry of Labour and National Service is the responsible authority, and any leavers wanting help come in to the juvenile department for it. In B.1 school conferences are held at the boys' secondary grammar schools just as in secondary modern schools, but leavers from girls' grammar schools are interviewed either at school or at the central office by a special officer who deals only with them. The explanation of this is that whereas the headmistresses of the chief girls' secondary grammar schools in the district asked for a graduate to be employed solely to deal with their leavers, the headmasters did not make a similar request, so the same person interviews all kinds of boy leavers. B.2 is the only area of the four studied in which conferences for secondary grammar schools take place as a matter of course at the school.

The bases on which vocational guidance <sup>are</sup> ~~is~~ given in

all areas are the child's and parents' choice, and the school leaving and medical reports, and the work available in the district. As was seen in the descriptions of conferences, in A.1 the child's choice is rarely crossed, when recommending the sort of work he should do. If the child seems unsuitable for the work he has chosen in the light of its requirements and his school leaving report, he is encouraged to think about other work more suited to his capabilities, but if he still holds to his original choice he is allowed to try. The only exception to this is if medical reasons are the cause of the unsuitability, and then the child is told that he must not attempt to do the work. The parents' desires for their children's careers are always consulted, but as they do not always come to the conference, they carry less weight than the child's wishes. If the child's and parents' wishes conflict, preference goes to whichever is best in keeping with the child's abilities. The method in the last resort depends on the information given in the school leaving reports. In A.1 and 2 the reports are made out on thin sheets of paper which are kept filed inside each child's employment record envelope in the juvenile departments of the Exchanges. The local education authorities use a specially designed larger envelope. On one side are the



school leaving and medical reports, on the other the employment record. Copies of these cards and forms are given in the appendix. It will be seen that there are no objective criteria by which pupils' abilities and achievements can be assessed, so a "Very good" given in one school may equal a "Good" given in another. Intelligence tests are not used, so the person giving vocational guidance has to rely on his estimation of the value of the standards of different schools. The cards are not always fully completed, as can be seen from Table 1, which gives the results of an examination of random samples taken of school leaving cards in A.1 and B.2. The cards could not be taken from the current file, otherwise the staff would have been inconvenienced, so they referred to children who left school in 1944. This means that war-time conditions have probably left the staff with little time for completing cards carefully, but even allowing for this, the results prove fairly conclusively that cards are rarely completed.

(Table 1 follows on page 136)



Part II, Chapter 6.  
Table 1.

Sample of school leaving cards  
 taken for young people of 18  
 in 2 areas.

The Completion of School Leaving Cards  
in 2 Areas.

Data Needed.	%age of Cards giving it.	
	A.1	B.2
Standard of attainment.	52	52
General ability.	50	52
Special aptitudes	6	12
"    weaknesses.	No space for it.	10
Conduct.	45	56
Character.	46	52
Temperament.	No space for it.	56
General remarks.	33	No space for it.
Occupation child wants.	33	28
"    head teacher recommends.	25	22
"    parent wants for child.	12	28
Family circumstances.	11	24
Medical examination result.	42	4
Average, all data.	32	33

N.B. 1) In B.2, 44% of all cards were for evacuees and therefore very little information was given on them.

Roughly the cards are only a third completed, so they do not give the Juvenile Employment Officer or the Secretary much help. Concerning ability and attainment, about 50% of the cards were completed, and slightly under 50%, taking both areas together, concerning conduct and character. Information regarding special aptitudes or weaknesses was rarely forthcoming, and in B.2 there was a shocking lack of information about the result of the child's last medical examination. No cards were complete in every respect. Summing up, it appears that, unless things have radically changed since 1944 when the children whose cards were in the sample left school, the data on which vocational guidance is given is pitifully inadequate.

School leaving cards, when completed by the head or class teacher, are either sent to the Juvenile Employment Officer or the J.E.C. Secretary a few days before the conference, so he can study them beforehand, or given to him immediately before the conference. In A.2 and B.2 the officers in charge request head teachers to return the completed cards before the conference, and this is usually done, but the same degree of co-operation does not exist in A.1 and B.1, except concerning secondary grammar school leavers.

As well as school leaving cards, B.2 has a special

form on which the boy or girl is asked to state particulars of his parents' occupations, what he wants to do and why, and other details, which, if completed, is a great help to the person giving guidance. A copy of one of these forms, together with examples of the different types of school leaving cards, ~~are~~<sup>is</sup> given in the appendix.

PART II.CHAPTER 7. PLACING.

Placing is the stage following vocational guidance, and is the logical outcome of it. Though all secondary modern, technical and central school children, and most grammar school children receive advice as a matter of course, it does not follow either that they take it or that they are placed by the Juvenile Employment Service, for the use of the Service as a placing agency is voluntary, as was mentioned in Part I, Chapter 6. Many boys and girls find work for themselves, and only a proportion of the school leavers find it through the Service.

Placing is arranged by supervisors in the Ministry of Labour and National Service areas-A.1 and 2, and by the Juvenile Employment Officers and Clerks in B.1 and 2. The procedure followed is the same in all areas. The officer has the child's record in front of him stating what occupation is recommended, and sometimes which firm the child is to be submitted to, if he has specially asked if he can go to a particular one, and the register of vacancies notified by employers. These are classified according to occupations, so the officer picks out the vacancies in the appropriate occupation and tells the child about them.

Each vacancy card gives details of wages and hours of work, and any training schemes available, and in addition to this knowledge, the placing officer has sometimes visited the firms himself and so can give more details and advise <sup>the child</sup> him which is the most suitable vacancy, for at present, in full employment, the boy or girl is in the happy position of being able to choose between several vacancies. When he has made up his mind, the officer arranges an interview for him, tells him how to get there, and gives him an introduction card to give the person who will interview him. Parents are encouraged to accompany their children whenever possible, for two reasons - so they can satisfy themselves that the work is desirable, and because most employers like to see them as well as their offspring. In actual fact, comparatively few parents of secondary modern and technical school children accompany them, but more parents of central and grammar school children in all areas do so, according to the respective staff. In B.1 & B.2, where children are often given introduction cards and interviews arranged for them right after the school conferences, more parents do go with them, but even though the same system prevails in A.2 the Secretary says that very few parents seem to take the trouble or interest to go either to the conference or to the interview.





B.1. Is this increase in the placings of school leavers or is it concerning those of older children? Information on this question was not forthcoming for 1936, but as all school leavers are now given advice as a matter of course, which was not the case in 1936, it seems likely that some of this increase could be thus explained. In spite of it, however, the majority of placings are not of school leavers.

Table 2. Numbers of School Leavers shewn as  
Proportion of Total Placings (1946)

Office  
records.

A R E A S	Number of Leavers Placed.		Proportion Placed.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
A.1	241	190	24%	36%
A.2	142	221	61	74
B.1	270	241	26	34
B.2	303	331	53	60

Though in A.2 and B.2 the majority of placings were those of school leavers, in the other two areas they only accounted for about a quarter of the total; on the whole about 41% and 51% of the boys' and girls' placings respectively were of school leavers, so taking them both together

about 46% of all placings are of school leavers.

Are the majority of school leavers placed by the Juvenile Employment Service? Table 3 provides the answer to this question.

Table 3. Office records.

Proportion of School Leavers (a) Placed by the J.E.S.  
(b) Who Found Work.

Areas	Prop. Placed.		Prop. who Found Work.		No Data.	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls
A.1	56%	42%	44%	58%		
A.2	38	64	48	29	14%	7%
B.1	50	50	50	50		
B.2	38	45	68	55		

Taking all areas together, the majority of school leavers are not placed by the Service - 45% and 50% of the total number of boys and girls leaving school being placed in 1946. In all areas save A.1 far more girls are placed than boys - probably because the former are less adventurous and less willing to try to find work on their own.

The figures given so far have referred to secondary modern and technical placings in A.1, and to all placings

in the other areas except for those of secondary grammar school leavers in B.1. Separate figures for central school leavers' placings are only available in A.1 and B.2.

Table 4.

Office records.

Proportion of Central School Children  
Placed by the J.E.S. in 1946,  
in A.1 and B.2

Areas.	No. of Leavers.		Proportion Placed.		
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Both.
A.1	497	676	57%	53%	55%
B.1	57	59	69%	56%	63%

Contrary to the previous tables, these figures show that a smaller proportion of girls than boys are placed by the Service in A.1 and B.2. In the case of both boys and girls, over 50% of all leavers find work through the Service in A.1 and over 60% in B.2, a much higher proportion than that for secondary modern school leavers. As the Service in A.1 deals with all central school children for a huge area, it was impossible to discover the proportion

of all placings it did, and as all records were lost in the blitz no comparison can be made to see whether the proportion of school leavers placed has increased or decreased from 1936 to 1946. The staff's impression is that the former is correct. No records were available for 1936 in B.2 either, and the staff's opinion is the same as in A.1.

Unfortunately it was not possible to compare the proportion of secondary grammar school leavers placed by the Service in the four areas. There is no way of finding this information in A.1, as the total number of school leavers in the district is not known, because both the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committees serve huge areas with hundreds of schools. In A.2 very few grammar school leavers are dealt with, and in B.1 the information was not kept separately from that of other leavers, so it can only be given for B.2. Concerning boys, 30% of the total number of secondary modern school leavers were placed, compared with 54% of secondary grammar school boys; concerning girls, 40% and 57% were the respective proportions.

The only way of assessing the work in A.1 concerning the placing of secondary grammar schools is to give the proportion of those registering for employment who

were actually placed by the Service. For boys, the proportion was 80%, for girls 50% - the remainder either found work for themselves, or decided to continue their education: the Secretary estimates that 40% of the girls return to school. The bulk of the placing work concerning boys and girls, however, is of school leavers, which accounted for 69% and 53% of all placings.

Considering placings as a whole in B.1 and B.2, where there is one service for all types of leavers, the bulk of first placings for boys and girls are of secondary modern school children, as can be seen from Table 5.

Table 5. Office records.  
1st Placings, shewing Different Types of School Leavers  
as % of Total Placed in B.1, B.2.

A R E A S	Sec.Modern		Sec.Central		Sec. Tech.		Sec.Special		Sec.Grammar	
	Boys.	Girls	Boys.	Girls	Boys.	Girls	Boys.	Girls	Boys.	Girls.
B.1	81.6	96	7	1.	6.	-	.4	1.	5	2.
B.2	56.6	71	14	11	18	11	.4	.3	11	7

The great majority of all placings were of local children placed locally. Table 6 shows the numbers of local children placed locally, of placings from other dis-



tricts and of local children placed in other districts as proportions of the total placings for 1946 in the four areas.

Table 6.

Office records.

Placings (a) of Local Children Locally;  
 (b) " " " " in Other Districts;  
 (c) From Other Districts.  
 In 1946, shewn as % of Total Placings.

A R E A S	Locals Locally.		In Other Districts.		From Other Districts	
	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.	Boys.	Girls.
A.1	63%	63%	13%	17%	24%	20%
A.2	73%	83%	13%	9.5%	10%	7.5%
B.1	94%	98%	1%	1.8%	5%	.2%
B.2	95%	95%	3.5%	4.1%	1.5%	.9%

Very few of the placings in A.1 involved the children living away from home - those placed in and from other districts were nearly all within daily travelling distance from home. The same was true of A.2 and B.1, but not of B.2, especially concerning girls, the majority of whom were placed as nursery nursing trainees living away from home. On the whole, a greater proportion of boys than girls were placed in and from other districts. Most juveniles, how-



ever, expect to live at home and work nearby, and few are willing to leave home even if they cannot get the work they want locally. The few boys and girls placed in or from other districts so that living away from home was involved were usually found lodgings by the person in charge of the local juvenile department or employment bureau of the reception area, unless they had relatives or friends with whom they could live. Since this investigation was done a scheme to assist boys and girls to train for skilled jobs away from home has been introduced (June, 1947) but it is unlikely that it will have had any great effect on the number of placings in other districts as yet.

The most important occupations for boys and girls according to placings in 1946 in the four areas are shown below. Only those occupations in which the numbers placed amounted to more than 5% of the total placings have been shown.

(Table 7 follows on page 149)

Table 7.

Office records.

Occupations in which Placings  
amounted to over 5% of the Total (1946)

Occupations.	A R E A S.							
	A.1		A.2		B.1		B.2	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Agricul. workers							5.8	
Assemblers.		8						
Builders.	7		9.1		14.1		14.3	
Coalminers.			21					
Clerks.		19		6.6	5.1	18	13.2	37
Cotton workers.						4.8		
Domestic workers.								9.1
Dressmakers.						9.9		
Engineerg.wkrs	14		11.4		32.1	6.6	12.8	
Hosiery workers.			6.9	53.5				
Instrum.mkrs.							6.5	
Machinists.		26				13.4		
Packers.		9						
Railway & other) transport wkrs.)					5.3		5.1	
Shop assistants.				8.6		10.3	6.5	18.9
Spring mattress wkrs, spring car.)			16.8					
Tin box makers.				7.5				
Warehouse wkrs.					5.5			
<b>Total:</b>	21	62	65.2	76.2	62.1	63.0	64.2	65

N.B. 1) The figures for A.1 are for placings of ex-secondary modern and technical school children only.

Building and engineering are important boys' occupations in all areas, and clerical work for girls accounts for large proportions of the total placings in each area. Coalmining is important in A.2 for boys, and hosiery for both sexes in A.2, and distribution for girls in A.2, B.1 and B.2. Placing concerning girls is more concentrated than for boys in every area - a reflection of the narrower choice of occupations for girls which was noted in Chapter 2. The only area in which placing seems to be well distributed is A.1 concerning boys, for only two occupations account for more than 5% of the total placings, making 21% in all, and the remaining 79% of the placings were distributed fairly evenly between the numerous occupations wanting boys' labour. Placing was most concentrated in A.2, where 5 and 4 occupations accounted for 65 and 76% of the total placings for boys and girls.

Records of the placing of central school boys and girls were not available for 1946 in A.1, but the Secretary estimated that roughly 60% of the boys' placings were in commercial work, and 75% of the girls' in shorthand typists' and typists' work, the remainder being in clerical and laboratory jobs. The contrast between this extremely narrow range of employment and the wider range entered by

secondary modern school children in A.1 is striking. Placings of secondary grammar school children are not in quite so limited a field as for ex-central school boys and girls, but more limited when compared with secondary modern leavers' placings.

Table 8.

Office records.

Occupations in which Placings  
amounted to Over 5% of the Total (1946)  
(Secondary Grammar School Children)

Occupations.	A R E A S.					
	A.1		B.1		B.2	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
Builders			12		23.6	
Clerical workers.	46.4	58.5	44.5	67	21.6	58
Engineers.	21.2		25.		30.2	
G.P.O.				10.2		
Laboratory assistants.	9.3	9.		8.9		
Nursery nursing trainees.						17.8
Shop assistants.		5.1				
Professional workers.	19.2					
<b>Total:</b>	95.1	73.6	81.5	86.1	75.4	75.8

N.B. 1) Separate figures for grammar school children are not kept in A.2.

Clerical work is the most important work for boys and girls in all areas, followed by engineering for boys and laboratory work for girls.

Minor difficulties in placing occur in all areas. Some difficulties are widespread at present, as, for instance, the difficulty of placing youths of 17 who are unemployed or who want to change their jobs. Their liability for national service makes most employers unwilling to take them on. Other difficulties are caused by certain types of work being unduly popular - for instance, hairdressing. In all areas there are girls who want to become hairdressers and not enough hairdressers to employ them. With boys, carpentry is all the vogue, probably because it is taught in most schools, and there are not enough openings for them. It is hard to find openings for secondary grammar school children in journalism, advertising, film work, photography and commercial art in A.1. In B.1 openings in printing, surveying and architecture for boys are hard to come by, and for secondary grammar school girls in photography and textile designing. Apart from these drawbacks juvenile placing on the whole is relatively simple now compared with pre-war days, when vacancies were few and far between and there were many people waiting for them.

PART II.CHAPTER 8. AFTER-CARE.

The work of the Juvenile Employment Service does not end when a boy or girl has been given vocational guidance and has been placed in a suitable job, for it remains to see whether theory has worked out satisfactorily in practice. Without following up each placing and discovering whether both employee and employer were satisfied it would be impossible for the staff to know whether their work was efficient.

The way in which industrial supervision is carried out in A.1 and A.2 is practically the same, as the Ministry of Labour and National Service uses the "open evening" as its chief method of after-care. The evening is held at the juvenile department of the Employment Exchange once a week in A.1 and once a fortnight in A.2. The Secretary and a rota of the Juvenile Employment Committee - usually two members weekly - interview the children who attend in answer to the Secretary's invitations and usually one other member of staff stays to act as a receptionist. Copies of the invitations are given in the Appendix. In A.1 a few children from each of the following categories are invited each time an open evening is held - last term's school



leavers who have been working for at least six weeks, boys and girls who left school about six months ago, all those who are  $17\frac{1}{2}$  in the current week, and all recent placings or replacings. Others may come in uninvited for advice, for as all school leavers are told about the open evenings, they know when they can be sure of seeing the Secretary or some other member of the staff. The system is not so comprehensive in A.2, as invitations are only sent to children who have been recently placed in their first job or replaced. A copy of the invitation is given in the Appendix. In A.1, though, the open evenings give the interviewers a chance to discover whether boys and girls are settling down in their jobs, and in the case of  $15\frac{1}{2}$  year olds, to discover whether they are progressing, and regarding boys and girls of  $17\frac{1}{2}$ , to make sure all is well before they come under the adult section of the Exchange.

The local education authorities, B.1 and B.2, also hold open evenings. The use made of them in B.2 resembles it in A.1, save that  $15\frac{1}{2}$  year olds are not invited, but the conception held of the method in B.1 is quite different. No invitations are sent unless young people write and ask when they can come, as it is felt that receiving them would unsettle those who might be quite happy and put ideas of changing their jobs into their heads when they would not

have thought of doing so. Instead, all school leavers are told when the open evening is held, so if they want advice they know when and where they can get it. The Juvenile Employment Officer and one other member of the staff are usually present both in B.1 and B.2.

In all areas the open evenings take place after normal working hours and last about two hours, so that young people do not have to ask for time off work to go along.

In A.1 open evenings for ex-secondary central and grammar school children are arranged by the appropriate committees. Invitations are only sent to those who have been recently placed or replaced, as the Secretaries have discovered that further checking up is unnecessary. In the other areas the open evenings cater for all children irrespective of the sort of secondary school at which they have been educated.

It was possible to attend open evenings in each area. In A.1 the boys and girls waited in the juvenile department while the supervisor on duty brought their dossiers in to the Secretary and the one or two members helping with the interviewing. The child was then shown in to the Secretary's office where the interviewing took place. The people interviewing sat round a small table

and the child faced them. Usually the Secretary opened the conversation by asking the boy or girl to say what his work involved and whether he was working with other young people, and the others put supplementary questions to him, asking whether he had had a rise, and whether he belonged to a Youth Club and went to evening classes. None of the interviews were hurried, and no leading questions such as "Are you happy in your work?" were asked. The boys and girls who come responded well on the whole, ~~and~~ did not seem shy, and were quite ready to answer questions and ask them too. One boy turned the tables completely on the interviewers. As very little information had been elicited from him after five minutes' chat the Secretary departed from the usual practice and asked him directly whether he was satisfied with his work. Yes, he was quite satisfied - he had no complaints, but he was just anxious to find out exactly what the people present did at an open evening. So quite coolly he proceeded to ask them what the point of the thing was and what they hoped to discover. Having thus enlivened the interview he remarked disarmingly that he had expected to find a lot of old fogies, but hearing laughter while he waited his turn he decided it couldn't be so boring as he had thought!

The interviews were informal and friendly. The

interviewers knew the district and the local children, as their work brought them into contact with young people - one committee member ran a youth club, another was the head of an Evening Institute, and another was a teacher, and usually the Secretary had seen the boy or girl before at the school talk and conference. In any case, the interviewers all read the child's dossier before seeing him, so they knew the salient facts about his career.

On the whole, attendance was poor, as can be seen from Table 1 (page 158), which gives the proportion of children who either came or wrote, alone or with parents, in response to the invitations.

Table I.

Response to Open Evenings in A.1 (1946)  
(ex-Secondary Modern Schoolchildren.)

Office records.

Invitations	No: Sent.		% Attending.		% Writing.		Parents Attending					
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls				
Last term's leavers..	982	943	1,925	5.9	6.2	6.	10.4	16.6	13.5	1.9	2.6	2.2
15½ year olds.....	566	515	1,081	7.6	5.8	6.7	7.2	15.4	11.3	3.	1.2	2.1
17½ year olds.....	716	671	1,387	8.2	5.5	6.8	6.8	12.9	9.8	.3	.7	.5
Total.....	2364	2129	4,393	7.2	5.8	6.5	8.1	13.9	11.	1.7	1.5	1.6

Taking those who attended and those who wrote in reply to the invitations, 21% of the girls and 17% of the boys invited responded. It is obvious from the table that boys prefer to come in person, while girls are handier with the pen than boys. The total response to invitations decreases as the age of the child increases. The proportion of parents accompanying their children was very small - only 1.6%, slightly more parents coming about their sons than about their daughters.

The number of uninvited attendances was also very small. In 1946 only 56 boys and 53 girls came, and 23 and 10 parents regarding their sons and daughters respectively.

Attendance at open evenings for central school children was better - about 36% of the boys and 51% of the girls invited either came in person or replied in writing. Again, boys preferred to attend and girls to write in answer to the invitations. The response to open evenings organised for secondary grammar school children was better still - 79% of the boys and 71% of the girls responded. Strangely enough, the usual preferences were reversed, and a greater proportion of girls attended while a greater proportion of boys replied by letter.



Are the boys and girls who respond to these invitations satisfied with their work on the whole? The general impression is that they are happy. No records of the numbers who are satisfied or otherwise are kept in A.1 concerning secondary modern school leavers, but the staff say that very few are actively dissatisfied. Concerning central school children 88% of both the boys and the girls who responded to the invitations were satisfied with their work, and the same applies to secondary grammar school boys - no record is kept concerning girls, but the secretary estimated that about 90% were happy in their work. It seems, therefore, that the longer children have been at school the better they respond to open evenings and the more satisfied they are with their work.

In A.2 the open evenings are held in the board room of the exchange - a gloomy, depressing, dully rectangular room furnished with a long table and straight-backed chairs. Each boy or girl was shown in by the supervisor after sufficient time had elapsed to allow them <sup>interviewers</sup> to read his or her record. There were no magazines in the waiting room, so it was fortunate that there was no queue of young people waiting to be interviewed. The committee member usually took the lead in the interviewing, the secretary asking supplementary questions. Most

of the questions asked were leading ones - for example, "Well, X, you are happy in your work, aren't you?" although a few were asked about conditions of work and progress. None of the interviewers had the knack of putting young people at their ease, and as a result information had to be painfully extracted from them. Several of them must have wondered what was the use of the interview, especially the boy who was dismissed with "No trouble, eh? Well, we can't help you then.":

All the children invited to the open evenings in this district were school leavers. As in A.1, more girls responded to the invitation than boys - the former again showing a preference for writing instead of attending the open evening. On the whole, however, boys and girls preferred to reply in person to the invitation. Analysing the results of the open evening, only 112 or 22% of the boys and 123 or 26% of the girls invited responded to the invitations, boys preferring to attend, girls to write in reply. Of these 107 or 96% of the boys and 100% of the girls were satisfied with their work.

No comparison of children living in the urban and rural districts of A.2 was possible as they were not given separately in the records. The impression gained from talking to members of the staff was that the majority of

those responding were boys and girls living in the town.

As explained earlier in the chapter, very few invitations to open evenings are sent out in B.1, as it is felt that boys and girls would be unsettled if they received them. Those that are sent are usually the result of boys or girls either writing or telephoning to ask for an interview as they want to change their jobs. Sometimes parents call at the office and ask if the officer will see their children. This system accounts for the high response to the invitations - 116 were sent, and 71% of the boys and girls invited either came or wrote in reply. Though no record is kept of the exact numbers who are satisfied or dissatisfied with their work, it may be assumed that practically all those who responded were unhappy in some way about their jobs. As noticed in other areas, a slightly higher percentage of girls than boys responded to the invitations, and both sexes preferred to call than write in reply. There were 122 uninvited attendances. The figures given here are for 1947, as records were not kept for the previous year.

The open evenings in B.2 are held in the Juvenile Employment Office as in the other areas. The interviewing is usually done in private by the J.E. Officer in her office. Another member of the staff acts as receptionist.

As explained in an earlier chapter, the premises are new and light, and the Officer is always careful to see that there are plenty of flowers or plants in her room, so that the general effect is one of cheerfulness. There were plenty of magazines out in the waiting room, which was fortunate, as several children arrived at once and had to be kept waiting. Interviews lasted about five minutes on the average. The Officer knows a great number of children in the area, both in and out of working hours, as she runs a youth club in her spare time, and as it is a small place, there is a good chance that she knows some at least of the children attending the open evenings. This results in an informal atmosphere. There was a tendency to ask leading questions rather often, but on the whole children responded well and gave their own accounts of their work.

The overall response to the open evenings was 54% - a high figure when compared with that of other areas. More school leavers attended than  $17\frac{3}{4}$  year olds, but more of the latter wrote in reply. The response of the  $17\frac{3}{4}$  year olds was 12% greater than that for the school leavers, which might show either that they were more polite or more in need of help. Table 2 (page 164) illustrates these points.

Table 2.

Attendance at Open Evenings in B.2 (Boys and Girls).

Category	No. Invited	Proportion Who Came.	Proportion Who Wrote in Reply	Total Response - %
School leavers	506	25.6%	20%	45.6%
17 $\frac{3}{4}$ year olds.	1557	12%	45%	57. %

N.B. 1) Many of the 17  $\frac{3}{4}$  year olds have returned to London after evacuation, so this lowered the number replying. In spite of this fact, however, the total response from the 17 $\frac{3}{4}$  year olds was greater than for the school leavers.

Besides open evenings there are other less organised methods of after-care which are used in all areas. Juvenile Employment Secretaries and Officers usually make a point of asking how children recently placed with employers are getting on when on a works visit. Some employers will telephone asking for advice concerning juveniles placed with them, some (in B.2) will mention how their young workers are getting on when notifying a vacancy - all helping staff

to know whether the boys and girls have settled down in their work. In B.2 letters are regularly sent to all employers about eight weeks after a school leaver has either been placed or found work, asking if they could report on their progress. Similar letters are also sent concerning recent replacings. The replies are entered on the child's record card and action taken if necessary. The employers' response to this request for progress reports is analysed in Table 3. (Page 166).



Table 3.

Office records.

Response of Employers re Progress of  
Juveniles Placed in B.2 (1946)

Category.	Nos: Enquiries Sent.	% Answered	% Satisfied			% Neutral			% Dissatisfied.		
			re Boys	re Girls	Total	re Boys	re Girls	Total	re Boys	re Girls	Total
Re Borough school leavers	718	83	89	91	90	7.	8	7.5	4.	1.	2.5
Re Village College leavers	252	66	90	88	89	9.	7	8.	1.	5.	3.
Re Rural leavers	255	44	100	94	97	-	-	-	-	6.	3.
All leavers	1225	71	93	91	92	5.3	5	3.4	1.6	4.	2.8

71% of the employers replied to the inquiries. The proportion replying was very high concerning borough school leavers - 84%, but in the rural areas employers did not co-operate so well - probably because they did not see the need for after care. Over 90% of the employers were satisfied with their young workers, which speaks well for the work of the Juvenile Employment Service.

Contact with head teachers is another means of follow-up work. Many head teachers hear from old pupils, and it is often possible for the Juvenile Employment Secretaries and Officers to keep informed about the progress of children through their former teachers. This is sometimes informally done before school conferences. B.2 has organised this method of getting information to a greater extent than any of the other areas. Each term lists of last term's leavers with details of placings (so far as they are known) are sent to head teachers, who before returning them fill in any extra bits of information they may know. This method is also used in the rural part of the area in connection with the village colleges. There the warden is also the head teacher, and has unique opportunities of keeping in touch with old scholars as they often belong to the youth club which meets at the college in the evenings. He passes on his knowledge to the

Officer in the town.

Yet another method of after care discovered in the four areas was in B.2. Besides the enquiries to employers, asking them to report on the progress of school leavers and others recently placed with them, enquiries are sent to the children themselves, asking how they are getting on in their work. They are asked either to answer the questions on the form or to come to have a chat with the Juvenile Employment Officer. This method ensures that the employer's and employee's opinions concerning the placing are consulted, and is a safeguard against getting a distorted picture of the situation.

The results of these enquiries for the year 1946 are summarised in Table 4, and they confirm the ones given in Table 3 - that the great majority of boys and girls (about 90% of those replying) are satisfying their employers and are satisfied with their work themselves; that is, the placings have been successful. The employers respond much better to the enquiries than the children do themselves - 70% replying compared with 42% of the juveniles, thus showing that it is a more comprehensive method of after care.

Table 4.

Office records.

Response of Juveniles to Progress Enquiries  
in B.2 (1946)

Category.	Nos.Sent.	% Replying.	% Satisfied.			% Neutral.			% Dissatisfied.		
			Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total	Boys	Girls	Total
Borough school leavers.	578	47	87	91	89	8.8	6.3	7.3	3.7	2.3	2.9
Village college leavers.	126	33	100	100	100	-	-	-	1.5	5.4	3.
Other rural leavers.	61	49	95	100	97.5	-	-	-		6.	3.
All leavers.	765	42	94	97	95.5	2.9	2.1	2.4	1.7	4.4	3.0

N.B. These figures do not include secondary grammar school leavers' replies.

It is again noticeable that the response is higher concerning borough than village college rural school leavers.

The methods used in following up placings have all been described in the foregoing pages. Undoubtedly the most comprehensive system was that used in B.2, but ~~also~~ probably that system would not have worked in the two large manufacturing areas of A.1 and B.1. The enquiries to employers, for instance, would be perpetually going astray because the job turnover is far higher in places with a large choice of employment. Also, it is far harder to keep track of children and their employers in a large city, and so a high degree of efficiency is not possible. In all areas, however, there was a poor response to after care. It may be that those who do not come to the open evenings or reply to enquiries are getting on all right in their work and do not see any point in wasting time saying so, it may be that they lack the manners to reply, it may be that they know, in this time of full employment, that they can find other and more lucrative jobs without the help of the Juvenile Employment Service - these are only conjectures and can be no more than conjectures at present, because there is no way of finding out which, if any of them, is true.

PART III.

TO WHAT EXTENT HAS THE  
JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE BEEN SUCCESSFUL?



PART III.CHAPTER 1. PROBLEMS ENCOUNTERED BY THE JUVENILE  
EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

Most young organisations become disjointed when conditions are abnormal, and certainly the Juvenile Employment Service is no exception to the rule. It was only beginning to find its feet when the 1914-18 war came, leaving it in a sickly state to face a long period of widespread unemployment. When it began to recover slowly from the effects of this it was again upset by war, so it has never had really favourable conditions for its growth and development. Apart from this, it was always a town child, and found it extremely hard to adapt itself to the demands of rural life; the Service's organisation, though suited to urban areas, was of little use when it had to cater for rural areas as well. As the Service itself was not to blame for either war and unemployment, nor the geography of the areas it had to serve, it seems only fair to give some account of the difficulties these involved, so that due allowance can be made for them when assessing the efficiency of its work.

The general effect of war is to make it more diffi-

cult for the J.E.S. to carry out its work. Trained staff are conscripted and temporary people who are often less efficient are taken on to replace them, so the quality of the work suffers. Premises may be damaged by enemy action and records lost, so that office organisation has to be built up again practically from the beginning. Vocational guidance, a difficult enough job under normal conditions, becomes even more difficult in war, for the necessary information about children's abilities is often lacking. Many teachers have been called up, so the remaining staff are overworked and have insufficient time for completing school leaving reports. Virtually no data is available for evacuees, as their records are rarely sent on to the reception areas, and the schools they go to in the latter cannot assess their abilities properly in a short time. Fewer mothers are able to attend the school conferences because they may be in part time work or, in the case of evacuees, living elsewhere, so it is not possible to supplement gaps in records from them. As a result, proper vocational guidance cannot be given to many children, with so little knowledge of their abilities.

Though full employment usually accompanies war, it does not make placing easy. The high wages resulting from the scarcity of labour mean that money's voice speaks

in far more telling accents than the voice of the adviser encouraging young people to choose jobs which offer a reasonable chance of training and promotion. Many of the jobs open to boys and girls during war are in munitions and other industries connected with the war effort, which offer relatively good jobs for the time being but which will close down afterwards leaving the young workers stranded. Besides this, placing is complicated by evacuation. In the danger areas there was an acute shortage of juvenile labour, as many evacuees stayed on in the safe areas after they had left school, leaving the Juvenile Employment Service with the problem of making a few boys and girls go a very long way; in the reception areas there were far too many juveniles for the work available, and even though some firms evacuated to safe areas it was still a tricky business finding work for all the evacuees, especially as many reception areas were country districts with a narrow choice of employment - indeed, only in the neutral areas were conditions relatively normal.

Conscription is another effect of war which complicates placing. It makes boys restless, for they feel that as they will soon be called up they might as well earn as much money as possible while they can. It makes employers unwilling to recruit older boys for any job for which they

need to be trained, for obviously it is of little use training someone who will be called up and may never return. Besides, to employ a boy of  $17\frac{1}{2}$  may mean that he will have reinstatement rights when he returns from the forces, an added inconvenience.

Placing is inevitably made less efficient in war-time by the shortage of staff, which means that it is rarely possible to keep up to date with works visits. Often children have to be submitted to vacancies about which the placing officer knows very little, because he has not had time to visit each new employer who registers vacancies.

The administration of labour controls - for instance, the Essential Works Order, adds to the work of the J.E.S. in war. Under this Order firms in certain industries were scheduled as doing essential work, and employees could not leave without permission. In the case of juveniles, permission was given under certain conditions on the recommendation of the local J.E.O. or J.E.C. Secretary, so it entailed a lot of extra work in assessing applications and meant that there was less time spent on other work.

The work of the Service which suffers most during war is after care. Usually the staff are so busy that

after care has to be cut down to the minimum or else stopped entirely. Job turnover usually increases in war time, making it very difficult to keep in touch with children, especially as jobs are more numerous and can be got without recourse to the Exchange or J.E.B. True, the Restriction on Engagement Order made it obligatory for employers in a few industries to notify all engagements, but this only affected the minority. The black out decreased attendances at Open Evenings, where these were continued despite the war, and where home visiting was done it was less successful because more people were out working during the day.

Perhaps the greatest difficulty caused by war is the accompanying sense of insecurity and restlessness which complicates all the Service's work because it makes young people more difficult to deal with. Adolescents feel restless and insecure at the best of times, but a normal home life keeps those feelings within manageable bounds. In war time, however, home life cannot be entirely normal. Most fathers are away in the forces or working long hours in the factories, mothers are tired by the trials of war time housekeeping and perhaps a part-time job as well, so home life becomes disjointed and parental discipline relaxed, thus increasing feelings of insecurity, or it may break down entirely if parents are killed in action or in



air raids. Evacuation, though it guaranteed physical security for children, probably increased their mental insecurity, as it often involved living away from their parents and always involved the strain of living in other people's houses.

The effects of war on the Juvenile Employment Service have been described with the 1939-45 war in mind, but they would also be true of the 1914-18 war, with the exception of the difficulties caused by widespread evacuation of children from danger areas and the administration of controls such as the Essential Works Order.

Though war greatly hampered the J.E.S.'s activities, it did not render them impossible, as widespread unemployment did, neither were its effects so far-reaching or lengthy, nor did it leave the Service with a bad reputation. Unemployment was undoubtedly the worst check on the Service's development that it had experienced since its inception, for it meant that vocational guidance and after care were made meaningless, placing a nightmare if not an impossibility - and, last and worst, it meant that provision had to be made for unemployed boys and girls.

The best way of tackling the problem would have been to find work for unemployed juveniles immediately. This can be done when a few are unemployed, but when, as in December 1921, there are 107,000 known boys and girls



out of work, and probably many more who have not registered as unemployed, it is an impossibility. Besides, the use of the Service by employers and employees alike was voluntary, and only a small proportion of the small number of vacancies available were ever notified to exchanges and bureaux, so little could be done. An added complication was that unemployment was much worse in some areas - the so-called "depressed" areas of South Wales, Cumberland and Lancashire and the north-east, putting a large strain on the J.E.S. there while the Midlands and South were relatively prosperous. The obvious solution was to transfer unemployed juveniles to areas needing their labour, but in many ways the cure was worse than the disease. The scheme had to be publicised and the natural reluctance of young people to leave their home towns overcome. Lodgings had to be found for them, fares provided, and often clothing too, and wages supplemented to make them self-supporting. The numbers transferred never exceeded 15% of the total number of unemployed juveniles, the average for the years 1928-1938 inclusive being 6%, so it cannot be said that transference had much effect in dealing with unemployment, even if one assumes that all those transferred were never again unemployed. In fact, many transferees returned home, and not all of them managed to find employment in their home areas, so the total number of boys and girls

who found permanent employment through transference was lower than the numbers actually transferred.

Table 1.

Ministry of Labour Gazettes.

Proportion of Unemployed Juveniles  
Transferred 1928-38.

Year.	Nos. Unemployed. (000s)	Nos. Transferred. (000s)	% Transferred.
1928 & 9.	137	6	4.4
1930	108	3	2.8
1931	114	3	2.6
1932	123	3	2.3
1933	86	4	4.7
1934	109	5	4.6
1935	110	10	9.1
1936	100	15	15.
1937	82	10	12.2
1938	78	9	11.5
11 year average	95	6.2	6.3

Besides coping with all the difficulties involved in transference the Juvenile Employment Service also had to face those concerned with unemployment insurance. It was impossible to provide satisfactorily for unemployed boys and girls through insurance because it was only compulsory for most workers over 16, and there was no provision at all for boys and girls under 16, with several unfortunate results. They could not, of course, claim benefit when unemployed, so were totally dependent on their parents for maintenance. Also, they need not register for employment, so the Service did not really know the full extent of juvenile unemployment - for though many unemployed juveniles under 16 used to register for employment voluntarily there were vast numbers who did not. Finally, little could be done to ensure that these boys and girls attended the Junior Instruction Centres or Classes for unemployed juveniles, whereas the over 16s could be required to attend as a condition of benefit. Bearing these disadvantages in mind it is hard to understand why people opposed any suggestion to lower the age of entry into unemployment insurance from 16 to 14. Many people, though, were violently opposed to it because they were afraid that it would be demoralising for young people to receive benefit as of right, especially when it would mean going to the employment exchange for it and possibly coming into contact

with the adult unemployed. They were also afraid that children would leave school as soon as possible in order to qualify for benefit, and also that the movement to raise the school-leaving age would receive a set-back, one of the chief arguments in its favour being that it would lessen the gap between school leaving and insurance. Opposing these arguments, people pointed out that whether juveniles were regarded as earners or learners the facts were that many of them were unemployed and without the means of self-respect, and apart from the monetary aspect, it would be much easier for the Service to help them if some contact with them was assured. No satisfactory decision was reached on this question, but a compromise was made in 1935, when juveniles under 16 were made insurable, although they could not claim benefit until they were 16. This was a help in the long run, as it gave them a chance to get the necessary contributions to their credit so that if they became unemployed after they were 16, they could claim benefit.

Provision for unemployed juveniles, then, was limited to those of 16 and over. Not all of those, however, received benefit when unemployed, for some had never been employed, or had only been employed for short periods and therefore had not built up the 30 contributions necessary before they could claim. The percentages of insured juveniles who were unemployed from 1930 to 1939 ranged from

7.1 to 3.7, and of these never more than 82% and never less than 36% actually received benefit. Table 2 illustrates this more fully. The total number of unemployed insured juveniles has been shown as a percentage of the total number insured; the proportion of insured juveniles receiving benefit is given, and finally, as a reminder of the extent of the problem, the number receiving benefit are shown as a percentage of the total known number of unemployed juveniles, whether insured or uninsured.

Table 2.

Ministry of Labour Gazettes,  
1930 onwards.

Provision for Unemployed Juveniles  
through Unemployment Insurance.

Year	No. Insured Unemployed (000)	Ditto, shewn as % Total No. Insured.	% Insured U/E receiving benefit.	Juveniles receiving Benefit shown as % of Total Unemployed.
1930	60	7.1	82	49
1931	60	6.2	66	37
1932	63	6.5	62	33
1933	37	4.1	53	24
1934	60	4.4	35	19
1935	64	4.6	39	22
1936	58	3.8	37	27
1937	66	4.	58	49
1938	72	4.3	59	48
1939	68	3.7	54	42

N.B. The figures given refer to live registers at a certain date in December each year.



It is noticeable that the proportion of insured unemployed juveniles receiving benefit increased after 1936, by which time the inclusion of the under 16s in insurance was having effect - that is, more 16 year olds could receive benefit as they were no longer handicapped by having too few contributions to their credit. Even with this provision, though, nothing like 100% of unemployed insured juveniles were receiving benefit. The trouble was that once a boy had exhausted his benefit ~~and~~ there was no further help forthcoming. Many juveniles had exhausted their benefit and had to depend on their parents for maintenance. Adults who had exhausted their benefit could apply for allowances, but the same objections to extending this to juveniles were raised as were raised when it was proposed to lower the age of entry into insurance. Eventually, however, in 1937, when the worst need was past insured juveniles who had exhausted their benefit were able to apply for allowances.

Insurance, then, only provided for part of the total number of insured unemployed juveniles, and did nothing at all for the 14-16 year olds, who were left to depend entirely on their parents for maintenance. It did nothing, of course, to solve the difficulties of the Juvenile Employment Service in other directions - namely, how could unemployed boys and girls be prevented from



becoming unemployable? The obvious answer was to give them something to do until they could find work again. To cater for this need, local education authorities were asked to provide Junior Instruction Centres, or classes if the numbers did not warrant a centre, where there were a certain number of boys and girls. An exchequer grant helped the few local authorities who did this. When the Ministry of Labour assumed central responsibility for the provision of these centres in 1934, the grant was increased and local education authorities had to make proper provision for unemployed juveniles in their districts. So where the Juvenile Employment Service was administered locally by an education authority it had many additional problems - of discovering the number of unemployed in the district - no easy task when it is remembered that there was no complete official information about the number of uninsured unemployed juveniles - of finding suitable staff and premises when no one knew how long the centres and classes were to last and money was not easily forthcoming, and of devising some sort of syllabus which would cater for the needs of a continually changing and fluctuating clientèle.

Mention has already been made of the difficulty of securing the attendance of all unemployed boys and girls when only the over 16 year olds could be required to attend

as a condition of receiving benefit. This did not affect those under 16, even when they became insurable in 1935, for the simple reason that they could not claim benefit. So, as a result of people regarding juveniles under 16 as learners primarily and not earners, they did not get education when they needed it most - that is, when unemployed. This meant, therefore, that unless unemployed boys and girls chose to register at their local juvenile department or employment bureau, they probably did not hear about the centre or classes in their district unless older brothers and sisters or friends told them about it. On the whole, the bulk of attendance was of insured unemployed juveniles, though the amount of voluntary attendance varied greatly throughout the country with the efficiency and energy of the local authority. The percentage of voluntary attendance from 1929 to 1938 is given in Table 3 (page 185).

Table 3.

Ministry of Labour  
Annual Reports.  
1929-38.

Voluntary Attendance at Junior Instruction  
Centres and Classes, shewn as % of Total Attendance.

Year.	Nos. attending Voluntarily. (000s)	Total Nos. Attending.	% Attending Voluntarily.
1929	32	64	50
1930	32	120	16
1931	36	233	16
1932	52	218	24
1933	62	177	35
1934	74	162	45
1935	180	283	66
1936	17	27	63
1937	10	20	50
1938	11	24	46
10 year Total.	51	133	38

N.B. These figures are based on the average of attendances during the first week of every month.

In 1935 and 36, 66% and 63% respectively of the total number attending centres and classes were attending voluntarily, but apart from these two exceptions, and 1929 and 1937, when the number of voluntary and compulsory attendances were equal, the bulk of attendance was compulsory. Taking the average of the ten year period covered by the table, only 38% of all attendances were voluntary.

Besides the difficulties involved in providing some sort of instruction for unemployed juveniles, and administering unemployment insurance, the Juvenile Employment Service was greatly hampered in its ordinary work by unemployment. Vocational guidance, for instance, is reduced to a mere mockery of what it should be during unemployment. What is the use of the Juvenile Employment Officer or J.E. Committee Secretary giving school talks on the choice of employment in an area where he knows perfectly well that there are practically no openings available? What is the good of his advising children to do certain types of work when he knows that the only thing that matters is getting work? Why should he waste time considering what work a boy of 16 or 17, whether a grammar or secondary<sup>modern</sup> school boy, is suited for when he knows that no employer will look at him when any number

of cheap younger boys are available? What is the point of him explaining to school leavers the importance of choosing work wherein they will be trained when he knows the only sort of work they can get is in retail distribution, cotton mills, or coalmining, where they will be dismissed as soon as they should have a rise in wages? Conditions in the depressed areas were not such that vocational guidance was of great use, and certainly there was little incentive even in relatively prosperous areas to improve existing techniques of guidance, for when jobs are limited and labour plentiful trial and error selecting methods prevail.

Placing work is little better in unemployment. Employers have no particular incentive to use the Exchange, for they can get all the labour they want elsewhere, and although a few employers did co-operate with the exchanges and J.E.Bx, they were not sufficient to assure an efficient system. It proved almost impossible, for example, to make sure that vacancies were suitable for young people, because with all the insurance work, staff had little time to visit factories so that they knew whether the work was all right for young people, and also because beggars cannot be choosers - any job is better than no job at all. The J.E.S. knew only too well that many of the vacancies notified with it were for "blind alley" work, which would last



only a year or two, when the boy or girl would be sacked and a school leaver taken on. As it was much harder for older boys and girls to get work, this practice resulted in the casualisation of juvenile labour in the depressed areas. The Service could do nothing to prevent this. It could only try to find work for the older boys and girls, but as employers preferred younger ones, and they could not be made to take older ones, what could be done? It was useless refusing to submit juveniles to "blind alley" jobs, because the employer would only fill the vacancy elsewhere, and it was better that the Service knew whom it had sent so it could try to help them later on; besides, if these vacancies had not been taken, there would have been even less to offer unemployed boys and girls. As the Service's reputation was already poor it could not afford to make it worse.

Not only vocational guidance and placing, but also after care is upset by unemployment. In the first place, the staff are so busy with insurance work that they have little time to spare for keeping in touch with children they have actually managed to place. Even if they do so, there is little point in it, for if the only vocational guidance that can be given a boy is to take whatever job is offered him, it is rather fatuous to bother seeing



whether the advice was correct. Besides, if the boy or girl is unhappy, what can be done about it? It is useless advising him to change his job unless there is one to offer him. The only use of after care in such circumstances is to show young people that someone is interested in their well-being even if nothing can be done to help them - which, after all, is but little comfort.

As mentioned earlier in the chapter, remote areas have presented the J.E.S. with many difficulties ever since it began. Mostly agricultural districts, sparsely populated by scattered villages, with a narrow choice of employment and difficult communications, these areas make organisation often impossible, or if possible, uneconomical because numbers are few. It is hard to make and maintain contact with employers and schools, both of whom tend to resent interference from "outsiders", making school talks and works visits and often placing out of the question. Vocational guidance, too, seems rather futile when the choice of employment is so narrow and when most children expect to work with their fathers. After-care in these out of the way places is not easy to organise, for it is no use expecting boys and girls to attend Open Evenings at a place probably miles from their work even though it may be central for the district, and it is being unduly optimistic to

expect them to answer any letter. Because of these difficulties very little has been done for remote areas in the past.

On the whole, therefore, the J.E.S. has had a raw deal from history. Problem after problem demanding solution has been thrust upon it, so it is small wonder that its development has been hindered, and these difficulties must be allowed for when assessing the efficiency of its work.

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PART III.CHAPTER 2. THE VOCATIONAL GUIDANCE WORK OF THE  
JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

Giving information and advice to young people is the most important task of all those which the Service is called upon to perform; if it fails to do it efficiently it is barely justifying its existence. The following evaluation of this work is based on the ways in which vocational information and guidance are given in the four areas investigated as described in Chapters 5 and 6 of Part II.

There are two main criticisms which can be made about the vocational information and guidance work of the Juvenile Employment Service - first, that the information available about the child's abilities and the job's requirements is inadequate, second that the methods used to give information and guidance are limited and inefficient.

Vocational guidance often has to be given without enough being known about the child - his abilities, attainments, interests, temperament, medical record, his parents' and his own wishes, and finally his teachers' recommendations. As was seen in Part II, Chapter 6, the Juvenile Employment Officer or Secretary is largely dependent upon

the school leaving card for this information, and most cards provide spaces for these details. Unfortunately, however, they are not always completed. The results of the sample of school-leaving cards given in Chapter 6, Part II, were proof of this, as only a third of all the cards were anything like complete. Roughly half of them gave particulars about the child's attainments and abilities. Special aptitudes were only noted in 6% of all cards in A.1, in 12% in B.2. Particulars of conduct were given in 45 and 56% of the cards, of character in 46 and 52%. The occupation recommended by the head teacher was completed in a quarter of the cards in A.1, in 22% of those in the sample in B.2. Slightly more - about 33 and 28% of the sample showed what occupation the child wanted to do, but considering that most vocational guidance starts from the children's wishes it is a serious omission. The percentage of cards where the results of the last medical examinations given in school were completed were 42 and 4% respectively. It is obvious that the officers giving vocational guidance on the basis of those cards must have had a bad time. Now, even if it is assumed that cards are more fully completed to-day, as the Service is no longer disrupted by war - perhaps they are 50% complete - the fact still remains that there is insufficient information available about the children.

Probably the Employment and Training Bill, which makes it compulsory for the "proprietors" of schools to give the Juvenile Employment Service all details about their pupils necessary for vocational guidance will help to overcome this difficulty, but it will have little effect unless the numbers of children per form are reduced. The real cause of records being incomplete is, as Gertrude Williams pointed out in <sup>an Analysis of the Industrial</sup> "Careers of Secondary School Boys", that there are far too many children in each form for teachers to have the time to assess their abilities correctly.

So far it has been established that the information is lacking in quantity; but a glance at the data which is available shows that it is also lacking in quality. Take, for instance, the head teacher's occupational recommendations in A.1, a large industrial area where there are about 70 different industries and 80 different occupations to choose between. One word usually suffices to indicate the employment considered desirable, as "industrial", "semi-clerical", "manual", "needlework", "factory", "mechanical", "trade". Comparatively rarely is a precise description given - carpentry and dressmaking being the only two. In B.2, an area where the choice of employment is relatively narrow - "Farm or factory", "office or good



shop", "domestic" - the recommendations are slightly more helpful than those given in A.1, but even so on only one instance is a precise recommendation given.

Apart from these examples, the other information given is similarly vague and unsatisfactory. Most teachers use a five point rating scheme - for example, very good, good, average, poor and very poor - when assessing attainment, ability and conduct. The difficulty confronting the officer here is that one teacher's good is equal to another teacher's average, and there is no way of knowing what standard is meant except by personal knowledge of the teacher's standard. This difficulty, of course, will always be present whenever this method of rating is used, and for this reason it should not be used as the only source of data. In the case of secondary grammar school children the results of School Certificate are a means of checking the teacher's assessment of ability and attainment, <sup>but for secondary modern school children</sup> There is need, therefore, for some assessments which do not entirely depend on the teacher's judgment.

There may be a chance of supplementing the information which is lacking on the cards by asking the teachers for more details. The snag is, however, that the officers do not always know where they want further data, because they do not always receive the cards until they reach the



school just before they start interviewing the leavers - and there is rarely time at that juncture to go through each case with the teacher.

So far all the shortcomings mentioned have been regarding school leavers. The situation is far worse concerning boys and girls who have already been working and are needing fresh guidance. No up to date assessment of their abilities and attainments exist, so guidance has to be given on the basis of their school leaving cards, save where extra information is available from the results of industrial supervision. As many children develop and improve after leaving school, and as some deteriorate, and very few remain unchanged, their school leaving cards give a misleading impression of their capabilities, and any guidance given on such a basis will probably be useless.

If information about boys and girls is lacking it is even more deficient about occupations, for there are no exact descriptions of the work for which employers notify vacancies, nor of the qualities young workers must have in order to do them successfully, nor are there forecasts of trends in different industries and occupations. The Service's source of knowledge on these topics is confined to the registers of employers' vacancies, works visits, pamphlets published by the National Joint Industrial

Councils, Ministry of Labour and National Service memos, and local surveys of occupations. The registers of employers' vacancies give particulars of all jobs for young people notified at the exchange or juvenile employment office. Each vacancy card, if properly completed, will state the age of boy required, his wages and hours of work, the employer's trade and the work he wants the boy to do, <sup>but</sup> ~~and~~ it is only rarely that any details are given about the qualities the boy must possess in order to do the job properly. Works visits, whether organised for school leavers, or routine ones which the Juvenile Employment Officer or J.E. Committee Secretary should make before sending any juvenile to a firm which has not previously notified vacancies to the Service, do yield a certain amount of information. The officer can discover what the employers and the general amenities are like, the prospects of training and promotion; he can see for himself the work young people would have to do and the surroundings they would do it in. He cannot, however, get a detailed account of the work in so short a time, nor can he be expected to know exactly what qualities of mind, character and body are required to do it. Neither does the employer know this - for how can he have the time to do the job analysis it would involve? Similarly, local

surveys of occupations provide a lot of useful information, but during the war they became out of date, as the staff could not keep up with all the changes. The surveys, when complete, are a guide to all local occupations and give methods of entry, subdivisions of work, training, pay and prospects in much the same way as vacancy cards. The literature published by National Joint Industrial Councils which have set up training schemes is concerned, of course, only with skilled work, and that is not described in detail. The Ministry of Labour and National Service's memos, which are circulated to all employment exchanges and juvenile employment bureaux, are another source of information about work, but only from the point of view of recruitment. Usually particulars are given of industries which are very short of labour, so officers can encourage young people to enter them.

No information, therefore, is available about likely future trends in industry, so that the officer giving advice knows whether a vacancy in a certain trade can be recommended because the industry is expanding; conversely, there is no way for him to know if an industry is declining so he can, if necessary, warn boys and girls that the vacancies in it may not be progressive.

Before the actual process of giving vocational advice

to boys and girls has begun, then, it is already spoiled because of the serious gaps in the Service's knowledge of children's abilities, attainments and characters and of the qualities needed in the jobs and the long-term prospects of these jobs they are going to do. Is anything being done to remedy these gaps, and can anything be done?

So far the Service has not introduced intelligence and vocational tests as a way of getting information about children - that is, apart from a few experiments. It can hardly be blamed, however, for failing in this respect because, until the recent war, it was working under the shadow of widespread unemployment. Obviously, when it is practically futile to give vocational guidance at all it is certainly not the time to experiment with new methods, nor during war. At present, though, conditions are favourable for the gradual introduction of tests. Juvenile labour is scarce, and there is full employment, so we cannot afford to ~~place on~~ let children find <sup>unsuitable</sup> ~~the wrong~~ jobs. The implementation of the 1944 Education Act means that intelligence tests will be used as a method of allocating children to different types of secondary schools, so teachers will have to have some training in giving and marking tests, and it will be a simple matter for them to give them again before children leave school. It has also been decided, following

the recommendations of the Ince report, that cumulative school record cards will be kept for each child, which will show scores gained/and give other valuable data to the Service. This means that the Juvenile Employment Service in future will have a good chance of knowing what it needs to know about school leavers, but before this blissful state of affairs can be achieved several things must be worked out in detail. At present there are not enough teachers trained in the giving, scoring and interpreting of tests. The National Institute of Industrial Psychology found that the equivalent of one or two weeks' course was sufficient to train teachers for the experiments undertaken to discover whether vocational tests were aids to choice of employment, so presumably a two week course would meet the need. Such a course would be given as part of every teacher's training, and perhaps arrangements could be made for older teachers who had not received it to go to training colleges for it. There ~~would~~ <sup>should</sup> be some certificate given to all who do this course successfully, and only those should do the testing, so that there is some guarantee that inefficient trainees are not allowed to administer tests. The people who would run the courses would have to be specially qualified vocational guidance experts, trained by the National Institute



of Industrial Psychology. At present there are probably not enough of them to go round to every teachers' training college and training departments of universities, but as the courses are only short, one person could give them at several training colleges each term, so a slight increase in the number of vocational guidance officers would meet the need. The N.I.I.P. should receive a grant for undertaking this work for the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour and National Service. The latter Ministry has been included because similar courses for staff of the Juvenile Employment Service will be needed. It may seem that it is only necessary for them to know how to interpret test results, but unless they know the whole process they will not be able to discover whether the abilities and attainments of older boys and girls have improved or deteriorated since they left school before giving them fresh advice and replacing them. Possibly, therefore, the Ministry of Labour and National Service could come to some arrangement with the Ministry of Education whereby courses at training colleges could be made available for J.E.S. staff. These courses could well include, for intending teachers and J.E.S. staff alike, instruction on the importance of keeping records and how to use them, otherwise future records will merely be more



complicated and less complete than those in use at present.

The choice of tests used in the schools will probably be left to the Ministry of Education, but if the latter could co-operate with the N.I.I.P. concerning the testing of school children it might be possible to give children a battery of tests including those for special abilities, and vocational tests, as well as for general intelligence. The whole lot, at the outside, would take about five hours, but as most of these would not be given individually and as testing would probably only take place twice - at 11, to determine the type of secondary school a child attended, and then at 15, or before he left school - the total time spent would not be great and the information gained would make it more than worth while.

It will be no use having detailed information about children, though, unless there is equally detailed information about jobs. This has been shown several times in the experiments referred to before - job analysis of local occupations had to be undertaken before anything else was done.

The Ministry of Labour and National Service reported to the Ince Committee in 1945 that it was undertaking systematic job analysis. This will, if done, provide a great deal of the missing information. Information needed about

future trends in industry is a more difficult proposition. It will have to come partly from individual industries, which might be able to estimate their future recruitment requirements so the Service would know roughly which industries are expanding and which contracting, and partly from information collected by the Ministry about the history of industries so likely future trends can be estimated. It will really be a matter for guesswork, as no one can foretell what new inventions or materials will be made, nor what effect they will have on existing processes and industries. On the whole, therefore, relatively little can be done <sup>to get information about future industrial trends, but a great deal can be done</sup> by job analysis to increase information about the requirements of existing jobs.

The other criticism of the Service's vocational and guidance work was that the methods used were limited and inefficient. The methods used in giving vocational information, that is, the school talks and works visits, have several drawbacks. For instance, the whole point of the school talk is sometimes lost by bad <sup>timing</sup> ~~training~~ and the whole process of giving vocational information upset. The purpose of the talk is to start the prospective school leaver thinking about his capabilities in relation to the sort of work he could do. After the talk and until the school conference he has time to think about this, and has the opportunity at works visits of seeing different trades.

Now, if the school talk is given near the end of term on the same day as the conference, as happens in B.1, it means that the school leaver has no time to think about it, and the works visits have to occur before the talk, without any explanation about their purpose or how they fit in to the choice of employment in the area.

As was seen in A.1, school talks often last too long, with the result that children become inattentive and bored. It is safe to say that forty minutes, including time for questions, is the maximum time for which most children can concentrate, certainly never longer. After all, lessons do not last for more than 30 to 40 minutes, and it is not reasonable to expect children to sit still any longer. In some cases, when the school talk is being given in the head teacher's study, the children either have to stand or sit on the floor, and in these circumstances a shorter talk would be advisable.

The content of the talk, however, is even more important than its timing and length. Although the school talks which it was possible to attend in A.1 were not overburdened with information as the Secretary gave separate talks about unemployment and health insurance, the same is not true in the other areas, where the staff say they deal with everything in the one talk, including advice about leisure time activities.

A seemingly illogical criticism of the school talks is that not only is their content overburdened with material, but it is only local material. Children are only told about the choice of employment open to them in their own district, and nothing about that in other areas which have a different choice to offer. The Ince committee made exactly the same criticism in its report. The reason for this being neglected at present is that there simply is not time to give details about other than local occupations in one talk, <sup>in any case,</sup> <sub>^</sub> The amount of fresh information children can digest in any given time is limited.

The striking fact about school talks is this - that although they amount to lessons on how to choose a suitable occupation, they are rarely given by people who have had any training in teaching method. The Secretary in A.1 was an exception, as she was a trained and experienced teacher, so the talks given in A.1 were not ordinary talks. The Ministry of Labour and National Service does give its staff a day or two's training in public speaking as part of its staff training scheme, but local education authorities (judging from B.1 and B.2) do nothing at all for their staff. Neither administrator, therefore, does enough to ensure that the school talk is done well. After all, a school talk is teaching - teaching about the choice of employment and how to choose a job - a very important lesson, which is only

given once and therefore must be given superbly well. Apart from this, the school talk is the first occasion on which school leavers come into contact with the J.E.S., so they are bound to judge it by the content of the talk and by the speaker. The use of the Service is voluntary, so it is vital that the respect and confidence of its customers should be won at this first meeting with them. When all these factors are considered it becomes all the more surprising that very few of the talks are given by people who are capable of talking to young people, of catching their interest and holding their attention.

Works visits are no more free from drawbacks than school talks. In the first place, it is rare to find that each child has been to a sufficient number of works to form a balanced idea of the different trades open to him. As was seen in Chapter 5, Part II, teachers often choose the children who go, only sending ones who are already interested in the particular trade, so others who have not made up their minds about what they want to do are not given the chance - thus taking away the whole point of the visits. Probably this will happen less frequently this year, because with the raising of the school leaving age the works visits can be spread over the whole of the last year at school, and teachers will only be too glad to find some-



thing for their pupils to do. Another objection is that visits are rarely arranged so that leavers see several firms in each trade, so in practice each industry becomes associated in their minds with the particular firm they visited.

A further drawback of works visits is that they tend to be badly organised. It is useless trailing a party of 14 year olds round a factory unless they are given some idea of the important things to look out for before they start going round each department, and also the part played by different departments and types of workers in making the finished products. Often no time is given for asking questions as the party goes round, and children lose interest. In many cases the visits, like the school talks, last too long, and children are so tired with walking round that they become bored and learn little.

A third criticism of works visits is that they show only the large firms. This is because small employers find it hard to spare anyone to show a party round, and there is rarely much to see. Larger firms have amenities to show besides the various departments, and this means that school leavers will tend to think too much in terms of the advantages of working for a big firm, and as they do not see a small firm, that trade becomes associated in their minds with one <sup>large</sup> firm. In the present juvenile labour shortage large employers are only too anxious to show parties round



their factories, hoping thereby to get some likely recruits. As the majority of employers in this country **are** small ones it seems unrealistic that works visits neglect them, and it is certainly unfair to the small employer, as they cannot pay higher wages in order to attract labour nor have they the chance to show school leavers round their works and attract labour that way.

Having discussed the drawbacks of the methods of giving vocational information, the next stage is to describe those concerning the way in which the school conferences are conducted. The general account of these was given in Part II, Chapter 6. It was seen that, unlike the interview arranged for secondary modern school leavers, those for grammar school leavers were not always held at the school. This is unwise, because the unfamiliar surroundings of the office, however pleasantly situated or furnished it is, mean that the boy or girl is not at ease. It is much better, therefore, that the interviews take place at school. The school premises, of course, are not always ideal - interviewing may have to be done in the hall, for instance, while a lesson is going on at one end of it - or in the head teacher's study, which may or may not have unpleasant associations for the children, but in many cases these drawbacks are unavoidable, and it is better to see

the children in their surroundings than to see them in a strange office.

One serious drawback in the conduct of the interviews for secondary modern school leavers is the speed with which they have to be taken. This does not apply to the interviews for secondary grammar school leavers, as there are far fewer of them. The shocking thing is that these interviews may determine the course of a child's life, and yet they only last a few minutes. After all, public money has been spent for ten years to give children their education, and surely it is uneconomical to come in a few minutes to a decision which may waste all that time and expense, besides hampering the country's production. The various factors in guidance - the child's capabilities, attainments and wishes have to be balanced against what is available for him in the district - demand careful consideration, not snap decisions. Besides, if children feel that there is a hurried atmosphere about the interview they will not be so ready to volunteer information, nor will their parents be ready to discuss things with the interviewers. It is criminal to expect anyone to interview 15-20 children in an afternoon, for it is then impossible to give each child the time and attention necessary to ensure he has reasonable vocational guidance.

The numbers of people present at school conferences in the London area constitute the greatest single drawback in the way they are conducted. Fortunately this does not happen elsewhere. As described in Part II, Chapter 6, it is not unusual for five or six persons beside the child to be present. Alec Rodgers describes such conferences as "the invention of the devil", and certainly, if people had tried to think of the most unsatisfactory way in which guidance could be given to boys and girls they could not have devised a worse one. The theory behind these conferences seems to be that quantity makes up for quality, and as no one is trained to give vocational guidance compensation is made by having plenty of them. Apart from this explanation the number of people deemed necessary to interview one poor scared school leaver is quite incomprehensible. The result of having so many people present is that some children are overawed by the formality and bewildered by the presence of so many strangers, which is hardly an ideal situation in which to give guidance. Added to this, carelessness over minor points often makes things worse. The delightful way in which a Chairman calls the child by the wrong name, or the Head Teacher forgets to ask him to sit down, or the J.E.O. fails to indicate when the interview has ended, or other interviewers have a little

aside while the Chairman is speaking - all these failings contribute to the inefficiency of the conferences. Indeed, how can they be expected to be efficient? The task of matching a child's abilities with the demands of an occupation is not one which anyone can do. It requires many things - a knowledge of and liking for young people and adults, the ability to understand them and be understood by them, as well as knowledge of industry and occupations. Such knowledge would be the result of trained ability, and to get people possessing it careful selection would have to be made and equally careful training given. Neither has been the case with most people giving guidance, and this being so it cannot be expected that school conferences or interviews will be carried out efficiently - the marvel is they are carried out at all. By way of illustration of what the drawbacks in vocational guidance mentioned mean in practice, imagine the task confronting a school conference or J.E.O. when advising children.

As has been mentioned before, little of the information needed is available, and what is there is vague. Usually the child's wish is taken as the starting point, or his parents' wish if he has no particular one. Suppose a boy wants to be a shop assistant, and his parents are agreeable. The officer giving guidance looks at the school leaving card, and if he is lucky, notes that the teacher's

recommendation agrees with the child's wish, that his attainment is up to that work and his medical record is satisfactory. All is well. Supposing, however, that the boy does not know what he wants to be, and this is very likely, for about 33% of the sample examined in Part II, Chapter 6 had no occupational wish. The possibilities are enormous. The officer examines the school record and sees there are no indications of special abilities or weaknesses - the boy is average. His parents do not mind what he does, his head teacher vaguely writes "industrial" when recommending what work he should do, and so the onus is on the J.E.O. How can he give that boy guidance when he knows practically nothing of importance about him and nothing in detail about the requirements of different jobs? It is a crazy situation and a common one, and explains a great deal of the ineffectiveness of vocational guidance.

It is clear from what has already been said that there are inadequacies in the existing methods of giving vocational information and advice. Some of these inadequacies, though important, can be disregarded, because they are the result of practical difficulties unavoidable at present. The drawback of having to hold a school talk in one half of a hall while a lesson was going on in the other half, for instance, belongs to that category, as



nothing can be done about it until more accommodation is available. Other inadequacies are more serious, however, for they are the result of limited ideas about the work of the Service. This lack of understanding of the importance and meaning of vocational information and guidance can be deduced from the antiquated methods used by the Service, its failure to adopt new ones, and from the way in which vocational information and guidance are regarded in isolation from education and after-care.

So far only very limited use of wireless has been made as a means of giving vocational information. It is hard to know why, for most schools have the necessary equipment and are accustomed to using it for education as well as amusement. The expense of broadcasting a few talks about how to choose a job and different occupations would be negligible, and the amount of time it could save would be enormous, especially in rural districts where a Juvenile Employment Officer or Secretary spends a whole day getting to some of the schools, giving the talk and getting back again.

Even if wireless could not be used to give vocational information, at least talks about different occupations could be illustrated by slides. It would cost comparatively little to have slides made and it would add



enormously to the interest of the talks. More everyday methods could also be used to present material in a more attractive way than is now the case - for instance, maps of the area showing the location of industry would help in the presentation of information about the choice of employment available in each area. In this connection the methods used by the Bureau of Current Affairs could be a great help to officers giving school talks. The use of visual aids-cheerfully coloured maps and diagrams, beautifully designed posters,- and insistence on making the audience find out things for itself and take an active part in learning - these methods could well be learnt and copied by the Juvenile Employment Service.

The use of exhibitions in giving vocational information only exists in a few areas, having been started in B.1, as mentioned in Chapter 5, Part II. It is surprising that this method has not been more widely adopted, for by careful arrangement it is possible to give school leavers - and many others who care to visit it - a balanced idea of the choice of employment in the area. The failure to use this method is but another instance of the Service's unimaginative outlook.

Apart from the Service's failure to use new methods of giving information and guidance, neither are seen as part of a wide and continuous process which starts when

children are allocated to different secondary schools, and includes helping them to choose their subjects after the first year or two, as well as giving them advice before they leave and following up those in jobs and helping them to use their leisure wisely. The J.E.S. only thinks in compartments at present, and it is because of that that it is unconcerned with children before they are in their last year at school. The trouble is that the Service seems to have little conception of co-operating with the schools, as is shown only too well by the way in which vocational information is given.

The school talks and works visits are not treated as part of the syllabus, but as extras thrown in in a rather haphazard way, depending largely on the head teacher's whim for the amount of time given to them. Lack of co-operation with the schools explains why there has been no attempt to work out a continuous course giving information about jobs in the schools. The raising of the school leaving age to 15 gives the Service an excellent opportunity to work out a special course for school leavers. It would help the teachers, because many schools at present cannot arrange special courses for their 14-15 year old pupils through shortage of staff, and the Service if the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary or Officer could visit the schools regularly and give a course of lessons

on all things connected with employment. This course would include talks on different industries and occupations, which would not, however, be limited to merely local ones, and these could be linked up with geography and history lessons if teachers were willing to help in this way; it would also include talks about the Service, Trade Unions, the general juvenile labour situation and its effects, unemployment and health insurance. It would really be a course to help children to know something about the organisation of the working world they are about to enter,?

In this way the J.E.O. would get to know <sup>the</sup> children and children would be given knowledge which would prepare them for leaving school and help them to bridge the gap between their life as children and as young workers.

The J.E.S.'s limited ideas also show in its neglect of parents. It is no use ignoring them and only giving information to children, for children are bound to be influenced by their parents' opinions. As this is the case, it is important that parents should be able to get information about the opportunities available. Why should not parents be invited as a matter of course to the talks and films given to school leavers? The Ince report wished to see the fullest possible encouragement given to parents to attend school talks. Unless something on these lines is done it is small wonder that some parents are unco-operative.

The introduction of such a practice would help the J.E.S. in another way, for it would publicise its activities. Many parents view it unfavourably because their experience of it was of its inefficiency during the years of unemployment, and unless they see what it is doing now they will not encourage their children to use it.

At present, therefore, the J.E.S.'s methods are inefficient and old-fashioned and its ideas limited, and not until it stops regarding vocational information and guidance as a couple of hedged in fields and looks at them instead as part of a continuous landscape which includes schools, parents and all young workers will it be doing its work properly.

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PART III.CHAPTER 2. AFTER CARE.

After-care or industrial supervision is the last stage of vocational guidance, and upon its effectiveness depends the quality of the advice given to boys and girls. Unless the Juvenile Employment Service checks its vocational guidance by discovering what happens to both those who take and reject its advice it cannot hope to be efficient or to improve its methods.

The way in which after-care or industrial supervision is done in the four areas investigated has already been described in Chapter 8, Part II. Various drawbacks are obvious to the reader, many of them of a similar nature to those in the Service's other work. In the "Open Evening" - the most important means of after-care used by the Service - for instance, the setting was not always suitable. The administering authority cannot be blamed for the rooms in which the interviewing is done, as obviously it is not always within their power to change the premises allotted to them, but they can at least make the best possible use of the premises allotted to them by careful arrangement of furniture, flowers and posters. Both local <sup>education</sup> authorities had done so.



One of the Ministry of Labour areas had done so, but in the other no attempt had been made to enliven<sup>a</sup>/gloomy, dingy board room. The furniture was arranged in the dullest way possible and the feeling of the place was boring and oppressive. The exercise of a little imagination plus a little furniture removing could have improved the setting for that open evening enormously.

A drawback encountered already in connection with school conferences is also found in open evenings - that is, there are too many people present in the areas run by the Ministry. A rota of the Juvenile Employment Committee usually helps with the interviewing, which means that two or three people are present as well as the J.E.C. Secretary. It is far harder for a boy or girl to speak freely when there are three people interviewing him than when there is just the J.E.C. Secretary whom he knows by sight at least. Also, he may resent being asked about his work, which he may consider his private business, in front of strangers, and if there is anything he wants to discuss he will be shyer of raising it in front of several people. Besides, the open evening depends for its success on the co-operation of young people, and to get this co-operation the boy must feel that someone is really interested in what he is doing and will help him - will he get this impression if inter-

viewed by several strangers? It is far easier for one person to get on friendly terms with a young worker than for several to do so. The Ince Committee seemed to ignore this fact when it recommended that committee members should help with the Open Evenings.

Another drawback also mentioned in connection with vocational guidance is the interviewers' lack of training. This makes matters worse in the Ministry of Labour and National Service areas, especially when there are several people interviewing. It means that leading questions tend to be asked with the result that few facts of real value are elicited. If committee members are to help with the interviewing they should not only be chosen specially, as suggested in the Ince Report, but they should also be helped to acquire the elements of interviewing technique.

There is little to choose between the two types of areas in this respect, though there are some trained people in charge of juvenile employment bureaux and probably doing the interviewing. The Ministry of Labour and National Service is organising two day courses on interviewing for its staff, so an attempt is being made in the right direction.

The greatest drawback of all about open evenings, as pointed out in the Ince Report, is the poor attendance,

though there is one thing to be said for it - at least there is plenty of time available for those who do come. Very few of the boys and girls invited to come either reply in writing or in person, and very few come uninvited, as was seen from the tables given in Part II, Chapter 8. As in both the Ministry of Labour and National Service and in one Local Education Authority area, no other form of after-care besides Open Evenings is arranged, their after-care is unsatisfactory, for the only young people whose careers have been followed up are those who responded to the Open Evening invitation. Sometimes, when no reply is received, second invitations to attend Open Evenings are sent, but this is not done as a regular practice nor is it particularly successful when done.

Suppose, however, that the large proportion of young people who do not respond in any way to the Open Evenings invitations are getting on quite happily in their work, is the Open Evening an efficient means of discovering whether the rest are happily settled in work? Disregarding those who are in suitable jobs, do the interviewers discover exactly what has ~~been~~ gone wrong in the case of those who are unhappy? Putting the best aspect on it, if they are good interviewers they will doubtless discover the boy or girl's side of the question, but what of the employer's? It is remarkable how two people can tell

completely different stories about the same thing, and obviously both have to be pieced together into a relatively unbiased account of what actually happened. Sometimes this is done - sometimes it is ignored, especially if the boy has already left his employer. The whole trouble is, however, that the interviewers rarely succeed in getting precise enough information to enable the Juvenile Employment Officer or Secretary to discover exactly where his advice went wrong. A boy will say he "doesn't like" his work, and the reason he gives when pressed may be manufactured on the spot because, while he might give the real one to the officer privately, he will not state it while there are others present. Without correct information about these reasons after-care is practically useless, because it is not serving as a check on the advice given, and it means that fresh advice will probably be incorrect.

Another snag about open evenings is that they are not suitable for use in rural or remote areas, but in spite of this the J.E.S. has not devised a really satisfactory method of after-care for these districts. In country places, as explained in Chapter 1, children cannot be expected to trail in to an open evening held in a place probably miles away from their work. Country folk, too, are independent and resent interference with what they call

their business, so for both these reasons open evenings would be no good. As less placing is done in rural areas, there is less point in after-care, and it deteriorates into merely trying to find out what did happen to school leavers and where they are working, instead of following up placing.

No criticism has been made concerning the categories of children invited to open evenings. It was seen in Chapter 8, Part II, that A.1 asked recent school leavers, and the  $15\frac{1}{2}$  and  $17\frac{1}{2}$  year olds, whereas others only asked one or the other category, one area, indeed, not issuing any regular invitations. The Ince report recommended that invitations should be sent to  $15\frac{1}{2}$  year olds, which would ensure that boys and girls had a chance of hearing about apprenticeships before they became too old to take them up, and to  $17\frac{1}{2}$  year olds, so it could be discovered that they were settled before they came under the adult section of the exchanges. It would be a great improvement if this could be done, as present practice is piecemeal and unsatisfactory as it does not enable the Service to follow up a boy's career till he becomes 18.

Though open evenings are the only formal way in which after-care is organised, in every area there are other methods used. Many officers enquire about children's recent placings with employers when visiting their works;



sometimes employers report progress of the last recruits they engaged through the Service when notifying a vacancy, sometimes youth club leaders can let the Service know how some of their members are getting on, and sometimes boys and girls come in themselves to report progress. All these methods, however, only cover a few boys and girls, and there is rarely any attempt to co-ordinate them.

There are

/ Several other methods of after-care which have been tried out by local education authorities, and their use could probably be extended to other areas. Progress reports from employers on children who have been working with them about three months have been successfully requested for several years in B.2; employers co-operate well and their response enables the J.E. Officer to check the vocational guidance given to last term's school leavers and to help employers and employees to straighten out their difficulties. This system could certainly be used in many places, though it is doubtful whether it would be practicable in areas where juvenile job turnover is high - that is, in large towns with a large choice of employment where a greater proportion of young people change from job to job in search of higher wages, for it would be impossible to keep up with all the changes and the reports would go astray.

In addition to these progress reports, letters

are sent to the boys and girls themselves, enquiring how they are getting on and asking them either to answer some questions or call at the office. Thus the J.E.O. has both the employer's and the child's reactions and can come to a reliable conclusion about the result of the vocational guidance given in most cases, though a smaller proportion of children than employers reply. A year after the first enquiry a second is sent to boys and girls to confirm that they are still happy in their work. The system tends to break down here, however, when young people reply and have changed their work. Unless they come in to the office - which rarely happens - the J.E. Officer never discovers why the boy or girl left the first job, which means he does not know whether his advice was faulty and if so, whether he under or over-rated his customer's capabilities, or whether there was something wrong about the job he put him into. Even so, it would be a great help if these methods were used. They could <sup>be</sup> improved ~~them~~ later on - the need now is to roughly fill in the gaps.

The lack of after-care in rural areas was mentioned earlier on in the chapter. In B.2 this is being tackled by having branch offices which serve the district round them. The offices are situated in four village colleges, which are designed so they can be used by youth clubs in the evenings.

In this way the head teacher in his capacity as warden is able to keep in touch with children who have recently left school who attend the youth club; he discovers whether they are still in the same job and whether they are getting on well and informs the J.E.O. As the Ince Committee recommended, this method could be used in other districts when the county colleges envisaged by the 1944 Education Act come into being.

In the towns, closer contact with the schools and especially with the teachers would make it possible for information about the careers of former pupils to be got. This is done for a term in B.2, where lists of children who left school the term before are sent to the schools with all the information possessed by the J.E. Officer on them - what jobs they went to, and the results of any progress reports from employers or enquiries to the children themselves. Often teachers can supply particulars about children for whom the J.E. Officer has none, and in any case they are always interested to know what their ex-pupils are doing. This does a great deal to ensure teachers' co-operation with the Service in its vocational guidance work.

The after-care methods used at present by the J.E.S. as a whole are inadequate. Other methods have been tried

out in a few areas, but the Service in the main has not grasped the importance of after-care and has failed to appreciate its value. As in vocational information and guidance, so in after-care, the Service has limited ideas about its work. The present methods of after-care place the onus of response on the young people concerned, and the J.E.S. does practically nothing about those who do not reply to its invitations, and assumes that they are happily settled in work. Is this assumption justified? Might the fact that so few reply not be a sign that they have no confidence in the Service and that they know they can find jobs for themselves if needs be? This possibility should not be overlooked. Indeed, the Service is failing in its work unless it is prepared to assume that the boys and girls it does not hear from are not satisfactorily settled.

Besides this, it refuses to see things in their wider setting. For example, all the emphasis at the open evening is placed on the boy as a young worker, and seldom are attempts made to know him as a whole, and while he may be told the name of his nearest youth club there is usually little interest shown in how he uses his leisure. There is the same neglect in after-care as in vocational guidance of the other interested members of the community - the parents, teachers and employers, resulting in a loss of publicity. Parents, for instance, are included in the



invitation to the open evening, but they are not invited personally to attend. What, indeed, is the use of asking parents to attend an open evening if earlier attempts to gain their co-operation have not been made? In some areas local education authorities visit the homes in an attempt to gain parents' co-operation when dealing with difficult cases, but often the damage has been done by that time. The Ministry is against using visiting in connection with its work, and it is rarely used. On the whole, then, the possibility of parents helping with after-care is ignored. The same is no less true of employers, for on the whole the J.E.S. does little to enlist their help in following up placings. Indeed, the system adopted in B.2 is an exceptional one. Usually nothing at all is done to get the employer's side of the story and find out exactly why X was not suitable. Practically nothing is done to "sell" the Service to them and to make them realise that it is in their interests to co-operate with the Service and let it know whether the child's character, temperament or abilities were at fault, or whether insufficient details about the job had been given when notifying it.

Teachers, also, often hear about past pupils either from their friends or brothers and sisters still at school, or from the boys and girls themselves. If the J.E.S. was really working in the way it should, there would be a pool-



ing of information by teachers, employers, parents and its staff.

The J.E.S. shows its lack of understanding of after-care in several ways - first, by its dependence on an inefficient method and its refusal to link up after-care with the community of which the young people form only a part, and secondly, by its satisfaction with the knowledge it gains in its after-care work. The Service's work has a human side but it also should have a scientific side. It must want to know why the vocational guidance given a child was wrong - was it in the assessment of the child's abilities, character or temperament, or was it in trying to match them with a job that the advice was faulty? What were the child's parents' and employers' reactions to the job? How, in the light of these facts, can future advice be improved?

Besides trying to answer these questions, the Service should also try to discover what jobs the boys and girls who found work entered, that is whether they did follow the advice given them and merely ignored the Service as a placing agency, , or whether they entered really unsuitable work when they found it for themselves. This was done in Birmingham in connection with the experiment to discover the use of vocational tests in the selection of engineering apprentices, and it was found that it gave a reliable estimate of the use

to which advice was put by the recipients. As things are now, the Service probably does not do its work justice in its records as they presume that only the proportion of school leavers who are placed have followed the advice given them, whereas many of those who find work actually followed the guidance given them and should be included with the "placed" as having accepted the Service's vocational guidance.

Indeed, part of the failure in after-care may be attributed to lack of trouble taken over records. In Chapter 8, Part II, it was seen that records of the result of follow up - that is, the proportion of children replying to invitations to open evenings who were satisfied and unsatisfied with their work - were not kept in every area. True, the staff were able to give an estimate of the proportions, but that is not exact enough, for careful track should be kept of every boy and girl responding to after-care if vocational guidance is to be checked, especially when so few reply.

In conclusion, the Service's after-care work is inefficient in method and result, and as it is now done it is practically useless as a check on the vocational advice given and a means of improving future guidance.

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PART III.CHAPTER 4. PREMISES.

It is said that "Clothes make the man" and in the same limited way the premises make the Juvenile Employment Service. People are bound to base part of their judgment on appearance, and as the buildings housing the local office are the first things they notice it is important that they should be as attractive as possible. The Ince committee, reporting on the Service, fully appreciated this because of its desire that young people should regard the Service "not as a piece of official machinery" but as a place where they can get friendly advice and help and moreover as peculiarly theirs' and its opinion<sup>was</sup> that the growth of this feeling depended on the premises. Are the premises in use to-day efficient from this point of view?

There are, of course, many inadequacies to be found in the local offices, as can be seen from the description of those in the four areas given in Part II. One of the most serious drawbacks in many premises provided by both the Ministry of Labour and National Service and the local education authorities is their inaccessibility. If boys and girls, parents and employers cannot find the local

offices easily they are less likely to go there. As the Service cannot compel people to patronise it its buildings would be best situated near shopping centres or other prominent and frequented places where they attract attention so everyone knows where they are. Many more people would use the Service if this were so, for even though the telephone helps inaccessible offices to overcome the disadvantages of their situation, the fact remains that most people prefer to go and see the person with whom they are dealing, and they obviously cannot if the offices are in out of the way places. If the offices, however, are conveniently situated the public gets to know more about them, the work they do, and how they do it, and so the Service gets some badly needed publicity. In this connection the Ince committee's recommendation that local offices, whether administered by the Ministry or by local education authorities, should be housed in the County Colleges to be built under the 1944 Education Act will need to be carefully considered. Although this would be an admirable arrangement in many ways, ensuring close co-operation with the schools, it might mean that the offices would be inaccessible, as most of the Colleges will probably be built on the outskirts of towns where land is available, and for this reason it might be better to house the local offices elsewhere.



Besides being inaccessible, many buildings are often unattractive. "Abandon hope all ye who enter here" could well be written up outside the gloomy buildings housing some offices of both authorities administering the Service. Of course, many offices have to use ugly buildings because there are no others to be had, or because their own premises were destroyed during the war, but only too often it has never occurred to them that they are not really suitable for the purpose. Anyone noticing the outsides of these buildings and knowing nothing about the work being done therein would think the responsible body did not care very much about its work, or obviously it would have provided better looking premises for it. Even though in industrial districts practically all the buildings are black and horrible, so the inhabitants will merely take the local office for granted, this is no reason for leaving things as they are, and surely the contrast of having clean and attractive premises in such a setting would be good publicity for the Service.

Very few local offices have separate premises or are specially designed for their purpose. Whether the Service is run by the local education authorities or by the Ministry of Labour and National Service it is usually housed in rooms in part of another building - the town or county council buildings if the former, or the employment exchange if the

latter provides the service. Often the rooms allotted to it are hard to find in a big building, and the young people using it are rather overawed by its size. Certainly, the rooms are not designed specially for their purpose - the rooms in the county or city council offices are exactly the same as the rest, and those in the employment exchange follow the same pattern laid down for the adults' sections.

Another drawback which is encountered in some rural areas is that there are no separate rooms or premises for juvenile work. So few children are dealt with that separate provision for them is unjustified and they use the adult Employment Exchange. This drawback usually only occurs in areas where the Ministry provides the service, as local education authorities rarely choose to exercise their adoptive powers in remote areas, so the work is left to the Ministry. The Ince committee recognized that the difficulty was unavoidable, and that nothing could be done about it, and certainly it would not be fair to criticise this particular drawback in the circumstances.

One of the greatest failings in the premises is their inadequate accommodation, and by inadequate is meant the lack of private interviewing rooms. This criticism applied entirely to the local education authorities in the areas investigated, as there were no rooms where interviews

could be conducted privately, but probably throughout the country it would apply equally to both authorities. In the course of the work of any local office there are bound to be some matters which must be dealt with privately and it is most important that this should be possible. Perhaps a boy ~~xxxxixi~~ has been dismissed and the officer interviewing has to find out why before he can give fresh advice - the boy will not want to admit his faults when there are several people present, so it is unlikely he will give correct information and the Service's work will be hampered. Sometimes an illusion of privacy can be given by spacing the tables at which the interviewers sit as widely as possible, but the only really satisfactory method is to have a room set aside for interviewing, for besides the special cases mentioned, many children are shy and will not talk easily in a room with other people present.

Often one drawback leads to another, for an office which has not enough accommodation can rarely have its rooms well arranged as space has to be given to filing cabinets and cupboards, with the result that they dwarf the Service's customers into insignificance, besides making the room look dark and formal. Another failing, this time of all juvenile departments of **E**mployment **E**xchanges, is the counter, which still runs solid and high across the end of the room, in spite of the Malcolm committee's denunciation

of it, over twenty years ago, and other criticisms of it ever after. The counter makes it hard to create the informal atmosphere so necessary if boys and girls are to regard the office as theirs, and still harder for the interviewer to put young people at their ease when they have to stand and talk to him over the counter. The Ince report noted with satisfaction in 1945 that the Ministry of Labour and National Service had decided to abolish counters, but they still remain. A few local education authorities also have counters, but in most cases the staff use tables which lend themselves to more informal grouping. The counter, of course, means that the arrangement of furniture consists inevitably of rows of chairs tram-car wise on either side of the room.

In the last resort, however, the real test of whether a local office's premises are efficient or not lies in the way in which they are used, for even if the premises are wretched it is possible to make the best of them. Both local education authorities in the areas investigated scored over the Ministry in this respect, for even though they had insufficient accommodation they had made their rooms attractive with posters, photographs illustrating different occupations, and well-arranged flowers, so that the rooms had an informal, friendly feeling about them. On the whole it would seem that,

while the Ministry caters for essentials better than the Local Education Authorities, it does not bother so much about the trimmings, which often make all the difference. The same applies to the decoration - the Ministry has a marked preference for rather dark and serviceable colours which at the same time have a rather depressing effect on the room.

So far the material inadequacies of local offices have been emphasised, and no mention has been made of the ~~ideas underlying these~~ <sup>any</sup> inadequacies <sup>in ideas</sup>. The two authorities administering the Service seem to have different ideas about standards - the Ministry thinks that premises for secondary central and grammar school leavers should be of a higher standard than those for secondary modern leavers, whereas the Local Education Authorities think the standard should be the same for all. This was apparent from the account of the premises in the four areas. For instance, there were several private interviewing rooms for grammar school leavers in A.1, whereas there was only one in the offices dealing with other secondary school leavers. Most Local Education Authorities administering the J.E.S., however, make no such differentiation - all leavers use the same premises, with exactly the same facilities. The problem is which of these two principles should be applied by the J.E.S. There is no essential difference between the



Service's work for different leavers, and it is carried out in exactly the same way. Is there then any useful purpose served by having different officers for different leavers? The question needs considering in relation to the 1944 Education Act. One of its aims was to improve the standard of former elementary schools, now called secondary modern, so that whatever type of secondary school a child went to it would have a good education. To retain separate offices for different types of secondary school children will continue the practice of discriminating against secondary modern and technical children who would not be able to take advantage of the higher standards of service provided for secondary grammar school children, and therefore it would seem to be against the spirit of the Education Act. For this reason, and also because the work of the Service is essentially the same for all types of leavers, it follows that the principle adopted by Local Education Authorities is the soundest.

Another question raised by the practice of the Ministry is whether it is desirable that there should be separate provision for boys and girls? Most juvenile departments of Employment Exchanges are divided into a 'boys' room and a girls' room, whereas in most offices run by Local Education Authorities there is one room for both. The Ince Committee remarks that this question can be best

decided with reference to local conditions. It does seem, however, that there are very few places where it would be necessary to segregate the sexes. Presumably the juvenile departments were made in that way merely because the adults' were like that. In any case, in combination with the counters they <sup>partitions</sup> make the departments appear unnecessarily formal and for that reason alone they are undesirable.

On the whole it seems that the premises housing local offices of the J.E.S. are not such that they achieve the ideal of the Ince Report, namely, that they make the young people feel that they are for them. To achieve that it would be necessary to design premises specially for the job, as has been done by some Local Education Authorities. Before this can be done by the Service there will have to be a different way of looking at premises and at the work of the Service as a whole. After all, no education authority, except in a dire emergency, would house a school in another building which had not been designed for the job, so why should ~~the local~~ <sup>any</sup> authority (whether ~~the~~ <sup>an</sup> L.E.A. or the Ministry of Labour and National Service) put a juvenile office in any sort of old building? The design of the juvenile departments of exchanges and the unsuitable buildings in which many juvenile employment bureaux are situated show that the J.E.S. has limited ideas about young

people's needs. The shortage of manpower and materials will probably mean that existing premises must be retained for many years to come, but at least when new ones are built they could be self-contained, without counters, and with interviewing rooms.

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PART III.CHAPTER 5. STAFF.

The staff of the Juvenile Employment Service is its personality. Much has been said about improving the Service's methods and its premises, but in the last resort these are mere externals, for the main problem both the Ministry of Labour and National Service and the local education authorities have to face is how to get the right sort of staff. If they succeed in getting them, the other problems will be partially solved, for given good staff, co-operation with interested sections of the community - teachers, employers and parents - will be easy, and introduction of new methods and improvement of old ones of vocational guidance and after-care relatively simple.

The Ince report has made the improvement of staff a necessity by its recommendations that cumulative record cards be introduced and job analysis be undertaken, for To use the former successfully will involve a more detailed knowledge of vocational guidance techniques than that possessed by most of the Service's staff to-day, and similarly the findings of systematic research on job analysis will not be satisfactorily used without giving staff training in the use of the extra knowledge.

One fact which emerged from the study of the staff in the four areas, given in Part II, Chapter 3, was that neither the Ministry nor the local education authorities regarded juvenile work as specialists' work. In the country as a whole, many local education authorities do recognize this, as they recruit their officers particularly for the work, but it is doubtful whether it could be said that the bulk of the local education authorities held to this principle. On the other hand, the Ministry of Labour and National Service, as part of the Civil Service, adheres to the principles underlying the recruitment and training of its staff, laid down in the late 1880s - namely, that given a certain degree of intelligence and education, a person can be trained to do any sort of work within his capacity. Certain levels of intelligence and educational attainment ~~were~~<sup>are</sup> deemed necessary for certain types of work - for instance, administrative work ~~was~~<sup>is</sup> held to need 1st class Hons. university graduates, and they are supposed to be able to work in any Ministry, whereas a third class honours or pass degree or passing the Ministry's competitive clerical examination ~~was~~<sup>is</sup> deemed to be sufficient for executive work. Juvenile work is classed as the latter, so it can be done by anyone who has passed the clerical examination. So much for the general principle underlying Civil Service -



and therefore the Ministry of Labour and National Service's recruitment. Some exceptions are made, however, and specialists are occasionally recruited, as for instance, in the Factory and Education Inspectorate, so the principle is being waived in some cases - and rightly so, for present-day conditions are very different from those of the 19th century. The tendency of modern times is to "know more and more about less and less", to quote Professor Laski, and therefore to do specialists' work specialists are needed. But is the work done by the Juvenile Employment Service specialists' work? The question needs careful consideration. In the first place, anyone dealing with young people must have certain qualities - a liking for boys and girls, an understanding of them; he must want to do the work, and he must be the sort of person whom young people will like. Besides this, he must be able to speak clearly and simply. Officers in charge of juvenile departments or employment bureaux must also be able to assess a child's abilities or interpret other people's assessment of them, to analyse an occupation into its essentials, to know what qualities a child must possess in order to do it successfully, and then advise him what to do. To do this needs a considerable degree of intelligence, wide general knowledge, besides verbal facility, persuasiveness and sound judgment. The

people in charge of juvenile work, in short, need to possess scientific ability to cope with the technical side of the work, and understanding and appreciation of people to cope with its human side. Therefore, it would seem little use having staff who were put into the job irrespective of these considerations, especially as many of them - as seen in Part II, Chapter 4 - disliked the work. Under the Civil Services' present system it is practically impossible to avoid this happening, because staff are not specially selected for the job - excepting staff of the Headmasters' and Headmistresses' Employment Committees in A.1, which are carefully chosen. The qualities necessary for doing work with young people successfully are not possessed by everyone, and careful search is needed to find people with them, and careful training to perfect them. If the Juvenile Employment Service's staff possesses them it will only be when it has been specially chosen and trained for the work. It is hard to say what the views of the Ince report were on this matter, for although the need for recruiting people with practical training for specialist work was recognized, it did not say whether all juvenile work was "specialist's work."

In small towns and rural areas it will not always be possible to have staff selected for juvenile work working only on it, for fewer people are needed to cope with the

traffic and often the clerks will have to combine work in the adults' and juveniles' sections. On the whole, however, the same qualities are needed for work with adults as with young people, so this should not greatly affect the standard.

So far it has only been established that the Juvenile Employment Service should have specially recruited staff. Several other aspects of recruitment need considering. Should there be an upper and lower age limit fixed for potential candidates? At present staff in the J.E.S. administered both by the Ministry and local education authorities are recruited about 16, but never in the case of the former and rarely in the case of the latter are they actually employed on juvenile work until they are 18. As dealing with boys and girls requires great self-control and balanced judgment - qualities rarely found in young people - existing practice is admirable. As regards an upper age limit, however, there is a difference between the policy of the Ministry and the local education authorities - so far, that is, as can be judged on the basis of the two areas and information available about others. The Ministry does not recruit people over 30 - normally the age limit is 23, but it has been extended in the case of ex-service men. This excludes people with experience in other fields from entering the Civil Service, which thereby loses a great deal.

Local education authorities, who usually advertise when they have vacancies for those in charge of bureaux, do not have such a ruling concerning officers in charge of bureaux, ~~as they usually advertise~~<sup>so</sup> the vacancies ~~so they~~ may be filled by outsiders. It would be to the Service's advantage to have no set low age limit for recruiting people for its staff, for then it could get staff with fresh ideas and outside experience, which would help it to prevent stale ideas being perpetuated. Recruitment, then, should be specially for the Juvenile Employment Service, and except that in small places staff would have to combine adult and juvenile work when needed, staff should only do juvenile work. Only people who want to do the work should be chosen, and provided people have previously had experience of juvenile work no rigid upper age limit for recruitment should be fixed.

If recruitment were thus carried out, changes in existing methods of selection would be needed. At present the Ministry of Labour and National Service as part of the Civil Service selects its staff from those who have reached a sufficiently high position in the competitive clerical examinations, whereas some, though not all local education authorities have similar examinations. Would it not be possible for all boys and girls of 18 and over wanting to go in for this sort of work to take the Civil Service's

clerical examination? The successful candidates could then be interviewed by people already doing the work and suitable ones engaged for a probationary period, during which time they would be able to discover whether they liked the work and whether they could do it. At the end of this period the officers over them would have to submit a report on their work, also stating whether in their opinion they had the necessary qualities to do it. With older people selection by examination would be inadvisable and unnecessary, as they would probably have special qualifications, so interviews would suffice. Concerning the selection of officers-in-charge, the usual practice with regard to professional people would be appropriate. Vacancies would be advertised and candidates interviewed and selection made of the best qualified and experienced for the job which has to be done.

The question of training is closely linked with selection and recruitment, and all play an equally important part in achieving good staff. As seen in Chapter 3, Part II, the local education authorities investigated had no training scheme for their staff - they were all trained on the job, and this is probably true on the whole throughout the country. Some Juvenile Employment Officers, as opposed to clerical staff, however, receive their theoretical training through the Universities, either by taking degrees



or social science certificates, and their practical training on the job. The Ministry, on the other hand, arranges for the training of staff itself, and all staff have to attend training courses on the work.

The Committee on the Juvenile Employment Service dealt with this question of training in the Ince report. Vocational training, according to its recommendations, should be the responsibility of the J.E.S. through the agency of the Central Juvenile Employment Executive. This means that standards of training can be uniform throughout the country, especially as the report further suggested that courses should be open to the staff of both the Ministry and the local education authorities, whether the courses were for new recruits or for teaching people who had been promoted the duties of their new work. Each course should be partly practical and partly theoretical - the former should be under the direction of an experienced officer and take place at a local office, while the latter should consist of lectures on the history and functions of the Service, of local and national government, and secondly, short, intensive courses on special subjects - for instance, interviewing and vocational guidance technique, arranged by outside bodies. Visits to factories, youth clubs and colleges would also be arranged. These recommendations are admirable, but it is not clear exactly to whom they

are meant to apply. At the beginning of the section dealing with training the report states that "pre-entry education and practical training of appropriate kinds . . . must necessarily be sought in older candidates and for specialist work", but it neglects to say what it regards as specialist work. Are the officers in charge of juvenile departments and employment bureaux to be regarded as specialists and recruited as such or are the majority of officers in charge to be promoted from within? If the first interpretation is correct, the Ince report marks an immense stride forward in the history of the J.E.S., for it is tantamount to an admission of the need for recruiting people who have been trained to do the job. If this is to be put into practice, the Central Juvenile Employment Executive will have to co-operate with the Universities in selecting and training their responsible officers. Working on this assumption, therefore, further details may be suggested in amplification of the general proposals of the Ince report. Many local education authorities already demand that their Juvenile Employment Officers should be graduates - and not merely of 3rd class honours or pass standard, but of just as high a standard as is necessary for secondary grammar school teaching - namely, a 2nd or 1st class Honours degree. The subjects in which the degree is taken are not tremendously important, though some will

obviously be more help to the future officer than others - as, for instance, a degree in History, Economics, Psychology, Sociology or Administration. The essential thing, though, is that recruits should have intelligence and know how to use it. If a degree in some unrelated subject has been taken - for instance, English - it would be well for a post graduate Social Science certificate to be taken which will include subjects like Psychology, Industrial History and Law, and Government.

The next stage of the training would take place partly through the Universities and partly through the Juvenile Employment Service and could last for about a year. During this time the student could attend courses on vocational guidance, discussion group on the problems encountered in juvenile employment work and practical training at juvenile departments and bureaux under experienced officers. These officers could send reports to students' tutors so their reactions to the work and their practical abilities could be assessed. This would involve the appointment of a Juvenile Employment tutor at several Universities in the same way, for instance, that Personnel Management tutors have been appointed to supervise students. The training scheme could very well be run in the same way as existing ones for Hospital Almoners,

Personnel Managers and Youth Leaders.

So far nothing has been said about how students will acquire knowledge about industry. The Ince report stressed the importance of the Service's staff having industrial knowledge, but it did not make any material suggestions save that lectures on industry were necessary. Doubtless there will be several sources of theoretical knowledge - the surveys of local occupations, for instance, and pamphlets, and when the Ministry's job analysis investigation has been completed there will be a mass of detailed information to which the staff can refer. Theoretical knowledge, however thorough, can never be enough on its own, and the student will need practical experience as well. At least three months should be spent working in a factory so that some idea of industrial organisation is gained before the student starts practical training in the offices. When doing the latter, the student will be taken on works visits by the officer-in-charge, and, having worked in a factory himself, will know what things to look out for when he is trying to discover what work young people do, and the circumstances under which it is done. The officer will also direct his observation to relevant processes, as he knows from experience what young people will want to know about vacancies - whether there are other young people working there, how long the breaks



and hours of work are - and what the student must find out about the jobs - whether any exceptional qualities of mind or body are needed to do them properly, what sort of abilities are needed, and so on.

In addition to works visits, <sup>the</sup> students should see films about different occupations, so that <sup>he</sup> they gets as much knowledge as possible, whether detailed or general, about industry. Also, as part of his practical training, he should work for some time in the adult section of an exchange, so that he will know what future there is in the jobs for young people.

If the staff of any organisation are to give of their best there must be an efficient promotion system as well as good training. Practices concerning promotion differ in the Ministry and in the local education authorities. In the former, as it is part of the Civil Service, promotion is from within; in the latter, though this is true of most of the jobs, the more responsible ones are advertised and anyone can apply. In the Ministry, although promotion is from within, it is not necessarily within juvenile work. There is no guarantee, for instance, that there will be a vacancy for a newly promoted Grade 5 officer in juvenile work, so he may be moved into another section of the Ministry. This means that often good people are lost to juvenile work, for no ambitious man would forfeit



promotion to stay in it. It also means, however, that the field of promotion is practically unlimited for anyone working in the Ministry, for there is nothing to stop an able person working his way to the top. Comparing this with the promotion available for anyone working for a local authority, the person working for the latter might hope to be in charge of a bureau, perhaps in an important city, but there is nothing further than that. Another result of the Ministry's promotion policy is that any one person is likely to have had experience of several types of work, and so brings a wider outlook to bear on whatever he is doing than the man employed by a local authority who has probably never moved about and has been in the same sort of job all the time. There are, therefore, several advantages in the Ministry's promotion system. Could these, however, be retained if juvenile work was to be regarded as specialist's work and people recruited for it alone? If staff is recruited to the Juvenile Employment Service as a whole, irrespective of whether the Ministry or the local education authority administers it locally, there will be plenty of opportunities for promotion within it. Able people could be given leave of absence to study at Universities and qualify to be in charge of juvenile departments so that no one is prevented from moving from one grade to another by lack of opportunities. Officers who had experience of

being in charge of departments in small and large places could be promoted to regional offices where they would be responsible for all the departments in the region; after that, to headquarters, where they would administer the service and implement new policies. Also, the Inspectorate for the Juvenile Employment Service, instead of being part of the ordinary Ministry of Labour Inspectorate, and therefore not necessarily composed of people who know anything about juvenile work or who have ever had practical experience of it, could be recruited from these officers. This would ensure that there is just as good a career in front of an able person entering the J.E.S. as any other part of the Civil Service.

Apart from the possibilities of promotion the way in which it is decided must also be considered. No particular method seems to be used by the local education authorities investigated; the impression gained from the staff was that ability, age and length of service were the criteria. The Ministry also uses these criteria, but in its case there are special promotion boards which consider applications for promotion each year, with the help of reports on applicants' work send in by their senior officers. Applicants are also interviewed and questioned about their work. No such procedure seems to be used by

local education authorities. The Ministry's organisation meets the need that the grounds for promotion should be known and requests for it dealt with in the same way whoever makes them, and it would be a step forward if the system could be extended to all the staff of the Juvenile Employment Service.

One question which the Ince report did not raise was whether there should be differential staffing. The account of staff in the four areas in Part II revealed that the Ministry of Labour and National Service for secondary grammar school leavers in A.1 and B.1 had higher standards than that for ex-secondary modern and technical school children. This principle has already been discussed in the previous chapter in connection with premises, so the reader will be familiar with the arguments involved. Suffice to say that the work done in giving guidance is essentially the same whatever type of school leaver is helped, so it seems illogical and unfair that the secondary grammar school child, who has already had a better education than the child attending the secondary modern school, should also have the advantage of better staff. The standard should be raised for the whole Service, so that a well qualified person is in charge of it for all leavers, as is the practice among some local education authorities.

One problem which bears vitally on the efficiency of the Service as a whole, and which itself is a staffing problem is that of the recruitment and training of the Inspectorate. This has been mentioned already in connection with promotion. Ince recommended that a central inspectorate of specially selected staff be appointed by the Ministry in conjunction with the Education Inspectorate. No stipulation about the exact qualifications of these inspectors was made, apart from the possession of wide knowledge of the Service. Here again more details are needed. One thing is clear, however; inspectors of the Juvenile Employment Service should at least have been officers in charge of juvenile departments or bureaux themselves, so that they know something about the work they are inspecting. Present practice does not follow this method. Unless the inspectorate consists of first-class people with practical experience, the standards they set may be at once unrealistic and too low - and in that case there might just as well not be an inspectorate.

Finally, if the developments in training outlined so far are to be achieved it follows that certain changes in salaries will be necessary. Recruitment on a national scale will involve having salaries fixed nationally whoever administers the Service locally, otherwise staff

would tend to make their way to whichever authority paid the highest wages. Also, new rates will have to be introduced for officers in charge, for unless this is done the Service will not be able to recruit trained and able people on a sufficiently large scale.

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PART III.CHAPTER 6. COMPULSION AND THE JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE.

The Juvenile Employment Service has been handicapped in its work because of its incomplete use by employers and young people. For instance, because comparatively few employers notified their vacancies to the Service its knowledge of the choice of occupations in any one area was limited and its vocational guidance necessarily imperfect; and because young people could choose whether or not they found work through the Service it was extremely hard to check vocational guidance, as knowledge of what the boys and girls were doing was lacking. As long as the use of the Service is voluntary these and other difficulties will remain because there will always be some people who do not use it and knowledge will be incomplete. An obvious solution is to introduce a measure of compulsion. This was first advocated in the 1930s when unemployment was exaggerating the Service's inefficiencies and many people were greatly concerned about its failure to find unemployed boys and girls jobs other than relatively unprogressive ones, and about its inability to save them from the demoralisation of unemployment. Jewkes and Winterbottom advocated that

employers should be forced to notify vacancies and that boys and girls should be forced to use the Service. The Service would then have complete knowledge of the jobs available, so that it could discourage young people from entering "blind alley" occupations, or if this proved impossible, it could offer them better employment when other vacancies occurred, and give them better vocational guidance. By organisation it would be possible to prevent casualisation of juvenile labour such as occurred in Lancashire in the cotton trade, where often some employers would be dismissing juveniles while others were taking them on. If the employers had to use the Service, boys and girls could be directed to jobs in orderly manner and the best people for the jobs could be sent. Another advantage of compulsion, according to Jewkes and Winterbottom, would be that as boys and girls would have to get jobs through the J.E.S. the Service would know how many juveniles were actually unemployed. At that time (1933), as only boys and girls of 16-18 were insurable, unemployed boys and girls of over 16 were the only ones who had to use the Service because they were required to register as being in search of work in order to qualify for benefit, <sup>so the total number of unemployed juveniles was unknown</sup> These proposals, however, were not put into practice. A certain element of compulsion did exist, though not concerning the use of the Service as a placing agency. An unemployed insured juvenile could be

compelled to attend a Junior Instruction Centre or Class as a condition of receiving benefit, but this only applied to juveniles over 16. It did mean, though, that the Service could at least save <sup>some</sup> young people from the demoralising effects of idleness.

The question of compulsion was hotly debated during the years of unemployment, but was neglected during the war when full employment removed the obvious need for it. Later, in 1945, the question was again raised with the publication of the Ince report. Four types of compulsion were considered by the committee in an attempt to remedy the limited use of the Service, which in its opinion was one of its greatest weaknesses. Other reasons for considering the compulsory use of the Service were that under a voluntary system it was not possible to place children in suitable work, to prevent them from entering unsuitable work, and to see that the available juvenile labour supply was "distributed in accord with national needs".

In the first type of compulsion discussed by the Ince Committee the use of the Service would be compulsory upon boys and girls - that is, they would have to have vocational guidance, though of course they need not take it, and they would have to get their jobs through the Service, though of course they would have a choice given to them; and secondly,

the use of the Service would be compulsory upon employers, who would have to notify all vacancies and fill them only from among the boys and girls submitted to them for interview by the Exchange or J.E.B. Would this in effect remove the main obstacles in the J.E.S.'s way and make it efficient? What effect would it have on vocational guidance, for instance? The compulsory notification of vacancies would mean that knowledge of the choice of employment in each area and demand in different industries and occupations both nationally and locally was complete, so the person giving guidance would be able to give the boy or girl a complete picture of the choice of occupation and the opportunities in each job. However, it would not help to assess the boy or girl's abilities more accurately, nor the abilities necessary before different occupations could be satisfactorily pursued. The mere fact that children have to have guidance does not, then, necessarily mean that the guidance will be any better than it is now - it may just be a case of forcing young people to have indifferent or bad advice. The results of the experiment carried out in Birmingham on the use of intelligence tests in the selection of engineering apprentices give a warning of this danger. It was found that there was little difference in the progress of boys and girls who took jobs which were in accordance with the advice given them by the Juvenile Employment Officer and those whose jobs were not in

accordance with the advice received, thus showing that the advice cannot have been worth very much. Because of this it is a good thing that the Ince committee's recommendation that vocational guidance should be compulsory has not been implemented in the recent Employment and Training bill.

What effect would compulsion have on the placing work of the Service? It would help the Service to discourage boys and girls from entering unsuitable work, but it would not prevent them from taking it if they insisted, so employers could probably still get boys and girls by offering high wages even though the work is not progressive, because some young people will not think of anything else save the amount of money they can earn. Compulsory placing would mean that it would be more likely that the small number of juveniles available would be sent to the industries which needed them, as the placing officers would tell all registering for work about vacancies, provided, of course, that the wages in those industries were attractive. On the other hand, employers would not take kindly to only being able to engage young people from among those submitted by the Service, and it is unlikely that the advantages gained by the introduction of compulsion would outweigh the disadvantages, and especially the one of having employers resenting the Service.



Concerning after-care, the compulsion suggested would be a help in some ways. Because all placing would have to take place through the Service, it would be known where all boys and girls were working and the Service would thus be able to discover how they were settling down, and to compare the progress of those who had taken the vocational advice given them with those who had not. This would involve a great increase in the amount of after-care work undertaken by the Service, but if done it would be a means of checking and improving vocational guidance.

On the whole, on practical grounds, the advantages gained by the introduction of compulsion in the way described would not outweigh the disadvantages. The work the Service does could not be done properly if people had to use it, for their co-operation is necessary, and people cannot be forced to be co-operative. Employers, teachers, parents, children - the co-operation of all is needed by the J.E.S. staff, and the knowledge that they have to use the Service will not dispose them amiably towards it. Besides, is the Service fit for its use to be made compulsory? Previous chapters have shown that it is not effective even for those who use it. The large proportion of boys and girls who do not use it at present constitute a challenge to its work, and by keeping a careful watch on

the proportion using the Service it can estimate the success of its methods. To hand it everything on a plate without making it sing for its supper is an unrealistic move, which takes away any incentive to hard work. However, the reasons given against the introduction of compulsion in the Ince report did not follow these lines. The committee did not think such compulsion could be enforced, because public opinion would not favour it, so evasion would be widespread. Taking both types of reasons into account, therefore, compulsion would be quite out of the question as a practical policy.

What would be the effect of partial compulsion - would it be possible to have advantages without disadvantages?

If, for instance, the actual engagement had to take place through the Service would its work be any more efficient? Certainly, its knowledge of where boys and girls were working would be complete, as is not the case at present, and after-care would be more efficient, so that the success of vocational guidance given at the school conference could be estimated by discovering what happened to those who did and those who did not follow the advice given to them. If applied, this knowledge would probably make for more efficient guidance. The drawbacks of this, as the Ince report points out, are that the J.E.S. would become

merely an organisation for registering engagements, and its work would be enormously increased and probably the staff would spend most of their time writing up engagements and have none left for anything else. Another thing to consider is its effect on employers. It is hardly likely that they would welcome the introduction of such a practice with enthusiasm. Indeed, it is more than likely that they would be extremely annoyed by it, and on the whole would forget to conform to it. Another question is whether such a regulation would help to prevent young people entering employment in which there are few opportunities for promotion. It will not, except if such work is also illegal. The only way in which it might help is that at least the J.E.S. staff can point out the disadvantages of such jobs to the boys and girls concerned. The whole question really resolves itself to "Is it practicable?" in the end, and the answer is no. In the first place, it could not be enforced unless a fleet of inspectors were employed to visit employers and discover whether they were notifying the exchanges and bureaux. In the second place, employers probably would not co-operate, and finally the J.E.S. staff would probably go on strike because of the great amount of extra work involved.

The next form of partial compulsion discussed in the

Ince report was making the notification of vacancies by employers compulsory. This would be a great help in many ways, for if it was done the J.E.S. would have a complete picture of the choice of employment in each district. At present the Service only knows part of it as employers do not notify their vacancies. The Service would know the full extent of the demand for boys and girls in different industries and occupations throughout the country, and would be in a position to tell where young people's work was most needed and where they would be likely to have good prospects. Because of this the vocational guidance given them would be far more valuable than it is now. The objections to this type of compulsion are roughly the same as those mentioned before - namely, that it would be extremely hard to enforce it; again, employers would probably dislike it and co-operate with the Service to a lesser extent than they do now, which would wreck its work and invalidate any good effects of compulsion.

The last type of compulsion consisted of the notification of engagements to the Service. This has some of the advantages of the second method - as, for instance, that the Service knows where boys and girls are working and can get in touch with them to follow up their careers, but it does not help the Service to prevent young people entering

unsuitable employment at all, for information comes after the event. It would, of course, increase knowledge of job turnover, which, if followed up, would result in the improvement of vocational guidance as the Service would know why its advice had been unsuitable. The disadvantages of such compulsion have been already mentioned - employers would resent its introduction and would probably not co-operate, and could not be forced to do so.

All the types of compulsion mentioned so far - with the exception of compulsory vocational guidance - were rejected by the Ince committee when making their report. It was hoped that by compulsory advice and ensuring that steps were taken to prohibit the employment of juveniles in certain unsuitable occupations the danger of their entering work which was unsuitable would be considerably lessened; also, by making it compulsory for the schools to give information about children and for the children to have vocational guidance, it would be possible to improve the quality of the advice given them. So far nothing has been done to implement the first proposal; the second has been put into practice but the third rejected. On the whole, then, the use of compulsion as a way of solving the Service's difficulties has been re-



jected, and rightly so, for its use might only serve to conceal inefficiencies, and the knowledge that people had to use the Service might have had the disastrous effect of removing all incentive to improve it by using new methods.

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PART III.CHAPTER 7. WHO SHOULD RUN THE JUVENILE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE?

The Ince committee was unable to come to any decision about whether the local education authorities or the Ministry of Labour and National Service should run the Juvenile Employment Service, though, as was seen in Chapter 4, Part I, several recommendations were made which enabled the Ministry better to fulfil its responsibility for the Service as a whole. Instead, the report contented itself with summarising the arguments put forward on both sides and did not examine them critically. Clearly, a decision can only be reached if the necessary requirements to enable the Service to do its work properly are set out and then in the light of these the arguments in favour of the Ministry and the local education authorities are examined.

The chief function of the J.E.S., as has been seen, is to give vocational guidance. To do this properly two sorts of information are necessary. First, there must be information about each child, his abilities, attainments, character, temperament and interests, over a period of years; and about his parents' wishes, his head teacher's recommendations, and, of course, his own wishes. The main source of this information is the school, so there must be good co-operation

between the head teachers and the Juvenile Employment Committee Secretary or J.E. Officer in order to get it.

Secondly, there must be knowledge about jobs - about the ones available in and outside the district and the opportunities they offer, the work involved in doing them, the qualities of mind and character needed, the circumstances under which the work is done, and the training provided for it. In addition to all this, the Service needs an efficient after-care system so it can check its advice by seeing whether it works in practice.

To do all this work, obviously, the J.E.S. has to have a staff of suitable and capable people; that is, those who like doing the job and are good at it. To achieve such a staff, standards of recruitment must be high, and conditions of work - for instance wages and promotion - must be such that able people will be attracted into it. The Service also has to have premises with adequate interviewing rooms, and attractive so that potential customers are not put off by their appearance, and central so they are well known and easily found.

Also, the Service must be so financed that its cost is borne throughout the country as a whole, and all areas therefore get at least a minimum standard of service. Finally, the Service must be so organised that experimenta-

tion is possible and local needs are met. Bearing these requirements in mind, the arguments put forward on behalf of both the administrators of the J.E.S. will be considered, beginning with those concerning the claims of the local education authorities.

It is stated in the Ince report that "Choice of employment work is in many of its aspects an educational service", so it should be the responsibility of the education authorities. To help children to know their capabilities and how they can best use them is certainly a part of their education, but that does not necessarily mean that the education authority is best suited to do it. Vocational guidance in the last resort depends on the employment available, which the local education authorities have never been primarily concerned with, for their chief interest is in the child, as this argument put forward on their behalf shows. They may have detailed information about the children gleaned throughout their school careers, they probably will have had to give a considerable amount of "pre-vocational guidance in determining the kind of secondary course which children will follow", but they must also have just as detailed knowledge of industry and occupations. As it has never been claimed that education authorities had better knowledge than the Ministry about these matters, and as such

information determines the vocational guidance given in the last resort, the former is not better suited to give advice.

Another argument is that the adolescent is primarily a learner. His education is incomplete when he enters employment and must therefore be continued. Granted, but is that necessarily a reason for assigning responsibility for it to the local education authority? Once a boy has left school, work replaces school as the most important thing in his life and being in work "he is subject to industrial conditions" of which the Ministry of Labour has far greater knowledge and experience. The part-time education of a boy, then, after leaving school, is not sufficient cause for entrusting education authorities with all the work of the J.E.S. Besides, is there any reason for treating the first three years of a child's working life in isolation from the rest? The same influences are present on wages, hours and conditions of work whether the worker is 15 or 50 - and moreover, these influences are nationally determined, thus demanding a national organisation to cope with them - i.e. the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

Education authorities are also said to have greater freedom in budgeting for local needs than a central department. The necessity for catering for local peculiar-



ities has already been noticed, but the question is whether a local or a central authority can do this better. Certainly, a central authority has more money at its disposal, so it can apportion it out according to need irrespective of the richness or poorness of the resources of a particular area. A local education authority is limited by this, for a poor authority cannot afford to spend much on its employment service, even though the Ministry foots 75% of the cost of running a bureau. As seen in Part I, Chapter 5, only local education authorities in relatively prosperous areas have chosen to exercise their choice of employment powers, so it seems senseless to argue that they all have greater freedom in budgeting for local needs when only the richer ones bother to undertake the work and when even their expenditure covers only 25% of the total cost. Though the service must vary with local needs, there must be a certain minimum standard below which it does not fall, however poor the area. As local education authorities are only controlled by the Ministry of Education through the grants made to them it is much harder for them to achieve this than the Ministry of Labour and National Service, which has a national organisation in

which each local office is under the control of headquarters.

This argument sometimes takes another form - for instance, that a local education authority can adapt its organisation for local needs better than the Ministry. This is largely due to a mistaken impression that the Ministry's service never varies with the district. This is true concerning essentials, but the account of the service in A.1 and A.2 in Part II showed that local organisation varied with need.

Another argument in favour of local education authorities administering the J.E.S. is that "there is a strong case in logic for placing the responsibility for all the requirements of youth on one authority." Theoretical logic and what is logic in practice is often very different, though. It sounds tidy, of course, but what would it involve? Ince says that "education, employment, recreation and health are all parts of . . . preparation for life, and they cannot be separated into watertight compartments." Who would be so silly as to maintain that they could? To admit they cannot, however, would be to admit the need for co-operation and not to admit that the same authority should be responsible for all. Besides, haven't the education authorities got enough

to do without adding to it, especially in view of the extra work involved under the 1944 Education Act? Similarly, though, the County Colleges of the future will certainly be a way of keeping in touch with young workers, and probably offices could be housed in them, these are no sound reasons for making the local education authorities responsible for the J.E.S.

Yet another argument brought forward is that education authorities can help young people through their Child Guidance, Medical and Youth Services and welfare officers. Theoretically they might, of course - but, save for the youth service, these are only for children who are still at school, so apart from providing extra knowledge about a child's past history it is hard to know how they can help. In any case, this information could be passed on to either local education authorities or the Ministry of Labour and National Service, so it is not really an argument in favour of the former.

Besides the arguments put forward in the Ince report there are others which must be mentioned. It is claimed, for example, that local education authorities have a greater chance to experiment in the use of new methods. Several have done so - for instance, the city of Birmingham, in co-operation with the National Institute of

Industrial Psychology, carried out an investigation to discover whether vocational tests were a help in choice of employment work. In B.1, the local education authority experimented with a shop window of occupations and with brains trusts instead of school talks. But areas in which the Ministry of Labour and National Service is responsible for the service have also experimented - a district in London co-operated with the National Institute of Industrial Psychology several years previous to the Birmingham experiment. A.1 organised talks for children who were just leaving school at the Exchange in addition to the ordinary school talks - the Ministry has started to sponsor films as a means of giving information about work, so it does not seem that experimentation is the prerogative of local education authorities after all.

To return to one of the requirements found necessary for the efficient working of the J.E.S. - namely, co-operation between its staff and teachers, some people claim that teachers are likely to be more co-operative if the local education authority which employs them is also responsible for the service. Also, in view of any disputes or teachers refusing their help, the Minister of Education can settle the question. This argument is not borne out by the investigations carried out in the four areas, as

in both the areas where the Ministry of Labour and National Service was responsible for the administration (A.1 and 2) and those where the local education authorities were the administrators (B.1 and 2) there were some teachers whose conduct was obstructive. On the whole, however, there was no appreciable difference - as far as it could be ascertained from the staff - in the degree of co-operation existing between the staffs of schools and the J.E.S. in the two sorts of areas mentioned. The problem of securing co-operation is not basically one of administration but of human relationships, and it depends for its solution in any one area on the personalities of the J.E.S. staff and the teachers.

Finally, on behalf of the local education authorities it is claimed that the Ministry only regards juvenile employment as a small section of its work, as most of it is concerned with adults, and so does not bother about it so much as a local education authority would. Surely, <sup>however,</sup> even though the latter is concerned with children its main concern and the bulk of its work is with children at school, so the bureau can equally well be said to only be a small part of its work as the juvenile department is only a small part of the Ministry's.

It is noticeable that most of the arguments proffered



in favour of the local education authorities stress the choice of employment side of the J.E. Service's work. As the Ince report points out, however, the J.E.S. "must see the growing adolescent through every aspect of his work environment", which means it must know all about work, the conditions under which it is done, and the opportunities of employment available. These opportunities are not confined to the boundaries of local authorities, <sup>so</sup> the machinery for placing young people has to be national in scope, for otherwise children will inevitably be restricted in their choice of occupation to local employment, which may not be a sufficient outlet for their capabilities. Concerning the conditions under which work is done, the Ministry of Labour and National Service has several advantages over local education authorities. It has a factory and wages inspectorate, it is in close touch with employers' associations and trades unions all over the country and so knows far more about conditions than any local authority. It may be said that most of this knowledge is regarding adults, not juveniles; surely, though, such knowledge is essential, for unless the officer giving advice knows what young people will do when they are grown up he cannot recommend an occupation with any confidence.

Staffing is a question about which protagonists of both administrators have had nothing to say. It seems that the advantages are on the side of the Ministry of Labour and National Service. Firstly, it recruits the majority of its staff by national open competitive examinations, so that "string-pulling" is impossible, and as recruits are drawn from all over the country the Ministry is far more likely to get able people than a local authority which only recruits from its hinterland and whose service does not enjoy the same prestige as the Civil Service. In addition to this, the wages offered by the Civil Service are better, and the prospects of promotion wider, as was shown in Part II, Chapter 3. The Ministry also moves its staff around from place to place, so that they gain experience of different areas, and it has also a training scheme for its staff, whereas local authorities have done nothing for theirs. In favour of local authorities, however, some do employ far better qualified Juvenile Employment Officers than the Ministry, but taking everything into account the latter is in a much better position to improve its staff than local education authorities.

The collection of vocational information is another topic which never seems to be considered when discussing

whether the Ministry <sup>or</sup> of the local authorities should run the J.E.S. As pointed out earlier in this chapter, the officer giving vocational guidance must have information about all occupations open to boys and girls, otherwise they will be limited by local opportunities and never get the chance of hearing about others. This means that each local office must be linked with other local offices so that placings in and from ~~the~~ <sup>other</sup> districts can be effected - in other words, a national organisation is needed. Also, each officer must know in detail what is involved in each occupation and the qualities boys and girls need to be successful in it. This means that job analysis must be undertaken, and as knowledge and experience of industrial relations is an essential qualification for any organisation doing this, the Ministry of Labour and National Service is the obvious one to do it. Besides the things mentioned so far, each officer must know something about the prospects of different industries, otherwise he might advise a boy to take a job in a declining industry or one which was over-staffed. Information about industries on a national scale is therefore necessary, and such data can only be collected by an organisation which embraces the whole country. Finally, as mentioned in the Ince report, there is a need for the collection and publication of information about careers. Obviously, no local authority could undertake

this task, which is one needing a lot of time and money and which therefore must be done by a national organisation, i.e. the Ministry.

Several other arguments can be cited in favour of the Ministry. Employers, for instance, usually deal with employment exchanges for their adult labour, and it would be less bother for them if they used the same organisation to get what juvenile labour they needed. <sup>Also,</sup> If the Ministry ran the entire service it would probably mean that there was a better chance of the records ~~kept~~ concerning juveniles being handed on to the adult section of the exchange when they became 18. In the areas investigated the records are automatically passed on to the adult section in A.1 and 2, but in B.1 and 2 the records are merely destroyed after a certain length of time. This is a waste, because there is a lot of valuable information on the cards which could help placing officers when dealing with adults.

Summing up all the arguments, then, it seems unreasonable to come to any other conclusion save this - that the Ministry of Labour and National Service is more suited than local education authorities to run the Juvenile Employment Service. What should be done in this case about local authorities' permissive powers? The Ince re-

port, which did not decide to which of the two administrations the job of running the Service should be given, compromised by giving extra powers to the Ministry and by giving all local education authorities who had not already done so the chance of exercising their powers. The situation at present, therefore, is chaotic. Many education authorities who before had been content to leave the job to the Ministry are now contemplating doing it themselves. Why should they be given this chance? They have been exhorted to use their powers long enough. The Ince report did not say that either administrator was better at the job, so how was it justified in making this recommendation? The local authorities concerned have no trained staff, no premises, no experience of the work, no knowledge of the choice of employment locally or nationally, nor of employers - they will have to learn all this, and probably the Ministry will have to spoon-feed them. The people who will suffer most will be the very ones whom the Service is supposed to help - a pretty state of affairs.

What should be done? The local authorities' choice of employment powers should be cancelled and the bureaux taken over by the Ministry after six months' notice has been given; staff could be given the option of being employed in the Civil Service as temporary officers in the



appropriate grades until they passed the qualifying examinations or interviews; if they did not want to do so, the Ministry would provide staff itself. Granted, it would not be able to find staff who had been trained locally, but they would have had some training. The premises could be rented from the local authority or rooms could be built on to the exchange. It might be argued, of course, that it is just as unreasonable to recommend either that local education authorities are taken over by the Ministry or that they should be given a last chance to exercise their powers. The situation, however, is different. In the first place the Ministry has a national organisation and a fund of experience of industry, on which it can draw, whereas a local authority has not. The former, even if it has not provided the J.E.S. in an area, would not have to start from scratch as the latter would, for it provides an employment service for adults and so can quickly build on that knowledge. Also, it would know local employers and conditions of work. It could provide staff who had had some experience and training - whereas the local authority could not. But why should the education authorities' employment bureaux be taken over - why not leave the existing ones as they are, for the Ministry has been given powers to take over

inefficient ones if they fail to pull up their standard after a sufficient time has elapsed? Granted, but to leave things as they are would mean that progress would be delayed by recalcitrant local authorities. Inspectors only visit each office yearly. Supposing they find it below standard, they would advise the local authority to improve their service. They would have to be given time to do so - several months at least - and if it was still below standard without good reason, the local authority would be given notice to terminate its powers - so it would take some time to effect improvement. In the Ministry, if there is inefficiency, the person or persons responsible for it could be promptly sacked - but with a staff employed by a local education authority, this would have to be done by them. Any inadequacies in the Ministry's Service disclosed by the annual inspection have to be righted straight away - there is a much shorter time lag because no other authority has to be dealt with and cajoled into doing what it should, and time, trouble and money are thus saved. In any case, to retain local education authorities' staff permanently will be to retain staff which we have already seen are not as well trained or of as high a standard as the Ministry's. Finally, it has already been shown that the Ministry is

better suited to run the entire service, so there would be no point in having part of it permanently administered locally by education authorities.

References.

Ince: The Juvenile Employment Service.

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APPENDIX 1. (School Leaving Reports)

1. Examples of secondary modern school leaving reports used in the four areas investigated.  
(A.1 and 2, B.1 and B.2)
2. Example of secondary central school leaving reports  
(A.1. only).
3. Examples of secondary grammar school leaving reports  
(A.1, B.1 and B.2).

APPENDIX 2. (After-care)

1. Examples of invitations to open evenings used in  
A.1, A.2 and B.2. (No invitations are sent  
in B.1)
2. After-care in B.2.

Enquiry re progress of children placed <sup>sent to</sup> ~~with~~ employers.

" to children recently placed.

" " " who left school a year ago.

Appendix 1.

A.1 and A.2. Secondary Modern School Leaver's Report Form.

Space is provided for the following information:-

- 1) Standard of attainment (e.g. V.G., G., F.G., F.)  
concerning a) Written English. c) Handwork.  
b) Arithmetic. d) Needlework.
- 2) Observations as to a) General ability.  
b) Conduct.  
c) Character.  
d) Special aptitude.
- 3) General remarks.
- 4) Medical officer's last report.
- 5) Employment suggested by head teacher.
- 6) Employment desired by scholar.
- 7) Notes and general information on home and family  
(incl. father's occupation and parents' wishes for child.)
- 8) Recommendations of Conference.



Appendix 1.

B.1. Education Committee.  
Juvenile Employment Bureau

GIRL

Confidential Report from .....School.

Occupation desired; or if already obtained.

Report (Educational)

Standard, Form or Class.....  
General Subjects, especially  
English, Writing & Spelling,  
Arithmetic:-

\*General Health:-

Any special defects in  
Physique  
Hearing  
Eyesight

Any special ability.....

Continuation or Evening School to be attended

Any special weakness.....

Course:- Industrial or Commercial

Handwork.....

Occupation of parent. Is after care or supervision considered necessary?

Opinion of Head Teacher as to the form of Employment for which child is suited

Voluntary organisation to which attached (if any)

Remarks (if any)

---

\* V.G., G., F., Poor.

Signature of Teacher.....Date.....

Appendix I.

B.2 Education Committee BOYS Juvenile Employment Office.

Confidential Report .....School.

<u>Educational Report</u>	Class or Standard attained.....	Needlework of other Handwork.
<u>Regularity</u>	<u>Functionality</u>	<u>Character</u>
		<u>Conduct</u>
		Wood Work
		Metal Wk.
Any special ability		
Any special weakness		
Any other special qualifications		

Medical Report Date of last Medical Inspection....

Physique..... General health and any occupational indications  
Height..... or contra-indications suggested by S.M.O.  
Hearing.....  
Eyesight.....

<u>Social Report</u>	Occupation of Parent(s)	Temperament	Very	Low	Av.	High	Very High
<u>Employment during school life (if any)</u>	and Home Circumstances	Sociability	Low				
		Self-Confidence					
		Aggressiveness					
		Leadership					
		General Stability					

Occupation(s) recommended by Head Teacher

H.T.'s Signature.....

For Use of School Conference

Appearance..... Date held..... Parent(s) present.....  
Manner..... Continued Educn. Other Notes  
Speech.....  
Department.....

Appendix 1.

A.1.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE

CENTRAL SCHOOL'S EMPLOYMENT COMMITTEE

SCHOOL LEAVING FORM

- A. Name of School:-
- B. Details of Applicant:-
- (1) Name (in full)
  - (2) Date of Birth
  - (3) Address
  
  - (4) Date available for employment
  - (5) Time under tuition at Central School
  
  - (6) Details of any certificates gained; any knowledge of shorthand-typing or book-keeping:
  
  
  - (7) Employment (a) Required by pupil  
(b) Recommended by Head Teacher
  
  - (8) General observations (conduct, character, ability)
  
  - (9) Medical History - Any contra-indications?
  - (10) What "After-care" supervision (if any) is suggested?

Head Master or Mistress



HEAD MISTRESS' CONFIDENTIAL REPORT

1. For communication to prospective Employer,  
if requested.

2. For the confidential information of the Committee.



Appendix 1.

B.1.

CONFIDENTIAL

Secondary Schools for Girls' Employment Committee  
In Co-operation with  
Juvenile Employment Bureau.

---

SCHOOL.....Period 194...to 194...  
Date of Leaving.....

---

Occupation desired.....

Occupation recommended by Rota Committee.....

---

EDUCATIONAL RECORD Form.....

Subjects taken during school course

Examinations passed or pending

Other schools attended

---

Health Record

---

Head Mistress's Confidential Report

(Continued over - if necessary)

---

Signed.....Head Mistress

Date.....

B.2 Education Committee

Appendix I.  
Juvenile Employment Office

Confidential Report from.....School. Date of Leaving.....  
 re Sec. Grammar School Girls.

Education Report  
 Languages Commercial Subjects Manual Form reached.....  
 Mathematics Book-keeping Woodwork Strong Subjects and any special ability  
 Science Shorthand Speed Metalwork  
 Art Typing Speed Needlework  
 Arithmetic Housecraft

Public Examinations taken (with Date)	Results obtained in:-			Part taken in Social Life of School
	Eng-lish			
	Please use C to indicate pass with credit, P., pass and F. fail.			Athletic Record

Medical Report  
 Physique..... General health and any  
 Height..... occupational indications  
 Hearing..... or contra-indications  
 Eyesight..... suggested by S.M.O.  
 Date of last Medical Inspection.....

<u>Social Report</u>	Occupation of Parent(s) and Home Circumstances	Temperament	Very Low	Av. High	Very High
Regularity.....		Sociability	Low		
Punctuality.....		Self-Confidence			
Character.....		Aggressiveness			
Conduct.....		Leadership			
		General Stability			

Occupation(s) recommended by Head Teacher  
 H.T's Signature.....  
 For use at J.E. Office Date of School Conference.....Parent(s) seen.....  
 Appearance.....  
 Manner.....  
 Speech.....  
 Deportment.....  
 Further Education  
 Notes

It is suggested that the abbreviations P., F., G., V.G., E. be used in Section 2 (i.e. Education Rept)

Appendix 2.

Invitation to Open Evenings,  
A.l. (to recent leavers).

MINISTRY OF LABOUR AND NATIONAL SERVICE

A.l.

Dear

The Local Juvenile Employment Committee which as you know has been interested in your progress since you began work feel that by now you are no doubt settled in the career which you have chosen.

They would however be glad to hear of your good progress or to help you should you need any advice. Members of the Committee are here every Wednesday evening between 5.30 p.m. and 7.30 p.m. to meet young people and their parents or guardians.

Perhaps you would care to call next Wednesday \_\_\_\_\_ or if you cannot come to send a reply overleaf.

Yours sincerely,

Invitation to Open Evening.  
A7

Appendix 2.

MINISTRY OF LABOUR and NATIONAL SERVICE.

Advisory Committee for Juvenile Employment,  
Employment Exchange,  
A.2.

Dear

How are you getting on in your work? We should like to hear about your job and your prospects, and to help you if you have any difficulties.

Can you call here next between p.m. and p.m.? If your father or mother would like to come they will be very welcome, or you can bring a friend. But if you would rather come by yourself I shall understand.

If you can't manage to come you can still help me by writing me a note on the blank sheet attached to this letter. It need not be long and a stamp is not necessary. But I would much rather see you for a chat, particularly if there is anything about your job or your future which is troubling you.

Yours sincerely,

Secretary.

P.S. If it suits you better, call here any day between 9 a.m. and 6 p.m. (Saturdays until 1 p.m.)

Appendix 2.

Invitation to Open Evening.

B.2 EDUCATION COMMITTEE.

Office Hours:

Monday to Thursday 9 a.m. - 5 p.m.

Friday ... .. 9 a.m. - 7 p.m.

Saturday ... .. 9 a.m. - 12 noon.....19..

Dear

Would you care to call here on Thursday afternoon  
.....between 2-5 p.m. or Friday  
evening .....between 5-7 p.m., as I  
should like to make sure that you are happily settled in  
your work and making good progress.

Yours sincerely,

Juvenile Employment Officer.

PLEASE REPLY ON OPPOSITE PAGE.



Form Sent to Employers about Two Months  
after a Juvenile has been Placed with Them.

SPACE FOR REPLY.

B.2. Committee.

.....19

Dear Sir/Madam,

The boy/girl whose name is given opposite was recently placed with you and I should be very grateful if you could let me have details as to his/her progress. Perhaps you would be good enough to return the form to me as soon as you are conveniently able to do so.

Yours faithfully,

Juvenile Employment Officer.

Appendix 2.

Signature.....  
.....19.....

Form sent to Juveniles Recently  
Placed in Work by J.E.B.

B.2. Education Committee.

.....19

Dear

We should like to know how you are getting on in the post in which you were recently placed. If you can call one day soon when you are not working we shall be glad to see you, but if not perhaps you could answer the questions opposite and send the form back to me.

The office is open at the following times:  
Monday-Thursday, 9-1, 2-5 p.m.  
Friday, 9-1, 2-7 p.m.  
Saturday, 9-12 noon.

Yours sincerely,

Juvenile Employment Officer.

SPACE FOR REPLY.

Are you still employed at  
.....

.....

Are you happy in your work?

.....

.....

What are your wages and your hours  
of work now?

.....

.....

.....

Signature.....

.....19...

Form sent to Juveniles a Year  
after they have Left School.

B.2. Education Committee

.....19

Dear

It is now nearly a year since you left school and took up employment and we should like to know how you are progressing. If you could call one day soon when you are not working we shall be glad to see you, but if not, perhaps you could answer the questions opposite and send the form back to me.

The office is open at the following times:

Monday-Thursday, 9-1, 2-5 p.m.  
Friday, 9-1, 2-7 p.m.  
Saturday, 9-12 noon.

Yours sincerely,

Juvenile Employment Officer.

SPACE FOR REPLY.

Are you still employed at

.....

.....

Are you happy in your work?

.....

.....

What are your wages and your hours  
of work now?

.....

.....

.....

Signature.....

.....19..